

**Athens Institute for Education and Research
ATINER**



**ATINER's Conference Paper Series
MED2018-2579**

**Ambivalence Discourse of Sex in Boys Magazine
(The Critical Discourse Analysis of Male Sexuality in
Sexual Articles and Rubrics of Hai Magazine)**

**Muria Endah Sokowati
Lecturer
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta Jalan
Brawijaya Kasihan Tamantirto Bantul Yogyakarta
Indonesia**

An Introduction to
ATINER's Conference Paper Series

Conference papers are research/policy papers written and presented by academics at one of ATINER's academic events. ATINER's association started to publish this conference paper series in 2012. All published conference papers go through an initial peer review aiming at disseminating and improving the ideas expressed in each work. Authors welcome comments.

Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos
President
Athens Institute for Education and Research

This paper should be cited as follows:

Endah Sokowati, M (2018). "Ambivalence Discourse of Sex in Boys Magazine (The Critical Discourse Analysis of Male Sexuality in Sexual Articles and Rubrics of Hai Magazine)", Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: MED2018-2579.

Athens Institute for Education and Research
8 Valaoritou Street, Kolonaki, 10671 Athens, Greece
Tel: + 30 210 3634210 Fax: + 30 210 3634209 Email: info@atiner.gr URL:
www.atiner.gr
URL Conference Papers Series: www.atiner.gr/papers.htm
Printed in Athens, Greece by the Athens Institute for Education and Research. All rights reserved. Reproduction is allowed for non-commercial purposes if the source is fully acknowledged.
ISSN: 2241-2891
14/11/2018

**Ambivalence Discourse of Sex in Boys Magazine
(The Critical Discourse Analysis of Male Sexuality in Sexual
Articles and Rubrics of Hai Magazine)**

Muria Endah Sokowati

Abstract

Sexuality, a dynamic entity, is defined by a period of history, space and time. As a discourse, the definition of sex is determined by power relations and knowledge. This research reveals how sexuality is understood and constructed in Indonesia through two different political regimes: the New Order and post New Order. Both regimes controlled by different groups with different social, political, and cultural contexts has built different discourses of sex. Hai's magazine existing for more than three decades becomes the relevant object of research to understand how sexuality is the arena of the practice of power and knowledge. As a magazine for boys, sexuality in this study focuses on male teen sexuality. The articles of sexuality published in 1995-2004 are selected as a collection of texts analyzed using the Critical Discourse Analysis method described by Norman Fairclough. The periods of publication is chosen since during 1995-2004 was the period of transition of the two regimes. Through textual analysis, discursive practice and social practice, this study explains that there is an ambivalence of discourse on sexuality in Hai magazine. It means the discourse of male teen sexuality produced by Hai magazine is a compromise over the discourses of conservatism and sexual liberalism which are dominant during the transition period.

Keyword: Male Sexuality, Discourse, Adolescence, Lifestyle Magazine, Power Relations

Introduction

First published on January 5, 1977, *Hai* magazine still exists in the magazine industry of Indonesia. By targeting the teen readers, *Hai* magazine offers the lifestyles of adolescents. *Hai* is a unique product because it is the only magazine providing content of male teen portraying how to be male teen. Furthermore, *Hai* has a significant role in offering the forms of male teen masculinity in its articles to the readers.

Therefore, *Hai* is the important cultural product and text to understand the discourse of male teen masculinity. As the text, magazine is the source of reference for structure, relationship and social process (Fairclough, 2000). *Hai* presents the concept of male adolescents, the relationship between boys and girls or to other boys; and the way to understand the masculinity as the part of the dynamic culture. Understanding the masculinity in *Hai* magazine as a cultural text cannot be separated from the context of social, politic and culture.

The problem of masculinity is usually associated to men's sexual development. Meanwhile, sexuality is not only the issue of eroticism, but it also refers to the entire aspects of life and the erotic human being such as passion, practice, relationship and identity (Jackson, 2006). In the context of masculinity, sexuality describes the relationship between men and women. Furthermore, the male sexuality defines the practice of the relationship between boys and girls, and also to other boys.

The discourse of male teen sexuality in *Hai* magazine has shifted dynamically. There are some factors encourage the transformation of sexual behaviour, i.e. the information about sex is widely disclosed, the changes of gender role, and the acceptance of sex for recreation purpose (Negara, 2005).

The transition of male sexual discourse constructed by *Hai* magazine relates to the context of social and politic in Indonesia on the 1990s and 2000s. In 1998 there was a historical event: the collapse of New Order authoritarian power having been authorized for 32 years. It became the milestone of ideological changes, including gender ideology. In the New Order period, the state controlled the gender ideology to establish the national identity in which women were symbolized as the main guardians (Alimi, 2004:76). Functions and roles of women were limited in domestic territory according to their reproductive function. The effort was to stem and manipulate the political power of women socially, politically and economically. For example, by attaching women's labels to "pillars of the nation," women should participate in development without forgetting their nature as wives and mothers. The gender category was socialized in such a way that it seemed to be an indisputable nature of men and women. Public spaces belong to men because men are heads of households and has roles as breadwinner. The state then provided legitimacy for men to exercise control and oversight of women's sexual behavior and sexuality (Wierengga, 2003:72). The state intervened in defining the roles of gender in order to maintain the stability.

The state also controlled the problems of sexuality. For example the state policy on Family Planning, requiring women to limit birth was a form of state intervention over women's body and reproductive organs (Alimi, 2004:79). The

family was the representation of a country in which the power of the state was determined by strong families or households. It drove the state to govern the family life and sexual behavior of citizens. The New Order government constructed the ideology of gender and sexuality by defining men and women in narrow, limited and stereotyped roles with the goal of national stability (Suryakusuma, 2004). In this era also, heterosexual became the only sexual orientation in accordance with the spirit of modernity adopted by the New Order government (Alimi, 2004:77). In addition, sexuality was associated with the function of procreation.

Gender ideology had implications for media works that represent the dominant ideology arising in the use of language, both written and visual languages in each product. It can be found in how the media displayed gender and sexuality issues in its content. While the media was the apparatus of the operation of knowledge, including gender ideology, the media had and run certain ideology. This happened to the New Order regime, where the state had a dominant power over the media, so the gender ideology produced by the state was represented by the media.

The collapse of Suharto (the leader of New Order Regime) brought consequences to changes in the construction of gender roles. The end of the New Order period shifted the understanding of gender ideology that was no longer centered on state power because of the emergence of alternative discourses on gender and sexuality.

The transition of gender ideology during the end of new order period and the beginning of post new order period became the attention of this research. Therefore, this study focused on *Hai* magazine edition 1995 – 2004.

Hai as a historical product, published for four decades, cannot be separated from the changing gender ideology. The masculine ideology puts the position of a man in the structure, relationship and dynamic social position. It will also affect the work of *Hai* magazine's editorial, which is reflected in the production of its text on sexuality. In other words, the changes of New Order regime to an open and democratic regime played roles in the changing of masculinity discourse. There was change of the discussion of sexuality constructed discursively in *Hai* magazine. Therefore, I focus the analysis of the discourse of male teen sexuality produced by *Hai* magazine in NewOrder and post-New-Order period.

Theoretical Review

Masculinity is usually associated with the sexual development of men. Sexuality is the relationship between men and women. The relationship is not only about the physical aspect, but also the action involving fun, sensation, intimacy, love, mutual care and dependency (Pearson et al., 1995). As an act involving the relationship between these sexes, sexuality sets the roles of sex between men and women.

Just as masculinity, sexuality is also a social construction. Sexuality is not only a biological desire, but it is also determined by the process of specific socialization at a certain time and culture (Kimmel, 2012). As a consequence, sexuality is constantly changing from one time to another.

As a social construction, sexuality is determined by the gender. For men, the concept of masculinity and the definition of culture on manhood decide the construction of sexuality. By understanding the meaning of masculinity, sexuality is constructed, and through the sexual identity, the gender of someone will be confirmed. The gender of someone has confirmed the sexuality and vice versa.

Furthermore, sexuality is transformed and produced in the discourse. The problem of power relation occurs when the discourse is formed (Hall, 1997). The existence of dominance and control causes the absence of a clear definition of sexuality. Moreover, discourse is not stable and situational. It confirms that the discourse of sexuality is formed through a set of rules, which also determines the practice of the discourse. In this case, the discourse of sexuality is not separated from the system placing what is appropriate and inappropriate, right and wrong, normal and deviates. The system is defined by the meanings operating the discourse

The discourse of sexuality operates in the heterosexual norm system. It classifies men and women in certain relationships that are directly distinguished by patriarchal culture. Moreover, the heterosexual norm is the norm involving different gender, i.e. men and women has put masculinity identical with power.

The operation of regime of discourse on sexuality creates what Plummer (2005) called hegemonic male sexuality. Becoming men are represented by penis both physically and symbolically. The penis is not only the biological characteristic of men but also the symbol of power and dominance of men. Some issues about penis such as the size or the ability and resilience to erection become the standard of male sexuality.

Based on the hegemonic perspective, men are sexually active. The patriarchal system, which legalized the dominance of men over women, causes a lame relation, including the existence of unequal sexual roles differentiation. Sexually, men have role as doer while the women as the gatekeeper. The unequal sexual roles is resulting in a construction that men are more sexually active than women. Men are always trying to improve their sexual behaviour to show their virility while; women have to control their sexuality to avoid the assumption of despicable (Kimmel, 2012). The construction of men who active justifies the role of men as sexual consumer of all sexual activities, i.e. pornography, striptease, prostitution, etc. (Plummer, 2005).

Methodology

The study used the critical discourse analysis method as a tool of analysis. The text analysis was conducted in articles and rubrics of sexuality in New Order and post-New Order period to understand the discourse of male teen sexuality. Fairclough (2000) stated that discourse covers the use of language in

the form of writing and verbal, semiotic activities such as visual imagery and the other forms of non-verbal communication. He also mentioned three-dimensional analysis; first, text as the recording of events and means of communicating certain facts. Second, the discursive practice as the process of production and communication of text. Third, the sociocultural practice assuming text as the part of social practice and a certain culture.

This study also observed the way of male sexuality is understood and practised in the context of culture and society influenced by the social system, politics, and cultures, which applied in certain periods. The discourse of male sexuality is the text relating to the practice of discursive, in this case, it is related to the way to understand the gender ideology of *Hai* magazine's editorial; and practice of sociocultural, i.e. a social, politics, and cultural contexts as they are produced.

Articles and rubrics of sexuality in *Hai* magazine published in 1995 – 2004 as the transition period of New Order to post-New Order become the source of this research' data. It may describe the dynamic of male teens sexuality discourse in different periods. The topics covered sex, identity and gender roles, sexual orientation, erotic, pleasure, romance, and reproduction.

Findings and Discussions

The theme of sex in *Hai* magazine has function to educate the teenagers about sexuality. Sauerteig and Davidson (2009) explained that sex education becomes the vehicle to implement the social construction on normal sexuality understood and applied by society. Therefore, sex education becomes a site to struggle the political interest among parents, teachers, school management, policy-makers, and other institutions. In sex education, there is no consensus to accommodate the interest of the groups (Allen, 2011).

The diversity of discourse in sex education studied by Holzner and Oetomo (2004) shows the existence of two extreme points of sex discourse in the sex education for teenagers, i.e. first, the discourse which adopts the understanding of normative sexuality. Second, the discourse which adopts the idea of sexual pleasure. Then, the question is how articles and rubrics of sex education in *Hai* magazine have described the discourse of sex. The study implied that *Hai* does not prohibit or permissive against sex. The discourse developed by *Hai* is the negotiation on the discourse of normative and conservative sexuality and the discourse sexual liberalism. The “middle way” discourse of sex as a form of negotiation is identified through the two following discourses:

Sex is Taboo but necessarily discussed

At the end of the New Order period, the publication of *Hai* about sex and sexuality became sensitive theme and often led to polemic which expressed in the article “*Heboh Penelitian Seks Remaja*” (Controversial Youth Sex Research) (*Hai* XIX(45), 14 November 1995:18-19) as follow:

People often make the research on teen sexual behaviour. It always triggers a polemic. Why don't people get bored?
Discussing sex is still something taboo. Especially, it comes to the teenagers.
In the research of sex behaviour, teenagers trigger not only the panic of others but also the researcher and academic institution, boom!

Hai discusses the pros and cons of the research on teen sexual behaviour. It is mentioned that the research of sex is controversial. *Hai* focuses on the importance of sex research. The same point of view also mentioned in article entitled “*Seksualitas Remaja: Mencari Tapal Batas*” (Adolescent Sexuality: Seeking a Boundary) (*Hai* XX(41), 15 October 1996:14-17) which published one-year latter.

Unfortunately, when research occurs, the furore will also appear. The researcher will get “bad mouthed” by many parties.

Afraid of “bad mouthed” and being blamed for lack of moral is the proof that sex is still viewed taboo.

From two similar stubs in different years show that *Hai* doesn't support the dominant view, which negates the discussion of sex for adolescents. Precisely, *Hai* has point of view that sex is important for adolescents. The discussion of *Hai* on sex has a purpose to oppose the view believed that sex is negative in nature. Article titled “*BF itu Bukan Pendidikan Seks*” (BF (Blue Film) is not Sex Education) (*Hai* XX(41), 15 October 1996:24-26) stated that “sex is a neutral terminology”. But “we” (referring to *Hai* and the readers) define the meaning of sex as a bad thing.

In the framework of normative sexuality, there is an attempt to repress sexuality which causes sex becoming taboo to be discussed. The group of adolescents categorized as immature are considered inappropriate to discuss the issue of sex. In contrast, *Hai* has a different point of view. Adolescence is the period in finding identity and defining self-concept. As a consequence, adolescents have a great curiosity of anything. Adolescents need the information as the reference source, including the information about sex. Therefore, *Hai* assumes that adolescents become the object of socialization of the right information about sex in order to avoid the improper sexual behaviour.

Discussing sex is still hindered by the view of sex is a taboo. Therefore, *Hai* has claimed the need of sex education to be implemented in every school. The sex articles show that *Hai* didn't entirely support the discourse of normative sex. *Hai* doesn't follow to the dominant discourse believed by the adults – represented by the parents and teachers – that the adolescents are not appropriate to discuss sex. *Hai* has explained that sex is not a dirty thing, and it is important for adolescents; then it constructs the discourse by using the doctors' testimony as legitimation.

The strategy of *Hai* to discuss sex through sex education is relevant to the statement mentioned by Foucault (1978) in *The History of Sexuality* as the breeding discourse of sex. Foucault mentioned that sex is a powerful strategy. The history of sexuality showed the existence of a relationship between sex and power. Furthermore, through the hypothesis of repression, Foucault explained that there is repression of sex discourse. However, repression encourages the breeding

discourse of sex. In fact, sex is discussed in the framework of religious through the ritual of confession; demographic issues, i.e. the problem of the population; medical, in this case, medical and psychiatry; and criminal justice. Therefore, Foucault (Gauntlett, 2008) did not explain that sex is completely repressed, but it is a social obsession. It means any attempt to repress sex; it encourages sex to be discussed in other forms.

Furthermore, Foucault (1978) explained that the attempt to control the children and adolescents against sex would create new forms of discourse about sex. The discourse of sex is legitimated by some educational institutions by creating sex education for children, including adolescents. Children and adolescents are assumed to have a potential sexual practice. The sexual practice is potentially done among children and adolescents. It causes to physical and moral damage both individually and collectively. The pedagogies involved parents, families, teachers, doctors and psychologists. The educational institution sets the standard on what was allowed and prohibited, lawful and illegitimate; also, the prohibition and threat for those who violate. Such standards encourage the adults to have the authority to discuss about sex to the children and teenagers. Moreover, sex education becomes tool of legitimating the adolescent's sexual behaviour.

From Foucault's explanation, the articles and rubrics of sexuality in *Hai* magazine can be understood as breeding discourse of sexuality. It is the implication of normative understanding that sex is inappropriate to discuss openly, especially for the adolescents. The reason for the importance of sex education for adolescents as mentioned in the articles and rubrics become *Hai's* strategy to discuss sex to its readers. The sex education sets the standards on what was allowed and prohibited. Discussion of sex becomes the vehicle of *Hai* to legitimate the adolescent's sexual behaviour. The involvement of experts, i.e. doctors, psychologists, and sociologists as the resource person and referrals encourage the legitimation.

The reason for the need of sex education is often mentioned in the article as the long waiting period of dating. *Hai* stated the term of "you are capable but not allowed" to show that adolescents nowadays are expected to achieve their ambition after finishing their education.

The term of "capable" identifies the age of adolescence as an early productive age. At this age, the reproductive organs are developing. Meanwhile, the term of "prohibited" shows that the adolescents' reproductive organs are not ready to perform their functions. It becomes the rationalized medical reason as legitimation. Some of the medical risks, i.e. cervical cancer, etc. threaten if the organs are forced to use. Furthermore, the pregnancy at an early age has also considerable risk. Psychologically, adolescence is the age at which boys and girls are in the process of searching for identity. At that age, they are not ready mentally and psychologically to conceive and have children. Another reason often conveyed to support the suggestion of "prohibition" to engage in sexual activity is the morality; having sexual intercourse before marriage is an act that violates norms and value of morality.

Based on these reasons, sex is considered as taboo among adolescents because it is associated with the reproductive issues. Sex is a mean to get offspring, so it is

considered reasonable and normal to have sexual intercourse after marriage only. Therefore, adolescents need to hold their desire of having sexual intercourse during the “waiting period”. For this reason, sex education is urgently needed.

In explaining sex, *Hai* provides a reference to dominant value and norm, i.e. having sexual intercourse after marriage, or the purpose of sex to have children. By considering the morality aspect then, according to *Hai*, adolescents need to get the sex education.

In addition, *Hai* also compares sex behaviour of teenagers in Indonesia and western countries assumed legalizing free sex. In Indonesia, adolescents cannot engage free sex because it contraries the value and norm adhered to the society. It is written as follows:

Talking about the style of dating in Indonesia and overseas is definitely different. In England, Scotland and Wales, free sex has been declared as legal action for teenagers of 16 years old (between boy-girl and boys). In Northern Ireland, sex is also declared as legal for teenagers of 17 years old, between boy and girl and boys. In Indonesia, it will be an impossible mission, if there is a draft of the rule contains the freedom to have sexual intercourse with teenagers. When the idea is delivered, the parents will be panic. It might even cause a furore in the country. Even, for adults who have not married, they should also not have sexual intercourse. It causes the cultures, customs, and norms adhere to this country is still tight (*Hai*, XVIII(9), 3 March 2003:259).

According to *Hai*, sex needs to be discussed through sex education. The sex education is based on the values and norms of what is allowed and prohibited. There are standards used by competent people, such as clergy, doctors, psychologists, and educators. They make the legitimation of good, normal, taboo or forbidden sex.

The sexual discourse mentioned as a taboo but necessarily discussed indicates that *Hai* refuses the understanding of sex as taboo for adolescents. However, adolescents - as a problematic social category - need to get information about sex to keep them away from the bad consequences of sex. But, instead of liberating teenagers from the understanding of conservative sexuality, *Hai* still holds to the normative understanding. *Hai* precisely refers to the dominant norm in justifying normal sex and abnormal sex.

Sex is A Choice (but the chosen)

Explicitly, *Hai* stated that sex is a choice. As the implementation of statement that sex is a choice, *Hai* complements the information with the consequences of those choices. In the article “*Jangan “Begituan” Sebelum Nikah (Do Not “Commit” before Marriage)*” (*Hai*. XXIII(7), 26 February 1999:30), *Hai* suggests the readers to have sexual intercourse only with wife/ husband. The sexual intercourse without commitment will encourage the tendency of adolescents to change their partners. As a consequence, it has a risk of transmitting HIV/AIDS

and other sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancy, abortion, and psychological problems. The term “Do Not” is appropriate to explain something that should not be done. It is not a prohibition, but a suggestion.

Furthermore, there is another example in the article about the condom. The discussion about condom always triggers pros and cons on its function, i.e. to prevent the spread of AIDS which the number of sufferers is increasing, and to prevent the pregnancy. The last function is often misused as “safety tool” of free sex behaviour. As a result condoms are regarded as a means of free sex, so religion organization and people who hold on traditional values oppose it.

Hai explains condom in preventive point of view, by using analogy that condoms as “safety gloves”. It means that using condom may avoid the risk of HIV transmitting, other sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancy and abortion. However, *Hai* realizes that the risk of disclosing the discourse of the importance of condom to the readers. Therefore, *Hai* explains repeatedly that *Hai*’s purpose of discussing condom is not to allow the adolescents to have free sex. *Hai* reminds the readers about the risk of free sex. In the article of “*Mitos Seputar Kondom*” (Myths about condom) (*Hai*, XXV(15), 16 April 2001:66-67) mentioned that:

The aim of suggestion in using condom is not to give permission for having free sex.

In the article “Condom, Who Needs It?” (*Kondom, Siapa Yang Butuh*) (*Hai*, XXIV(41), 6 October 2000: 137), *Hai* delivered the statement that it is important for adolescents to know condom. It is written, “You are not an up to date person if you have no idea about the use of a condom”. *Hai* equates condoms to the technology, which becomes part of adolescents’ lifestyle.

According to *Hai*, the adolescents who are sexually active need condoms. However, in order to avoid the assumption of supporting the adolescents who are committing free sex, *Hai* always explains that adolescents should not have sexual intercourse. Therefore, condoms become the only safest option for the couple having sexual intercourse before marriage. Condoms become necessary because in reality many adolescents cannot hold their sexual desire, which affects the unwanted pregnancy, abortion, and transmission of venereal diseases, including AIDS. To support its statement, *Hai* quoted the empirical data on HIV transmission among adolescents.

The discourse of sex as a choice is also conveyed through the explanation about the responsibility in doing sexual behaviour. For example, in the article “*Ciuman Menjurus*” (The Aimed Kisses) (*Hai*, XXIII(28), 23 July 1999:40) states, “It’s difficult to release hot kisses. Use your brain while doing it to control yourself.” Or the following free sex article:

Well, do not mess with the process of “making children”. Because, when fertilization occurs, there will be more processes ahead waiting for our responsibilities (*Hai*, XXIII(11), 26 March 1999:31).

So, the statement of dating without having sexual intercourse cannot be answered once. We are who decide. Because every sexual behaviour has its consequences, it is different from one to another. Some of them depressed, some feel guilty, and others are happy (*Hai*, XXV(13), 2 April 2001:165)

This article is not suggesting you have free sex. Teenagers are not children anymore who have to be controled what is right and wrong. But, you have to think first for everything. Especially the intention to have sexual intercourse before the appropriate time. It is proven by the stories mentioned above that most of our friends feel guilty. If you dare to try to have free sex, then the feeling of guilty should be eliminated (*Hai*, XXIV(41), 6 October 2000:140).

Hai explains that sexual activity is the responsibility of men and women. Both men and women have the same right to refuse to date with sexual intercourse. The essence of dating is to communicate the hopes of each others (*Hai*, XXVII(9), 3 March 2003:261), including the responsibility to keep the virginity (*Hai* 25 Juli:116),or (*Hai*, XXIII(16), 30 April 1999:29).

Hai confirm sex as a choice through articles about the consequences of free sex. *Hai* gives a choice for the readers to have free sex or not. If the readers choose to have it, there are consequences that might be happened, such as: unwanted sexually transmitted diseases or psychological disorder. If the girl is pregnant, there would be some options, i.e. deliver the baby or abort it.

Abortion often becomes an option because it's the simplest solution for the boys. *Hai* then explains the consequence of abortion, and clears its position to oppose abortion because of the bad consequences, especially for the girls. Meanwhile, there are almost no consequences for the boys. *Hai* precisely suggests continuing the pregnancy, which also has many risks. For example, in the article of "Hamil? Oh My God" (Pregnant? Oh My God) (*Hai* XXVI(4), 28 January 2002:210), *Hai* explained the unwanted pregnancy. In the article of "Panik Karena Ngehamilin: Bisa Sad End Bisa Juga Happy End" (Panic Because Of Impregnate: It Could be a Sad or Happy Ending)(XXVI(4) 28 January 2002:211), *Hai* givessome options what have to be taken by adolescents if they decide to refuse the option of abortion. The adolescents who choose abortion or maintain a pregnancy is equally difficult, then *Hai* proposed avoiding free sex as the best suggestion.

Another consequence of free sex is a psychological effect. For boys, it is a heavy burden and mentally unprepared to have children at a young age.

I bet you would not want to carry bricks which the number is increasing every month for nine months ten days. You cannot play skateboard, pogo and difficult to walk (*Hai*, XXIV(10), 10 March 2000:92).

For girls, the burden of psychology is heavier compared to the boys, as explained as follows:

Moreover, people will just scorn to the pregnant girls. The womb will grow every day and trigger the attention of others and also become the exciting gossip centre. What's the advantage to get corns? It hurts our heart! Abortion?

Are you insane? Killing your children is cruel! It was a difficult choice. Abortion (without medical advice) is considered as the wrong action. Maintaining the pregnancy, the risk is hurtful (*Hai*, XXIV(10), 10 March 2000:92).

Another consequence is the risk of sexually transmitted diseases, i.e. syphilis, AIDS, etc.

To help the adolescents in determining the choice, *Hai* gives a guideline for them. The guideline becomes the standard of whether the readers are ready to have sexual intercourse. This action is done by giving a quiz about the teenager's readiness to have free sex. For the readers who are ready to have sexual intercourse, *Hai* invites them to go through:

How great it is! You are mentally ready. Even though many risks ahead but having an intention to have sexual intercourse at a young age is great. Before "committing", you have already thought the action that should be taken to avoid premarital risk. The risks are pregnancy, deadly genital diseases.

Further, you have already thought about the risks of premarital sex. For example, think the strategy to be a daddy. If you are ready then, go ahead. (*Hai*, XXVI(9), 4 March:224).

The concept of sex is a choice proposed by *Hai* through discussion of sexual behavior associated as deviant behaviour, such as documenting the sexual act. Instead of forbidding its readers to do it, *Hai* mentioned that it is a choice whether the readers would do it or not. As long as it is done without compulsion and understanding the risks, *Hai* stated that it is not a problem. The term often used is "It's ok". For example, the statement about making a personal blue film in the article of "*Bikin Blue Film Pribadi*" (Making Private Blue Film) (*Hai*, XXV(43), 29 October 2001:199).

Interestingly, *Hai* doesn't lead the readers to judge the behaviour to be contrary to morality. Instead of providing normative justification, *Hai* discusses whether the activities of recording intimate and private scenes are normal. Quoting the opinion of a psychologist, *Hai* stated that the behaviour is just fine if it is not abused, only kept for private document, and for others. The activity becomes abnormal if the doer is addicted to becoming a habit. The focus of the discussion is on the recording behaviour, not the sexual behaviour. *Hai* also emphasized that the doer needs to be responsible, as it was written:

Therefore, it concludes that recording private sexual intercourse for private collection is a common activity of people nowadays and it is not considered as abnormal. But remember, without having adult attitude and responsibility, the behaviour will invite another problem.

Maturity is important to make us think positively. Since sex is a thing that can be easily exploited by those who are not responsible, even your boyfriend or marriage partner.

The same thing is applied when *Hai* discussed sex on the internet. In the article of “*Sex di Internet: Ya Enak, Ya Bikin ENEG*” (Sex on the Internet: It’s Good and Terrible) (*Hai*, XXV(21), 28 May 2001:173), *Hai* discussed whether the behavior is considered as normal based on the reality that this phenomenon is relatively new at that time along with the increasing number of open internet access among people. *Hai* stated that the behaviour is normal as long as it is conducted consciously and responsibly, but not addictively. In the article which mentioning sex deviation entitled “*Senang Kalo Korbannya Ketakutan*” (You Are Delighted If The Victim Is Frightened) (*Hai*. XXIII (19), 21 May 1999:32), *Haid* isscussed the deviation such as exhibitionist, sodomy or voyeurism. There is no suggestion to avoid the behaviour. *Hai* confirmed that it is a choice as mentioned, “All About Choices. The Answer Is On Our Mind”. The emphasis on the responsibility also appears in the discussion of pornography. In the article entitled “(*Pornografi: Bikin Nggak Gaul*” (Pornography: It Makes you Not Cool) (*Hai*, XXVIII(12), 2 March 2004:314), *Hai* appealed the need of self-control in order to avoid the temptation of pornography. As long as having self-control, adolescents will not have stuck in the bad effect of pornography because – quoting from a psychologist - it is a normal action for a human to like the sexual stimulus. *Hai* also emphasized that in the following article:

Besides, how great it is for us as boys able to say no to committing something wrong and may develop our self-control.

By stating that sex is a choice, it seems that *Hai* is permissive to free sex, but this is not the case. Even though *Hai* gives some options, but at the end of the article *Hai* shows what considering as the best options. For example, in discussing free sex, *Hai* delivered the options for the readers to have free sex or avoid it. It is written in the article of “*Cukup Sampai Kissing Aja Lho*” (Just Kiss Enough) (*Hai*, XXVII(9), 3 March 2003:210), “It is simple, and the option is just yes or no for having sexual intercourse”. Although it is fine to have sexual intercourse or not, the best choice is to avoid it.

It implies that dating should be understood as a process of preparing for marriage (the article of “*Pacaran Sehat*” (Healthy Dating), *Hai* XIII(21), 4 Juni 1999: 14-15), or it is an affirmation that having sexual intercourse before marriage is violating the religious norms (article entitled “*Pacaran Harus Dengan Seks?*” (Dating With Sex?) on *Hai*, XXV(13), 2 April 2001:165). To stick to the ideal option, *Hai* labels the “healthy relationship” (“*pacaransehat*”) or categorizes between “safe sex” (seksaman) and “unsafety sex” (sekstidakaman).

Based on the explanation, *Hai* stated that sex is a risky choice. By understanding the consequences, adolescents have right to choose on sexual behaviour. However, the best choice is to avoid free sex. By this statement, *Hai* doesn’t entirely construct the discourse of sexual liberalism. The idiom of sexual pleasure, sex is a choice, or uses of a condom to avoid sexually transmitted diseases are relevant to the idea of sexual liberalism. However, the idea of sexual liberalism being constructed is negotiated with the morality, values and norms. It is performed in the choices of attitudes and practices for the readers directed by

Hai at the end of its articles.

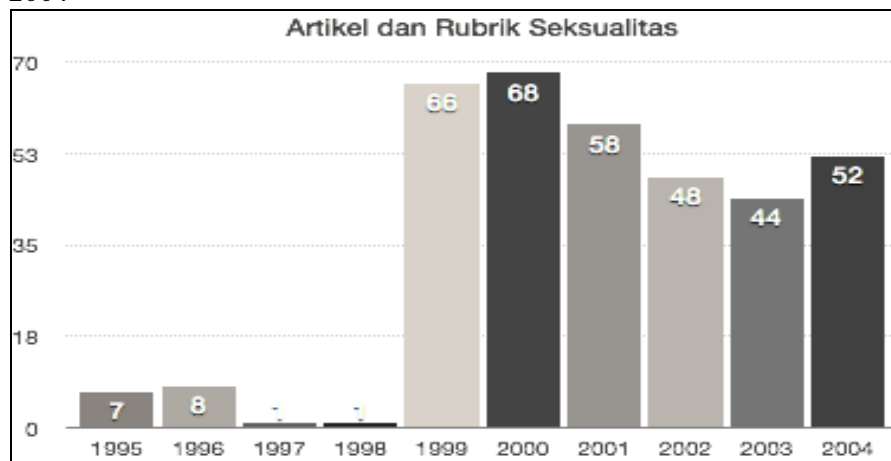
Hai doesn't entirely adopt the dominant norms, but it negotiates it with the discourse of sexual liberation. The idea of sexual liberalism is relevant to the Anthony Giddens' explanation of the sexual emancipation. The term of "sexual emancipation" is expressed in the terminology of plastic sexuality or decentered sexuality which frees the sexuality from reproduction (Giddens,1992). Plastic sexuality is a sexual pluralism in which sexuality is not based on patriarchal heterosexual norms. Everyone involved in the sexual relationship has a chance to gain sexual experience and pursue intimacy. The intimacy is built on a pure relationship or a sincere relationship, i.e. a relation bringing satisfaction to each person involved.

As a consequence, sexuality takes distances to reproductive purpose. Giddens (1991) stated that sexuality is medium for self-realization and primary tool to express intimacy. Sexuality is an experience that has an important meaning for someone's sexual life of. At this point, sexuality shall be part of self-reflection, which then becomes a lifestyle choice, as well as choosing a particular type of food, fashion, or certain music.

Sexuality pleasure orientation emerged in the mass media along with the euphoria of freedom of persin Indonesia in the transition of New Order period. Its recreative function brings sexuality to be the commodity of the mass media. Mass media seems to celebrate its freedom by bringing the content of sexuality to the audiences. Sexuality-previously in some ways was still considered taboo-then appears to the public sphere by media. If at the end of New Order period, sex hadbegun to appear in the media, then in the post-New Order period, the consumption of sexual content became more widespread. Anyone easily may access the sexual content. This phenomenon makes sexuality lost its sanctity.

The increase of the frequency of articles and rubrics of sexuality in 1999 and the subsequent years show that *Hai* makes sexuality a part of adolescents' lifestyle. It is displayed on the graphic as follows:

Figure 1.Articles and Rubrics of Sexuality in *Hai* Magazine Published in 1995-2004



Source: *Haimagazine* publication in 1995-2004

Based on the graph, the number of articles and rubrics of sexuality had increased drastically in 1999. The rise of sex contents in *Hai* magazine can be understood as the performance of the spirit of liberalization and industrialization. It makes the theme of sexuality is equal to hobbies, music, films, technologies, celebrities, fashion or sport as teen's lifestyle.

The meaning of lifestyle is explained by Giddens (1991) as a set of individual practices, not only the activities to meet the needs, but also as an important element in shaping the narrative of self-identity. The lifestyle provides options for an individual to be chosen and adopted consciously and become a part of its identity.

Sexuality and sexual identity in society become a part of self-identity (Gauntlett, 2008). For example, when someone is widely open his sexual behaviour, it is caused by the existence of options of what he wants to be. The interesting thing is sexuality, and its problems become an important narrative in the biography of someone. Sexuality becomes a popular theme which is raised in song, novel, short story, film, or dramas.

In addition to being inspired by sexuality narratives, media also becomes the means of information on those choices. The media offers a variety of lifestyle choices. However, the choice offered is the selected one. Media determines the type of options considered as an ideal choice. Thus, although there are many variations of lifestyle, the options offered are limited. The choice of roles or lifestyles in the media is diverse, but with a superficial interpretation (Gauntlett, 2008).

Hai through its sexuality articles, provides information to adolescents on topics considered fit to them. The information covers definition, risk, prevention and solution. For example, on the information about free sex, *Hai* explains what free sex is, what actions are categorized as free sex, what risks to face, what thing to do to avoid free sex, and solutions should be taken if a teenager is already exposed by the risk caused by the behavior. *Hai* also delivered the detailed impact of the behaviour. It means, in the end, *Hai* let the readers determine whether they want to have sexual intercourse or not.

Giving choice to the readers becomes *Hai's* strategy to construct the discourse of sex as a choice. *Hai* encourages the readers to be individuals who reflect and have self-actualization. Self-actualization is a way of balancing the opportunity and risk (Giddens 1991) made by looking at past experiences to determine future steps.

Hai displays the stories of adolescents who have sexual problems such as the story of some partners who bear the consequences of free sex (in the article of "Are You Ready to Take the Risk?" in *Hai*, XXVI(9), 4 March 2002:224); the story of men who get stressed because his girlfriend is pregnant (article "Kisah Mereka Yang "Kecelakaan": Maju Kena Mundur Kena" (The Story Of The "Accident": Hit Forward and Backward) in *Hai*, XXIV(10), 10 March 2000:92). Other examples also perform in the story of a girl's regret for having an abortion and feel guilty of it (article "Hamil? Oh My God" (Pregnant? Oh My God) in *Hai*, XXVI(4), 28 January 2002:210 or "Suara Mereka Yang Jadi Korban" (The Victim's Voices) in *Hai* magazine edition 4/3/2002).

Hai also delivers the testimony of students about free sex and the experience of avoiding it (*Nge-Seks Saat Pacaran*” in *Hai*, XXVI(9), 4 March 2002:218). It emphasizes the need for rational thought when having a relationship (article of “*Pikir-Pikir Sebelum Pacaran*” (Thinking First Before Dating) in *Hai*, XXIV(24), 4 April 2000:70-71). By informing the risk of free sex, the tips to avoid free sex, the understanding of profit and loss and giving the label of “*hero*” when the couples are able to hold their desire, *Hai* provides a space for the readers to have self-actualization.

However, *Hai* suggests a certain choice constructed as the ideal choice. *Hai* gives an option that has been selected. The approaches of medical, psychological, social and religious norms become the standard then the options proposed to the readers refer to that approach. One of an example of the way *Hai* drives the choice of readers is in the article of “*Caranya Belajar Seks Yang Asyik*” (How To Learn Sex Well) in *Hai*, XXVIII(14),5 April 2004: 325).*Hai* asks some boys to share their experiences in receiving the information about fun sex. *Hai* summarized it as follows:

The conclusion is that it depends on your selves. If you want to learn sex in fun and fast way, the consequence is dangerous; or learning sex by conservative and boring method but safety. **For me, it is better to choose the second one because I cannot resist the consequences, guys.**

By taking attention to the bold phrase, it can be inferred that *Hai* directs the readers to the ideal and best choice based on rational reason. *Hai* builds the discourse that sex is a choice; a limited and risky choice.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that *Hai* magazine is the only one male teen magazine in Indonesia which developing the ambivalence of male teen sexuality discourse in its articles and rubrics published in 1995 – 2004. The discourse of sexuality built by *Hai* magazine accommodates the discourse of conservatism and liberalism sexual. Even though *Hai* uses the politics of the middle way in delivering its articles, it precisely tends to encourage the dominant norms. The accommodation over sexual liberalism is the attempt of *Hai* to follow a trend, considering it is relatively evolving issue as an effect of global sexual revolution.