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**Staging a Life:
Portraying Femininities in the Auto/biographies of
Indonesian Female Celebrities**

Submitted by

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
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Centre for Women's Studies and Gender Research
School of Political and Social Inquiry
Faculty of Arts

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STATEMENT OF SOURCES

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the life writings of female celebrities in Indonesia. It analyses six book-length biographies and six life narratives from women's magazines and argues these published accounts not only represent new forms of autobiographical writing, but offer a space from within which to negotiate appropriate performances of local femininities in a rapidly globalizing cultural context.

Women's autobiographical writings have been recognized as different from traditional autobiographical narratives (Cosslett et al., 2000). Conventional autobiographies focus on the lives of men and their public achievements; in this context women's lives and activities have often been considered as less worthy of attention. Conventional autobiographies also tend to be rigid in narrative structure, where the authorial voice is identical to the voice of the narrated subject. Using an interdisciplinary approach that draws upon feminist theories, cultural studies and literary criticism, I argue that these celebrity auto/biographies represent new forms of autobiographical practice that challenge and extend conceptions of autobiography.

The celebrity auto/biographies under discussion display complex narrative structures, where co-writers and the voices of family and friends become part of the authorial voice. They take celebrity and fame as key life achievements and draw on popular cultural media forms such as magazine articles, photographic shoots and news reports to create auto/biographies that simultaneously report celebrity lives and secure celebrity status. These auto/biographies offer challenges to conventional/orthodox narrative authority in conventional autobiography and reposition the ephemera of celebrity as a form of autobiographical practice. Further, by examining how these celebrity auto/biographies utilize different points of view, fragmented narrative structures, the integration of the everyday, and the inclusion of fashion photography I argue that these works extend the meanings conventionally attached to this category of life writing. The more flexible and fragmented structure of these book-length celebrity auto/biographies and alternate auto/biographical practices appearing in women's magazines suggest that more embracing critical accounts of contemporary auto/biographies are necessary.

This thesis also finds that through their auto/biographical writing Indonesian female celebrities present femininities that are both global and local, revealing complex negotiations of local imperatives of modesty, maternity and normality and global imperatives towards sexuality, celebrity and universality. Femininity is performed both as normative and disruptive, extending and altering the space of what it means "to be a woman", within the intersecting contexts of local Indonesian culture, celebrity culture and globalization. This

thesis contributes then to understandings of globalization and its gendered processes, effects and impacts through the particular phenomenon of the auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities.

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities and particularly explores the notion of auto/biography as the representation of life in progress. Taking globalization and popular culture as the contextual frame, this study discusses the construction of femininities in auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices in women's magazines of selected Indonesian celebrities in the period of 2000 – 2007, as will be defined in the later section of this chapter. These auto/biographical works link the everyday local to the global creating specifically new forms of Indonesian popular and celebrity culture autobiography in the processes of interaction.

Global celebrity culture is generated in local media markets that interact with global markets creating intersections between local femininities and normative global femininities. Both global and local celebrities attract media coverage in magazine/tabloid profiles, in television infotainment and in other media with the result that normative global femininities intermingle with local femininities. Through this intersection of the local and the global, as exemplified by the localized global magazines I examine here, Indonesian female celebrities negotiate their position and femininities as local celebrities/figures while engaging simultaneously with exposure and pressure from the global celebrity culture. Local ideas, agendas, ways of life, and also religion are part of important discourses in the construction of Indonesian celebrity culture, which shape these celebrities' ways of engaging with global celebrity culture.

I argue that in recent decades these negotiations appear in particular new forms of auto/biographical projects: in magazines, advertisements and book length formats produced in Indonesia. In these new forms of autobiography, which draw on the ephemera of mass culture and the everyday, these celebrities challenge existing ideas of traditional autobiography and establish relationality (described by Felski 1999: 29 as “a bond between female author and female reader” with and among other women who consume their works (book, advertisement, profiles/interviews) using these everyday artefacts of magazines, advertisements and longer book forms that resemble celebrity diaries or scrapbooks. As Miller (2002) argues, there is often an exclusion of the everyday as minor and insignificant in traditional auto/biographies. However, “trivial writings” act as a valuable form of history, in which particular and specific details of the experience of self at a specific locality of time and space constitute a valuable picture of the self. In producing their lived experiences in these formats, women reveal not only their own identities and subjectivities, but also the history, politics and social landscape of their daily lives. By taking up these “trivial” issues, women “talk back” to the structures that mute them. As Miller illustrates (2002: 57):

[I]t's precisely the personal details of skirts, hair, shoes that make cultural history come alive: the inclusion of those daily issues of style that define a moment in a collective social pattern: pantyhose and tights have replaced the black stockings.

In this context, Cosslett et al. maintain, "[i]f women have been categorized as "objects" by patriarchal cultures, women's autobiography gives an opportunity for them to express themselves as "subjects", with their own selfhood" (Cosslett, Lury, & Summerfield, 2000: 6). In auto/biographies and in the autobiographical practices women use, women establish a space wherein their subjectivities are produced by making their lives matter, their opinions surface and their perspectives heard. I am arguing that this undertaking is not so much about denying women's objectification in patriarchal cultures, rather it offers opportunities to negotiate women's positioning in the cultures that objectify them. This way of negotiating women's relegation in culture as objects, as Cosslett et al. (2000) have argued, is about playing around or bargaining with these limited femininities by subverting existing conventional frameworks (Ussher, 1997).

To negotiate these conditions of marginalization, women writers have relied on different types of writings including diaries, letters, and memoirs to voice their feelings and thoughts. As argued by Thosa and Web (1999), the drive to articulate women's experience produced feminist autobiographies in the 1970s. I argue here that the particular forms of auto/biography produced by these Indonesian celebrities represent the specific negotiation of global and local cultures and circulating frameworks for femininities. Located at the intersection of the global and local cultures, female Indonesian celebrities have to negotiate their femininities not only between a global celebrity culture and a local popular culture, but also between global and local femininities. These negotiations are reflected in their representations of themselves as public figures and private persons, through their auto/biographies. They claim the affects and objects of celebrity as the ground for their significance and importance rather than as reflective of their triviality or unimportance.

In this thesis I am looking at the auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities. The term "celebrities" here refers to glamour celebrities, namely those who work in the entertainment industry or show business: singers, models, actors, and presenters. The term auto/biographies used in this thesis is broad and includes book-length auto/biographies and what I will term "auto/biographical practices" in the form of short auto/biographical narratives in women's magazines. In Chapter One, I explore the term "auto/biography" and my definition of auto/biographical practices. In Chapter Two, I introduce and discuss pertinent aspects of the relationships between celebrity, globalization and femininities for the purpose of this thesis.

I study the auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities to reveal the complex and complicated negotiations of the local and the global undertaken by these Indonesian celebrities as one aspect of the gendered processes, effects and impacts of globalization. In this study I examine new and emerging auto/biographical practices of Indonesian female celebrities and argue that these celebrity auto/biographies represent new forms of autobiographical practice that challenge and extend conceptions of autobiography.

Objects of Research

The research focuses on two quite different forms of auto/biographical practices; the first set consists of six book-length auto/biographies published between 2004 and 2007, the second consists of short pieces of auto/biographical material produced in six series in women's magazines between 2000 and 2006.

The "Authorized" Book-Length Auto/biographies

The initial impetus for this research was the publication of auto/biography of Krisdayanti (Endah, 2004), a famous singer in Indonesia. This hardcover text is very glamorous and expensive, consisting of photos, diary entries, and multiple authors. Thus, while termed an autobiography, it had characteristics that challenged conventional definitions of single-authored texts which dealt with notable lives. It received wide coverage in the media. This publication was soon followed by other celebrities' auto/biographies. The intention to write an auto/biography was frequently cited in celebrity news (see for example "Reza Terus Rekaman, Tulis Buku," 2004). Compared to the "traditional" auto/biography that narrates the life-story of older people, whose lives are considered to be near "completion", some of these people were only in their thirties or even twenties. This phenomenon, I argue, clearly signals a shift in the forms and types, as well as scope of auto/biography, where celebrity lives 'in progress' are presented as worthy of study and attention.

The act of writing the auto/biography itself represents a subjectivity in the context of Indonesia that aspires not only to glamour but also to intellect. This is especially apparent in the context of the high respect and regard Indonesian people have for people with the ability to write, or to show intellectuality. In this study, I also look at how celebrities represent themselves as cultured and educated, in addition to being physically appealing and successful in their career. The notion of being cultured and educated is expressed through their education or through their writings. Apart from the economic appeal of the phenomenon for the publishers, Manneke Budiman, in Wendyartaka (2005), suggests that these celebrity practices started to develop in 1998 because writing was [and still is] considered to be a prestigious undertaking.

In my examination of the six book-length auto/biographies I identified three categories, namely the ageing (Lenny Marlina and Titiek Puspa), the established (Krisdayanti, Yuni Shara and Tiara Lestari) and the transsexual (Dorce Gamalama). These categories show that these celebrities are using these new forms to negotiate different forms of femininities and different constraints, according to life stage and social context. I argue that the construction of femininities is strongly related to the social and cultural backgrounds of the celebrities, and that these categories allow for the documentation of different constructions of femininities in circulation at the nexus of the global and the local.

The second form of auto/biography I consider is the *Celebrity Profile/Interview as "Short-Form of Auto/biography"* where non-traditional presentations in magazines operate as a form of auto/biography that is actively produced. As Weinberg, quoted in Dugdale (1999), suggests, celebrities' profiles in magazines can be thought of as "a short-form of biography". This form of biography takes only "a slice of time" of the celebrities' life and more importantly, as written by Dugdale (1999: 7), it "is an opportunity for the star/celebrity to curate his or her fame and the current products intended to perpetuate that fame". Celebrity profiles/interviews are usually presented in a certain fixed format which includes the introduction of the celebrity, describing her physicality, her marital or romantic status with the latest partner, her children, her newly obtained property, her latest hobbies and/or her latest works and sometimes activism.

These interviews and profiles are in a way an instrument for celebrities to present their "real" and intimate self. Sometimes this opportunity is also used to "fix" things the celebrities consider wrong or publicly misunderstood. As Marshall (2001: 108) argues:

Various magazines and television programs compete in conducting elaborate investigations for the truth of a character, for the way in which they can reveal the intimate realm of the star. The interview, a strategy in which the celebrity maintains apparent control, is often used by the more mainstream and entertainment-oriented press.

Here I divide the collected material into two sub-categories, namely the *Cover Story* and the *Serial*. The *Cover Story* is a short celebrity profile featuring those who are pictured on the cover. *Cover Story* usually discusses current events and issues in the lives of the celebrities featured. In general, these profiles talk about the achievements of the celebrity or their current projects. Issues of beauty, body and relationships are a key focus. In this thesis, I chose four celebrities whose profiles were in at least three issues of one of the main Indonesian magazines, *Kartini*. I found six celebrities who appeared in at least three magazine issues. I chose two celebrities who appeared in four issues to round out the sample.

The other sub-category that I argue operates as an auto/biographical practice in these magazines is the *Serial*. *Serial* takes the form of sequential celebrity profiles published in *Femina* magazine. Two celebrities were selected based on their proximity to the book-length auto/biographies. I opted for celebrities whose short auto/biographical texts appeared in at least four issues of the magazines. I chose Marini (5 issues, 2001) because she belongs to the category of ageing celebrities. I contend that her auto/biographical text complements the negotiation of ageing femininities also revealed in the book-length auto/biographies. Titi DJ (4 issues, 2003) was selected because of her link with the category of established celebrities in book-length auto/biographies.

I argue that these Indonesian celebrities deploy these interviews or profiles not only to “fix” their images but to create new or different images that secure their on-going celebrity status. A celebrity may have a transition, for example from a party girl who flaunts herself in revealing clothing, which is considered vulgar and uncultured, to a university-educated girl, which is considered to be highly cultured. In the last five years, for example, many Indonesian celebrities have presented themselves as eager to learn and study through their enrolment in various universities, studying subjects ranging from politics to education. In this way, these celebrities are able to attend to the need for celebrity beauty and sexuality while also attending to more local expectations and patterns.

The phenomenon of Sarah Azhari is an interesting case of a celebrity negotiating her strong sexual image. Sarah is an actress, singer and model, known for her voluptuous body, her sex appeal as well as her very often raunchy way of dressing. She stirred public attention and opinion as she was living with another man, a Chilean soccer player, Jaime Rojas, while pregnant supposedly by her then official partner, Pedro Carascalao, who is the son of former East Timor Governor (C-03 & YUG, 2008). Sarah modeled in various advertisements that were highly sexual, such as *Hormoviton* ads (Prabasmoro, 2006). She is also notorious for being high-tempered. She was sued by a group of journalists for being violent (“Aniaya Wartawan, Sarah Azhari Dilaporkan Ke Polda”, 2005; EL, 2006a). Sarah has also been implicated in various scandals that are often referred to as “sex videos” or “nude videos”. The first case involved the planting of a camera in her change room when she was doing a casting for a soap advertisement (Edo & Ant, 2003). Later she was also caught on video in the shower with her similarly notorious sister, Rahma Azhari (Laksono, 2008). Another scandal occurred when she accidentally exposed her breasts during a costume malfunction in one of her shows. All these “nude images” of her were uploaded and were accessible on the internet. Later Sarah decided to undertake a bachelor degree study in International Relations “to widen her horizon, and not for some fancy targets” (EL, 2006b). There was a division in public responses to her decision; some were cynical and some applauded her. These constructions and presentations of celebrity life reveal the ways in which local

expectations and global pressures intersect in particular locations. Forms of appropriate femininities and social norms are created and challenged in these auto/biographical pieces.

Research Significance

The form of a conventional or traditional autobiography relies on the establishment of an integrated and unified self, and the narration of a life story marked with success in the public domain. In these conventional autobiographies, the auto/biographical subjects are assumed to be known and knowable. Generally, the subjects/objects of these traditional auto/biographies have been male, and their reputable success in the public domain establishes the worthiness of their auto/biographies. Yet these texts created from the ground of public achievements have raised questions about how the public and the private are revealed [or not] in conventional or traditional auto/biographies. This particular issue is relevant to the depiction of construction of femininities in women's auto/biographies. As "*bildungsroman*" has been recognized as the generic form of auto/biography (Stanley, 1992), male autobiographies have generally been understood as more stable, since they draw on more clearly defined understandings of male subjectivity and male achievement while women's auto/biographies have been understood to reflect the more complex terrain of fragmented feminine subjectivities and the location of women's lives in the private sphere. Women's autobiographies then have to negotiate not only the different boundaries around the cultural and social context of their auto/biographical writings, but also the conventions of the literary forms available to them. In this study I argue that the particular intersections of global and local femininities negotiated by female Indonesian celebrities produce new forms of autobiographies, namely book-length celebrity auto/biographies and the new forms of short auto/biography that I define as auto/biographical practices in women's magazines. These new forms offer an important opportunity to examine the ways in which the processes of globalization are re-shaping particular local femininities and the ways in which these pressures, in turn, create new literary forms in the specific context of Indonesian celebrity industry and culture.

Two sets of studies on Indonesian auto/biographies are particularly useful in grounding the frameworks of the study of women's studies in Indonesia. The first one is the work by Watson (1991; 1993; 2000), and the second is by Marching (2007). In the specific context of celebrity auto/biography, the works of Dugdale (1999, 2000) have provided significant frameworks for the later studies on celebrity auto/biographies.

Watson's (1991; 1993; 2000) works have laid the grounds for integrating different forms of auto/biographical practices by considering letters as a form of transient auto/biographical practice. He has also established a framework for understanding the negotiation between the cultural location and the auto/biographical self, particularly in the context of Indonesian

national identity. However, the focus on national and cultural identity in his work did not offer detailed examination of the construction of Indonesian/Javanese femininities, particularly regarding women's sexuality which I argue can be found in these new forms I am examining.

Marching's study on Indonesian women's auto/biographies also shows the need to incorporate the intersection of "autobiography" and "biography", an important aspect of the work I undertake here, as it embraces another form of auto/biographical practice, namely [unpublished] diary writing. Examining the construction of femininities and sexuality in the New Order¹, Marching argues that the female auto/biographical subjects depicted are negotiating "between the self and social factors" (Marching, 2007: 231) and despite their overt spirit for liberation, are aware and responsive to the conventional construct of femininities endorsed by the ruling regime of the New Order. While Marching's analysis of femininities, particularly of women's sexuality, is interesting, some elements of femininity were not a key focus, for example, the notions of beauty and motherhood, in which I am keenly interested in this study. Her choice of "political celebrities" shapes the political critical framework she works within, as distinct from a focus that draws on and understands feminist approaches to popular and celebrity culture to be vitally important to understanding contemporary femininities. In addition, her work does not directly address the effects of globalization in the construction of Indonesian femininities in the women's auto/biographies selected. I argue that this is partially due to the New Order regime period that she takes as her context. However, this leaves a gap for further study on Indonesian femininities post the New-Order regime, where celebrity culture, as well as globalization processes, effects and impacts, are objects of study.

In his study on global celebrity auto/biographies, Dugdale (1999, 2000) argues that auto/biographies are important for both the audience, the author, and the celebrities themselves. He argues that celebrity auto/biographies function to create both distance and proximity between celebrities and their fans. While his thesis (Dugdale, 1999) is fairly inclusive, his examination of celebrities' auto/biographies using the critical framework of gender includes only two women, Lucille Ball and Brett Butler. Dugdale does discuss two other women's auto/biographies in terms of the notion of "authorized" and "unauthorized" auto/biographies, and I aim to extend this formulation by focusing directly on gender and the construction of femininities in global and local contexts.

¹ The New Order was established as a result of the failed coup by army officers led by Lt. Colonel Untung. Shortly after the coup was overcome, Soeharto took over the government and replaced the first President Soekarno whose "populist Guided Democracy, characterized by charismatic leadership of the President and intense ideological debates". Soeharto's administration was referred as New Order and during its ruling, Indonesia "enjoyed remarkable economic growth" (Sen & Hill, 2000-4). However, the cost of generating the economic growth was the repressed democracy as stability was regarded as the key to achieving it. This stability was also imposed on private domains, including those of sexuality and gender roles, particularly women's as reflected in *Panca Dharma Wanita*, which will be addressed in the following chapter. The New Order came to an end in 1998, as the worst economic crisis hit Asia and President Soeharto lost popular support (Sen & Hill, 2000).

As outlined, while existing debates around women's auto/biographies and celebrity auto/biographies have contributed to the expanding discussion of women's auto/biographies in general, there are still opportunities to extend notions of, and ideas about, 'autobiography' in the field of celebrity femininity in particular. Whilst Marching's study focuses on political celebrities and takes politics and national/cultural identity in the era of New Order as her critical framework, my study examines the auto/biographies of glamour/show business celebrities and focuses on the construction of femininities post New-Order at the intersection of global culture, local culture and celebrity culture. Dugdale's studies focus on glamour celebrities but frame the studies in the context of the global celebrity culture and do not address the different constructions of celebrity culture in different localities such as Indonesia. It is these gaps in particular that this study intends to fill, as my discussion on women's auto/biographies and other auto/biographical practices take feminist critical frameworks as key, and encompasses the boundaries of both narrative strategies as well as the important binaries created between locality and globality, and the public and private.

This study on Indonesian female celebrity auto/biographical practices takes up two key notions. First, it assesses the construction of Indonesian femininities. Through the new types of auto/biographical practices included in this thesis, the study closely examines the "life" of the selected celebrities, and assesses how these celebrities create and produce their celebrity femininities, both in the supposedly private domain, as well as in the public domain. It examines how these autobiographical productions operate at the intersections of the global and the local. The examination of these femininities will be framed particularly within Judith Butler's notion of gender as performative (Butler, 1990, 1999, 2004). Within this frame, femininities are not considered as essential or authentic, rather they are constructs that are always in process. Given this theoretical approach, femininities are only what are performed by "actors", in this case what is performed in auto/biographies, and to which I refer to as the 'act' of "staging a life", as reflected in the title of this thesis.

Second, this thesis argues for the need to recognize more flexible and more embracing forms and types of auto/biography particularly exemplified by female celebrities' auto/biographies. This thesis examines different ways of "staging a life" contributing to the understanding of auto/biography both as a narrative of a relatively "complete" life, as well as that of a life "in progress" or life as a process. I argue that these fragments are deployed to create a sense of a coherent and complete life while maintaining their groundings in fractured temporal narratives and the ephemera of celebrity culture.

These issues will particularly be explored through the examination and analysis of Indonesian femininities as performed by the celebrities in their auto/biographical practices. This study will explore how elements of femininities such as motherhood, wifehood, sexuality and the body are performed through the global / local nexus. It investigates how notions of

good motherhood, as expressed by the selected Indonesian female celebrities, intersect with the notion of the local wisdom of motherhood and the global idea or representation of motherhood. The study also examines the global / local nexus with a focus on consumption and production as key aspects of the celebrities' lives. This study shall contribute to the understanding of globalization, and its process, effects and impacts, through investigation of a particular global phenomenon of auto/biography in the local context of Indonesian female celebrities.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The literature review is undertaken in the first two chapters. Chapter One probes the notion of auto/biography and outlines different approaches to auto/biographical practices. It analyses the particular notion of authority in auto/biographical writing and different narrative apparatus and techniques employed to create authority. It considers different and emerging forms of auto/biographical practice specifically in women's magazines. Chapter Two examines the interrelations between globalization and the establishment of celebrities and celebrity culture particularly through the media. This then leads to my discussion of how the intersection of globalization and celebrity culture produces a global construct of celebrity femininity at the same time that it fosters the consciousness of the values of local femininities. This is an important factor in the cultural and social impact of these magazines, and in the media more generally.

Chapter Three, Four, and Five are the analysis chapters of this thesis. In Chapter Three I discuss the narrative structure of the selected book-length auto/biographies. Chapter Four analyses thematically how femininities are performed in the selected auto/biographies. Chapter Five analyses the short auto/biographical texts of six celebrities in women's magazines. Four of these celebrities are presented in *Cover Story*, which is a form of short auto/biographical texts particularly focusing on the celebrities' present life at the time the cover shot is taken. The other two celebrities are presented in *Serial*, which are continuing stories that feature in women's magazines. Through the analysis in Chapter Five, I argue that these kinds of texts in women's magazines need to be recognized as an important emerging form of auto/biographical practice.

In Chapter Six I discuss the new forms of Indonesian femininities that are being produced and negotiated in 'global celebrity culture'. I also discuss how these new auto/biographical practices have to be considered as significant in the articulation of women's voices that expands and intersects with existing forms of autobiography. In this way, the "new auto/biographical" practices constitute a specific point of intervention in the genre of auto/biography. This is particularly true in the context of Indonesian popular culture and media as this study demonstrates. I propose that the auto/biographical works of Indonesian

female celebrities negotiate complex global/local Indonesian femininities and offer a challenge to a Western conception of auto/biography, while at the same time still embracing and engaging with the subjective emphasis in traditional auto/biographies on unified selves and great achievements.

This thesis investigates the auto/biographical productions of Indonesian female celebrities and examines the performativity and the portrayal of femininities that are both global and local, revealing complex negotiations of local imperatives of modesty, maternity and normality and global imperatives towards sexuality, celebrity and universality. Through the analysis of the selected auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices I seek to contribute to the understandings of globalization and its gendered processes, effects and impacts through the particular phenomenon of the auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities.

In the next chapter, I examine the genre of auto/biographies, including the proposed new forms of auto/biographies developing in the context of Indonesian popular celebrity culture and media. I discuss, in particular, auto/biographical practices in Indonesian women's magazines.

CHAPTER 1

Contextualizing Indonesian Female Celebrities' Auto/biographies

The writer of auto/biography has, at the 'moment' of writing, an active and coherent 'self' that the text invokes, constructs and drives towards. Nevertheless there is also textual recognition that 'the past' is indeed past and thus essentially unrecoverable – that, in Barthes' (1975) terms, 'the self that writes' no more has direct and unproblematic access to 'the self who was', than does the reader; and anyway 'the autobiographical past' is actually peopled by a succession of selves as the writer grows, develops, and changes (Stanley, 1992: 61).

Having outlined the structure of the thesis in the previous chapter, this chapter contextualizes the subject of this thesis, namely the auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities. In the first section, I discuss the concepts of biography, autobiography and begin to draw out other writing and presentation practices that can be understood to be operating at the intersection of biographies and autobiographies. The discussion of biography is important because of the particular practices of authorship that are adopted in the texts that I examine here. This section justifies the term used in this thesis, namely "auto/biography", since this term suggests the intersection of autobiography and biography in the works being created as well as pointing to the emergence of new forms of autobiographical practice. The second section frames women's auto/biographies and argues that such texts often show resistance to the more linear and singular narrative structure of conventional autobiography. This section takes gender into consideration in the discussion of structure as well as the content of women's auto/biographies. The third section discusses previous studies of women's autobiographies and other life writings in the specific context of Indonesia followed by the section on the methodology and the section on the theoretical frameworks deployed in this thesis. The sixth section contextualizes the thesis in the discussion of Indonesian female celebrity auto/biographies followed by the section that closely reviews celebrity auto/biographies. The final section flags the importance of broadening the definition of autobiography to include the short pieces in women's magazines that I argue operate as forms of auto/biographical practice.

Biographies, Autobiographies and Auto/biographical Practices

This section discusses and defines the term “auto/biography” as a critical intersection of the overlapping practices of autobiography and biography. This thesis is informed by the critical approaches both to biographies and autobiographies and argues that the term “auto/biography” is appropriately applied to the new forms of autobiographical practice being generated in Indonesian mass culture by these female celebrities. Initially Lejeune offered the conventional definition of autobiography as “retrospective prose narrative that someone writes concerning his [sic] own existence” (1989: xvi). In his later works, this definition has been expanded to include the different ways of “referential self-expression...in contemporary culture”, as Eakin (1989: xvii) argues:

“Someone” might well include someone else, a ghostwriter, say, or oral historian, while the “prose narrative” in question might in fact be a transcript or oral discourse, broadcast on the radio or presented in film. The ownership implicit in the phrase “his own life,” moreover, was now frequently a subject of litigation.

In this way, autobiography, which generically means “self-life-writing” (Stanley, 1992: 43), can potentially include biography (“life-writing” written by others). As Lejeune has outlined, the boundary of autobiography and biography is becoming blurred. The same argument is raised by Bakhtin (1981: 132) who asserts that “there could not in principle be any difference between the approach one took to another’s life and to one’s own, that is, between the biographical and the autobiographical point of view.” Following Bakhtin, Marcus (1994: 15) argues that “autobiography” is a “hybrid form” where the “perceived instability and hybridity... are inextricably linked to the problematics of selfhood and identity, with the boundaries between ‘inner’ and ‘outer’, ‘private’ and ‘public’ becoming the sites of the greatest concern.” Thus, her use of the term “auto/biographical” suggests this collapse between autobiography and biography as well as the blurring of various domains that establish auto/biographical subjects. Particularly important in this thesis is the blurring of private and public implied in the use of the term auto/biography. As the term “autobiography” suggests, the clear difference between “self and world, literature and history, fact and fiction, subject and object” (Marcus, 1994: 7) assumes the containment and the distinctiveness of the subject. Likewise, it also implies the knowability of the autobiographical subject. Thus, I argue that the use of autobiography does not sufficiently cover the specificity of the core texts studied in this thesis, which I show in the analysis to be fragmented yet coherent and drawing on complex ideas of public and private.

Likewise, the term “biography” suggests that a coherent and external other produces the life narrative, rather than the biographical subject. As Stanley correctly states, biography is

essentially partial and represents one version of viewpoint, namely the author's and not the subject and that the version is "the only one fully represented in what they write" (Stanley, 1992: 7). In other words, the term "biography" exclusively privileges the author as the only eye that views the biographical subject. In this thesis I propose to use the term "auto/biography" to contain not only the two terms of biography and autobiography but also to incorporate the fragmented yet coherent auto/biographical subjects produced in the auto/biographies discussed. This allows me to capture the intersecting notions of the subjects that write (autobiography) and the subjects that are being written (biography) which is crucial in the context of contemporary celebrity. This is analyzed further in the section on autobiographical pact in this chapter. I also adopt the term "auto/biography" to draw in the nature of celebrity culture as vitally concerned with image-making mechanisms, with the production and consumption of the celebrity subjects.

From the context of feminist critical approaches to autobiography Stanley further emphasizes the need to integrate the discussion of life writings into the term "auto/biography". Stating in her book *The Auto/Biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Stanley, 1992: 3, emphasis mine), she aims :

to contribute to the groundwork of a feminist approach to auto/biography which rejects conventional generic distinctions and separations, instead showing how the same analytic apparatus is required for engaging with all forms of life writing, for the same questions and problematics demand critical inquiry. This is not to deny that there are differences between different forms of life writing, but it is to argue that these differences are not *generic*.

The term "auto/biography" as she further states, "encompass[es] all these ways of writing a life and also the ontological and epistemological links between them, and [it] is particularly suitable ground for a feminist cultural political analysis to be built upon" (Stanley, 1992: 3). The term "auto/biography" is also used by Evans (1999) in her book *Missing Persons: The Impossibility of auto/biography* that argues for the collapse and intermingling of the various forms of life writing, particularly "biography" and "autobiography". I argue that the term "auto/biography" is useful in my analysis, since it offers the opportunity to examine the different forms of life narratives that include profiles, interviews, and diaries. It also allows the examinations of other forms of auto/biographical practice in popular culture, particularly the creation of celebrity auto/biography in women's magazines as this thesis argues.

Having this more inclusive definition in mind, I now draw out the complexity of the narrative structure of "autobiography" and "biography" and explore how these two categories intersect with each other in ways that subvert their discrete categorization. A conventional biography usually uses the heterodiegetic narrator or "the third person point of view" and refers to the protagonist or auto/biographical subject. This biographical subject is modelled after a person

in the real life that referred to as “model” (see for example Lejeune, 1989). Lejeune (1989) explains that a classical autobiography uses an autodiegetic voice. In this classical autobiography, the narrator uses the grammatical “I” whose identity is identical with the principal character/protagonist as well as the implied author. A classical biography can also use the grammatical “I” but the identity of the “I” is the narrator who is identical with the implied author but not with the principal character.

This category is called a “witness narrative”, namely the narrative in which the narrator “speaks” to the readers about the subject of the biography. In narrative terms, this voice is called homodiegetic. In the auto/biographies examined here, I argue that a “biography” can actually perform as an autobiography by substituting “I” for the generally biographical “she or he”, going beyond the “witness narrative” function as explained by Lejeune. In this case the narrator is identical with the protagonist but not with the implied author. Thus, the author takes the position of the narrator and uses the voice “I” and narrates as the “I” whose identity is the principal character. The auto/biographies in this study as I show in the following table 2.1, modify the functions of the narrative voice as explained by Lejeune (1989: 7):

Table 1.1: Narrative Voices

Grammatical Person	I	HE/SHE
<i>Identity</i>		
Implied author = narrator = principal character	Classical autobiography (autodiegetic)	Autobiography in the 3 rd person
Implied author = narrator ≠ principal character	Biography in the 1 st person (witness narrative) (homodiegetic)	Classical biography (heterodiegetic)
Implied author ≠ narrator = principal character	Auto/biography (autodiegetic)	

The biographical “I” (as opposed to the autobiographical “I”) works two ways. The “I” is rendered by the author as the implied narrator who is also the protagonist. So the authorized auto/biography, produced under the authorization of the celebrity/protagonist, may not actually represent an “authentic” subject. Instead, the auto/biography may instead present the auto/biographical subject (the protagonist) as the protagonist/ narrator/author wishes the protagonist to be represented. As Smith and Watson contend, “[t]heoretically speaking, both the storytelling and the self constituted by it are narrative constructions of identity.

Autobiographical telling is performative; it enacts the 'self' that it claims has given rise to the 'I' (2005: 357).

Second, in this framework, the narrative can be regarded as an act of life writing not only of the auto/biographical subject but also of the implied author who performs as the subject/narrator. Again, this interchange shows how the narrative performs as a space for subverting the idea of the unified self as well as for showing this life narrative as a body that is fluid and flexible rather than strictly categorized. Smith writes (1998: 110),

[t]he autobiographical subject finds him/herself on multiple stages simultaneously, called to heterogenous recitations of identity. These multiple calls never align perfectly. Rather they create spaces of gaps, ruptures, unstable boundaries, incursions, limits and their transgressions.

This broader definition of "autobiography" denotes the shift towards what Smith and Watson (1998: 29) call "Western interpretive approaches" to autobiography and to life writing. In particular, and relevant to feminist approaches to and critiques of conventional concepts of biography and autobiography, it has led to the development of the term "women's autobiography" and to expanded conceptions of "women's autobiographical practices" and "women's life writing". Smith and Watson maintain that the "shift away from the word *autobiography* marks a shift away from an uncritical Western understanding of the subject of autobiography" (1998: 29). While the term auto/biography is used in this thesis to contain and include both autobiography and biography, particularly the book-length ones, following Smith and Watson, this thesis also deploys the term "auto/biographical practices" to include any kind of works of, or space taken for, life narrative, including features and profiles in magazines, interviews, as well as advertisements.

The Autobiographical Pact and the Production of the Auto/biographical Subject

Having grounded the concept of auto/biography and the approach to understanding the narrative of auto/biography, in this section I probe more deeply the notion of authority, narrator and the auto/biographical subject. I also deploy and develop Lejeune's concept of the "autobiographical pact" to emphasize the importance of the use of the inclusive term "auto/biographical" to embrace the different authorial forms of life writing of autobiography and biography.

Lejeune (1989) coined the very useful term "autobiographical pact" as a ground for understanding how referentiality works in auto/biographical narratives. Lejeune defines the autobiographical pact as, "the affirmation in the text of this identity, referring back in the final analysis to the *name* of the author on the cover" (1989: 14). The identical identity of the narrator and the author is his initial definition of and reference to the autobiographical pact.

In his argument, this pact, namely the identical identity of the narrator and implied author, is what constitutes autobiography. This definition seems to limit the “pact” to the author/narrator/character as one person who embodies both the subject of enunciation (narrator) as well as the subject of utterance (auto/biographical subject) on one hand, and the readers on the other hand.

However, Lejeune’s later statement expands the possibility for the autobiographical pact to operate in other ways. He writes, “[t]he autobiographical pact comes in very diverse forms; but all of them demonstrate their intention to honor his/her *signature*” (Lejeune, 1989: 14, emphasis in original). Although at this point he still suggests that the author and the narrator and the protagonist should be identical, his assertion of honoring the “signature” opens possibilities for other forms of auto/biographies. I argue that the “signature” does not necessarily render the “undersigned” as the implied author of the auto/biography in the context of these Indonesian celebrity auto/biographies.

In the case of the “I” narrative, which in this study more closely refers to the autodiegetic voice in Gerard Genette’s formulation, Lanser (2005) argues that there is ambivalence regarding the “I” character/ auto/biographical subject. The “I” is generally assumed to be the author to the extent that “although we are *entitled*” to take fiction as nothing but fiction, I-narrative taunts us with the possibility that the “I” of the fiction has some relation to the author’s “I” even when the I-character is not also a writer or does not share the author’s first name” (2005: 207). Conversely, in this study, the “I” may refer to both the auto/biographer and autobiographical “I/subject” and not necessarily the author. Lanser further emphasizes that, “[I]n the end, ambiguous I-narratives require us to read referentially or fictionally, not both at once” (Lanser, 2005: 207). In the case of works that are clearly marked as auto/biographies or life narratives, the readers are led to read them referentially and not fictionally despite evident critical gaps in terms of full accuracy and loyalty to the “real” life modelled.

This understanding of referential attachment explains the identification built by the readers in texts where the “I” is not the “implied author” of the book, which is particularly useful in the context of celebrity auto/biographies discussed in this thesis. In this context, it is apparent that an auto/biography can be written by someone other than the auto/biographical subject. Attachment to the life narrated is formed not necessarily through the identicalness of the name of the author and the narrator and the subject of utterance.

The importance of gender as an analytical construct cannot be understated. Autobiographical narrative is an active mechanism in which gender is constructed and constructing. As many feminist theorists such as Jelinek (1988) and Gagnier (1991) have argued, conventional auto/biographies are written about men and thus take up men’s

position and location in social culture. In this way, conventional auto/biographies construct masculinity through the narrative. As the conventional auto/biographies are typically those of white males, masculinity is depicted as unified and public, which is [re]produced in and through the narrative. In this context, if gender is framed within the discussion of auto/biographies, the possibility for scrutinizing gender roles is not related to assumptions of gender prior to the narrative but focused on gender created through the narrative. As Robinson maintains (1991: 198, emphasis in original), "I am concerned with how gender is produced *through* narrative processes, not prior to them". In other words, Robinson argues that gender is not given within any narrative, but that the narrative produces gender.

Perreault (1998: 190) maintains, "this process of self writing makes the female body of she who says "I" a site and source of written subjectivity, investing that individual body with the shifting ethics of a political, racial, and sexual consciousness." It is at this point that the autobiographical pact needs to be redefined. The proposal for the alignment or the identicalness of author/narrator/character is clearly and iconically subverted in the famous work of Gertrude Stein, *Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, in which the identifications between "a real person, the subject and the object of the enunciation", as Stanton argues (1998: 140), are transcended. In other words, "[t]he living of a life becomes the effect of the life as narrated" (S. Smith, 1998: 111). The possibilities in this approach are important in examining the auto/biographies in this thesis as the auto/biographies of celebrities as the auto/biographical subjects emerge from and are produced by the very different discourses surrounding them. Their femininities are not given prior to their auto/biographies, rather they are established through the narratives of their lives.

I have contended that conventional auto/biographies tend to invest in a masculine narrative structure that is unified and fixed. I argue that this narrative structure produces a masculine auto/biographical subject. In the following section I examine how women's auto/biography resists this masculine narrative as well as the construct of masculinity as normative.

Auto/biography, Fiction and Life Writing

Although this research embraces a wide scope of auto/biographical acts, autobiography and biography first and foremost have to be understood as forms of life narrative. As forms of narrative, auto/biographies need to adopt the techniques and processes of story writing. Writing about biography, Nadel argues that biographies do have similar characteristics to fiction. According to Nadel (1984: 8),

A biography is a verbal artefact of narrative discourse. Its tool, figurative language, organizes its form. A biographer constitutes the life of his subject through the language he uses to describe it and transforms his chronicle to story through the process of emplotment.

Nadel believes that biographers have to appropriate literary apparatuses such as, among others, characterization, “plot”, theme, setting, and tone though some biographers claim “objectivity” and tell only “the life as lived”. In writing about autobiography, Bruner (1993) contends, by performing an autobiographical act, one interprets one’s life. He further argues that “how we construe our lives is subject to our intentions, to the interpretive conventions available to us, and to the meanings imposed upon us by the usages of our culture and language” (Bruner, 1993: 38). Thus, neither biographies nor autobiographies can be truly objective because they have to appropriate narrative techniques, as well as the context and the objectives of the writing.

Nadel (1984), for example, maintains that in biographical writing, facts are not objective and absolute and calls for the necessity of “creative facts”. He argues that “[i]n transforming the unselective moments of a life into a pattern, the biographer establishes both an explanation and a theme for his subject. Fact becomes metonymic, a part relating to another part involving reduction, by virtue of the need to select and interpret” (Nadel, 1984: 9-10). In this way, the success of biographies does not only depend on the appropriation of lives into fiction by using literary apparatuses observable in the text, but more importantly, according to Bruner (1993), it depends on the skills of the narrator/author. Bruner (1993: 44-46) further argues that autobiography too is organised as a narrative since life itself depends on the narrative. He proposes what he calls “the autobiographical process” that involves a narrator, a discourse of witness, a discourse of interpretation, and stance (diatactics).

Both autobiographies and biographies have to capture their audience. Like fiction, autobiographies and biographies need to create an enigma, or what Mary Evans describes as the “need to know” (1999: 2). Evans even argues that through the desire to know other people’s lives, we can actually compare autobiography to gossip, “It is possible to see auto/biography as the literary equivalent of gossip” (1999: 2). Life narratives always leave out facts incidentally or intentionally. These absence show that we “remember selectively” (Stanley, 1992: 62) and that we interpret what we remember and we choose to tell what we remember in a certain way. In fact, as memory is limited, the recollection of memory constitutes a device in creating the fiction of auto/biography (Cosslett et al., 2000; Stanley, 1992), and). Evans, for example, calls auto/biography bluntly “gossip” or even “lies”. Nadel (1984), Stanley (1992), and Bruner (1993) describe it as fiction.

Auto/biographies are fiction because they are narratives that have to make use of a narrative apparatus (Chanfault-Duchet, 2000). They are also fiction because they are not the objective narration of lives, rather they are generated from the memory of how the lives are experienced, which is open to the act of twisting, filtering and selecting, reduction, and augmentation. This suggests that the auto/biographical subject can be understood as

scripted and staged, as I have elaborated, through consideration of authorship, authority and the auto/biographical subject/narrator.

Women's Auto/biographies: Resisting the Canon, the Binary and the Masculine

This section discusses women's auto/biographical practices in comparison to those traditionally understood as masculine. The status of autobiography has been challenged in the West by feminist critics and these challenges provide the ground for what I am discussing in this study, which is the creation of new forms of auto/biographical practice at the intersection of the global and the local in the Indonesian context. I argue in this section that gender plays an important role in the constitution of women's auto/biographies. Using the argument put forward by Ussher (1997) and particularly Judith Butler (1990, 1999, 2004), this section demonstrates how femininities are performed in auto/biographies.

The study of women's auto/biographies is not easily fitted into the genre of auto/biography. According to Temple (1994), theories of autobiographies in the 1960s established autobiography as individual and did not take women's points of view into account. The 1970s theorists concentrated on finding generalized differences between autobiographies of men and women. In the 1980s, theorists such as Benstock (1991), Brodzki and Schenck (1998), however, began to raise the questions of self and examined a wider range of autobiographical works. Talking about the genre of 20th century auto/biography, Evans argues that there are distinctive features of auto/biographies emerging during this period, namely, "the development of self-consciousness, which is a characteristic of early modernism, and the increasingly problematic negotiation of the boundaries between the public and the private" (Evans, 1999: 12). I argue that this development is particularly apparent in women's auto/biographies as women's auto/biographies are shaped by a particular and intense need to negotiate women's roles in the public and private domains, which I will show in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

Jelinek (1988) has argued that there are "essentially" different ways women and men write their lives. Although I would resist the temptation to essentialize the differences, it does seem clear that women's life writings are different from the "conventional", mostly male, auto/biographies. What is relevant to this study is that the traditional male auto/biographies, as many scholars such as Jelinek (1988) and Gagnier (1991) have argued, mostly present not only male subjects and narrators but also a stereotypical normative masculinity, generally marked by the drive for separation, difference, and elaboration of a kind of successful life. Stanley argues that the prototype of auto/biography presents the life and the subject as exemplary, the one that transcends obstacles and hindrances, or transforms

“trouble to triumphs” (Stanley, 1992: 11). In terms of narrative strategy, prototypical autobiographies present lives as “linear, chronological, progressive, cumulative and individualist, and follow highly particular narrative conventions” (Stanley, 1992: 12). As most of these prototypical auto/biographies are those of men’s, arguably the narrative strategy as defined by Stanley is a masculine narrative strategy.

The issue of disrupting the traditional construction of the male auto/biographical subject has been widely discussed: for instance in the works of Smith and Watson (1998; 2005). Jelinek (1988) argue that the subject produced in male auto/biographies is predominantly the Enlightenment subject that is unified and singular, individual and even idiosyncratic. As Brodzki and Schenck maintain, “Augustine, Rousseau, and Whitman, Adams affirm the Western, transcendent, and masculine norm of autobiographical selfhood” (1988: 4). This construct effectively marginalizes women’s conception and construction of selfhood and subjectivity as canonical auto/biographies concern the successful public achievement and narrate the life-story of people whose lives are considered worth telling: these most often refer to male rather than female subjects. Even more complicated, if public achievement is marked as masculine, then the fact that a subject makes it in the public domain denotes the subject as masculine. The canonical auto/biographies represent a masculine or a masculinized subject as signified by the public domain in which the subject marks his/her name. As Brodzki and Schenck further claim, “[t]he very authority of masculine autobiography derives from the assumption held by both author and reader that the life being written/read is an exemplary one” (1988: 3), defined by Stanley (1992) as “*bildungsroman*”.

This tendency to mark distinctiveness is also shown in Sturrock’s analysis of male autobiographers and autobiographies, especially that of Nietzsche and Rosseau. Sturrock (1993) argues that public figures, or persons having claimed their public status, write autobiography for certain purposes, namely to present a “correct” image of themselves [and] to reaffirm their (his) singularity. In other words, autobiographies are used to establish and maintain the image as well as the status of the auto/biographers as distinctive, particular, and exemplary. In this sense, autobiographies provide a space for the valorization of masculine values of public success, singularity and individuality. Watson (1993: 58) contends:

The *bios* component of autobiography signals an expectation that the significant, usually public, events of the life of a “great” person will be recounted. Autobiography becomes a retrospective reflection on how this greatness was achieved, on actions and ideas that characterize a life in some sense exemplary. The life thus represented is by definition one that has entered into history, so that it is “worth” reading about and imitating.

Constructed in such a way, conventional auto/biography exists as a genre that renders women's lives unworthy. As achievement is defined as public, women are not the great personas or heroes. For example, in reading the works of Smith and Benstock's in the 1980s, Orr argues that, in opposition to the universal and unified subject of men, the two theorists propose "women's autobiographical voice as multiple, relational and open-ended rather than as univocal and seamless" (Orr, 2001, 892). While canon/conventional auto/biographies present the subject as unified, individual, separate, in control, fixed and public, feminists have argued for the notion of gendered self as fragmented rather than unified, plural rather than singular, in process rather than complete. As both Ussher (1997) and Butler (1990, 1999, 2004) argue, gender is not a category that can be easily pinned down. Using drag as an instructive example, Butler points out the instability and the incoherence of gender. Following Newton, Butler (2004: 111) maintains that there is a double inversion displayed in drag, which disrupts the gendered notions of "true identity", of inside outside, masculine and feminine and thus public and private; drag is feminine "outside" (the appearance, the performance), yet masculine inside (body). This crossover of the feminine and masculine is important in the way women's auto/biographies problematize the notion of public/private, the authentic self and the performed self, since canonical autobiographies assume a coherent masculine subject.

As women have limited access to public recognition and are often cloistered in private domains, women's lives are seen as "ordinary" or "typical", and thus unworthy of attention. These assumptions have effectively obscured the varied ways women live their "ordinary everyday" life. And as the basic canonical idea of writing a life is that the life is worth telling, a life that is "extraordinary" and influential, women's lives become insignificant not only because they are "not any different" from other lives but also because they are situated in the hardly recognized private domain. In other words, their lives are not worth telling as they are neither exemplary nor considered to have "affected" a wider community as "great men" have. In this framework we can argue that as men claim auto/biography as the celebration of their successful lives, this genre becomes masculine, both in its narrative strategy as well as in its reliance on particular gender constructs. We can, in the same context, argue that because one writes in this way, one's representation becomes masculin[ized] or that this genre of conventional auto/biography produces a masculin[ized] auto/biographical subject.

However, as Stanley (1992) urges, these canonical autobiographies do not stand unchallenged. She notes there are two impetuses that have made ordinary women's auto/biographies flourish. One, according to her is the "flowering of autobiographies of 'ordinary lives', common lives" (Stanley, 1992: 12). The second one is "the growth of autobiographies written by feminists, in particular those which experiment at the boundaries between different writing forms and with ideas about the autobiographical self and other" (Stanley, 1992: 13). According to Peterson (1993), the early tradition of women's memoirs in

the seventeenth century secured the feminine roles of their authors by writing of women's lives as mothers, daughters and wives, while they also disturbed the predominant tradition of masculine auto/biographical writing. She even contends that "the domestic memoirs [were] institutionalized as an appropriately feminine form of autobiography, as a model for female subjectivity and self-representation" (Peterson, 1993: 91).

Women also found themselves a place for expression in the form of diaries and other personal spaces such as letters. Among the most famous are dated back to the 18th Century such as those of Abigail Bailey, (1994; Temple, 1994). Also important in the establishment of life-writing by women was the slave narrative of Harriet Jacobs in the 19th Century, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861) and the autobiography by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eight Years and More* (1898). Virginia Woolf, Maya Angelou and Simone de Beauvoir could all be considered as key contributors to women's life-writing in the 20th Century. The auto/biographical work of Virginia Woolf, *A Sketch of the Past* (1939-1940) and the autobiographical novels by Maya Angelou, such as *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1970) and *The Heart of a Woman* (1981) brought to the public the personal and the private concerns of women. Writing originally in French, Simone de Beauvoir's works presented not only the private side of her life as a woman, but also her more public life as a writer, thinker and an activist. Her autobiographical works include *Mémoires d'une jeune fille (Memoir of a Dutiful Daughter)*, first published in 1958), *La Force de l'âge (The Prime of Life)*, first published in 1960), and *La Force des choses (Force of Circumstance)*, first published in 1963). I would argue that many of Beauvoir's works are auto/biographical as well, for example her novel, *L'Invitée (She came to Stay)*, first published in 1943) and *Les Mandarins (The Mandarins)*, first published 1954), which again shows that the auto/biographical can take many different forms. These various types of "personal" writing provided a space for women to articulate their voices and concerns, even when they were considered to be insignificant.

Women's autobiographical narratives/autobiographies/biographies developed rapidly especially through the support of women's studies and feminism (Cosslett et al., 2000; S. Smith & Watson, 1998; Stanley, 1992). "Ordinary women" writing [about] their "ordinary" lives became a significant form of autobiography. The masculine auto/biographies whose subjects claimed superiority and achievement were challenged by the more "feminine" works that portrayed ordinary female subjects. Yet, in recognizing their ordinariness, these women-authored auto/biographies showed women's struggle to claim subjectivities through the act of writing. Falling into this category of auto/biographies are, for example, Margaret Foster's *Hidden Lives – A Family Memoir* (1996), and Jenny Diski's *Skating to Antarctica* (1997). The subjects of both autobiographies were working women who were struggling in their lives to establish their subjectivity. These two works analyse the relationship of the subjects of auto/biographies with their mothers in their daily lives and with their own goals in life. In

Skating to Antarctica, Jenny Diski (1997) discusses her obsession for whiteness that leads her to take the journey to Antarctica simply to obtain complete whiteness.

Auto/biographical works by women introduced other intricate discourses that constructed women's subjectivity, including that of race and ethnicity as well as sexuality. The book by Cherie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women Of Color* (1983), for example, consists of various auto/biographical writings that not only reclaim space for women to articulate themselves as authors, but also as women of colour and as gay. In Indonesia the autobiographical works of Nh. Dini from the 1970s, such as the most widely known *Pada Sebuah Kapal* (1972), *La Barka* (1975), *Namaku Hiroko* (1975), and her recent work *Dari Parangakik ke Kamboja* (2003), as well as many other works contextualize the female "I" within Asian/Indonesian/Javanese culture and challenge not only patriarchal constructs in the local domain but also challenge the hegemonic oppositions of the West and the East. All of these various types of "personal" writing provided a space for women to articulate their voices and concerns, even when they were considered to be insignificant.

Arguably, through the critical attention by scholars in women's studies, "life-writing" has developed even further: it is now understood to include life history narrative, personal narrative, experimental ethnography, field memoirs, memoirs, testimony, travel account/travelogue, and other types of life narrative, as well as the early genres of epistolary and diaries. Furthermore, this act of writing one's life has been extended not only to the act of "merely" telling one's life but also to academic writing as one's life informs one's way of seeing the world and how one responds intellectually and academically to academic or intellectual questions. Names or labels like "autocritography", "fictocriticism", "fictionalysis", "reflexive turn" or "historical record" are among the terms used to embrace the telling/writing/seeing of one's life or to analyse it. Nancy K. Miller (1991) calls such writing "personal criticism" (Miller, 1991: 1), which is a form of cultural criticism. She further argues that personal criticism requires what she calls "autobiographical performance" (Miller, 1991: 1). She argues that personal criticism is not merely an act of self-writing but more importantly a self-creating narrative that inter-weaves with critical argument. This development has enabled a more extensive field for the production, interpretation and consumption of women's personal writings.

I seek to extend these conceptions further to include new forms of women's auto/biographical practices in Indonesian popular culture and media, specifically displayed in celebrity culture. This study will pay attention to the narratives of celebrity women's lives through the writing and material of popular culture as well as through pictorial/visual forms of auto/biography. The context of the study is Indonesian popular culture post the New-Order

era. In particular it will argue for the more embracing definition of auto/biography proposed by Stanley (2000: 40):

Auto/biographical practices include the oral and visual and are by no means confined to written accounts, although these are included. They are everyday practices which typically occur as 'moments' within a very wide range of other kinds of activities, rather than as one-off set-piece performances.

Stanley's definition offers an extensive and inclusive frame of auto/biography that offers a ground for this thesis. Within this frame, auto/biographical acts can include the different forms and types of life-writing, multiple forms of presentation including magazines and advertisements and negotiations between the public domain and one's private life. Typically, an auto/biography is expected to tell "facts" that are private and unknown to others, except those who have access to a person's private life. In reference to these "public figures", Stanley (1992: 21) proposes:

One indication of this symbiotic relationship between character and appearance lies in how we construct the biographies of various public figures about whom we have no first hand direct information about 'what they are like' at all, about whom we know only competing public mythologies.

When this proposition is applied to celebrity auto/biography where boundaries of public and private are complicated and blurred, these questions about authenticity and subjectivity become more complex. In this context, the project of women's auto/biography can be seen as multi-layered and complex. It not only concerns the issue of subjectivity in terms of the way that it can potentially disrupt the male/masculine subjectivity constructed and represented in the canonical auto/biographies, but more importantly it concerns the previously unavailable and unrecognized space of life-writing for women. In this view, it is clear that auto/biography presents itself as a potential domain in which women and feminists alike can both interfere in the revision of the notion of gendered subjectivity. Feminist scholars, particularly those working on life-writing, have argued for a more inclusive recognition of modes, styles and genres of life-writing, particularly those produced by women. This move makes life narratives, or in this study, auto/biographies, a gendering and gendered project.

In this section I have discussed the claim in women's auto/biography of seeking a space for articulating women's voices. I have also discussed how women's auto/biographies produce and disseminate different forms of auto/biographical subjects. Unlike the auto/biographical subjects of conventional/men's auto/biographies, which are unified and integrated, auto/biographical subjects in women's auto/biographies are fragmented and plural. I have also reviewed various arguments on how women's auto/biographies challenge the boundary

and distinction of public and private. Culturally women's lives are more relegated to the private domain, rather than the public domain, but women's auto/biographies transgress and challenge such boundaries by incorporating what is private in their public portrayal. The crossing of this boundary is particularly important in my examination of auto/biographical subjects in the context of Indonesian female celebrities. In the following section, I examine existing writing on Indonesian women's auto/biographies.

Previous Studies on Indonesian Women's Auto/biographical Practices

In her book, *The Discrepancy Between the Public and the Private Selves of Indonesian Women: A Comparison of Published and Unpublished Autobiographies and Diaries*, Marching (2007) reviews different works produced about Indonesian autobiographies, biographies, and diaries. Most of the works focus on male auto/biographers, such as Soetomo in Anderson (1979), Hamka in Watson (1991), Pangeran Achmad Djajadiningrat in Watson (1993), and two "common" Indonesian men in Rodgers (1995). In addition to that, as Marching argues, "[m]ost discussions of Indonesian (auto)biographies and diaries have investigated the texts in relation to the politics or history of Indonesia" (2007: 6, emphasis in original).

In his book *Of Self and Nation: Autobiography and the Representation of Modern Indonesia*, Watson (2000) discusses different auto/biographical works mostly depicting male auto/biographical subjects. There are two women nevertheless that make the list of Watson's discussion. One is Kartini, the person who is regarded to be a Indonesian pioneer in women emancipation², the other one is Nh. Dini, a prominent female writer whose novels are arguably autobiographical. Watson (2000) discusses Kartini's letters to Mevrouw Abendanon edited by J.H. Abendanon, who titled the book *Door Duisternis to Licht* (From Darkness to Light). Watson argues that her letters can be considered as an autobiography in that the letters constitute the construction of the self-in-process as "the writer is always in the process of creating the autobiographical self" (C.W. Watson, 2000: 27). Watson discusses Kartini in the context of her location as a Javanese woman in the old tradition of Javanese culture and her struggle to claim some independence. Kartini wrote her letters in fluent Dutch, which complicates her position as a Javanese woman at that time. In the later part of

² Her birthday on 21 April is celebrated as "Hari Kartini" which is supposed to celebrate women's emancipation. Debates about the celebration of her birthday as Indonesian women's emancipation day is still on-going there is still arguably no ground argument to why Kartini was chosen to be the symbol of women's emancipation in Indonesia. The fact is, even before Kartini started writing her letters, other women such as Dewi Sartika (a Sundanese woman) and Miranda Maramis (a Manado woman) had started their own schools for girls. Likewise, other women such as Martina Martha Tiahahu (an Ambonese woman) and Tjoet Nyak Dien (an Acehese woman) had already fought in the war against the Dutch along with their male counterpart long before her. See for example the argument by Pramodawardani (2004).

his book, Watson compares the construction of Javanese femininities in Kartini to that in Nh Dini's *Autobiography of a Javanese Childhood*. Watson argues that even though there is not a significant age difference between Kartini and Nh Dini, "they inhabit very different cultural universes" (C.W. Watson, 2000: 233). In other words, Watson argues that there are complex and necessary dimensions in portraying Javanese culture, just like the complex dimensions of depicting what it means to be Indonesian. I argue that even though Kartini has been used as a pantheon for Indonesian emancipation, in her auto/biographical works, Nh. Dini takes a stronger feminist stance against traditional gender constructions. My own Masters' thesis and other works on Nh. Dini's auto/biographical novels, *Namaku Hiroko*, *Pada Sebuah Kapal*, *La Barka*, show that the auto/biographical subjects/protagonists of Nh. Dini's works are aware of their positions and cultural background as Asian/Javanese yet they challenge and even transgress traditional femininities by asserting their sexualities and subjectivities (Prabasmoro, 2003a, 2003c, 2005).

Having reviewed the studies of Indonesian women's auto/biographies, I find that Indonesian women's auto/biographies have been largely unexplored. In this context, Marching's (2007) book fills the gap of the lack of discussion on auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices on and by Indonesian women. She discusses the auto/biographies of Sujatin Kartowijono, Herlina, Inggit Garnasih, and Lasmidjah Hardi and auto/biographies by Indonesian women, Rachmawati Soekarno Putri (on his mother, Fatmawati, and her father, Soekarno), Sulistina Soetomo (on her husband, Soetomo) and Ratna Djuami Asmarahadi (on her adopted parents, Inggit Garnasih and Soekarno). Marching takes for her critical framework the political and national identity during the era of the New Order (1966-1998). This is particularly reflected in her choice of auto/biographies studied. These auto/biographies are written by political activists, such as Herlina and Sujatin Kartowijono or written by women who are related to auto/biographical subjects who are politicians, such as Sulistina Soetomo, Inggit Garnasih, Fatmawati Soekarnoputri, and Ratna Djuami Asmarahadi. Marching argues that all auto/biographical subjects are depicted as influenced by the specificities of their social cultural context, temporally and spatially. As Marching frames her study of women's auto/biographies in the period of the New Order regime, her reading of the auto/biographies is largely within the context of femininities and identity in the New Order period. She argues that New Order ideology deeply affected how the auto/biographical subjects construct themselves whilst at the same time creating the conditions for some of these women's transgression of the regime's ideological oppression. In other words, she maintains that the women's auto/biographical works in her study show their adherence to the conventional constructs of "the ideal Indonesian woman" which implies readiness to sacrifice, loyalty and fully dedication to the country (and their male partners), but at the same time the study also shows evidence of their sexual repression in the texts scrutinized. My work draws on these existing studies but applies newly emerging

ideas about auto/biographies to the milieu of popular culture materials and female Indonesian celebrities who are negotiating between global and local cultural frameworks.

Methodology

Much scholarship has been dedicated to the writing/reading of women's auto/biography (Brodzki & Schenck, 1988; Cosslett et al., 2000; Folkenflik, 1993; Freedman, Frey, & Zauhar, 1993; Gilmore, 1994; Jelinek, 1988; Lejeunne, 1989; S. Smith & Watson, 1998; Stanley, 1992). Nevertheless, few works deal primarily with celebrities' auto/biography. Dugdale's work (1999) has been particularly interesting in this area. He analyses different types of auto/biography, including diaries, "unauthorized autobiographies", autobiographical works, as well as fans' activities and views.

Following the frameworks of, among others, Marshall (2001), Littler (2004), Gamson (1994), Turner (2004) and Dugdale's (1999) analysis of celebrity and celebrity culture, I study celebrity auto/biography using an interdisciplinary approach grounded in feminist theories, cultural studies and literary criticism. Thus, I read and interpret the auto/biographies both as signs and also as social, cultural, and economic occurrences. I argue that in thinking of the phenomenon of celebrities, various frameworks must be taken into account because the phenomenon itself not only situates the representations but also engages complex issues of consumption, audience and reception.

Marshall writes, "[s]tudying the celebrity offers the reader of culture a privileged view of the representative forms of modern subjectivity that pass through the celebrity as discourses" (Marshall, 2001: xi). Following Marshall, I am arguing that female celebrities in Indonesia offer a critical opportunity to examine the gendered politics of subjectivity in a society where gender still acts as a critical barrier to advancement or voice. The specific location in contemporary Indonesian media culture allows for a critical evaluation of new forms of globalization through consumption. The time period chosen (2000-2007) offers a unique opportunity to examine the expansion of the free media in Indonesia and how that is linked to the rise of celebrity culture across the world.

The key questions I ask in this thesis are: how do Indonesian female celebrities use new auto/biographical practices to structure their localized global femininities? How the auto/biographical practices construct femininities within the local culture and/or the pop culture? And finally, how the auto/biographical practices create/support the notion of celebrity status?

It is not the purpose of this thesis to find out about or explore the real lives of Indonesian celebrities, rather it seeks to find out how certain lives are staged and celebrated in the media available to them. Thus, it will examine the intertwined relationships between the media, the public, and celebrities as producers, consumers and commodities.

For this research, I collected two types of auto/biographical texts. The first type is book-length auto/biographies. The second type is the short-form auto/biographical practices in women's magazines. There are six book-length auto/biographies discussed in this thesis; *Si Lenny dari Ciateul: Otobiografi of Lenny Marlina* (Said, Said, Said, Alhasany, & Titien Sukmono, 2004), *Titiek Puspa: A Legendary Diva* (Endah, 2008b), *Seribu Satu KD* (Endah, 2004), *Yuni Shara: 35 Cangkir Kopi* (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007), *Tiara Lestari: Uncut Stories – Playboy*, Ibunda & Kafilah (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007), and *Aku Perempuan: Jalan Berliku Seorang Dorce Gamalama* (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005). While finding recently published auto/biographies, such as those of Yuni Shara, Tiara Lestari, Dorce Gamalama and Titiek Puspa, was quite easy, acquiring the older auto/biographies proved to be more difficult because these auto/biographies were out of print. To get the auto/biography of Krisdayanti, I wrote to a friend who happened to be a senior and prominent journalist in the media group that published the book. She helped get the book through her professional networks and sent me the book two months after I initially contacted her. Obtaining the auto/biography of Lenny Marlina was more challenging. I wrote to several friends and tried to find it online without success over a period of many months. I finally decided to write a letter to Lenny Marlina asking if she could help me find her auto/biography. A few days after I posted my letter, she actually called me. I was totally unprepared to have her on the phone, but she was very nice and even chatty. She promised to send me the auto/biography the following day, which she did quite promptly. I have not made any contact with her since then to ensure that I have not breached any ethical concerns.

Obtaining the women's magazines selected for the period of 2000-2006 was also very challenging. I was helped by two relatives to obtain the complete issues of the old magazines from different book markets in Bandung. There were two women's magazines that I chose to analyze, *Femina* and *Kartini*. Every time the magazines were obtained from the different markets, I started arranging them based on their dates of publication, and documented the issues that were still missing. With the assistance of my aunt and my sister-in-law, I managed to collect almost complete issues of the two magazines during the period of 2000-2006. Having obtained the six book-length auto/biographies and completed the issues of the magazines, I began categorizing, interpreting and drawing comparisons and relations among the selected texts.

While it is my ambition to embrace as many aspects of celebrity auto/biography as possible, there is a limitation to what this study can include. The selection of the six book-length

auto/biographies that make up the core texts analyzed in this thesis was relatively straightforward. However, the different profiles and auto/biographical practices in women's magazines needed to be carefully selected to represent not only the different times and spaces covered by the thesis, but also to establish proximity with comparable concerns evident in the book-length auto/biographies. Rationales for the selections made will be discussed in the following section where I discuss the object of my research.

In this thesis I discuss the selected texts narratively and thematically, by specifically focussing on the narrative structure, the point of view/narrator, the characterization or the portrayal of the auto/biographical subjects and the visual images used. Then, using an interdisciplinary approach that draws upon feminist theories, cultural studies and literary criticism, I describe, analyze and compare the various constructions of femininities in the Indonesian female celebrity autobiographies selected. Using the findings of the research, and closely observing the thesis questions, I develop my arguments regarding the contributions, significances and positions of celebrities' autobiographies in the construction of celebrity femininities.

Theoretical Frameworks

As I have discussed, two studies on Indonesian auto/biographies are particularly useful in grounding the frameworks of the study in women's studies in Indonesia. The first is the work by Watson (1991; 1993; 2000), the other, the work of Marching (2007). However, in the specific context of celebrity auto/biography, the works of Dugdale (1999, 2000) must also be taken into account.

Watson's works have laid the grounds for understanding the negotiation between the cultural location and the auto/biographical self, particularly in the context of Indonesian national identity. His inclusion of the collection of letters of Kartini and the autobiographical book by Nh. Dini serves to provide three important frameworks. Firstly, the inclusion of these texts, although quite insignificant in the context of Watson's work, offers useful comparisons between depictions of male and female auto/biographical subjects. Secondly, the auto/biographical genres deployed by Kartini (letters) and Nh. Dini (memoirs, novels) establishes more ephemeral forms of auto/biographies to be appropriately worthy of serious auto/biographical study. Thirdly, his work illustrates how all auto/biographical works reflect the historical social and cultural background of their production. As argued by Rodgers (2001: 622):

Watson has already established some key thematic points about Indonesian autobiographies in commercial print form: that the genre is largely a twentieth century one; that male writers frequently relate the "eras" of their personal

lives with corresponding periods of national history as it “moved toward” national independence; that Indonesian memoir authors must contend with cultural constraints about being “overly egotistical” in engaging in something so focused on themselves as personal history writing; and that third person narration of autobiographies is common. That is, authors often write not of an “I” doing this or that, but employ such distancing devices as pseudonyms for their younger selves.

In other words, according to Rodgers (2001), Watson argues that “ahistorical personal memoirs” using the first person narrator “I”, such as the work of Nh. Dini, might be considered as self-centred according to the cultural context of Indonesia. Nevertheless his inclusion of this work in his book shows that such narrative is not insignificant or extraneous to the construction of “Indonesian identity” in a broader sense. Rodgers (1995) also summarises Watson’s argument about the intersection of “autobiography” and “biography” through the use of the third person narrator as an acceptable part of an author’s negotiation of the delivery of their personal narrative.

Expanding Watson’s argument for genre boundary crossing between the different forms of auto/biographical practices, Marching’s work on Indonesian women’s auto/biographies also shows the need to incorporate “autobiography” and “biography”. Her study embraces another form of auto/biographical practice, namely, diary writing. In addition to the nine published auto/biographies considered in this text, Marching discusses nine unpublished diaries by Indonesian women who are non public figures. She argues that the notion of gaze is important in comparing the published auto/biographies and the unpublished diaries because although published works are established to be consumed by the public, and diaries are produced and consumed in the private domain, both are situated within the same social, cultural and political context. In the context of the construction of femininities and sexuality in the New-Order, these female auto/biographical subjects are depicted as negotiating “between the self and social factors” in their narrations (Marching, 2007: 231).

Using critical approaches focused on political economy and identity, Marching shows that the negotiations between the self and social factors manifest in the content of auto/biographies. In discussing the political situation, which is located in the public domain, Marching argues that the auto/biographers are aware of “the powerful ‘eye’ of the New Order regime” (Marching, 2007: 232). In addition to that, by deploying gender theory, Marching analyses how the auto/biographies in her study also show the control and regulation of women’s sexuality, despite the fact that two of the auto/biographers are portrayed as having committed sexual transgressions. This control and regulation is also evident in the diaries discussed in her study as any sexual transgression is invariably imbued with a sense of contempt and guilt, edited or is not included in the narrative. Marching (2007) argues that both the published auto/biographies and unpublished diaries suggest the repression of

women's sexuality and the transgression of the notion of "the ideal Indonesian woman". In short, her study shows that the notion of what it means to be an Indonesian woman is always located in the negotiation between the private and the public. I use this tension, between the private and public, to further investigate the construction of Indonesian femininities.

While Marching's study is useful to understand the construct of femininities in Indonesian auto/biographies, the defined context of her study, namely the period of the New-Order Regime, and her focus on auto/biographies of female political figures, does not enlighten possible understandings of the complexity of contemporary constructions of Indonesian femininities. It is this gap that this study intends to fill by focusing on the auto/biographical works of Indonesian female (glamour) celebrities and popular culture in the post New-Order period.

With respect to work on auto/biographies of celebrities, the works of Dugdale (1999, 2000) offer a wide-ranging analysis of celebrity auto/biographies which establishes global culture as Anglo American centric. Dugdale's examination does not particularly take into account the context of globalization, which has enabled the stars/celebrities in his study to become global phenomena. The context of Indonesia marks a key difference between my research and that of Dugdale's, especially in terms of global popular culture. Dugdale's research is mainly focused on mainstream popular culture. His objects of research are auto/biographical texts of internationally famous characters such as: Dean Martin, Andy Warhol, Elvis Presley, John Lennon and Frank Sinatra. Comparably, my auto/biographical texts are focused on local Indonesian celebrities who are negotiating their own position at the global-local nexus in their exposure to global culture, as well as in their experience of traversing national, cultural as well as racial boundaries. Three (Marini, Krisdayanti, and Tiara Lestari) out of twelve celebrities discussed in this thesis have made serious attempts to establish their careers outside Indonesia. For example, until her decision to return to Indonesia after the controversy of her naked pose in *Playboy* (Spain edition), Tiara Lestari made Singapore her base and was widely known through foreign [male] magazines like *Playboy* and *FHM*. In terms of race and cultural heritage as expressed in the autobiographical texts, four of the celebrities selected are mixed-raced (three of European descent: Marini, Mariana Renata, Feby Fabiola, one of Chinese descent: Titi DJ). The different experiences and embodiments of the global-local nexus, as narrated in these auto/biographical texts, reveal the local and the global as in continuous dialogue, affecting the ways in which the global is always localized and the local is also affected by the global. As Stuart Hall (1998b: 67) contends:

I think that what we call 'the global' is always composed of varieties of articulated particularities. I think the global is the self-presentation of the

dominant particular. It is a way in which the dominant particular localizes and naturalizes itself and associates with it a variety of other minorities.

This study examines, in particular, the construction of local femininities as performed by the Indonesian female celebrities in their auto/biographies as a negotiation of the local in its interaction with the global. In other words, rather than perceiving globalization as a totally homogenizing global process, I am arguing that globalization offers a possibility for resistance to, and negotiation with, the global construct, as well as for globalizing the local. The previous studies on auto/biographies of Indonesian women by Watson (1991; 1993; 2000), Marching (2007) and Dugdale (1999, 2000), have grounded the frameworks for this study and revealed the gaps that this study intends to fill.

Particular Context for Indonesian Celebrity Auto/biographies

I have shown that some work has been completed on Indonesian auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices, but that work on Indonesian women's auto/biographies is still rare. Marching's (2007) work has arguably contributed significantly to the growing body of study on Indonesian women's auto/biographies, particularly those of and on political activist/political figures in the context of political and national identity in the era of the New Order. However, as discussed in the previous review of relevant literature relating to women's auto/biographies, there has been conducted on the auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices of Indonesian glamour celebrities. Similarly, the previous analysis demonstrated how the auto/biographical practices of Indonesian female celebrities in women's magazines have been, to date, largely unexplored.

The particular context of the study on Indonesian celebrity auto/biographies is the ephemeral nature of celebrity culture and the intersection of the local and global culture in its construction. I argue that this also contextualizes the construction of femininities, as depicted in the auto/biographies of the female celebrities, as celebrity culture is located on the boundary of the local and the global, which I discuss in more detail in the next chapter. I propose that the temporary nature of celebrity culture is reflected in transient auto/biographical forms. The fragmented structure of celebrity auto/biographies, as well as other celebrity auto/biographical practices, is similar to the critical framework put forward by Watson, who locates letters as autobiography and compares them to book-length auto/biographies. He writes (C.W. Watson, 2000: 35):

The completion of a formal autobiography has a finality about it even when we know it may be followed by other volumes of autobiographies.

Autobiographical letters have a much more tentative, undetermined, and open character. They are essentially ephemeral, transient, and temporary

constructions, always open to further modification and rewriting and subject to later qualifications as a consequence of not only self-reflection but also interventions by the interlocutors.

Watson's approach is comparable to the critical argument put forward by Marching (2007) that considers diaries as a form of autobiography. Marching states that diaries are on-going projects that are subject to change as a consequence of reflective self-scrutiny and examination. Moreover, Marching (2007) argues that diaries are often written as a form of letter addressed to an imaginary someone or to the future self of the diarist.

Placing the arguments of Watson (2000) and Marching (2007) in the context of Indonesian female celebrity auto/biographical practices, I argue that both Watson and Marching have established a framework that can be deployed to read further the fragmented yet cohering nature of celebrity auto/biographies as book-length auto/biographies and as celebrity profiles in women's magazines, which I discuss in more detail in the following sections.

Celebrity auto/biography

In this section, drawing from celebrity culture, I examine celebrity auto/biography and celebrity auto/biographical practices in women's magazines as extensions and iterations of new forms of auto/biography where time, space and authority are contested. This extension is already proposed by Evans (1999) who argues that among the key factors that need to be considered in 20th Century auto/biographies are "the emergence of the mass media and individually famous figures within popular culture" and "changes in the definition of gender and racial boundaries" (Evans, 1999: 12). Evans' argument is apposite in contextualizing this thesis, as the key factors she articulates are all features of the auto/biographical practices of Indonesian female celebrities, encompassing notions of media (among others, magazines), celebrities (famous figures), gender and race (ethnicity).

Contemporary media and popular culture create public desire for news and gossip about celebrities. At the same time, the need for celebrities to maintain and even renew their celebrity status renders *new* news about them critical. The creation of celebrity news or entertainment news can be considered as a form of auto/biographical practice. It does not necessarily require new materials as some "old stock" of news can also be made "new[s]" when the timing is perfect. Krisdayanti's old obsession for Barbie dolls, for example, became new, and selling news, when Mattel Indonesia celebrated Barbie's birthday. She was then closely connected to the Barbie dolls and even appeared in a Barbie advertisement ("Krisdayanti," 2006). More than that, Krisdayanti's appearance is often referred to as Barbie-like, and her obsession for Barbie became a topic of interest in different newspapers such as *Seputar Indonesia*, *Republika* and *Kompas*, ("Fashion Icon ala Barbie ", 2006;

Pambudy & Sartono, 2003; "Para Handycraft 'Arsitek' Rumah Boneka Barbie," 2001). Here, I argue, Krisdayanti mobilizes Barbie to create interviews, and that this kind of act can also be considered as a form of auto/biographical practice. Her choice to leak the news at a certain time provides a perfect example of the deployment of an auto/biographical performance. As Gamson (1994: 54) argues:

These texts offer telling new resolutions to the underlying cultural tensions. The anxiety about public selves, for example, is no longer met only with continual promise of personal revelation. The private self is no longer the ultimate truth. Instead, what is most true, most real, most trustworthy, is precisely the relentlessly performing self. New sorts of relations are offered; the details of how and when and by whom the public self is constructed.

According to Gamson (1994) the notion of a truthful private self disappears and authenticity is assigned to the public self. It is through the act of presenting one piece of information that the story presented becomes, to some extent, authentic as far as the act of performance allows. With respect to this argument, Dugdale (2000) questions:

If authentic private selves are no longer the ultimate truth, does this mean the private selves of the famous are, by their dubious nature, inaccessible? Does this ideology of inauthenticity make star/celebrity (auto)biography a worthless enterprise?

In this frame, auto/biography does not always demand identicalness between the author and the auto/biographical subject for it to be "authentic", because authenticity itself refers not to the inert self of the celebrity but to the continuous production of auto/biographical subject as presented in the auto/biography. Even in its ephemeral state, these contemporary texts, also highlighted by Gamson (1994), are telling our own story as part of the culture in which the performative culture of celebrity becomes not only unavoidable but also desirable. Authenticity and inauthenticity become intermingled in the production of life and self. Auto/biography, as a more stable and complete way of self-representation compared to the pieces of "news" and gossip, becomes a site of struggle for the establishment of celebrity status. An auto/biography can be published to celebrate the achievement of a long period of the celebrity's career, it can also be published to sustain a fan base. Auto/biography also serves to accommodate the negotiation between the celebrity's public persona and the private person, as delineated by Dyer (1987). By displaying the public persona and the private person, sometimes at the same time, these separate yet the same figures prove to be incoherent yet cohering.

The notion of incoherency and coherence can also be considered in the context of the production of auto/biography. As many of the celebrities do not write their own auto/biography, even though the auto/biography is written in the first person narrator, the

notion of “signature” that I discussed in the first section of this chapter must be taken into account. The fact that the author and the narrator/auto/biographical subject are not identical means some work of “authorization” thus becomes important. This act of authorization can be performed in various ways, but in the case of celebrity auto/biography, the most common one is the endorsement by the celebrities themselves through book launching and through their claiming of the auto/biographies as their own project. By endorsing these texts, celebrities create a sense of coherence in the subjects produced in the auto/biographies. At the same time, the act of endorsement shows the fragmentations of the celebrity as one who is depicted in the auto/biographical work, and the one that is ‘real’ by commenting on the auto/biographical subject. This leads to the fragmentation of the authorial subject of the auto/biographies. For example, despite the fact that it was Ninok Leksono (2003) who wrote her biography, *Titiek Puspa*, it was Titiek Puspa who claimed authorship of the text by the way in which she presented the project to the public. As reported by Kartini magazine in 2002 (RS, 2002),

...the woman who was born in South Kalimantan 1 November 1937 explained that the book had actually been completed since 1999 but due to different obstacles, the launching of the book that had been anticipated by her fans was postponed for three years.

The act of explaining the progress of the auto/biographical writing functions not only as her authorization of the book, but also as her signature. The title of the news article, “Titiek Puspa launched [her] Biography” (RS, 2002) also denotes the book as more of her project than Ninok Leksono’s. In this autobiographical act, the auto/biographical subject asserts her signature and her authority over the text in a way that usurps the “authority” the real author of the book holds over what s/he produces. In other words, by claiming the authorship of the book, Titiek Puspa obscures the role of the implied author, namely Ninok Leksono, and emerges the owner of the narrative, whilst her desire to claim this enunciation as herself acts as the authentication.

Titiek Puspa gives her signature and thus authorization to the content of the book. She acknowledges what is narrated in the book as representing the “truth” of her life. Despite the fact that her biography is not hers as author, her signature functions as an auto/biographical pact. It promises that there is identicalness between Titiek Puspa, the auto/biographical subject in the biography, and Titiek Puspa, the real person. This signature confirms the auto/biographical pact and it locates the book as “auto/biography” rather than “fiction” in Lejeune’s terms.

Following Boorstin (1972: 11-12), I would contend that celebrity auto/biography is a pseudo-event, which “is not spontaneous...planted primarily (not always exclusively) for the immediate purpose of being reported or reproduced... is ambiguous, usually... is intended to

be a self-fulfilling prophecy.” After all, celebrity status depends on the desirability of the celebrity. As argued by a number of different theorists, including bell hooks (1991), the boundary of fiction and fact in autobiographical works is blurred, suggesting that autobiographies are not always or necessarily factual. Similarly, celebrity portfolios contain the best looks of the subjects pictured in them. In this respect, celebrity photographs represent assets for deployment and the exchange of a celebrity’s marketing/economic power. Just as written auto/biographical texts demand interpretation, so too do photos and images, and thus should be considered as texts too. As Annette Kuhn (1995: 11-12) asserts, photos

...are evidence, after all. Not that they are to be taken only at face value, nor that they mirror the real, nor even that a photograph offers any self-evident relationship between itself and what it shows. Simply that a photograph can be material for interpretation – evidence in that sense: to be solved, like a riddle; read and decoded, like clues left behind at the scene of a crime.

Discussing celebrity culture, Rojek (2001) argues that there is a shift from the traditional text of auto/biography to the auto/biography or information about celebrities that heavily relies on photographs in how the media “talks about” celebrities. Rojek (2001: 128) suggests:

Photography... furnished celebrity culture with powerful new ways of staging and extending celebrity. It introduced a new and expanding medium of representation that swiftly displaced printed text as the primary means of communicating celebrity. Photographs made fame instant and ubiquitous in ways that the printed world could not match.

Having discussed the notion of authority and the visual in auto/biography, I argue that celebrity auto/biography presents a locus for critical examination of the notion of authority in auto/biographical texts. As I have shown, in the narrative context of celebrity auto/biography, the “I” is not a fixed position from which a story of self can be told because the “I” is precisely a position that can be assumed by taking the role of the “I”. In other words, the auto/biographical “I” will remain a copy of a model of a certain real person. The referentiality is ever present, but it is never an absolute reference.

Auto/biographical Practices and Women’s Magazines

In this thesis women’s magazines are understood to operate as new forms of female celebrity auto/biographies. Women’s magazines are important in two ways. First, I argue that women’s magazines, including fashion magazines, provide a structure for celebrity auto/biographies. Second, following Weinberg (1992) in Dugdale (1999: 7), I argue that “celebrity profiles” in magazines should also be considered as a form of auto/biography.

Popular women's culture, particularly magazines and romance narratives that have traditionally been marked as addressing female audiences, has contributed to the form and shape of celebrity auto/biographies. At the same time, locating auto/biography as part of popular magazines can be considered as a resistance to the normative, and often rigid, form of traditional auto/biography.

In general, both women's magazines and fashion magazines are structured around vignettes, stories, features, commentaries, celebrity profiles, and, most importantly, advertisements. In these cultural texts, photographic images play a significant role, especially in fashion magazines. In fact, for any publication of Vogue magazines, "photographic shoots are meticulously planned and organized at Vogue from concept to sequence and page count. The preparation for a major story can be comparable to a small sale film production" (Angeletti & Olivia, 2006: 285). The amount of time and work as well as cost involved in photographic shoots shows the significance of photographic images in fashion magazines. According to Angeletti & Olivia (2006: 356), the fashion magazine, as exemplified by Vogue, is structured into "three major editorial-visual areas", namely:

- 1) The front of the book (FOB), which is intermingled with advertisements. FOB covers "fashion news articles, cultural section and commentaries on food, health, beauty and fitness".
- 2) The "well" of the Centre of the Book (COB), "where most long features are located, uninterrupted by ads" and it covers different features with various "designers, artists, celebrities, and personalities of the moment". It also portrays "photo-driven stories about houses and gardens"
- 3) The "back of the book" (BOB), where advertisements are also designated. In this part, Vogue displays "Index" which is "a practical shopping section". BOB also presents the readers with "the behind-the-scene details of how clothes are chosen, how the fashion and cover shoots are put together, how a celebrity is selected for the cover, and how pages are laid out"

In the tri-partite explanation above, advertisements occupy an important space in the structural content of the magazine. In fact, the survival of both women's and fashion magazines relies on advertisements. McCracken (E. McCracken, 1993: 4) even argues that advertisements in women's/fashion magazines also play a highly important role "in the shaping of their cultural content" and contributed 95% of the space in women's magazines. According to McCracken (1993) there are three ways in which advertisements are integrated into women's or fashion magazines: through the "front cover", the "covert advertisements" and the "purchased advertisements". She explains further, that (1993: 4)

[t]ogether the three forms constitute a complex structural whole whose primary message – that women should buy certain products – is encoded with numerous sub-texts or secondary meaning systems that frequently induce securities while simultaneously creating pleasure.

This structure, explained by McCracken (1993), allows us to see that as all elements of women's magazines are directed by advertising and consumer behaviour, covert advertisements in the different forms of articles, features and profiles can also act as forms of auto/biography. As Marshall (2001: 3) argues,

The celebrity biography appears in many forms and guises. We receive a weekly diet in various popular magazines. The tabloid press provides a scandalous turn on the meaning of the celebrity and presents us with the possibility that the supposed unique talents of celebrities are vulnerable and subject to dramatic fall as well as equally impressive moments of contrition and resurrection.

In short, I argue that women's magazines provide not only a structure for women's book-length auto/biographies in that lives are narrated as a serial of moments, but that women's magazines also offer different and new forms of auto/biographical practices. The narrative structure and images included in the auto/biography carry significant meaning and weight in the production of auto/biographical subjects both in the book-length auto/biography as well as in the different forms of auto/biographical practices in magazines.

In this chapter I have discussed the notion of authority in the context of the autobiographical pact. I have also defined and dismantled the concept of auto/biography, and auto/biography as fiction and performance. Following that, I have argued that women's auto/biography is disruptive to not only the masculine narrative structure but also to the masculine idea of subjectivity in conventional auto/biographies. This disruption, I argue, is extended in contemporary global celebrity culture in Indonesia, where women's magazines need to be considered because they have allocated a rather ample space for celebrity profiles as a form of auto/biography, and because women's magazines have provided a structure used in celebrity auto/biography.

If auto/biographies and other modes of self-[re]presentation present in themselves the tension between the production and the consumption of the public and the private and, on different levels, the tension between the local and the global, they offer an important locus for the examination of the construction of femininities in contemporary Indonesia. In particular, how Indonesian femininities are exposed and subject to global constructions and how, in the negotiation between the local and the global and the private and the public, more specific, particular and localized types of femininities, identities and subjectivities are

constituted. As Stanley challenges (2000: 56, emphasis in bold mine, emphasis in italic original):

to question the [**idea that women are objects of the public gaze**], to look beyond and within it, to recognize that information collection and analysis and resulting profiling creates simulated selves *which are not perfect simulations*. ... the created versions of virtual...[are not *perfect* copies and] contain gaps, disjunctures, and silences that indicate what is actually only an uneasy fit between actual women and their audit selves.

In the next chapter I review the major concepts used in this thesis, namely globalization, celebrity and celebrity culture, and women's magazines as a significant aspect of celebrity culture, to establish the conceptual meaning of 'global celebrity culture' and to ground my discussion of the construction of Indonesian female celebrities. I also discuss the process of the construction of femininity by taking into account the concept of gender performativity as proposed by Judith Butler (1990, 1999, 2004), in order to theoretically frame the gendered performances of Indonesian female celebrities in their auto/biographies that are examined in this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

Global Celebrity Culture and Indonesian Femininities

[A] global culture would operate at several levels simultaneously: as a cornucopia of standardized commodities, as a patchwork of denationalized ethnic or folk motifs, as a series of generalized 'human values and interests', as a uniform 'scientific' discourse of meaning, and finally as the interdependent system of communications which forms the material base for all the other components and levels (A. D. Smith, 1990: 62)

In the previous chapter I outlined the key concepts and debates about auto/biographies for my thesis on Indonesian women's auto/biographies and celebrity auto/biography. I argued that the book-length celebrity publications and short autobiographical pieces in magazines about Indonesian celebrities can be seen as new, local forms of auto/biographical practice. In this chapter I outline the key concepts of celebrity that are important for my exploration of the auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices of Indonesian female celebrities: celebrity and celebrity culture, globalization, femininities, paying particular attention to Butler's (1990, 1999, 2004) notion of gender as performative, or gender performativity, and Indonesian women's magazines as forms of popular culture central to these new forms of auto/biographical practice.

In this context, this chapter examines how the phenomena of celebrity, celebrity culture and globalization contribute to the establishment of global celebrity culture. It examines how mediascapes enable global celebrity culture to spread to different localities and affect the local celebrity culture that, in turn, impacts on the construction of Indonesian femininities, and female celebrities in particular.

This research examines the auto/biographies and other auto/biographical texts of Indonesian female celebrities focussing on critical ideas about femininities. By focusing on the Indonesian context, and the specific intersection between globality and locality, I draw on different approaches to studying celebrities, such as Mashall (2001), Turner et al. (2000), Gamson (1994) and Dyer (1987, 2001). While Dyer's seminal studies foreground many critical approaches to celebrities and celebrity culture, for the purposes of this study, the frameworks developed by Marshall can be better employed to examine celebrity culture reflected in the auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities. Dugdale's (1999) study offers a more specific framework in the area of celebrity auto/biography.

Barber (1998) argues that global culture is relatively American and that globalization makes the world more American. Many other theorists, however, have opposed the idea that globalization is essentially homogenizing and Americanizing in nature. Theorists such as Hall (1993, 1998a), Appadurai (2000), Axtman (1997), Tomlinson (1999) and many others, have shown in different ways that globalization does not “flow” smoothly for there are gaps, and “disjunctures”, translation and appropriation of the local culture. As Franklin et al (2000: 3) assert, “while globalisation suggests increasing uniformity, it is also seen to depend upon the exportability of local difference, and above all on the interrelation of local diversities within global scapes or flows”. However, even if globalization does not make the world American, globalization does make the world *look* more similar; as Rieff (1993/1994) argues, it has made American culture world-widely “accepted”.

Rief (1993/1994) argues that American popular culture/global culture embraces people of different classes and cultures and that this may explain why American popular culture achieves such a hold in other cultures in terms of the ways in which it transgresses the borders and the boundaries of nation-states. This embrace is particularly relevant to the uptake of and engagement with celebrities. In globalization’s mediascapes, celebrities epitomize global culture and global celebrities can become a common obsession of people in different parts of the world, from different cultures and religions. Yet, this phenomenon of global celebrity is complex. As Turner et al (2000) argue in the Australian context, global celebrities (in their work specifically referring to American and British celebrities) have been an important part of the Australian media (news, television, magazines). However, they also note that Australian local celebrities are increasingly forming part of these global mediascapes in the Australian media. The same can be observed in regard to Indonesian “infotainment”. According to Yulianto (2008), there has been a dramatic increase in the amount of television dedicated to global celebrity in Indonesia, with no less than thirty separate infotainment programs supplying their audience with gossip or news about celebrities, mostly local celebrities, on a day-to-day basis. Likewise, there has also been a phenomenon of “tabloidization” of print media with “hundreds” (Yulianto, 2008) of tabloids providing news about celebrities (mostly Indonesian) circulating in Indonesia. Thus the processes of globalization and the creation of celebrity culture can be seen to be operating at both a global and local level in these contexts.

In this chapter I locate Indonesian femininities in the context of globalization and celebrity culture. The chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section I examine celebrity and celebrity culture, including the notion of celebrity commodification. In the second section I discuss globalization and how globalization works at the intersection of the local/global. The third section outlines the construction of Indonesian femininities, paying particular attention to notions of the body, [hetero]sexuality, ageing, consumption and Islam. The final section of this chapter contextualizes celebrity culture in the framework of the media Post-Soeharto.

Celebrity and Celebrity Culture

This section discusses more fully the notion of celebrity and celebrity culture to foreground my discussion of how celebrities operate in and form global celebrity culture, which I argue is largely due to globalization. This section considers how celebrities are “produced”, and celebrity status is maintained, through commodification.

What is Celebrity?

As argued by Marshall (2001) and Rojek (2001), the term “celebrity” denotes the well-known, the famous, or as famously coined by Daniel J. Boorstin, “[t]he celebrity is a person who is well-known for their well-knownness” (1972: 57). Marshall asserts that the celebrity phenomenon emerged from the “twinned discourses of modernity: democracy and capitalism” (Marshall, 2001: 4). This phenomenon of celebrity is intertwined with individuality/subjectivity and commodification/ commercialism. Using different *Oxford English* and *Webster’s* dictionaries across time, Marshall traces the transformation of the word “celebrity” into its present meaning from “solemn celebrity”, “solemn rite” in Weever (1631), to the closest to the contemporary definition, “a person of celebrity; a celebrated person: a public character” in 1849 (Marshall, 2001: 4-5). Exploring the origin of the word, Marshall argues that the Latin “*celebrem*” invokes a democratic sense where celebrity is “not distant but attainable... can be shared and, in essence, celebrated loudly and with a touch of vulgar pride” (Marshall, 2001: 6). The latter French “*celebre*” expresses something “well-known, public” (Marshall, 2001: 6). Another Latin origin of the word “celebrity” is “*celere*”, meaning “swift”, which suggests “the fleeting nature of celebrity status” (Marshall, 2001: 6). The term “celebrity” is also very closely linked to the term “stars”. In *Heavenly Bodies*, Richard Dyer (1987: 18) argues:

Stars represent typical ways of behaving, feeling and thinking in contemporary society, ways that have been socially, culturally, historically constructed. Much of the ideological investment of the star phenomenon is in the stars seen as individuals, their qualities seen as natural.

To Dyer (1987), “stars” are similar to “celebrities”. In fact, the contemporary understanding of the term celebrity does include the characteristics of star as outlined by Dyer. However, as Marshall (2001) argues, the term “star” tends to be more specific in its reference to films and the achievements of actors/actresses in the film industry. Thus, although the terms “star” and “celebrity” are not necessarily different, in this study the term “celebrity” is used for the reason that celebrity is more inclusive and can embrace anyone who has been allowed into public space and/or enjoyed media coverage. In this framework, a celebrity can be anyone; a singer, a musician, an academic, a politician, a writer or a person of any other profession that has somehow attained “popularity”, or has been allowed space in the public domain and

who attracts either positive or negative attention. However, as Boorstin argues, fame must not be confused with greatness for “[w]e can fabricate fame, we can at will... make a man or woman well-known; but we cannot make him great. We can make a celebrity, but we can never make a hero” (Boorstin, 1972: 48). Cynically, Boorstin (1972) warns that celebrities are not to be confused with persons of great achievement, and that celebrities are to be regarded as products of media machinery. Turner et al define celebrities more generally as “people the public is interested in; if the public is interested in this person, they are a celebrity; therefore, anyone the public is interested in is a celebrity” (Turner et al., 2000: 9).

According to Boorstin (1972), the word “celebrity” (meaning “a person of celebrity”) was used primarily from the early years of what he calls “The Graphic Revolution” around the 1850s. This revolution was defined as “Man’s [sic] ability to make, preserve, transmit, and disseminate precise images – images of print, of men [sic] and landscapes and events, of the voices of men [sic] and mobs [which] grew at a fantastic pace” (Boorstin, 1972: 13). This revolution marked and enabled the mushrooming of mass-media such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television, films. However, speaking in a larger context, Marshall argues that “[t]he concept of celebrity is best defined as a *system* for valorizing meaning and communication. As a system, the condition of celebrity status is convertible to a wide variety of domains and conditions within contemporary culture” (Marshall, 2001: x). Finally, Marshall (2001: 7) contends that:

Celebrity can be thought of as the general and encompassing term, whereas concepts of *hero*, *star*, and *leader* are more specific categories of the public individual that relate to specific functions in the public sphere.

Celebrity Culture

This subsection examines what constitutes celebrity culture, how it is formed and what it implies. It underpins my examination of how celebrity culture contributes to the construction of a particular form of Indonesian celebrity femininities as explained in the following section. The word “culture” has been defined in many different ways. In his essay, *The Analysis of Culture*, Raymond Williams (1998: 48, my emphasis) defines culture as

the ‘ideal’, in which culture is a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal values. ... **the ‘documentary’**, in which culture is the body of intellectual and imaginative work, in which, in a detailed way, human thought and experience are variously recorded...**the ‘social’**, in which culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour.

For Williams, culture includes what a society aims to be, how it works to obtain these aims, and the constructs through which a society regulates and gives meaning to the ways its

members live their lives. In the framework of understanding the contribution of celebrity culture to the establishment of contemporary culture, Marshall argues that celebrities have a certain cultural power and they are “icons of democracy and democratic will” (Marshall, 2001: 246). Within celebrity culture, success, in the sense of becoming a celebrity, can be attained by anyone (regardless of social, economic and other differing classes) such that everyone has equal opportunity for success, celebrification and fame. As Marshall (2001: 91) contends, “[h]umble beginnings, hard work, and honesty were the extratextual signs of the film celebrity that supported this myth of the democratic art”. Thus, the story of celebrity success conveys the message of “ordinary” people doing well and becoming “extraordinary” for different reasons, including sheer luck. Rojek (2001) emphasizes the democratic nature of celebrity culture and maintains that celebrity culture is the direct off-spring of democratic and public society and though it may be supporting democracy and democratic practice, it also “makes fun” of democracy. Celebrities embody both ordinariness and extraordinariness in the way that “luck” plays a significant entry point to celebrity-status but this status must be preserved by “hard work and professionalism” (Dyer, 2001: 42).

Looking into the culture of celebrity, Harmon argues that celebrities have become too prevalent to dismiss as they are a “way to ‘read’ contemporary culture and social change” (Harmon, 2005: 98). Celebrity culture, in other words, contains and reflects the values held by the contemporary culture. By looking at the public space allowed for celebrities, as reflected in their ubiquitous presence in different forms of media, it is quite clear that “[c]elebrities are significant nodal points of articulation between the social and the personal...” (2001: 16). In other words, celebrities develop a cultural domain in which they perform and negotiate their identities and subjectivities as private persons and as public figures, the “heavenly” and the “everyday” (Dyer, 1987; Lane, Murray, & Shortes, 1997). Rojek (2001: 11) further elaborates that celebrity and celebrity culture constitute:

the attribution of glamorous or notorious status to an individual within the public sphere... cultural fabrications [that includes] cultural intermediaries who operate to stage-manage celebrity presence in the eyes of the public [and that] celebrity status always implies a split between a private self and a public self.

The notion of public and private in regard to celebrity is particularly pertinent to the construction and regulation of femininities since all forms of femininity necessarily engage critical questions of the public and the private aspects of women’s roles. This particular negotiation of public and private is closely linked to the role of the celebrity and celebrity-status. As Turner et al argue “the role of the celebrity may well be to deal with the gap between the social and the private, between stability and change” (Turner et al., 2000: 15). In contemporary processes of globalization and as a consequence of the particular mediascapes of globalization, celebrities are situated in the intersecting domains of the global and the local. In this context, a female celebrity not only needs to negotiate her

locations as a private person and public figure, she also needs to negotiate the constructs of the global and local construct of femininities which will have different and potentially conflicting regulations of public and private domains. As Marshall argues, celebrity culture comprises complex and even contradictory elements that make analysis of individual celebrities and their roles particularly difficult. He argues that there are six factors that need to be integrated in examining that issue (Marshall, 2001: 51):

(1) the collective/audience conceptualization of the celebrity, (2) the categorical types of individuality that are expressed through the celebrity, (3) the cultural industries' construction of the celebrity, (4) the relative commodity status of the celebrity, (5) the form of cultural legitimation that the celebrity, singly or as part of an entire system, may represent and (6) the unstable nature of the meaning of the celebrity – the processual and dynamic changeability of the individual celebrity and the entire system of celebrity.

Within the context of celebrity culture, this performance should also be considered in terms of the different values attached to different aspects and roles. In celebrity culture, following Marshall (2001), celebrities are closely connected to production and consumption as celebrities are both the consumers as well as the commodities. This economic aspect of celebrity culture is emphasized by the establishment of celebrity status, which as Turner et al explain, “[t]he effect is, of course, to turn celebrities into commodities, products to be marketed in their own right or to be used to market other commodities. The celebrity’s ultimate power is to sell the commodity that is themselves” (Turner et al., 2000: 12).

In the context of this study, I contend that anything pertaining to celebrities can be understood as part of celebrity culture. In sum, celebrity culture is made up of ideas, values, organizations, institutions, ways of life, ways of thinking, intellectual and imaginative products and even excess works that regulate, embrace, include, and are related to celebrity.

The System of Celebrity

Having discussed celebrity culture, in this section I explore key relevant approaches to the analysis of celebrity as the ground for my study on celebrity auto/biographies. An important aspect to consider is how celebrity culture, celebrity status and celebrity are connected to each other in ways that constitute and enable transformation and establishment of cultural identity and individuality, including distinctiveness and difference from others. As Marshall argues, the “celebrity system presents a structure for the organization of public personalities as well as a structure for the models of modern subjectivity. The celebrity system principally addresses the organization of concepts of individuality and identity for the culture” (2001: 185). In this framework, celebrities are both constructed by the institutions they are in,

including the industries they work in, and their cultural and social background, and at the same time they are also agents of change for these institutions and contexts.

Marshall (2001) also proposes that there are two levels of celebrity construction. First, every industry develops different typical celebrity types that are distinctive from the others within the same industry but also from other types of celebrities in other industries. Second, these “distinctions and differentiations” are framed within the desire to appeal, which is later translated as and revealed through commodification which “intersect with the industrial construction of celebrity figures to produce a system of “functioning” public personalities and forms of subjectivity” (Marshall, 2001: 186). In short, celebrities aim to mark their distinctiveness not only from other celebrities within the same entertainment industry, for example film, music, television, but also from celebrities in other industries.

To explicate his approach, Marshall develops three concepts: “celebrity as a form of rationalization, celebrity as a sign and a text, and celebrity as an expression of... audience-subjectivity” (Marshall, 2001: 52). Important for this thesis is his approach to celebrity as a sign and text. As he argues, in emphasizing too much on celebrity as a sign, “the material reality of the celebrity sign – that is, the actual person who is at the core of the representation – disappears into a cultural formation of meaning” (Marshall, 2001: 57). Thus, he argues that celebrity should be examined as a text, which extends the analysis of celebrity as a sign to an analysis of “chains of signification” which “reveal the layering of connotative meanings that are embedded into each celebrity sign” (Marshall, 2001: 58). As a result of approaching celebrity as a text, the notion of “intertextuality” then emerges. Marshall contends (2001: 58)

Critical to the understanding of the celebrity, therefore, is the *intertextuality* of the construction of the celebrity sign. Although a celebrity may be positioned predominantly in one mediated form, that image is informed by the circulation of significant information about the celebrity in news papers, magazines, interview programs, fanzines, rumors, and so on. The celebrity, in fact, is by definition a fundamentally intertextual sign.

Framing celebrity as a text and taking into account the notion of intertextuality allows for fuller consideration of the materiality of celebrities as they operate within their specific cultural and social contexts. It opens out room to examine the gap between the celebrity as text, and ideas about the real or authentic people that inhabit the celebrity space. In fact this gap, between celebrities as a text and celebrities as who they “really” are, provides the impetus for the commodification of their celebrity status, as Marshall outlines. This gap, or what Littler coins as an “enigma of really”, sells celebrities. Following Dyer, Littler (2004: 12) argues:

[t]he enigma of “really” is partly what generates the cultural and economic turnover of our fascination with celebrities. It sells them, products about them, and products tenuously connected to them. It informs the way we connect to celebrities, whether as abstract friends; or offering us glimpses of what we would like to be; of lifestyles we wish to inhabit; or spaces of impossible longing, characteristics which we measure ourselves, or mechanisms through which we bond with other people.

Mashall (2001) and Littler (2004) have shown that any full examination of celebrities must integrate multiple and intersecting complexities and contradictions that produce particular celebrities and particular celebrity cultures. In the context of this thesis, one important intersecting element is that of the global/local nexus as it operates in Indonesian society. The need to integrate the examination of the local with global celebrity culture is urged by Redmond (2006: 13, emphasis in original):

[there is a] need to balance the ‘discursive regime’ of celebrity with the more localized attention to detail, case study and context....and how celebrity culture travels *across* and through the contemporary media landscape, bringing out what can be seen as differences, as well as commonalities.

The same approach is also taken by Turner et al who examine the increasing phenomenon of celebrity news in the media in Australia. As I have outlined, Turner et al (2000) maintain that while celebrity is very much part of global culture, it is increasingly localized. They claim that in the Australian context there is a shift from stories of/gossip about Hollywood celebrities to local Australian celebrities, particularly through the media flows across women’s magazines, television, magazine programs and news. This inclusion means that local aspects that frame the lives of the celebrities will have important and particular impacts on the contextualization of the celebrities’ lives. In the following section I discuss the key concepts of globalization pertinent to this thesis, how globalization contributes to the construction of global femininities and, in turn, how it can impact on the local construction of femininities.

Globalization

This section examines what globalization means for this thesis, what it entails, how it works, how it affects the construction of femininities and how it specifically influences the construction of Indonesian celebrity femininities. In framing femininities within globalization, it is critical to understand that femininities are constructs that are continuously evolving rather than fixed. Feminist and gender theorists such as Rubin (1975), Moi (1991), Gatens (1996) and Butler (1999) have argued that femininities are produced culturally and socially rather than being purely determined by ‘nature’ or biology. Thus while femininities may have similar

elements, they will differ and change based on the specificity of locality and time. This is part of the process of producing what Appadurai (2000: 179) terms “local subjects”. Thus, the evolving nature of femininities can be attributed to the dynamics within local space and time as well as to the increasingly interconnected world, where local cultures are constantly in dialogue with different cultures, including those considered aspects of “global” cultures.

What is globalization?

Globalization has been discussed widely in various fields of research, including economics, politics, cultural studies, law, linguistics and media studies. Globalization has also been described as “flows” (Appadurai, 1990), “forces” (Cvetkovich & Kellner, 1997a) and as a “process” (Appadurai, 2000; Axtmann, 1997; Cvetkovich & Kellner, 1997a). These accounts suggest that globalization is best understood as the complex and multifaceted dynamics by which wide-ranging aspects of life, both personal and public, are becoming increasingly interconnected across the “globe”. As Cvetkovich and Kellner propose, globalization refers to “the ways global economic, political, and cultural forces are rapidly penetrating the earth in the creation of a new world market, new transnational political organizations, and a new global culture” (Cvetkovich & Kellner, 1997a: 3). Thus, it can be argued that one important aspect of globalization is the interconnectedness and the interactions across different localities which create some sense of an homogenous global culture. This process implies a constant encounter of the global and the local in a way that it is not only homogenizing but that may also deepen the differences and particularities of the local. As Robertson and Chirico further elaborate (1997: 18), “globalization is, in spite of differing conceptions of that theme, best understood as indicating the problem of *the form* in terms of which the world becomes ‘united’, but by no means integrated in naïve functionalist mode”. Thus, while globalization seemingly causes the establishment of sameness – or homogeneity, it also opens up “differences and disjuncture” (Appadurai, 1990). Appadurai (2000:17, emphasis in original) further argues:

[g]lobalization is itself a deeply historical, uneven, and even *localizing* process. Globalization does not necessarily or even frequently imply homogenization of Americanization, and to the extent that different societies appropriate the materials of modernity differently. There is still ample room for the deep study of specific geographies, histories and languages.

Appadurai’s argument, that globalization actually works by instigating the process of “localizing”, is particularly important to this thesis. According to Appadurai, while globalization suggests that global culture is taking the centre, in having to encounter the forces of globalization, the locals are compelled to safeguard their local cultures and values against the globalizing process. Thus local cultures and values are continuously evolving as

the global and the local are constantly influencing each other in many aspects of life. Cvetkovich and Kellner (1997a: 3) maintain:

Globalization involves systematically overcoming distances of space and time and the emergence of new international institutions and forces. Globalization also involves the dissemination of new technologies that have tremendous impact on the economy, polity, society, culture, and everyday life. Time-space compression produced by new media and communications technologies are overcoming previous boundaries of space and time, creating a global cultural village and dramatic penetration of global forces into every realm of life in every region of the world.

Appadurai's argument on difference and disjuncture in globalization further underlines this. He maintains that globalization is an "uneven process" and that the "difference and disjuncture" of globalization are caused largely by the fact that globalization works through "global cultural flows" that he terms "(a) ethnoscapas; (b) mediascapas; (c) technoscapas; (d) finanscapas; and (e) ideoscapas" (Appadurai, 1990: 6). Appadurai emphasizes that the suffix "scapes" in these notions refer to the fluid nature of the elements that construct global culture. As I elaborate in the next subsection, the notion of "mediascapas" is important to this thesis as it refers to the fluid exchange of information as well as to the influence of various media. As with globalization flows, media flows are multifaceted, they are adoptable as well as adaptable and can be integrated into different cultures as they are projected into a range of locations in everyday life. As Axtman (1997: 17) argues, while the media does affect culture, it does not completely define culture:

The argument that media determines culture and cultural experience systematically denies the contextuality of culture. The social groups and collectives that are the recipients of the "global message" interpret, or bestow meaning upon, these messages on the basis of their own specific experience and memories as they grew out of their own particular histories and cultures; they creatively modify "messages" and cultural products in light of their own local needs and requirements. It is exactly the timelessness, but also the context-specific "Westernness," of the global cultural message that is undermining its capacity to create a global collective identity.

For the purposes of this study, the recognition that globalization not only involves a more intense interaction among different localities, but also instigates the transgression of time-space that blurs the boundaries of state, cultures, as well as local, individual, everyday practices, is important. The way one lives one's life is always framed within the time-space of one's locality, and one's locality is always interrelated with other localities as well as with the "global". In other words, the way one lives one's life is affected not only by the local context but also by the influences coming from other local cultures as well as by the

interaction between one's local context and the global. Thus, the global is constituted by different localities and interrelations between these localities that make substantial impacts on the so-called "global village". As Hall (1998a: 27) contends, globalization is not a homogenizing process as "imperialism" once was, rather "it goes above the nation-state and it goes below it. It goes global and local in the same moment. Global and local are the two faces of the same movement from one epoch of globalization".

Having examined the elements of globalization and what globalization produces, in the following subsection I investigate the ways globalization functions and operates, closely following the previous argument by Appadurai of the "scapes" of globalization.

How does globalization work?

As argued by Appadurai (1990, 2000) and outlined in the previous section, globalization works through at least five flows. Within the limited scope of this thesis, the media is most crucial and I propose that this media flow (mediascape) is made possible through the traversing across different languages as well through the increasing use of visual communication. In addition to this, the visual also brings about more direct effects as it manifests in something that can be readily perceived by differently located people. The benefits of deploying visual communication are obvious in advertisements, and in women's magazines and women's culture in general. With the fast flow of images moving from the global to the local, images not only work to project global culture as the global, but also impose the local on the global, resulting in the ongoing negotiation of forces that are in continuous dialogue with each other. Cvetkovich and Kellner write (1997a: 11),

Global culture is indeed disseminating throughout the world; new fashion, style, sexuality, and images are appropriated in many ways by individuals in specific local situations. But global models are confronted by national, regional, and traditional models in many parts of the world.

The same can be said about specific constructs of femininities, which are an inherent part of every culture. The global construction of femininities is very much part of the elements that construct local femininities in ways that may be seemingly contradictory. As globalization is often referred to as modernization (Cvetkovich & Kellner, 1997a; Robertson, 1997), the global construct of femininities can impose its values and be cited as the more modern and more desirable forms of femininities, while at the same time the pressure of globalization urges the local context to uphold its own local (traditional) construct of femininities. This issue is elaborated in the analysis in Chapters Four and Five and in Chapter Six, where I propose that new forms of femininities in Indonesia are being produced as part of the increasingly global framework operating in Indonesian media and culture.

Framing the Construction of Indonesian Femininities

This section discusses the particular elements contributing to femininities in the context of this thesis, namely body, heterosexuality, femininities and sexuality, consumption and Islam. I argue that femininities are not given, nor are they fixed across cultures, or even within the same culture. In this context, I argue that femininities are more cultural than “natural” and that femininities involve acquiring and performing certain desirable and desired characteristics. I argue that while femininities involve female embodiment, the particular embodiment of the female body is highly affected by the culture, space and time where it is located. I address a key aspect of the global celebrity femininities in this thesis; the predominance of heterosexuality in the narratives of the female Indonesian celebrities discussed. My initial analysis of this aspect of the femininities constructed explores Western constructions of femininities and later turns to address Islam as an important aspect of Indonesian femininities.

In second wave feminist theorization, femininity is referred to by theorists, such as Rubin (1975), Oakley (1972), Spence and Heilmreich (1978) and Moi (1991), as a set of cultural, social or psychological attributions to define [biological] women. For example, in 1978 Spence and Heilmreich stated that the “masculine and feminine [have been defined] as referring to independent clusters of socially desirable attributes commonly believed to differentiate the sexes” (1978: 115). In their argument they also maintained that concepts of femininity and masculinity are apt to change (Spence & Heilmreich, 1978).

The theoretical and conceptual elaboration of ‘femininity’ and ‘femininities’ was predicated on the sex/gender distinction that was first put forward by Ann Oakley (1972) and Gayle Rubin (1975). These theorists extricated the term sex from gender, separating the notion of the biological woman and female from the notion of femininity/ies. Normative femininities demand biological women/females to be feminine, which Rubin (1975: 159) argues is achieved through the sex and gender system, namely “the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied”. This argument explains that “unfeminine” women are rejected by society because [normative] femininities are referred to as the “essence of femaleness” and being “feminine” is the natural way of being a woman. Other ways of being a woman are not easily accepted.

Following Fierbert, Duke and Kreshel (1998) suggest that normative femininities refer to traditional roles, namely “adherence to cultural fashion and beauty standards, performance of family and domestic skills, satisfaction of the needs of others, and the acquisition of male attention” (Duke & Kreshel, 1998: 49). Thematically, this thesis examines how these

traditional roles, as framed by Indonesian culture, are performed in the auto/biographical texts under examination, and how the celebrities are presented in the context of these roles.

For this thesis, the framing of femininities in a social and cultural context suggests that femininities are achieved and maintained through a continuous process of learning, acquiring and performing in the project of becoming a woman. Femininity is neither an essence nor a fixed construct, rather it is multiple and a project that is continuously in the making. This will be elaborated further in the next section where I discuss the notion of gender performativity as proposed by Judith Butler. As suggested above, the stage for the performance of femininities incorporates both the private/domestic and public domains. This is particularly true for the celebrities discussed in this thesis, as they have to continuously traverse the boundaries of being an ordinary woman and a celebrity at the same time. Since femininities are performed and they are neither natural nor given, femininities can be choreographed and staged in accordance with the effects desired that are particular to social, cultural and temporal contexts. The term “staging” is used in this study to suggest efforts to organize, to act out a performance as charted in a script to obtain certain effects. But it is important to recognize that the femininities presented here are shaped by contradictions and complexities. In the following section, I examine how these contradictions and complexities are materialized in gendered celebrity bodies.

Femininity: Gender as Performative

In this section I discuss specifically the notion of femininity in the framework of Judith Butler’s concept of gender as performance. This is closely connected to the argument of this thesis that female celebrities stage their femininities in their auto/biographies as reflected in the title of this thesis “Staging a life”. In her widely-acclaimed book *Gender Trouble*, Butler argues against the sex/gender distinction and opts for a more flexible framework of gender in the way that gender, namely femininity and masculinity, is not essential but performative, which she defines “quite simply, that it is real only to the extent that it is performed” (Butler, 1990: 278).

In this formulation, gender is not stable and is not to be immediately attached to a particular sexed body. It is clear that for Butler gender is no more constructed than sex, as demonstrated in her widely cited argument, “If the immutable character of sex is contested, perhaps this construct called “sex” is as culturally constructed as gender; indeed, perhaps it was always already gender, with the consequence that the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all” (Butler, 1999: 7). The consequence of this argument is not that gender is simply variable performances of sex, but that gender and sex are fluidly and contingently constructed. As the editors of *Judith Butler’s* article *Bodily*

Inscriptions, Performative Subversions (Salih & Butler, 2004: 91, original emphasis) argue in the preface:

If gender is “doing” rather than a “being,” a verb rather than a noun, it is not action that is done by a volitional agent who is free to select her/his gender “styles” (Butler’s word). Instead, the subject is “done” by gender; it is the effect rather than the cause of a discourse which is always there first.

In other words, Butler argues that “gender identity is a performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo. In its very character as performative resides the possibility of contesting its reified status” (Butler, 1990: 271). Thus, gender identity is not the manifestation of a certain authentic or essential self rather it is the effect of gender performance closely overseen by the social construct which she describes, following Foucault, as “regulatory practices” (Butler, 1999: 17). In this way, while gender is not supposed to be immediately connected to sex, gender remains within the framework that the society will accept as “natural”, which is the cohering connection between sex and gender. In this way, the body receives the regulatory discourses in the form of repeated “stylization” which results in gender being performed in accordance with the ideological framework in the society. At the same time, as gender is being done through spaces and times, gender must be understood as historically contextualized.

In this complex discussion, Butler argues that while gender is not to be understood as directly linked to sex, and that gender is not stable, she also points out that one is not simply at liberty to choose one’s gender. Gender is performed not simply on the body but more importantly through the body, the process of which is repetitive and on an everyday basis. In this way, as Trevenna (2002: 269), citing Butler, argues, “the process of gender acquisition is neither overt nor self-conscious but thoroughly naturalised as ‘a construction that regularly conceals its genesis’”. This is where Butler’s argument of gender as performative, which can be usefully deployed in the context of this thesis as “theatrical”, emerges. Gender performance can never truly achieve a gendered identity ideal. As Butler articulates in her interview with Liz Kotz (1992: 86), “I accept the idea that gender is an impersonation, that becoming gendered involves impersonating an ideal that nobody actually inhabits.... Because symbolic positions ... “man” “woman” --- are never inhabited by anyone, and that’s what defines them as symbolic, they’re radically uninhabitable. And yet they have *enormous* force.”

Butler (1990: 276, original emphasis) writes:

The act that gender is, the act that embodied agents *are* inasmuch as they dramatically and actively embody and, indeed, *wear* certain cultural significations, is

clearly not one's act alone. Surely, there are nuanced and individual ways of *doing* one's gender, but *that* one does it, and that one does it *in accord with* certain sanctions and proscriptions, is clearly not a fully individual matter

In this sense, one cannot escape performing the script of gender as "persons' only become intelligible through becoming gendered in conformity with recognizable standard of gender intelligibility" (Butler, 1999: 16). The "actor" of gender, according to Butler, must play the script already written for her/him or be punished should s/he fail to play it out. As Salih and Butler (2004: 93) write:

Gender is thus a corporeal style and a copy of a copy 'Butler points out that people who fail to "do" their gender correctly, or who do it in ways which accentuate its genealogy and construction, are punished by cultures and law as which have a vested interest in maintaining a stable distinction between surface and depth, sex and gender, the body and the psyche, homosexual and heterosexual, masculine and feminine.

Having argued that gender is framed historically, socially and culturally, Butler maintains that the term "performance" implies that the "actors" can interpret the script given to them in possibly distinct ways, albeit within the containment of the prevailing cultural frame of time and space. As she delineates, "Actors are always already on the stage within the terms of the performance. Just a script may be enacted in various ways, and just as the play requires both text and interpretation, so the gendered body acts its part in a culturally restricted corporeal space and enacts interpretations within the confines of already existing directives" (Butler, 1990: 277). In other words, "gender is an open-ended process, a sequence of acts or events which does not originate and which is never fully or finally realized" (Butler, 2004: 90). This is a useful conceptual space to contextualise my approach to new forms of Indonesian celebrity auto/biography. Although gender is embodied through existing cultural and social regulatory practices, I argue that there is always room for negotiation. In my analysis of the construction of femininities in the auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities, I illuminate provocative and potentially radical contestations of idealized feminine Indonesian gender identities.

Body and Beauty

Following Butler, Bartky (1997: 109) argues that "[f]emininity is an artifice, an achievement, "a mode of enacting and reenacting received gender norms which surface as so many styles of the flesh". In other words, the body is regulated by the social and cultural construct and expectations prevalent in a certain space and time. Thesander (1997) in her book, *The Feminine Ideal*, documents how female bodies are regulated differently in the spaces and times between the 1800s-1990s. She analyses various media in which female bodies are

represented, including mannequins, paintings, advertisements and magazines and argues that what is “ideal[ized]” as a beautiful body is different for different women in different times and spaces. This supports Bartky’s argument that the body is almost always the initial marker of one’s femininities (Bartky, 1997). However, this marker is manifested differently across different cultures and places. One of the significant effects of global mediascapes may well be the increasing dominance of a normative slender, youthful body. In their research on the covers of four fashion magazines (Cosmopolitan, Glamour, Mademoiselle, Vogue) in the four decades from 1959-1999, Sypeck et al (2004: 346) argue that these magazines no longer just show pretty faces but, also, thin bodies, indicating that:

female beauty seems to have changed from one espousing the importance of a pretty face to one that additionally emphasized an extremely thin figure, as women have been increasingly exposed to models’ bodies and as these bodies have become progressively thinner

This trend, of ideal beauty being not only a pretty face but also a thinner body, demonstrates the role of particular body types in defining ideals of female beauty. However, as Frith et al (2005) suggest, while there are dominant elements, the term “beauty” and ideas of beautiful bodies are interpreted somewhat differently in women’s magazines in the US, Taiwan and Singapore. They maintain (Frith et al., 2005: 56) “beauty in the U.S. may be constructed more in terms of ‘the body’, whereas in Singapore and Taiwan the defining factor is more related to a pretty face”. The article also discusses how feminist critiques of the sexual objectification of women in advertising need to be considered within their historical, Western context of origin.

In the context of Indonesia, using advertisements and other forms of media, I have argued elsewhere that the glorification of whiteness is quite widespread in the areas whose native people are “coloured”, as it is evident in Indonesia (Prabasmoro, 2004a, 2004b; Yulianto, 2007). The phenomenon suggests that the beautiful global idealized body is white. As a consequence, the regime of the body for coloured women includes efforts to bleach the skin by using different methods and products and to create other global physical markers, such as longer and sharper noses. The research findings of Frith et al (2005) confirms that the global works through mediascapes and in a way operates to naturalize the global white beauty. They state, “[c]aucasian female models were used most frequently in all three societies under study, with 91% appearing in the United States, 65% in Singapore, and 47% in Taiwan” (Frith et al., 2005).

Within this thesis, the body is regarded as an important element of the construction of femininities. It is both the marker of one’s femininity as well as the project that is constantly in progress to embody a certain kind of femininity. The body is heavily regulated to meet the

prevalent ideal of slenderness and whiteness. The body is also crucial in the context of [hetero]sexuality as I examine in the next subsection.

[Hetero]Sexuality

This subsection discusses an important aspect of normative femininities in this thesis, namely heterosexuality. Within the context of this thesis, heterosexuality is central to the whole construct of all femininities, not only sexually but also socially and culturally. It frames the ways in which female celebrities discussed in this thesis locate themselves and are located in the local Indonesian society. All celebrities discussed, including the transsexual woman Dorce, identify themselves as heterosexual. More importantly, heterosexuality is taken for granted by all celebrities featured in this thesis, reflecting the ways in which heterosexuality is the norm, leading to what Jackson (2006) further elaborates as the predominance of “heteronormativity”. As Jackson argues (2006: 107):

Heterosexuality...should not be thought of as simply a form of sexual expression. It is not only a key site of intersection between gender and sexuality, but also one that reveals the interconnections between sexual and non-sexual aspects of social life. Heterosexuality is, by definition, a gender relationship, ordering not only sexual life but also domestic and extra-domestic divisions of labour and resources (Van Every, 1996; Ingraham, 1996). Thus heterosexuality, while depending on the exclusion or marginalization of other sexualities for its legitimacy, is not precisely coterminous with heterosexual sexuality. Heteronormativity defines not only a normative sexual practice but also a normal way of life.

In this thesis, sexuality refers to what Jackson and Scott (1996: 2) define as “encompassing erotic desires, practices and identities [as well as] our sense of ourselves as women or men”. Heterosexuality is the frame of sexuality discussed in this thesis. It determines where women are positioned in their relationships, or absence of them, with their male partners. Thus, heterosexuality is used to frame both sexual orientation as well as the division of roles and attributes of all these celebrities in the context of their relationships with their male partners. Just like women’s bodies, women’s sexuality is highly regulated. This thesis analyses how, within the frame of [hetero]sexuality, the subjects in the selected auto/biographies negotiate and perform their femininities. The following subsection will examine further the construct of sexuality in the particular context of Indonesian culture.

State Ibuism and the Construction of Indonesian Femininities and Sexuality

This part examines the construction of femininities and sexuality in the particular context of Indonesia, taking into account the political and cultural teachings on femininities and sexuality. This framework is critical in allowing this thesis to analyse how the subjects examined perform their femininities within their local context and at the same time to

understand the ways in which they negotiate their local femininities in relation to normative global femininities.

The formerly strong ideology of State Ibuism was established during the New Order. The term was first coined by Madelon Djajadiningrat (Nieuwenhuis (1987)). The term suggests that Indonesian women's sexuality is framed as an "*ibu*" – a mother. Julia Suryakusuma (1996) then developed the idea, arguing that Indonesian women's sexuality is not only structured within the personal domain, but is also more broadly a state construct and founded in State Ibuism. This particularly manifested in *Panca Dharma Wanita* (Five Responsibilities of Women) during the New Order. *Panca Dharma Wanita* was initially aimed at the wives of civil servants whose membership in KOPRI (Republic of Indonesia Civil Servants Corps) was compulsory. It constructed a woman as a wife or as a mother or as both. It ruled that "a wife is (1) to support her husband's career and duties; (2) provide offspring; (3) care for and rear the children; (4) be a good housekeeper; and (5) be a guardian of the community" (Sunindyo, 1996).

Panca Dharma Wanita is no longer a bonding formal obligation. However, the values attached to it are very much alive. Indonesian women's femininities and sexualities are very much constructed around women's functions as sexual partners within their marriages, reproductive agencies and as the pillars of society's morality. Women's sexuality is reduced to the two poles of "good women" and "bad women", or as Jackson and Scott put forward, "respectable Madonna and the rebarbative whore" (1996: 3). "The good women" largely refer to the asexual yet reproductive women while "bad women" are sexual women who are often pictured as *femme fatales* (Sunindyo, 1996). The good women are often the housewives who are submissive to their fates as well as to their husbands. Apparent sexuality and defiance against her husband can risk a woman being identified as a bad woman. Tiwon coined the terms "the model/the maniacs" to refer to these opposing positions of being the ideal and the transgressive women in Indonesia (Tiwon, 1996: 65).

Panca Dharma Wanita, I argue, owes much to Javanese teachings on good women as reflected in *Serat Centhini* and *Serat Candrarini*. According to *Serat Centhini*, as quoted in Astuti (2000: 499-500), women are supposed to be like the five fingers, namely the thumb (*Jempol*) – *Pol ing Tyas*, as a wife, a woman has to fully submit herself to her husband; the index finger (*Penuduh*), a woman must never refute her husband's wishes (*tudhung kakung*); the middle finger (*Penunggul*), a woman must always glorify her husband and maintain his dignity; the ring finger (*jari manis*), a woman must always maintain her sweet countenance in serving her husband; the little finger (*Jejenthik*), a woman must always be skilful and smart in whatever work she is doing in serving her husband. These values that relegate women to a secondary position in marital relationships or any heterosexual relationships are also established in *Serat Candrarini*, quoted in Astuti (2000: 500), which

consists of nine teachings, namely a woman must be faithful to her man, must be willing to be made a co-wife, must love other people, must be skilful in doing feminine works, must be good at taking care of herself and making herself presentable, must be humble, be skilful in fulfilling the wishes of her man, must be attentive to her parents-in-law, and must be keen to read instructive books.

I argue that it is critical to take into account these teachings to understand the construction of femininities in Indonesian culture. Although Indonesia consists of many different ethnicities and cultures, Javanese teachings are important to consider as Javanese is the dominant culture in Indonesia. Quoting the most recent census in 2000, PCGN states that Javanese constitutes 41.6% of the whole Indonesian population, followed by Sundanese (15.4%), Malay (3.4%), Madurese (3.3%), Batak (3%), Betawi (2.4%), Bugis (2.4%), Banten (2%), Banjar (1.7%), Chinese (0.9%) and other or unspecified ethnic groups (16.1%) ("Indonesia: Population and Administrative Divisions," 2003). The strong influence of Javanese culture is reflected in the establishment of various slogans and teachings to be applied for all Indonesians. One such a slogan is *Panca Dharma Wanita*, whose values, I argue, are deeply rooted in Javanese culture.

Panca Dharma Wanita, along with other normative teachings including those evident in traditional wedding rituals, and other contemporary and popular culture forms that enforce the idea that women's subjectivity and sexuality are dissolved into the reproductive and domestic functions (Prabasmoro, 2003b). In other words, women's sexuality only exists as the object of men's sexuality and only within a marital framework: any other expressions of sexuality by women outside marital institutions are designated as transgressive. Sunindyo (Sunindyo, 1996) analyses media representations of the trial of the attempted murder of the mistress by her military official lover: comparing representations of the wife and the mistress of a high-ranking military official in the trial of the attempt of murder of the mistress by her military official lover, Sunindyo (Sunindyo, 1996) demonstrates that women showing sexuality outside wedlock are considered to be more sinful than men resorting to sexual gratification outside marriage. This comes from the assumption that men are "naturally" sexual while women are not. As a consequence, sexual women are not natural. Even more than that, it is against nature, therefore, sinful. Sexual expressions become more sinful as women are also expected to be the guardian of the society's morality and order (Sunindyo, 1996). Within this framework, sexual women not only transgress normative femininities and their "natures" but also fail in their duties as the guardians of society. In my previous work on the representation of women's sexualities in Indonesian popular culture, I argue that women's sexualities in contemporary advertisements in Indonesia are constructed as sexual objects, as objects who long to be loved, and as sexual hybrids (Prabasmoro, 2003b).

Islam

This thesis specifically examines the construction of femininities in the context of Islam, as it is the religion of the majority of Indonesians. Based on the 2000 census, quoted by Suryadinata et al (2003: 104), Muslims constitute 88.22% of the entire Indonesian population. Indonesia is the country with the highest number of Muslims in the world. The Muslim population in Indonesia numbers around 203 million, constituting 13% of the World's Muslim population (roh, 2009). Islam is a predominant culture in Indonesia. Thus, even when one is not Muslim, living in Indonesia means they are exposed to Islamic values and cultures. In this thesis, Islam is the religion of nine out of the twelve subjects analyzed in this thesis. Thus it plays an important role not only in the establishment of Indonesian femininities but also in how women, particularly the subjects of this thesis, perceive and perform their femininities in the context of Indonesian Muslim culture.

In this subsection I examine Islamic values regarding women and how they are translated into Indonesian culture. Islam has been described as a religion that oppresses women. But Indonesian prominent Islamic scholar such as Quraish Shihab (2005) and other feminist Islamic scholars, both females and males, such as Amina Wadud (1999), Nasaruddin Umar (1999), Mansour Fasih (1999), have argued that based on their [re]reading of Al-Qur'an, there is no inherent value in Islam that puts women in a subordinate position to men. If women have been placed in an inferior position to men, these scholars argue that it is the process of interpretation of the Al-Qur'an that has caused the gender bias. As Ulil Abshar-Abdalla (2002: xiv, my translation) argues,

Although the initial spirit of Islam is "freedom", particularly for women... The interpretations of the Al-Qur'an, especially those regarding women's rights, are easily influenced by the misogynistic local tradition in the countries conquered by the Islamic imperium at the time.

The work of Murata (1992), Wadud (1999) and Umar (1999, 2002), reinforce the more gender sensitive interpretations of Al-Qur'an. They critically reread the more traditional and normative interpretations. In conclusion, Umar (2002) argues that Al-Qur'an contains five gender equality principles, namely; both men and women are servants of God; there is no distinction between men or women in terms of being an ideal servant (*muttaqūn*), or any other distinctions; both men and women are the leaders on earth (*khalifah*); both men and women accept the primordial agreement (thus, Islam does not recognize original sin neither does it acknowledge Eve/Hawa as the cause of the original fall); both Adam and Eve/Hawa are actively involved in the cosmic drama and that both men and women have the potential for success. The act of rereading the Al-Qur'an by feminist scholars challenges normative interpretations of the holy text that refute the spirit of equality within it.

On one hand, these arguments that reinterpret Islam offer a potential space for the negotiation of womanhood in the context of Islam or the negotiation of what it means to be a Muslim woman. On the other hand, although women are positioned as the equal counterpart of men in the Al Qur'an, patriarchal values are attached to it in normative interpretations and thus women are subordinated in ways that are not actually prescribed within the text. As Abshar-Abdalla (2002) argues, local cultures and traditions give colours to the interpretations of Al Qur'an. There is little wonder that the supposedly Islamic cultures in Indonesia may very well be Javanese culture, as has been elaborated above.

This thesis reviews how the ideas of Islamic values are interpreted in the performance of femininities by the subjects discussed. There are two important sets of pillars in Islam. The first set is called *Rukun Islam*, the five obligatory Muslim duties. This includes: *syahadat*, the declaration of faith; *shalat*, the five daily prayers; *shaum*, fasting during fasting month; *zakat*, the obligation to give alms and *haj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca. Another set of pillars is called *Rukun Iman*, namely the basic beliefs of Islam, namely: belief in God, belief in angels, belief in the holy books, believe in the prophets, believe in the Day of Judgement, and believe in Predestination.

As the basic beliefs are not easily observable, within the context of popular culture, one's religiosity is very often measured by one's observance in *Rukun Islam* or one's performance in observing *Rukun Islam*. This framework is crucial as celebrities need to negotiate their various identities, as celebrities as well as wives/lovers/girlfriends, Javanese/Sundanese, mixed-raced, Indonesian, and Muslim. In this context, Islam is used to create an image that becomes the commodity for the celebrities. In Indonesia, good Muslim image-making among celebrities manifest in various campaigns, among others: affiliations with various "young Islamic preachers" (not scholars); mythical experiences relating to Kabah (the holy cube) and Mecca; the declared continuous desire to go to Mecca; the revealed desire to get married in Mecca; charity/philanthropic projects related to various issues, including natural disasters, poverty and education and "daily real activities" which show them practising the rituals of *shalat* (prayer) or other rituals/activities during specific events such as *led*, *qurban*, fasting.

In this subsection, I have outlined the general teachings of Islam pertaining to women's position, roles and functions. I have also suggested that the Al-Qur'an is open for various interpretations, including perspectives of gender equality proposed by Islamic scholars and the more normative view pertaining to women's roles and functions. These potentially conflicting perspectives are the reality that Indonesian Muslim women negotiate.

Ageing

Having discussed the significance of [hetero]sexuality and women's particular roles in Islamic and Javanese culture in understanding the construct of femininities in the Indonesian context, in this subsection I will examine the notion of ageing. A critical framework of ageing is necessary in this thesis as three subjects discussed in this thesis are aged between fifty and seventy years old. The issue of ageing is critical as Indonesian and Western societies are becoming more and more obsessed with youth and youthfulness (Biggs, 2004). Ageing women need to negotiate their femininities in relation to their bodies, sexualities and their roles in different ways than young women who may more readily approximate cultural ideals of beauty and normative femininities. Particularly within the framework of normative femininities that takes the young slender body as its marker, ageing women are located in the margins where they have to navigate around the young and slender norms preferred in the media. These ageing bodies become effectively marginalized, not only in popular culture but also in terms of the research conducted on ageing women. As Hurd (2000: 77) argues:

The existing literature on women's body image [which] has largely ignored the experiences of women in later life and [which] has tended to focus on adolescent and middle-aged women... Given the fact that beauty is equated with youthfulness and thinness in our society, older women face unique challenges as they strive to construct and maintain positive evaluations of self.

This is particularly true in women where the body is the predominant marker of femininities, as previously suggested. This marginalization can be observed in the mushrooming of the so called "anti-ageing" crèmes (Blaikie, 1999; Clarke & Griffin, 2007). An article in New York Times - appropriately entitled, *Is Looking Your Age Now Taboo?* (Singer, 2007) - delineates different approaches and strategies women adopt in dealing with as well as in combating their age, which range from anti wrinkle crèmes, botox, to plastic surgery. The obsession for youthfulness also creates a more pressing urge particularly for the aged and ageing women, sometimes to an impossible extent, to stay young and youthful. According to Biggs (2004: 49), following Baudrillard, this gives rise to an experience of double absence:

Taking the example of "femininised" identity, one can foster the identity of being a young woman more easily than being an old woman, both of which are arguably premised on an absence. However, old age encompasses a double absence, that of being "not male" and of being "not young." From being only too visible, one becomes invisible, as the attention of a masculinised and youth-obsessed society ebbs away.

I have suggested that ageing femininity is seen as problematic since other physical signs of youthfulness are considered integral to normative forms of femininity. How ageing celebrities negotiate their ages in their auto/biographies will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Consumption

In this subsection I examine the notion of consumption as it is linked to celebrity culture and the production of particular femininities. The notion of consumption is significant as women are understood as being defined and constructed by their patterns and practices of consumption. As Nava (1992: 166) argues:

Consumption (as a feature of modern capitalism) has offered women new areas of authority and expertise, new sources of income, a new sense of consumer rights; and one of the consequences of these developments has been a heightened awareness of entitlement outside the sphere of consumption... Thus the buying of commodities and images can be understood both as a source of power and pleasure for women (it had given them a 'sense of identity, purpose and creativity') and simultaneously as an instrument which secures their subordination.

As Nava argues, there is no easy understanding of the relations between women and consumption. Though consumption gives a sense of freedom and identity, consumption can also become an instrument to control their freedom and independence. Many theorists, such as Pleasance (1991) have argued that the dominant [patriarchal] power has been successful in maintaining a certain fixed "feminine identity" through magazines, particularly those specifically aimed at women/girls such as *Smash Hits* and *Just Seventeen*. Pleasance (1991) argues that feminine identity is especially performed through consumption. However, this dominance is exercised through a pseudo democratic opportunity of making choices. Consumption and fashion choices establish a sense of feminine identity that is both shared with other women as well as differentiating or giving a sense of distinction from others. Bowlby (1985: 28) rightly puts it, "What is by definition one's own, one's very identity or individuality, is at the same time something which has to be put on, acted or worn as an external appendage, owned as a property nominally apart from the bodily self". In other words, Bowlby (1985) argues that one's identity is not an essence revealed by choices in consumption rather it is an endless project and performance that has somehow been embodied and become a part of one's self.

These consumption choices act both as the sign of women's differences from others (allowing them to be more beautiful, slimmer, bigger breasts, better mothers) and as the marker of their own compliance to the naturalized femininities of being "real women" with "real women's problems" (feeling inadequate about their body [image] and/or their roles as wives and mothers). Through consumption and the lure of distinction in the pursuit of femininities, women are simultaneously united and divided. The act of consumption offers choices of "being different" but in acknowledging their differences or their wish to be different, women are actually faced with the lack of choice, as they are made to submit to the

dominant power of capitalism and patriarchy. From the framework of post-feminism, McRobbie (2004: 261) contends:

Choice is surely, within lifestyle culture, a modality of constraint. The individual is compelled to be the kind of subject who can make the right choices. By these means, new lines and demarcations are drawn between those subjects who are judged responsive to the regime of personal responsibility, and those who fail miserably.

In this context, one form of media that epitomizes and reveals different and changing forms of women's consumption is women's magazines. The relations between women's magazines and women's consumption as well as between femininity and feminism have generated significant and complex feminist debates. McRobbie (1999) examines four different stages of feminism and femininity through different research projects focused on women's magazines from the 1970s till the 1990s. She argues that in the first stage there was "angry repudiation" of the representation of women in magazines. The second stage recognized that women's magazines were part of ideological workings in which women were subjected to [patriarchal] ideology. The third stage focussed on "women's pleasure" and the fourth stage is what she refers as "return of the reader" (McRobbie, 1999: 47). The fourth stage suggests that women are no longer considered as "dupes" of the media, rather that in women's magazines, women "have found the new spaces within which female subjectivity now finds itself being constructed" (McRobbie, 1999: 50).

Women's magazines help shape the construct of femininities through articles and images (Hermes, 1995; MacDonald, 1995; E. McCracken, 1993). Women's magazines provide reflective as well as instructive notions of how to be a woman in the era and the space of the publication of the magazines. As Currie proposes, following Smith, women's magazines "offer a meaning of femininity that is tied to the everyday activities and beliefs of women that bring this meaning into being and thereby sustain it" (1997: 460). More importantly, women's magazines are constructed around advertisements in the way that Pleasance argues, "[e]verything is examined as consumable. The format of the magazine is organized around buying." (1991: 76). More than just the additional or external part of the magazines, advertisements are actually very much the intrinsic part of the structure of women's magazines. According to Currie (1997: 465), advertisements featuring women, "invite negotiation over what it means to be a woman". This framing underpins my interest in celebrity advertisements in this thesis.

In this chapter, I have examined the construction of femininities initially within a Western context. Following various theorists, I have suggested that femininities should be considered as social and cultural constructs rather than as 'natural' or biologically determined. Likewise, the body as the marker of femaleness is neither neutral nor it is *tabula rasa*. The body plays

a significant role in establishing a woman's femininities, which are continuously in progress. I also discussed heterosexuality as a significant frame in discussing the auto/biographical texts analyzed in this thesis. In relation to this, within the specific context of Indonesia, I have investigated further how heterosexuality regulates women's sexuality whereby heterosexuality is imposed as a norm and imposes particular sexual expectations onto women.

As this thesis discusses Indonesian texts and their local context, I have argued that Javanese and Islamic cultural practices and ideas should be taken into account. Being the main religion in Indonesia, Islam is not only a religion in terms of its spiritual and ritual aspects, but it is also a way of life. Thus, it has an inevitably significant role in the construction of Indonesian femininities. In the next section I discuss the specific context of celebrity culture in the framework of the media Post-Soeharto. In particular, I examine how, through its mediascapes, globalization intersperses global celebrity culture into Indonesian local celebrity culture and the construction of femininities.

Media Post-Soeharto and the Rise of Celebrity Culture

According to Juliastuti (2002), in Indonesia, media that focused on celebrities emerged as early as 1929 with the publication of *Doenia Film* (film world). In one year this magazine extended its scope and changed its name to *Doenia Film dan Sport* (film and sport world). This also marked the early tendency towards widespread "celebrification" of "public figures". Public figures, the earlier term for celebrities, are not only those coming from the film industry but also from sport and other types of activities and industries. Various other magazines followed this publication. In 1991, according to Juliastuti (2002), magazines of this nature began to be replaced by tabloids, which were cheaper. This also applied to women's magazines which found competition in "women's tabloids" as the more affordable version of women's magazines (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, Christynar, & Darwin, 2005). Both magazines and tabloids that specifically focused on celebrities, as well as women's magazines and tabloids, were affected by the fast growing celebrity culture. The increasing obsession for "information" about celebrities' lives featured in such media also, I believe, not only marks the increase of public interest in the life of celebrities but also the increased significance of celebrity culture in the construction of everyday femininities.

In the 1990s, tabloids focusing on television and music began to flourish as well. *Monitor* was arguably the leading tabloid that focused on television. It enjoyed great sales until it stumbled into a case considered offensive to Muslims (Khudori & Pinem, 2005). In that period, its sister tabloid, *Citra*, still enjoyed sales of 300,000 copies per publication (Khudori & Pinem, 2005). Quoting Mayong Suryolaksono, the chief editor of *Citra*, Khudori and Pinem (2005) stated that according to the survey conducted by AC Nielsen in 2003, there were ten

major players in celebrity tabloids, with *Nova* at the top of the list followed by *Bintang Indonesia*, *Cek & Ricek*, *Gaul*, *Citra*, and *Wanita Indonesia*. This segment of celebrity tabloids became so saturated that one by one these tabloids finally folded. Those that survived had to negotiate the market by “extending the notion of celebrity”, as did *Cek & Ricek*, which “embraced other kinds of public figures”, including politicians and prominent entrepreneurs. This process of adaptation continued, see for example *Wanita Indonesia* (Khudori & Pinem, 2005). The strategies of these tabloids reflect the way celebrities’ lives have been commodified as they provide a constant source of news for these tabloids. This means that while celebrities are becoming more closely associated with commodities through consumption, celebrities are becoming commodities themselves. This also leads to the interface of the private and public domains in celebrity representation because the most interesting commodity attached to celebrities is their private lives.

In the later years of the 1990s, namely in May 1998, the Soeharto administration collapsed. Indonesian media, that had previously been under close scrutiny of the government, enjoyed a new euphoria of “media freedom” (Sutrisno, 1998). The press began to explore not only news that was previously politically taboo but also news that used to be considered taboo because it was considered to be a private matter. The new freedom can be detected not only in the booming of mass media, both print and electronic, but also in the variety of television programs offered to the public. One of the program types that seemed to find fertile soil in the era of reform is the so-called “infotainment”. This “new genre” assisted the birth of the era of glorified celebrity culture in Indonesia because everything, including private matters, could become public news. Mass media became more closely linked, as what is news in the print media can be news in television and vice versa. This is even more common with celebrity culture. It is quite common for an “infotainment” program to have its own tabloid, like *Cek and Ricek*. Thus, media euphoria not only caused more traversing between the public and the private, it also caused more traversing among different modes of media, embracing and attracting more audiences from and through different, yet overlapping, media forms.

Following the media euphoria, studies on women in the media began to flourish. Books such as *Wanita dan Media* (Women and Media) edited by Idi Subandy Ibrahim (1998) and *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia* edited by Laurie Sears (1996) are dedicated to the representation of women in the media, notably television and magazines. A book on women in television was written by Priyo Sumandoyo (1999) focusing specifically on female anchors. To date, *Jurnal Perempuan* (Women’s Journal), the most prominent Indonesian feminist journal, has published several issues on women and media. However, the issue of celebrity auto/biographies has not been seriously taken up, which opens the possibility for this study to contribute significantly to debates about the production of Indonesian

femininities and understandings of how globalization works in Indonesia in the context of women's and celebrity culture.

The media euphoria, described above, was soon followed by the exposure of the Indonesian public to more global media and information. These global media flows traversed distances, differences of cultures and the locality of Indonesian audiences. Foreign publications and magazines, especially women's and fashion magazines, such as *Cosmopolitan* (first published in Indonesia as *Kosmopolitan* in 1997, and as *Cosmopolitan* in 2001), *Harper's Bazaar* (published in Indonesia in 2000), *Good Housekeeping*, (published in Indonesia in 2003), and *Elle* (published in Indonesia in 2008) to name a few, also began to flourish in Indonesian versions. These localized versions of global magazines have enabled a faster flow of information from the global culture to the local audience as well as enabled exchanges between the two. This has also meant more possibilities for transfer of modes of consumption and production of the self between the global and the local. Despite the different origins of the global magazines, for example *Elle* (originally published in France), *Girl Friend* (originally published in Australia) and *Cosmopolitan* (originally published in the USA), these magazines are constantly dominated by the presence of global celebrities, both in the covers as well as in the celebrity profiles common in such magazines. In other words, global celebrity culture, inevitably, became a strong centre for the entertainment industry and popular culture in Indonesia.

This global culture affects people in the entertainment business even more strongly. It is crucial to examine the question of global and local identities as they came into play in the discourse of the identities of Indonesian celebrities. As a whole, the freedom euphoria rationalized the curiosity for other people's life as public matters. This genre of news has arguably also crossed the boundary between public and private, as well as trespassed domains that were previously considered taboo. Domestic problems, including harassment, violence, sexual behaviour, personal financial situations, betrayal, marriages and divorces are now open to the public. The public are not only recipients of the wave of information about the life of celebrities, both celebrities and the public are in a way trapped in an inter-dependent dynamic that is difficult to escape. As Rojek (2001: 20) argues,

The fact that celebrity status depends on public recognition is ironic. Their private lives were already part of the public domain, part of the insistent cultural data that we use to comprehend ourselves and to navigate through the crashing waves of the cultural sphere.

The mounting desire to "consume" celebrities gives rise to a wider space for the celebrities to perform their lives both as "public personalities" and as "private persons" on multiple intersecting stages. These inter-related phenomena are particularly accommodated by media whose target audiences are women, such as television's infotainment programs (Yulianto, 2008) and women's magazines. Just like the global women's magazines,

Indonesian women's magazines also include a range of auto/biographical features on celebrities. Examining this phenomenon in Australia, Turner et al argue that their (local and global) "magazine sample substantiated the commonly held view that celebrity stories have become a highly significant component of the successful women's magazine in Australian market" (Turner et al., 2000: 20). This research offers a useful framework as the commercial textual/visual space that Turner discusses is understood in this thesis to constitute a new form of auto/biography. As such, this thesis embraces not only actual texts written by celebrities themselves but other types of texts. Thus it is within an inclusive poststructuralist framework that I argue that the auto/biographical is written/posed/displayed by celebrities who present their lives not as complete, but as ongoing projects.

In this chapter I have discussed the different key concepts and contexts that frame my examination of the auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices of Indonesian female celebrities. I have outlined notions of celebrity and celebrity culture, globalization and Indonesian femininity and the ways in which these intersecting mediascapes create increased opportunities for the development of global celebrity culture and its interactions with local cultures and social frameworks. I have argued, following Ussher (1997) and Butler (1990, 1999, 2004), that femininity is not a fixed and essential construction of a sexed body, rather it is a "stylized performance" as the consequence of the imposed "regulatory practices" on the body. I have argued that the processes of globalization can be understood as simultaneously universalizing and creating opportunities for local resistance. Finally, I have also provided the context of Indonesian popular culture, particularly in the form of women's magazines and in relation to the rise of celebrity culture following the fall of the Soeharto (New Order) regime. Following this examination, the next two chapters systematically analyse how these intersecting tensions and opportunities are negotiated in the context of Indonesian celebrity femininities, and expressed in book length celebrity auto/biographies and new auto/biographical practices in magazines.

CHAPTER 3

Presenting Auto/biographical Subjects in Six Book-Length Auto/biographies: A Narrative Analysis

Autobiographical telling is performative; it enacts the “self” that it claims has given rise to the “I.” Furthermore, an “I” is neither unified nor stable; rather, it is split, fragmented, provisional, a sign with multiple referents. And those various identities presented by a narrator are directed to disparate addressees or audiences. They make diverse calls to identity that do not align neatly. Instead, the tensions and contradictions in representing an “I” to various audiences, for various occasions, by various means, produce gaps, fissures, and boundary trouble within the narrative (S. Smith & Watson, 2005: 357)

In the previous three chapters I elaborated the terms and concepts used in this thesis, namely celebrity and celebrity culture (public/private, ordinary/extraordinary) globalization (global/local), and femininities both normative and as present in Indonesian culture and society. Following Butler (1990, 1999, 2004), I frame femininities as performative, which I argue to be also the case in celebrities’ auto/biographical writings, both of which produce fragmented and unstable gendered subjects. There are six book-length auto/biographies of female celebrities that I discuss in terms of their narrative structure and in the context of these themes. In this chapter I discuss how narrative structures produce and are used to establish auto/biographical subjects in the selected auto/biographies. The analysis is performed by focusing on the notion of the author/narrator/autobiographical subject as constructed in these particular texts in the first section. I argue that the conventionally singular and unitary auto/biographical subject is presented as a series of intersecting moments. The second section examines the different narrative structures and techniques used in the selected auto/biographies and how these different structures and techniques affect the production of the auto/biographical subject. I argue that these celebrity auto/biographies reveal new forms of life-narrative that address and engage the complexities of global celebrity femininities in the context of Indonesian culture.

Who's "I"/Whose Eye?: Author, Narrator and the Autobiographical Subject

All the celebrity auto/biographies selected in this study claim the autobiographical pact that I have discussed in Chapter One. They all refer to real persons whose names are identical with the protagonists or the autobiographical subjects of the respective narratives. All narratives draw on and mobilize resemblances between the lives of the protagonists and the lives of the real persons. However, as I discussed in Chapter One, the autobiographical pact is not defined solely as the complete identification of the author/narrator and the autobiographical subject. For example, the auto/biography of Lenny Marlina, *Si Lenny dari Ciateul: Otobiography of Lenny Marlina*, (from now onward referred to as *Si Lenny*) shows that the notions of "author", "narrator" and "autobiographical subject" do not necessarily have to refer to the same person to succeed as an autobiography.

There are two key layers of competing subjectivities in Lenny Marlina's auto/biography. Lenny Marlina is presented as the author who is both the narrator and the protagonist "I" or the auto/biographical subject. In this sense, Lejeune's (1989) autobiographical pact is fulfilled and this "autobiography" is truly an autobiography because there is identicalness of the author, the narrator and the protagonist. The absence of the name of the author on the cover is overwritten by the title *The autobiography of Lenny Marlina*, which suggests that Lenny Marlina wrote the book herself. However, the title verso page challenges this as it presents five names as authors. The fact that the name of Lenny Marlina does not appear on this page suggests that Lenny Marlina did not write the book herself and that it is these five persons that have actually written the book. These competing authorial positions are also observable in the preface, where usually authors traditionally present their books. In the preface of this auto/biography, instead of the authors listed in the title verso page, it is Lenny Marlina who introduces the book. She writes about the impetus for the project as well as the writing process of the auto/biography, asserting her role as the author as well as the narrator, and not just the auto/biographical subject of the book. It can be argued that Lenny Marlina as the "model" of the autobiography, in Lejeune's term, presents herself not only as the narrator and the protagonist but, more subversively, as the author of the auto/biography. The claim of authority shows the complexity and contradictions that are mobilized in the notions of author/narrator/protagonist.

The second layer pertaining to authorship is the issue of the five authors of her auto/biography. The book was written by a team of five authors who perform as one author, which already suggests multiple possibilities of fragmentations and ruptures in the auto/biographical pact. To be able to write as one, the five authors have to abandon their singularities as authors, and perform in writing as one person, supposedly producing one stabilized and coherent voice and style in the project. At a further level, these five authors

have to articulate as the narrator that is modelled after and referential to a person in the real world. The collective work of the five authors has to create effects of identicalness on at least two levels. Firstly, there has to be identicalness in style, diction, and other narrative techniques on the part of the different individual authors operating as one narrator. Secondly, it has to show identicalness between the collective authors as a single voice of the narrator and the autobiographical subject. However, there is sometimes a clear rupture of narrator and autobiographical subject as is evident in the inconsistent use of pronouns in the following passage from *Si Lenny* (Said et al., 2004: 116, emphasis added):

*I pray every night...*³

*With Bambang, Lenny⁴ feels confident in leaving the acting world. **This beautiful woman** is determined to dedicate **her** whole time to **her** husband and 10 children (7 from Bambang's previous marriage), "I thank the film world that has given **me** my name," smiling.*

*When **they** got married in Bandung, there was a unique story concerning **the couple**...*

The two paragraphs starting with "With Bambang" have completely different enunciation from the other paragraphs in the body of the text (as exemplified by the sentence "I pray..." in the above passage), wherein Lenny Marlina is presented as the auto/biographical subject and the narrator. In that sentence, Lenny Marlina 'speaks' in the first person, but the two following paragraphs use third person narration. This underlines or emphasizes the fragmentations and ruptures that emerge as others perform and create the auto/biographical subject.

The notion of collective authors is also observable in Dorce Gamalama's *Aku Perempuan: Jalan Berliku Seorang Dorce* (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005) (from here onwards referred to as *Aku Perempuan*) and in Tiara Lestari's *Tiara Lestari Uncut Stories: Playboy, Ibunda, & Kafilah* (referred to from onwards as *Tiara Lestari*). In both auto/biographies, the autobiographical pact is configured with more attention to authorial coherence than in *Si Lenny*. In the two auto/biographies, the author indicated on the cover is identical with the narrator and the protagonist. However, the authorship is still an interesting issue. Firstly, the covers of the two books, *Aku Perempuan* and *Tiara Lestari*, also contain the names of their two co-authors. In *Aku Perempuan* the authorship is claimed by Dorce⁵ and FX Rudi Gunawan while in *Tiara Lestari*, authorship is claimed by Tiara Lestari and Windy Ariestianty. In other words, despite the identicalness of the implied author and the narrator,

³ Text translated from Bahasa Indonesia into English is italicized.

⁴ Original text is not italicized.

⁵ She is generally referred to as Dorce. In the context of popular culture the single name is distinctive enough to refer to her, just like Madonna and Prince.

there are other authors that actually perform as the narrators with the named protagonists. Narratively, these auto/biographies are situated precisely between autobiography and biography. They are both self-written, and written by others.

Secondly, as we turn to the title page verso of Dorce's auto/biography, we find that the authorship is attributed to "a team of writers" which suggests that there are other people than Dorce and FX Rudi Gunawan that have written the book. This team of writers is granted authorship on the inside page of the cover. In other words, the writing of Dorce's auto/biography has actually been performed by others, as has been the case with Lenny Marlina's. While Lenny Marlina uses the preface to put her signature in, Dorce's signature is asserted on the cover, directly claiming the authorship of the book, and thus the authorization of the book, even when this claim is complicated by the emergence of the recognition of a "team of writers". The absence of a preface in Dorce's auto/biography, however, excludes the readers from this particular delineation of the writing process and the information about the "real" authors of the book. Yet, even if we suppose that there are only Dorce and FX Rudi Gunawan, the implied author still has a collective authorial role in which two persons/authors have to articulate the story as one narrator, an "I" who talks about the auto/biographical subject but at the same time speaks as the auto/biographical subject.

Conversely, Tiara Lestari's auto/biography provides two prefaces entitled "Thank You" from Tiara Lestari and "Windy would like to say thanks to" from Windy Ariestianty, the co-author. Both authors equally claim their authorship through the names on the cover and the prefaces by both persons. Each preface provides a space for both "authors" to talk about the writing process, which testifies to their pen[wo]manship. Likewise, the gesture of thanking each other in their respective preface suggests the reality of their co-writing the book.

Comparing the three auto/biographies of Dorce's, Tiara Lestari and Lenny Marlina, we can see that while Dorce and Tiara Lestari claim their authorship by asserting their names on the cover, Lenny Marlina on the other hand, does it through the preface that delineates her contribution to the production of the book. However, there is an intersecting point between that of Lenny Marlina's and Dorce's, namely that the claim of authorship is betrayed by the title page verso that suggests a more complicated structure of writing. The three books suggest that the authorial role can be performed in different ways. Through the resemblance between the narrator and the protagonist, and between the lives narrated in the auto/biography and the persons in the real life, the auto/biographies are presented as coherent linear narratives of a singular life. The autobiographical pact that renders the identicalness of author/narrator/protagonist is negotiated in a way that recognizes the textual life as fragmented and partial.

Another form of this renegotiated and complicated auto/biographical pact with the author can be found in the auto/biography of Krisdayanti, *Seribu Satu KD*, as well as in the auto/biography of Titiék Puspa, *Titiék Puspa: A Legendary Diva*. Both these texts, disclose quite openly the fact that a person other than the protagonist is the author. Thus, there is a gap between the author and the protagonist/narrator. In *Seribu Satu KD*, despite the acknowledgment that Alberthienne Endah is the author in the title page verso, her name does not appear on the cover. Likewise, Endah is not given a space to talk about the writing process except for a tiny space allocated to her in the last page where she writes about how wonderful and colourful Krisdayanti is: “[m]aking a book about KD is like travelling in a life adventure that is rich with colours. The great thing, whatever “colour” is played onto her life, she never leaves one thing. Her spirit.” (Endah, 2004: 207).

This two-sentence rupture is illustrated by a picture of her and Krisdayanti. Even in the title page verso, her contribution as the creative producer of the work is undermined by the various names appearing on the credit title page. On the top of the page there is an acknowledgement of the “initiators”, who are Krisdayanti, her lawyer, and her record company. Underneath there are the “directors and persons-in-charge”, namely Anang Hermansyah (her husband)⁶ and Elsie F. Lontoh, her lawyer, and other teams including “conceptors”, chief of production, and artists. The absence of the name of the actual author on the cover as well as the minimal space given to the author to claim authorship highlight the competing voices of the author, the narrator, the auto/biographical subject and the real celebrity in the production of not only the auto/biography itself but also of the auto/biographical subject.

In *Titiék Puspa: A Legendary Diva*, Alberthienne Endah’s role as the author of the book is better acknowledged and she is given more space to express herself. The introductory page written by Endah reveals the writing process of the book, again emphasizing her role as the author as well as the location of Titiék Puspa as the auto/biographical subject. In terms of authorship and the auto/biographical pact, the auto/biographies of Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara should easily be categorized as biographies because the two auto/biographies are penned by others. However, this authorship is challenged by both Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara as the auto/biographical subjects. In the case of Krisdayanti, the speaking subject also claims her role in the auto/biography as “initiator” of the auto/biography. Her claim is also expressed in her ownership of the preface and prologues, effectively putting aside Alberthienne Endah, the author. In Yuni Shara’s auto/biography, Yuni Shara claims the book as hers through the preface in which she thanks everybody including Tamara Geraldine and Darwis Triadi, the author of and the photographer for the book. In these complex issues of

⁶ Krisdayanti and Anang Hermansyah got a divorce on 22 October 2009 (ita, 2009)

authorship alone, Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara's auto/biographies complicate the notion of autobiography and biography.

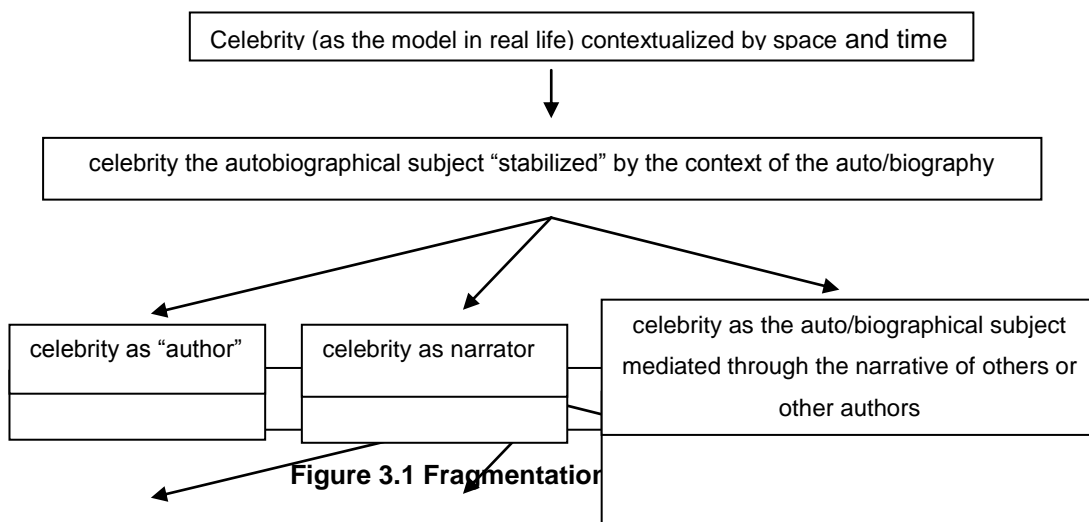
In this section I have argued that autobiographical subjects are produced through the location and citation of authorship in the narrative. In this way, the production of autobiographical subjects and the authenticity of the autobiographical subjects are not only dependent on the identicalness of the author and the celebrity. These auto/biographies also show that the auto/biographical subject can encompass the competing voices of the authors and the celebrities themselves as the real subjects of, or the models for, the auto/biographical subject.

I have argued here that the production of the auto/biographical subject by authors other than the celebrities themselves, including the auto/biographies written collaboratively with the celebrities, may cause productive ruptures in the narratives, as the passage cited from *Si Lenny* shows. In the following section I further elaborate the production of auto/biographical subjects focusing on the spaces and times in the auto/biographical narrative.

Fragmented Subjects in Celebrity Auto/biographies

In this section I further discuss the implication of authorship and narrative in relation to the production of the auto/biographical subject. First, this section investigates how the narrative structures fragment the narrators and the auto/biographical subjects both temporally and in spatial contexts as well as in the intersections of the texts and the social world. Second, this section examines the multi-voiced narratives of women's celebrity auto/biographies which produce fragmented auto/biographical subjects. In the following instance, I examine how these particular auto/biographical subjects become fragmented through time and space.

Lenny Marlina's *Si Lenny* was published when Lenny Marlina the subject was fifty years old, but the book moves chronologically from the time when the mother of Lenny Marlina, the autobiographical subject, was pregnant with her in 1954. The same narrative strategy is also used in Dorce's *Aku Perempuan*. Dorce Gamalama was forty two years old at the time her auto/biography was published, and the narrative is opened with her birth in 1963, which immediately creates a distance between the narrator "I" and the auto/biographical subject. The "I" performs as two different persons, two different bodies. Using time and space as an analytical frame, we can see that Lenny Marlina and Dorce are portraying multiple subjectivities as I show in Figure 3.1 below:



In each box we can see that there are interplays of different subject positions in relation to the textual voice and authorship. The subject is only discursively “stable” within a specific time and space. Different times and spaces produce different auto/biographical subjects. There are different Lenny Marlinas and Dorces in the narrative; the “then” ones and the “present” ones; the ones who are telling the story from the present position of being successful persons, and the ones who are the subject of the narrative of the past; the ones who were poor and the ones who are now wealthy. The interplay of different subject positions in the narrative as well the complicated relationship to historical/real domain is apparent in the auto/biographies analyzed in this thesis. This multiple positioning with an emphasis on transition signifies the importance of the transformation of the auto/biographical subjects from “ordinary people” to successful celebrities, “extraordinary people”, while always maintaining a sense of their origins. Littler coins this process as “keeping it real” (Littler, 2004: 8)

Lenny Marlina’s auto/biography marks the transformation and transition between the two spaces quite clearly. The first two chapters of *Si Lenny*, namely *Di Ciateul, Masa Kecilku* (In Ciateul, My Childhood) and *Masa Remaja* (My Teenage Years) narrate her family’s continuous battle with poverty. In the first chapter she talks about how her mother had to survive economic as well as personal hardship as her father did not have a permanent income and they were living with her paternal grandparents. She writes (Said et al., 2004: 2):

Papap⁷ had not been working for a long time. Luckily ITB⁸ students established Ganesya Senior High School, and Papap who liked sport became a sport teacher there. But it was only for a short time. He then began trading cement, which was difficult to obtain at that time. Papap had even an office of his own, but his business always went up and down so that he had no permanent income. He only had money when he had a “project”, but it was really unpredictable. Little wonder then that Papap and Mamam⁹ lived very humbly, alias poor.

This multiply located and thus fragmented auto/biographical subject in Lenny Marlina's auto/biography is further complicated by the multi-voiced and multi-authored narratives. There are three voices mobilized in her auto/biography: first, the voice of Lenny Marlina manifested in the speaking/narrator “I”; second, the voice of the narrator who is not always the auto/biographical subject; third, the voices of other characters (husband, mother, five siblings, three children, six step-children, two aunts, one uncle, one “commoner”, one baby sitter, one head of the village) which are mediated by the narrator. In *Si Lenny*, the voices of other characters are presented in a chapter called “Witnesses”. This chapter is told in third person point of view (heterodiegetic), which reveals the narrativization of the real “story”. This also marks the switch of the voice from the first person point of view or autodiegetic which invokes the voice of Lenny Marlina in other chapters of the auto/biography. The narratives in the chapter *Witnesses* create a fragmented yet cohering auto/biographical subject. Lenny Marlina, as the named auto/biographical subject, occupies different spaces and times; she is depicted as both the one that was living a hard life and the one who is living in wealth, the one who is unhappy and happy. These different voices give different accounts of how Lenny is remembered. While the narratives of people outside the family focus on her generosity, the narratives of the husband, mother, siblings, and children focus on Lenny Marlina most directly in relation to her second marriage as the story of Debby, Lenny's step-daughter, below shows (Said et al., 2004: 188):

At that time she still called Lenny “tante”¹⁰, and Lenny had no objection to that. They started building a communication bridge albeit still at the superficial level, a mere chit chat. They talked about general things, pertaining to everyday life. Debby thought Lenny was always proactive in making an approach to the children so that they could communicate [with her], including with Lenny's children. “We could be friends with her children,” Debby smiled softly.... At first, Debby objected to calling Lenny “bunda”¹¹, because she had not been able to think of Lenny as her mother. To Debby, her mother is only

⁷ “father”, usually by Sundanese people.

⁸ Bandung Institute of Technology (*Institut Teknologi Bandung*)

⁹ “mother”, usually by Sundanese people

¹⁰ *Auntie* – from Dutch, which in Indonesia is used not only to refer to women who are the sisters of the parents, but also to any elder women who are the friends of the parents.

¹¹ “Mother” in a more polite and poetic form.

one, her own mother. .. Later Debby realized that calling her with that affectionate name will become a bridge of affection. "Tante" was then transformed to "bunda", which was fair. It was not mama, it was not "ibu", it was "bunda". The distance grew smaller.

In these passages, Lenny Marlina as the auto/biographical subject is fragmented not only because she is framed within different times and spaces, but also because she is pictured from different points of view (the autodiegetic and the heterodiegetic) as well as by different characters included in the text. In other words, referentiality is created as an effect of the narrative, although there are multiple voices and viewpoints incorporated. At the same time, as each narrative is focussed on Lenny Marlina as the auto/biographical subject, the narrative produces a seemingly coherent and unified referentiality.

A similar type of narrative strategy is employed in the auto/biography of Titiek Puspa, Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara. In the final pages of Titiek Puspa's auto/biography (pages 320-331) there are sections that can be categorized as similar to the chapter of "Witnesses" in the auto/biography of Lenny Marlina. These pages contain narratives by different people who are close to her (her daughters and other celebrities). The difference is that in Titiek Puspa's the "witnesses" speak in autodiegetic rhetoric, namely by using "I", thus providing a more overt and seemingly direct enunciation between the narrator of the section (the individual celebrities included) and the readers. The same kind of narrative strategy is employed in Krisdayanti's auto/biography where the creation of the auto/biographical subject is complemented by the inclusion of the perspectives of her significant others, such as her husband, her make-up artist, her manager, her lawyer, as well as other people in the industry who claim closeness with her.

Looking at these multiple strategies of locating and producing the auto/biographical subject reveals the deployments of different spaces, times and viewpoints which work to support the narrative of celebrity transformation. The use of "I" in different spaces and times positions the autobiographical subjects as the authority from which their narrative is to be deemed true, accurate and coherent even as it emerges from different locations and in different voices. This is particularly useful in framing the pre-celebrity time and space of ordinariness destined for greatness. In the context of hardship that the celebrities have undergone, arguably the most extreme is that narrated in Dorce's *Aku Perempuan*. Dorce is described to have to do different menial and "lowly" work to make her living. In fact, the first chapters of Dorce's auto/biography engage mostly with her struggle as an orphan as well as her experience as an "abnormal" child/boy, particularly in her tendency to play with and to be like girls. This is reflected in the titles of the chapters in the auto/biography which are arranged in chronological order.

1. *My name used to be Dedi*¹²
2. *The difficult beginning*
3. *I want to be a woman*
4. *My big decision: Get a sex change operation*
5. *Pros and Cons I had to face*

In addition to the poverty that she had to bear, Dorce also felt disoriented about herself, as she was becoming more and more aware of her “abnormality”. She was born a boy but increasingly felt that she was a girl. The lack of familial support, except from her poor grandmother, increasingly added up to her feeling unwanted and out of place. Thus, in addition to poverty, Dorce’s narrative is elaborated by the absence of a sense of belonging, which can be felt in the first point of view narrator, or the “I” voice. As she reveals, Dorce did not go to school and ended up making her living and educating herself in the street as narrated in *Dorce* (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 9):

I went anywhere by foot. Nobody gave me any allowance. Finally the feet that were supposed to take me to school took me to the street. I felt more familiar being in the street. There was my real school. There I learnt to be dismissed, insulted, accepted, and loved.

As reflected in the titles of the later chapters, “*My life and career as a woman*,” “*I believe in true love*,” “*My spiritual journey*,” “*Becoming a real mother*,” “*Rumah Gadang and Dorce Halimatussa’diyah Foundation*,” “*Only women shall give me my final bath*”, the hardship is overcome. Dorce the auto/biographical subject of the first five chapters is not the same Dorce in the last chapters where she has become a content and successful celebrity.

In Dorce’s auto/biography, the journey to the final chapters also signifies a spiritual transformation, marked substantially by Dorce’s final wish that only women should give her final bath when she dies.¹³ This Dorce in the final chapter is certainly not the Dorce in the early chapter where she is narrated as having tried everything from alcoholic drinks, to marijuana, to megadon and other drugs. This is the phase where she was indifferent to religion, although not losing it completely (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 30): “*Fortunately, I managed to get out of drugs because basically I am not a drug addict and I still had some faith in God albeit only a drop of it.*”

The importance of a spiritual journey is particularly shared by Lenny Marlina who starts as a member of a family “*who is not religious. Muslims who do not apply the shari’ah into everyday life*” (Said et al., 2004: 10) and becomes a person who “*can spend hours in the*

¹² Dedi is a boy’s name

¹³ In Islamic tradition, the passing persons are given final bath and only family and persons of the same sex can give this bath.

prayers room built in the backyard of her house. Besides reciting, she also studies Al Qur'an diligently and deeply" (Said et al., 2004: 282). The examples of Dorce and Lenny Marlina show how these two auto/biographical subjects have managed to transform themselves into their present positions. In this respect, the transformation again highlights their extraordinariness in obtaining new high levels of spirituality and religiosity, where a religious subjectivity is signified as an achievement. I argue that this perspective is important in the local context of Indonesia where religion, particularly Islam, plays an important role in the construction of identity. In both auto/biographies, these protagonist celebrities produce the types of subjects that are exemplary, extraordinary, yet ordinary.

The narrative of hardship is important too in the auto/biography of Titiek Puspa, Krisdayanti, Yuni Shara and Tiara Lestari. These narratives detail the transformations, their victories in overcoming obstacles and difficulties which are the qualities that contribute to their celebrity-status. Titiek Puspa (Endah, 2008b), for example, describes the hardship and poverty that her family experienced during the war time in one whole chapter entitled "*Cassava Waste, Head of Salted Fish and Love...*" The title of the chapter symbolizes the level of hardship they had to endure as a family as their diet was reduced to cassava waste and salted fish. Yuni Shara's hardship is presented as milder. The narrative, told through the point of view of a longan tree in front of her old house in Malang, reveals the efforts of her mother to take care of her and her sister, Krisdayanti, as a single working mother. Poverty is perhaps not the right word to define their condition as the mother could still afford to buy them cheese when she wanted to indulge her two daughters (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 49). Cheese is not a cheap food in Indonesia. What complicates and heightens her story is the fact that her mother is a single mother. The tree (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 47) narrates:

.... she had been working really hard to be able to buy and fulfill the primary needs in the house to the minimum level of the most proper, of course it was really hard to do the duties of a father and a mother at the same time, alone.

The style of this auto/biography is poetic, rather than prosaic. The following passage describes motherhood and how the narrator/auto/biographical subject moves from a space in the past when she could have chosen to be something other than what she has become in the present (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 23), "*I would still be a woman who wanted to live her life with unlimited adventures if only I had not added into my identity a new status, becoming a bunda, for the two princes that will immortalize me*". This narrative is interrupted by the voice of Yuni Shara, the auto/biographical subject, who is articulating Yuni Shara the real subject and interrupts the flow of the narrator's story by using conversational language. The following passage provides a different narrative about her life and her two sons (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007):

Uugh...

*I only want to see everybody happy.
Everything peaceful...
You all don't need to think of me, or even just
take a pity on me.
I am... unimportant!
The most important things for me at this time are my children.
How with my limitations, I want them to grow to be capable men, independent
men, and become figures I can be proud of, or at least they themselves can
be proud of.
I want to continue to be healthy... I want to accompany them all the time until
They really have their own life companions.
I hope... hope... hope.... Gusti Allah listens to me*

The utterance is handwritten in capital letters, with a lot of word abbreviations, for example “HNYA” for “hanya” [only], or the use of “2” for repetition used to denote plural nouns, such as “anak2ku” for “anak-anakku” [my children]. This style signifies everyday language, which is informal and colloquial.

The distinctive feature of Yuni Shara’s auto/biography is perhaps the use of multiple references of the “I”/eyes which direct the reader’s attention explicitly to the question of point of view. In Yuni Shara’s auto/biography (from now onwards referred to as *Yuni Shara*), some chapters are written from Yuni Shara’s point of view; others are told from the points of view of her intimate others, including her mother, her husband, her father, her sister, her friends, her former teacher, and her admirer (who is also a celebrity himself). What is possibly most unique is the point of view of a longan tree in the front yard of her former house in Batu, Malang, which is instrumental in creating a view to the past, as I have elaborated in the discussion of her economically difficult childhood. However, regardless of the different perspectives and points of views, the coherent tone and language style across these different narratives suggest that the dominance of the authorial voice and the overall creation of a unitary and singular auto/biographical subject.

Despite the different perspectives that create Yuni Shara the auto/biographical subject as well as her own disruptions to the narrative of the auto/biographical subject, the auto/biographical narrative as a whole has actually created a unified portrayal of Yuni Shara. At the same time, the employment of these strategies to create the portrait show that Yuni Shara as an auto/biographical subject cannot be fully revealed. The different narratives, in other words, show that Yuni Shara the auto/biographical subject is fragmented as she emerges out of the “chaotic” narratives of herself through pictures, scraps of papers, and the poetic narrative of the author. She is complete precisely in the continuously incomplete description of herself. This narrative technique also emphasizes the fragments and gaps of the auto/biographical subject, for whatever knowledge imparted by the narrator of the story is always partial. On the other hand, the partiality can also be considered as the reflection of

the structure that constructs women to be always partially closed/covered. As Arswendo Atmowiloto in Geraldine & Triadi (2007: xv-xvi) remarks in the introduction,

Perhaps this is the real women's world – Yuni and Tamara are both women who, despite their difference in their level of openness, they still feel the need to cover some parts. This must be typically women, to cover or not to reveal something because they don't feel comfortable in doing it or are worried that they might hurt others.

In this context, it can be understood that on one hand the multiple points of view work to reveal the auto/biographical subject, but on the other hand, as these points of views are limited, their inability to “see” the whole creates Yuni Shara as a fragmented auto/biographical subject. The fragmented auto/biographical subject in Yuni Shara's text is emphasized by the lack of “logical” plot in the 18 chapters of the book. It opens with a story about her marriage(s) and ends with the exchange of comments between the co-authors. Throughout the book, there are different stories lined up in no particular logical order. No stories in this book are complete, and this locates Yuni Shara as an auto/biographical subject that can never be totally known by others. It can be argued that Yuni Shara the auto/biographical subject is fragmented through the memory of others, and at the same time the act of cohering these views can be signified as the attempt to produce the fairly stable auto/biographical subjectivity of Yuni Shara despite its fragmentation. In other words, the auto/biographical subject creates the celebrity as a real person to obtain the desired and desirable effect of establishing and maintaining her celebrity status. It invokes the fragmentation as a productive strength.

As I have explained, all auto/biographies include stories of difficult times that the celebrities have gone through. In Tiara Lestari's, the significant poverty narrative is provided through two points of view: first, through the eyes of her mother, and secondly, through the eyes of the narrator who is not identical with the auto/biographical subject. This narrative, however, is told in one separate chapter of the book, clearly marked as having different voices from the narrative of the auto/biographical subject. The pages of this chapter are framed and highlighted in grey. The following is the story by her mother, directly quoted by the witness narrator (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 135):

I gave birth to Ayu Lestari in a cow barn. People in my village call it the gondok. It means at the side. Next to the place to cook rice, there was a cow barn that was no longer used. As the main house of my father's was being renovated, the barn was cleaned up and it was made a bedroom. There I gave birth to Ayu, now more widely known as Tiara Lestari.

The passage above is a direct story of Tiara's mother that precedes the narrative by the narrator, which is told from the third person point of view. This chapter tells the story of

Tiara's poor past. This is then followed by the voice of the narrator that tells the story of Ita, Tiara's mother, from the narrator's point of view, as follows (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 138):

Born to a farmer family who lived on a substantial level in a village in Central Java, Ita educated her children in a strict discipline... After school, Tiara had to go home to help Ita in the family small shop that was the source of the family income. Tiara had to fry five to ten kilos of peanuts..."If she didn't fry the peanuts well, I sometimes hit her," Ita explained.

In all the auto/biographies where the autodiegetic or first person point of view is used, the sentiment for understanding the situation – the position, choices and decisions of the auto/biographical subject - is created through the proximity of the speaking "I" namely the narrator to the desired or idealized auto/biographical subject. In using an "I" to a "you" enunciation, the readers are somehow invited to see, feel and understand the obstacles and adversities these women had to face as young girls from relatively poor families. In a way, the readers are also invited to celebrate their success as the celebration of everyone's potential to overcome even the hardest impediments.

In other words, Watson (1993) argues that an auto/biography, by the nature of its reference to "life", cannot avoid revealing a life that is exemplary: thus the story of that life becomes worth writing. It can be argued that by its nature, auto/biography implies a progressive plot, a story that starts from an exposition of hardship or challenges - a narrative of struggle to overcome challenges and the triumph over the challenges - and finally a new stability in which the auto/biographical subject has been transformed into a better, wiser, or more successful person.

The celebrities' optimism and determination to persevere mark their narratives of individuation and difference. They are asserting their differences from their groups. In fact, in the case of Dorce, she performs her auto/biographical subject as not just different from "common" people, but also as different from the stories of other transgendered people. She writes that a lot of transgendered people may pretend to be transgendered only to get money as prostitutes (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005), but her journey was one of perseverance towards her true or real self. Likewise, Lenny Marlina also suggests that one of the keys to success is "[p]erhaps, I am a person who is always serious in doing anything and I persevere" (Said et al., 2004: 19).

This, interestingly, brings both works to congruence with those conventions of autobiography which glorify difference as excellence over others. However, these works simultaneously mobilize the supposedly typical characteristics of women's auto/biography, especially in the delineation of relationships with others. The construction of female celebrity auto/biographical subjects discussed in this section is not only built on their distinction from

others but in proximity and relationship with others, particularly husbands/partners, children, parents/parents-in-law and their intimate others.

The feast of techniques and styles

Celebrity auto/biography is situated in popular culture and this location creates and requires new strategies to narrate and produce auto/biography. This section charts the different structures, techniques, and styles employed in the different celebrity auto/biographies. These different narrative apparatuses in the celebrity auto/biographies support the notion of the fragmented auto/biographical subject discussed in the previous chapter. The techniques and styles discussed in this section include media publication, tables, text messages, diaries, tips, and magazine structure, including advertisements.

The use of mass-media publications

Celebrities rely on the media for the establishment and the maintenance of their celebrity-status. In the following I discuss the direct inclusion of different forms of media in the auto/biographies of Dorce, Lenny Marlina and Yuni Shara.

As I discussed earlier, Dorce's narrative in the auto/biography is generally linear and progressive, moving from her difficult childhood to her fame. The introduction of different publications disrupts the main narrative but at the same time it complements the narrative as it provides a fuller and more complex picture of her transition. These introduced publications can be considered as different perspectives in the construction of the auto/biographical subject. There are five publications included in Dorce's auto/biography, including one from *Utusan Malaysia*, a Malaysian newspaper. Within the definition of the auto/biographical in this thesis, these different publications can be considered as auto/biographical although created using a third person point of view. In fact, one text of publication included in the auto/biography is actually part of a serial auto/biography in *FEMINA* magazine (see Figure 3.2). This text uses the first person narrator, which establishes a closer rapport between Dorce the auto/biographical subject and the readers. In other words, her auto/biography contains another auto/biography and various other auto/biographical texts. The following images show the publications included in the texts:



Figure 3.2: Dorce, Femina Serial



Figure 3.3: Dorce, Utusan Malaysia



Figure 3.4: Dorce, New ID card



Figure 3.5: Dorce, Visiting Islamic Boarding school Figure 3.6: Dorce, First Film

Several key themes emerge in the publications included in Dorce’s auto/biography. Four out of six publications included in Dorce’s auto/biography focus on her sex-change surgery and only two out of six have clear publication origins. The choice for the inclusion of those texts thus signifies the importance of her sex-change operation to the construction of her femininity and her celebrity-status. She repeatedly puts forward her claim to being a “real woman”. At the second level, attention must be paid to the density of publications and the choice of what media is included. This is important in establishing the level of her popularity and significance in popular culture as greater visibility or coverage signifies greater celebrity. The inclusion of the Malaysian media, for example, shows that her popularity has transgressed national and cultural borders. Additionally, the positioning of the publications against the image of piles of publications visually suggests the extent of the coverage. This shows Dorce is a well-known and highly visible celebrity and has attracted a wide range of publications.

One point that emerges in these seemingly un-choreographed “scraps” of publications is the active creation and deployment of a complex auto/biographical subject across time and space, and through different points of view. Dorce the auto/biographical subject is at once one and multiple, fragmented and whole. She is all the different subjects of the auto/biography. The “I”/eye that asses[es] the media publication is Dorce the auto/biographical subject at the time the auto/biography was written. In other words, the distance between the time the media publications were released and the writing of this auto/biography produces different Dorses: the Dorses that were in the publications and Dorce the auto/biographical subject who is rereading the publications and revealing her

experience of the publications. As an effect of the gap, the auto/biographical subject is on one hand fragmented and on the other hand, the referentiality to the celebrity as a real person constantly provides coherence to the auto/biographical subject.

The second sample I examine in this section is the auto/biography of Lenny Marlina. *Si Lenny's* inclusion of media publications can be divided into two types: magazine covers and news/gossip about the “alleged” relationship between her and Bambang W. Soeharto, her present husband. These inclusions occur early in the 288-page auto/biography, which signifies the centrality of these specific publications in the journey of her life as well as in establishing her celebrity status. The covers of the magazines (Figure 3. 7) on one hand document Lenny Marlina’s different forms of femininity and beauty in her younger years. On the other hand, the various magazines show the level of her popularity and significance in popular culture at that time, which is explicitly stated on the same page, “During her heydays as an actress, Lenny Marlina often modelled for the covers of mass media, both magazines and newspapers” (Said et al., 2004: xxv)



Figure 3.7: Lenny Marlina, Cover Magazines

Lenny Marlina’s auto/biography includes various media publications which focus on the rumours around her relationship with her then husband-to-be, Bambang W. Soeharto. There were three publications that alleged the relationship between Lenny Marlina and Bambang (see Figure 3.8). In all three publications, Lenny Marlina strongly denied the relationship, claiming that she did not even know Bambang in one publication, that she was having an

ordinary friendship with Bambang in another, and in the other publication stated that she would like to apologize to Bambang, going as far as asking the journalists to find her his address. These publications are located against the piece of news from a gossip tabloid *Cek and Ricek* (Figure 3.9), which reflected the media's discontent with the fierce denials offered by both Lenny and Bambang. The Indonesian media questioned the sincerity of the couple who finally went public with their marriage not long after the gossip emerged and despite their constant denials (Said et al., 2004: xxvii). Interestingly, the media publication that cynically protests against Lenny Marlina's constant denial of any relationship with Bambang W. Soeharto, entitled "*Between Denials and the Truth*" (Said et al., 2004: xxvii) is put next to the image of the wedding. The narrator of Lenny Marlina's auto/biography comments on these publications, "*Lenny Marlina and Bambang W. Soeharto finally got married on the 21st of January 1999. Prior to that, mass media had reported the liaison between the two celebrities*" (Said et al., 2004: xxvii). The inclusion of these publications, albeit having a rather negative tone, highlights her status as a celebrity even though she is no longer working within the show business. The focus on her relationship also emphasizes how a female celebrity is framed within the context of normative femininity in that she is defined based on her sexuality and her role as a partner and wife. Such a publication and the active inclusion here shows that as a celebrity her private life is constantly exposed to the public, blurring the domains of private and public. The cynical tone that *Cek and Ricek* adopted in dealing with Lenny Marlina's denial shows to some extent the media's claim to the right of access to a celebrity's private life. Their demand that Lenny Marlina should disclose her relationship with Bambang shows particularly that the private life of celebrities has been naturalized to be public. Her desire to keep a private life is shunned precisely because there is an assumption that her private life belongs to the public and the public has every right to know about her private life, a demand which the inclusion of these pieces in her auto/biography acknowledges.



Figure 3.8: Lenny Marlina: media publications **Figure 3.9: Lenny Marlina: wedding and C&R**

The third example of the inclusion of diverse publications is Yuni Shara's auto/biography *Yuni Shara: 35 Cangkir Kopi*. In this auto/biography, six scraps of news from different magazines are arranged as if they were put randomly on the table. Different from *Aku Perempuan* and *Si Lenny*, Yuni Shara's inclusion does not use the full form of the publication, but draws on quotations from different magazines and websites that are used to compare Yuni Shari with her sister Krisdayanti (the subject of her own auto/biography), especially in their achievements as models, singers, and as a person (see Figure 3.10). The two following quotes emblemize this:

- *Whether you agree or not, this time there is no female singer more famous than Yuni Shara (Kartini magazines, 15-24 November 1995)*
- *We made a poll targeted at our customers, and asked them to name a multi-talented and high-achiever, and the name that we got was Krisdayanti (www.suaramerdeka.com)*

These more truncated media inclusions make the level of intentionality and fictionalization in *Yuni Shara* more explicit than in the auto/biographies of Lenny Marlina's and Dorce's. It also implies that while the inclusion of these publications intended to compare Yuni Shara and her sister, Krisdayanti, the author controls the narrative not only in terms of what is included but also how it is to be interpreted as the voice of the narrator who "explains", *[t]he two cups genuinely never compete with each other, they just exchange and share with each other* (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 62).



Figure 3.10: Yuni Shara and Krisdayanti, media publications

The complexity of the structure of Yuni Shara’s auto/biography actually offers the most challenging narrative techniques and reveals most clearly the creation of the new auto/biographical forms I am arguing for here. This auto/biography produces an auto/biographical subject that cannot be easily pinned down and stabilized. This instability and fluidity are created not only by the varied narrative techniques, but also by the different points of view. Even more so, Yuni Shara the auto/biographical subject is not easy to grasp as she is presented primarily in poetic and metaphorical language, in a style that requires further readings and interpretations, compared, for example, to the colloquial and conversational style used by Tiara Lestari, even when she continues to use Bahasa Indonesia and English simultaneously. I return to this question of the simultaneous deployment of English and Indonesian later.

The use of tables

The narrative techniques employed in Yuni Shara’s auto/biography offer a new way of establishing auto/biographical subjects both as celebrities and “ordinary people” as well as of presenting relationships and sisterhood, the text uses tables more commonly associated with other forms of writing that aspire to the objective or scientific. It is extremely rare that a table is included in an auto/biography to narrate the story of the auto/biographical subject, and even more interestingly, to establish the relation between the auto/biographical subject and her intimate other[s]. The table lists questions on small and trivial details about Yuni Shara and her sister Krisdayanti, such as their heights, weights, shoe sizes, bed times,

sleep attire, morning rituals, the most successful diets, the last time they took a bajaj¹⁴, the numbers of wedding parties and funerals they have attended, and so on. The two auto/biographical subjects answer the questions in handwriting, which provides a sense of authenticity, particularly to the table and to the auto/biography as a whole.



Figure 3.11: Yuni Shara and Krisdayanti, table

There are two areas of arguments that I draw from the inclusion of this table. First in these diverse structures, these female celebrity auto/biographies again demonstrate their divergences from conventional forms of auto/biography and reveal their open and flexible structures. As the table equally depicts two subjects, it can be argued that while the auto/biography is that of Yuni Shara's, rather than producing only one auto/biographical subject, the table produces two auto/biographical subjects, namely Yuni Shara and Krisdayanti. Narratively, I also argue that the table can be read as a form of feminized narrative that is open and generous, one yet multiple, fragmented yet complete. Secondly, following the argument of Robinson (1991) and Smith (1998) in Chapter One that the auto/biographical subject is the effect of the narrative rather than the cause of the narrative, I argue that in using a table as a narrative technique and in comparing the two celebrity sisters, Yuni Shara's auto/biography produces an auto/biographical subject that is simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary, different from others but also the same as this particular other who is a celebrity too. The use of the table implies that there are comparable things shared by the two celebrities that make them worthy of comparison and contrast. In this context, their sisterhood and connection are taken for granted which points toward more relational auto/biographical subjects as it emphasizes their connectedness with their

¹⁴ a three-wheeled public transportation that operates almost like a taxi except that it doesn't use a meter. The cost is negotiated between the rider and the passengers. It is cheap, yet highly uncomfortable and noisy and referred to as "low-class" public transportation.

significant others. Third, reflecting on the questions asked of each woman, I argue that this table provides a space to perform femininity as the questions are mostly connected to feminine roles: namely, those regarding appearance, family and domestic skills, fulfilling other people's needs and attracting men's attention, such as were suggested by Fierbert in Duke and Kreshel (1998) as discussed in Chapter Two. This table provides a space where the private and the public are clearly blurred as most of the questions can be considered private, such as "*what do you wear to sleep?*" (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 56) or "*what do you pray for after shalat?*" (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 59). Structurally, this table mobilizes a new and potentially more embracing form of life narrative that actively deploys feminine constructs to create coherent auto/biographical subjects.

The use of text messages

Yuni Shara's auto/biography employs text messages as part of the text (or sms, short messages through mobile phones), which turn out to be quite effective in conveying the various aspects of her life. The text message from Chia, Yuni Shara's step-daughter, foretells the story about Henry Siahaan, Yuni Shara's husband¹⁵ who got arrested for the alleged embezzlement in a police project. It says (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 131):

*"I am sorry if Chia has not been much help. I know you always understand... Perhaps Chia has not shown it much but Chia really loves Tante Yuni and my little brothers GBU2! ☺"*¹⁶

Cup Base, a chapter in Yuni Shara's auto/biography, is narrated from Yuni Shara's husband, Henry Siahaan's point of view. It mostly talks about difficult times he experienced during his marriage with Yuni Shara, his confusion when he found himself being detained by the police, though he appears to be calm in his text message to Yuni Shara (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 132):

"Saeng, even if I have to be detained today... you don't have to worry about anything. It's alright."

The story of his detention is completed by another text message from Yuni Shara's other step-daughter, Caca, who writes (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 135):

"Be firm and strong, please, Tante Yuni. God Bless you... If there is anything, just sms me... Take care! =)

¹⁵ Yuni got a divorce from Henry Siahaan on 17 January 2009. (kpl, buj, & tri, 2009)

¹⁶ Her text message is written in Bahasa Indonesia and English. To codify the use of language, the translation from Bahasa Indonesia is written in italics. In Indonesia, in general children address themselves by names to the elders, especially their parents.

Through these text messages, Yuni Shara does not directly disclose the situations she has had to face, but turns her account of these situations to the creation of an intimate and immediate account of the relationship that she has with her husband and her two step-daughters in the public. As text messages are supposedly private in nature (they go from one person to another directly), the contents of the text messages reveal what is not public. The choice of texts of the two step-daughters reveal the closeness between them and the fondness, the respect and the empathy that they would like to share with their father's wife. Similarly, the way the husband addresses her in his text message indicates the intimacy between them despite the difficult time. By revealing what is supposed to be private, the narrative implies the notion and desire of celebrity auto/biographies, as Dyer argues, "to show us the star as he or she really is" (Dyer, 1987: 11) or "keeping it real" useful for "the intensification of the intimacy we are invited to feel with their feeling" (Littler, 2004: 18).

There is a further variation of the text messages, which is the use of pseudo text messages to create particular direct communications, as in the following instance: (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 65)

Recipient: Yuni Shara
*Hopefully there will be a falling star tonight,
I long and really long
for my cups to be filled by Em Uni
I really miss you
Let me share just the smallest part
The loneliness that you have kept to your subjectivity
Gives me pain
Thousand times more...*

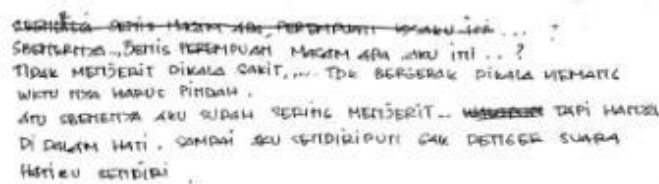
From : Kartika Sari
Date : 03/06/2007
Time : Now and Forever

While the previously examined "real" texts use daily languages, marked by incorrect Bahasa Indonesian grammar, slang words, and the use of more than one language simultaneously, usually English and Bahasa Indonesia, this particular "text message" from Kartika Sari has a poetic style that marks the author's style, not the colloquial language of text messaging. Yet it functions to complete and enhance the portrayal of Yuni Shara the auto/biographical subject.

The use of diaries

The exploration of narrative techniques extends to the use of notes resembling those from a diary. These notes are used almost as illustrations of the body text in which the author tells

about Yuni Shara's [first] broken marriage from Yuni Shara's point of view. The following is an example (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 4):



~~SEBENYAR... DENIS... HANYA... PERSEPTU... KANAKU... JAWA... ?~~
SEBENYAR... DENIS... PERSEPTU... KANAKU... JAWA... ?
TIDAK MENYERIT DIKALA SAKIT, ... TDK BERGERAK DIKALA MEMALU
Waktu itu saya mau pindah.
JAU SEBENYAR... AKU SUDAH SERING MENYERIT... ~~Walaupun~~ TAPI HANYA
DI DALAM HATI. SAMPAI AKU SENDIRI PUTI GAK DETIKER SUARA
HATI KU SENDIRI.

Figure 3.12: Yuni Shara, notes

*Actually... what kind of woman am I...?
I don't scream when I was in pain... I don't move when
I am supposed to move.
Or have I actually often screamed... but only
In my heart, I can't even here the voice
Of my own heart.*

The seemingly realistic and immediate characteristics of the notes are enhanced by the crossing out of unwanted words, creating the impression that the diary is intended for private use and reading. The idea of the diary is utilized here to create the idea of sharing with the public what is supposed to be private. This is similar to the inclusions of the sms texts. However, even as a private reading, a diary still has an imagined reader. A diary writer may imagine herself being the reader, creating a gap between the "I" that writes and the "I" that reads, or the "I" now and the "I" then, as written by Virginia Woolf and quoted by Shari Benstock (Benstock, 1991: 1053).

In the case of Yuni Shara, it can be argued that her diary has not been exactly intended for private reading. As she points out in the chapter, *The Water in the Cup, Monday till Sunday (Tips to love your husband in Yuni's Way)*, "Write the unsaid in a diary. Put in the most secret place. He will most certainly find and read it." (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 85). Her diary has, from the beginning, imagined a reader other than herself. Her husband is in fact the shadow reader of her diary. In this context, her diary can also be seen as a tool of communication between herself and her husband, particularly for the unsaid. In a wider context, I argue that the husband actually prefigures the public as the intended reader of the diary. Thus, the revelation of her diary in this auto/biography can be understood as an invitation to her supposedly most secret place in her personal life, a place that she nevertheless intends and is willing to share with the public. In other words, the use of the diary and other personal texts that are originally or supposedly for private reading in the auto/biography signifies the crisscrossing and intermingling of the private and public

domains in the construction of the auto/biographical subject in this auto/biography. The exposure of diaries and text messages to and from these intimate others in public epitomizes this blurring of private and public spaces as well as the obscuring of the distinction between private person and public persona.

The use of magazine's structure in celebrity auto/biographies

In this section I discuss the structure of book-length of auto/biographies that mimic or invoke the structure of women's magazines: Krisdayanti, Titek Puspa, Yuni Shara, and Tiara Lestari. Basically, the story of the four auto/biographical subjects contains the elements of *bildungsroman* as discussed in Chapter Two, about humble beginnings, hard work, and success. However, unlike the auto/biographies of Lenny Marlina and Titek Puspa, the stories in the auto/biographies of Krisdayanti, Yuni Shara and Tiara Lestari are not presented in chronological order. They all start from a certain significant point in their lives. Krisdayanti begins with her victory in the cover girl contest that first drew the public attention to her; Yuni Shara describes her horrible first marriage; and Tiara Lestari describes the defining moment when she decided to open up and write her own version of herself after shaking the whole nation by posing naked in Spain Playboy. The story of their childhoods and humble beginnings are presented in flashbacks. Krisdayanti's flashback comes immediately after her reminiscence of the cover girl contest. She then moves immediately to the day she was born and chronologically narrates the story of success till the current day when she has "become a diva". In short, the stories of the three auto/biographies are not clearly presented in a linear and chronological way that invokes notions of objective truths and impartial observations. Rather they include fragmented and ruptured temporalities and points of view as part of their structures. These interrupted, as opposed to continuous, plots rehearse magazines' discontinuous story telling techniques and key themes such as bodily improvement.

Krisdayanti's auto/biography is heavily populated by "how to" articles which denote a woman's body as having flaws and as a project that is never completed, also linked to the structures of women's magazines. The article "*I am not perfect*" (Endah, 2004: 117) is an excellent example of the body improvement article in magazines while at the same time drawing on the narrative of extraordinariness and ordinariness central to celebrity accounts. Exposed in the media as the ideal[ized], she has to display an ordinariness that will help her build rapport with the readers or her fan base. However, while acknowledging that her body is not perfect she outlines the hard work and the highly managed consumptive behaviour (slimming program, cosmetics, designer works, contact lens, less-food consumption or particular food consumption) she undertakes. Body and beauty are presented as never-ending projects in achieving appropriate femininity.

As well as thematic links between women's magazines and these auto/biographies, the four texts weave in different features, such as "editorials' by the auto/biographical subjects", which offer advice and information on matters that are central in women's magazines, such as how to look beautiful, how to choose dresses, how to stay slim, how to be a good wife, how to cook, how to do domestic work, and so forth, romances, and advertisements, which will be further examined in the next section. The four auto/biographies contain a typical feature of women's magazines, namely the "Tips" feature. The four auto/biographical subjects present their femininities through what seems to be editorial, or instructive articles about how to be feminine in the global era while at the same time being firmly rooted as an Indonesian and Muslim. These tips allow the female celebrity to position herself both as the "editor" of the "magazine", as well as the subject presented as the model for the particular feature. These messages are particularly and explicitly reflected in the "*Tips to loving the husband a la Yuni*" by Yuni Shara (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 80). There are 35 tips altogether, but I focus here on those which particularly reflect the local and global aspects of the tips and how at times the two intersect:

- *Tell every morning that we love ourselves before telling "I love you" to your husband.* (tip no. 1).
- *Make sure that we're not running out of rice at home.* (tip no. 2)
- *Always take leave, as if we might not be given a chance by God to see him again.* (tip no. 4).
- *Be the best instant noodle maker in the whole world for him, 24 hours!* (tip no. 5)
- *Silence is gold[en], praying for your spouse when you're not on good terms is diamond.* And diamonds are a girls' best friend. (tip no. 14)
- *Only cry when you're washing for prayer or when you are praying.* (tip no. 21)
- *I am not a super woman (it's okay to fail in our attempt to cook half-boiled eggs).* (tip No. 23)
- *Celebrate every difference. Fanaticism is a disease.* (tip no. 25)
- *If there is an unresolved problem, dismiss it. Because a husband is not a Superman (if he is, he'll be wearing his underwear outside).* (tip no. 29)
- *Learn how to massage and to currycomb well.* (tip no. 30)

As observable in tips no. 1, 14, 21 and 25, her axioms on negotiating the nexus of global and local femininities are expressed in both Bahasa Indonesia and English. The use of English in the tips signify how her local position as a wife in Indonesia draws in ideas of global culture to be able to frame her situation, for example in tip no. 1, the words "I love you" are said as if the utterance were in Bahasa Indonesia. I argue that this particular point shows the intersection of global and local construct because uttering affection such as saying "*Aku sayang padamu*" or "*aku cinta padamu*" which means "I love you" is not common, particularly in that context. However, showing affection by saying "I love you" in English is acceptable as it is considered as part of global culture which renders such

expression possible. "I love you" is thus localized not by translation but by accepting it as another cultural form that can be adapted and adopted to local culture.

The use of English and Bahasa Indonesia simultaneously is an important part of Indonesian global/urban culture. In analyzing Lupus serial stories, Sen and Hill (2000: 34) argue that

Lupus stories are not unique in Indonesian fiction in the way they work between languages.... What is new in the Lupus series is the almost exclusive use of English in the title and the cover, as well as the dedication... and the English-Language chapter titles, which makes these books visually indistinguishable from the translated fictions with which they compete. Second, most uses of English terms and global signifiers, from fettuccini to grunge, do not imply a self-conscious strategy. Rather, these words are unavoidable... because they are part of the milieu of the fiction and its readers. The English in the Lupus series is part of its Indonesian.

The phenomenon documented in the Lupus series is apparent in these female celebrities' auto/biographies. The concept of "super woman" and the reference to "Superman", in tips 23 and 29 respectively, suggest that the narrator takes the concepts for granted that the two terms are well-known and thus need no further explanation, which implies the influence of global ideas in local concepts of femininity. It is clear too from her tips that while a wife is expected to behave in a certain traditional way, including taking care of/serving her husband well and submitting to him (tips no. 2, 4, 5, 23, 30), she also has to have a liberated view of being a wife by taking care of herself and not being harsh on herself (Tips no. 1, 7). At the same time she is preaching that a wife has to be able to conceal her sadness and cries, and thus only cries when she is taking the wash for praying or when she is praying. Tip no. 21 shows that Yuni aims at showing her strength by concealing her feelings, and at the same time displaying her religiosity as a Muslim. It can be argued that through these tips, Yuni Shara the auto/biographical subject reveals the complicated negotiations of multiple intersecting fields of femininity created in the global/local context.

The most striking resemblance of book-length celebrity auto/biographies to women's magazines is that the text is structured around images and photography, as discussed in Chapter One. Krisdayanti's auto/biography is a glamorous big book of the size of fashion magazines and is illustrated and decorated by ample artistic images bearing similarity to those in global fashion magazines. The same can be observed in Yuni Shara's auto/biography, which is predominantly illustrated not by pictures from the past but by pictures that are specifically intended for publication in the auto/biography. Tiara Lestari's auto/biography cannot be said to be a glamorous book. Despite the fact that Tiara Lestari is a model, the images in her auto/biography are mostly taken from her own collections, creating a more 'intimate' impression than in the auto/biographies of Krisdayanti, Titiok

Puspa and Yuni Shara where the pictures were taken specifically for the purpose of illustrating/decorating their respective auto/biographies. In the auto/biographies of Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara that I discuss as examples in this part, the images portray the auto/biographical subjects as glamorous commodities. These books portray glamour and luxury as the everyday norms for these female celebrities through the persistent displays of glamorous clothing even in the very unlikely settings. Rather than providing the image attached to the real time event, each image is created to refer to the event while maintain a coherent visual account of the celebrity. These auto/biographical subjects are constantly fragmented but cohering.



Figure 3.13: Yuni Shara, two sons



Figure 3.14: Krisdayanti, Anang

Figure 3.13 is from Yuni Shara's auto/biography, in the chapter where she talks about her two sons. The images resemble high street studio photography in that she is wearing a dress that is not entirely natural in the setting of home that is invoked. The images reflect highly conventional family pictures where every member of the family is pictured to be happy and all smiles, but the whole effect of the photography is that of fashion photography, particularly marked by the haute couture gown that Yuni Shara wears. Similarly in figure 3.14, where Krisdayanti talks about her close relationship with her husband, the poses, garments and locations are more akin to a fashion spread than to a domestic setting.

In the images in their respective auto/biographies, Yuni Shara and Krisdayanti appear to be “always beautiful”, dressed up, and made up. Even in their everyday moments they are adorned. Their faces are made up, their clothes are for display, the poses are always calculated and the images are artistic. These features are clearly observable in fashion magazines, and just like the models in fashion magazines, Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara are

made to look always beautiful, both through the skill of the photographers as well as through editing and airbrushing. Yuni Shara rightly thanks Darwis Triadi, a well-known fashion photographer who co-writes the auto/biography; "*Bapak Darwis Triadi...never fails to make me beautiful*" (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: xxi) . I argue that just like images in fashion and women's magazines, beautiful images in celebrity auto/biography are intended for display. They are carefully selected and touched for perfection. In other words, these images depict celebrity femininities through feminine roles as beautiful and sexual objects, partners and carers. The discussion of how images work in the construction of celebrity femininity will be further explored in Chapter Four.

Advertisements

The discussion about advertisements is important not only because it is central to the location and portrayal of each celebrity in their auto/biography but also because it is an important site for the discussion of the notions of commodity, commodification, and consumption as outlined in Chapter Two. I argue that one aspect of celebrity auto/biography that may not be found in other kinds of auto/biography is the inclusion of advertisements that feature the auto/biographical subjects as the models. Krisdayanti's auto/biography is a good example of this direct use of advertisements in auto/biography, as advertisements are a particularly significant part of the text. The auto/biography is heavily populated with product placements that are both explicit and covert and are interlaced with the narrative, just like women's magazines (E. McCracken, 1993). Krisdayanti's *Seribu Satu KD* is structured around advertisements modelled by Krisdayanti, as well as various editorials and features that further suggest the importance of the products on offer. As a whole, there are fourteen commodities advertised in this auto/biography, each fills one or two pages of the auto/biography, two appear in different parts of the auto/biography. The most frequent is the advertisement for Mercedes Benz as shown in the organizational structure of the text and the integrated advertisements in the following table:

Table: 3.1 Organizational structure of text and advertisements in Krisdayanti Auto/biography

Advertisements	Articles Illustrated	Topics	Types of advertisements	Page
Mercedes Benz	Preface	Luxury as reward of achievements	covert ¹⁷	6
GE Master Card	My career my battle	Financial hardship, humble beginning	explicit ¹⁸	15
Hemaviton Tonic	Emotion Management	How to always perform at her best	explicit	38
Mercedes Benz	Praises from other prominent celebrities	Her stardom, her being a diamond	explicit	44-45
Felice jewellery	My appearance is playing with jewellery	Her transformation from a person who doesn't like jewellery to the cultured one who knows what to wear	covert	74-75
Different designers	I make good friendship with designers	Her closeness to different designers	covert	76-83
Gaga Star Mie (instant noodles)	I let myself go for expensive dresses	Spending money, feeling guilty about it.	explicit	85-87
Felice jewellery	Kissing romanticism	Romantic pictures	Explicit	108
Kenanga cosmetics	Making up makes me happy. I am not perfect Making up proves women's strength	Looking beautiful is a must	Explicit (in the text, it implies she doesn't use the cosmetic advertised)	120-122
Exoticon (contact lens)	Performing the best on stage is a long journey	How to look beautiful	explicit	130-131
Impressions (slimming program)	Fat.. Fat.. Fat.. I am scared	how to be slim (toned down by later statement that all women need is the spirit to be beautiful)	Covert & explicit	134-138
Marimas (instant drink)	Appearing in the chapter narrating about her children, home and husband/marriage		Explicit	176
MultiVisionPlus (Production House)	Appearing in the chapter narrating about her children, home and husband/marriage		explicit	177
KIRIN	Appearing in the chapter narrating about her children, home and husband/marriage	How to do domestic works with the help of the home appliances	Explicit and textual (auto/biographical)	178-181
Mercedes Benz	My car my comfort	How she needs the luxury car to ensure her well-being	visual and in-text	192
Rumah Kertanegara	Spectacular images		Explicit and textual	202
Octagon Photography Workshop	Spectacular images		Explicit	203

¹⁷ "Covert" means that the advertised object is implied in the narrative.

¹⁸ "Explicit" means that the advertised object appears in the actual print advertisements or with the clear logo marking the product.

Looking at the organizational structure, we can see that this auto/biography draws explicitly and consistently on the need to actively create and produce femininity, with a focus on beauty, sexuality and bodies. I can argue that celebrity femininity relies heavily on images (Mercedes Benz, Rumah Kertanegara, Octagon); appearance, including beauty and body (Felice Jewellery, different designers, Kenanga cosmetics, Exoticon, Impressions); domestic life (KIRIN, Gaga Star Mie, Marimas); public life and work (MultiVision House); and sexuality (Hemaviton Tonic). This categorization is of course not absolute because they are interconnected in the way that is typical in celebrity culture, particularly the blurring of private/public spheres and ordinary/extraordinary.

In this section I discuss in more detail advertisements in Krisdayanti's auto/biography, namely Mercedes Benz and KIRIN home appliances and how these advertisements work to create and secure her celebrity status in a global/local context.

Krisdayanti's auto/biography is opened by a preface from the President of a luxury car company in Indonesia (Figure 3.15) which positions Krisdayanti's auto/biography as a commercial commodity as much as an endeavour to tell a story about the life of Krisdayanti as a celebrity. The preface can be considered as a covert advertisement which shows that the car and Krisdayanti are connected as commodities. Krisdayanti is the consumer of the car, but the car brand benefits from Krisdayanti's celebrity status. Mercedes-Benz is a luxurious choice, as she notes even for her (Endah, 2004). On one hand, Mercedes Benz signifies Krisdayanti's position as a glamorous celebrity. The car inevitably serves as an important image-making commodity in the culture where images are crucial. On the other hand, as Krisdayanti herself has established celebrity status, her consumption of the car signifies the high value of the car. Her use of the car helps sustain Mercedes Benz's luxury image. This covert advertisement is further emphasized in a section where Krisdayanti talks about her favourite car, which is of course, a Mercedes Benz (Figure 3.16). In the context of the car's advertisement, Krisdayanti is a commodity used to sell the car. Both Mercedes Benz and Krisdayanti benefit in terms of the image derived from the collaboration. While the preface articulates the perspective of the car on Krisdayanti (Figures 3.15), in the section *My Car My Comfort*, Krisdayanti articulates her perspective on the car (Figure 3.16). In other words, both are commodified in this collaboration, which again affirms the commodity-consumer interchange in celebrity culture.



Figure 3.15: Krisdayanti, Preface by Daimler-Benz Indonesia



Figure 3.16: Krisdayanti, My Car, My Comfort

Another instance of an advertisements functioning as an auto/biographical practice is shown in the advertisement for *Kirin* (Figure 3.17). *KIRIN* is a brand of home appliances. This

advertisement is presented in the form of a narrative, particularly describing the domestic side of Krisdayanti (in opposition to the public one) as follows (Endah, 2004: 181):



Figure 3.17: Krisdayanti, KIRIN advertisement

I am a practical housewife.

Even though I am busy, I am actually a housewife who is always “anxious” to take care of the house. Choosing home appliances is among other things that I think about. When our whole family moved to a bigger house around Radio Dalam, I did a lot of refurbishment of home appliances.

Because I have a more stylish kitchen, I also bought electronic kitchen appliances that are more stylish. I chose KIRIN because of the variation of the products and the beautiful designs. I started with an electric oven. Then the collection expanded to blender, microwave, beauty cooker, and cookware. Even the whole corners of the house are air-conditioned by KIRIN air conditioner. It turned out that KIRIN is not only stylish. Time has proven that its products are long-lasting and work well. So, what is it that any housewife wishes for apart from “a friendly range of helpers”?

This *Kirin* advertisement reinforces the possibility of advertisements operating as a form of auto/biographical practice. The use of narrative in the advertisements draws on and embeds the notion of ordinary and extraordinary in the performance of celebrity femininity. This advertisement of homewares seems to expose Krisdayanti as a “real person” behind the glamour that surrounds her as a celebrity, someone that is “like any other housewife”. The term “practical” also suggests her ordinariness as a housewife. But the liberty to choose

luxury home appliances and the extensive use of them are obviously not a capacity that every housewife has.

From these instances of the relationship between the auto/biographical subject and advertisements included, it can be argued that these life narratives are intertwining not only the auto/biographical subject and other characters in the auto/biography, but also intermingling these auto/biographical subjects and materials or commodities that have signified and sustained their images. The inclusion of advertisements in Krisdayanti's auto/biography operates as a way of establishing the intersection of consumer-commodity-commodification as well as the intersections between ordinary/ordinary and private/public. In these last two sections focused on images and advertisements I have explored how these different narrative techniques drawn from women's magazines are employed in these selected female celebrity auto/biographies to create further layers in the fragmented yet cohering constructions of auto/biographical subjects.

In this chapter, through a focus on the key content and narratives structures of my selected auto/biographical texts, I have suggested that in these new forms, the "auto/biographical pact" and the authenticity of an auto/biography are not established by the identicalness of authors/ narrators/protagonists, but are negotiated in complex and innovative ways. While the voices of the auto/biographical subjects are fragmented due to the different voices, points of view and different narrative techniques and strategies, the production and presentation of these different elements of text work to create a cohering and self-referential position for the celebrity. Despite the fragmented constructions and mixed texts in these auto/biographies, the auto/biographical subjects are ultimately authoritative in the context of the auto/biography. Narratives of transformation from poor or marginalized to celebrity status are consistently used to establish linear and authoritative narratives of transformation and success. In the book-length auto/biographies, celebrity femininities are revealed to be performed through blurred boundaries of public/private as well as global/local. These auto/biographical subjects overcome obstacles and move through space and time as they obtain celebrity status. In the next chapter, I focus specifically on how global and local narratives and ideals of femininity are mobilized, managed and performed in these auto/biographies, as these auto/biographical subjects negotiate their self-presentations. Furthermore, I continue developing a critical analysis of Indonesian celebrity femininities in the context of Indonesian popular culture as performed in the book-length auto/biographies selected.

CHAPTER 4

Femininities in the Auto/biographies of Ageing, Contemporary and Transsexual Celebrities: A Thematic Analysis

Within my own consciousness my “I” has no beginning and no end. .. Stories are the means by which values are made coherent in particular situations. And this narrativity, this possibility of conceiving my beginning and end as a whole life, is always enacted in the time/space of the other: I may see my death, but not in the category of my “I” for my “I,” death occurs only for others, even when the death in question is my own. (Holquist, 1990: 37)

In the previous chapter I discussed how the narrative structure of these celebrity auto/biographies, including new intersecting configurations of authority/narrator/auto/biographical subject, as well as the use of different forms of text (such as sms), images and advertisements, were used to create the fragmented feminine auto/biographical subjects in the Indonesian local context. This chapter thematically investigates three different forms of celebrity femininity that I argue are presented in these six auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities and examines: the ageing, the established, and the transsexual. Overall in this chapter, I argue that the auto/biographical subjects of these texts perform different kinds of femininities and that these new auto/biographical practices allow for adaption and complexity in the presentation of these shifting femininities. I argue that the femininities performed and shown in these auto/biographies can be considered as submitting to, playing with, resisting, subverting or complicating the notion of normative femininity (Butler, 1990, 1999, 2004; Ussher, 1997), and that global influences impact differently in these different forms or moments of femininity. I thus argue that Indonesian celebrity femininity is closely connected to the global construction of femininity at the same time that it continues to be locally contextualized.

This chapter is divided into three sections. I examine ageing femininities through photographic narratives in two auto/biographies in the first section. In the second section, I examine the auto/biographies of established celebrities and focus on the global-local nexus in celebrity relationships, paying attention to beauty, body and sexuality; fashion and consumption; and global language. In the third section I discuss the performance of femininity in the auto/biography of a transsexual celebrity. The ageing celebrities are discussed particularly in the context of more complete and final versions of life narrative in

order to explore the issue of women's age[ing] in popular culture. The established celebrities category that I discuss in the second section is a particularly useful site to look at the narrative of a life in-progress. In this category I discuss three book-length auto/biographies, all of which present a valuable opportunity to look at the ways these female celebrities negotiate the intersections of the local and the global, both through their careers and their patterns of consumption. The third section discusses the auto/biography of a transsexual celebrity. In this section I examine how femininity is closely related to ideals of a womanly body and sexuality as well as to the sanctioned role of motherhood in Indonesian society. The discussion in this section is closely tied to the local context of culture and religion.

Narrating Ageing Femininity and Photographic Narratives

This section investigates the auto/biographies of two well-established female celebrities, namely Titiek Puspa and Lenny Marlina, focusing primarily on the notion of ageing femininity and how this ageing femininity is performed within the frame of celebrity culture which privileges youthfulness. The publications of these auto/biographies for both celebrities, who have been well-established in the business for a long span of time, were more directly concerned with celebrating their long careers and achievements. Titiek Puspa is a highly-respected singer, composer as well as an actor, and is still an active performer. Her last huge show was the star-studded concert celebrating her 70th birthday in 2008, while Lenny Marlina withdrew from her career as a film star when she married her second husband in 1999. Lenny Marlina was the winner of various film awards and was a very productive actor who starred in around 100 films. She used to be a keen businesswoman as well. When their respective auto/biographies were published in 2004 and in 2008, Lenny Marlina was 50 years old (born in 1954) while Titiek Puspa was 70 years old (she was born in 1938).

As I argued previously, one of the most striking features of these celebrity auto/biographies is the inclusion of images in ways that reflect the format of women's and fashion magazines. This subsection examines in more depth how ageing femininity is depicted through these photographic narratives, paying attention to the sequence of the images, the content of the images and the relationship of the images to the narrative. I discuss specifically ageing femininity because in popular culture where the two celebrities are located, following Hurd (2000) as I discussed in Chapter Two, beauty is an important factor of femininity and beauty largely means being youthful and thin. Thus, the challenges for ageing celebrity auto/biographers are to effectively portray their ageing bodies in cultures that highly value youthfulness and at the same time to highlight their maturity and well-established celebrity status.

Titiek Puspa's auto/biography is explicitly structured as a fashion magazine, because of the excessively glamorous gowns, that she wears in every image in the auto/biography. Her

auto/biography does include some images of her at different ages, but the images from the present that portray her as a glamorous celebrity predominate. These glamour images are choreographed to create a narrative that preserves and enhances the celebrity status of this auto/biographical subject, despite the challenges of ageing. While all of these celebrity auto/biographies move through time in complicated way, the photographic narrative of the ageing celebrity must particularly obscure the passage of time as it impacts on the body. There are several strategies employed in this text to achieve this. Firstly, the images or the photographs do not necessarily have anything to do with the story being told as exemplified by the following instance taken from chapter one of Titiek Puspa's auto/biography, entitled "*Cassava Waste, Head of Salted Fish and Love...*"¹⁹. This chapter talks about her childhood, the difficult period of war and the scarcity of food as well as other amenities.



Figure 4.1: Titiek Puspa, glamorous image1 Figure 4.2: Titiek Puspa, Chapter Title page

On the first page of this chapter, a glamorous image of Titiek Puspa is presented (Figure 4.1). This glamour image is followed in the adjacent page by the title of the chapter (Figure 4.2) which refers to her experience of economic disadvantage; the time when she was so poor, she even ate cat's food (the head of the salted fish, which is not usually consumed by people). This contrast blurs the temporal relationship between the image and the narrative. While the narrative reveals the auto/biographical subject in the position of a poor girl, the image shows the auto/biographical subject in her position as a Diva, a successful and

¹⁹ Cassava waste and salted fish refer to the "food" she had to live on during the difficult time. Salted fish is a common "dish"; usually it is cheap and can be consumed in small amounts just to give some taste to the rice, thus it helps save money.

wealthy woman. Thus the poor Titiek Puspa and the wealthy Titiek Puspa are located in one space through the point of view of the present, blurring the fact that the subjects described necessarily occupied two different spaces and times.

The second way of blurring the inevitability of ageing is through the arrangement of the images in non-chronological order. What I mean by “non-chronological order” is that there is no clear time connection between one image and the next image presented in the auto/biography. In Titiek Puspa’s auto/biography, the present is stabilized in the glossy coloured images taken in studios or other “sterilized” spaces, while the past is suggested in black and white images of the same body and era that seek to evoke a sense of a far away time that underpins her claims to wisdom and maturity. Her age is thus glamorized and perhaps also celebrated. However, the extent to which she is adorned in these fashion photographs and the extent to which her age is obscured create ambiguous and complex messages about time and ageing. Despite the very fashionable gowns, some of the photographs reveal the tension between the desire to portray her mature beauty and the dresses and adornments of a much younger woman, as in the image of the Cleopatra-like gown and hairstyle (see Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3: Titiek Puspa, Cleopatra

This Cleopatra-like image (Figure 4.3) presents an ambiguous auto/biographical subject, who is neither old nor young and who is simultaneously both old and young. This image shows her as, and as other to, the auto/biographical subject in the present context. Here, Titiek Puspa's attempt to manage her 70 year-old identity has been complicated by the fact that age is negatively contextualized. Her extraordinariness, her "looking young" in her seventies can cross over into "unusual" and thus "strange" and "unnatural", which may explain why this image is not very successful in its attempt to portray her age-defying image. As Biggs (2004) argues, the equation of youth to beauty is problematic for mature women. A seventy-year-old woman who attempts to look thirty or even twenty is disconcerting because her transcendence of age, a reflection of her extraordinary quality vies with the need to conceal that age. The consciousness of concealing age implies the consciousness of its presence. The marks of the age itself remain adamant.

The consciousness of age, as implied in Titiek Puspa's references to her age, - when she is looking in the mirror, for example and finds that her "*wrinkles are playing more cheerfully*" (Endah, 2008b: 13) in her face - suggests the presence of age. Simultaneously she states, "*luckily I like making up, wearing powder and blush on, so that I can still play hide and seek with wrinkles*" (Endah, 2008b: 13). Thus age is a game; she can knowingly submit to it, as in her admission about wrinkles and the lessened flexibility of her body, but simultaneously, she can play around with it and mask the age and pose herself as a person not the age of her own. The non-chronological sequencing of the images is a way of blurring the way time has passed. Through this portrayal of ambivalence about age, Titiek Puspa the auto/biographical subject shows that beauty as well as youthfulness (the absence or the hiding of wrinkles) are an important part of her sense of being a woman. As I have outlined in Chapter Two, maintaining a particular bodily appearance are crucial in normative forms of femininity. While the arrangement of the images obscures a coherent, chronological narrative, it functions as a strategy for "age management" (Biggs, 2004), through which one defies one's age and conceals it through narrative. In the following section I offer further examples of how Titiek Puspa's age is managed through the deployment of sporadic images of herself in the present time and in the past, i.e. pictures of herself as a seventy year- old woman and the counterposing images of herself at younger ages.

Five pages into Chapter One of Titiek Puspa's auto/biography (Figure 4.2), the readers are exposed to an old family picture in black and white dated 1948 (Figure 4.4), taken during the difficult period of war and food scarcity. This image would actually best illustrate the title as the chapter generally describes their difficult life as a big family with so many mouths to feed, but as it happens, it is not the image used in conjunction with the title of the chapter. What is interesting about this family pose is that it centers on the mother who is surrounded by her children. This image actually illustrates and embeds the creative survival strategy story in the auto/biography in which the mother was the avant-garde entrepreneur, who

mobilized her children as “marketing agents” to sell different things, from sweetened tea to dishes and cookies. The image thus denotes a distant difficult past when Titiek Puspa was young and was working for her mother, selling whatever her mother had prepared for her to sell. However, four pages further on, the poor Titiek Puspa is transformed into a glamorous diva (Figure 4.5) that does not leave any traces of poverty. While the “poor” image represents her youth, the current glamorous diva image attempts to retain and renegotiate her youthful image through the instruments of adornments, gown, make-up and hairstyle. Her age is camouflaged, yet her status is highlighted, as is readily observed in the next image four pages later, where she is portrayed looking soulfully outside and literally under the light (Figure 4.6). This image can be interpreted as her looking towards her bright life “ahead” and leaving the dark past behind. Her poverty is her past; her present and future are her wealth and establishment. However, again, age is denied as her gowns in the different images seek to imply her agelessness. The overly glamorized gowns that she wears in the images do not reflect ties to any specific time frame of her life. In other words, her gowns do not mark the time in which the auto/biographical subject is located. As shown in the sequence of images (4.4, 4.5, 4.6), there is no connection between Titiek Puspa’s image in Figure 4.6, and her image in 4.7.



Figure 4.4: Titiek Puspa, Old family picture



Figure 4.5: Titiek Puspa, glamorous image 2



Figure 4.6: Titiek Puspa, glamorous image 3 Figure 4.7: Titiek Puspa, Natural look

The disturbance of the time frames obscures the age of the auto/biographical subject. This causes the readers to lose a sense of the subject's chronology and it exposes them to gaps and ruptures in the performance of the autobiographical subjects. The auto/biographical subject produced in this kind of photographic narrative is inevitably fragmented. The irony, as Dyer (1987) argues, is that while we are aware that this celebrity is fragmented both by time and by its split into ordinary and extraordinary iterations, we are encouraged to see that there is consistency and coherence among the different images and in this way we are led to believe that she is one and the "same". This then highlights that ageing femininity in female ageing celebrity auto/biographies renders age as absence. The age, especially in the case of Titiek Puspa, is so publicized and familiar that it is not significant anymore. The readers of the auto/biography are led to the idea that no matter what age she is, she remains the same Titiek Puspa as she was when she began her humble beginning in a small town in Central Java.

The next image (Figure 4.7), only three pages from the last three images discussed above, is a zoom-in photograph that brings the readers closer to her face. It invites the audience to see her not-so-wrinkled face as well as her quite-wrinkled hands. This "natural" image again obscures the time. Her simple outfit, the modest make up and the very simple hair cut imply a more approachable and ordinary persona. In other words, this image represents her as an everyday person. Nevertheless, even without the masquerade of gowns and excessive adornment, her age is absent. Her short hair suggests youth but the wrinkled hands suggest otherwise. Her minimal adornment - very simple earrings, glasses, and a ring - paradoxically

invoke youth and simplicity. In other words, as in Figure 4.7, she emerges as a “naturally” youthful person despite her age. Interestingly, within three pages, this image is juxtaposed with images of her when she was really young (Figures 4.8 and 4.9). Despite the age difference, the two images (Figures 4.8 and 4.9) establish the coherence and validity of her “natural” appearance at seventy in Figure 4.7. This juxtaposition suggests nothing has changed. She is as youthful in her seventies as shown in Figure 4.7 as she was in her 20 or 30s in Figures 4.8 and 4.9.



Figure 4.8: Titiek Puspa, 1970s



Figure 4.9: Titiek Puspa, 1980s

The absence of age is further marked in the absence of date references attached to the pictures. Out of nine photographs in Chapter One in Titiek Puspa’s auto/biography, there is only one image that is clearly dated, and that is the family picture. The other past images are undated. Out of the 12 coloured past images, 9 are not dated. The black and white past images are relatively balanced in terms of the number that are dated (12) and those that are undated (17). In contrast, Lenny Marlina’s auto/biography does allow more insight into the past (15 dated images compared to 10 undated colored images, and 18 dated compared to 19 undated images in black and white). In Lenny Marlina’s case, age is made more available though it is still not completely revealed in the images.

Lenny Marlina’s auto/biography uses candid pictures, which do seemingly show more accurate pictures of her age. The auto/biographical subject is portrayed as a fresh healthy looking fifty-year-old woman. This look does not include heavy make up or any glamorous clothing. The only image that can arguably be considered as fashion photography is the one on the cover of the auto/biography (Figure 4.10), which draws on and reflects her images as

it appeared in various magazines in her younger days (Said et al., 2004: xxiv-xxv). The similarities between this image on the cover of the auto/biography, the covers of various women’s magazines and the advertisements included in the text indicate the deliberate effort to connect this auto/biography to women’s magazines. The inclusion of magazine covers throughout further strengthens this link and it makes an interesting visual narrative too. All the magazine covers included are dated 1982, when she was 28 years old. What is interesting is that although the peak period of her career lasted quite a long time, the covers chosen for inclusion are from six different magazines all from the same year. I would argue that age 28 is located as the highpoint not only in terms of Lenny Marlina’s career but also in her physical beauty. These images serve to solidify the beauty of the auto/biographical subject at one particular time, despite the auto/biography’s account of transition and triumph.



Figure 4.10: Lenny Marlina, Book Cover **Figure 4.11: Lenny Marlina, Magazine Covers**

I argue too that the portrayal of the auto/biographical subject in Lenny Marlina’s auto/biography shows Lenny Marlina to be presenting as a number of different women in the year that she was 28 (Figure 4.11): she is a calm and hardly-made-up woman as presented in *Kartini*; a heavily made up and adorned woman who presents a traditional concept of beauty in *Sarinah*; a sophisticated high-class woman in *Famili*; a seductive persona in the clearly codified celebrity/global culture in *Vista* and *Variasi*, which are entertainment magazines; and a more “natural” woman in need of making up in *Rias* (“rias” in English

means to put make up on), as dictated by the magazine. The constant visual reference to the age of 28 suggests that she presents herself as both aged and timeless. By drawing on diverse images from one time of her life, these pictures of Lenny are simultaneously marking timelessness and an always existing present.

Lenny Marlina and Titiek Puspa are and are not the ones portrayed in the images. They must be the flesh and blood persons in the picture as Dyer (1987) suggests, yet, they are not the persons portrayed in the images either, because the images are staged and choreographed to portray certain kinds of femininities that they want to create.

The notion of staging femininity, I argue, can be analyzed in different ways through these images. In the case of Titiek Puspa, the highly managed images underline my argument that celebrity auto/biography is staged. These displays orchestrate femininity in such a way that age is made absent. Titiek Puspa is portrayed more as a very public and glamorous “Diva” (as explicitly stated by the title of her auto/biography and suggested by her costumes) than as a private person. This tendency is intensified in the preface written by her that continuously connects her sense of selfhood with her works, and her sense of being a woman with her achievements and public appearances (Endah, 2008b).

Ageing Femininity: Transformations and Establishment

Unlike Titiek Puspa, who retains her glamorous femininity across her full life span, Lenny Marlina withdrew from the entertainment business when she married her second husband. This transformation is reflected in her auto/biography through the particular portrayal of her femininity, which differs from the celebrity femininity that is imaged earlier in the text. Starting from the chapter “*Getting Married Again*”, she no longer portrays herself as a glamorous celebrity. Rather, she retreats to a more conventional performance of femininity as a full-time housewife and partner. This transformation from celebrity femininity to her newly-embraced mode of traditional femininity is shown as simultaneously mature and youthful. The fact that she has become a full-time wife does not necessarily require her complete withdrawal to the domestic domain, because ironically her new status as the wife of a prominent politician transforms her again into another type of celebrity, a public figure albeit in a different context. Her celebrity status is transformed and she is “rebranded” from a film star to a politically involved wife. Her already established fame as a film star is useful to her husband’s effort to gain popularity in his political standing. She not only functions as a wife, but brings her celebrity status into her new femininity. Her continuous public appearances and meetings with important people pictured here in Figures 4.12 and 4.13, such as presidents, former presidents as well as other high-ranking officials and other prominent figures, sustain her transformed celebrity status. Lenny Marlina’s immersion in her new role as a fulltime housewife to an important politician is supported by images where she poses with different former presidents.



Saat pernikahan
Tutty Maharani -
Habie
ditandai dengan
Presiden BJ
Habibie dan Ibu
Ainun Habibie.

Figure 4.12: Lenny Marlina, with President Habibie



Mendampingi
Ibu Susilawati
peresmian
Jembatan
Megawati
Bontomatene.

Figure 4.13: Lenny Marlina, with President Megawati

Although the auto/biographical voice of Lenny Marlina presents herself as an ordinary wife, and not as a celebrity in her own right, her everyday life is still extraordinary. Many of the seemingly everyday images of her with her husband actually reflect her extensive travel. These foreign settings highlight her extraordinariness and distinctiveness. They also emphasize her high social status. Again, her everyday images, while partially representing her as ordinary, bestow upon her and secure her extraordinariness and sustained celebrity status. In fact, there are 23 travel photographs included in her auto/biography, 20 of which were taken abroad with her second husband (see Figures 4.14 and 4.15). Therefore, I argue that her travel photographs present a complex and contradictory image of the new mode of femininity that she has embraced through the marriage, where the contented wife vies with the public figure on the world stage.



Figure 4.14: Lenny Marlina, on holiday1



Figure 4.15: Lenny Marlina, on holiday2

It is this particular portrayal of ageing femininity that distinguishes Lenny Marlina's celebrity femininity from that of Titiek Puspa. Lenny Marlina's present is largely represented by images of her with her second husband and the new family she enters through this marriage. Through these images, I argue that her second husband is signified as the most

important marker of her new femininity, supposedly different from her previous celebrity femininity. Although she continues to present herself as a fashionable subject, she aims for a more domestic and everyday version of femininity. She embraces her age to the extent that she is even portrayed in trainers in what could otherwise be unappealing poses. I argue that these poses draw on ideals of the contented wife and move away from the glamorous celebrity (see Figure 4.16). As a wife of a politician, she projects a more restrained and conservative image. Thus her glamour is shown through objects such as the luxurious home that she establishes and the expensive painting that represents her Chinese astrology sign, i.e. the horse (Figure 4.17) rather than through her own appearance.



Figure 4.16: Lenny Marlina, in trainers **Figure 4.17: Lenny Marlina, new glamour objects**

The images of a good mother and wife are also closely tied to the portrayal of her as a good Muslim. This can be particularly seen in the chapter “*Umrah and Hajj Pilgrimage*”. In this chapter Lenny Marlina talks about her spiritual journey in conjunction with the happiness that she gains from her second marriage. She marks the third pilgrimage that she made with her second husband as the restoration of her position as a wife that can financially count on her husband as she remarks (Said et al., 2004: 128):

What also felt different was that Mas Bambang paid for this pilgrimage. I had to pay for the two previous pilgrimages.²⁰ Thus this time I experienced a really beautiful pilgrimage that was full of spiritual meanings that I did not get in my previous pilgrimages.... I also felt the pleasure of cooking for my husband, even though we were in a special pilgrimage group²¹

The pilgrimage is portrayed as another important marker of her new femininity, one in which she can submit more completely to her husband. This is particularly due to the fact that in the second marriage she can financially depend on her husband, contrary to her first marriage when she had to support her family including her husband's hobbies and business. As the narrative goes, the feeling of being able to submit completely to her husband enhances her sense of spirituality. The many images scattered throughout the auto/biography further emphasize her religiosity. In these images she is portrayed performing different rituals in Islam, including the Hajj (Figure 4.18) and the recitation of Al Qur'an (Figure 4.19). She is also pictured as a good humanitarian through the charity work that she does for orphans, a deed that is considered an obligation in Islam (Figure 4.20). Thus, through the different images, Lenny Marlina performs her femininity as a good Muslim and a good wife and mother. In other words, in the context of Indonesian femininity, she enacts a certain kind of Indonesian Muslim femininity. There is particular demand for this role in her new position as a politician's wife.

²⁰ She took the first pilgrimage with her mother in 1991, against her first husband's will and the second with her husband in 1996, which she said "ended up in our divorce" (Said et al., 2004: 127-128) .

²¹ The special pilgrimage group refers to what in Bahasa Indonesia is known as ONH Plus. In Indonesia pilgrimage is arranged by the government. The people who want to go on a pilgrimage have to pay ONH (Cost of making the pilgrimage to Mecca). ONH plus is arranged by private companies and it offers luxury that is not given if one is on the government's scheme.



Figure 4.18: Lenny Marlina, Pilgrimage 2000

Figure 4.19: Lenny Marlina, reciting Al Qur'an



Figure 4.20: Lenny Marlina, Charities

As I have shown in this section, in the auto/biography of Lenny Marlina, age is present and celebrated in Lenny Marlina's auto/biography as ageing physicality is embraced in the knowing recognition of its changes. The more candid pictures of the present show how Lenny Marlina the auto/biographical subject as an ordinary (good, loyal) wife and loving and understanding mother is celebrated.

Family Pictures

In this subsection I examine how the transformations of ageing celebrity are linked to role as mothers and grandmothers and how family pictures function in the auto/biographies of these two ageing celebrities. Family pictures are instrumental in establishing the image of a happy family. Both Lenny Marlina's and Titiek Puspa's auto/biographies include a significant number of family pictures, which I argue following Stanley (1992) largely fall into the category of the "high street norm" of family pictures (Figures 4.21 and 4.22).



Figure 4.21: Lenny Marlina's family picture



Figure 4.22, Titiek Puspa's family pictures

As argued by Stanley (1992: 29), high street photograph conventions produce false representations of women/people that “act as a standard that everyone thinks is or should be attractive and desirable and which they should aspire to or at least give the appearance (sometimes literally) of doing so.” Following Stanley, it can be argued that the basic idea of family pictures in general is that people should look happy, relationally connected and appealing. The element of happiness is often highlighted by the building of “harmony”, which is observable through the kind of clothing uniforms worn in family pictures. This “uniform” suggests togetherness and familial bonding. Considering the fabrication involved in this process, it is arguable that this kind of photograph somehow presents what Stanley calls a “patterned lie” (Stanley, 1992: 32). Looking happy or even happiness itself is just an occasion. In the case of family pictures it is an event when certain happiness is created (Sontag, 1979). Family pictures thus secure ideals of the happy family, important in this context because proper Indonesian femininities are closely related to women’s roles in the family. As outlined in *Panca Dharma Wanita*, discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, women are located as the pillars of the family. The family pictures of the celebrities included in these auto/biographies reflect the ways in which the private and the public roles of the female celebrity are moulded into a new form where the private and the public are simultaneously lived.

In the cases of both Titiek Puspa’s and Lenny Marlina’s autobiography, roles as mother and grandmother are secured by the family pictures of both celebrities. This particular role of

being a grandmother is linked to notions of ageing for these auto/biographical subjects, unique in these book-length auto/biographies. These family pictures allow these two auto/biographical subjects to extend their femininity beyond motherhood to grandmotherhood.

In this section on ageing femininity I have discussed how photographic narratives in the auto/biographies of ageing celebrities can be used as a site where the age of the auto/biographical subject is re-negotiated. This is particularly important because of conventional norms of popular culture regarding beauty and youthfulness. In this section I have also examined how ageing celebrities transform and extend their forms of femininity as they age. Particularly in the case of Lenny Marlina's auto/biography, Lenny Marlina the auto/biographical subject is portrayed as transforming her glamorous femininity to a more conventional form of femininity whose primary roles are as a wife and a mother, while in Titiek Puspa's auto/biography, the auto/biographical subject is continuously portrayed as a glamorous celebrity despite her age. In the case of both auto/biographies discussed in this section, the auto/biographical subjects extend their performance of femininity to grandmotherhood as shown in both family pictures (Figures 4.21 and 4.22). Through the discussion of this section I have also argued that the auto/biographical subjects continue to occupy both the private and public spheres and the two spheres are blurred and intermingling in the production of these auto/biographical subjects.

In the following section, I examine three auto/biographies of established female celebrities. Unlike Lenny Marlina and Titiek Puspa whose auto/biographies were written when their careers were nearing completion, the three auto/biographies to be discussed in the next section were written when the careers of the three celebrity auto/biographers were still in progress.

Local/Global Nexus and the Newly-Established Celebrity Femininity:

This section analyses three auto/biographies by the newly-established celebrities in their 20s and 30s, namely Tiara Lestari (born in 1980), Krisdayanti (born in 1975), and Yuni Shara (born in 1972). Of these three, Krisdayanti is perhaps the most well-known. Her celebrity status is established through her success in various careers, including singing, modelling and acting. Her elder sister, Yuni Shara is a singer, Tiara Lestari is a model and is best known for the controversy she generated when she posed in the Spain edition of Playboy magazine in August 2005. Though she has not called herself a singer, Tiara Lestari has recorded a song on an album produced by Baron, a prominent Indonesian guitar player.

This section focuses on femininity framed both in private and public domains and is attentive to the persistent references to global constructions of femininity, global consumption and global language (namely English). All three auto/biographies discussed in this subsection take urban life, i.e., Jakarta as their main setting. This intensifies references to globalization because big cities in the world create certain global lifestyles and sameness. At the same time, each celebrity tries to ground her femininity in local ideologies, particularly Indonesian/Javanese and Muslim as argued by Heryanto (2008). In this section I examine the following themes: relationships, body and beauty, fashion and consumption through the frame of femininities at the global/local nexus as well as through the frame of private/public.

The auto/biographies in this category are interesting in a number of ways. First, they are about lives that are in progress, compared to the relatively complete lives of the ageing celebrities discussed in the previous section. Everyday events and recent situations or controversies predominate the three auto/biographies. In this way, rather than describing the whole life of the celebrity, the auto/biographies present slices of life emphasizing what is important to the construction of their celebrity femininity. The contents of Krisdayanti's auto/biography (Endah, 2004: 4) reflect the focus of all of the three auto/biographies discussed in this section, namely:

1. *Me and My Career*
2. *Me and Fashion*
3. *Me and Beauty*
4. *Me and My Family*
5. *Me and Myself*

Second, the three celebrities discussed in this section, Krisdayanti, Yuni Shara and Tiara Lestari, belong to a generation where their celebrity status and femininity cannot be contained within the local context. Krisdayanti's and Tiara Lestari's careers transcend national borders. They are famous not only in Indonesia but also in other countries. Even more significantly, both the careers of Krisdayanti and Tiara Lestari were triggered by what can be considered regional/global events. Krisdayanti's rise to her diva status began with her participation and victory in the Asia Bagus Grand Championship in Japan in 1992. Asia Bagus is a regional singing contest involving a number of Asian countries. As she said (Endah, 2004: 19):

It was a huge leap for me. The victory that undoubtedly made my name a hot topic in Indonesia. I became more confident that the road to success was already opened.

Tiara Lestari had an even more global platform for the beginning of her career journey, which started in Singapore, where she was first invited to model in *FHM* Singapore in 2004. In her debut in the magazine she posed in a very sexual way and was labelled Java's hottest

export (see Figure 4.23). Thus from the very beginning she was positioned as an exotic commodity, a local Indonesian “product” being sold in the global market. She continued to pose in a sexual way and continued her performance as an exotic woman in the following years. Her modelling career expanded to other publications in different countries, such as *FHM* Germany, *Penthouse* (Thailand, Netherlands and Australia) and, the most controversial, *Playboy* (Spain) (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007).



Figure 4.23: Tiara Lestari, FHM Singapore

It was only after the waves of controversy following her nude pose in the Spain edition of *Playboy* that she decided to return to Indonesia. As she narrates (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 130):

I went home because of my mother. She was really disappointed with what I had done. That was a lesson to me. All that a Tiara Lestari has obtained is not comparable if my mother does not give her blessing. Because I really love my mother. The offer to become the cover of Playboy in five countries finally I declined. I'm coming home because of my mother.

In other words, she returned home to repent of her mistakes and to live a “normal” life. Her return to Indonesia can be signified as an attempt to transform from a “wild” woman to a “good” woman, from a “public” to a domestic woman. I will return to this issue later in this section.

Compared to these two other celebrities, Yuni Shara is perhaps the more local in terms of her career. Nevertheless, her narrative of femininity is very much in dialogue with the global. Her associations with global brands, for example, are presented as a distinct marker of her femininity and celebrity status.

Third, unlike the ageing celebrity auto/biographies, the auto/biographies are published to sustain the fame and the celebrity status of the auto/biographers or to “fulfil” the fans’ wishes to know more about the celebrities. Krisdayanti expresses this in the introduction to her auto/biography when explaining why she wants to publish it (Endah, 2004: 5): this is

[a] book that will satisfy my fans. Through the book I will tell a lot about my career and my life. A book that will reveal who I truly am that people know nothing about. A book that will reveal the Krisdayanti who is not only an artist, but also a wife, a daughter and a mother. I realize that after I have achieved so much in my career as now, I need to share...

Although Yuni Shara does not explicitly outline her intentions in publishing her auto/biography, she does make references to her present professional circle and activities. Thus, the publication can be considered an act which will sustain her celebrity status, a reminder of her existence in show business. Her auto/biography is published to commemorate her 35th birthday and is entitled *Yuni Shara: 35 Cups of Coffee*.

Tiara Lestari’s auto/biography is an interesting case in this regard because unlike Yuni Shara and Krisdayanti who established careers and status more gradually, Tiara Lestari’s celebrity status only rose as her nude images in *Playboy* Magazines were discovered by Indonesians. The “discovery” created a twirl of controversy and propelled Tiara Lestari to fame and celebrity status. While the newly-claimed celebrity status itself can be regarded as an asset or an achievement, her new fame seemed to require moral justification. The publication of the auto/biography serves this purpose well. She writes in the preface (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: x):

*Last and most important for me; I would like to express a million gratitude to all of you who live in Indonesia that I understand that I have the right to make a decision that is not popular and – **even when you don’t agree** – you still respect my personal choice.*

Her final reference to her appearance in *Playboy* suggests that it is important for her to justify her decision to pose for the magazine, but at the same time, as the increasingly apologetic tone suggests, the auto/biography functions as a form of image crisis management. Similar functions of image crisis management can be observed in Krisdayanti’s auto/biography as at the time of her publication of the book (November 2003),

she needed to manage her image after rumours about her affair with an Indonesian prominent guitar player, Tohpati, surfaced in April 2003 (Ati, 2003; "Krisdayanti Digosipin Pacaran Dengan Tohpati," 2003). Overall, the three autobiographies discussed in this section present the narratives of life in progress through the intersection of local-global and serve as a publicity-mechanism to sustain the auto/biographers' celebrity status.

Relationship

In this section I discuss how these celebrities perform their femininities as Indonesians in the global era, particularly in the context of their roles as wives/partners and mothers who have careers of their own. Krisdayanti is probably the most apt example of this. The chapter, "*Me and My Family*" in her auto/biography opens with her reflections about the difficulty of not having a conventional family type where the husband is the primary earner. She complains (Endah, 2004: 148-150):

It's not easy to be a woman who earns most of the family income. But the most difficult thing is to ensure people around her that it is not wrong at all...

The narrative shows the local cultural context in which men are expected to be the breadwinners in the family and women to be the housewives. In this context, "ordinary" women are not the breadwinners of the families and those who are might be accused of having transgressed; as the auto/biographical subject complains it is even often regarded as "wrong". The assumption underlying this idea is that women who earn more than their husbands pay no respect to their husbands. Money signifies power, thus women with money can be frowned upon mostly because of the assumption that with their money they do not have to obey their husbands. In this context, Krisdayanti is required to manage the role of an ordinary wife, since her circumstances are very different. Despite her money and her not so ordinary life, she has to show a more conventional femininity as expected in the local cultural context. In the utterance below, the auto/biographical subject states that she has always been an ordinary wife, which reflects the attempt to counter the existing assumption that she is not, considering the income that she brings in to the family. The statement highlights another local aspect of femininity, namely that she is not only an ordinary wife but also a good Muslim wife. In the following quotation, there is an invocation of the Islamic values that she claims she observes in her relationship with her husband, that a wife should seek her husband's approval and consent in everything she does. She writes: (Endah, 2004: 150)

It is difficult to convince people that my life as a wife and mother is just like other people in general. Despite the fact that I earn more than Anang, I am an obedient wife, and I always obtain his consent before I do anything.

The quotation above shows that there is a contradictory aspect in Krisdayanti's femininity as she is both portrayed as an independent person and as one who has her movements controlled by her husband. Thus, her public life is constantly tied to her private life by having to obtain the consent of her husband first. Likewise, her private life is also publicized as this arrangement is made public.

In their respective works, the three auto/biographical subjects of these celebrity auto/biographies are presented as independent and intelligent as well as having physical appeal. These auto/biographical subjects are portrayed as equal to their male partners although at the same time acknowledging their positions as wives as framed in the normative Indonesian/Muslim culture. These portrayals are sometimes conflicted: compliance to normative femininity does not always mean complete compliance to idealized femininity. In the case of Krisdayanti, for example, though she maintains her role as a [good] wife and mother, she is also seen as superior to her husband, Anang Hermansyah.²² As the bigger star, she earns more and has more influence in popular culture than her husband but in her auto/biography Krisdayanti portrays herself as a submissive wife who enjoys taking care of as well as being taken care of by her husband despite her own fatigue. She states (Endah, 2004: 155):

Maybe many people will not believe it that I am a woman who enjoys the limits set by Anang. I also enjoy my submission to him. I feel it pleasurable to prepare the dinner for him, even though I just arrive home from a shooting and I am really tired. I feel really protected when with his loud and decisive voice, Anang forbids me from doing something. I feel grateful for such feelings. The submissive feeling towards my husband. Because in that way, I feel I have become a true wife.

Her display of her role and identity as a wife and mother before anything else, namely her profession as a singer and model, invokes Bartky's (1997) argument about how femininity is performed in public. Before her shocking divorce in October 2009, Krisdayanti was almost always accompanied by her husband and/or children in her public appearances. She claims: "My children are the source of my energy" (Endah, 2004: 167). Thus she always takes a big entourage consisting of her mother, her husband, her two children and the baby sitters on her tours (Endah, 2004). This display can be read as an invocation of traditional family life in exceptional circumstances. Her heterosexuality is demonstrated as natural and ordinary. Being a wife and a mother is not something extraordinary, it is shown as a natural stage a woman has to go through to obtain her full womanhood and femininity.

²² Anang Hermansyah, Krisdayanti's husband, is a songwriter, a singer and a music producer. Anang and Krisdayanti used to sing as a duet and their albums sold well. However, Krisdayanti's solo career outshone Anang's.

It is clear from these auto/biographies that all forms of femininity are heavily constructed around relationships, particularly heterosexual relationships with their partners. In Yuni Shara's auto/biography, the auto/biographical subject portrays herself as a Javanese woman with a certain view of her marriage and relationship with her husband. Her particular tips about the role of a wife as a housekeeper, a loving companion, and her acknowledgement of the function of the husband as the head of the family (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007) are particularly local. These messages are connected to the ideology of State Ibuism as explained in Chapter Two. The role of a wife is significant in the narrative of her auto/biography. This role is performed in a manner of acceptance as well as celebration, particularly reflected in the following utterance, "*As a puppet, a pawn, or other metaphors, I exist in accordance with the portion having been assigned to me*" (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007:7). What is interesting in her relationship narratives is that while she seems to be a proponent of normative femininity which locates wives as primarily and ideally governed by cultural and religious values, she is also critical of herself for having sacrificed unreservedly, especially in the context of her first marriage (in the chapter *Broken Marriage*). As she narrates (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 3):

Sometimes I have to put aside my feelings and try to understand because I have unavoidably become a part of so many positions. There are too many hearts to take care of and to understand that I no longer have the space to be Yuni, to be myself.

This contrast suggests that fragmentation is a possible consequence of taking up the various roles as a woman, a wife, a daughter, and a subject of her own right. In her second marriage this submission has somehow changed into a more self-aware positioning. She does not sacrifice blindly, though she still thinks giving in to her husband is a way to establish a happy husband-and-wife relationship. Acts of submission can actually be interpreted as assertions of power too. The tip below she gives about the struggle for remote control, for example, suggests a more relaxed attitude to the power relations between husband and wife. She even makes gentle fun of the whole struggle, "*Let him hold the remote control and change the channel every fifteen seconds*" (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 86). This "advice" gently positions men as irrational and impulsive (changing every fifteen seconds), an attribute usually assigned to women. Yuni Shara has actually positioned women as more "rational". In this case, instead of showing her as a submissive wife, she appears as a woman in control.

The desire to represent herself as being guided by normative femininity is also shown in Tiara Lestari's auto/biography. She describes how she decided to put her international career on hold at her career peak²³ in 2005 (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007) as she felt she had other feminine desires to pursue, namely to become a wife and mother. She refers to this

²³ Three of the biggest Asian sites even dub her as "the Most Wanted Model 2005" (Lestari, 2006)

urge as “choice” and “commitment”. She contends that she would never have been able to be an international model and a good mother at the same time, saying, “it’s just a matter of choice” (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 25). Then, she further elaborates this desire (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 26, emphasis added):

*... I can't wait for the moment when I say, "Yes, I do" to the man that will spend his time with me till time does us apart....²⁴ This is **my commitment** as a woman. To become a wife and mother. This is my choice. I will become the beloved wife to my man. I will be a good wife to my children. I want them to be proud of me. I am sure, my husband and my children will be proud of me.²⁵*

Across these three auto/biographies, there is a tendency to glorify being a wife and mother as a demonstration of ultimate femininity. In fact, in Tiara Lestari’s auto/biography Tiara Lestari the auto/biographical subject claims that a career is nothing compared to playing the roles of a good wife and mother. Upon her friend’s withdrawal from her modelling career, she writes (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 120)

One day, she sent me an email telling me that she had found the man of her dream. She told me how much she loves this man and that man is the dream comes true... .. "I decided to leave modelling and live in Croatia. I want [sic] being a wife and mother,"... I can understand her decision. It is obvious, what does career mean compared to finding the man to spend your life with? (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 47)

In her auto/biography, Tiara Lestari contextualizes her decision to marry her husband by putting her religion into the frame. As narrated, she was dating an American man when she was also close with the Indonesian man that was to become her husband. She chose to leave the American not because she did not love him, but as she argues (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 78):

“... I have always wanted to marry a man of the same faith. It is impossible for Dave to become a Muslim. I want my husband to be able to guide me in my religion. I want to be a better person.... Besides, my mother also saw that Andy would be more capable to guide me in the religious aspect”

Here Tiara Lestari the auto/biographical subject undertakes a key element of the femininity expected from a Muslim woman, namely to marry a Muslim man and to find a man that can

²⁴ Indonesians do not have the culture of a man proposing to a woman the way “Western” people do. Proposals should be performed formally in the presence of the family. Islam does not teach that a marriage shall last until death as in Catholic teaching, which in this context seems to be taken just as an English idiom spoken in a very romantic and sentimental situation.

²⁵ The Blog version of this part is included in the auto/biography as an illustration (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 24)

be her guide. Because in Islam, and also reflected in Indonesian/Javanese/Sundanese values, the leader in a marriage is the husband. The same notion is explicitly stated by Krisdayanti, "Anang, *My ship's captain*" (Endah, 2004: 150).

I have outlined a complex scenario of adherence to traditional values and movements away in the relationships depictions in these texts. I argue that the three auto/biographical subjects are portrayed as negotiating normative and conventional femininity and their own aspirations for freedom and independence. This negotiation entails intricate strategies which can be considered as part of a paradoxical display of submission to, and assertion of, power, and is particularly evident in regards to the auto/biographical subject in Yuni Shara's auto/biography. This intricate display also includes the invocation of Islamic teachings, as frequently referred to in the auto/biographies of Krisdayanti and Tiara Lestari, which locate husbands as the leaders of the family. While it seems that positioning the husbands as leaders will entail the position of the wives as the followers, I argue that it is precisely this positioning that enables the wives to obtain their freedom and independence as they only need to negotiate with their husbands and obtain their consent, which could be a perfect cover for the wives to act out their aspirations and liberation. It is through this consent that these auto/biographical subjects can thus portray themselves as achievers because if the husbands are depicted as having given their consent, then the wives are their husbands' responsibility, which to some extent frees the wives from being solely responsible for their acts. In short, all three auto/biographical subjects perform different complicated forms of femininity that provide them with a space for flexibility and negotiation. While they acknowledge the role of a husband in a marriage, they also suggest that their career and self-projects are important.

Body, Beauty and Sexuality

For all three celebrities I discuss in this category, body, beauty and sexuality are important. Krisdayanti dedicates one chapter to body and beauty. Yuni Shara does not specifically dedicate any chapter to discuss these issues, but she addresses body and beauty in her tips about how to love a husband. Tiara Lestari talks about her body and sexuality sporadically and rather superficially in her auto/biography, mostly in connection with her profession as a model.

In the opening paragraph of the chapter on beauty in Krisdayanti's auto/biography, *Me and Beauty*, Krisdayanti the auto/biographical subject states: "*Making up makes me happy. Taking care of our beauty is not only the demand for aesthetic, but also a proof of power*" (Endah, 2004: 110). This statement is continuously endorsed throughout the chapter, not only through her textual narrative but also through the fashion photography that illustrates the text (see Figure 4.24). She describes herself as a very 'girlie' girl who likes to make up and dress up, and that even when she is feeling down, "*making up giving me positive*

energy. I can feel fresh, beautiful and glowing even when I am having a problem. Making up can be a proof that women do not just get “shattered” when struck by disaster” (Endah, 2004: 113). Thus attending to her beauty regime is an important part of her sense of being always in control, of being able to handle any situation, and it makes her constantly aware of her look. This invokes what Cahill (2003) argues as a process of beautification that can be considered as feminist practice. As a celebrity who grew up in public, she has transformed throughout her career from a young girl to a mature woman, a wife and a mother. The transformation includes her physical changes that were allegedly due to plastic surgeries, which she had always denied until the “shocking sensational confession” of the procedures came in her second auto/biography “*Catatan Hati Krisdayanti: My Life My Secret*” (Endah, 2008a). Nevertheless, the photographic chronology demonstrates her consistent attention to her beauty and appearance (Figure 4.25).



Figure 4.24: Krisdayanti, Me and Beauty



Figure 4.25: Krisdayanti, faces 1991-2003

At the same time, like any other proponent of beauty in women's magazines, in the auto/biography Krisdayanti the auto/biographical subject delineates the various imperfections of her physical appearance and how she conceals the imperfections with the help of beauty experts and everything else in one whole page entitled "*I am not perfect*" (Endah, 2004: 117). In this part she talks about her imperfect eyebrows, her eyes that are not of the same size, her irregular teeth, her dark and dry skin, and her thin and brittle hair. She also talks about her body and her struggle to lose weight, particularly her baby weight in a separate section entitled "*Fat Fat Fat*". While she also suggests that a woman needs to "*make peace with her imperfections*" (Endah, 2004: 117), in parts of this chapter she talks about managing her weight and she reveals the various procedures, including botox, that she has undergone to deal with her perceived imperfections. This confession on the one hand shows her honesty about the extent of celebrity femininity as performance and artifice. On the other hand, it shows that there is a deception in regards to her beauty. As she then comments on her staged performance, "*Looking prime on the stage is a long journey*" (Endah, 2004: 133). I argue that by exposing herself as imperfect, she performs her femininity as an ordinary woman with physical problems just like other women; she narrows the gap between her celebrity-status and her audience's ordinariness. This is evident as at the end of the section on making up, she reveals that her drive to look flawlessly beautiful is toned down by her husband's remark about her "natural" beauty. Her husband, she said, "*loves my dark skin, my natural thin hair, and my face without make up*" (Endah, 2004: 116).

Ironically, towards the end of the text, Krisdayanti provides ten tips on how to look beautiful, including advice on how to maintain healthy skin, lips, fingernails, and how to apply cosmetics. She also encourages women to try various procedures and tricks to obtain the perfect celebrity beauty. In this way, it seems that her natural appearance is seemingly relegated only to her private domain but one of her other tips on managing her appearance suggests that even when one fabricates one's appearance, one needs to appear natural as well. She proposes, "*It's true that wig is fake hair, but don't let people easily find it out*" (Endah, 2004: 140). In this sense culture and fabrication are intertwined with the notion of the natural, which disrupts Krisdayanti's assertion that she is natural in her private life but is totally made up for her public appearances. Her tip reveals that neither her private nor her public appearances are exclusively private or public as both are intermingled and are presented simultaneously.

Unlike Krisdayanti, whose ideas of beauty are depicted in her auto/biography to be closely connected to her profession, in her auto/biography, Yuni Shara's concern for her appearance, particularly maintaining weight, is related to her position as a wife. In her tips, Yuni Shara suggests that a wife should always remain attractive to her husband, and maintaining a slender weight is one of the key points. She declares that a woman needs to "*maintain the ideal weight and pay attention to her food intake*" (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 86). Tiara Lestari does not focus specifically on beauty and body in her auto/biography. But this lack of attention can be read in different ways. First, as she is a model, her beauty and body are to be taken for granted, thus no discussion is necessary as her profession relies on her appealing appearance. Second, it can also be argued that her auto/biography intentionally leaves out the subject because beauty is not the image intended to be created in the auto/biography designed to move her beyond her nude *Playboy* pictures towards a more serious and modest femininity. This argument is supported by the persistent references to beauty/brain as a binary opposition, such as the question the auto/biographical subject constantly asks "*Why do you think people always think models to be brainless?*" (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 27). I argue that in not talking about beauty, which is considered as vanity, the auto/biography of Tiara Lestari presents her auto/biographical subject as the "brain", a smart woman rather than a woman or a model with just looks and a perfect body, which are considered inferior to, and in opposition to, intelligence and intellect.

Tiara Lestari the auto/biographical subject does however have concerns about her dark skin, which at certain points in her modelling career she considered to be a drawback. The auto/biography reveals the auto/biographical subject as disappointed with her dark skin: "*Why do I have this dark skin?*" I complained. I felt sorry that my skin was not as fair as other models" (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 46). This focus on whiteness is important in the context of the global/local nexus. First, Tiara Lestari is fascinated by the notion of whiteness as revealed by her wish to have lighter skin. Secondly, as I have discussed elsewhere

(Prabasmoro, 2004a), the desire for whiteness can also be seen as the desire to be global. Her efforts to “change” her physiognomy can also be weighed in that context. She does dye her hair to be lighter and closer to brown than black, again shifting ideals of colour as Indonesians generally have black hair. Following Bhabha, I consider her change of hair color as a form of mimicking, which nevertheless suggests that she is not white. In Bhabha’s (1994) terms, the auto/biographical subject in Tiara Lestari’s auto/biography is mimicking whiteness in such a way that on one hand she claims the “property” of the white, on the other hand, she acknowledges herself as being not-white. In this particular case, it can also mean an acknowledgement of being not entirely global. In her particular context, as long as non-whiteness is signified as a marketable femininity, especially demanded in global men’s magazines, she will remain an exotic non-white. In fact, she will remain an exotic commodity from Java²⁶ as she was promoted in her debut in the Singapore version of *FHM* in 2004 (see Figure 4.23).

Another reference to the body is made in the final pages of the Tiara Lestari’s auto/biography. In this piece of narrative she talks about the impact of her decision to quit modelling on her body. As a model, the body is the asset, the commodity that she exchanges. Not being a model implies she is no longer capitalizing her body the way she used to when she was still a model. This has eventually transformed her body as she eases her regime of exercise. She no longer has the flat stomach she used to have as she converses lightly with her co-writer, Windy Ariestanty (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 206):

“I used to have very flat stomach, Win. I used to go to the gym very diligently. Much that I love eating, I limited the portion. Not anymore now.”
“Why?” I asked
“I will never be photographed naked, won’t I? I will never be photographed in mere bikinis. Why should I [go to the gym]?”

Her statement, which aims for a relaxed and easy tone, implies her acceptance of her transformation, from the extraordinary body to the ordinary [imperfect] body. At the same time, her reference to being naked and wearing bikinis positions her body as extraordinary and worthy of being exposed in public. Her body continues to be in the public sphere, even though she no longer poses naked.

In talking about the body and sexuality, I consider Tiara Lestari as the most interesting site for analysis. Unlike Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara, Tiara Lestari is first of all known for her body and sexuality. After all, she is labelled as the “hottest Java export”²⁷. Thus her body becomes the dominant marker of her femininity. This normative femininity is highly

²⁶ The cover of the *FHM* Singapore, September 2004 edition, presented her wearing bikinis in a cat position. The magazine tags her image “Forget Coffee, She is Java’s Hottest Export”

²⁷ Cover of *FHM* Singapore, September 2004 (Figure 4.23 in this thesis)

connected to her sexuality, but not necessarily in the context of reproduction. As Bartky (1997: 148-149) contends:

Normative femininity is coming more and more to be centered on a woman's body – not its duties and obligations or even its capacity to bear children, but its sexuality, more precisely, its presumed heterosexuality and its appearance.

In an Indonesian social and cultural context, Tiara's sexuality threatens her other expected attributions of femininity, namely being a good wife and mother. In Indonesian culture, implied in this expectation is that the ideal woman is not publicly sexual. Following her naked poses in Playboy, Tiara was the target of various insults from many Indonesians, as she was considered to have transgressed the idea of normative Indonesian femininity, which contains women's sexuality within the private domain and the institution of marriage.²⁸ This expectation is linked to notions of guilt, and even sin, and it recurs in the account of her relationship with her future husband. The frequent mentions of a "second chance" (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 92, 98, 180, 191) suggest that she can be purified by her acceptance of an authoritative man. Her husband who comes from a prominent family represents such authority. In this way her marriage to him has provided her with a kind of rebirth. As Andy, Tiara's husband, narrates (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 98):

My mother believes that my meeting with Tiara was already arranged by Allah. "Allah gave you two a second chance", my mother said when were having breakfast in one morning. "And that chance given to you is a gift. Not everybody gets it."... "Tiara, she got a second chance to enter a new life. To be a better person. That's what my mother said. And that is what I believe. Everybody has got the chance to make amends. Even Allah gives that chance. Why is it that people like us are too arrogant to give a chance for somebody to be better?

In all three auto/biographies discussed in this section, beauty, body and sexuality are important aspects of femininity. Beauty and body are particularly portrayed through images that actually show their beauty and well-taken care bodies. This is similar across the three auto/biographies. However, the three auto/biographical subjects are portrayed as dedicating their beauty, body and sexuality, as well as their efforts to maintain them, to people or things other than themselves, i.e. to their husbands (for Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara) and/or to the profession (for Krisdayanti and Tiara Lestari). All auto/biographical subjects show that they are subjected to normative femininity but all also show that femininities are forms of display

²⁸ Most of the insults she receives are sexual. Other condemnations are related to her being a shame to Islam as well as to the country and the town where she comes from. See for example the comments on her at: <http://www.sp18.com/2005/09/04/model-indonesia-bugil-di-majalah-playboy>. Some "complimenting" comments are even painfully and sexually degrading. See for example comments at <http://asiapundit.com/2006/01/26/tiara-lestari-on-playboy-indonesia/>

designed to secure acceptance and recognition as a woman that is simultaneously desirable and good.

Global Fashion and Consumption

In this section I discuss how fashion and consumption support the construction of celebrity femininity in these texts. Following many scholars on globalization, in particular Cvetkovich and Kellner (1997b) and Friedman (1990), I argue that global culture is very often an act of consumption, an endorsement of a certain lifestyle supposedly accepted around the globe. The consumption of global brands can be regarded as one of the signifiers of consuming the global and marking a certain belonging to the global community as well as a certain [high] class.

Krisdayanti writes that she is proud to be able to buy global designers' clothing and apparel, mentioning Jean Paul Gaultier, Donna Karan, Dolce Gabbana, Dior, Lanvin, Fendi, Hermes, Valentino and Versace (Endah, 2004: 55). As if to compensate for that statement in the context of Indonesia, she continues saying, "*But of course, I am also a loyal customer of Indonesian top designers*" (Endah, 2004: 55). The same mode of global fashion and consumption is displayed by Yuni Shara, who is presented as a loyal fan of Louis Vuitton, Chanel and Hermes (see Figure 4.26). These brands are clearly marked as global and high class by the use of French in the introduction to the chapter in Yuni Shara's auto/biography which is titled "Louis Vuitton, Chanel, and Hermes". The introduction is then later translated into English (not Bahasa Indonesia), "People tend to judge things by just seeing them how they appear. Yet the true value always lies deep inside" (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 96).



Figure 4.26: Yuni Shara, Louis Vuitton

Contradictory to the relatively self-evident images, the textual narrative suggests a more complicated stance. On one hand, the narrator tones down the location of Yuni as a global-brand aficionado by saying that in the end, it does not matter what brand they might be, shoes and bags are there to serve a purpose, and the purpose is just the same for everyone, celebrities or not (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007). On the other hand, the narrator justifies this extravagant consumption by saying that “[I]t is not wrong if one has the ability [to buy those expensive things] but it is sinful if one is forcing oneself [to buy them] (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 95) In other words, the narratives of both Yuni Shara and Krisdayanti clearly show them as consumers of global brands, signifying them as part of the global fashion community. However, this portrayal of being a part of global consumption is constantly moderated by the statement that those brands do not matter much, as in the case of Yuni Shara, or by stating that she is also a loyal consumer of Indonesian products, as in the case of Krisdayanti. As shown in the case of the cosmetic industry in India (Munshi, 2001), or in the discourse of cosmetics advertisements in China (Johansson, 2001), the idea of a global woman is an amalgam of being local and global, or what Munshi contends in reference to the visual media in India, “the youthful, westernized-yet-India-at-heart persona for whom London and New York are nearby but whose heart is in the right place, being unflinchingly Indian” (Munshi, 2001: 89)

In addition to global fashion brands, global culture is strongly marked in the three auto/biographies by stories of urban life, including chain global cafes and expensive

restaurants. Tiara Lestari's auto/biography is a good example of this as the settings of her narratives are cafes, shops and restaurants bearing global [or English] names in different countries in the world (Singapore, Thailand, Spain, Germany), such as Cicero, Kemang Food Festival, Crossroad Café, Marriott Hotel, JCo donuts, or Coffee Bean. These global settings are further emphasized by the consumption of globally known food and beverages such as wine, pasta, salad, and many other "Western" and "Oriental" delicacies. She does mention the episode when her boyfriend was having "*tahu sumedang*" (a local Sundanese delicacy) (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 86), or about cooking "*rendang*", a traditional dish from Padang (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 65), and she talks about the time when she was helping her mother selling "*ketoprak*" (a Javanese local delicacy) (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 138). However, most of the food and beverages that are mentioned are those prevalent in "western" culture. She even writes that she is interested in wine and that her specialty is pasta (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007). In showing her familiarity with the global culture Tiara Lestari affirms her claim as a global person, yet, she is also displaying a gesture towards her local roots.

In the auto/biographies of celebrities in the age range of 20-30, the construction of femininity is closely connected to global consumption as well as to the global constructions of femininity. The three auto/biographical subjects discussed in this section portray themselves as global citizens particularly through consumption, both in terms of drink, food, as well as fashion. However, these portrayals are always carefully controlled by clear articulations of their local contexts, for example, by mentioning the consumption of local commodities. The narratives of their consumption show the local and global as closely intertwined and interchangeable.

Global Language

In this subsection, I explore how the use of English as a global language situates these celebrities as global. I am interested in discussing the fact that English is used in conjunction with Bahasa Indonesia. All three auto/biographies discussed in this section have to some extent integrated English into the Bahasa Indonesia text. Tiara Lestari's auto/biography is the one that mixes English into the Bahasa Indonesia text most consistently. As Chan (2007) argues, following other scholars, there are basically three reasons why people use multiple languages instead of a single language: firstly, for social purposes, namely, "a speaker signals the message 'I am speaking as an X' (X can be a social identity the speaker is projecting, such as profession or nationality)" (Hok-shing, 2007: 192); secondly, for pragmatic/communicative purposes; and thirdly, for psycholinguistic reasons. While the auto/biographies of Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara tend to use English for psycholinguistic purposes, namely when certain terms are more familiar in English than in Bahasa Indonesia, such as "acting", "touch up", the auto/biography of Tiara Lestari uses English even when Bahasa Indonesia has similar expressions. In this way, it can be argued that Tiara Lestari

presents herself, as she asserts, as “a cosmopolitan” person. Regarding cosmopolitanism, Tiara Lestari writes in her blog that she writes in English (Lestari, 2005, emphasis added):

Why am I cosmopolitan? It behoves me to answer without first quoting a dictionary of what the word "Cosmopolitan" means. The word simply means: *A sophisticated person who has travelled in many countries*. Well... first let me take that as I compliment. If that is the meaning of the word, then it is very easy. I have travelled around the world. A lot. I have met people from across the globe with different backgrounds, cultures, beliefs and attitudes. I am like that boy character in the movie *Mmeet the Fockers*... I am like a sponge. I absorb. I adjust. In the end of the process is... ehm.. me. Like this. The one you see and the one you read.

By showing competency in English, Tiara Lestari asserts her global identity and culture. It can also be argued that she performs a kind of sophistication in her continuous habit of integrating English into her conversations. This level of purpose is especially true in her auto/biography where she uses both languages in, at times, awkward order. There are sentences where she uses English entirely and sometimes she just squeezes the English words into her Bahasa Indonesia. For example, there are sentences that are written completely in English such as, “I love being a model. Really, I do” (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 23), but there are also sentences where she mixes English and Bahasa Indonesia, as in: “Obviously, *I can experience all that because of my profession as a model*” (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 23). This use of language often emerges as awkward and ruptures the coherent fluid display of movement between the two: “...*refusing the interesting offers from five other countries. Which was one of the offers is from New York*” (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 7, my emphasis).

I argue that the use of two languages can affect readers in two ways. On one hand, it can create rapport and intimacy between the auto/biographical subjects/narrators and their target readers. On the other hand, as the fans of the three auto/biographical subjects come from different social and economic locations, the use of different languages can also create a gap that signifies the extraordinariness of the three celebrities and their differences from other women in general.

In conclusion, I argue that these three auto/biographies offer interesting sites of struggle in regard to their presented femininities; public/domestic, local/global nexus as well as conflicted notions of body and fashion. The femininities shown in the three auto/biographies show that femininities are not stable roles and performances, but are spaces of contradiction and negotiation between the fields of the private/public and the local/global. While normative Indonesian femininity is closely observed, it is also challenged and compromised.

“I am a Woman”: Becoming a Woman as an Indonesian Transsexual Celebrity

The third section in this chapter examines femininity in the auto/biography of a transsexual celebrity, “*Aku Perempuan: Jalan Berliku Sorang Dorce Gamalama*” (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005). Dorce Gamalama was born in 1963. She secured celebrity status through her brilliant appearance on the 27th anniversary of the Television of the Republic of Indonesia (TVRI, a state-owned television station) in 1989. She shot to fame almost overnight. Her auto/biography was published in 2005 when she was 42 years old and her life was relatively established, both in terms of her career and in terms of her womanhood. Published at the height of her fame, the auto/biography is not so much about celebrating her career as it is about celebrating and endorsing her womanhood. I argue that the feminine roles that are expected of female celebrities can be performed by a transsexual (male to female) person but with the need to create a more convincing form of femininity than is required of a “natural” female celebrity. My examination of Dorce’s auto/biography shows that this question, about being a ‘real woman’, recurs as the auto/biographical subject struggles to claim an authentic feminine identity through her body and sexuality as well as through the feminine roles of motherhood and wifehood. The assertion of being a real woman is tightly connected to Islam, given the local context of Islamic religiosity in Indonesia.

Body and Sexuality

From the first page when she reflects on her birth, and throughout her auto/biography, Dorce is engrossed with her body and sexuality. She notes, “[A]nd they named me Dedi Yuliardi; a boy’s name. They thought I was a boy” (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 1). This is a strong statement and she proclaims that people were wrong when they thought she was a boy. This assertion introduces Dorce’s desire for recognition of her sexuality and gender orientation as a woman. She wants to be a woman, but she found that society did not accept her as a woman because she did not have a female body. Thus, from the very beginning, she locates her body as a source of conflict for her identity. She writes (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 25):

I am different. Since I was seven years old, I feel there is something trapped in my body that is growing to be more conflicting when I was ten years old. Something wants to be freed. My young mind understood that another soul that was trapped [in my body] was considered an abnormality by my family.

She was not the boy she was supposed to be. She writes that she was soft-spoken and that she liked playing with girls’ toys and with girls. What I find particularly worthy of

acknowledgment is her bodily memory of wanting to wear skirts. She continues (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 26):

Really, I wanted to wear skirts. The wish grew stronger when I tried to refute it. I wanted to feel the skirt embracing my body, hanging in my waist, moving flowingly between my two legs and when the wind blew, it would reveal my underwear and I would blush like a shy girl.

She began cross-dressing when she was young. One section in her auto/biography “*The difficult beginning*” is entitled “*My first tight skirt*” and relates her desire for and pleasure in wearing women’s dresses. She had secretly been using her aunt’s skirts just for the pleasure of wearing a woman’s dress. She reveals that women’s clothes had attracted the feminine part of her soul (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005). In this way, she shows that women’s clothes are an important part of her identity and that being/performing a girl entails actively taking on the work of being a girl that all women do, albeit in a more complicated and difficult situation. She narrates how she feels complete when wearing women’s clothes, “*Every time I am wearing [a woman’s clothes], I feel a feeling that is complete. Full. Flying*” (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 28). The first skirt of her own marked one important milestone for her in becoming a woman (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 29).

So when Bambang Brothers gave me my first salary, I rushed to Pasar Rumpit, trying to find the right skirt for me. I chose a very sexy tight skirt. As soon as I arrived home, I tried it on. There were mixed feelings because it was my own skirt, not my aunt’s skirt that I used to secretly wear. I looked at myself in the mirror with so much pleasure. That day was an important moment in my search for self-identity. A nice skirt on an eleven-year-old boy’s body.

At eighteen, Dorce joined *Fantastic Dolls*, a transvestite musical group. Her entry to this group marked another milestone as she was given the name Dorce by the leader of the group. As she said: “*There was no more Dedi. He was buried deep as the name Dorce began to emerge*” (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 29). In this group she always performed in dresses as a singer and as a woman. Interestingly, the ambiguous identity as a transvestite paradoxically validates the womanliness in her because if she fails to be a man, then she is perhaps a woman. However, her body remained ambiguous. It failed to signify as male but at the same time, it did not fully constitute a female body.

The narrative of her bodily change is not only about the material body but also about the controversy created after the surgery. The auto/biography reveals how her newly sexed body became a national controversy. Despite the sex-change operation, and the legal proceedings, she remains conscious that she will not be able to fully function as a woman. She reflects (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 28):

I will never experience the womanly worry when the first blood soils a girl's underwear. Then with care, whisper the peculiar occurrence to her mother, who will smile understandingly. The first menstruation is an important event in a girl's life that I will never enjoy. And most importantly, I will never be able to become pregnant. That's the woman's fate that I will never be able to obtain.

Womanhood and Femininity

This subsection examines how the auto/biographical subject in “*Aku Perempuan*” performs her womanhood and femininity without the security of a ‘natural’ female body. Apart from gestures, feelings, and other typically attributed feminine characteristics, femininity is very often closely related to the act of giving, sacrifice and worship. This is especially true in Asian culture. A true good woman/wife is exemplified by Sita²⁹ who was requested by her husband, Rama, to prove her chastity after being kidnapped by Ravana, a giant king who loves her, by jumping in the fire especially made for her by her husband. Sita, on the contrary, never questions her husband's loyalty to her. It is not part of her being a good wife and a proper woman to ask such questions. Femininity within this context is closely related to a woman's ability to maintain her chastity and sexuality for the man who has legally married her. This is understood and practiced closely by Dorce, who claims never to have had sex with anyone except with her husband. For her (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 40, original emphasis),

Because I feel I am a woman I highly treasure my dignity. It has crossed my mind to maintain my “virginity” when I can finally marry the man of my choice. I want a husband who thinks of me as a real woman not a man pretending to be a woman. The first night is a sacred moment, a holy offering to the beloved one.

A few pages later, when talking about her fear in facing the genital surgery, Dorce once again refers to this act of sacrifice and worship, writing: “*The fact is I want to do the surgery simply because I want to be able to fulfil my obligation as a woman. What I am doing is an offering for my future husband*” (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 44). Femininity in this way is signified as suffering, offering, and sacrifice. A true woman is always prepared to sacrifice for her husband, and the sex-change surgery can be considered as part of her effort to become a true woman.

²⁹ From the story of Ramayana by Valmiki. This story is vastly adopted and adapted in different cultures in Asia, including in Java, Bali, Palembang (Indonesia), in Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Cambodia, Thailand as well as the different version within India, the original place of the story. “Sita is the beloved wife of Rama and the daughter of king Janaka. She is the incarnation of goddess [Lakshmi](#), the consort of Vishnu. Sita is portrayed as the epitome of female purity and virtue. She follows her husband into exile and is abducted by Ravana. She is imprisoned on the island of [Lanka](#) until Rama rescues her by defeating the demon king Ravana. Later, she gives birth to [Lava](#) and [Kusha](#), the heirs of Rama. On meeting Sita, Rama asks her to undergo *agni Pariksha* (test of fire) to prove her purity, since she had stayed at the demon's palace. When Sita plunges into the sacrificial fire, [Agni](#) the lord of fire raises Sita, unharmed, to the throne, attesting to her purity. The episode of *agni pariksha* varies in the versions of Ramayana by Valmiki and [Tulsidas](#). At the expiration of his term of exile, Rama returns to Ayodhya with Sita and Lakshmana, where the coronation is performed.” (“Ramayana,” 2010)

Dorce the auto/biographical subject performs her femininity as motherhood. A true woman is a mother. The chapter "*Becoming a True Mother*" starts with the statement, "*Every woman will never feel her life to be complete if she has not had a child*" (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 117). That statement is later elaborated: "*she too has the same obsession as all other women in general. To give birth, to breastfeed, to take care and to bring up their children with love*" (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 117). Dorce has four adopted children, two boys and two girls. In this chapter she tells of her struggle to raise children, given her complex and ambiguous past. She writes about how she educates the children and how she wishes her children to be successful and that the children will love her just as she loves them although she is just a foster mother. To be loved and to be shown that she is loved is part of being acknowledged as a true mother. She is quite proud that one of her daughters will stand up for her when she is attacked for having a transsexual mother. Dorce writes: "*It's very touching. It makes me feel loved by my children. Makes me feel like a true mother*" (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 126). The phrase "true mother" is repeated in the two paragraphs after this one as if to emphasize her desire to be acknowledged as a "real mother" thus a "real woman".

"I want to die as a woman": Spiritual journey as a Muslim

One of the aspects of being a true mother is to be able to offer Islamic religious teaching to her children. Islam plays an important role in the construction of her identity. Expressions and utterances bearing religious messages are scattered throughout the book. Dorce's portrayal shows that she considers Islam not only as a religion but, more importantly, to be her way of life. Even during the period when she was under the constant influence of drugs and alcohol, she claims that she still tried to hold on to Islamic teachings. In particular she tells about her determination not to have sex outside wedlock. She writes "*I have tried everything. Except for prostitution. Alhamdulillah, I have never wanted to prostitute myself. Although I wasn't really pious, but I still had religious pillars and dignity*" (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 104)

One of her religious struggles concerns her sex-change surgery. At that time, a lot of people condemned her for changing her supposed destiny and considered that she had committed a great sin. In the auto/biography, Dorce recalls that although the surgery made her feel more at ease with herself, deep in her heart she felt afraid. One chapter in her auto/biography, "*Pro Contra that I have to face*", talks about the implications of the sex-change operation, particularly religiously. This conflict reached its peak when she was intending to conduct the pilgrimage to Mecca. In Islam, the religious ritual is closely connected to the sex of the person. Thus, going on a pilgrimage represented a great test for

her womanliness and her identity as Muslim.³⁰ As she narrates (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 64)

I have always wanted to go on a hajj. However, before I had the sex-change surgery, my heart was filled with doubts. How am I supposed to do my prayer: wearing the veil and be in the same line as the women, or be in the line of the men? Those doubts vanished when I had become physically and legally a woman. But other questions emerged when I wanted to the hajj. Can I do the pilgrimage as a woman? Will other people accept my presence? How would people feel about it? Am I ready to receive people's comments?

This situation shows that one's sex is not just a private matter as she needs to be recognized as a woman not only medically but also religiously. And it needs a person of authority to endorse her being a woman. As Dorce reveals, the Chair of Indonesian Ulemma Council ruled that she required a physical examination to affirm her sex. She finally went on the pilgrimage as a woman, after receiving this medical and religious recognition.

The depiction of Dorce as a good Muslim woman, as she narrates in her auto/biography, cannot be separated from her performance as a celebrity. The picture of her with a former minister (Figure 4.27) shows that her being accepted as a Muslim woman, as denoted by her attire during the pilgrimage, is recognized by a figure of authority. This is similar to the case of Tiara Lestari, whose transformation from a nude model to a "good" woman is endorsed by her boyfriend/husband, who is a part of a prominent family in Bandung. Apart from the hajj pictures, Dorce includes images of herself with four former Indonesian presidents (Figure 4.28), which endorse her acceptance by the figures of authority.

³⁰ In this pilgrimage, as in other religious ritual prayers, women and men are separated. Thus one's sex has to be clear before she or he can participate in communal prayers.



Saat melaksanakan ibadah haji tahun 1991



Figure 4.28: Dorce, with four presidents

Figure 4.27: Dorce, Pilgrimage, 1991

Dorce is both a singer and a comedian. As a comedian, she has the tendency to speak her mind. In recollecting her performance for the former President Soeharto, Dorce the auto/biographical subject narrates that the former President comments that she “*speaks whatever her mouth wants to speak*” (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 76). She further adds that people love her because of her “*foolish*” style (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 76). Foolish is perhaps the right word because she can be very foolish, but she takes pride in it. According to her, “*That’s my style that has become my trade mark. I have found it. That’s the real Dorce Gamalama that the audience want*” (Gamalama & Gunawan, 2005: 76). This statement is important. It shows that Dorce’s different and potentially fragmented roles as a woman, a mother, a Muslim, and as an entertainer are simultaneously known and denied.

I argue, however, that throughout her auto/biography, she has been consistently portrayed as a Muslim woman, as reflected particularly by her constant references to and awareness of being a Muslim. She positions her Muslim womanhood as a perpetual project that will only end when she dies, as reflected by the final chapter of her auto/biography, “*Only Women shall give me my final bath*”. In Dorce’s auto/biography, femininity is a constant project, and both the material body and the social, cultural and religious aspects of femininity are constant areas of struggle.

I argue that the transsexual femininity performed by Dorce in her auto/biography elaborates and draws on the notion of normative femininity but at the same time it reflects the artifice

and construction of femininity. The title of the auto/biography, "*I am a woman*", suggests the auto/biographer's need for the recognition of her womanhood, which is less necessary when one is considered to be a "real" woman. The fact that Dorce Gamalama is not "naturally" female draws out her continuous and explicit efforts to be "authentically" female or "authentically" a woman. This particular notion of recognition is crucial in her auto/biography. The struggle for recognition implies a conscious effort to achieve what is considered as womanly or endorsed as true womanhood in the specific Islamic [and] Indonesian local culture. Her manifestation of femininity is thus a conscious and continuous enactment of womanhood, but the statements reinforce the fluidity and the contingency of femininity.

In this chapter I have shown how the significance of the global contributes to the performance of femininity in the narratives of the six auto/biographies selected. Differences can be observed in the types of femininities mobilized when ageing female bodies or transsexual ones need to be negotiated. The themes probed in the auto/biographies of the ageing celebrities focus more on the relationship between the auto/biographical subjects and their spouses rather than portraying and examining the milieu surrounding the relationships: in contrast, the transsexual closely examines the notions around her body, sexuality and femininity. The established celebrities' auto/biographies, on the other hand, who are not faced with the constraints of age or the sexed body focus more on global consumption behaviors. These auto/biographical subjects present themselves as global subjects through consumption, while continuing to make sure that they keep their feet on the local ground, through the different traditional and religious (Islamic) values.

The analysis in this chapter has contributed to the argument of this thesis, that different forms of femininity are performed and are being actively negotiated in these celebrity auto/biographies. These texts present femininities that disrupt the binary oppositions of local/global, private/public, ordinary/extraordinary and work to produce new and complex constructions of Indonesian celebrity femininity that are simultaneously public and private, as ordinary as well as extraordinary, local as well as global. In Butler's framework, these performances of normative femininities serve to reveal and subvert the binaries that underpin such normative femininities.

In the next chapter, I offer an analytical examination of the portrayal of celebrity femininities in auto/biographical practices in two Indonesian women's magazines, which I argue to be a new form of auto/biography within the context of Indonesian popular culture. Extending this argument, I propose that these celebrities perform and gesture towards new forms of Indonesian femininity.

Chapter 5

Celebrity Auto/biographical Practices in Women's Magazines: Fragmentation and Coherence

The adventure chronotope is thus characterized by a technical, abstract connection between space and *time*, by the *reversibility* of moments in a temporal sequence, and by their *interchangeability* in space. (Bakhtin, 1981: 100)

In the previous two chapters, I respectively demonstrated that the selected auto/biographies presented and performed fragmented yet cohering auto/biographical feminine subjects. I argued that the performed celebrity femininities revealed negotiations between the more traditional and the more liberated forms of femininities, which are produced at the intersections of the local and the global as well as the private and the public.

This chapter analyses two short forms of celebrity auto/biographical texts in two prominent Indonesian women's magazines, *Femina* and *Kartini*. I argue that these celebrity profiles in women's magazines can be considered a popular form of auto/biographical practice with thematic and structural links to the full-length texts I have previously discussed. In these magazines texts, I argue that while femininity is presented in more fragmented ways than in book-length auto/biographies, the same key ideas of femininity, beauty and body as well as the persistence of a form of idealized femininity in the role of wife, are present and deployed to create idealized auto/biographical subjects. These two short forms are *Cover Story* in *Kartini* and *Serial* in *Femina*. *Cover Story* is a single independent celebrity profile featured in each issue of *Kartini*. *Serial* is a short piece focused on a single celebrity which generally consists of repetitions and flashbacks relevant to the celebrity's activities. This discussion of magazine features as auto/biographical texts allows for a deeper exploration of the new practices of auto/biography that I argue are characteristic of these female Indonesian celebrity texts. While there are differences between these auto/biographical practices in magazines and the book-length auto/biographies, both forms work through fragmented construction to produce cohering auto/biographical subjects that secure and enhance celebrity. In this chapter I specifically focus on how the fragmentation of a narrative text can still successfully support the construction of an auto/biographical subject.

The magazines I have selected are long standing and successful Indonesian women's magazines, *Kartini* and *Femina*. *Kartini* is among the first popular Indonesian women's magazines to have been published (Kartajaya et al., 2005: 133). The magazine covers

various women's "issues" from health and cooking, to beauty, children and fashion. *Kartini* used to be a very powerful magazine but the recent boom of media and other forms of women's media, including the cheaper tabloids in 1999, have reduced its market dominance (Kartajaya et al., 2005). The new market leader is now *Femina*, which according to Rhenald Kasali (1998: 153), is the best magazine in its class, not only because of its advertising turnover, which amounted to 19 billion in the first semester of 1997, but also because of its high circulation.

Both *Femina* and *Kartini* are interested in telling the "stories" of celebrities in many different ways. I have chosen two selected forms of celebrity profile that I consider operate as auto/biographical practices in these women's magazines. The first form I analyse in this chapter is the *Cover Story*, the story about the woman/women featured in the magazine cover. *Cover story* as a feature has appeared in *Kartini* in the each of the years covered in this research, 2000 – 2006. *Kartini* magazine is a biweekly magazine, thus there are approximately 26 publications every year. This feature generally takes between one and three pages and only talks about a certain moment of the celebrity's life, mostly relevant to the time the photo shot is taken for the cover. The plot of this narrative is highly focused on the issue of relationships. This tendency for female celebrity auto/biography to be focused on feminine elements of the narrated life has been analyzed in the previous chapters on the book-length celebrity auto/biographies. This focus on practices and elements of normative femininity is further intensified by the attention to issues of beauty and the body. Although discussions about career do emerge, these are mostly examined in connection to how it affects relationships with their close circle, particularly their romantic partners. The short auto/biographical segment in *Femina*, which I am presenting as auto/biographical practice, is presented in a number of guises including *Cerita Sampul* (Cover Story), *Omong-omong* (Chit chat), *Selebriti* (Celebrity), and *Halo* (Hallo). Despite the differences in nomenclature, these segments function consistently as celebrity auto/biographies, as I demonstrate below.

As I explained in Chapter One, in choosing the texts to be analyzed in this chapter, I focus on pieces on celebrities who appeared and reappeared in *Cover Story* at least three times in the period from 2000-2006. The reappearance of these celebrities adds an additional layer to the fragmented yet cohering narratives that I argue are characteristic of these new forms of celebrity auto/biographical practice. There are two celebrities that appear in four issues, and four others who appear in three issues. However, for the purpose of this chapter, I limit the corpus to four celebrities, two that appear in four issues (Feby Febiola and Putri Patricia) and two that appear in three issues (Mariana Renata and Alya Rohali). I decided to use only two celebrities who appeared in three issues, Mariana Renata (February, 2000 – September, 2005) and Alya Rohali (November, 2000 – June, 2006).

The second form examined in this chapter is the serial auto/biographical feature published by *Femina* under the name of *Serial*. This is a sequential narrative appearing in different magazines about a single celebrity that consists of between two and five parts. There are two *Serials* examined in this chapter. These cover the period of 2000-2003. The *Serials* discussed feature the following celebrities:

1. Marini (5 issues, 2001)

Marini is an older established celebrity in the later stages of her career (born on 2nd November 1947). Her activities range through singing, modelling, and acting. As in Titiek Puspa's auto/biography, her story is heavily embedded in Indonesian history and locality. However, as she was born to an aristocratic family, she did not have the difficult beginning shared by Titiek Puspa and Lenny Marlina. Marini experienced international travels at a relatively young age, for example. Marini's story relies heavily on her romantic relationships. She has married four times, once to a highly-respected musician, who was her third husband. She is now with her fourth husband.

2. Titi DJ (4 issues, 2003)

Born in 1966, Titi³¹ is a well-known singer whose career also includes modelling, and acting. Like Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara, Titi was born to a relatively impoverished, single parent family. As well as her success in the various competitions she entered, her rise was partly due to her mother's persistent struggle for her daughter and most importantly, her relationship with Indra Lesmana, who is a prominent and respected musician. She married three times and has three children from her first marriage, one from her second marriage. She is now with her third husband.

Serial, given its larger space, appears as a "continuing story". While it does represent only segments of the celebrity's life, the arrangement of these segments works to constitute a continuum where seemingly disparate moments are brought together to produce a single cohering narrative. In every issue of *Serial* the auto/biographical subject is located in a specific space and time, at a certain age or a certain time, or in a certain geographical, social, and cultural space. The auto/biographical narratives delineate the celebrity's movements from one space to another in a way that requires flashbacks and repetitions and create the effect of a chronological plot. While the auto/biographical subjects traverse time

³¹ Titi Dwi Jayati is abbreviated as Titi DJ, but she is addressed as "Titi" as evident in the *Serial* texts. This thesis addresses her as "Titi" unless it is stated otherwise in the original text or when in the part when it is necessary to refer to her full name.

from the past to the historical/biological and biographical “present” and back, the sense of transition and transformation characteristic of the full-length auto/biographies is present here too.

Cover Story

This section examines four auto/biographical texts of celebrities as they appear in *Cover Story* in *Kartini* magazine. The structure of *Cover Story* in *Kartini* magazine is relatively stable as shown by the two figures that cover 6 years. Figure 5.1 is an issue from 2000 while Figure 5.2 is an issue from 2006. This section is divided into three subsections as follows: (1) structure, (2) the nature of relationship, and (3) beauty, body and photographic narrative.

Structure

Cover Story is comprised of three basic parts; the title, the introduction and the body (see Figure 5.1 and 5.2). **The title** usually consists of two parts, the name of the celebrity and a short line of direct quotation from the interview or a “summary” of the viewpoint of the celebrity, which can be in direct speech or indirect speech and point to a key theme of the text. Some examples are (Figure 5.1 and 5.2):

5.1: Mariana Renata: “*I am free but responsible*”

5.2: Feby Febiola: *The more [I am] in the acting world, the more [my] feeling gets sharpened*

Both pieces of text imply an auto/biographical subject, articulating her perspective on her life as a celebrity.



Figure 5.1: Mariana Renata, Cover Story 2000 **Figure 5.2: Feby Febiola, Cover Story 2006**

The second part is the introduction. **The introduction** functions as an abstract of the text. It also reminds the readers of the celebrity's achievements, her past or present relationships, as well as her point of view on certain important issues. The following are typical introductions of the two figures (5.1, 5.2).

5.1: *Like a stem of flower in a flower garden
Blown by the wind, it grew prettier....
For it became more beautiful and delightful
It invited the bees to seduce...
It augments charm where you land...*

5.2: *Since the first time she became a professional actress, Feby Febiola felt that acting world was very close to her. Why not? Since she was a little girl, she had been good at mimicking characters and playing various roles. Putting on a sad, angry, or happy face. Small wonder that in 9 years of her career, now she is more convinced that acting is her path of life.*

In Figure 5.1, the introduction is a poem describing the beauty of the celebrity featured (Mariana Renata). The narrative consequently describes her beauty, her career, and how she is becoming a famous model in Indonesia. In Figure 5.2, the introduction points to Feby's acting ability which was noticed at a very early age; her success is to be considered as a natural consequence of it.

The third part is **the body of the text**. In this part the celebrity's life is told in third person narrative. While the celebrities are not the narrators, direct quotations are constantly used as part of the narrative. The following is a sample passage from Feby Febiola's *Cover Story* (M.R., 2000: 10)

Recently, many people have been feeling infuriated by Feby Febiola. It's just because every time she appears on the television, she is always the jealous and evil girl. On Wednesday nights, she appears as Rena, the egocentric and envious girl in "Tersayang", On Friday nights she appears as "Tante Amerika" who is indescribably evil. "I am bored being an evil character," said the actress whose actual name is just Febiola. "In short, it's just boring."

In this passage, Feby the auto/biographical subject is identified as the role she plays in television series and understood through this work. This identification to some extent implies her success in creating the character in her television serials. She however imparts that she is bored with the role. This leads to the question as uttered by the narrator, "*If you're bored, why not protest against it, Feby?*" (M.R., 2000: 11). The answer is provided by Feby's

mother, again replicating the multiple voice strategies of the full-length auto/biographical texts (M.R., 2000: 11):

Her mother, Mrs Susi Sitanggang, who was accompanying her daughter in the interview with Kartini, joined in. "Actually Febby has been frequently complaining. Every day in the shooting location, she complains, but because they [Multivision] ask for her favour, so yeah..." Said Mrs Susi, lifting her shoulders and did not finish her words..."

The passage shows how Feby the auto/biographical subject is being created using different voices, some of whom are "witnesses", namely other characters in the text, and the auto/biographical subject herself. I argue that while the narrative structure of *Cover Story* is fragmented, the fragmentations actually work to create and complete the relevant auto/biographical subject. The fragmentations do not only originate from the magazine structure but also in the temporal dislocations of the auto/biographical subject. As the analysis of the book-length auto/biographies and this passage in Feby Febiola's text show, this form of feminine auto/biographical subject is constructed by the integration of others' views and the voices of their partners and families.

Flashback and the Narrative of Luck

In the analysis of auto/biographical practices in women's magazines, flashbacks are used to situate the auto/biographical subject in different spaces and times in the past while maintain a link to her present success. The narrator starts the story by giving an account of the beginning of the featured celebrity's career. Two of the four celebrities discussed in this section emphasize the unplanned, accidental and surprising (unexpected) nature of the beginnings of their careers. The accidental and unexpected nature of celebrity success is emphasized by statements inferring that she "did not mean to do it" or "did not actually want to do it" or that she was surprised to know that she got the job, as evident in Mariana Renata's texts, where she is said to have been tapped by "*the goddess of fortune*" (Simarmata, 2004: 20; Sukmaraja, 2000: 11). The same message of an accidental beginning, and perhaps good luck are present in the account of Putri Patricia's career (Widuhung, 2005). Putri Patricia's statement, following, is exemplary of this type of direct statement about the accidental nature of the beginning of the celebrity's career. She is quoted, "*I was just passing the time. When I was in secondary school, I liked being photographed*" (Drianurmini, 2001: 16). By emphasizing the notion of accidental success, the celebrities present themselves as being ordinary, as being the same as everyone else, only luckier.

The reference to accident or luck is symptomatic of celebrity culture that renders celebrities as simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary (Dyer, 2001; Redmond, 2006). However, what is also evident in the construction of celebrity is that luck itself is not enough. Celebrities

have to prove their “worthiness” of their luck through “hard work and professionalism.” Feby Febiola’s profile reflects the tension generated by these two completing ideals that need to be included. The text includes a flashback about her past where she started as a teenage model. This is juxtaposed with her current established status as a professional actor, as highlighted in the title of this particular text, “*It seems that after being in this world, my feeling is beginning to be sharpened*” (Rinawati, 2006: 10). Acting is described as work (that needs to be sharpened) but at the same time, it is also represented as her natural talent (that which she can do without having to exert much effort). One of the key elements of celebrity is the mix of ordinariness and extraordinariness that is required. For one ordinary individual to be extraordinary, one needs not only luck but also some extraordinariness. Extraordinariness in celebrity can manifest in different forms. In Alya Rohali, for example, it is manifest in her being selective in choosing her career path “*unlike other actresses*”, in her pursuit of postgraduate study, in her breastfeeding of her baby, and her ideal marriage to her (now ex) husband (Drianurmini, 2000: 22). In Feby Febiola, her distinction from the rest (the other ordinaries and other celebrities) is her “professionalism”, which includes playing the typical and possibly boring roles, and the expansion of her career path to include singing in addition to modelling (M.R., 2000).

In the case of the depiction of Alya Rohali, for example, I argue that she is portrayed as strong and rational, exemplified by her ability to cope with the divorce and child-rearing (Paramita, 2003) as well as being capable and intelligent, exemplified by her postgraduate education undertaken while still working full time as an entertainer, and completing the attendant labour required to meet expectations for beauty and a desirable body. The reference to doing a University degree is an important aspect of the construction of femininity in Indonesia as I suggested earlier. References to intelligence are also found in Mariana Renata’s narrative (Simarmata, 2004).

Relationships

In this subsection I focus on how the auto/biographical subjects are depicted in their relationships with different men across time. I examine how the narratives cover and conceal the space and time between relationships in that the celebrities remain the same in their attitudes towards relationships, although they change partners. The notion of femininity that is mobilized here requires the discussion of partners, even when the partners are not in existence. The emphasis on relationships also suggests that there is a crossover between the private and the public spaces, which is typical of celebrity culture, as I have also discussed in the previous two chapters.

Of four celebrities discussed in this chapter, one is married (Feby Febiola) and two are presently single (Mariana Renata and Putri Patricia). Another celebrity, Alya Rohali presents a very interesting case across the three issues of *Cover Story* discussed in this section

(2000, 2003 and 2006). She presents herself as a happily married woman in the first issue (2000), but is divorced in the issue in 2003, and is preparing for another marriage in the issue in 2006. What is interesting here is the consistency of the idealized image of celebrity femininity, both in terms of her physicality (beauty and body) as well as in terms of her commitment to whichever relationship she is in at the time the profile is written. The transformation of her status from a wife to a single parent is not visible either in the images or in the narratives both in 2003 and 2006. The depiction of her in all images from 2000 and 2006 is consistently radiant and optimistic. Physically, she does not seem to age despite the six-year gap of her first feature in the magazine. Her ideals and views towards partnership remain the same and her feelings for her changing partners are also consistent.

In the Cover Story in 2000 (Figure 5.3), she says (Drianurmini, 2000: 23):

“Mas Eri is not fussy. We always communicate. I always talk to him about what I will do, and usually he agrees. About children, we agree to have three. It doesn't matter whether it's a boy or a girl”

In the Cover Story in 2006 (Figure 5.4), Alya talks about her new partner: *“Although he is older than me, he is funny, easy going, decisive, understanding, humble, what else...”* (Yudha & GD, 2006: 10) In the issue in 2003, Alya Rohali is depicted as a single parent with no partner. This issue acts as a bridge between the two spaces of the romantic relationships and marriages in 2000 and in 2006. The 2003 issue still presents her as a happy strong woman who has completely taken everything under control and has adapted well to the new situation. As the narrator says, *“that there is no reason [for her] to be hostile with her ex-husband”* (Paramita, 2003).



Figure 5.3: Alya Rohali, Cover Story, 2000

Figure 5.4: Alya Rohali, Cover Story, 2006

The constant references to happy relationships with her husband, ex husband, and future husband, as particularly apparent in Alya Rohali's narratives (Drianurmini, 2000; Paramita, 2003; Yudha & GD, 2006) signify the centrality of relationships to normative femininity in these auto/biographical texts in magazines. The same pattern can be observed with Feby Febiola, who was with one man in the first *Cover Story* but later married another man (Anton, 2004; M.R., 2000; Rinawati, 2006; Sukmaraja, 2002).

Feby Febiola's relationships with different men (her former boyfriend and her husband) are always described as happy ones. Following her assertions of privacy, she describes how she fell in love with her then boyfriend and even lamented the Valentine's day she had to spend without him (M.R., 2000). In *Cover Story* in 2002, Feby and her husband are described as harmonious and understanding towards each other and their marriage is idealized and romanticized: "*The young handsome and beautiful couple seem to love each other.... He was so caring and full of attention*" (Sukmaraja, 2002: 28). In another issue, Feby directly comments on her marriage: "*Marriage is basically a process of uniting two persons. So, it takes a learning process [for us] to be harmonious... Basically, we just need to get a long [sic] well*" (Anton, 2004: 20-22). The portrayal of idealized celebrity femininity relies upon these narratives of happy relationships.

In all selected texts of *Cover Story*, these auto/biographical subjects submit to this ideal of normative femininity and heterosexuality, but at the same time there are small challenges allowed in references to their capability for independence away from their liaisons with men. They perform the expected role of being a woman in their relationship by constantly referring to their [future] partners or their need for them, even as they demonstrate their independence (Ussher, 1997). The *Cover Story* texts persistently discuss the issue of happy heterosexual relationships, even when dealing with the absence of partner by referring to what is expected from her [future] man, as in the case of Mariana Renata (Ikrima, 2005; Simarmata, 2004) and Putri Patricia (Drianurmini, 2001), or by referring to the insistence of keeping her private life private. The irony of such a depiction is that the story about the absence of men is used to substitute for the story about the man they are supposedly in a relationship with. Likewise, the frequently quoted insistence on "keeping things private" while at the same time telling the story of the particular celebrity relationship, as in the case of Putri Patricia (Sukamaraja & Melly, 2003) and Feby Febiola (M.R., 2000) even when nominally absent, shows that celebrity femininity in women's magazines is highly dependent on heterosexuality,

Beauty, Body and Photographic Narrative

As in the full-length texts, beauty, the slender youthful body and the capacity to hold back time are critical aspects of celebrity femininity. These celebrities do not age in all their photographs throughout the years covered. Despite the elapsing of five to six years, the four celebrities remain as youthful in their first appearance in the cover story as they do in their last. Even more interesting, some seem to age in reverse. This is observable in the images of Putri Patricia (See Figures 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8) and the images of Feby Febiola (5.9, 5.10, 5.11, 5.12,).



Figure 5.5: Putri Patricia, Cover Story 2001 Figure 5.6: Putri Patricia, Cover Story 2003

Putri Patricia Targetkan Nikah Sebelum Usia 30

Wajah Putri Patricia tak asing di dunia hiburan, namun ia ia sendiri sebagai artis wanita papan atas Indonesia akan mengabdikan jiwanya yang meluap-luap membuat namanya terus berlebar-lebar dengan pengabdian yang tak pernah berhenti. Perempuan cantik yang memiliki fisik ideal memang memang menjadi idola bagi para pria dan wanita. Patricia sendiri mengaku memang punya banyak admirer yang datang ke rumahnya untuk bertemu dan berfoto.

Siswa Putri Patricia akan melanjutkan karir yang gemilang sebagai model. Patricia mengaku memang menyukai dunia modeling yang ia lakukan bersama teman-temannya. Patricia sendiri yang bilang ia memang menyukai dunia modeling. "Saya memang suka modeling, dan saya juga suka dunia modeling. Saya memang suka modeling yang bisa membuat orang lain tertarik. Saya memang suka modeling yang bisa membuat orang lain tertarik. Saya memang suka modeling yang bisa membuat orang lain tertarik."



Putri Patricia lahir di Jakarta, 12 Desember 1984. Ia adalah anak dari pasangan Eddy dan Patricia. Patricia adalah seorang model dan aktris. Ia pernah tampil di beberapa acara televisi dan panggung. Ia juga pernah tampil di beberapa acara internasional.

cover story

Putri Patricia Anti Ungkap Masalah Pribadi

Angen-nya akan mengungkap masalah pribadi pada publik ternyata tidak diinginkan. Putri Patricia justru ingin masalah pribadinya tetap tertutup. Putri Patricia sendiri yang bilang ia memang suka modeling dan dunia hiburan. Ia juga pernah tampil di beberapa acara internasional.

BERKAS DAN BERKAWAN
Putri Patricia sendiri yang bilang ia memang suka modeling dan dunia hiburan. Ia juga pernah tampil di beberapa acara internasional.

Figure 5.7: Putri Patricia, Cover Story 2005

Figure 5.8: Putri Patricia, Cover Story 2006

cover story

Feby Febiola, 'Saya Bosan Jadi Wanita Jahat'

Feby Febiola akan tampil jadi wanita jahat. Di dunia hiburan yang kini sudah dikuasai oleh artis-artis yang cantik dan manis. Feby Febiola sendiri yang bilang ia memang suka modeling dan dunia hiburan. Ia juga pernah tampil di beberapa acara internasional.

Berkecambah di dunia modeling yang sudah ia lakukan selama ini, Feby Febiola akan tampil jadi wanita jahat. Feby Febiola sendiri yang bilang ia memang suka modeling dan dunia hiburan. Ia juga pernah tampil di beberapa acara internasional.

Figure 5.9: Feby Febiola, Cover Story 2000

cover story

Feby Febiola, Mendapat Skenario Sebagai Tanda Cinta

Feby Febiola akan tampil jadi wanita jahat. Di dunia hiburan yang kini sudah dikuasai oleh artis-artis yang cantik dan manis. Feby Febiola sendiri yang bilang ia memang suka modeling dan dunia hiburan. Ia juga pernah tampil di beberapa acara internasional.

Ada cerita menarik tentang Feby Febiola. Ia akan tampil jadi wanita jahat. Feby Febiola sendiri yang bilang ia memang suka modeling dan dunia hiburan. Ia juga pernah tampil di beberapa acara internasional.

Figure 5.10: Feby Febiola, Cover Story 2002



Figure 5.11: Feby Febiola, Cover Story 2004 **Figure 5.12: Feby Febiola, Cover Story 2006**

These temporal dislocations and collapses are important in creating cohering auto/biographical subjects that maintain their beauty and create an idealized celebrity femininity which is capable of transcending time, challenges and crises and resisting the processes of ageing, as occurred in the full-length texts.

In all of these selected texts, the celebrities are presented within the confines of a normative embodiment of ideal femininity: beautiful, and remaining beautiful over the years. Particularly in the case of Alya Rohali (Figures 5.3, 5.4), who is the only mother among the four celebrities discussed in this section, no traces of physical transformation are visible. All these auto/biographical subjects are referred to as “beautiful” in some parts of their portrayals, particularly in the introduction or in the first paragraphs. The typical narrative is as reflected in the following example in the text on Mariana Renata, “*Finally, after a few meetings and interviews, the beautiful girl who was born on 31 December 1983 officially became the model of LUX*” (Simarmata, 2004: 20). The celebrities are also described based on their heights and weights, such as “*the owner of 175cm and 51 kg body*” for Mariana Renata (Sukmaraja, 2000: 11) and “*the pretty girl, the owner of 165cm height and 45 kg weight...*” for Putri Patricia (Widuhung, 2005). The consistent denotation of “beautiful girl/woman” suggests that being beautiful is key to their celebrity status.

I propose that these pieces operate as “new forms” of auto/biography within celebrity and women’s culture which adapt and alter conventional practices of auto/biographical narration to suit the short and fractured formats in these magazines. However, the themes of beauty, opportunity and dedication to heterosexual love present in the longer forms are also key in

these new forms, in the creation of cohering and consistent subject positions in particular. The newness of these forms of celebrity auto/biographical practice is thus not much in their content but, rather, in their form of expression.

Serial

This section examines two auto/biographical texts of celebrities as they appear in *Serial* in *Femina* magazine. *Serial* consists of three to five issues of auto/biographical stories about celebrities. Just like *Cover Story*, *Serial* also relies on images as part of the narrative.

Structure

Serial is a sequential feature in *Femina* magazine that portrays celebrities, both female and male. *Serial* has a relatively stable structure. It has a primary title that summarizes the “story” across the different issues, and a subtitle for each issue. Underneath the title there is a short introduction to the story, usually summing up the story of the issue. The introduction is closely followed by the summary of the previous part, called *Summary of the previous story*. At the end of each part, there is a hint of what is going to be narrated in the next part introduced by the teaser phrase *Next Week*. Figure 5.13 is an instance of an issue of *Serial* (Endah, 2003c) followed by table 5.1 which outlines a typical story structure of *Serial*.



Figure 5.13: Titi DJ, Serial

Table 5.1 Structure of *Serial*

Primary Title: SERIAL PART II: The Romance of Life and Love of Titi DJ
Title of this part : Breaking through the Celebrity World
Introductory/summary of the present part: The road to the recording studio was so steep, But the spirit shown by Titi and her mother paid off in a miracle. Particularly when Indra Lesmana emerged into the scene....
Summary of previous story Titi, who has a huge talent in arts, is lucky enough to have a very enthusiastic mother who supported her all the way. Despite the relatively difficult economic condition, Titi's life was colourful because it was decorated with various artistic activities. However, her adolescent period was also tinged with sadness due to the divorce of her parents. Fortunately, her mother incessantly pumped high spirit into her daughter, until finally she could pursue her dream of becoming a singer by winning the Radio and Television Star Festival in 1983. However, Titi had some setbacks before she could continue making a record.
Next Week (hint/summary of the next part) The adventure to find love and the marriage to Bucek.

Within this structure, each part is a complete story that can be read as it is or it can be read in conjunction with the other parts contributing to the bigger story of the celebrity's life. The subtitle of each part also functions to mark the new chapter of the life of the celebrities. In this way, while the story and the life are fragmented, they also form a series of moments that constitute a whole life.

The plot of the stories is chronologically built by a focus on important moments in their lives, starting from birth and moving to the "present". In Marini's story, the story of her origin is even extended as far back as her grandfather who happened to be a member of a notable Indonesian family. Titi's story begins when she was still living humbly with her mother who raised her five children as a single parent. This expository introduction depicts Titi rehearsing her singing ability while wearing the best dress she could possibly have at that time. She is portrayed as a talented singer who seems destined to succeed, although this introduction is concluded by the words from the narrator: "*It never occurred to Yeni, her "young singer" could ever become a diva in the world of Indonesian music!*" (Endah, 2003b: 56), again emphasizing the importance of luck, and hard work leading to eventual success, as in *Cover Story*.

The protagonists start their journey humbly, are faced by challenges, and transcend their problems and finally emerge as a film star (Marini), or a Diva (Titi DJ) and find some form of

peace and ease not only with themselves but also with their surroundings, including their past relationships. The following is the instance of the “conclusion” of Marini’s story (Pane, 2001c: 98).

Thinking of her own life, very often makes Marini feels she has lived her life like a film story. As an actress, she dreams of putting her life onto the white screen. Her children are enthusiastic, Shelomita even spontaneously proposed, “Let me play you, please?”. Marini only smiled, but in her heart, she said, “Of course,” But, “I also pray, that in the real life, I hope you will never have to go through all the bitter experiences I have had to endure”.

This sense of completion is also shown in Titi’s story that is concluded by the following paragraph (Endah, 2003d: 71):

What else is Titi DJ looking for? “Nothing else besides the strong spirit to live life. I hope God will continue to give me the spirit that has proven to have been my biggest asset to live this life...”

Interestingly, both the story of Marini’s as well as that of Titi DJ’s, are far from over. In Titi’s case, this story is certainly not “The End” as the story suggests, as she later divorced the last husband in the story (Dian, shr, & rev, 2006) and married another one shortly afterwards (Eny & Eny, 2007). Marini also went on to marry another man, and changed her name from Marini Sardi, from her third husband – Idris Sardi – to Marini Soerjosoemarno (her father) and now Marini Burhan Abdullah, from her fourth husband (“Marini,”).

Serial Relationships

One significant plot in *Serial* is the romantic one that moves the stories seamlessly from one relationship to another. Marini and Titi, within the space and time covered by *Serial*, have been in multiple relationships. In this section I am framing romance in terms of what Pearce and Stacey explain as the “transformative promise [that] holds out possibilities of change, progress and escape... [f]igured through both a literal and a metaphorical journey (to a new self)” (Pearce & Stacey, 1995: 18). The transformative potential embodied in the different spaces occupied by the auto/biographical subjects makes romance here a journey more significant than just searching for a lover, it is, more importantly, about finding their own selves. Interestingly, all celebrities discussed in this section travel across geographical spaces, invoking what Pearce argues is the “exotic location of romantic fiction” signifying “not as mere conventions, but as symbols of (another) life redolent with freedom, excitement and the possibility of change” (Pearce, 1998: 101).

In the Marini text, geographical spaces represent the states of her relationships with men, including the notion of homes. The text reveals that Marini was date-raped and became

pregnant when she was 17 when her singing career had just started (Pane, 2001e). The rape not only robbed her of bodily autonomy, but also her freedom and happiness. To avoid a family being shamed by having a girl give birth outside of wedlock, it is customary practice in Indonesia for the girl who becomes pregnant by her boyfriend to then marry him. This somewhat forced marriage took Marini away from the comfort of her family home, the idyllic space, to a real life where she found that she was vulnerable and unloved. She was depressed in the unhappy marriage, which was compounded by, and represented in the geographic move to an unfamiliar familial house and life. As Marini says (Pane, 2001e: 72):

“Maybe because my very beautiful childhood suddenly changed drastically. Since I was born, I was totally loved and pampered, it was just too beautiful compared to the marriage. From the loving father, mother, brothers and sisters to a very tough situation. I was not prepared to deal with such a contradictory life. I could not believe how anyone could actually be other than that [loving]? Maybe other people who do not have a beautiful experience the way I do might have been stronger than me,”

The claustrophobic description of her marital house represents the suffocation she suffered in this “overcrowded” marriage. The smallness of her terrace that she had to share with her husband can be seen as the diminishing space allocated to her in the marriage: “*in his sport car, Tinton took his girlfriend to the house and kissed her in front of Marini who was holding Rama*”³²(Pane, 2001e: 72). The house symbolizes the alienation and loneliness that she is suffering. Thus, when she did get away from the confinement of the house, it signified a mark of her freedom from her marriage and unhappiness. Her subsequent divorce and holiday in Singapore where she found an Indonesian band, *The Steps*, that she later joined (Pane, 2001b) began a new phase. With this band, she found a new confidence and new spaces to establish her sense of self, not only in terms of her career as a singer but also by rebuilding her private life. The restoration of her private life required her to travel to other countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, Hongkong, Japan (Pane, 2001b). This global movement is presented as simultaneously restoring her private life and opening up a public space for celebrity achievement. “*Marini, who had just been free from a very difficult ordeal, was reminded of the career she had long left behind. Marini truly did not expect that. Especially because it did not occur in Indonesia, it actually happened abroad that she found an open opportunity for a comeback*” (Pane, 2001b: 62).

Interestingly, once her public self was re-established, it opened the possibility for the re-establishment of her private life. Her romance with a member of the band, Didi Hadju, opened the possibility of another home. As Marini had already a son Rama, her relationship

³² Rama (Rama Pandu Suwastomo) is Marini’s first son from her first husband, Tinton Suprpto.

with Didi Hadju is framed importantly by the relationship between Didi and Rama thus securing her role as a good mother. The episode detailing Marini's relationship with him is appropriately called "A Substitute Father for Rama" (Pane, 2001e). Didi is described as being attentive to Rama, through the narrator's reflection of Marini's feelings (Pane, 2001b: 65):

The big attention given by Didi to Rama made Marini pay a special attention to this single man. Marini did not know for sure whether Didi's approach to Rama was actually intended to win her heart, or it was his closeness to Rama that made Didi fall in love with her.

Marini and Didi married eventually in 1972 and went back to Hongkong and Tokyo (Pane, 2001b). This was a golden period in her acting career, and was a new space for her own self-exploration. This marriage thus signified a home that provided enough space for Marini's development as Didi Hadju provided Marini with enough support to explore her newly-found talent in acting. This support is important as a husband's consent is imperative in normative Indonesian marriages. "It was Didi's important decision that enabled Marini to do her profession as a film star" (Pane, 2001d: 98). Ironically, while this space has helped Marini transcend both private and public challenges, the relationship she built with her second husband no longer provided her with security and love when the supposed foundation of the marriage, her first son, was feeling unhappy in the restructured family that his mother had built. Marini recalls, "Didi and I got married because of Rama. Then I grew to love Didi, I can't deny that. But in the beginning I wanted to give Rama a father. If it turned out like this, let it end right here" (Pane, 2001d: 100). As later, Didi and Marini mutually agreed to divorce in 1980, and three years later she married Idris Sardi, a prominent violinist in Indonesia and built another restructured family life and relationship.

Despite the fact that it was Idris Sardi who moved in to Marini's house rather than the opposite, in this marriage Marini performed as a loyal wife and [step] mother as all three children of Idris Sardi went to live with her. As the narrative reveals, she became the ideal of femininity in her embodiment of her roles as a wife and a mother. Her public and private lives were completely attached to Idris Sardi as, through her roles, she helped Idris with his work. She was then known as Marini Sardi, a devoted wife, whose activities were those of her husband. Marini's private and public selves merged in the embodiment of her persona and roles as Marini Sardi (Pane, 2001d: 101)

[t]he personage of Marini rapidly emerged as a role-model wife. Wherever Idris Sardi is, Marini is always by his side, ready with a cooker and a grinder ready to prepare chilly paste, "Mas Idris has to eat everything when it's warm, and he doesn't like chilli paste made by other people. I am the one who

prepares his tea every morning. Mas Idris says the tea prepared by our helper is not nice. That's that. I am proud I can do everything for Mas Idris.

This new totally feminine identity and subjectivity relegated her to the private domain, even though these constructions were displayed in public. She lost herself in her submission to her husband. In that way she also lost the public domain that she used to occupy in her own right. She felt she was even deprived of being the mother of her children as “*all this time Marini felt she had been taking care of and accompanying Idris more than she had been with her children*” (Pane, 2001c: 96). She also argues that she felt the need to reclaim her right to exist in the public domain, which was denied in her focus on being a good wife to Idris Sardi. While she was Idris Sardi's wife, her public appearances as a performer were mainly conducted when she transferred her private life to the public stage, where she sang while Idris played the violin (see Figure 5.14). Thus her plea for a divorce from Idris Sardi was a key to her freedom through her reclamation of access to the public domain in her own right, not merely as a woman spotlighted in the shadow of her partner.



Figure 5.14: Marini, sharing the stage with Idris Sardi

While Marini shows her loyalty and respect to her three husbands (Tinton, Didi and Idris), she also shows a more dissident femininity and transcends the normative femininity of a submissive and obedient wife in order to take control of her life when it becomes necessary. In her first, second and third marriages, she was the one who initiated the divorces. She is most assertive when she wants to defend her rights as a mother. Thus her dissident performance of femininity is actually apparent when she is performing the utmost role of femininity, namely being a mother, as evident in her expression when Tinton threatened to take Rama if Marini insisted on having a divorce. She is quoted, “*About Rama, let's do it this way. Your father is a soldier, my father is a soldier. You use your father's pistol, I use my*

father's. *Let's go to Lapangan Banteng, the one remains alive shall keep Rama*" (Pane, 2001e: 72).

Her "final" resolution to be happy with her children expressed in the final issue, and her desire to re-establish good relationships with her previous husbands (Pane, 2001c) allow her to achieve an image and representation of happy familial life, by invoking memories of harmony and love, and obscuring public pain and the reality of three divorces. The image of her with Tinton and Rama (Figure 5.15) symbolizes the peacefulness of this phase. This phase of acceptance is further emphasized by the caption beside the image which states the picture was taken by Mintje, Tinton's present wife (third wife).



Figure 5.15: Marini, Tinton and Rama

The story of Titi DJ's also very much revolves around her relationships with various men, as the primary title of the magazine's features on her attest, "*The Romance of Life and Love of Titi DJ.*" As the narrative reveals, Titi's first breakthrough occurred when she met Indra Lesmana, an Indonesian jazz golden boy, who soon became her boyfriend. Thus it was her private life that enabled her public achievement. As Titi confesses in the caption attached to Indra's image, "[Indra Lesmana] *has been the most influential in my musical stream*" (Endah, 2003c: 65). Titi and Indra were together for seven years. But the intertwining of private and public relationships had complex effects. Titi felt that people considered her success to be mostly due to Indra's musical genius. While the assumption that Indra was a major contributor to the success of Titi's singing career was true, Titi is depicted as feeling the need to explore other musical streams. Interestingly, the feeling that she needed to break from Indra's musical influence was simultaneously followed by the feeling of uncertainty regarding her seven-year relationship with him. These feelings finally resolved with Titi deciding to be free from Indra both on a private as well as on a public and professional level. Consequently, she cut any direct musical relationship with Indra, and as music had become

an important aspect of her life, the break up with Indra “*left a chapter in my [her] life that is hard to forget*” (Endah, 2003a: 57). News about the break-up began to leak in the media. As Titi remembers, “*Truly, it was really hurtful to see a sad personal problem consumed by other people as “entertainment news”*” (Endah, 2003a: 56).

After Indra Lesmana, Titi dated two different men before she had a serious relationship with Bucek Depp, who she later married. The marriage to Bucek was difficult and it grew more difficult as she learnt that her husband was having an affair (Endah, 2003a). This marriage transformed Titi from a very cheerful, to a bitter and sad, person. Interestingly, her story reveals how Titi established different personalities to cope with the problem. As a friend remembers, she could “*be cheerful and laugh heartily when she was not home but once she entered her home, she would break down and cry*” (Endah, 2003a: 58). The narrative of this period is very gloomy. Titi is depicted to be at her lowest point. However, despite the public humiliation her husband had caused her, she continued working and being in public space. Thus, rather than confining herself to the private domain, she actually faced the whirlwind of her marriage in public. Rather than concealing the fact that she was betrayed by Bucek, she showed the public what Bucek had done to her by taking her two children to the stage and performing in public as a single mother with huge responsibilities at hand and a baby to arrive soon (see Figure 5.16).



Figure 5.16: Titi DJ, on stage with the children

The stage performance by the heavily pregnant Titi with her two children endeavoured to create a performance as a mother and a singer revealing celebrity femininity here as a double display of femininity across public and private spaces. In each of these celebrity stories, the auto/biographical subject is “able to reflect (critically) upon the narrowness of her former life/circumstances, and to prepare for a deconstruction/reconstruction of the Self...”

(Pearce, 1998: 105). This is precisely what is implied in the denouement of Titi's story, she has found some stability in her marriage to Andy Dougharty, has made peace with her past and, in particular, with her ex-husband, Bucek Depp. Most importantly, Titi as the auto/biographical subject of *Serial* is presented as having completed her life journey, particularly signified by the image of Titi with her four children (Figure 5.17) and the image of her and Andy (5.18). The partial completion secures and sutures over the disruptions and disappointments. The travels back and forth enable and secure the presentation of a cohering celebrity subjectivity. Celebrity femininity is presented as enabling the capacity for flexibility, mobility, endurance and strength, as well as for deconstructing the hegemonic boundary of private and public.



Figure 5.17: Titi DJ, with the children



Figure 5.18: Titi DJ, with Andrew Doherty

Body, Beauty and the Local/Global Nexus

As I have shown in the previous section, issues of beauty and the body are central to the construction of celebrity in magazines. This is even more so because women's magazines rely heavily on images. The discussion of beauty and the body is usually put in the first issue of the *Serial* to perform the function of an introduction. In other words, beauty and the body are used to distinguish one celebrity from other celebrities or one celebrity from other people, ordinary people. In the introductory part of *Serial* on Marini (Figure 5.19), it is not only her beautiful physiognomy that is highlighted but also the origin of her beauty. The narrator emphasizes her "noble" beauty and characteristics in a way that distinguishes her from other "ordinary beautiful women" who do not happen to have this "natural" grace inherited from a "royal" ancestor (Pane, 2001a: 68).

This beautiful actress with aristocratic face truly has royal blood. The grace radiating from her is not a fake, but a real grace. The beauty and smoothness of her face perfected by her gentle and well-guarded etiquette, with friendliness that does not suggest flirt, show her figure as a person of noble heritage. What is her family tree so that Marini can be considered to be of a noble family?

Such attribution of beauty to aristocratic heritage invites critical analysis. In this quotation, the "real" beauty and grace are framed as the natural effect of being in the royal class, which can be considered as a space that enables certain privileges and movements. She is also pictured as being "natural" in the ways in which nature signifies culture. In other words, being/looking natural and graceful is not understood as cultural despite the fact that royal structure is very much cultural. Such description renders culture as nature and nature as culture in the way that nature and culture replace and substitute for each other (Franklin et al., 2000). Although the description of her "aristocratic" beauty suggests a certain kind of local beauty, she is in fact of mixed-raced origin. Her mother is Dutch and Jewish. Her father is a member of the Mangkunegaran royal Javanese family. This mixed-race heritage defines her beauty and distinctiveness as it is reflected in the title of the first issue, "*Rooted in the Mangkunegaran and the Dutch Jews*". This title is appropriately illustrated by her present image that shows her beauty despite her age, and the photographs from her childhood that shows that she has always been beautiful.



Figure 5.19: Marini, Serial

Having a Caucasian heritage, Marini has a bright skin, which in Indonesia is called “white”. The mention of her whiteness reveals the desirability of whiteness within Indonesian culture. White bodies become desired and desirable because they represent the global and the culture[d]. The same tendency for idealizing white skin is also apparent in the discussion of the body in the book-length auto/biographies, particularly that of Tiara Lestari. Marini’s white features enhance her beauty even further, as the tendency for idealizing white beauty was and is still prevalent in Indonesian culture (Prabasmoro, 2004a), as can be seen in the following quotation (Pane, 2001e: 68).

Just as any other girls of West and East mixed origin, Marini grew up to be a beautiful girl. Her skin is white and her nose is sharp, it must have come from her mother. Her eyeballs are black, her eyelashes are curly, completed by her thick eyebrow, obviously from her father’s side.

The tension between nature/culture is part of how “white” and whiteness are perceived in the enactment of colonial and global order. Whiteness is not only considered as culture[d], it is also signified as the global as well as the universal. This is evident, for example, in soap advertisements. Following McClintock (1995), I argue that soap advertisements in Indonesia, particularly LUX and GIV that are well-known for using mixed-race celebrities and which Marini once modelled for, imply that being civilized and cultured means being white (Prabasmoro, 2004a). In this framework, white bodies are signified as both cultured and culture as well as civilized and civilization itself, just like Englishness was during the colonial era (McClintock, 1995). If English imperialism is a campaign for “clothing and washing the savage” (McClintock, 1995: 208), then, according to Hall (1998b: 67), globalization is

another form of colonialization in which the privileged imposes and “naturalizes” some particularities (Hall, 1998b).

Marini’s feminine beauty is idealized and at the same time it occupies different spaces that intersect, intertwine, as well as replace and substitute each other. Her beauty complicates the notion of nature and culture, the geographical West and East, and, at the same time, the cultural and racial West and East. However, mixed-racedness does not always denote beauty, as in the story of Titi. Titi comes from a family with Chinese heritage from her father. In her story there is no discussion of her beauty. She is instead referred to as “*having a unique and interesting face*” (see Figure 5.20) (Endah, 2003c: 64). The use of that ascription suggests that the notion of beauty, while being diverse, is actually very much framed within the global notion of beauty, which, for the most part, assumes whiteness to be the ideal[ized] type. As Cronin argues (2000: 128):

‘Woman’ as a metaphorical sign is produced to delimit the borders of European culture and civilization: as de Lauretis (1989) argues, the possibility of representation is dependent upon the impossibility of the full presence of women and racialized others who remain ‘elsewhere’. Yet, any access certain women have is mediated through an exclusionary discourse of white ‘Europeanness’.

The “elsewhere-ness” of Titi’s beauty is attributed not only to her interesting physiognomy but also to her “*trade mark*” of looking “*different*” (Endah, 2003a: 57; Susanti, 2005), which she put largely into display in her engagement reception (see Figure 5.21).



Figure 6.20: Titi DJ, “interesting face”

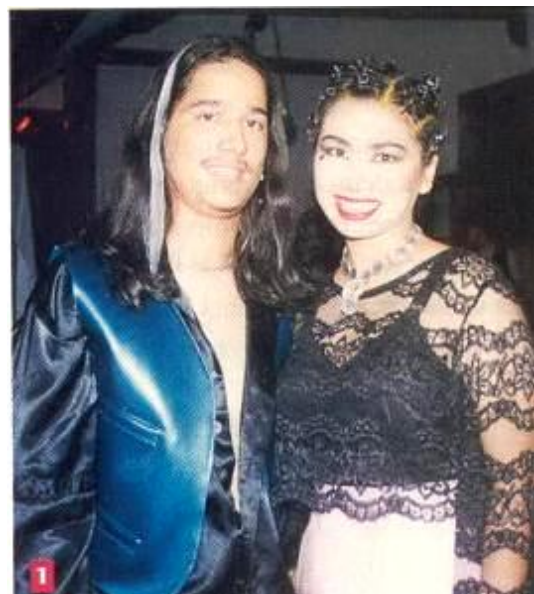


Figure 6.21: Titi DJ, engagement to Bucek

This description of her beauty as “*distinctive and interesting*” (Endah, 2003c: 64) continues to the last part where again her beauty is distinguished as “[*h*]er attractive physic and her rich spiritual experience has made Titi’s beauty seem to be ‘complete’” (Endah, 2003d: 69). In fact, it is her difference and uniqueness that attracted Andy Nurhayati, a film producer, who offered to enter Titi in the Miss World Pageant in 1983 (Endah, 2003c), despite the fact that Titi had never previously entered any beauty pageants. In spite of her mixed-raced origin, Marini’s beauty is stabilized within the context of Indonesian culture’s desire for whiteness, while Titi’s beauty is ambiguous and suggests difference and “elsewhere-ness”. Clearly, physical features are significant aspects of their femininity and celebrity status.

I argue that these different features on celebrities or celebrity profiles in women’s magazines can be considered as a type of auto/biographical practice. These auto/biographical practices in women’s magazines construct the auto/biographical subjects as both fragmented and complete in a way that conveys the ongoing possibility of change and transformation.

The notion of space is particularly important in the stories of the celebrities as they move from one place to another in conjunction with their career and relationships. The story of their lives is created through these movements. I argue that these different texts in the magazines produce a seemingly unified identity and operate as a form of auto/biographical practice.

Through the analysis in this chapter, I have shown that women’s magazines offer new forms of auto/biographical practices that constitute fragmentation yet coherence, not only in terms of the narrative structure, but also in terms of the portrayal of auto/biographical subjects. *Cover Story* and *Serial* have been presented as demonstrating two variations of auto/biographical practices in women’s magazines. These practices in women’s magazines are similar to the book-length auto/biographies in the ways they structure and portray the auto/biographical subjects of female celebrities, particularly with respect to the thematic organisation of feminine roles in the context of narrative structure, and in the extensive use of images, both past and present. Despite the similar themes explored, in the context of narrative structure, book-length auto/biographies tend to be more integrated as they are presented as one text, while auto/biographical practices in women’s magazines show more fragmentations and disruptions as their publication is distributed across a number of installments or issues. In this respect the life narratives in women’s magazines require repetitions and bridges that would connect one installment of the narrative in *Serial*, or one issue when it is *Cover Story*, to another in the sequence, which is not the case in book-length auto/biographies.

This chapter completes the analysis in this thesis of the depiction of celebrity femininity in six book-length auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities and six life narratives as

auto/biographical practices in women's magazines. In these three chapters (Chapter Three, Four and Five), I showed the performativity of these celebrity femininities, and the potentially subversive challenge to normative femininity that occur via these new forms of auto/biographies and innovative auto/biographical practices. In the following chapter I argue that it is the need to negotiate and engage with global celebrity culture that has produced, shaped and affected these constructions of new Indonesian celebrity femininities, and created these new forms of auto/biographical practice, which extend and challenge existing ideas of auto/biography in the specific context of Indonesian celebrity and popular culture.

CHAPTER 6

The Local Global Nexus and the Construction of Indonesian Celebrity Femininities and New Forms of Celebrity Auto/biographies

Having outlined the key concepts for this thesis in Chapter One and Chapter Two, and produced the analysis in Chapter Three, Four and Five, following Watson (1993: 92), this chapter functions as a “retrospective reflection” and argues that new forms of femininities in Indonesia are being produced and negotiated in “global celebrity culture”. Globalization, celebrity and celebrity culture become intertwined with local culture and these different aspects collectively affect the production of Indonesian celebrity femininities, particularly those performed at the site of Indonesian popular culture through their auto/biographies. I argue that the auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices in women’s magazines that I have identified operate as sites where global and local Indonesian femininities are renegotiated. The resulting selected works reveal an extension of and intersection with the prevalent Western conceptions of auto/biography in the use of new forms as particularly emerging in Indonesian popular culture and media. However, while I argue that these new forms attempt to use ephemera and fragmented materials in a way that produce a cohering whole, they also link back to traditional forms of auto/biography with their emphasis on unitary selves of great achievement.

Global local Intersections in Celebrity Culture

In Chapter Two I argued that the role of the media is both critical and indispensable in establishing celebrity status. Media is an important element of globalization. This section discusses processes in which celebrity culture in Indonesia negotiates elements and constructions particular to the local and the global. Firstly, it analyses how celebrity culture draws on global norms of femininity. Secondly, this section delineates how the global model is adopted and adapted in Indonesian celebrity culture and helps establish the particular constructions of celebrity femininities in Indonesia.

In celebrity auto/biography, the celebrities provide a glimpse of “what they really are” and as Littler (2004: 14, emphasis added) maintains “we witness the moment of the ‘faming itself’: we are invited into J-Lo’s [the celebrities] line of vision, her subjectivity”. A rich range of “global” celebrity auto/biographies, ranging from Jane Fonda, Madonna, through Janet

Jackson to Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, inevitably become part of global celebrity culture and have made an impact on local celebrity culture. They have provided the templates for the texts I have studied here. It is no coincidence that, for example, Madonna's biography by Taborelli is the 'Bible' for Krisdayanti in performing both her public and private selves (Endah, 2004).

Orientation to the global is part and parcel of globalization, and enables the homogenizing effect that leads local Indonesian celebrities to construct their celebrity status around the construction of global celebrities in popular consumer culture. At the same time, local celebrities also represent themselves as resisting the construction of "global celebrities". In this context, we can see that global celebrities are presented and perceived as both a bridge and a gap. As Nagel (2006: 546) contends:

Globalization contributes to a collision between local and global sexual standards and images through the global circulation of culture-fashion, style, music, film, ideas, identities.... Local consumer cultures and identities are shaped by, but also different from, those in the global masterframe. They are both imperialized and indigenized, subject and sovereign. Global and local consumer cultures are ethnosexualized as East and West, South and North gaze toward one another through lenses colored by 'modern' consumerism.

Local celebrities, I argue, become the site in which the supposedly opposite polar notions of femininities from the West and East are linked in dialogue. This dialogue is enabled in the bodies and public personae of celebrities and is produced in many different media forms, including here, as I have argued, new forms of auto/biography. The self in between the local and global is produced through and in their projects, their films, their television programs, interviews, as well as in their selected, "secret" private lives that are sometimes revealed in their auto/biographies.

However, as the influence of the global is not only adopted, but more importantly, adapted, the particularities of local celebrities also emerge alongside global celebrity culture. Thus, an Indonesian celebrity such as Krisdayanti, for example, takes Madonna's biography as her "bible" (Endah, 2004), but her approach to her celebrity embodiment is not necessarily similar. Her view of her body, her career, and the feminine roles that she plays is particular to the local context: she does not necessarily adopt what the global dictates. The constant dialogue and negotiation between the local and the global has to be performed simultaneously by female celebrities in order to establish the image of a global woman whose feet are still set firmly on local ground.

Krisdayanti's relationship to the fandom of Madonna reveals the complex intersections of the local and the global. In this frame, local celebrities have to play a very slippery game of

“adapting.” Too much of the global will cause them to lose “their roots”, while at the same time, to be completely out of touch with the global, whose traces are everywhere in the world’s popular culture, can also mean the inability to cope with what is popular in celebrity culture. Thus, there is small wonder that Krisdayanti is very proud to be named as a Sunsilk icon along with other global celebrities such as Madonna and Marilyn Monroe. In an interview about this new campaign, she even quoted a line from Madonna’s auto/biography *Nobody Knows Me* (“Sunsilk melakukan perubahan besar: New Look, New Campaign, New Brand Ambassador,” 2008). The same negotiation with global celebrities is also evident for Tiara Lestari whose idol is Cindy Crawford (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007) and whose footsteps she wishes to follow. The alignment of the status of local celebrities with the global celebrity status of Madonna and Cindy Crawford locates the global within the local culture. At the same time, as in the case of Krisdayanti, the fact that a local celebrity is put on the same stage as big global names, like Madonna and Marilyn Monroe, suggests that globality is not a space exclusively allocated for global celebrities: Krisdayanti’s appointment shows that the “global” space can be shared with local celebrities as well. The global is not a fixed position as the local can continue to disrupt and change globalization so it will never become a totally homogenizing force. Examining the phenomenon of *Indonesian Idol*, Coutas argues that the program challenges the boundary of the local and the global. Closely following Iwabuchi, she argues (Coutas, 2008: 122):

[t]he notions of global and local cultures, and of global and local celebrities, are relational. The local is often defined in opposition to the global and, in the cultural imperialism thesis, in opposition to the West. But... the distinction between the local and the global has become complicated and problematic.

The argument by Coutas about “feeling glocal” is evident in the way celebrities present themselves as people who are both global and local. In the specific context of this thesis, I have shown that this intersection between the local and the global affects the construction of femininities of the female celebrities. I argue that these intersecting elements, that frame celebrities collectively, document new forms of femininities, as shown by these Indonesian female celebrities.

Indonesian Celebrity Femininities as New Femininities

Ussher (1997) proposes that there are different ways women embody and relate themselves to femininities: “being, doing, resisting, and subverting” girl. Each of these is not distinct from the others, rather they are fluid, continuous and overlapping, or in Bakhtin’s term “in dialogue” (Holquist, 1990). She argues that a woman can “be a girl” - girl being the archetypal femininity - by submitting to the romantic script of heterosexual femininity. A woman can also “do girl”, by putting on a performance of being a girl, but a woman can also “resist girl” by

going against what is expected of her as a woman, by resisting the concept of beauty as accepted in a certain social and cultural space. At the same time, a woman can also “subvert girl” by “play[ing] with gender as a performance, twisting, imitating and parodying the traditional script of femininity (or indeed masculinity) in a very public, polished display” (Ussher, 1997: 459).

In contemporary media-saturated societies, celebrities, especially female celebrities, have come to stand for idealized subjects/objects, and more importantly, for idealized femininities. Auto/biographies, films, advertisements, profile features and news about them collectively construct their femininities as ideal as well as global. My previous study on mixed-race (Caucasian and Indonesian) female celebrities in soap advertisements and magazine profiles (Prabasmoro, 2004a) shows that the celebrities promoting the soaps signify idealized and globalized femininities. Such femininities are particularly defined by “Western characteristics” of being “whitish” and sexualized. At the same time, these female celebrities are also portrayed as having “traditional” characteristics of being good mothers and partners. This finding suggests that Indonesian female celebrities need to continuously negotiate the two positions of global and “traditional” femininities.

The particular interest for this study lies in the fact that Indonesian female celebrities have to negotiate “global” femininities and identity construction with local imperatives. For example, they have to negotiate the global image of sexiness with the religious teachings and culture applied in Indonesia. Careful strategy and performance are needed to play in this area because female celebrities have to be sexy enough to gain attraction, but courteous and decorous enough not to invite glares and evoke protest. The auto/biographical practices of these celebrities have the potential to tell the story of how the process of globalization actually works in the public spaces of their local domain, which are superficially seen as global[ized]. These works can also shed light on the process of how this global identity/identification is actually negotiated within their locality. I believe the elucidation of how female celebrities strategically manage multiple hegemonic domains, such as locality and globality, normative femininities and particular/fluid femininities or global femininities and local femininities, provide insight into how these femininities can allow for and encompass complex, and sometimes contradictory, articulations of women’s proper roles in Indonesia.

Important in relation to this argument is the contention that globalization operates through markets and modes of production and consumption (Appadurai, 2001; Cvetkovich & Kellner, 1997a). Appadurai, Cvetkovich and Kellner argue that globalization is closely associated with markets in terms of the ways in which markets dictate the lives of “global citizens” as well as triggering the commodification of different aspects of life, including various matters previously considered private, in ways that are strikingly similar throughout the globe. I believe these particular aspects affect the construction of local femininities. Indonesian

women's magazines, for example, sell more by changing their formats and contents to resemble more "global" magazines, marked by their striking similarity to the covers of UK or US *Cosmopolitan*, or *Elle*. Globalization is also apparent in the more "global[ized]" contents of the magazines, such as sex and lifestyles, as Cvetkovich and Kellner (1997a: 8) argue, "[g]lobal culture involves promoting lifestyle, consumption, products and identities". These issues are not only signified as global but, more importantly, as progressive. Particularly in Indonesia, these global magazines are targeted at professional middle-class women who have the space for the encounter with the global and who live both in public /professional domains as well as in domestic domains. In this way, reading global magazines can be understood as signifying the desire for being global, that magazines, as consumable, global cultural artefacts, represent.

In the following sections I discuss in more detail the new forms of Indonesian celebrity femininities that manifest as a result of various constructing elements.

Body and Beauty

A significant influence of global magazines is their establishment of desired/desirable bodies. As argued by Sypeck et al. (2004), and as I have explained in Chapter Two, fashion magazines feature bodies on their covers which clearly signal forms of female physical desirability. As these fashion magazines are mostly global magazines, their influence flows to different localities, thus setting up white bodies as the global ideal. This global idealized body, as represented in both global and local media and popular culture, expose and pressure women to understand the slim young body to be the norm, perpetuating what Chernin (1981) calls the "tyranny of slenderness". Maintaining a slender body, or working to obtain a slender body, becomes an everyday regime and obsession. Women are constantly made to feel inadequate about their bodies, which all sex celebrities underline in their respective auto/biographies. In this context, following Foucault, Bordo (1995) argues that women bodies are docile bodies subjected to "norms of cultural life". The body becomes a project for continuous regulations and modifications for "perfection". Bordo argues (1995: 166):

Through the pursuit of an ever-changing, homogenizing, elusive ideal of femininity – a pursuit without terminus, requiring that women constantly attend to minute and often whimsical changes in fashion – female bodies become docile bodies – bodies whose forces and energies are habituated to external regulation, subjection, transformation, "improvement." Through the exacting and normalizing disciplines of diet, makeup, and dress – central organizing principles of time and space in the day of many women – we are rendered less socially oriented and more centripetally focused on self-modification. Through these disciplines, we continue to memorize on our bodies the feel and conviction of lack, of insufficiency, of never being good enough.

I argue that these messages of inadequate and imperfect bodies are apparent in women's magazines in many parts of the world in a way that can be considered as part of a global construction of femininities. This construct is quite widely spread with local women's magazines closely resembling global women's magazines. This is quite obvious in the presentation of the models on the cover of different Indonesian women's magazines, as evident in the following examples (Figures 6.1 & 6.2):



Figure 6.1: Cover Femina 2001



Figure 6.2: Cover Kartini, 2005

I argue that the building of the perfect image of women's bodies is part of a global construction of femininities, which has inevitably affected Indonesian women as well. At the same time, the effects of the global also flow through the public global space where "global celebrities" project themselves through various media, including auto/biographies. As part of publicity and image-making mechanisms, auto/biographies can be considered as a stage where celebrities perform their femininities in constant dialogue between the local and the global.

[Hetero]Sexuality

Throughout the discussions in Chapter Four and Chapter Five, I focused on how female celebrities are constantly framed within heterosexual relationships, both through their existence and their absence. While many of these celebrities, such as Titeik Puspa, Lenny Marlina, Dorce, Marini, Yuni Shara and Titi DJ, have suffered from failures in their marriages, all these celebrities are depicted to be strong women who can take any challenge. While the celebrities acknowledge the importance of having a partner, living with

no partner is often considered as liberatory, as expressed by Marini (Pane, 2001c) and Titiek Puspa (Endah, 2008b).

A particularly illuminating point about sexuality can be made in relation to widows and divorcees, who in Bahasa Indonesia belong to the same category, namely "*Janda*". The word "*janda*" particularly refers to divorcees, who are exceedingly stigmatized as highly sexual and often considered available. Out of twelve celebrities whose auto/biographical texts have been analyzed in this thesis, eight have undergone or are divorcees, while three are still single. As Wieringa et al (2007) delineate, Indonesian culture generally deems getting a divorce to be shameful. A single woman (divorcee and widow) is often mocked as being sexually enticing and available. Unlike virgins (as unmarried girls in Indonesia are generally expected to be), *jandas* can have sex without leaving particular traces of penetration. To remain chaste is difficult but even more difficult is convincing people that a *janda* actually remains chaste (Wieringa et al., 2007). As I have already discussed, in Indonesian culture, sexuality is only accepted in women within the frame of marriage and is rarely discussed in public. In this context it is unsurprising that neither the widows nor the divorcees actually talk about their sexuality in terms of their sexual desire and pleasure, except within their functions as wives, and this is only done through metaphors and allusions (Wieringa et al., 2007).

Furthermore, according to Wieringa et.al (2007), being a *janda* is a "non-normative way of living". They suggest that in general "good" *jandas* are on top of the list, just under the heterosexual "normal" marriages and the "non-normative way of living" (which they coin as "abject"). They argue that "good" *jandas* are decently dressed women, who do not go out with male companions, and live a socially-controlled life. Underneath this category are "bad" *jandas* who go out with male companions and are [supposedly] sexually permissive. The two categories can be "saved" when they marry a man, even as a second wife (Wieringa et al., 2007: xvii). The hegemony of "good" *jandas* and "bad" *jandas* further sharpens the polarization of "good" [asexual] women against "bad" [sexual] women. It again illustrates that, especially in the Indonesian context, sexuality in women is strictly regulated and is only accepted when it is contained within marital relationships and as an expression of male desire. In taking Indonesia as their specific context, Wieringa et al (2007) suggest that these phenomena are particularly local, and not global.

However, in the texts examined in this thesis (at the time the auto/biographies were published), three are divorcees (Titiek Puspa, Dorce and Marini) and three other celebrities, Lenny Marlina, Titi DJ, and Yuni Shara are in second marriages. Out of the latter three, only Lenny Marlina describes how she maintained her "chastity" during the time she was a divorcee (Said et al., 2004). It can be argued that while these sexual stigmas are still prevalent, these stigmas are no longer found as overly oppressive, except for Titi DJ, all

divorce cases revealed in the auto/biographies selected are initiated by the female celebrities who claim they need to be happy. This phenomenon shows that while feminine desire to be in a relationship is maintained, there is an endeavour to claim independence and autonomy that is made possible.

Ageing

In the auto/biographies of ageing celebrities examined in this thesis, Titiiek Puspa's book-length auto/biography exemplifies the best how ageing celebrities are urged to produce the image of youthful selves but, at the same time, how these displays of youthfulness are closely monitored with regard to "acting one's age". The youthful images are constantly countered by images of her in the more "natural" ageing poses or the images of her younger selves. This non-chronological order of the images blurs the frames of space and time in the depiction of the celebrity and suggests her timelessness. Lenny Marlina is frequently pictured to be on holiday posing like a teenager with her husband, while Marini's youthfulness is highlighted in the frequent emphasis of her eternal beauty. These images make it clear that ageing female celebrities need to negotiate not only the scripts of normative femininities but also normative youth culture.

Within popular culture, the demand that the ageing body stay young "is insistent and blurs what appeared previously to be relatively clearly marked stages of the life course" (Biggs, 2004: 51). Blaikie (1999: 104) writes, "older citizens are encouraged not just to dress 'young' and look youthful, but to exercise, have sex, take holidays, socialize in ways indistinguishable from those of their children's generation...". Ageing needs to be looked at not only from the perspective of the body but also through the social framework. As Blaikie (1999: 87) rightly maintains:

[c]learly, ageing cannot be reduced to biological processes of decline for, although these affects of us all, they occur within a social framework which superimposes a series of cultural codes, symbols, and expectations that vary with the chronological time of the individual life course, historical period, and particular societal setting. Is it more 'normal', therefore, to grow old naturally, or, conversely, to conform to convention and attempt to defy or disguise such a process?

Success in not looking one's age does not necessarily mean age is a part of identity one is free to choose, even with adornments, such as hairstyle (including wig), and clothing. Biggs writes (2004: 52):

[W]hilst a masque conceals sign of ageing, the very act of hiding alerts the performer and audience that something is being hidden. It therefore tells us

something truthful about an act of deception. The fact that we almost always go along with the performance of agelessness or active or productive ageing, fools no one.

Consumption, Commodification and Advertisements

As I have argued in the previous section (page 169), following Appadurai (2001), Cvetkovich and Kellner (1997a), globalization operates through markets and modes of production and consumption. This section elaborates how markets and the different modes of consumption affect the construction of the auto/biographies examined. I also argue that consumption is an important part of the construction of identity and femininity as revealed in the selected auto/biographies. More specifically, I discuss the process in which celebrities endorse commodities and how the process of commodification has rendered celebrities themselves as commodities, which is also central to processes of globalization. This is particularly linked to consumption, commodification and advertisements as elements of the performance of celebrity femininities.

Featherstone (1991) argues, there are three perspectives necessary to explore consumer culture, First, that consumer culture is derived from the increase of “capitalist commodity production” that results in the rise of material culture. Second, that goods are used to establish both social distinction and bonds. Third, that consumption generates pleasures. In this way, it is clear that there is a tight connection between consumption and identity. More importantly, as these auto/biographies elaborate in their attention to the everyday, the distinction through consumption is reflected in the lifestyle of the celebrities as presented in the auto/biographies. Celebrities’ lifestyles carry meanings and values. Fiske (1989: 4) maintains, “[a]ll commodities are consumed as much for their meanings, identities, and pleasures as they are for their material function.” In the context of celebrity culture, celebrity consumption is not just a matter of choice, but a marker of identity and distinction. It also functions as a space for negotiation with the predominant ideology existing in popular culture and the media.

In this context, while celebrity consumption of various commodities is clearly defined within image-making mechanism, their consumption of commodities can itself be understood as a form of commodity. In other words, both celebrity consumption and the commodification of their celebrity status must be understood as signs that must be read within the context of the tight political economy of the media. As Joseph Epstein (2005) argues, even non show-business celebrities, such as “academic celebrity” and “public intellectuals” need to advertise themselves just like any other commodities. He writes, “[e]ven in the realm of the intellect, celebrities are not born but made, usually very carefully – as was, I think, Susan Sontag”

(Epstein, 2005: 18). His argument suggests that first, celebrities can come from any walk of life, second, any celebrity is a commodity, and thus commodification is part of celebrity's *raison d'être*. Commodification, as McKendrick et al (2000: 299) argue, is

[a]t the macro-level, as making a consumable product of an everyday experience and, at the macro-level, as the net effect of ever greater realms of life becoming consumable products. In this respect, commodification may be used to generate profit (either directly as a good, or indirectly as a loss leader), or it may not.

In his article *Who is the Celebrity Endorser?*, McCracken (1989) proposes that in the process of endorsement, celebrities function as the apparatus for meaning transfer. He maintains that the "endorsement process depends on the symbolic properties of the celebrity endorser" (1989: 310). Summing up the process of meaning transfer, McCracken (1989: 314) writes:

...the meaning that begins in the dramatic roles of the celebrity comes, in Stage 1, to reside in the celebrities themselves. In Stage 2, this meaning is transferred when the celebrity enters into an advertisement with a product. Some of the meanings of the celebrity are now the meaning of the product. In the final stage, the meaning moves from the product to the consumer. Celebrity endorsement makes a very particular contribution to each of these stages.

Through the process of endorsement, celebrities are commodities and/or substitute for other commodities. "Meaning transfer" can also be read as the "value" of the commodities. Only celebrities of certain "value" can be "used" for a certain product. Products and the celebrity that will endorse them have to match, as explained by Moeran (2003), because the two commodities will be representing each other; they replace and substitute each other in the way that both the "products" and the celebrities become the commodities. The process of making commodities of each other is the process of commodification. This can also be seen in the context of the notion of private/public where the celebrities commodify aspects of their private lives and expose them in the public domain where such things gain them economic value. One example of this is the advertisements of home appliances which clearly locate the celebrities in a private domain but at the same time ensure that the private domain is transferred into the public domain. The advertisement can thus be said to have commodified not only the celebrity status of the celebrities, but also the supposedly private domain of their femininities. As McCracken argues, the qualities that become commodified are varied, but for celebrities, certain things can certainly be of high value, for example, stage persona (1989), beauty and looks (Murray Milner, 2005), names (Moeran, 2003), bodies and fashion (Rojek, 2001).

Celebrity culture produces material products, including films, music, books, and advertisements. More important to this study is the argument that celebrity culture produces and sells ideas and a model of life. As Rojek (2001) argues, they sell “human sentiments”; feelings, such as love, admiration, adoration, even hatred are the means by which celebrities are materialized as commodities, both desirable and undesirable. By having feelings for them or by taking them as models, the public consume celebrities. Pin-ups, pictures, signatures, auto/biographies or any other memorabilia of a certain celebrity can be signified as their material representation. This pattern of consumption is arguably present in most local cultures. The sentiments for celebrities, the aspiration to become one, and the constant gap created between the public and the celebrities are an everlasting source for capitalism. Rojek (2001: 15) maintains, “[c]elebrity culture has emerged as a central mechanism in structuring the market of human sentiments. Celebrities are commodities in the sense that consumers desire to possess them”.

The intersecting contexts of local/global in these processes of commodification have created particular questions regarding tensions between traditional and modern femininities. The term “modernized tradition” is quite common in women’s culture in Indonesia, as evident for example in advertisements of “modernized traditional cosmetics” (see Figure 6.3), or modernized batik or in the notion of “modern women who respect the tradition”. In this advertisement, which is part of Krisdayanti’s auto/biography (Endah, 2004) (Figure 6.3), for example, the celebrity speaks in the first person, saying:

I myself have deep pride and love for domestic products, for cosmetics products which are made based on Indonesian traditional formulas.... But my collaboration with Mustika Ratu has taught me loyalty but also real evidence that domestic products are truly compatible with imported products.



Figure 6.3: Mustika Ratu Advertisement

The representation of domestic products and imported products shows clearly the contestations of and tensions in the local/global and traditional/modern binaries. Krisdayanti suggests that the traditional formula is compatible with modern products and that there can be a marriage between the traditional and the modern in the form of the cosmetic products. The magazines, particularly women's magazines, are strategically the media from which "the aspiring groups who adopt a learning mode towards consumption and the cultivation of a life style... find most frequently the self-consciousness of the autodidact who is concerned to convey the appropriate and legitimate signals through his/her consumption activities" (Featherstone, 1991: 19). In this way, magazines operate to dictate a certain lifestyle which points to the "new working-class and the new rich or upper class". In celebrity culture, consumption and commodification must conform to the political economy of the media; celebrities need to assert their individuality, but they also have to abide by the predominant ideologies operating within the media and popular culture in the Indonesian cultural context. The following section will discuss the particular constructions of Indonesian celebrity femininities that are produced from the multiple intersecting factors of the global and the local, and which have created new forms of auto/biographies. I argue that Indonesian female celebrities cannot be understood as exemplars of domesticated femininity as regulated in the New Order Regime, nor can they be simply aligned with a global construct of 'ideal' feminine celebrity.

In the context of this thesis, this is particularly seen in how the celebrities in their auto/biographies display the desire to look feminine or to do and perform "girl". In her

ambitious desire for achievement and professional perfection, Krisdayanti strives to be beautiful. At their mature ages, all three ageing celebrities in this thesis, Lenny Marlina, Titiek Puspa and Marini, display their constant desire to be meaningful both in public and private domains and to remain youthful at the same time. In her advice to be a “good wife”, Yuni Shara expresses the need for women to love themselves before loving anyone else. In her constant reference to global cultural, Tiara Lestari shows that her feet are still firmly grounded in her local roots, including her religion. In the case of Dorce Gamalama, who is a transsexual, she displays a complexity in what it means to be a feminine woman as she reveals how her femininity needs to be asserted and fought for. Her body has been a true site of fierce struggle as her previously male body demands her transgression of what was “given” to her, and she has to claim her new identity as a female and as feminine in both public and private domains. While none of these celebrities consider themselves to be feminists, they nevertheless produce new femininities that are not completely submissive to traditional gendered norms and cultures. These celebrities have re-examined and reasserted femininities in different and new ways, and produced new forms of femininities that embrace both local and global values, as well as their lives in public and private domains. As McRobbie (1999: 60) concludes:

Feminism has won this slot by redefining itself a persuasive, professional and ‘common sense’ and by more or less abandoning its polemical and campaigning identity as a political movement. While this might seem like a concession and a compromise, it also remains an opportunity, one means of maintaining a channel of popular communication among different women across the boundaries of age, class and ethnicity.

In the auto/biographies discussed, the different ways of embodying femininities can be considered to be new femininities where normative attributes are re-negotiated and contested.

New Forms of Auto/biographies

I have argued that new forms of Indonesian femininities as a result of the intersecting elements of the global and the local have instigated particularly new, local forms of auto/biographies. Celebrity culture is always an interaction between the local and the global. The auto/biographical “I” in auto/biographical texts is also a global “I” representing global celebrity culture. At the same time the “I” in local female celebrity auto/biography can also be interpreted as the local “I” that mimics the global “I” while remaining local. As Kellner and Cvetkovich (1997a: 27) suggest:

[G]enres such as the personal narrative, the poem, and the testimony, or forms of emotional expression that may be hard to articulate in a text, have an important role to play in discussions that are bound to generalize at a false level of abstraction if they do no account for the specificity of such theories and locations. At the same time, the global remains an important horizon of explanation and contextualization for these personal accounts, providing a conceptual space within which links between stories can be forged.

In this thesis the auto/biographical subjects portray themselves as Indonesian (wearing traditional costumes or other accessories referring to Indonesian local culture) but also as global citizens through their consumption of global brands and the global contemporary attires (jeans, boots, gowns, even bikinis). The local is influenced by the global, but the global also continues to work around the local. Local women project themselves as global as well as local through the images exposed in the different texts available to them, including literature, magazines, television, films, printed as well as cyber media. Images in Indonesian women's magazines, for example, while modelled by Indonesian "local women" do not simply represent local Indonesian femininities, they also represent global femininities (see Figure 6.1 and 6.2). Likewise, while speaking the local Bahasa Indonesia, these media also use English, the supposedly global language, to the significant extent that both the local language (Bahasa Indonesia or even other local Ethnic languages) and English (or other foreign languages) are used simultaneously as if they were one language. As Hall (1998a: 27) argues:

Global mass culture is dominated by the modern means of culture production, dominated by the image which crosses and re-crosses linguistic frontiers much more rapidly and more easily, and which speaks across languages in a much more immediate way. It is dominated by all the ways in which the visual and graphic arts have entered directly into the reconstitution of popular life, of entertainment and of leisure. It is dominated by television and by film, and by the image, imagery, and styles of mass advertising.

Through globalization, languages overcome the boundaries of countries. This overlapping and crisscrossing of languages is more apparent in the products of popular culture that are more flexible and more receptive to differences and even deviances. It is quite normal, for example, for chicklit or posters targeted at younger audiences to "speak" multiple languages. This phenomenon is easily observable in social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter or Friendster, where people use more than one language to communicate with others, depending on the "target audience". The overlapping use of different languages reflects the overflows of the global and local in the particular site of language. The use of a global language such as English and the consumption of global cultures denote the localization of globality. This language crossover is evident particularly in the book-length auto/biographies

of three established celebrities, Krisdayanti, Yuni Shara and Tiara Lestari as I discussed in Chapter Five.

Through auto/biographical practices of female celebrities, we see how global values are adapted and adjusted to local values. Thus, these auto/biographies tell the stories not necessarily of the global taking over the local but of how the local resists the global, particularly in the context of the construction of femininities and identity. I argue that this ability to negotiate the intersecting elements that construct their femininities can be argued as the “intellectual” ability for adaptation. In other words, women are not passive victims of the institutions that regulate their construction of femininities.

By studying the increase of Indonesian infotainment programs in television, Yulianto (2008) argues that those programs have caused “redomestication” of women because these infotainment programs closely probe in the private domains of Indonesian celebrities. Using McRobbie’s framework (1999), of the relationship between the feminist critical stance and femininities as presented in the media, Yulianto’s argument of “redomestication” can be categorized as that in the first stage, namely that of “angry repudiation.” In this stage, feminists, represented by Yulianto, are the intellectual group that can see the oppressive nature of the programs while other women cannot. In short, this stance takes the audience of the programs or the tabloids or magazines as “dupes”. Yulianto writes (Yulianto, 2008: 138),

They [the audience] do not truly constitute *active* viewers... ; they only stay as the passive target of these television messages and as victims of the television industry. It is never easy to expect and find viewers who are consciously active and creative.

This comment denies the feminine pleasure that some women actually derive in learning about other people’s lives, which is stage two in McRobbie’s framework (see page 58-59), but it also positions women as passive and intellectually incapable of processing the news and the lives revealed to them. Again, taking McRobbie’s framework (1999), I propose that the new forms of female celebrity auto/biographies actually constitute the new femininities which embrace both the feminine, if guilty, pleasures and identities and at the same time provide a channel for connecting feminism with the real world of women in general. McRobbie’s (1999) argument suggests that “we” feminists need to take into consideration the fact that feminism is manifested in many different ways.

I argue that the new auto/biographical practices manifest not only in book-length and celebrity profiles in women’s magazines, but are also presented in the forms of advertisements, where money, prestige, and taste are at stake, the products are to be regarded as the representation of their own identities and subjectivities. In this context,

celebrities express and display their forms of femininities through the products that they represent, which are closely framed in local contexts. Furthermore, the choice also reflects the segment of the market and the fans they wish to embrace. That is not only because they have situated themselves as commodities that must be desirable for consumption, but also because they have to maintain their celebrity status in order to be able to preserve this economic value.

In my discussion in Chapter Three, Chapter Four and Chapter Five I have shown that celebrity auto/biographies examined show fragmented yet cohering structure which reflects women's body and sexuality. As Cixous (1981: 259) argues, there is an intimate similarity between women's body and sexuality and women's writings in that both women's sexuality and women's writings have no "principal parts" and that a female body has:

[c]apacity to deappropriate unselfishly, body without end, without appendage, without principal 'parts'. If she is a whole, it's a whole composed of parts that are wholes, not simple partial objects but a moving, limitlessly changing ensemble...

The body, of course, should not be limited to the physical reality of being a female, as a body "may be thought of as ranging from the immediacy of our physical bodies, to political bodies and to bodies of ideas in general (ideologies)" (Holquist, 1990: 21). This "nature" of female sexuality and the body can be clearly seen in these new forms of celebrity auto/biography where different forms of text, fragments from sms exchanges, letters and the voices of others are unified to create a complete narrative and present a coherent auto/biographical subject. Despite the fissures, somehow there is what Dyer (1987) presents as "consistency and coherence" in these celebrity texts. I argue that this fragmented construction of the auto/biographical subject is a significant new form of women's auto/biographies that has emerged in the context of globalization and the need to encompass the tensions of the local and the global.

I have so far argued that these auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices can be seen as a crucial site and stage for the negotiation of femininities in the dialogue between the local and the global as well as the normative and the more liberated. The dialogue also suggests that while globalization remains a strong force in creating a global, sometimes homogenous, culture, it also enables the strengthening of locality in the face of the global culture.

In the next chapter, I present the conclusions to the study by re-visiting and reassessing the research questions I raised in the introductory chapter. I draw out how these female Indonesian celebrities perform their femininities, the ways in which their auto/biographical practices and performances construct, respond to and challenge normative femininities, and

how these practices support their celebrity status. All of these questions are located in the context of Indonesian local and popular culture.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, *Staging a Life: Performances of Femininities in the Auto/biographies of Indonesian Female Celebrities*, I have examined the life narratives of twelve Indonesian female celebrities. The narratives discussed consist of six book-length auto/biographies and six life-narratives in women's magazines: the latter comprise four issues of *Cover Story*, which is a short individual celebrity profile in *Kartini* magazine and two issues of *Serial*, which is a sequential celebrity profile in *Femina* magazine. This concluding chapter addresses the research questions that I raised in my introductory chapter, followed by sections addressing the implications and potential of this study.

Re-examining the Research Questions:

There are three research questions asked in this thesis, which are closely linked in my discussion of femininities, globalization, celebrity culture and auto/biography.

1. What are the means available and taken by Indonesian female celebrities in structuring their localized global femininities?

As I have discussed, in structuring their localized global femininities, the Indonesian female celebrities discussed have drawn on and developed new forms of auto/biographical practice which include book-length narratives, and various celebrity profiles in the media, particularly in women's magazines. Women's autobiographical writings have long been considered as distinct from conventional autobiographical narratives (Cosslett et al., 2000). Conventional autobiographies focus on the lives of men of public achievement. In this context women's lives and activities have often been considered as less worthy of attention. The book-length auto/biographies and the auto/biographical practices in women's magazines discussed in this study challenge the assumption underlying conventional auto/biographies, that women's lives are not worthy of attention, and explicitly engage with femininities across private and public domains. These narratives assert the significance of women's so-called everyday concerns, such as personal relationships, beauty, appearance, body, fashion, and domestic chores. The extensive use of visual narratives, including photographic and other forms of images, offers new space for narrating women's lives. This newness is particularly apparent in their presentation as globalized local subjects through the media and popular culture in Indonesia. The new auto/biographical practices outlined, that expand and intersect with existing forms of autobiography, have to be considered as significant in the articulation of women's voices. These "new auto/biographical" practices can be considered as a specific point of intervention in the genre of auto/biography, which has previously been marked as masculine. The 'newness' of these auto/biographical practices is very much framed in the context of Indonesian popular culture and media, as this study demonstrates. In this way, auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices in magazines provide a space for

articulating localized global femininities in that the auto/biographical subjects are depicted as global, but at the same time adhere to more local and traditional feminine values. In other words, these practices contribute to the construction of Indonesian celebrity femininities that are both local and global.

The portrayal of globalized femininities is also conveyed through the use of English as a global language in conjunction with Bahasa Indonesia. The more flexible auto/biographical practices allowed by these non-traditional forms provide a wider space for these celebrity auto/biographical subjects to present a more complex construction of femininities that reflects local traditional values and culture and an intense dialogue and interaction with global culture.

The inclusion of advertisements, both the covert and the explicit, prove the significance of the notions of consumption and commodification in the establishment of celebrity status, as explained by different theorists on celebrity such as Dyer (1987, 2001), Marshall (2001) and Rojek (2001). Celebrity consumption is included in the text as part of celebrity life narrative, so that by acknowledging themselves as consumers of certain products, celebrities in effect become commodities that sell products. In other words, through the advertisements included in their auto/biographies, I argue that celebrities as auto/biographical subjects establish their celebrity status through commodities and as commodities.

Celebrity femininities, I argue, are used to describe the double performance of femininities that the female celebrities have to produce. These particular femininities reveal complex negotiations of local imperatives of modesty, maternity and normality with global imperatives towards sexuality, celebrity and universality. This produces complex and variable performances of femininity. A difference, for example, can be seen particularly between that of the ageing and the transsexual on one hand, and the established on the other. The ageing and the transsexual auto/biographies are more deeply interwoven with the notion of locality. The themes probed in the auto/biographies of ageing celebrities focus more on the relationship between the auto/biographical subjects and their spouses than on the portrayal and examination of the milieu surrounding their relationships, while the transsexual examines more directly and intensely notions of body, sexuality and femininities. The established celebrities' auto/biographies are more closely linked to global consumption behaviours. These auto/biographical subjects are invoking global subjectivities through their consumption, even as they make sure that they keep their feet on local ground, through reference to traditional and religious (Islamic) values.

The book-length auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices in women's magazines examined in this thesis show the tension between the portrayal of idealized femininities, as manifest in the celebrities' adherence to the conventional and normative roles of being a

wife/partner and mother, as well as in their observance to idealized heterosexual relationships, to beauty and the body, and the depiction of more liberated forms of femininities.

2. How do these auto/biographical practices construct femininities within the local culture and/or the pop culture?

Conventional autobiographies tend to be rigid in narrative structure: the authorial voice is identical to the voice of the narrated subject. While these book-length auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices in women's magazines challenge the portrayal of the auto/biographical subject as unified and integrated, they also work to produce cohering narratives that do make reference to those unified subjectivities of traditional or conventional auto/biographies. In this thesis I have shown that in the auto/biographies selected, the "auto/biographical pact" and the authenticity of an auto/biography are not established by the mere identicalness of authors/narrators/protagonists, rather they are established by and through different narrative strategies. In this way, auto/biographical subjects are fragmented due to different voices, points of view and narrative techniques and strategies.

The celebrity auto/biographies under discussion display complex narrative structures, with co-writers and the voices of family and friends becoming part of the authorial voice. They take celebrity and fame as key life achievements and draw in popular cultural media forms such as magazine articles, photographic shoots and news reports to create auto/biographies that simultaneously report celebrity lives and secure celebrity status. These auto/biographies offer challenges to conventional/orthodox narrative authority in conventional autobiography and reposition the ephemera of celebrity as a form of autobiographical practice.

Within the discussion of narrative structure, I have shown that book-length auto/biographies are structured in a similar way to women's magazines in that both involve extensive use of images, including those that portray the auto/biographical subjects as models in advertisements. As part of the narrative, the images and the advertisements included in the auto/biographies support the notion of a fragmented but cohering narrative.

3. How do these new auto/biographical practices create/support the notion of celebrity status?

I argue that these book-length auto/biographies are used for the celebrification of celebrities' career span, as in the case of the two ageing celebrities, Lenny Marlina and Titeik Puspa. Krisdayanti's auto/biography states that her aim is to please her fans. This, of course, recognises that the celebrity culture and industry work hand in hand with the media. Within that framework, "pleasing the fans" must be interpreted as meeting the demands of the industry that requires and encourages proximity between the celebrities and their fans, who, from a strictly economic perspective, are their customers. In other words, her auto/biography

is used to maintain her celebrity status and her fan-base, which I also argue is the case for the publication of Yuni Shara's auto/biography. Yuni Shara's auto/biography was published to celebrate her 35th birthday but I argue that Tiara Lestari's auto/biography was published to counter the controversy that she raised after her naked poses in men's magazines were revealed. In a specific way, Tiara Lestari's auto/biography can be argued to be an act of image management as her narratives attempt to reflect adherence to normative femininities and to Islamic teachings.

In this thesis, I have put forward an argument that the particular intersections of the global and the local in Indonesian culture are producing two intertwined phenomena; the production of new and complex forms of Indonesian femininity and the flourishing of new types of auto/biography in Indonesian media and popular culture in general. These celebrity auto/biographies offer a site where these complicated dialogues are simultaneously negotiated and revealed. These celebrity auto/biographies utilize different points of view, fragmented narrative structures, the integration of the everyday, and the inclusion of fashion photography to create new forms of life writing. The more flexible and fragmented structure of these book-length celebrity auto/biographies, and alternate auto/biographical practices appearing in women's magazines, suggest that more embracing critical accounts of contemporary auto/biographies are necessary. In particular, these hybrid forms offer valuable insights into the ways in which the processes of globalization change and complicate not only the content of concepts like normative femininity but push towards the creation of new communicative forms, here auto/biography, in order to create space to articulate these new and changing concepts. Following Miller (2002) who argues that women's auto/biographies present history in a way that most men's auto/biographies do not, and provide valuable and crucial insights into the everyday, I argue that these Indonesian celebrity auto/biographies and auto/biographical practices offer unique and important insights into the construction of localized global femininities and how global and normative femininities are being changed and complicated at these intersections.

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