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Submission date: 01-Oct-2021 05:17PM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 1662426150

File name: 10._Representation-of-Women.doc (11.93M)

Word count: 7858

Character count: 42337

Representation of Women in Food Souvenir Packaging in Bandung, Indonesia, 1950 to 2018

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Abstract: Women have been stereotyped as the producers of food; yet, as time has progressed, the position of women has come to be perceived differently as socio-cultural situations change. This research intends to analyze the ideology of the position of the woman in the design of food souvenir packaging at different periods of Bandung's socio-cultural conditions, based on gender stereotype. The method of research used is a semiotic analysis that is related to levels of meaning and ideology. The result will be used as a reference for women's studies in order to understand the relationship between ideology shown on food packaging and the socio-cultural situation in Bandung, Indonesia, at different periods of time. Through this research, it can be seen that the ideological practice of a patriarchal nature still occurs in Indonesia. Nevertheless, this ideology is shown in different ways over time, being adapted to particular socio-cultural conditions. In the tourism industry, the patriarchal ideology is seen through the representation of women in the design of souvenir food packaging. It has become a marketing device to reveal authentic local values on the packaging of souvenir food. Gender representation is powerful in creating qualifications of products for certain markets, that are targeted at particular sectors of people. Packaging that reveals gender has a high-performance quality and is connected to a wider cultural process.

Keywords: Bandung, Food Souvenir, Ideology, Packaging, Representation, Position of Women

Introduction

Souvenirs are commodities that can support the economy of a society at tourist destinations. Besides their price and quality, souvenirs are usually bought due to their unique local values. One kind of souvenirs that attracts visitors to the city of Bandung is the food. Food souvenirs of a particular location are cooked by locals of that area who have a cooking skill and are then packed uniquely. In this way, the food is characterized by its locality and will, therefore, be seen as being more special and valued as a souvenir. There are various kinds of food products in Bandung. Facing tight competition, packaging plays a role as an advertisement that persuades prospective buyers to choose a product as a souvenir. The design of the packaging is the first visible element that the consumer notices on the racks in the shops and on online sites. The visual aspect of the packaging indicates a cultural product and is a form of social interaction; this can be read as a "cultural text" (McIntyre 2018).

The packaging design will create a particular food attribute through the visual design of the product and helps the customer to choose a product. In marketing strategies, the packaging design may very well be a gender-based factor to draw the attention of either males or females. The packaging designs of snacks usually reveal aspects of its local culture, since showing local values is significant in persuading prospective buyers. Tourists are drawn to local values of a particular geographical area since they indicate the authenticity of that geographical location. Authenticity is judged according to the character of being real, trustworthy, and original as a prototype. It is not something that is simply copied or reproduced. While the product may be truly authentic, it is also possible that the authenticity is seen through its construction as being iconic. Both of these aspects communicate a cultural heritage and point to something from the

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past. Authentic products offer highly valued experiences to tourists that are worthy of communication with others. This is a significant economic factor for the tourist area and also the surrounding society (Ram, Bjork, and Weidenfeld 2016).

Snacks are usually produced by people who live in that tourist area. There are many small-scale snack businesses in the city of Bandung and its environs, and these snacks are produced by women. An observation by a team of nine researchers of micro snack sellers in and around Bandung shows that the business proprietors used their personal accounts of between 1 and 50 million rupiahs to begin their business. They produced various kinds of snacks, according to their cooking skills, and brought their products to a consultant from the local Department of Industry. After receiving the packaging design and some helpful tips for marketing the products, the women began selling their products with low-level marketing to their neighbors, friends, and local supermarkets. The role of small-scale businesswomen selling snacks is therefore seen to be quite significant.

One local feature that can be read as a cultural text is the representation of women. Significant social development can be perceived regarding women in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, between 1950 and 2018, creating a different social situation for women in this area. The differences can be seen from their clothing, make-up, and expressions. This situation was not global and did not happen at the same time chronologically but, rather, was quite unique in Bandung. This change was also reflected as a visual stereotype on a number of snack products in the local geography of Bandung, revealing local authentic values. This actually represents society's ideology toward femininity and the position of females. Stereotypically, women do the cooking; yet, over time, women are being viewed differently, that is, in different socio-cultural situations at different periods chronologically. In addition, the socio-cultural situation of society also influences the representation of women on food packaging at different periods.

This research intends to analyze the ideology of the women reflected on the packaging designs of souvenir snack food in Bandung made at different periods of time to reveal gender stereotypes and the position of the female, by means of verbal and visual signs, using both icons and index. Visualization on the packaging designs of snack food is indeed one of the significant applications of the gendered study related to the marketing of snack food in small-scale businesses run by women.

This article reveals something unique about the relationship between ideology and the social situation regarding women between the years 1950 and 2018. This is seen especially in the representation of women through the packaging designs of snacks in the city of Bandung. By way of explanation, Bandung is the capital city of the province of West Java, known previously as Paris Van Java. The Dutch colonial period contributed much to the social situation of Bandung, as can be seen from Dutch architecture, language, food, and lifestyle. Bandung is also known as a city of creativity, producing many kinds of small-scale businesses run by women. Apart from this, a large percentage of the population in Bandung is Sundanese Muslims. It can be said that the Muslim religion in Indonesia is one of the local cultural aspects. Islam, as the majority religion, constructs a complex local culture. It is complex because Islam entered Indonesia through cultural assimilation, which in turn transformed the local Indonesian culture to become an Islamic culture while developing a moderate form of Islam. This is a key element in localized Indonesian culture (Priyatna 2013).

The explanation above reveals how the social condition of Bandung city was influenced by Dutch colonialization, Sundanese culture, Islam, modernized cultural developments, and the creativity of the society. This makes the current research interesting regarding the graphic design of the packaging of small-scale businesses. Moreover, Indonesia, as a developing country, sees a growth in the rise of small-scale businesses run by women. The Indonesian government supports the development of creative innovative businesses based on equality of gender and the reduction of poverty (Tambunan 2017).

Methodologies

This research engages a purposeful sampling process that represents female typology in the packaging designs of Bandung food souvenirs packaging designs. The purposive samples are selected from packaging designs based on the year of a company's establishment, namely, from 1950 to 2018, in order to see the relationship between the socio-cultural situation and gendered stereotypes about females in different time periods. The packaging design is seen as texts consisting of signs representing particular ideologies or cultural myths. The signs are analyzed not only individually but also as a group to express the ideology related to gender stereotypes.

The research samples are analyzed using the theory of semiotics. Semiotics is meant to reveal the ideology related to gender stereotypes that depict women on food packaging. According to Piliang (2004), the construction of meaning in a particular medium is always conducted by means of an ideological sign system; hence, semiotic analysis always involves ideological analysis. The main task of semiotics is to make and analyze signs, texts, and denaturalized codes.

Semiotic analysis is a qualitative-interpretative method, which focuses on texts as signs and as objects of research, as well as the method of the researcher to interpret and understand codes found in signs and texts. Textual analysis is an interpretative method, which operates at two levels of analysis: analysis of individual signs, and analysis of signs as a group or in combination (a group of signs forming texts). Simply said, the text is a combination of signs having a paradigmatic axis and specific syntagmatic.

The basic principle of text analysis is polysemic (having different meanings) as sign connotation meaning is always related to value codes, social meaning, various feelings, attitudes, or emotions. The texts are a combination of syntagmatic signs, which, through particular social codes, will produce a particular connotation, which can be interpreted differently by the readers, depending on each person's social position according to class, gender, race, age, and other factors. The connotation accepted socially will become denotation (sign meaning of texts considered correct by the readers). Denotation is a cultural myth (one form of ideology), which is a combination of certainty and attitudes that are considered correct by the readers. Cultural myth can be said to be a connotative ideology but becomes a denotative ideology since it has been socially accepted and regarded as truth by the readers (Piliang 2004).

Literature Review

Gender Stereotype and the Representation of Women on Food Packaging Designs

These days, the media has become the most influential agent in conserving gender stereotype. The media reaches all ages, positions, and levels of education as an object of gender characteristic indoctrination. Janice Winship, as cited by Tornhamm (2007, 6), states that viewers see the "image" of females in advertisements as being different than in real life. In advertisements, a female is presented in the image and position of a "mother," "wife," a "woman who is sexually attractive," and so on (Ariani 2013). Gender stereotypes prescribe the appearance of women (slim, pretty, fashionable); behaviors (a domestic housewife); sexuality (a sexual object); and psychology (emotional, less rational) (Fischer 2010).

The representation of females in the media is political, as it is related to power in the patriarchal society in terms of the regulation of social roles. The representation of females in the media reflects values adopted in a patriarchal culture, which positions women lower than men, with their domain limited to the domestic sphere.

Women may accept this as something natural because in the hegemony of patriarchal ideology, as well as in its actual existence, they are meant to please men. Marshment (1997) gives an example of a woman who wears make-up and high heels as being attractive for men; she will also feel more confident and prettier because being pretty becomes one of the expectations for women and her appearance is her most valuable quality. The media conveys traditional

gender roles and gender stereotypes, maintaining the unequal relationship between men and women. The internalization of patriarchal values related to gender stereotype is indoctrinated through non-neutral representation about women in different forms of media; thus, it is considered to be the truth by both men and women (Marshment 1997). Stereotypes can be seen as the visual communicative software, exposing ideas that can be easily comprehended, even though at times the stereotype conveyed by the media is unfair. Stereotypes create social memories, and gender stereotypes are useful as attributes that distinguish between maleness and femaleness (Gauntlett 2002).

Long ago, the culture of society places the male in the highest sector of hierarchy, with women being placed in second place on the scale. This patriarchal cultural also occurs in Indonesia, including in West Java. This could be seen in an extreme way during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia, as well as during the Japanese occupation, where women were viewed as sex-slaves for the foreign soldiers who were stationed in Indonesia. Females were forbidden by regulation to pursue an education, except females from the upper class. Raden Ajeng Kartini was honored in Indonesia as a woman who brought emancipation for Javanese and indigenous females to attend school. There were various feminist and activist movements for females to determine their rights. The practice of patriarchy still continues until the present day in Indonesia (Sakina and Dessy 2017).

According to Judith Pamela Butler as cited by McIntyre (2018), gender is performative. The notion of "woman," for instance, cannot be understood as separate from the way in which it is staged and performed. Gender is not an expression of identity of a person but has a performative function. Gender is formed through repeated expression and performance. For example, a bottle of a woman's perfume is given a pink color, not because women like the color pink but because the color pink is related to femininity (McIntyre 2018).

Visual packaging designs that are gender-based can also form preferences for healthy and unhealthy food. For both males and females, food packaging conveying feminine qualities are seen as healthy food; on the other hand, masculine food packaging is interpreted as being unhealthy. Food products that show a consistency of gender stereotypes in the packaging designs will be given a higher value and will be seen as more interesting than food packaging that is not consistent with gender stereotypes. This reveals the implicit strength of cultural stereotypes that are visualized on packaging designs in creating food preferences (Zhu et.al 2015).

The explanation above is also related to the study of packaging, which uses the actor-network approach of packages as "market devices." According to this theory, "market devices" can be explained as the significant role that is played by actors in the creation of performance-based markets. Work that is performed using market devices will create an active relationship between the commercial object with the social and cultural category of the product's packaging (Fuentes 2017). In this way, the choice of the consumer is formed by the market device. The device forms the practice of the consumer and the market of the product. If this is applied to the study of gender, packaging designs are actively involved in the product of the content, consumption, and the consumer. Gender is capable of creating the qualifications of a product for a particular market. There are varieties of gender identities, and they can all be understood in various ways, but the packaging design is performance-based with a wider cultural process (McIntyre 2018).

Businesswomen in Indonesia and Obstacles They Face

This article discusses gender analysis related to food products made by MSMEs; therefore it is necessary to know the condition of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia and their constraints. In the past, sellers of Indonesian traditional herbal medicine (Jamu) and sellers of snacks from door to door were women. Women possess a strong motivation to be involved in business. There are many motivational factors behind the female involvement in business; that is, "coincidence," "necessity," and "being created." Businesswomen motivated by "coincidence" are those women

who began a business without a clear purpose or plan. Their business began as a hobby, which, in time, developed as a formal business that provides supplementary income. Businesswomen who were involved due to "necessity" were those who were forced by their situation—for example, the death of their husband, or financial difficulties in the family—to begin a business to fulfill financial needs. Businesswomen who were "created" were those who created their business based on the support of others who motivated them to develop a business (Singh and Raina 2013).

There are seven new motivational factors for businesswomen, with a sample of businesswomen joining the association of marketable products (APPU), of which the membership comprises 90 percent of women who live in West Java: family-orientation, family and friendship background, stability of income, hobby and supporting facilities, the public situation, challenges and risks, and physical limitations. Out of the seven motivational factors, the most dominant motivation is the family orientation—running a business as well as doing household chores, having more family time, creating work opportunities for family members, and the possibility of a good profit (Setiawati and Kurtini 2018).

From the economic point of view, not all Indonesian businesswomen have been able to be profitable, due to their family responsibilities. This is in accordance with Indonesian cultural customs, in which women are expected to become housewives, not businesswomen. Other obstacles are legal, traditions, customs, and culture or religion regarding the extent to which women can open their own business. In the villages, in particular, where the majority of the population is Muslim, the Muslim norms play a strong role in women's day-to-day lives. These norms are restricting the behavior and attitude of village females compared to males, or compared to females in the city, to have a modern business. However, there are many women who become pioneers and leaders of industries in the cities, to the extent of creating a new paradigm which enables women to be entrepreneurs without having to deny a meaningful life (Tambunan 2017).

Semiotics Ideology

Semiotics can help bring awareness to gender representation by means of a sign system in the construction of meaning. According to Valentin Voloshinov (1973), signs are always ideological as the presence of signs coincides with the presence of ideology. No code system is ideologically "neutral" because signs function to persuade and refer. A sign system assists in neutralizing and strengthening certain frameworks; therefore, semiotic analysis always involves ideological analysis.

The role of ideology is to oppress a certain party for the sake of a dominant group's interests so that the **egalistic** construction occurs in the "struggling site." John Hartley (1982) states that competing social forces seek to "fix" the potential meanings of each sign with evaluative accents conducive to their particular interests and at the same time try to present evaluative differences as differences in reality.

For Roland Barthes (1967), various codes contribute to the reproduction of bourgeois ideology, making it look natural, accurate, and inevitable. Ideology constructs an individual as a subject through a code operation. In the ideology of realism, there is a distortion of "objective" reality. Barthes holds the opinion that coding systems known as denotation and connotation are combined to produce ideological myths. Denotation is the first signing level, which is representative and relatively independent. Connotation is the second signing level, which reflects the "expressive" values of a sign. Myth, which is also known as ideology, is the third signing level, reflecting the main concept of cultural variables, which is the basis for a certain world view, including masculinity, femininity, freedom, individualism, and objectivism. Semiotic analysis involves ideological analysis and tries to denaturalize codes. Many experts see the main task of semiotics as the denaturalizing of signs, texts, and codes. Hence, semiotics can reveal ideology and that whatever is regarded as truth can be opposed.

Louis Althusser is the first expert of ideological theory who pays attention to ideas relating to subjects. For him, ideology is a realistic representation system which offers an individual a position as a certain subject. He states that things represented in ideology are not real facts that arrange an individual's existence, but imaginative relationships of individuals related to where they actually live (Ming Liu 2013). In other words, ideology is a representative system that involves "transparent myths," which function to persuade subjects regarding "imaginative" relationships with "real" existing conditions. Althusser also states that an ideology "acts" or "functions" in such a way in order to "recruit" subjects amongst a number of individuals or "changes" of individuals to become subjects, with a very accurate operation of individuals known as *interpellation* or calling.

The Althusserian concept of interpellation is used by experts of media theory to explain the function of mass media political texts. According to this view, subjects (viewers, listeners, readers) are formed by texts, and the strength of the mass media is in its capacity to position subjects in such a way that their representation is considered a reflection of daily reality.

Axis of the Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Signs

According to Saussure (Swiss semiotician), language is formed on the principle of difference. The difference is only made possible through the operations of two axes, known as the axis of paradigms and the axis of syntagma. Paradigms are a set of equipment through which choices are made, and only one unit from the variety of choices can be chosen. Syntagma is a combination of signs with other signs from the set of available equipment based on certain arrangements, in order to result in meaningful expressions Saussure as cited by Piliang (2004). Within the semiotics of significance, signs are not seen individually but in relation to their combination with other signs in a system. According to Roland Barthes, sign analysis is based on a larger system or combination involving rules of combination, comprised of two axes, namely, the paradigmatic axis on the Y-axis, with the repertory of signs or words (like a dictionary), as well as the syntagmatic axis on the X-axis, that is, how choices and combinations of signs are made, based on particular rules or codes so that they can result in meaningful expressions (Barthes 1967). The language axis developed by Saussure and Barthes is extremely important in society and can be applied in the various significant systems, including the system of fashion, the system of food, the system of architecture, the system of advertising, the system of objects (Piliang 2004).

Data Analysis

Semiotic analysis was conducted on seven food souvenir packagings from the city of Bandung based on the year of the establishment of companies between 1950 and 2018. Design elements were analyzed as texts consisting of verbal and visual signs, arranged in the syntagmatic axis. The choice of signs determines the denotative meaning, connotative meaning, and ideology of myth.

Case A: Analysis of "ONTJOM RAOS Nyonya Gouw" Packaging

"ONTJOM RAOS Nyonya Gouw" is the brand as well as the name of the shop that sells snacks typical of Bandung. This brand of snack was established in 1950 by Nyonya Gouw in her residence, located at 57 Cihampelas Street, Bandung. The name "ONTJOM RAOS" was chosen as the name of the shop because it only sold fried *oncom*, a specific kind of tempeh when it first began operation. The word "RAOS" is derived from the Sundanese language, meaning delicious. Presently, the ONTJOM RAOS Nyonya Gouw brand is used for various products sold in the shop, namely, *oncom goreng*, *tempe goreng*, *telor gabus*, *getas*, and other traditional snacks. *Oncom goreng* is the prime product. The packaging label of ONTJOM RAOS Nyonya Gouw is very simple, namely, a transparent plastic bag with a label on its top.



Figure 1: Packaging-Label Design of ONTJOM RAOS Nyonya Gouw
 Source: https://simple-graphics.blogspot.com/2009/04/naive-product-label_13.html

Table 1: Analysis of Verbal and Visual Signs and Ideology on the "ONTJOM RAOS Nyonya Gouw" Packaging Labels

Meaning	Packaging Design of ONTJOM RAOS Nyonya Gouw			
	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign
	Text	Picture of a Woman	Typography	Color
Denotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Using old Indonesian spelling. Brand: ONTJOM RAOS Name of maker: Nyonya Gouw Year of establishment: Since 1950 	A close-up illustration of a woman with her hair tied up in a bun who is smiling while holding pieces of the "Oncom" chip, with a partial side-profile of the face facing the viewers.	Character: Bold <i>Sans serif</i> with the shadowy effect for text "ONTJOM RAOS" Script for writing the words "Nyonya Gouw"	Combination of dark green, red, white, black. Connotation: Traditional, old-fashioned, cheerful
Connotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ONTJOM RAOS: Sundanese Mrs. Gouw: Wife, Chinese Since 1950: The past As a whole: Chinese-Indonesian woman skilful in local Sundanese culinary	A woman of the past who was happy, friendly, self-confident	Traditional, old-fashioned	Traditional, old-fashioned
Myths & Ideology	Based on the verbal signs: A woman's identity is decided by her marriage relationship with a man. A woman's asset is her existence in a business domain based on her skills in the domestic domain According to visual signs: An ideal woman possessing a particular ideal physical quality (pretty), and particular personality traits (friendly, motherly)			

Source: Hartanti, Lukman, and Nuryana

In the packaging label of ONTJOM RAOS Nyonya Gouw, the representation of the woman follows gender stereotypes from the 1950s; thus, the ideal woman is one who is physically beautiful, is polite and friendly, and is either a wife or a housewife. Although it is not known whether the packaging illustration is really Mrs. Gouw or not, this picture is used as a signifier

from a signified. In other words, this is a concept related to the physical quality (pretty), character (friendly, self-confident), an identity related to the marital status (a wife), and ethnicity (Chinese Indonesian). This was in accordance with the desired branding at that time. This packaging design is still used up until the present day to give a nostalgic impression.

Case B: Analysis of Prima Rasa Packaging

"Prima Rasa" is a brand of cake, as well as the name of the first cake shop in Bandung, established in 1992 on Kemuning Street. The establishment of the shop was planned by a housewife skillful in baking cakes; then she sold and served the products to her customers herself. Her business developed well and she eventually managed to open several shops with the name "Prima Rasa," which has become famous for selling cakes in Bandung. Besides selling brownies, the shops also sell pastries, puddings, waffles, various cakes, and traditional banana cakes.



Figure 2: Packaging Design of Natural Cookies Prima Rasa

Source: <http://christynate.blogspot.com/2016/06/bokkepotjes-prima-rasa-bandung.html>

On the Prima Rasa packaging, the representation of the woman is constructed according to the gender stereotype in the early 1890s. The illustration of the woman is presented in a nostalgic atmosphere in the context of Western culture—the kitchen maid. Wibowo, the manager of Prima Rasa, states that the woman on the packaging depicts the owner, who used to bake her own cakes and serve the customers herself (Sihaloho 2014).

The picture of the woman represents the owner of Prima Rasa as a woman who is skillful in the domestic domain with an active character and is ready to serve her customers. The illustration of the woman is presented in a black silhouette in a longshot manner, so what is seen is the physical activity, whereas the facial expression is not seen. The ideology constructed through the sign is a woman's expression decided by her physical activities. Her identity and expression are not regarded as significant. This representation of the woman is considered suitable with the concept (signified) from a character quality that is active and ready to serve.

Table 2: Analysis of Verbal and Visual Signs and Ideology on the "Prima Rasa" Packaging Labels

Meaning	Packaging Design of Prima Rasa			
	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign
	Text	Picture of a Woman	Typography	Color
Denotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trademark: Prima Rasa Year of establishment: Since 1986 Product in packaging: NATURAL COOKIES Kind of commodity sold: BAKERY & PASTRY 	Illustration: silhouette of a woman wearing an apron with flying ribbons bringing a cake. Picture appearance is long shot	Character: Sans serif for the texts "BAKERY & PASTRY", and "since 1986" Serif for "NATURAL COOKIES" Script for "Prima Rasa"	Logo and golden typography on black background
Connotation	All letters give Western culture connotation	Waitress, Western culture, classical, mysterious, reserved, active. Physical gesture more important than facial expression	Classical	Classical, elegant
Myths & Ideology	<p>According to verbal signs: High quality Western Culinary</p> <p>According to visual signs: Woman's physical activity is more important than identity and feeling</p>			

Source: Hartanti, Lukman, and Nurviana

Case C: Analysis of Gepuk Ny. Ong Packaging

"Gepuk Ny. Ong" is a brand of a shop selling *gepuk/empal* (marinated fried meat). Nyonya Ong (Mrs. Ong) has been selling her *gepuk* in a small store since 1968. The business ran smoothly and in 1999 it was marketed more professionally by using the brand "Gepuk Nyonya Ong." The woman presented in the form of a picture on the packaging is Ida Kusumah (an Indonesian actress in the 1990s) known for her Sundanese accent mixed with the Dutch language from the upper-middle social class.



Figure 3: Packaging Design of Gepuk Ny. Ong

Source: <http://infowisata13.blogspot.com/2016/03/oleh-oleh-khas-bandung-yang-sangat.html>

Table 3: Analysis of Verbal and Visual Signs and Ideology on the
"Gepuk Ny. Ong" Packaging Labels

Meaning	Packaging Design of Gepuk Ny. Ong			
	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign
	Text	Picture of a Woman	Typography	Color
Denotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trademark: Gepuk Ny. Ong Company's Tagline: WE GIVE YOU THE BEST TASTE: Statement about popularity: VERY FAMOUS 	Medium shot photograph of a mature woman, hair in a bun, who is smiling broadly. She is staring at viewers. She is holding a plate with traditional vegetables and gepuk. Frontal facial position.	Character Serif for "Gepuk Ny. Ong", and "WE GIVE YOU THE BEST TASTE" San serif for "VERY FAMOUS"	Background colors: green and red Photograph of a woman in full color; colors of clothes: red and blue colors of letters: golden, yellow
Connotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gepuk: Sundanese Ny. Ong: Chinese WE GIVE YOU THE BEST TASTE: Taste suitable with the lifestyle of an urban society VERY FAMOUS: up to date 	An active woman, friendly, awesome, expressive, ready to serve.	Elegant (for trademark), friendly (for tagline), informal (for "VERY FAMOUS")	Dynamic, high class, eye-catching.
Myths & Ideology	<p>According to verbal signs: The identity of a woman is decided by her marriage relationship and ethnicity; the capital for a woman to exist in business comes from her skills in the domestic domain.</p> <p>According to visual signs: A woman's physical activities and her character are more important than her facial beauty.</p>			

Source: Hartanti, Lukman, and Nuviana

On the packaging of Gepuk Ny. Ong, the representation of the woman is constructed according to the gender stereotype derived from the Indonesian media in the 1990s. Ida Kusumah, as the brand ambassador of Gepuk Ny. Ong, was shown in a film as a middle-aged housewife who has a unique character, is a friendly, zany, and chatty woman, and who lives in two cultures (Sundanese as her ethnic identity, and Dutch as part of the lifestyle of the upper class in the past). The illustration of the woman is presented based on what she is doing (serving), her character (friendly, zany, and chatty), marital status, and ethnicity.

Case D: Analysis of Keripik Singkong Maicih Packaging

"Keripik Singkong Maicih" is a brand of snacks (chips), which was established in 2010 by three brothers (Dimas Ginanjar Merdeka, Arie Kurniadi, dan Reza Nurhilman). The logo of the company has undergone some changes. The picture below shows the latest logo, launched in June 2011.

The packaging of Keripik Singkong Maicih is quite complex because it not only shows a picture of a woman as the company's logo but also illustrates the atmosphere of Bandung

through its pictures of architecture and of society. In the illustration, two women are shown, representing the inhabitants of Bandung.



Figure 4: Packaging Design of Keripik Singkong Maich
Source: <http://www.maich.com/maich-ada-dua-logo-mana-yang-palsu/>

Table 4: Analysis of Verbal and Visual Signs and Ideology on the "Keripik Singkong Maich" Packaging Labels

Meaning	Packaging Design of Keripik Singkong Maich			
	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign
	Text	Picture of a Woman	Typography	Color
Denotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trademark: Maich Kind of commodity sold: "KERIPIK SINGKONG" (FRIED CASAVA) 	<p>Logo:</p> <p>Facial illustration of an elderly woman. Presented close up. Facial position to the front, with a smiling expression that makes her eyes shut. The hair is invisible due to the wearing of a headscarf. Illustration of atmosphere: 2 women</p> <p>The first woman is seen with a man and a child; the second woman is seen with a man who is greeting another man.</p>	<p>Script for the text "Maich"</p> <p>San serif for "KERIPIK SINGKONG"</p>	<p>Color for logo background is white</p> <p>Logo is white on a red background. Background color of the illustration is dark brown; color for illustrations of the building and people are a combination of bright color.</p>

<i>Connotation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maicih: Mother, Sundanese, traditional FRIED CASSAVA: Traditional Sundanese 	Woman's facial illustration on the logo gives the impression of friendliness, keeping to tradition, and devout. The illustration of the first woman is a wife/housewife willing to sacrifice for the family: the woman is portrayed standing, while the child and the man are sitting. The illustration of the second woman is as a man's companion.	Combination of traditional and modern.	Combination of traditional and modern, cheerful.
<i>Myths & Ideology</i>	According to verbal sign: The identity of a woman is decided by her role as a mother. According to visual sign: In the logo, the existence of a woman is based on her status as a mother, and her character is friendly and devout. In the illustration, the atmosphere of the woman's existence is decided by her status as a wife and mother (first illustration), or as a companion of her partner (second illustration).			

Source: Hartanti, Lukman, and Nurviana

On the packaging of Keripik Singkong Maicih, the representation of the woman maintains the gender stereotype derived from society in 2010 where the existence of women is determined by their status as mothers, wives, and companions. The ideal character, which is presented in the logo, is friendly and devout, whereas the atmosphere in the illustration of Bandung is a woman who is attentive and willing to sacrifice for the family or a passive companion. Beauty is not so important.

Case E: Analysis of Keripik Kentang CEU IMAS Packaging

"Keripik Kentang CEU IMAS" is a brand of potato chips established by Suhadi Ronggo in 2011. The products sold are potato chips with the original cheese flavor, and potato chips with a spicy cheese flavor.



Figure 13 Packaging Design of Kripik Kentang CEU IMAS

Source: <https://www.ceriwis.com/forum/showthread.php?t=2404151>

Table 5: Analysis of Verbal and Visual Signs and Ideology on the "Keripik Kentang CEU IMAS" Packaging Labels

Meaning	Packaging Design of Keripik Kentang CEU IMAS			
	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign
	Text	Picture of a Woman	Typography	Color
Denotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trademark: CEU IMAS Kind of commodity sold: potato chips Product quality: delicious, crunchy, spicy Product's locality: Bandung Authentic Snack 	<p>Illustration of a young woman's face smiling in the emblem like the emblem of a European noble in ancient times, presented as a close up. The facial position is somewhat sideways. Side glance (not staring directly at the viewers). The hair is not seen as she is wearing a headscarf. At the back of the head there are lines spreading away from her.</p>	<p>Character: Decorative for the text "CEU IMAS"</p> <p>Script for "Keripik Kentang"</p> <p>Serif in italics for "Delicious, crunchy, spicy", and "Bandung Authentic Snack"</p>	<p>Background color is light brown, color for illustration and typography are brown and red. Color of decoration on emblem is green.</p>
Connotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ceu Imas: Sundanese, seniority Keripik Kentang: Traditional Sundanese Bandung Authentic Snack: traditional snack that can adapt itself to a modern life style. 	<p>The woman's facial illustration in the logo gives an impression of being friendly and traditional, yet when placed on the emblem, with the lines resembling light, it looks elegant. The sideways glance gives an impression that she avoids having direct contact with the viewers.</p>	Classical	Classical, Traditional, old-fashioned
Myths & Ideology	The woman's existence is not decided by her marital status, but from her physical beauty, and having a devout and friendly character, while still keeping a distance.			

Source: Hartanti, Lukman, and Nuviana

On the packaging of Keripik Kentang CEU IMAS, the representation of the woman is constructed according to the gender stereotype. An ideal and elegant woman is beautiful physically with a devout and friendly character. Eye contact, which is not directed to viewers, shows the feature of politeness of the past when one did not look directly at the interlocutor.

Case F: Analysis of BASRENG RANDA Packaging

Basreng is the acronym of *baso goreng* (fried sliced meatball), a popular snack in Bandung. Basreng Randa has been produced in Bandung since 2012, by a housewife who used to be a sales promotion woman in a supermarket. It has two taste variants, namely spicy (levels 1, 2, 3), and original.



Figure 6: Packaging Design of BASRENG RANDA
Source: <https://www.tokopedia.com/ikqitokoku/basreng-randa>

Table 6: Analysis of Verbal and Visual Signs and Ideology on the
"BASRENG RANDA" Packaging Labels

Meaning	Packaging Design of BASRENG RANDA			
	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign
	Text	Picture of a Woman	Typography	Color
Denotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trademark: BASRENG RANDA Taste information: Rasana Khas Sunda (the taste is typical Sundanese) Statement of the product: "The name itself is cute, and the taste is experiential, . . . guarantee that you will want to have more." 	The facial expression of a young woman smiling in an animated style, presented close up. The facial position is somewhat sideways. The eyes glance sideways at the viewers. Curly hair hanging loose.	Typeface: <i>Sans serif</i> for the text "BASRENG" and for "The name itself is cute, and the taste is experiential, . . . guarantee that you will want to have more." <i>Decorative</i> for "RANDA", "Rasana Khas Sunda" (the taste is typical Sundanese)	Logo and texts in black on white background, packaging background is a picture of "basreng"
Connotation	Modern, urban, flirty, sensual	Flirty, sensual, pop culture	Pop culture	Contemporary, pop culture
Myths & Ideology	The identity of a woman is related to her marital status. A woman without marital status becomes a sexual object and an object of mockery.			

Source: Hartanti, Lukman, and Nurviana

The word *randa* also has the meaning of a widow in Bahasa Indonesia, meaning that the woman is without a husband. On the packaging of BASRENG RANDA, the representation of a woman as a young widow is constructed according to the gender stereotype in 2012, which considers a young widow (a woman without marital status) as a sexual object with the character of being flirty, a bad woman, and sexually experienced.

Case G: Analysis of Kripik JamaNow Packaging

"Kripik jamaNow" is a chips company, established in 2018 by Riezka Rahmantiana, that adds fresh chili sauce to their chips. There are three taste variants, namely *rasa yang pernah ada* (spicy soy sauce, sweet and spicy), *rasa yang terpendam* (green chili sauce, not too spicy), and *rasain deh lo* (very spicy chili sauce). The packaging for *rasain deh lo* and *rasa yang pernah ada* variants use the illustration of a woman's face, while *rasa yang terpendam* uses the illustration of a man's face.



Figure 7: Packaging Design of Kripik JamaNow
Source: <https://kripikjamaNow-souvenir-store.business.site>

Table 7: Analysis of Verbal and Visual Signs and Ideology on the "Kripik Jamanow" Packaging Labels

Meaning	Packaging Design of Kripik jamaNow			
	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign	Verbal Sign	Visual Sign
	Text	Picture of a Woman	Typography	Color
<i>Denotation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trademark: Kripik jamaNow • Statement about quality of the product: Nampool bingitz, (slang, meaning 'very good') • Taste variants: RASAIN DEH LO, RASA YANG PERNAH ADA 	Facial illustration of young women. The first woman wears sunglasses and <i>hijab</i> ; the second woman looks like Marilyn Monroe. Both of them are presented big close up. Facial position is to the front. The first woman's expression is shock; the expression of the second woman is smiling. The eyes are invisible, blocked by the sunglasses, or because they have shut her eyes. The hair of the first woman is not visible as it is covered by a headscarf; the hair of the second woman is blond and wavy.	Script for the text "kripik jamaNow" <i>San serif</i> in bold for "RASAIN DEH LO" dan "RASA YANG PERNAH ADA" Texts about tastes are positioned in speech ballons found in comic.	Bright and gaudy colours.
<i>Connotation</i>	Contemporary, young, urban	Contemporary, fashionable, devout, pop culture, indifferent to people's opinions.	Contemporary, pop culture	Contemporary, pop culture
<i>Myths & Ideology</i>	An ideal young woman is the one who follows the trend in fashion while being devout, daring to reveal her feelings openly regardless of society's opinion.			

Source: Hartanti, Lukman, and Nurviana

On the packaging of Kripik jamaNow, the representation of the woman is constructed according to the gender stereotype from Bandung's urban society in 2018. The woman on the left portrays a pretty young woman who is self-confident, expressive, devout, as well as fashionable. The woman on the right is depicted as fashionable and wants to be like a famous Western actress. The eyes of the two women are unseen as they wear glasses, or they close their eyes, to show their reluctance to have eye contact or social contact with the viewers.

Discussion

This analysis of the representation of the woman as shown in pictures or photos on the packaging designs of snack food at different periods of time reveals that the practice of a patriarchal ideology still occurs in Indonesia, even though it is conveyed in different forms. Packaging designs made before 2000, namely the packaging of ONTJOM RAOS Nyonya Gouw (1950), and Gepuk Ny. Ong (1999), reveals that women tended to be governed by patriarchal ideology, which positions women as wives. Mentioning the title Nyonya or Ny indicates that a woman's status is decided by her husband's name, so her position becomes subordinate. At an older period (ONTJOM RAOS Nyonya Gouw's packaging design), the woman is presented sideways with a slight smile. This indicates the ideology that a polite woman is expected not to boast about herself or expose her feelings. On the packaging of Gepuk Ny. Ong from a more recent time, the woman is presented facing the front with a big smile and wearing a brightly colored dress. This representation is of a woman boasting about herself and exposing her feelings freely. The ethnic identity in these two brands shows the pride of Chinese Indonesians: though they are Chinese, they are able to master traditional Sundanese culinary.

The packaging design of Prima Rasa represents design created before 2000. Although the owner of Prima Rasa is a Chinese woman, the ethnic identity is not presented on the packaging. Different from other packaging, Prima Rasa does not show a woman's face in detail, let alone show the woman's figure as a whole. This can be interpreted as showing that the most important thing about a woman role: her profession and activities (a maker of cakes as well as actively delivering the food).

A brand of chips emerged in Bandung in the first decade of 2000 that uses the name of a Sundanese woman from the village, aiming to give a traditional impression that is brought to the present day, including Maicih and Ceu Imas. This shows pride in showing Sundanese ethnicity on the packaging. Maicih is the pioneering different ways of selling, namely giving a spicy level 1-10 on the chips, using selling techniques through social media, and only being sold in certain places with a limited amount of goods. The price of cassava chips used to be cheap but became quite expensive. The name Maicih is the combination of two words, namely, *Ma* (mother) and *Icih*, a Sundanese woman from a village or hamlet. The combination of these two words produces a unique brand. The woman on Maicih's logo is an old woman, presented to the front, wearing a headscarf, smiling with her eyes closed. The ideology expressed through this representation is an ideal, stereotypical Sundanese figure of a mother who is friendly and devout. Closing her eyes while smiling is not done deliberately but to avoid communication with her surroundings.

On the packaging design of Ceu Imas, the *perempuan kampung* (village woman) is used in the emblem, which usually shows European aristocratic women. The inherent ideology is that even a village woman can be elegant, an ideal woman who is pretty, friendly, and of devout character. The facial position and her sideward glance show her reluctance to directly face the viewers because the ideology places a woman's position not as a viewer but as the object of viewing.

The illustration of the woman on the BASRENG Randa packaging represents the stereotypical young widow, a sensual, flirty, and experienced woman. Although the facial position is somewhat sideways, her glance is to the viewers, showing her willingness to make social contact. The ideology of the negative stereotype of a young widow is obviously seen on her verbal sign. The negative representation of a young woman without a social status has become an ideology regarded as "truth," even by the owner of the company, who is female.

Different from women on the other packaging designs, Kripik jamaNow's packaging design represents a woman who is independent, fashionable, and does not care about the opinions of other people in her surroundings (indicated by wearing sunglasses or by deliberate closing of the eyes), and freedom of expression. The representation of women in food packaging shows that

Islam, as the majority religion in Indonesia, including in Bandung, has built an elaborate "local culture." It conveys the figure of the Indonesian Muslim woman who is sensational, cool, and not ashamed of conveying their moderate form of a Muslim identity. Despite this, they possess a complex identity, with acculturation of certain aspects of Western culture as well.

The representation of the woman, shown in different ways on the food packaging of Bandung's specialty food products, describes specific food flavors in more detail, as well as their positioning. If we wish to enjoy eating Sundanese traditional food, the nostalgia of Ontjom Raos dan Gepuk Ny. Ong is the choice. If we wish to enjoy *holand spreagen* snacks, Prima Rasa is the choice. If we wish to enjoy Sundanese traditional snacks with a contemporary touch, Maicih, Ceu Imas, and Basreng Randa dan Kripik jamaNow are the choices. This means that the gender representation of food packaging is capable of producing content, consumption, and customers.

Conclusion

It can be concluded from the analysis and discussion above that a strong practice of patriarchal ideology continues to exist in Indonesia, even though it is shown in different means according to the social-cultural condition at different periods of time. From the point of view of the tourist industry, the patriarchal ideology that is conveyed through the representation of women on the packaging designs of snack food has become a marketing device. This marketing device gives a value of being local since the product is authentic in that region. Gender is able to create qualifications for a product for a particular market. Packaging designs which use gender are performative and connected to a wider process of culture

Acknowledgement

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Research for this article was made possible with the support of the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education of the Republic of Indonesia.

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