

# The Invisible Cigarette

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The Production of Smoking Culture and  
Identity in Indonesia

**PHD THESIS**

by

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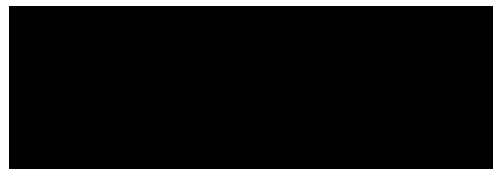
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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines how smoking culture is represented in Indonesia and how cigarette advertisements create identities as an aspiration for contemporary Indonesians, especially the influential middle class. The thesis examines smoking culture in light of the dramatic cultural change occurring in what is the largest Muslim country in the world. It involved fieldwork in advertising agencies in Indonesia, which revealed the processes entailed in producing advertisements, a semiotic analysis of cigarette advertisements and an examination of the sociocultural factors that shape smoking behaviours and policy responses to tobacco use. It is argued that the nexus between smoking culture and Indonesian identity needs to be understood in light of globalization and the hybridisation of local traditional influences (local smoking culture, identity, class, and religion) and modern influences (contemporary industry, lifestyle, and global health).

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution and affirms that to the best of my knowledge the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.



Centurion Chandratama Priyatna

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Smoke, ineffable yet perceivable; real yet illusionary; present yet transient; breathable yet intoxicating. (Gilman & Xun, 2004, p. 9)

Globalisation has created a new “battle ground” for smoking. The World Health Organization (WHO), specifically concerned with health issues, has shifted the smoking debate from the private domain into the public domain, arguing that the individual is incapable of protecting himself from himself and needs the protection of the paternalistic state, thus turning private health into public health (Szasz, 2001). The WHO is now responsible for reducing smoking, with the issue now in the public domain, as it considered harmful to both smokers and non-smokers (active and passive smokers). The WHO and many countries have signed the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) which came into effect on February 27<sup>th</sup> 2005 (Shafey, Eriksen, Ross, & Mackay, 2009, p. 70). FCTC regulates the control of tobacco use in those countries who signed: 162 out of 192 World Health Organization member states (Shafey, Eriksen, Ross, & Mackay, 2009, p. 70). The WHO Framework of Tobacco Control is also attempting to control many aspects of tobacco related matters, e.g. price and tax measures to reduce the demand for tobacco, regulate content, packaging and labelling of tobacco products, regulate tobacco advertising, promotion and sponsorship (World Health Organization, 2003). FCTC’s intention is to reduce if not eliminate the tobacco consumption because of the known health risks.

While the spread of the smoking habit looked unstoppable, at least until the middle of twentieth century, there have always been concerns about smoking as an unhealthy habit. These concerns can be tracked back to King James I, a successor to Elizabeth I to English throne in 1603, who published a pamphlet entitled *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* which condemned tobacco as part of evil (Gately, 2001, pp. 67-69) as it originated from a “barbaric” native American people’s habit. The landmark of the 20<sup>th</sup> century fight against tobacco, however, was in 1957 when the US Surgeon General, the first institution to do so, stated that smoking can cause cancer in the long term. Since then, the research on the harmful effects of smoking has increased substantially and resulted in many bans on the use of the product in many developed countries.

In developing countries, especially in Asia, however, things have played out differently, particularly in Indonesia, which has not signed the FCTC. A 2012 news report showed a boy as young as eight years old who has been smoking for four years puffing away as the cigarette smoke drifts into the air in one of the rural areas near Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. This story, covered by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (Brown, 2012) and the *Sunday Age*, focused attention on how the Asia Pacific has become the final frontier for tobacco companies in selling the product (Bachelard & Stark, 2012). It was a disturbing moment for many people to find out that a child that age is smoking. In Australia and many other developed countries who had signed the FCTC, smoking has been declining rapidly. In March 2010, two years before, there was a You Tube video that went viral showing another much younger 2-year old toddler smoking in Indonesia. This created much interest in the developed world with many shocked to see the child that age smoking 40 cigarettes a day (CBS News, 2010; Daily Mail UK, 2010). Those events created a



particular representation of Indonesian smoking culture, but one that is just the tip of the iceberg, a glimpse of many undiscovered stages of the culture of smoking in Indonesia. Children's smoking is only one part of the picture of smoking culture in Indonesia.

My research focuses on how smoking culture is represented in Indonesia and how cigarette advertisements create identities as an aspiration for contemporary Indonesians, especially the influential middle class. By drawing on sociological theory of media and consumer society as the basis for ethnographic research in Indonesian advertising agencies, and a semiotic analysis of television commercials screened there, this thesis supplies novel and richly nuanced insights into how contemporary Indonesian consumer identities come into being. This thesis will highlight the ways in which Indonesian consumer identities are shaped by the history and cultural significance of smoking in Indonesia and the interests from diverse sectors in Indonesia. Some of the sectors include: tobacco companies both local and transnational as the producers; the Indonesian Government as the national regulator; the advertising agencies as the marketers; the WHO, which, with the help of anti-smoking non-governmental organizations operate as the global tobacco consumption regulators; the pro-smoking organizations which serve as the Indonesian cultural heritage guardians, and the influential religious (Islamic) organizations which, unofficially (at least not by state law), control the religious sphere in Indonesia, which has the largest Muslim population in the world. The thesis will reveal how contemporary Indonesian identity is being played out in the globalized era today with all the contestation involved in the mix.

This research aims to investigate the production of smoking culture in Indonesia through cigarette television advertisements, with the focus on the

transformation of identities especially for the aspirational and influential middle classes. Another aim is to provide insight into how identity, culture, health and economy are being played out in the cigarette consumption practices of contemporary Indonesians. In the final analysis, the thesis tries to understand smoking culture in Indonesia and the future of Indonesian culture in general through the dynamic of globalisation, change of multidimensional sectors and the expansion of the Indonesian middle class. This thesis provides, for the first time, a dynamic portrayal of smoking culture and its significance for identity in Indonesia. Rather than being narrowly concerned with 'the problem' of smoking and related interventions from a public health or medical perspective, it explores the sociocultural processes that underpin the culture of smoking. It explores the historical factors and social interests that give rise to and sustain this culture, as well as manifestations of resistance (e.g. NGOs, Indonesian Islamic groups).

My research begins by discussing the remarkable cigarette brands that television commercials in Indonesia created in the late 1990s and early 2000s with the assistance of advertising agencies. In those years, the media, especially private owned television networks, had permission from the Government to air their programmes. Before 1990 there was only one television company, Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI), a state owned Television Company, but after 1990, as advertisements were able to be aired again, many companies used television advertising as one of the marketing tools to sell their products. Cigarette companies were also using this opportunity and, with each brand having a unique characteristic and able to tell stories about themselves, it is undeniable that cigarette advertisements became the one advertisement worth waiting to see. Almost all of them used symbolism and the representation of particular images to create a

connection between the viewer and the brand being sold. In other words, these brands are selling lifestyle rather than just the cigarette itself. This thesis will examine the culture created by brand images, with particular reference to cigarette television commercials.

Cigarette advertisements in Indonesia are restricted by law in the depiction of smoking itself or of the product. The viewer cannot see the actual cigarette, the package, or people smoking or even the cigarette smoke itself in the advertisement. This is a unique proposition as an advertising agency is put in the position of having to sell a product without showing the audience what the products look like or the way to use them. This means that advertising agencies are being driven to creatively produce advertisements within the permitted regulation. There are a series of rules that must be obeyed in order to create cigarette advertisements. These cover not connecting the products to pregnant women, teenagers and children, or even mentioning that the product is a cigarette, whether in text, image or talk. The invisible cigarette is produced by advertising agencies who aim to create a solution to the constraints posed by these rules. The task of advertising cigarettes is a lot harder than it is with other consumer goods facing similar advertising constraints (viz., where advertisements do not permit one to show how to use the product), such as female hygiene products or condoms, which in Indonesia are still permitted to be mentioned textually and verbally, detailing what kind of product they are.

In order to sell their products, tobacco companies use every kind of marketing tool available to promote their product not only in the form of advertisements in electronic, outdoor and printed media such as television, radio, magazines and the internet, but also in the form of sponsoring music and sporting events. Djarum Black, a brand of cigarette produced by PT. Djarum even has a dedicated website

([www.blackxperience.com](http://www.blackxperience.com)) which promotes many events that are being sponsored by the company, interestingly without any sign of selling the cigarettes except the lifestyle connected with the brand itself.

That is why one of the most interesting parts of seeing a cigarette advertisement in Indonesia is that audiences at times find it difficult to know what product the advertisement is promoting until the brand of cigarette appears at the end of the television commercial. Viewers are engaged in predicting the connection between the images shown and the brand. Cigarette advertisements show the audiences lifestyle images, comical characters, a man doing an adventurous thing, or a character being admired by the people (mostly women) surrounding him. In the end the advertising agency's plan is to convince the audiences to connect the dots between images shown and the brands they are advertising. Some dots are easy to connect while others are completely out of the box making it harder to make a connection.

From a marketing perspective, Indonesia is seen as the final frontier for smoking culture. The shift of the large transnational tobacco corporations such as Philip Morris and British American Tobacco, whose businesses have shrunk in the developed countries, to developing countries such as Indonesia, is evidence of this. The report by Bachelard and Stark (2012) suggests that the Asia Pacific region is where the increase of tobacco use is prominent. Indonesia is important in this respect because in 2001, 31.5 % of its total population were smokers. This had risen to 36.5% by 2010. This constitutes about 61.4 million people out of a total population of 237 million (Ministry of Health Republic of Indonesia, 2004; World Health Organization, 2012; Statistic Indonesia, 2012). Not only that, the fact that Indonesia as a potential market for cigarettes which has already more than 60 million smokers

is expected to grow in number even more significantly in the future. Other factors that distinguish or affect the smoking culture in Indonesia is the use of *kretek*, which is considered an indigenous cultural icon in Indonesia, and the particular economic and political landscape and class composition which shape patterns of tobacco use.

In the twentieth century it is estimated that a hundred million deaths were caused by tobacco and a billion deaths are predicted for the twenty-first century (Bachelard & Stark, 2012). The World Health Organization, as the health authority that campaigns against smoking, has been urging many countries to sign the FCTC. This has resulted in transnational tobacco corporations shifting the market into countries that have not signed the FCTC. Australia has moved further in combating tobacco smoking when recently its High Court decided to uphold the law of plain packaging cigarettes, which commenced on December 1<sup>st</sup> 2012 (BBC, 2012). While Australia is a much smaller market for cigarettes than Indonesia, this new law may trigger legislation from other countries to move forward in the fight against tobacco.

The WHO intention in promoting an anti-smoking campaign through FCTC was challenged by Wanda Hamilton, a writer-journalist from United States who investigated the financial reasons behind WHO encouraging anti-smoking and found that they were connected to some of the biggest pharmaceutical companies (Hamilton, 2001). Hamilton suggested in her report that many transnational pharmaceutical companies spend large amount in support of the campaign against tobacco (and in the WHO itself) in order to capture the nicotine market that will be created by quitting smokers using nicotine replacement products. Her report became a key influence on the pro-smoking campaigners in Indonesia, which is one of the multi-dimensional sectors involved in the contestation of smoking culture in

Indonesia and puts forward a new perspective on the smoking habit and the business behind it.

One of the things that has been done during this research is to try to see the perspective from the agency that makes the advertisements. The fieldwork is important, as it provides insight into the process of creating advertisements particularly the lifestyle that is being offered by the cigarette brand. The process of gathering data and insight for the upcoming television commercial is the one that connects the real life and the virtual world of the brand. An advertisement's first function is to create differentiation (Williamson, 2002, p. 24). In Indonesia, cigarette advertisements offer different lifestyles for different brands, as the prohibited representation of the product is the reason behind agencies connecting a certain lifestyle to a cigarette brand. Williamson (2002, p. 47) also suggests that consumers do not buy the product in order to become a part of the group it represents but must feel that they naturally belong to the group in order to make a purchase. While both processes happened at the same time it is crucial to know that the purchase is just a representation of the feeling of naturally belonging to a certain group in other words, the purchase of a particular brand offers both a unique group identity and a sense of naturally belonging to a certain group. By that definition, it can be said that in order to sell the product, the advertisements should touch audiences and lure them into the feeling of being in the same lifestyle being portrayed in the television commercials in order to get the message of selling the product into the mind of consumers. The cigarette advertisements that portray Indonesian smoking culture are designed such that the consumer perceives that the lifestyle as shown is the one that they see matches their own. Expenditure on tobacco products mostly comes from the Indonesian middle-class demographic (Barber,ADIOETOMO, AHSAN, & SETYONALURI,

2008) and it is believed that the middle class has an influence on other classes in terms of selecting the suitable product of modern lifestyles. The middle class in Indonesia is continuously growing in number. According to the Asian Development Bank, the middle class includes anyone with expenditure per day from \$2 to \$20 (Asian Development Bank, 2010). It is estimated that in 2014 Indonesia will have 150 million members of the middle class (The Economist, 2011) and will be one of the fastest growing economic countries in addition to BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China). The estimated number of people in the influential middle class is the greatest potential market for the cigarette companies, as it constitutes at least 40 to 50 % of the total population.

Similar research which focuses on smoking in Indonesia has been done by several writers including the latest “Membunuh Indonesia” (translated “Killing Indonesia”) (DM, Ary, & Harlan, 2011) which emphasises how the west is killing Indonesian cultural icons: from the eradication of coconut oil through to how *kretek* (Indonesia’s famous clove cigarette) as an indigenous cigarette from Indonesia is being labelled as more dangerous than white cigarettes. These writers contend that these claims are bad PR by both western based anti-smoking campaigners and the large tobacco companies producing white cigarettes (refer to cigarettes without additional spices). The other related research was by Mimi Nichter et al. (Nichter, Padmawati, Danardono, Ng, Prabandari, & Nichter, 2008), which focused on reading tobacco advertisements as a cultural production in Indonesia. This research shares many similarities with mine, which focuses on cigarette advertisements on television and uses a semiotic approach to analyse the meaning behind the television commercials. Other research focusing on economic and culture aspects of *kretek*, by Roem Topatimasang et al. (Basjir, Salim, Hendrocahyono, & Setiawan, 2010),

reveals how *kretek* is not merely an economic product but also a cultural icon, especially in Java Island. The earlier books on *kretek* namely “Rokok Kretek” (Budiman & Onghokham, 1987), published by one of the biggest cigarette companies in Indonesia, PT. Djarum, discussed the history of tobacco since the Portuguese and the Dutch came to Indonesia bringing tobacco, and the development of *kretek* as a local popular product in particular. In the beginning of this century, Mark Hanusz (Hanusz, 2000) conducted research on the indigenous Indonesian cigarette, *Kretek*, with the resulting book becoming a standard for those discussing this product. This book in particular views *kretek* as a cultural product rather than as an unhealthy product from the public health point of view. Another similar book is Rudy Badil’s *Kretek Jawa* (Badil, 2011), which focused on *kretek* as heritage. This book focuses on how Indonesians can resist the white cigarette industry and anti-smoking campaigners.

My research, however, takes a different approach by focusing on how the advertisement, as a cultural product, is being produced by advertising agencies and by undertaking a semiotic analysis of the advertisement itself. The cigarette advertisement in Indonesia is a unique proposition as the agency, in order to get around the permitted regulation, produces a television commercial which in a way cannot directly reveal the product itself. In order to find out the process of creating an image of a certain lifestyle, field work was conducted into the agencies that made Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau advertisements, with the agencies names being, respectively, MACS909 and Lowe Indonesia. Both agencies have won a lot of advertising awards nationally for the advertisements they have created. To be able to conduct research inside the agency, while limited to some extent, was a big privilege as these agencies usually close their doors to researchers due to reasons



of business confidentiality with their clients. The ethnographic method was chosen as one of the techniques to find out how these cigarette advertisements are made and the circumstances that led to the ideas are executed in the form of the television commercial. While the fieldwork proceeded, semiotic analysis of some cigarette television commercials was used to explore the images and how they connect to the brand and later to the identity of contemporary Indonesians.

The thesis itself has been split into seven chapters with four chapters exploring different aspects of smoking culture in Indonesia while the other three chapters are the introduction, a chapter, which provides a footing for the research; another focusing on creating a framework of theories and a method of research, and the concluding chapter. The following paragraphs elaborate on the details of each chapter under the themes that formed my thesis.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The theoretical framework for this thesis will be discussed in Chapter II where I outline the semiotic analysis in this research drawing ideas from several works of some theorists. These include Karl Marx, with his meaning and ideology of product as commodity; Judith Williamson, a pioneer in decoding the meaning from advertisement through semiotic analysis; Theodor W. Adorno whose concept of culture industry draws attention to the ways in which advertisements as cultural products may be considered to be manufactured much like other products in a production line; Louis Althusser's concept of ideology as system of representation; Jean Baudrillard's concept of symbolic exchange; Roland Barthes' notion of myth, and Laura Mulvey's concept of visual pleasure. The other theories that are mentioned are theories of globalization and identity. These latter concepts are important to this thesis as the analysis of television commercials will reveal more

about how globalisation influences Indonesian people's lives today and how this influence has created a new kind of identity for contemporary Indonesians.

The empirical aspects of this research are based on an approach that combines semiotic analysis and ethnography in analysing cigarette advertising. The semiotic approach is used to analyse the symbolism and representation of the brand and the company as well as the smoking culture itself in the advertisement. Ethnography is used to address the activity behind the creation of cigarette advertisements and the dynamic factors that shape the advertising campaign. Chapter II will emphasise method and theory as basic to this research, so this chapter is really crucial as the foundation of the whole thesis and becomes the starting point for the direction of the thesis. Those theories give a perimeter on what this research should focus on especially when it comes to semiotic analysis on some of the cigarette brands' television commercials such as Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau. Chapter II will also discuss the ethnographic side of the research which is the other methodology used in this thesis. Ethnography, which originates with cultural anthropology, is concerned with describing a culture and understanding another way of life from the native's point of view (Neuman, 2007). The native's point of view term here refers to the researcher trying to see, hear and think just like the insider in a society or organization, as an employee, part of the tribe and so on. This method was chosen in order to reveal what lies behind the production of an advertising campaign. This research offers a new perspective of seeing television commercials; namely through the eyes of both the maker of the advertisement and the institutional researcher, using a combination of both ethnography and semiotic analysis, especially of cigarette brand commercials.

The chapters that follow after Chapter II discuss the dynamic aspects of Indonesian smoking culture, the elements that create it and how these factors influence the tobacco industry in particular.

## **INDONESIAN SMOKING CULTURE**

In order to explain and lay out the facts about Indonesian smoking culture, Chapter III establishes the social condition of Indonesia itself, what kind of people live there and their cultures in relation to tobacco, i.e. how Indonesians switched from chewing betel nut to smoking *kretek*. Secondly, one ought to know how the smoking culture in Indonesia itself has been a debatable topic for pro-smoking and anti-smoking campaigners (mostly Non-Governmental Organizations). The discussion will include the Government itself where the Health Ministry is concerned with Indonesian people's health and the Workforce Ministry which is concerned with employment, and other Ministries such as Economic and Industry. There are some contestations about smoking culture in Indonesia, not merely between the pro-smoking and anti-smoking lobbies. The various (and often competing) group parties, include WHO, the Government (including those Ministries mentioned above), the religious chapter, the tobacco industry (local and transnational), advertising agencies, and non-governmental organizations affiliated with health concerns, and non-governmental organizations affiliated with preservation of *kretek* as a cultural object. These players have their own opinions on how to deal with the smoking issue, with each pushing their own agendas in order to achieve their goals. On one hand, the Government has a responsibility to maintain people's welfare including health, but on the other hand, the protection of individual rights to smoke cigarettes should also be supported. The story of the contestation in smoking culture will be

provided in detail in Chapter III, which aims to provide a background to the situation in Indonesia relating to smoking matters.

## **THE DYNAMIC CIGARETTE INDUSTRY**

The cigarette industry provides millions of Indonesians a workplace, and millions more supporting business (shops, transportations etc.) in addition to the core business. In Indonesia, the average amount spent on 20 *kretek* cigarettes is Rp.12179 equal to 1.2 AU\$ or 6 cents per cigarette. The average smoker smokes 12 cigarettes a day (World Health Organization, 2012) and with 60 million smokers it is a massive industry for Indonesia. Chapter IV will discuss key and salient points connected to the Indonesian cigarette industry which is the heart of smoking culture. This industry creates not only the controversial product itself but also a product that a large number of people believe to be an essential part of the Indonesian economy and culture that should be protected from potential extinction. Chapter IV takes up these questions by explaining the industry and its rich history from the beginning.

Indonesia is the home of the indigenous cigarette called *kretek* which is highly regarded as part of the cultural heritage for many Indonesians. Smoking in Indonesia as a subject would not be comprehensible without reference to *kretek* and the local tobacco industry as central points of interest. The industry has been through much for over a century since it started. *Kretek* itself is believed to be the invention of Haji Jamhari who mixed up tobacco and cloves to cure his asthma and discovered it to be a successful product for curing chest pain and other problems of a similar kind in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Budiman & Onghokham, 1987). This success generated hype and a lot of people started their own *kretek* making and from that moment on a new kind of indigenous cigarette was born.

The development of the cigarette industry, both *kretek* and white cigarette, was rapid with even some of the transnational companies such as BAT and Phillip Morris investing their money in some factories in Indonesia in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The history of the tobacco industry in Indonesia will be the focal point of Chapter IV. This chapter will provide an insight into how the industry that become a backbone of smoking culture became an industry that is really important for the nation. It is important not only for the Indonesian culture but also for the economy, in supporting the nation as one of the biggest employment providers in Indonesia.

An Industry that has a product will not survive without a proper marketing plan; this applies to the cigarette industry as well. Nowadays, big tobacco companies market their products by using not only merchandise and sponsorship but also various electronic media. One medium which is chosen as the channel to advertise the products is television, which will be a focal point of Chapter V.

## **CIGARETTE ADVERTISING IN INDONESIA**

Modern marketing is closely connected to advertising, which is known for its purpose of introducing, strengthening or maintaining brand image. Cigarette advertising is also made with the intention of these objectives. While in many developed countries, cigarette advertising has been banned, Indonesia still allows this marketing method. While some people from the developed world consider this bad considering the serious health effects of cigarettes, in Indonesia cigarette advertisements are still permitted through various print or electronic media . Chapter V shows how the advertising of cigarette brands, while still legally allowed, is subjected to strict Government rules, so as not to show any form of cigarettes, the

smoke, or the use of health-connected professionals promoting smoking or anything that makes children attracted to it. Cigarette brands' television commercials, which I analyse by semiotic method, is one of the creatively made advertisements, as the rules permit a narrow loophole where the agency can legally send the message through to the audiences. One of the strengths of this thesis is the combined use of semiotic analysis and ethnographic methods involving fieldwork in the agencies which make cigarette advertisements, specifically Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau.

Chapter V will focus on the television commercials, Djarum Black advertisements created by MACS909, and Sampoerna Hijau advertisements created by Lowe Indonesia. Those two different brands, which have different target market characteristics, have a unique way of delivering the message and many of them have some interesting twists at the end of each commercial, designed deliberately to attract more audience attention. The selections of those two brands were decided as they seemed to closely represent the two types of *kretek* which are sold commercially. Djarum Black is a *kretek* filter which uses traditional *kretek* ingredients but using a filter and made by modern machinery just like white cigarettes from the west/developed world. Sampoerna Hijau, in contrast, is a traditional hand rolled *kretek* cigarette without a filter. These two brands represent a hybrid of contemporary global and local culture in contrast to local traditional culture. While Chapter V focuses on how brand identity represents itself through television commercials, Chapter VI will explore Indonesian contemporary identity as represented by the cigarette advertisements where traditional culture is still trying to cope with the dynamic and changing modern world.

## GLOBALISATION, HYBRIDITY AND IDENTITY

Globalisation is the phenomenon of modern society where there is almost no distance between people in the world. People on every side of the earth can now easily find out what is going on the other side of the planet. This occurrence has influenced how people identify themselves in society. International brands have penetrated local markets which influence how people in Indonesia are culturally shifting into a hybrid culture or, in other words, glocalization. This is a term introduced by Kraidy (1999, p. 472) which is “obtained by telescoping ‘globalization’ and ‘localization’ [as] a more heuristic concept that takes into account the local, national, regional, and global contexts of intercultural communicative process”. Chapter VI will discuss how contemporary Indonesia is coping with the influence of globalisation; a modern society being bombarded by global brands in every aspect of life. Many Indonesians have largely adapted to the modern, western lifestyle which involves consuming international brands in everyday life. The adaptation to a certain lifestyle is not a simple matter; many factors must be put into contention, not only cultural matters, but also economic, political and even religious matters. Both cigarette brand advertisements and the smoking lifestyle itself have influenced each other with both copying the reality in order to create a hyper-realistic world; that is the world inside the advertisements that imitate consumer’s real world so that the consumer feels that the products being advertised are needed in their daily life. The middle class of Indonesia is the class that has experienced this kind of glocalisation effect, mainly because of the financial capability they have in consumer spending. The role of brand culture in connecting smoking and identity in the modernizing society of Indonesia is the centre of discussion in Chapter VI of this thesis.

In Chapter VI, I will establish how smoking culture in Indonesia is portrayed in television commercials and its implication for contemporary Indonesian society. By looking at the point of view of the maker of television commercials, I hope to provide a fresh approach to analysing the advertisements by using a semiotic perspective that will offer a new paradigm. The contemporary Indonesian identity that is a product of the lifestyle represented by the television commercial reveals deeper matters that may at first escape attention. The inability to show the actual product (i.e. a cigarette) is an exceptional subject that leads to the focus on how lifestyle and identity is replacing the product itself. Lifestyle and identity are closely connected to many other aspects and the research conducted uncovers the subject of smoking not only as an unsafe personal habit but also as a cultural practice that is implicated in many sectors: the economy, religion, and also the media. Lifestyle and identity—whether shaped by local or global factors—will influence the Indonesian culture in its various dimensions. Smoking culture, in this perspective, will not only be seen as merely a health problem but also a phenomenon that contains layers of much more problematic matters that try to influence each other in the contestation of power.

Finally, Chapter VII concludes by providing an insight into how this culture of smoking and all its interconnected aspects will influence the society of contemporary Indonesian by shaping both identity and the culture from the past, present and the future to come.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **UNDERSTANDING THE DYNAMICS OF SMOKING CULTURE: AN ETHNO-SEMIOTIC APPROACH**

The dynamic of smoking culture has many factors that sustain and provide the foundation for its development. In order to properly understand the culture, it is necessary to use a combination of theoretical and methodological approaches. To date, issues around smoking and tobacco use have tended to employ a limited range of theories and methods, typically those arising from epidemiology, or qualitative research involving in-depth investigation of the factors that sustain smoking among particular segments of the population, such as high school students. This thesis is novel in bringing together semiotic analysis of cigarette advertisements and fieldwork involving ethnographic analysis of how those cigarette advertisements are being made and constructed in the advertising agencies. This approach provides a different point of view in seeing smoking not merely in term of its health implications but also in terms of its cultural production, particularly through techniques of advertising.

The decision to employ the mixture of ethnography and semiotic analysis arose because of the need to develop a dynamic portrayal of the marketing of cigarette/tobacco in Indonesia. In this chapter, I am going to discuss how the thesis took shape, and how the framework of this thesis is built upon a particular theoretical approach. The structure of this chapter will be divided into three parts. The first part will explain the theoretical framework that I am using for the research and will provide a detailed account of theorists that have inspired this research. The second

section will then outline the methodological approach that I employ in order to answer the research question. The third and the last part of the chapter will focus on the field site where the ethnographic method was applied with the details of some of the subject of this research, how the semiotic analysis was undertaken, and also the ethical issues faced during the research.

The following part of the theoretical framework will highlight how culture is developed in a consumer society paying particular attention to the role of advertising as an integral part of this culture. Advertisements employ techniques of persuasion in order to influence the choices of the audiences and contribute to the construction of meaning through the use of symbols and icons.

## **PART I: CIGARETTE ADVERTISEMENTS THROUGH THE LENS OF CRITICAL THEORIES**

In seeking to gain insights into the transformation of identity that is reflected in the cigarette television advertisements, I have found semiotic analysis to be a useful tool. Semiotics is useful in drawing attention to the symbolic significance of representations. The focal point of this method is on media and media product representations of what actually happens in society; in this case, advertisements that appeal to the consumer and persuade them to consume the product. The advertisements attract audiences by using subtle messages concealed beneath the sign and symbol that connect the product to a particular position in society. This opening of Part I will discuss the ideas of sign established by Saussure and Peirce along with the value-exchange theory of Marx and his perspective on class and the production system. The next segment will discuss other notable thinkers such as Baudrillard, Barthes, Althusser, Mulvey and Adorno together with more recent

semiotic researchers including Williamson, Gill and Rose. All these theorists are important as their concepts have inspired the framework of this thesis and help address the research question. In other words, they have provided the conceptual tool box of this research.

To begin with, I would like to outline how identity and representation in society are connected. As I mentioned before, identity is reflected in the symbolic representation used to promote the consumption of a product. To support this idea, Stuart Hall has outlined the relationship between identity, representation, production, consumption and also regulation: the “circuit of culture” (Hall, 2003, p. 1). Hall offers an idea of the connected factors that influence each other to build culture. The circuit of culture offers an insight into smoking culture as built upon the interconnectivity of production, consumption, regulation, representation and identity. In this thesis I would like to see how representation is connected to identity, and vice versa, through cigarette television commercials. However, because of the interconnectivity between those factors, this thesis will also take account of production, consumption and regulation. Focusing on the two aspects of representation and identity allows one to uncover how those aspects become the foundation of the culture as a whole. Accordingly, the focus will be on advertisements, which represent the contemporary lifestyle of society and influence connection to identity. Consequently, the television commercial will be the focus of this thesis. One method of analysis is semiotic method which will provide insight into how culture is being represented in these advertisements.

### **Symbolism and signs in advertising**

In order to analyse the television commercial using semiotics, it is worth mentioning that cigarette advertising in Indonesia uses symbolism and icons to place

the audience into a certain context and position in the society. As explained by Chapman (1986, p. 56) “advertising is essentially a corpus of signs and so a subject of semiology”. The idea that advertising uses signs is also the focus of Williamson’s research on advertising. She explains that in an advertisement “[T]he sign consists of the signifier, the material object, and the signified, which is its meaning. These are only divided for analytical purposes: in practice a sign is always thing-plus-meaning” (Williamson, 2002, p. 17). It is obvious that both Chapman and Williamson drew those ideas from Saussure who long before established himself as one of the first semiology thinkers. Saussure developed a system to understand how language works. According to Gillian Rose, Saussure argued that:

Sign was the basic of unit language. The sign consists of two parts, which are only distinguishable at the analytical level; in practice they are always integrated into each other. The first part of the sign is the signified. The signified is a concept or an object... The second part of the sign is signifier. The signifier is a sound or an image that is attached to a signified.

(Rose, 2007, p. 79)

Semiology according to Saussure focuses on the sign. He explained that “[T]he main object of study in semiology will none the less be the class of systems based upon the arbitrary nature of a sign” (Saussure, 1990, p. 68). This can mean that a sign can be understood by the society that implements the same practice in daily life. In analysing certain advertisements it is essential to understand the nature of culture in the society for which the commercial was intended. In connection to that, Saussure, who was concerned with linguistics and provided the basis of the semiotic approach, underlines the notion that the sign is arbitrary and takes its meaning from learned, social and collective uses (Gill, 2007, p. 47).

Rosalind Gill, furthermore explains Saussure approach by stating that the “meaning of any words comes not from any inherent or natural relationship between the signifier and signified but from its relationship to other elements within the system” (Gill, 2007, p. 46). In order to interpret the language, so far as those theorists propose, one needs to take society and culture into consideration. Gill refers to how signs rely entirely on convention (Gill, 2007, p. 48) and, in the case of advertisements serve in the development of brands as representations of products (Gill, 2007, p. 48). The same principle has been implemented by cigarette advertisements in Indonesia where rules applied by the Government prohibit the industry conveying the product itself on their promotional or marketing tools. This restriction will be discussed further in Chapter V.

Gill and Rose, in addressing the concept of sign, were influenced by Saussure who stressed the significance of language. Peirce offers a different point of view in focusing on the material world. This approach includes photographs and other objects connected to daily life. In his view there are three kinds of signs: icon, index and symbols (Peirce, 1998, p. 5). Peirce explains that icon is merely an imitation of an object which can be seen in a picture where the ideas are being framed without any pretentious background. An index (Indication/Indices) refers to the ideas that are connected physically to the object. A symbol is the object in the portrayal that becomes connected as dynamic ideas are being contemplated by the mind. Peirce points out that, in order to become comprehensible for the mind as an idea, a sign has to pass through three phases: first as an icon, then as an indication and lastly as a symbol that represents an idea. The entire concept of sign, according to Peirce, is that the three stages become the symbol as a whole. In cigarette advertising the suit

worn by the characters is just a dress (icon), indicating wealthiness (index) and symbolizing a modern high class (symbol).

Baudrillard, on the other hand, talked about commodities and how they are connected to symbols and language. Baudrillard explained that:

Products and commodities are produced as signs and messages and are regulated on the basis of the abstract configuration of language: transporting contents, values, finalities (their signifieds), they circulate according to an abstract general form organised by *models*.

(Baudrillard, 1993, p. 115)

By Baudrillard's definition, it is clear that commodities are intentionally being produced in the form of a sign with the purpose of delivering ideas to its subject. In practice, this is applied in the shape of the main character in the advertisement that represents the brand being marketed; i.e. the young man or woman in the cigarette advertisement represents the youthful consumer and/or product.

### **Imagination at its best**

Baudrillard did not stop at just the sign, but uncovered the dimension beyond it, by coining the term simulation which he described as "the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal" (Baudrillard, 2004, p. 1). This is salient to cigarette advertising as advertising agencies produce a new dimension of reality and fantasy where the characters they created live to represent the brand. Laura Mulvey whose research is based on psychoanalysis and focuses on feminism, established the concept of 'scopophilia'. This concept is derived from Freud's theory of sexuality; which means "pleasure in looking at another person as an erotic object" (Mulvey, 2009, p. 25). The term covers not only erotic objects but all visually appealing objects. Such visual pleasure is common in cigarette advertisements, for example, in

the figure of macho, masculine man smoking which is aimed at fusing desire with tobacco consumption. As we will see, visual pleasure is present in Indonesian cigarette advertising even in the absence of depictions of actual smoking behaviour. An exact example of this kind of advertisement is discussed in Chapter V where the audience is shown a beautiful picture of men and women in a particularly wonderful environment creating visual pleasure and desire and thus inferring that cigarette consumption, or more particularly the brand associated with cigarettes, is a means of achieving satisfaction. In similar way to Mulvey's notion of pleasure and therefore fantasies implied in looking, Baudrillard, in the theory of simulation and simulacra, indicates how signs refer to ideas that appear to come from a place beyond existence and imagination. He suggests that, "today this 'material' production is that of the hyperreal itself... the hyperrealism of simulation is translated by the hallucinatory resemblance of the real to itself" (Baudrillard, 2004, p. 23). In this view advertisements are the medium of the hyperreal; of signs that have a reality of their own. The imitation of fantasy/imagination regarding life is being put across several media—as simulacra—to the point where the origin of the signs is forgotten and where the signs, therefore, become more real than the real, displacing it or giving it new meaning and effect. In many cigarette advertisements, therefore, the audience is being dragged into another world. A famous example of such hyperreal fantasy is the campaign for Marlboro cigarettes. By employing a tag line of Marlboro country and beautiful pictures of the 'wild west', the advertisement carries the audience into a place where the imaginary cowboy existed, which, in the end, tries to convince that the consumer will get the same imaginative point of view of being in the west when using the product. The Marlboro image of the cowboy is accepted more widely than

the real cowboy itself which in turn makes the real cowboy become a simulacra of the Marlboro man.

Roland Barthes, who also explored the imaginative effects of signs, elaborated on Saussure's semiotics and addressed the notion of myth, a concept which also has salience for cigarette advertising. Barthes explained that:

In myth, [...there is] the tri-dimensional pattern [...]: the signifier, the signified and the sign. But myth is a peculiar system, in that it is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it: it is a *second-order semiological system*. (Barthes, 1972, p. 113)

The term myth is used to clarify that there is more than just signifier and signified as Saussure described. Barthes' approach is also more down to earth than that of Baudrillard and Mulvey. Barthes suggests that the system of signifier and signified does not fully account for meaning and that each has a role to play in a second layer of meaning systems. Barthes divides the myth system into meaning-form-concept-signification; the signification being the myth itself (Barthes, 1972, p. 120). Barthes modified Saussure's terms and re-defined 'signifier' and 'signified' to become 'meaning' and 'form', respectively. As noted, Barthes proposed that the term 'concept' be used to combine the 'signifier' and 'signified' into one, while the term 'signification' is applied for the last stage of the system. In the case of the Marlboro cigarette campaign, the Marlboro world becomes the myth that is signified by macho cowboys and the 'wild west'. The myth can be said to be the drawn out meaning which considers all the factors in the structure. Barthes concludes that "there are two semiological systems, a linguistic system (language-object) and myth (metalanguage)" (Barthes, 1972, p. 113), in which the term metalanguage refers to the united meaning from the layers of the system. The implementation of this



metalanguage in advertisements especially in television commercial is the focus of Chapter V of this thesis.

Barthes' concepts of myth and metalanguage helps address systems of representation, while Baudrillard helps to distinguish between representation and simulation:

Representation stems from the principle of the equivalence of the sign and of the real... Simulation, on the contrary, stems from the Utopia of the principle of equivalence, from the radical negation of the sign as value...Whereas representation attempts to absorb simulation by interpreting it as a false representation simulation envelops the whole edifice of representation itself as a simulacrum.

(Baudrillard, 2004, p. 6)

Representation, as described by Baudrillard, works like a mirror where the sign reflects the real. In contrast, the simulacrum, which has no relation at all to reality, refers to the hyperreal. Baudrillard explains how representation and simulacras are connected through four stages of the production of a sign: in "the first it started as the reflection of profound reality; [...] in the second stage it masks and denatures a profound reality; [...] in the third stage it masks the absence of profound reality; [...] while in the last stage it has no relation to any reality whatsoever" (Baudrillard, 2004, p. 6). In other words, Barthes' myth is acting as a system of representation in explaining the meaning of the ideas (the system of representation in the Marlboro world) while Baudrillard's hyperreal is where those ideas are being represented (the world of Marlboro).

Baudrillard's hyperreal, which can be considered as another dimension of reality, is closely connected to Mulvey's explanation of the 'look' implied by the

representation of signs. Writing in the period before Baudrillard, Mulvey nevertheless captures another sense in which cinema—and by implication advertising—mobilises hyperreality. The ‘look’, according to Mulvey, concerns how signs come to be framed in film. She divided the look into three different categories: the camera, the audience and the characters (Mulvey, 2009, p. 26). The camera captures the sign for the screen. The audience views the screen. The characters on screen interact within the world of “screen illusion”. As discussed, being the audience is to become a voyeur, having the satisfaction, pleasure and privilege of the invisible guest (Mulvey, 2009, p. 27). This look also implies that cameras, audience and characters are arranged so as to attract and extend the pleasure of looking and invite the consumer into a fantasy world. The same can be applied to watching cigarette advertisements where the audience is being offered stimulating pictures of people going about their lives with the results of happiness and contentment. As the work of Barthes, Baudrillard and Mulvey indicates, the advertisement is a pleasurable reality in its own right.

### **Class and ideology**

The previous section discussed the concept of sign as an idea. Not discussed, however, was any sense of how the sign and its ideas acquire value. The explanation on how those ideas are being transferred is explained by Karl Marx who treated ideas as one of the factors in politics and the economy. Marx’s approach is the foundation of Williamson’s research on advertisements in which she argues that in every advertisement there is always a value being exchanged. As one of the earliest researchers on advertisements, Judith Williamson used a Marxist analytic method to analyse the production of sign values, which she combined with other thinkers, especially in semiotics by analysing advertisements through the representation of signs and symbols. Production, according to Marx, has a currency

and an ideology, which Williamson suggests is being placed in advertisements because “advertisements use ‘meanings’ as currency and signification as a market, that they can always exchange them, take anything out of its context and replace it: *re-presentation*” (Williamson, 2002, p. 177). Williamson’s view on how meanings become a currency and traded in an economic and political manner through advertisements harks back to Marx’s work on the establishment on commodities and is crucially linked to the method of this thesis.

Marx claimed in one of his writings “A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy” (1859) that “the relations of commodities as exchange-values are really the relations of people to the productive activities of one another” (Marx, 1999, p. 14). It can be explained that commodities have their own meaning and are exchanged in human social relations. The sign and intended meaning of advertisements should always be in conjunction within the same framework between the advertisement and the audiences. Marx emphasised that in the exchange process, however, commodities must exist for one another not only as use-values but also as exchange-values, and this aspect of their existence must appear as their own mutual relation (Marx, 1999). That is, the meaning should have the same use value for either the product manufacturer or the consumer. This premise of Marx is useful in understanding the current market situation. In relation to creating an advertisement, the agency puts value into it and the audience purchases the value by looking or listening to the advertisement itself and therefore understanding the value of it by connecting the advertisement to their own world-view. The same applies to cigarette advertisements where the value being attached to a certain product relates the product to the audience’s mind.

Furthermore, Marx stated that exchange-value cannot exist except as an abstract, unilateral relation of an already existing concrete organic whole (Marx, 1999). This can only mean that the relation between the meanings being exchanged can only exist in an abstract world while the value being exchanged already exists in the real world. Again this will explain how the advertisements can be said to be exchanging ideas as commodities to the mind of the customer who perceives the same ideas made by the maker of advertisements, which is the ideal thing but which does not always happen in reality. The same can be said for cigarette television commercials, especially when there is an absence of the product. It forces the advertisement maker to create a new universe and reality in order to persuade the audience to bring themselves into that reality where the product brand can be accepted as signs of lifestyles and identities which in real life can be obtained by using the advertised brand. Williamson expands Marx's explanation of commodity value by underlining that advertisements are consistent with values that constitute ideologies (Williamson, 2002, p. 43). It can be said that advertisements disguise the messages (ideologies) by attaching them to values and associating them with products. This applies to almost all advertisements, but in the case of Indonesian cigarette advertisements, the hyperreal and attendant ideologies are taken to another level as the situation portrayed is integrated into the product's value and associations. Most of the cigarette advertisements in Indonesia do this by depicting desirable and attractive lifestyles. While the product is actually not presented in the advertisements, it is represented by the imaginative illustration in the ads on how the consumption will have effects on the consumer. An example of lifestyle and its connection with a cigarette brand will be shown in Chapter V of this thesis.

While Marx focused on exchange value, especially in connection with political-economy, Althusser expanded on the concept to argue that sign value supports ideology, another important concept for this thesis. Althusser states that:

[A]n ideology is a system (with its own logic and rigour) of representations (images, myths, ideas or concepts, depending on the case) endowed with a historical existence and role within a given society. (Althusser, 1997, p. 231)

Althusser then provided a basic framework for understanding how an ideology is being represented. Ideology has to be represented in order for the subject to comprehend and those representations are filled with influences from the society itself, historically, and also socio-politically. In advertising, it is a common practice to spread the message of ideas using symbolic representation, and these ideas are transferred without the audience being aware of having been influenced by the ideas. Althusser explain this:

Ideology is indeed a system of representations, but in the majority of cases these representations have nothing to do with 'consciousness': they are usually images and occasionally concepts, but it is above all as *structures* that they impose on the vast majority of men, not via their 'consciousness'. They are perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects and they act functionally on men via a process that escapes them. (Althusser, 1997, p. 233)

Likewise, Williamson supports the idea about a system of representation working on the advertising which "Work on concealed, unconscious and irrational levels; juxtaposing things not only unconnected but ... actually opposed" (Williamson, 2002, p. 128). The example of a series of pictures of cowboys herding cows in a Marlboro advertisement is a good one to explain how advertisements work. The use of lifestyles such as portraying how young successful people live their daily lives

(although it is usually being exaggerated to some extent) is actually an effort to influence audiences in wanting to become the main character depicted in the ads. Williamson argues that the motives of the audience would be “to become like the signifier in the advertisement, the distorted mirror-image that confronts [...audience and] the person or people shown in the ad” (Williamson, 2002, p. 177). Williamson argues that these meanings are built upon a referent system of ideology and a symbolic construct system (Williamson, 2002, p. 170). The representation in the case of Indonesia’s cigarette advertisements is vital because of the limitation in advertising the products, which stimulates the creativity of the advertising agencies, who handle the tobacco brand campaign by organizing the symbolic system in the advertisements. In describing how this representation is attached to the ads, Williamson suggests that cigarette advertisements are selling “meaningless” products that can be connected with a way of life by being a fixture to it (Williamson, 2002, pp. 32,35). An example of this idea from Williamson can be found in Chapter V, which focuses on the analysis of cigarette television commercials.

A further important aspect of Althusser’s work, relevant for this thesis, concerns interpellation. As Althusser explained, “All ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects, by the functioning of the category of the subject” (Althusser, 2001, p. 117). Interpellation theory provides a deeper knowledge on how ideology/ideas are hailing subjects to submit to it/them by providing them a kind of mirror image of themselves. Althusser explained that “all ideology is centered, that the absolute subject occupies the unique place of the centre, and interpellates around it the infinity of individuals into subjects in a double mirror-connection” (Althusser, 2001, p. 122). The replication of the ideas and subject in the mirror image between the two reveal that the subject might be more interested in the

ideology/ideas if they closely resemble the subject's own image. The subject as an individual is considered to be unbound by the ideological system but eventually it is going to embrace the ideology voluntarily since, as Althusser explained, the "individual is interpellated as a (free) subject in order that he shall submit freely to the commandments of the subject" (Althusser, 2001, p. 123). In connecting Althusser to cigarette advertisements, it is important to see interpellation as the basis by which commercials work by promoting the ideas (in this case: marketing message) to audiences and reaping the harvest of increased cigarette consumption in the long run. This concept has value since it acknowledges that, nowadays, contemporary consumers have their own powers and will not easily be submitted to the ideas to which they are exposed. This is important, as the aim of this research is to understand the positioning power of consumers.

### **Culture industry and advertising**

Another noteworthy Marxist thinker, Adorno, took a different approach by focusing on the system of production itself. Adorno is important in explaining how the advertising industry, as the creator of ideas, is located between the economy and creativity, where there is a suspicion that these creative ideas are being generated purely on an economical basis and the product that is coming out of advertising agencies are purely economic and the creative ideas implemented being abused solely as a mass product.

Adorno connected the means of the cultural industry to what Marx had already established in terms of commodities, arguing that cultural entities typical of the culture industry are commodities through and through (Adorno, 1991, p. 86). Adorno argued that in the culture industry, every cultural product becomes a mass

product/commodity, which in the end is sold as a profit enterprise for some of the institutions producing those products. As Adorno observed, “the entire practice of the culture industry transfers the profit motive naked onto cultural forms” (Adorno, 1991, p. 86). He added that “the commercial character of culture causes the difference between culture and practical life to disappear” (Adorno, 1991, p. 53). These ideas explain how creative products can be transformed into mass produced industrial products.

While Adorno focussed on the effects of the culture industry on fine arts such as painting and music, he did address the advertisement, which he saw as an art product resulting from the creativity and ideas of people in the advertising industry. He explained that, “in the competitive society advertising performed a social service in orienting the buyer in the market, facilitating choice and helping the more efficient but unknown supplier to find customers” (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 131). In other words, advertising is the effective way of introducing products to the customer, by using a series of messages that can be understood as a means of buying/selecting the products by costumers. In reality, some of the messages cannot be perceived in a simple way but they are covertly constructed so that they enter the mind of audiences encouraging them to choose/buy particular products. Adorno also supported this by saying that a “Hidden message may be more important than the overt, since the hidden message will escape the control of consciousness ... but is likely to sink into the spectator’s mind” (Adorno, 1991, p. 141). Cigarette advertisements can be thought of in this way as they use symbols to connote meanings and the message delivered may not be only using denotation to communicate with audiences. It is said that the culture industry pushes the mind of consumers in particular and society in general to become subdued, to accept less



quality and want more quantity. Advertising goes hand in hand with the culture industry and it could be said that advertising is the new face of the culture industry. Adorno and Horkheimer wrote that:

Advertising and the culture industry are merging technically no less than economically. In both, the same thing appears in countless places, and the mechanical repetition of the same cultural product is already that of the same propaganda slogan...In both, the norms of the striking yet familiar, the easy but catchy, the worldly wise but straightforward hold good; everything is directed at overpowering a customer conceived as distracted or resistant.

(Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 133)

In other words Adorno and Horkheimer point out that advertising is how the culture industry overwhelms the customer with messages that in the end aim to have them accept the messages and give in to persuasion. The tobacco industry is well known for using this kind of practice to sell merchandise to both existing and prospective customers. The culture industry perspective is useful but it needs to be recognised that society is not necessarily easily manipulated by advertisements alone. Considerable effort likely goes in to additional marketing methods to convince the audience to buy the product.

Aside from the influence of industrialisation, advertising is also influenced by the dynamics of the local market and the global market, the mixture of which is a central concern of this thesis. Such influences will be reflected in how the advertisements are displayed to the audience. Advertisements are therefore reflective of the dynamics of globalisation. Theorists on globalisation commonly speak of how global and local influences connect together. The next section will try to explain how this western context merges with the local context, thus creating a

new type of culture, a hybrid culture. The discussion will focus on the effects of the global world on the local culture in Indonesia, and how that influences the production of advertisements and also how it operates in delivering the message through the media, especially television, in order to achieve the target of persuading viewers to consume the product.

## **Hybrid culture**

Globalization lies at the heart of modern culture; cultural practices lie at the heart of globalization (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 1)

As described by Tomlinson, globalization and culture are tied together: the interdependency between them is no doubt apparent to the naked eye. Globalization was born and developed as a result of the expansion of networks and the reliance between societies in the world. The phrase 'global village', as coined by Marshall McLuhan (2005), is basically the explanation of how the world is connected in such a way that it seems to shrink into a small, unitary world. Globalization is the result of information sent in a blink of an eye and local cultures being exposed to the world, creating a perspective of those local cultures as part of the world's own culture. As Tomlinson says, "Globalization disturbs the way we conceptualize 'culture'. For culture has long had connotations tying it to the idea of a fixed locality." (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 27) The same can be said of smoking culture. The spread of the tobacco plant throughout the world created one of global culture out of what used to be a local culture for some Native Americans. On one hand, smoking became a world-wide phenomenon. On the other hand, local culture and customs have influenced world smoking culture thus creating a hybrid culture. This transformation of the culture of smoking will be discussed in more detail throughout Chapter III, but the

explanation of globalization as the foundation for how those cultures spread and the rise of the hybrid culture are needed in order to get a picture of contemporary Indonesian smoking culture and the related practice of advertising.

It has been argued that in modern society the focus is on consumption as a practice of daily life (Baudrillard, 1998, p. 34). The universality of the news is said to be one aspect of such a consumer society (Baudrillard, 1998, p. 33). As I have already mentioned, the shrinking, globalised world brought about by the advancement of communication, in the end, spreads the practice of consumption throughout the world. The connection between hybridity and consumer society lies in this consumer culture being spread through the use of media; consumption in the end triggers a mixture of global and local culture giving rise to a new kind of culture. This view is supported by Marwan M. Kraidy who “believe[s] that hybridity needs to be understood as a communicative practice constitutive of and constituted by socio-political and economic arrangements” (Kraidy, 2002, p. 317). Communication, including advertising, then, plays a role on the production of hybridity, especially in the Third World (which encompasses so-called developing countries) where the local cultural context is still needed in advertising in order to achieve certain marketing objectives. The focus on hybrid culture involving the blending of contemporary global and local cultural influences, especially in Indonesia, will be the focus of Chapter VI where I will discuss contemporary Indonesian identity in relation to the hybridization of consumer culture.

## **PART II: RESEARCH APPROACH**

The aim of this thesis is to investigate smoking culture in Indonesia through the television commercial and its implications for how we understand contemporary

Indonesian society. It employs a qualitative research using an inductive approach which “examines the data generated from the study of a particular population and builds an understanding of social behaviour as it emerges from the data” (Alison & Camozzi, 2005, p. 26). Specifically, the aim is to get inside the organizations that create advertisements to learn about the process of producing promotional materials and campaigns. The research employs observations of the relevant practices, interviews with those who are involved in the production process, as well as an analysis of relevant documents pertaining to advertising campaigns. The method used in this research is a blend of ethnography and semiotic analysis. Interviews and observations are parts of the ethnography used in this research, while television commercials were analysed using a semiotic approach. This combination of ethnography and semiotics was designed to address the research question that underlies this research. The combined approach is required to assist with the development of the proposed theoretical perspectives on smoking culture.

This approach involves: analysing advertisements by using a semiotic approach and undertaking observations and interviews as tools of ethnographic inquiry during fieldwork in advertising agencies. These methods complement each other, allowing a deep exploration into the representation and production of cigarette advertisements. Another advantage is that all the advertising agencies were based in Jakarta, Indonesia, which is my home country. This provided easy access and less difficulty, at least in communicating ideas with people inside the agencies. I was able to see the creation of a campaign from scratch all the way to the media placement on television. Of course I am not the first researcher, who has done fieldwork inside an advertising agency, but I will explain along the way how other researchers had a different approach compared to my own; in particular, how I combined institutional

ethnography, which focuses on the production of culture, with a semiotic analysis of the advertisements.

Berger and Moeran undertook research within advertising agencies by using ethnography —mostly interviews and observations—in developed countries: United States of America, the United Kingdom and Japan. Ethnographic work done by Arthur Asa Berger (2003) was conducted in 1999 at Goldberg Moser O'Neill (GMO) in San Francisco and also at a large British advertising agency in London in 1973. He stayed in both places for several weeks. He found out that people in advertising tend to be very bright and hardworking, but at the same time they are often frustrated by having to deal with clients who lack imagination and daring. He also discovered that even though his case agencies were from different eras, how they sell products to people has not changed. He also found out that the impact of British advertising methods was considerable at GMO, because the number of people employed from the United Kingdom was high. The research done by Berger used a similar method to my own research: the use of an advertising agency as the site for fieldwork and also the use of ethnographic methods of observation and interview. There is a major difference with my research, however. Berger only spent several weeks in his agencies, which raises the question of research depth. In my own case, my research was conducted over a longer period of time (4 months).

Another study was undertaken by Brian Moeran (Moeran, 2006), who conducted his research in an advertising agency in Japan, called Asahi Tsushinsha. His main focus was on how advertisements came to be made and the social processes involved in the production of advertising. He studied the Japanese advertising corporate culture from inside out: how they interact, how they creatively make advertising, the planning and discussion to ensure the presentation from the

agency will be preferred to the rival firm and all the things surrounding these aspects of advertising work. Moeran's research is similar to my research in that I also explored social processes during the forming of an advertising campaign in the advertising agency. Moeran, for example, emphasizes how a proposal for an advertising presentation leads employees to be competitive and seek to impress clients in order to gain trust and business in every presentation they made. The research I conducted similarly focussed on these processes, though I also focussed on tobacco advertisements, that is, how particular agencies, handles a particular tobacco product advertisement rather than general advertisements.

From previous studies, it can be said that to find out what is really going on inside one organization or agency, the researcher has to observe the organization from the inside and conduct interviews with key persons, which will provide the study with rich information. As noted previously, I emphasize the process of creating culture within the organization.

## **Ethnography**

A part of the ethnography used in this research was doing observations within the advertising agency which I see as an 'identity maker' organisation which creates television commercials as one of their end products. The research uses the methods of ethnography to examine the processes involved in producing smoking culture reflected, in this case, in television commercials. By using ethnography, I am able to see the process of creating advertisements inside the agency in the natural setting. As Daymon and Holloway explain about ethnography:

Is based upon culture as an organizing concept, and therefore uses a mix of observational and interviewing tactics as well as document analysis to record

the behaviours and communication of people in particular social settings.

(Daymon & Holloway, 2004, p. 129)

The focus on particular people in a particular social setting is parallel with the main intention of revealing the process of the creation of culture.

The ethnography genre used is institutional ethnography as I have to claim data from organizations and focus on how these two institutions create a certain culture through advertisements for their organizational purposes. As stated by ten Have:

[Institutional ethnography is] a genre of ethnographic studies in which the ethnographer enters an organization, quite often a service institution, to study particular aspects of the daily working of (a part or aspect of) that organization. (ten Have, 2004, p. 116)

The field work conducted within the creative department of each advertising agency which is considered to be the central core of the agency as this department produces the ideas of how the advertisements are going to be, although other departments are important in supporting the agency itself; however, the creative department stands out as they are the ones who create the message which is needed to be sent to the audience/viewer. There are several ways of conducting an institutional ethnography and, as it was used during the fieldwork for this thesis, may involve methods such as observations, interviews, documentary analysis and reflexivity:

### **Observation**

Observation is a common method for an ethnographer or anthropologist in doing their fieldwork. The definition itself is taken as a part of ethnographic research which according to Hammersley and Atkinson:

involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research.

(Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 1)

Observation puts the researcher right in the middle of the people's or organization's life which is quite an experience as the researcher is submitted to the same situations and encounters the same problems that people face in their daily lives. The benefit of this hands-on method is that it puts the researcher into the point of view of the people in the organization/institution, in this case the people in the creative department of an advertising agency. The method provides the opportunity to see the problem from the inside of the advertising agency/producer while semiotics sees the problem from the outside; that is, by analysing the end product. By using the observation method, the researcher gains data on the cultural processes, enabling them to dig more deeply into the creativity in the advertising agencies. As Schwartzman points out, "the defining characteristic of ethnographic research is that the investigator goes into the field...to learn about a culture from inside out" (Schwartzman, 1993, p. 3). This experience enriches the data gathered from the interviews and documents, and the researcher can analyse all the supporting data in order to address the research question.

The main focus of my research is on the process of creating culture, that is, the decision-making by which the agencies choose images and texts to represent the product, or the kind of style in which the promotion and campaign will be executed. Qualitative methodology uses many aspects to reveal these processes. One important thing to look at is the process of deciding who is going to be the target



of the promotion and campaign and the assumptions about them, as each brand of cigarette has a specific target age range, occupation, economic class, and class in the society, social value, and so on.

Observation is not the only method that I used. Another method was interviews. Observation only reveals the situation and social interaction, while interviews are more focused on the social actors themselves.

### **Interviews**

The section will start with the definition of an interview. According to Jones: “an interview is a complicated, shifting, social process occurring between two individual human beings, which can never be exactly replicated” (Jones, 2004, p. 259). The interview is needed in this research to reveal data about the interviewee’s experiences and practices. Interviews can also seek explanations of action that took place when observations were made. Together with observation, the interview produces much more developed data of how things happen and for what reasons in a certain situation and place. The combination of interview and observation is used in this research to reveal what happened in a social structure of an organization or at least a fragment of it. This approach is needed to understand how things work inside the advertising agency or at least in the creative department. The interview and observation are not only complementary to each other but also part of triangulation in the method used (Daymon & Holloway, 2004, p. 184). “The term triangulation refers to the practice of using multiple sources of data or multiple approaches to analysing data to enhance the credibility of a research study” (Hasting, 2010). Furthermore, Tope et al., add that interviews are “valuable sources of insight across a range of substantive areas” (Tope, Chamberlain, Crowley, & Hodson, 2005). In other words, interviews can be used to collect data that cannot be obtained by observation alone;

moreover when interviews are supported by data from observation it will give more focus on the questions asked to interviewees.

Interviews will expose more data and create more choices for the researcher to pick up or explore further in connection with his/her research interest. The semi-structured interview is most appropriate for the proposed study. The semi-structured approach will guide the researcher in questioning the interviewee with less formality than the structured interview. Fife explains that:

Semi-structured interviews are an attempt to capture something of the “control” of structured interviews without the need to use closed-ended questions or force people into the role of a “respondent” rather than that of an “initiator” of information. (Fife, 2005, p. 94)

In other words, the semi-structured interview will provide a much more relaxed environment for social interaction with less formality, and, in conjunction with the research inquiry more generally, will provide more in-depth, useful information. The interview guide will keep the researcher focused on the questions and the purpose of the research, without abandoning the flexibility of the interview.

In addition to observations and interviews, one more method was used: documentary analysis, which provided supporting data to complement the observations and interviews.

### **Documentary analysis**

Documentary analysis is crucial for the research. Documents from the fieldwork are part of the triangulation method which provides for richer description and data. Like observations, documents can reveal things that will become the topic of discussion in the interview. They provide the researcher with another means of

examining the production of tobacco advertisements. Documents in this research included digital or paper copies of client briefings, shooting boards (a draft of the story board for shooting purposes), and the casting proposals of actors for the television commercials. Such documents are crucial in revealing the production processes of television commercials. The semiotic approach is used to analyse the footage of cigarette television commercials as well as the documents. Other related documents used for this study are statistical data, such as the population of smokers in Indonesia, demographic data pertaining to the Indonesian population and relevant legislation, such as the recent Indonesian Government Regulation number 109/2012 on tobacco.

Observations, interviews, and documentary analysis were combined to generate the data for the research; however, as we explain, they were combined through a reflexive approach.

### **Reflexivity**

In ethnography there is no such thing as neutral writing. Ideas, objectivity and even writing styles are not neutral. Fife explains that reflexivity refers to “both the personal and professional position of the researcher him or herself and the effects that this positioning may have had on the scholarly research and resulting writing product” (Fife, 2005, p. 149). Machin describes reflexivity as becoming aware “of what it was that they [the researcher] brought to the research with them in terms of cultural baggage, concepts and personal characteristic” (Machin, 2002, p. 88). Researchers bring with them many backgrounds. It can be past education (formal or informal), the characteristics of the researcher or how the professional or personal position they hold affects the way the researcher responds to certain events. Awareness of these aspects of self is important in order to help the reader of the

thesis understand the point of view of the researcher and their experience of researching and writing on their topic.

Reflexivity in practical terms is how the researcher places him/herself within the research and the thesis. The acknowledgment of this positioning should be written in the thesis. An example of practical use of reflexivity in writing by the researcher, as suggested by Fife, is the use of such sentence as “I have been strongly influenced by Marxist theory on political economy” (Fife, 2005). As part of my research, reflexivity is very important to keep the purpose of the research on track. The acknowledgement of my Indonesian background and the purpose of the research along with the field work environment will be crucial as to provide a much more positive result from the research. In my case, being influenced by theorists, especially in the area of semiotics, I investigate the production of smoking culture in the agency by always looking at how the sign and representation of the advertisement is executed in the advertising agencies.

## **Semiotics**

Semiotic analysis on cigarette advertisements in this research is being done using the method of some previous researchers namely, Judith Williamson and Rosalind Gill. As Gill explains, the task of semiotic analysis is “to show how these sign systems work, to decode them” (Gill, 2007, p. 49). In other words, semiotic analysis is the process of decoding the system of signs that is used in the advertisements. Williamson started analysing advertisements using semiotics in 1978. She analysed more than a hundred advertisements from U.S magazines. Her work is considered as the landmark of semiotic analysis of advertisements (Gill, 2007, p. 49). Williamson emphasized the importance of the referent system, which is to say that ideology and symbol form a system, where everything means something

else and nothing is what it seems (Williamson, 2002, p. 170). While Williamson explored the relationship between the sign and ideology, making reference to a selection of advertisements from popular magazines, I opted to choose advertisements that represented different stages in the evolution of a cigarette brand. This brand life approach was chosen as it allowed me to explore semiotically (and in interviews, discussed previously) how brand culture is born and matures. By this method, it is possible to see how advertisers strategically produce different messages with a different effect at different stages in time.

The first step in doing semiotic analysis, after choosing the ads to be analysed, is to identify the various signs in the advertisement itself (Bignell, 2002, p. 32). It is easily noticeable that each television commercial involves a mixture of referents that needed to be decoded in order to understand their hidden meaning. Semiotic analysis, of the kind I undertook, complements my ethnographic data. Because semiotics searches for underlying meanings of the advertisement and because I interviewed advertisers with regard to these advertisements, I was able to see them through the eyes of the maker alongside my own semiotic interpretations. As Bignell pointed out, the first step is that “we identify the sign in the ad, try to decide what social myths the ad’s signs invoke, and see how the mythic meanings are transferred to the product being advertised” (Bignell, 2002, p. 34). In doing so, a product can be positioned in the mind of the consumer. As it is the first step of doing the semiotic analysis, it is important to grasp the ideas and meanings of the product before moving on to the next step.

The semiotic analysis done in this research not only decoded the message in the advertisements but also asked questions about whether the intended message was effective or not. Step two of semiotic analyses was to connect between the

world of advertising, the myth being constructed, and the real world in which we live today (Bignell, 2002, p. 34). The ideology (the construction of ideas in the advertisements) offered by each advertisement is the focus here. Ideologies according to Bignell: “are specific to particular historical periods and to particular cultures” (Bignell, 2002, p. 35). In the matter of cigarette advertisements in Indonesia, some of the advertisements might not be understood by people unfamiliar with the Indonesian culture, but some others might be. In Chapter V, the analysis of the advertisements reveals how smoking culture is represented in television commercials. The analysis uncovers how these ads carry a certain message that is being delivered to the audience in such a unique way that the message will reach the targeted market as planned by the agency.

The ideology being transmitted through advertisements is attempts to represent the quality of the product that is being sold. In explaining this, Bignell writes that, “ads endow products with a certain social significance so that they can function in our real social world as indexical signs connoting the buyer’s good taste, trendiness or some other ideologically-valued quality” (Bignell, 2002, p. 36). Cigarette advertisements in this research clearly have these kinds of connotations especially when it is illegal to show the actual product. (See Chapter III on the cigarette advertisements regulation in Indonesia).

The implementation of the research approach inside the agency is the focus of the next section in which the emphasis will be on answering the research question on the subject of production of culture and identity in the era of globalization in Indonesia through cigarette television commercials.

### **PART III: RESEARCH SITES AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

In this part I am going to explain the methods I used for this research, in particular, how the data was collected and analysed. This section also discusses the sites of fieldwork I chose: MACS909 and Lowe Indonesia. Despite openness of the staff during fieldwork and interviews, commercial sensitivities did influence the research. MACS909 permitted observation only of their Djarum Black team located in the creative department and placed restrictions such as not being able to attend meetings with their client from PT. Djarum (the company that produces Djarum Black cigarettes). Overall, I was able to attend most of the activities done by the creative department and gathered important information throughout the fieldwork. Lowe Indonesia, on the other hand, did not grant permission to do observations in its office. It was, however, willing to help by approving interviews with their team on Sampoerna Hijau in their creative department. These restrictions and constraints are understandable because of the private sector business confidentiality that the agency and client must maintain. The approval to be in contact with staff at the agencies was one of the most difficult parts of the fieldwork in Indonesia, but it was still manageable and did not change the direction of the research.

#### **Data Collection – Data analysis**

The data collected for this research included video clips of the cigarette television commercials and observation and interviews conducted during fieldwork in September 2010 until March 2011 at the two advertising agencies. The choice of the two agencies was not only based on the type of cigarette brand advertisements that each agency was producing but also with a view to providing contrasting examples in relation to the techniques of advertising which focus on different 'niche' markets. The

two agencies, as I will explain later on, have different characteristics. They are almost opposites, which is a suitable contrast for my research. One company is owned by Indonesians, while the other company is owned by a transnational company with a strong influence over the approach to marketing the cigarette brand. In terms of the cigarette brand, I chose two local brands with different type of cigarettes so I could compare their approach to creating their advertisements. Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau were the two brands chosen for their different characteristics. Djarum Black is a *Kretek* Filter (mixture of local and modern types of cigarettes) and Sampoerna Hijau is a *kretek* cigarette (a local type cigarette). The reason for choosing one mixed type cigarette and one local is to explore different approaches in marketing the products and thus help to address the research question concerning the production of smoking culture and Indonesian identity in a globalised world. The discussion to follow will explain the data collection and also the sites of fieldwork. Firstly, I explain the data collection. The table below outlines the TV commercials collected and the observations and interviews undertaken during fieldwork in the two agencies.

Advertising Agencies	TV Commercials	Interviews	Field Observation	Other
MACS909	Djarum Black (broadcast 2002-2011)  - 68 Television Commercials	1. Asep Herna (Creative Director) 2. Kerry Dwi Karisma (Art Director) 3. M. Fitrah (Copywriter)	September 2010 – December 2010  (2-3 days per week)	Permitted observation with some restrictions.



LOWE INDONESIA	Sampoerna Hijau (broadcast 2001- 2011)  - 66 Television Commercials	1. Edwin Herlambang (Creative Director)  2. Paulus Soni C Gumilang (Senior Copywriter)  3. Satrio K Dwi Kurniawan (Senior Art Director)	February 2011 – March 2011	No permitted observation inside the agency.
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As indicated in the table, I gathered all the television commercials screened during the above noted time periods from the two brands of Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau managed by two different agencies, MACS909 and Lowe Indonesia respectively. The Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau television commercials were then broken down according to when they were screened, starting in 2002 for Djarum Black and 2001 for Sampoerna Hijau. Then the ads were put into sequence based on the brand lifetime stage which later were selected to represent each brand lifetime stage. The subsequent sections of this chapter will explain my work in the fieldwork sites.

### **MACS909 – First Site**

The agency that created Djarum Black advertisements is MACS909, an advertising agency located in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. Fieldwork conducted in this company was from September 2010 to December 2010 which consists of observation and interviews with the creative department staff involved with the Djarum Black account. The observations were conducted over two to three days per week during working hours.

One of the reasons I chose to do fieldwork in MACS909 is because it is one of the agencies which, at the time, had its entire staff from local Indonesians without any single expatriate working among them. This is remarkable, as more and more Indonesian advertising agencies have been taken over by overseas companies with the addition of expatriate staff entrusted with the handling of local accounts. This phenomenon is an example of dynamic globalization, as discussed earlier. The fact that MACS909 is a local advertising agency promoting a local brand whose image is modern and global making this site very important for my thesis.

MACS909 has won many awards at the CITRA PARIWARA advertising festival in Indonesia. These include a gold medal in copywriting for a television commercial, in 2004, and agency of the year in 2004. The agency has also received an agency of the year for billing under 100 billion Rupiahs (10 million AU\$) from Cakram Award (one of the respectable advertising magazines in Indonesia) for two years in a row: 2006 and 2007. It was also a finalist in the New York Festival of Advertising for its Djarum Black advertisement in 2003. These awards earned the confidence of many companies in Indonesia for MACS909 to handle their promotional campaigns. This agency is one of the few who has a solid reputation among the local agencies, not only because of the many awards that they have already won in the advertising festivals, but also because of the quality delivered in advertising services reflected in increased sales of the product being advertised.

MACS909 is led by President Director Ariyanto Zainal, with Budiman Hakim as Vice President Director and Executive Creative Director. The creative department is led by a man in his late 30s, Asep Herna. The creative department has two groups that handle clients ranging from children's food products to banking institutions and cigarettes. The group that handles Djarum Black is led by Asep directly, unlike other

groups which are led by a group head. The Djarum Black group consists of a younger team, Kerry Dwi Karisma as creative art director and M. Fitrah as copywriter. Both men are in their middle 20s. The fieldwork and interviews were restricted to the Djarum Black account team, as requested by the agency.

### **Lowe Indonesia – Second Site**

Lowe Indonesia is another advertising agency located in Jakarta. Lowe Indonesia is the branch of the Lowe advertising agency, located in London. Lowe Indonesia has been the largest agency in Indonesia for the past 25 years and currently employs 250 people (Lowe Indonesia, 2011). Lowe Indonesia is led by CEO Joseph Tan, a Singaporean native. Lowe is currently handling many major clients. Notable ones include Philip Morris, Indofood (the biggest food producer in Indonesia), and Unilever. Lowe Indonesia has won a prestigious bronze award in the highly contested Cannes Lions International Festival of Creativity, the world's biggest celebration of creativity in communications, on July 1<sup>st</sup> 2011. The agency has the experience needed to handle Indonesian clients as well any international clients selling products in Indonesia.

I chose this agency because of the particular brand it has been handling which really suited my objective of examining the influence of globalization on the local product and in comparison with my other case. Sampoerna Hijau—a brand from PT. Sampoerna (the biggest cigarette manufacture in Indonesia)—offers a contrast with Djarum Black. Sampoerna Hijau is a hand-rolled *kretek* cigarette in the traditional sense, while Djarum Black is a machine made *kretek* that is considered to have modern and sophisticated qualities. The brands have a completely different target consumer. Djarum Black is targeted to middle to upper class consumers, while Sampoerna Hijau is targeted to the lower-middle class. Lowe Indonesia, unlike

MACS909, has some expatriates working for them. Unfortunately, Lowe Indonesia did not give permission for observations to be conducted on their premises as the company policy prohibits outsiders to be involved in their work on a daily basis. Nevertheless, I managed to gain approval to do interviews with members of the creative department staff handling the Sampoerna Hijau account. The interviews were undertaken between January and March 2011. The Sampoerna Hijau account is handled by Edwin Herlambang, a creative director, supported by Paulus Soni Gumilang as Senior Copywriter and Satrio Dwi Kurniawan as Senior Art Director. I managed to meet all three of them and interviews were conducted as a way to gain information on how Sampoerna Hijau as a brand is being promoted by Lowe Indonesia.

### **Anonymity**

A major ethical issue arose during my fieldwork. While it is customary to make the institution and individual anonymous in research and research outputs, both advertising agencies and the people I interviewed had no objection to being identified by name in this research. The interviewees also agreed to be identified with their real names on their consent form that I had given them. This consent was obtained in written form for all interviewees. Without anonymity, it is feasible that interviewees will be cautious with regard to what they reveal of themselves and their work in the advertising agencies since they know that quotations from their interviews will be linked with them by name. However during the fieldwork it was observed that Indonesian people tend to open up and willingly participate in a research project (at least in both of the agencies being observed), unlike those from the West who regard their privacy as their main priority. During the fieldwork it was

noted that everyone in the creative teams of these two advertising agencies were easy to work with. Even though there was no financial involvement connected to the research, they all understood the research topic as they all had graduated from well-known universities in Indonesia. They thus created an enthusiastic and friendly fieldwork environment.

In consideration of the ethics of observing people, letters of consent were given to the staff being observed and interviewed, and signed. Their approval made it easy to do observations at that time and made it comfortable for the participants. During the fieldwork, I was not able to follow all the activities of the creative department in MACS909, especially concerning the client meeting (in this case PT. Djarum) because of the business secrecy that probably emerged during that particular meeting. Clearance for observations in Lowe Indonesia was not granted on the ground of business confidentiality between Lowe and the clients. While these restrictions influenced my observations, I was able to ask questions in the in-depth interviews with the respective staff on how those meetings went and their outcomes (in MACS909) and gain insight into the production process of the advertisements (in Lowe Indonesia).

Participants in this research consisted of the staff of advertising agencies working in their creative departments. As I noted earlier, this specific focus was decided because the creative departments and the individuals in them play a central role in the making of the advertisement, especially in the realm of the ideas to be relayed to the audience. There were six people in total from both agencies who officially agreed to be interviewed, all of whom were working on the brands this thesis was focusing on. Unofficially, other staff were willing to have informal

conversations, all of which were important sources of enrichment of the data for this research.

## **CONCLUSION**

This chapter is important for this thesis as it outlines the backbone of the research. The theory and methodology explained in this chapter is the blueprint for how the thesis was conducted as it lays out the basic assumptions of the theories and research approach implemented in the research. As already mentioned, the mixture of semiotics and ethnography is a feature of this research. The use of this combination of methods is central to this thesis as will become clear in Chapter V when I discuss the practical use of the methods to analyse cigarette television commercials. The combined focus on production (ethnography) and representation (semiotics), I would argue, make my research original and unique.

The fieldwork conducted was challenging in that the authorization to do observations was difficult to obtain as the cigarette industry is a private sector which uses confidentiality to protect their own business. The debate on the dangers of smoking (which is still happening in Indonesia) may also be a factor that makes secrecy important for the cigarette industry. The dynamics of the situation, therefore, created fluid circumstances for my research, particularly during the seven months' fieldwork in Indonesia. It was difficult to find agencies willing to accept a researcher using ethnographic methods to conduct research on cigarette advertisements. The confidentiality required for the advertising agencies' clients is still the number one priority as tobacco businesses seek discretion with regard to how they conduct their businesses. One of the agencies that agreed to my research did not give me access to meetings that involved their cigarette company client. The other agency only agreed to have their staff interviewed and did not permit me to see how the process

of creating the advertisement occurred inside the agency. For example, during the field work, I was able to see the production of Djarum Black at the factory in Kudus. However, images of the modern machinery in the factory could not be reproduced as I was not permitted to take any pictures in the plant, though I was able to take pictures at the hand-rolled cigarettes plant. Discretion concerning ingredients, the production process, and the marketing strategy influenced what I was able to observe. Nevertheless, insights gained during the fieldwork at the advertising agencies, the interviews and the documents collected meant that there was sufficient data to develop an understanding of how the industry works, especially in the area of marketing.

Smoking culture in the developing world, especially Indonesia, is different from that in developed countries in that, in the former, the culture of smoking usually occurs in a lower class of society, while, in the latter, it occurs in almost every social strata, which explains a diverse kind of cigarette advertisements covering all segments of the consumer market. From a cultural point of view, the traditions of smoking in Indonesia reflect a long history of using spices in daily life and extending their use to tobacco consumption. Smoking in Indonesia is not only an important tradition, but also important for the economy as the industry employs millions and many other industries depend on the flow-on effect of cigarette production and consumption. Smoking culture is a dynamic aspect of contemporary life in Indonesia which, in order to survive as a cultural practice, finds itself transformed throughout time and every now and then altered dramatically to accommodate changes in regulation and those related to lifestyle and modernity. To fully understand the dynamic character of smoking culture in Indonesia, one needs to place it into a historical perspective, which is the purpose of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER III

### SMOKING THE KRETEK: INDONESIAN SMOKING CULTURE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND EVERYDAY LIFE

Smoking is almost entirely restricted to men, and is seen as a luxury item men pay for outside the household budget that is controlled by women. Smoking therefore celebrates both modernity and maleness. It also celebrated the increasing role of wealth in the new status system (Reid, 1985)

This chapter focuses on the rich history of tobacco smoking and its related culture in Indonesia in past centuries as well as the current smoking culture. It will include a discussion of the economics of smoking, the tobacco industry and *kretek* which has a significant influence in the creation of employment and is therefore a major contributor to the Government's tax revenue.

The chapter also presents a cultural view on smoking. Smoking culture here will be discussed in a sociological framework with reference to the present era of globalisation and the proliferation of consumer identities, lifestyle and/or 'fandom' (the state or attitude of being a fan) (Langman, 2003). This discussion will include reflections on how smoking plays a part in the day-to-day activities of people in Indonesia. It will feature discussion of advertising, growing corporate influence and the anti-tobacco movement, as each play a role in creating smoking culture.

Finally, the chapter will discuss the potentially significant role of religion in smoking culture. Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world, so if the Cleric Council, which directs Indonesian Muslims' behaviours, starts to raise questions regarding smoking, it will certainly affect all sectors connected to it.



## **SMOKING CULTURE FROM A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE**

To understand the appeal of smoking and why the culture of smoking is so entrenched, one needs to view Indonesia's experience in a wider historical perspective. Smoking is an old consumption habit which is thought to have started in the American continent where the earliest records of tobacco use have been found amongst the artefacts of Mayans from 2000 BC (Gately, 2001, p. 10). It is said that, "Tobacco played a central role in the spiritual training of shamans (Gately, 2001, p. 6)" and that "Tobacco smoke was employed as a diagnostic tool to examine sick patients, and formed a part of many ceremonies over which these doctor-priests officiated" (Gately, 2001, p. 7). Not only was tobacco smoked ritually, it was also used to cure illness in the southern parts of America.

The spread of tobacco throughout the world can be traced to Columbus' discovery of the American continent where indigenous people habitually used tobacco in the form of smoking. In Australia, indigenous people are thought to have been using tobacco long before Columbus arrived in America (Gately, 2001, p. 130). But it was not until the 16<sup>th</sup> century that tobacco gained its famous reputation in Europe. Jean Nicot, a French ambassador to Portugal, in 1560 sent tobacco leaf to the Queen Mother of France, Catherine de Medici, after he learned that a man claimed that tobacco had cured his chronic skin ulcer (Parker-Pope, 2001, p. 2). In that era, tobacco was commonly used as medicine as every illness seemed to be cured by it. Even during the great plague in England in 1665, students at Eton College would consume a daily smoke in order to avoid the plague (Parker-Pope, 2001, p. 3); (Gately, 2001, p. 96).

Tobacco use soon escalated in Europe and by the middle of 17<sup>th</sup> century, smoking became a defining human habit (Gately, 2001, p. 92), a daily necessity, a

fashionable leisure activity and a panacea (Gilman & Xun, 2004, p. 14). Sir Walter Raleigh is said to have promoted smoking for pleasure and not just as a medicinal tool, especially for those in the higher strata of society (Parker-Pope, 2001, p. 4; Gately, 2001, p. 46). By the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the cigarette industry had blossomed as machinery and automation was invented in order to meet the ever-increasing demand for cigarettes. James 'Buck' Duke in United States invested in the newly invented machine able to produce more cigarettes than the conventional method of hand-rolling, thus speeding up production and greatly reducing costs (Gately, 2001, p. 206; Parker-Pope, 2001, p. 10). The industrial revolution, therefore, created a new era for smoking culture, enabling it to become a mass made consumer product. As Gilman and Xun point out: "what begins with ritual and medicine (often the same thing) comes to be part of elite culture and is eventually adopted throughout society" (Gilman & Xun, 2004, p. 9).

## **HOW SMOKING CULTURE CAME TO INDONESIA**

Colonial economic expansion contributed to smoking culture in Indonesia, a dynamic which resonates with the globalisation of contemporary Indonesia. The European influence first came to the coast of Indonesia at the beginning of seventeenth century (Hanusz, 2000, p. 10) via the Portuguese on their spice expeditions. According to Raffles (a British Colonial Official appointed Lieutenant-Governor in Indonesia), the tobacco trade was established in Java since the early seventeenth century (Budiman & Onghokham, 1987, pp. 81-82). Tobacco farming was urged by colonialists to meet the demands for the commodity at that time in Western Europe and in other European colonies.

Even so, tobacco did not immediately become a part of Indonesian culture. Only gradually through time did it become part of the everyday habits of Indonesians.

Before the colonial time, people regularly chewed betel for relaxation. Betel chewing came from the Hindu culture in India which Indonesians took over as early as the first and second century using local betel and areca plants. Proof of these early practices are found in relief sculptures in Borobudur temple (a 9<sup>th</sup> century Mahayana Buddhist Temple built during Sailendra Dynasty) and in stone inscriptions (Budiman & Onghokham, 1987, p. 75). Betel chewing is culturally important as this has been a relaxing habit for centuries, especially in Indonesia. With the arrival of tobacco, people started to mix tobacco with betel to add extra flavour to their chewing.

Smoking tobacco and related products in Indonesia began as a replacement to traditional betel chewing. This change was caused by Dutch Colonial policy which sought to modernise and educate their Indonesian colonies (Arnez, 2009, p. 50). During the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, more Indonesians received school education partly because of the changes of colonial policy introduced by the Dutch. The exploitation of Indonesia by the Dutch was gradually displaced by concern for the welfare of Indonesia. This new approach was called “ethical policy” and is said to have improved the Dutch colony significantly, especially in the linked domains of economic development and educational achievement (Ricklefs, 1993, pp. 151-152). The higher levels of education received by Indonesians, especially men, led to the replacement of betel chewing with smoking which was considered to be a symbol of Western standards of development (Arnez, 2009, p. 51). Chewing betel was considered to be a disgusting, old fashioned and signified the inferiority of the Indonesian in the eyes of Dutch colonial rulers (Arnez, 2009, p. 50). Reflecting on these changes, Reid noted that the shift from betel to tobacco smoking had effects on society and the economy:

The shift from betel to tobacco has important social implications. Whereas betel-chewing pre-eminently symbolized the union of male and female, cigarette-smoking has become one of the most important symbols of the expanding modern sector of economy which is dominated by men, in contrast to an older agricultural market economy in which women were prominent. (Reid, 1985)

Betel-chewing was a tradition that had begun hundreds of years ago, long before tobacco smoking developed and eventually displaced it. This tradition was widespread in South-East Asia and Melanesia (Arnez, 2009, p. 50). In some regions, the tradition of mixing the seed or 'nut' from areca palm and the fresh leaf of the betel vine still exists today, but only in small numbers and mostly in remote areas. Betel-chewing had an important role in social situations, especially in relation to courtship and marriage rituals (Hanusz, 2000, p. 156), although the offering and accepting of betel was more significant in the initiation of everyday social interaction. Smoking tobacco or *kretek* has displaced betel chewing and also become important in everyday social interaction.

Tobacco also plays a part in the rituals inherited by ancestors from centuries ago. While most Indonesians are Muslim, some Hindu rituals are still carried out by Muslim communities, especially in rural areas. Offerings (*sajen*), a suitable gift for the Gods, usually consist of flower blossom and rice, arak and betel. Kretek became an addition to these traditional offerings (Hanusz, 2000, p. 161). The smoking of tobacco itself can be thought of as a ritual escape from the realities of everyday life where people can imagine whatever they like in their dreams. Smoking is considered to be a social exchange and is common at cultural gatherings of men and social occasions such as weddings, funerals, religious ceremonies and community

meetings. On these occasions, it is appropriate to distribute cigarettes among the attendees (Nichter et al., 2008).

The founding of tobacco companies in Indonesia also has a link with myth and dreams, much like smoking of tobacco itself. A tobacco company founder is said to have visited a grave in the mountain called *Gunung Kawi* to pray at the grave of *Mbah Djugo* in the hope of prosperity and good fortune. He actually spent the night there waiting for a sign that his wish will be granted. He succeeded in developing the company afterwards (Hanusz, 2000, p. 168). This myth shows the close relationship between smoking and the dream/imagination/fantasy, which can be freely interpreted as imagining what the future holds.

Smoking tobacco, in this case *kretek*, is also a symbol of pride and national identity. As the story goes, Haji Agus Salim, the Republic of Indonesia's first ambassador to the United Kingdom, was smoking *kretek* at a diplomatic reception in London in the 1950s. When asked by one gentleman about what he was smoking, he answered "that, your Excellency, is the reason for [which] the west conquered the world" (Hanusz, 2000, p. 3). Salim's act of smoking was intentionally used to make a point about western colonization and also to make it clear that the newly independent Republic of Indonesia was as independent as Mr. Agus Salim who was smoking *kretek* at the reception.

The *kretek* industry has also always been highly creative. Evidence for such creativity can be found in the design of cigarette packages and the brand naming of cigarettes. Hanusz has noted that the juxtaposition of brand name and product frequently has a surreal quality (Hanusz, 2000, p. 173). An example is the brand "Kulkas" (translated in English: Refrigerator), an odd association for a cigarette and a brand name, and therefore not easily forgotten by customers. Even today, in the era

of the prohibition of cigarette smoking on health grounds, the tobacco industry tries to creatively get around the rules that restrict how they may sell their products. Advertisements, public events, and community social responsibility activities, along with other public relations tools, are often used to sustain brand recognition, with the overall aim being to sell cigarettes.

## **INDIGENOUS INDONESIAN CIGARETTE AND THE BEGINNING OF THE INDUSTRY**

The first recorded tobacco consumption in Indonesian history was written in the *Kartasura*, an eighteenth-century chronicle describing King Amangkurat the first of Mataram Kingdom: “ [he] ventured forth from his palace, he was accompanied by thirty female servants, one of whom carried his pipe on the platter and another the fire to light it. A third woman carried his betel-chewing set.” (Hanusz, 2000, p. 23). This chronicle emphasised how tobacco was only used by the royal family or high ranking officials as this strata of society was the one that could afford to fume through a pipe. Hence betel chewing was more popular than tobacco smoking. Until 1760 most Javanese people who smoked used a pipe. It has been recorded in 1658, that an indigenous form of cigarette appeared in form of *Bungkus* (Reid, 1985). *Bungkus* was composed of shredded tobacco wrapped in a dried leaf of maize or banana leaf, similar to *klobot*, which is composed of shredded tobacco leaf in a cornhusk wrap, which was popular in the early 1900s. There was another form of cigarette called *roko* or *rokok*, which was wrapped in a *nipah* palm leaf, popular in Sumatera and Malaya in 18<sup>th</sup> century (Reid, 1985). The term *rokok* is still used in the Indonesian language as a term for cigarette. *Bungkus*, *klobot* and *roko* were cheaper forms of cigarette which smokers in that era could afford. These smoking methods were the forebears of the modern *kretek* cigarette.

Having started as a culture of royalty and nobility, smoking eventually spread to all people in society and every class, even the poor. In the note by Dewi Sartika (a pioneer in women's education in Indonesia) in the early 1930s the habit of smoking, especially by a guest, was considered to be one of the things that a cultured woman of the house should pay attention to by providing the necessary items for it (Sartika, 1933).

The smoking habit was both supported and followed by the rise of tobacco companies which started as small operations at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. From then on, tobacco companies formed into large companies, building the smoking empire of Indonesia. This rapid growth created the big tobacco corporations of today, including Djarum, Sampoerna, Gudang Garam, and Bentoel. These companies focus on the production and marketing of *kretek cigarettes*, where each company has a different set of brands for different types of consumers.

The tobacco industry's output in Indonesia consists of mainly two products, white cigarettes, which at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century were considered a high-class product, and *kretek*, the older, traditional clove cigarette of Indonesia, which at that time was considered to be the poor people's cigarette. I will focus on *kretek*, as it is a cigarette product that has struggled to be accepted among the higher classes of Indonesian society. Furthermore, as Tarmadi (1996) has noted, *kretek* production has developed from a traditional small-scale industry to become an important sector of the Indonesian economy in terms of employment and Government revenue.

A *kretek* cigarette is different from conventional cigarettes such as cigars and cheroots. It is different because of the ingredients comprising not only tobacco and clove but also other ingredients, as described below. *Kretek* is relatively unknown

outside Indonesia but most smokers in Indonesia smoke it. The word *kretek* refers to the crackling sound that cloves make when burned—*keretek-keretek* (Hanusz, 2000, p. 3). The word *kretek* therefore indicates the imaginative qualities of the naming and branding of cigarettes.

*Kretek* is said to have been created in the central Javanese city of Kudus, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by a man called H. Djamahri (or, Djamhari, in some spellings). The cigarettes were originally used for sore throats and asthma. Jamhari produced and sold the *kretek* from his own house, marking the beginnings of the home-industry origins of the tobacco in Indonesia. At this time, cigarettes could only be bought either as home-made cigarettes or from pharmacies where they were sold as a cure for asthma (Budiman & Onghokham, 1987, pp. 105-106). This early linking of cigarettes with health reflects one theme of the thesis; viz. health regulations and cigarette marketing, which will be discussed later on in this chapter.

*Kretek* ingredients consist of tobacco and two other products—cloves and ‘sauce’, unlike other cigarettes, which typically consist of tobacco only. ‘Sauce’ is the term that the Indonesian cigarette industry uses to refer to the additional flavours put into the clove cigarette. Sauce is made from a selection of natural tobacco, fruit and herb extracts, combined with various artificial flavourings and added to the tobacco and clove mixture in order to enhance the flavour of tobacco and give it body and aroma (Hanusz, 2000, p. 90). One single brand of *kretek* may include over thirty different tobacco varieties while employing more than one hundred different flavours in its sauce (Hanusz, 2000, p. 8). The inclusion of sauce bears the cultural influence of the Javanese people who add spices to everything that they eat. PT. Djarum, one of the biggest tobacco companies in Indonesia, claims that its sauce is also added to augment the flavour and enhance the taste of *kretek* itself (PT. Djarum, 2009-2011).



Sauce is also said to be important to the production of the clove cigarette. Because cured tobacco leaves have high alcohol content and therefore not immediately suitable for consumption, sauce is used to make the tobacco less harsh, stable and consistent in taste. Sauce is not the only factor which differentiates *kretek* from other kinds of cigarettes: the other ingredient in *kretek* is cloves. This gives the cigarette a definitive characteristic, distinctive taste and fragrance. Cloves are the unopened flower buds of *Syzygium aromaticum* which had been dried in the sun to seal in their rich flavours (Hanusz, 2000, p. 5).

*Kretek* has evolved from a home industry into a large industry, which contributes a significant amount of money to the Government's revenues in the form of excise and tobacco taxation. The tax revenue from tobacco products was 90.6% of total excise tax revenue in 2002 (the remaining 10% was derived from ethyl alcohol and other alcoholic beverages), equivalent to 21,150.8 billion Rupiah (about AU\$ 2.1 Billion). This revenue increased dramatically in the next decade. It increased to 57,000 billion Rupiahs (AU\$ 5.7 Billion) in 2008 and reached 62,759 billion Rupiahs (AU\$ 6.2 billion) in 2011. (Ministry of Health Republic of Indonesia, 2004, p. 66; Daeng, Hadi, Suryono, Siregar, & Septianti, 2011; Basjir, Salim, Hendrocahyono, & Setiawan, 2010, pp. 1,2).

Indonesia's tobacco companies are mostly owned by large multinational companies, which contribute to what might be considered to be a new kind of colonialism. Exploitation of people in the Third World countries occurs because these companies have to move their markets from developed countries, where it has become very difficult to market tobacco products due to the strict restrictions on advertising and promotion. These companies try to increase their profits by exploiting

people (both workers and consumers) in developing countries. Miyoshi explained that:

TNCS [Transnational Corporations] continue colonialism. Like pre-1945 colonialism, they operate over distance...They travel, communicate, and transfer people and plants, information and technology, money and resources globally. (Miyoshi, 1996, p. 96)

In shifting their market to developing nations, transnational tobacco companies have to maintain the local smoking habit through the promotion of tobacco products that connect them with symbolic figures/objects and relevant social values (western values). The marketing strategy employed by these companies aim to influence the targeted market through culture, by promoting the tobacco products as well known international brands—ones which developing world populations would consider superior to the local variety. This strategy confirms Crane's argument that, "cultural globalization [is] a process that involves competition and negotiation as organizations and countries attempt to preserve, position, or project their cultures in global space" (Crane, 2002, p. 4). The smoking culture in developing world countries has been preserved by transnational tobacco corporations not only because of the potential market for tobacco products but also the rigorous regulation of tobacco in the developed world, which has cast some tobacco companies away from their original markets. Tobacco companies' intention is to gain profit as large as they can and gain control over the market in the region. Some transnational tobacco companies have brought some big, local Indonesia tobacco companies to profit. The large market in Indonesia is still growing rapidly (as will be discussed in Chapter IV).

These tobacco companies also spread their business in Indonesia with Government support as the industries provide considerable revenue and

employment. However, the companies are also required to adhere to rules that are uniquely implemented by the Indonesian Government. The rules are unique as they differ from the ones implemented by Framework Convention of Tobacco Control (FCTC) created by WHO members.

## **TOBACCO REGULATIONS IN INDONESIA**

Discussion of the tobacco regulations in Indonesia is especially important to understand as they influence how tobacco can be marketed and therefore the dynamics and effects of brands and smoking culture. The regulations governing the marketing of cigarettes make it difficult to sell tobacco products, The implementation of these regulations, however, has the effect of forcing advertising agencies to serve their clients by creating ever more creative brand advertising, while still abiding by the rules.

Even though Indonesia has not ratified the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), nonetheless it has its own regulations. The Indonesian Government therefore tries to hold firm to its own version of tobacco regulation more suited to Indonesia's situation. The key reason Indonesia has not ratified the FCTC is that the Government has to consider income, employment and other ramifications of the regulation of the tobacco industry. It is estimated that approximately 13% of the Indonesian population is economically connected in some way to the tobacco industry (Basjir, Salim, Hendrocahyono, & Setiawan, 2010, p. 3). This is a very significant percentage in regard to overall employment in Indonesia.

The full list of rules governing the sale and the condition of tobacco use in Indonesia is attached in an appendix section to this thesis. In order to gain a picture of important rules regarding smoking that have been implemented in Indonesia, a

summary of the differences between the regulations by the FCTC and the Indonesian's Government is explained below.

The pricing and tax measures used to reduce the demand for tobacco, as advocated by the FCTC, have not yet been implemented in Indonesia. The price of cigarettes in Indonesia is not regulated by the Indonesian Government. Pricing is regulated by the Tobacco Companies Association, an industry body which works in the interests of tobacco companies. The implication is that the industry will be able to reduce the friction between tobacco companies in terms of tobacco business-related problems.

The FCTC also requires that individuals are protected from exposure to tobacco smoke to ensure their health. In this matter, Indonesia has implemented some regulations in order to limit secondary smoking. Public places, health facilities, work places, schools, child activity arenas, places of worship and public transport are all declared non-smoking areas in Indonesia.

However, authorities in charge of public and work places are also required to provide a special smoking room for smokers and provide air ventilation to avoid health hazards to non-smokers. Procedures like this are also applied on public transport which complies with requirements stipulated by the Ministry of Transport. In each and every public space and work place there must be a specially designated location for smoking; that is, a physically separate area that is equipped with air ventilation. The implementation of the provision of smoking rooms is variable, with some authorities abiding by the regulations, and some not.

In the regulation of the content of tobacco products, in contrast with the FCTC, tobacco companies do not need to disclose ingredients and emissions of

tobacco products to Government authorities, but they still have to provide clear and readable information on nicotine and tar levels on every cigarette pack.

The packaging and labelling of tobacco products is also required to include the following textual health warning: “Merokok dapat menyebabkan kanker, serangan jantung, impotensi dan gangguan kehamilan dan janin”, which can be translated as “Smoking can cause cancer, heart attack, impotence, and harms pregnancy and foetal development.” The textual health warning is required to be printed on the back panel of each cigarette pack with about 1 mm border with contrasting colour between the front and base colour, with minimum size of 3 mm. However, there is no regulation on misleading terms such as low tar, light, ultra-light, mild. At the end of 2012, a new Government Regulation no. 109/2012 pertaining to The Control of Addictive Substance in the form of Tobacco Products for Health Reason was issued, which covers the use of misleading terms. (The regulation is included in the appendix of this thesis). Despite the regulation, misleading terms (as can be seen in pictures below) are still used, as manufacturers have not yet implemented the regulations, which, according to the Government Regulation no.109/2012, must be put into effect in 18 months’ time from December 2012.



Figure 1

Sample of Sampoerna A-Mild cigarette Packaging (Private Collection – 2011)

In relation to promotion and sponsorship, Indonesian Government regulations stipulate that cigarettes can be advertised by those who produce and/or those who import them. Conversely, the FCTC regulates that tobacco companies cannot advertise, promote and sponsor any of their tobacco products. The Indonesian regulations also state that the advertisement can be in electronic, printed or on outdoor media and all advertisements must include a health warning. The new Government Regulation (no. 109/2012) also implies that 40% of cigarette packages' front and back should be covered by a health warning. As Figure 1 shows, the health warning only covers about 20% of the back of the package and there is no health warning on the front cover, though at the time that the picture taken, the regulation had not yet been implemented. For cigarette advertisements in electronic and print media, the Indonesian regulations stipulate that the health warning must consist of 10% of the ads duration in electronic media or 15% of space in print ads. Again this is the Indonesia government's compromise of tackling a health issue while still enabling the tobacco industry to provide employment and financial profit.



Figure 2

Cigarettes advertising billboards at Kudus city, illustrating the amount of billboard in the city (Private Collection – 2011)

In addition, electronic advertising is prohibited during the day between 05.00 and 21.30, leaving early morning and late at night available for showing cigarette advertisements. Tobacco companies are forbidden to show a cigarette pack or someone smoking in advertisements. They are also not permitted to show advertisements with picture or words associated with children, teenagers and pregnant women. Most significantly, the advertiser should not reveal the shape of cigarette or a direct manifestation of the cigarette such as smoke. The penalty for disobeying these rules are scaled, beginning with the withdrawal of the advertisements, revision of them, a written warning through to a ban on the advertising agency producing tobacco advertisements.



Figure 3

Cigarette TV ads capture illustrate Djarum Black advertisement  
(TVC snapshot of Djarum Black advertisement – MACS909)

Another permitted method of promoting tobacco products is by sponsoring a public event, such as a music concert. Such events are allowed for those who produce and/or import cigarettes in accordance with advertising and promotion regulations. But, in the event itself, free samples or gifts in the form of cigarettes or other products that carry cigarette brand names are prohibited.



Figure 4

Cigarette brand sponsoring Music Concert

(Private Collection – Cilandak Town Square, Jakarta, 2011)

The FCTC bans all advertising in all forms of media, unlike the Indonesian Government's regulations, which permit tobacco advertising in all media with some limitations. PT. HM Sampoerna, one of the top Indonesian tobacco companies, even wrote in their annual report in 1995 (quoted in Tobacco Source book, Ministry of Health Republic of Indonesia, 2004, p. 94) that "tobacco industries in Indonesia have an almost absolute freedom to advertise their products in any form and through almost all communication channels". 'Almost absolute' means that, in comparison with other countries, tobacco companies in Indonesia are luckily able to use advertising and related promotional activity.

Tobacco regulation in Indonesia comprises a unique set of rules for the regulation of the tobacco industry and the promotion of cigarettes. Unlike the global regulation of FCTC, Indonesian's regulations allow the tobacco industry to promote and advertise their products. The Indonesian Government, arguably, gives much more freedom to the consumer to choose whether or not to smoke than do those countries that adhere to the FCTC regulations. In a health citizenship framework,



such freedom is very uncommon in the developed world. Indonesia stands out as using their own set of rules in their own interests in relation to how health and economic matters are being regulated in smoking culture.

Indonesia's regulations are important for advertising agencies who address their messages to target audiences. Agencies have some boundaries around the creation and dissemination of promotional material. It is actually very hard to send an effective message to the target audience given all the boundaries, but, as we will see, agencies still manage to deliver their point with 'mind blowing' ideas.

In addition to regulations on tobacco advertising, there is an anti-smoking movement in Indonesia that insists that the current regulations do not do enough to reduce smoking. For instance, the anti-smoking movement has demanded that PP 19/2003 (Government Regulation no. 19 year 2003), which is obsolete according to them, should be replaced with the UU 2007 (Laws2007), which was drafted several years ago. Although the new Government Regulation no. 109/2012 has replaced the old regulation, its terms and effects are still being disputed by pro- and anti-smoking parties. The regulations being disputed include those pertaining to packaging, the use of promotional tools and designation of free smoking areas. The next section will address the anti-smoking movement and also the connection between smoking and religion, which could be the ultimate weapon for the anti-smoking movement.

## **THE ANTI-SMOKING MOVEMENT AND RELIGIOUS CHAPTERS ON SMOKING**

The first official warning in the world on the hazards of smoking was made by Surgeon General, Leroy F. Burney, M.D. from the Public Health Service of the United States in November 1959. On January 11, 1964 after 15 months of study, a committee of experts which had undertaken a comprehensive review of all data on smoking and health problems, issued a report stating that "cigarette smoking is a

health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action” (National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse). In 1971, the United States banned all cigarette advertising from all media.

The rest of the Western world also started to act against smoking, but the progress was relatively slow. Indeed, it was not until February 27, 2005 that the World Health Organization Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) came into force (Tobacco Free Center, International Resource Center). By February 2007, 168 countries had signed the agreement and 144 countries had ratified the treaty. By June 2012, 175 countries had signed the agreement and 168 countries had ratified the treaty (Goel & Nelson, 2008); (Framework Convention on Tobacco Control.org, 2012). Indonesia is among the countries that have not ratified the FCTC, along others such as Uzbekistan, Somalia and Zimbabwe (Shafey, Eriksen, Ross, & Mackay, 2009, p. 71). The prevalence of smoking in Indonesia is high, with 36.1% of the total population of 237 million actively smoking (World Health Organization, 2012, p. 17). In comparison, the prevalence in the USA in 2004 was 20.9% of 280-295 million people (Goel & Nelson, 2008). The average age of initiation of smoking in Indonesia is 17.6 years of age. In the 15-24 years age range, 38.9% of men are daily smokers while women only 0.1%. For the age range below 15, 12.5% are smokers, which is also considerably high by world standards (World Health Organization, 2012, p. 43).

The anti-smoking movement in Indonesia surfaced in 1990 (Barracough, 1999) as more people became aware of the negative effects of smoking. This awareness was connected to media coverage of smoking-related illness, especially as television began to take hold as a dominant media form. Publications on the unhealthy effects of smoking were published at that time in Indonesia and some

NGOs (Non-Government Organizations) began to publicise their anti-smoking message. A group of people from different backgrounds, ranging from doctors to Islamic scholars, formed an organization called LM3 (Lembaga Menanggulangi Masalah Merokok/Organization to counter smoking problems). Together with the National Committee of Child Protection (Komisi Nasional Perlindungan Anak), they are actively conducting the anti-smoking campaigns while urging the Government to sign the FCTC treaty.

After 1990, the movement, as part of the global anti-smoking culture, was blooming and tobacco industries countered their efforts with less tar and less nicotine in their cigarette products for the more “health conscious” consumer. This struggle between smoking and anti-smoking forces has continued since then. While the tobacco industry dominates advertising, anti-smoking campaigners use indirect approaches by putting the pressure on the Government to apply more health-focused policies to reduce smoking culture. In the meantime, however, a new development in smoking culture emerged when religion stepped in.

In Indonesia, if a problem in Islamic teaching practice occurs, it is the responsibility of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), the Indonesian Islamic Scholar Council, to give a verdict on what to do. The implementation of Islamic rules is usually monitored by this council, which is funded by the Government. In addition to MUI, there are two other major non-governmental funded Islamic organizations in Indonesia: Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah.

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) or (The Follower of Islamic Scholar), with more than 30 million followers, is a traditionalist orthodox Sunni Islam organization which opposes bid'ah (improper innovations). The progressive view can be found in the rival reformist organisation of Indonesian Islam, Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah, with

29 million followers, is a reformist socio-religious movement, advocating *ijtihad* which is individual interpretation of Qur'an (The Holy Book) and *sunnah* (meaning Islamic teaching from prophet Muhammad's conduct), as opposed to *taqlid* (meaning the acceptance of the traditional interpretations) propounded by the ulama (Islamic Scholar) (compiled from [www.nu.or.id](http://www.nu.or.id); [www.muhammadiyah.or.id](http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id)).

Muhammadiyah launched into action on anti-smoking (Dirgantara, 2010) when they issued a *fatwa* (meaning an imperative ruling in Islamic teaching) on March, 9 2010, that forbade smoking and considered cigarette smoking as *haram* (meaning forbidden, at the same level as eating pork, in Islamic teaching). This action was triggered by some advice from the younger people in the organization itself before they had an annual meeting in March 2010. This is a big step for the anti-smoking movement and received a warm welcome by anti-smoking organizations such as National Committee for Child Protection (Komisi Nasional Perlindungan Anak) led by Seto Mulyadi also known as Kak Seto (means big brother Seto) one of the leading figures in child welfare in Indonesia. In response to the news, he said that the *fatwa* will push the Government even further to ratify at least the new draft of rules that will forbid all cigarette advertising in the media (Maulana, 2010).

MUI on the other hand, as the Islamic authority organization in Indonesia, is still considering whether smoking is *haram* or not. But in a press release of March 10, 2010 MUI stated that the organization backed the Muhammadiyah's *fatwa* that forbids pregnant women and children smoking, as well as smoking in public places (Rahmatullah, 2010), but not smoking in general. On the other hand, NU still considers smoking as *makruh* (meaning it is not forbidden, but if one does not do it one will get merit from God) rather than *haram* (Maslan, 2010). The debate on

smoking from the religious point of view shows that the conflict between smoking and anti-smoking culture is reaching an area of society which is rare in more developed countries. This connection between the global struggle and local struggle on smoking matters is one of the important themes in this thesis.

## **PRO-SMOKING MOVEMENT**

However, the pro-smoking movement has also been active. In separate events, tobacco farmers from Temanggung, a city in Central Java Province, organized a demonstration to protest against the RPP (Rancangan Peraturan Pemerintah/Draft of Government's Regulation) on tobacco and the *fatwa* on smoking. The RPP on tobacco consisted of several things that, according to the protesters, will put a lot of farmers out of their job. They also organized a demonstration in the capital city Jakarta, with the agenda of urging DPR (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/People Representative Parliament) not to ratify the regulation (Parwito, 2010); (Syafirdi, 2010). They also protested against the *fatwa* on smoking in the local parliament of Temanggung (Parwito, 2010). These movements came into a more organized and more sophisticated form when, not only farmers and workers that support the smoking culture in Indonesia, but also people from academic background and high profile artists gathered together.

In the social media, especially Facebook and Twitter, a community has emerged calling themselves *Komunitas Kretek* (Kretek Community). At the same time, a book entitled "Membunuh Indonesia" (Killing Indonesia) was published. This book discusses how the West has many times destroyed local agricultural products such as copra, sugar, and *jamu* (indigenous herb medicine) in order to sell Western products. The book focuses on how the West along with the WHO and the

pharmaceutical Industry is trying to kill *kretek* as a cultural product by using health concerns to support their motives. This community, through their social media account and website, has been promoting the book along with other books concerning *kretek*/smoking which argue that local Indonesian culture is being threatened by the Western perspective. The *kretek* community describes itself as comprising young people who work together for the sake of Indonesian local economic assets. As noted, the *Kretek* industry supports 30.5 million people and is one of the industrial sectors which can support itself because of its use of one hundred percent local content, capital and market (Komunitas Kretek, 2012). The existence of the community suggests how some people are aware of the power relation, especially between the West and local indigenous culture and are trying to resolve it by choosing to fight against it.

The Komunitas Kretek recently held rallies in the city of Bantul, Java, in order to reject the newest Bantul regional regulation which was not in line with the recently ratified regulation from the Higher Court. One of the decisions in the regulation was that every work and public place has to provide a special smoking place—a regulation that the regional Bantul has dismissed. The Komunitas Kretek itself has strong support from well-known people, artists, public officials and writers, as can be seen on its website. The community on its website provides the viewer with suggestions for campaigns oriented to saving the *kretek* as part of Indonesian heritage. The recent issue promoted by this community is that smoking is a legal activity and protected by law. At the same time, it has a new campaign for smokers emphasising respect for non-smokers.

These events show the struggle for power concerning the smoking and anti-smoking movements in Indonesia against the backdrop of the status quo where

smoking is still considered as not *haram* by the MUI, a factor which will probably give some relief for tobacco industries in Indonesia. However, anti-smoking NGOs are still working on banning Tobacco Advertising, Promotion and Sponsorship (usually TAPS in short, a term regularly used by anti-smoking campaigners) and putting the pressure on the Government to sign the FCTC.

## CONCLUSION

Cigarette smoking culture is the site of dramatic change, signalled by the shift from betel chewing to more 'modern' forms of drug consumption. The shift was caused by the colonisation of smoking culture in Indonesia brought about by the European settlers, especially the Dutch. This new habit created an increased demand for cigarettes, which bolstered the cigarette industry, which boomed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. *Kretek*, as the local product, emerged over this period and is now accompanied by white cigarettes. Though *Kretek* started as a favoured peasant and lower class cigarette, it is now becoming the main choice of Indonesian smokers.

Smoking cigarettes also creates plenty of controversial discussion among Islamic scholars in Indonesia. While health authorities have already condemned smoking as hazardous to people's health, Indonesian Islamic scholars are divided on whether smoking is *haram* (forbidden by Islamic laws and a sin for those who do it) or only *makruh* (not forbidden by Islamic laws but it is considered as pointless thing to do). The two largest Indonesian Islamic organizations are head-to-head on this matter but until now there has not been any decision from MUI, the highest Islamic authority in Indonesia, to regulate this matter as *haram* rather than as *makruh*.

This chapter provided an overview of smoking culture in Indonesia, and how it emerged as part of the wider culture. Smoking culture cannot be separated from the

tobacco industry itself, and the next chapter will step into the dynamic cigarette industry in Indonesia and will provide an account of how culture and business have joined together to create one of the most successful industries in Indonesia.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE DYNAMIC INDONESIAN CIGARETTE INDUSTRY

One of the important aspects of Indonesian smoking culture is the marketing and selling elements which have been built on the traditions of the industry. This chapter develops the previously discussed historical and cultural perspectives to examine the history, narratives and facts on the who's who behind the tobacco industry in Indonesia. Such a chronicle of this industry is essential for this thesis, as it will provide an understanding of the origins of the culture of smoking and how the patterns of consumption reflect the history of the industry. Throughout the industry's history, the culture of smoking in Indonesia has had its fluctuations of consumer group popularity. As noted in the previous chapter, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the humble *kretek* was preferred by peasants, farmers and other lower status people, while the white cigarette (in reference to both its white wrap and western origin) was preferred by high ranking officials, noble local people and foreigners. At the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century, this so-called humble cigarette had transformed into a hybrid product created by modern machinery and technology while still maintaining the traditional recipe of cloves and other additives. Surprisingly, many more people consume *kretek* than white cigarettes. While the hybrid product, *kretek* filter (*kretek* cigarettes using a filter at one end just like all white cigarettes) has made considerable progress in sales, especially in urban areas, the traditional hand-rolled *kretek* is still the backbone of most of the tobacco industry in Indonesia as the people in rural areas still enjoy this traditional way of smoking.

Brand culture also plays a great part in the history and culture of smoking. Each brand from the different companies has its own story of success or failure. Some brands are legendary and a lot of smokers in Indonesia have already associated themselves with the cigarette brand that they are using. The marketing strategy created by tobacco companies can be considered successful as their images of their brand are well known in popular culture. These brands, especially *kretek* brands, are going through a complex evolution, from a lower class status to a hybrid of the global and local influenced by globalisation and the trans-nationalisation of their respective companies.

Most of Indonesia's cigarette companies, especially the big ones, have endured all the hardships of war and economic turmoil to become one of the most significant industries in Indonesia. The tobacco industry in Indonesia has become a mega business. In 2011, the industry reportedly had revenue of 62 billion Rupiah, equal to AU\$6.2 billion (Daeng, Hadi, Suryono, Siregar, & Septianti, 2011). The local companies are now engaged in the expansion of their business, not only in the Indonesian market but also overseas. In contrast, transnational tobacco companies try to push themselves into a promising Indonesian market. It is important to note, as discussed in the previous chapter that the industry competes in the local and global markets in the face of the local and global anti-smoking movements. While providing smokers with cigarettes since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the industry also provides employment to millions of Indonesians and also makes a major contribution to Government revenue in the form of tax. There is, therefore, immense Government interest in this industry, which arguably affects the regulation of tobacco use and the Government's unwillingness to sign the FCTC. Importantly, other harmful consumer items such as alcohol are banned more comprehensively, with rigorous

implementation of regulation. Alcohol can only be found in certain places, such as pubs or cafés, with a legal permit which is hard to obtain from the Government.

The historical overview presented in the following pages will show how Indonesia's tobacco companies have become part of the global tobacco industry. I will also draw attention to the distinctive family business model of the Indonesia tobacco industry and the related combination of modern and traditional production methods. Indonesian industries, especially the *kretek* industry, blend with international business through joint ventures with transnational tobacco companies. Further, local tobacco industries are also improving their revenue locally and overseas.

## **THE INDONESIAN TOBACCO INDUSTRY**

How big is the tobacco industry in Indonesia? The answer lies in the demographic of the country itself. Indonesia is one of the biggest countries in the world with approximately 237 million people (Datamonitor, 2009). Indonesia is the third largest cigarette producer in Asia, behind China and Japan, and fifth overall in the world (Ministry of Health Republic of Indonesia, 2002; Schwarz, 1990; TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009). Indonesia's large population has made it a large market with a huge potential marketing, not only for local tobacco companies but also for transnational tobacco companies. In Indonesia, more than 60 million people smoke (Ministry of Health Republic of Indonesia, 2004), about 1 out of 4 of the population. The adult male smoking rate in Indonesia is high, ahead of China, the Philippines, India and United States according to research undertaken by American Cancer Society in 2008 (The Economist, 2011).

The industry has successfully increased tobacco consumption from 33 million cigarettes per year in 1970 to 217 million in 2000 (Ministry of Health Republic of

Indonesia, 2002). Data shows a 54% increase in profit occurred between 1990 and 2000 (Ministry of Health Republic of Indonesia, 2002). This industry is also significant politically. The Indonesian Government seems committed to keeping the culture of smoking preserved in order to maintain the tax revenue and employment in balance with health concerns by creating a particular regulatory approach for Indonesia, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Tobacco manufacturing is said to directly provide approximately 258,678 jobs of which represent 6% of total labour force in 2004, while according to Ministry of Industry in 2007 there were estimated 600,000 workers in the tobacco industry (Barber, Adioetomo, Ahsan, & Setyonaluri, 2008; Tobacco Facts). These numbers represent only a few of the number of people in tobacco industry-related work. Some estimates are that 30.5 million people or 25% of Indonesia national workforce are in tobacco-related employment (Basjir, Salim, Hendrocahyono, & Setiawan, 2010, p. 3), though this may be an exaggeration. The inclusion of tobacco and cloves farmers (estimated by Ministry of Industry in 2007 to be 3.9 million people (Barber, Adioetomo, Ahsan, & Setyonaluri, 2008)), along with large numbers of temporary workers on harvest season, transport, distribution points and retails, boosts estimates of tobacco-related employment. The Indonesian Government, therefore, has an interest in protecting this industry. The Government also enjoys the enormous excise duty received from cigarettes and tobacco products. Excise duties received by the Government increased steadily from 13.60 trillion Rupiah in 2001 to 49.0 trillion Rupiah in 2008 (\$5.4 billion AU\$), which is a threefold increase in seven years (Hendratmo, 2009).

Most of the big tobacco companies in Indonesia are family—run and owned—businesses. Gudang Garam, Djarum, Nojorono, Sampoerna, and Bentoel

are examples of such companies, which have survived over a century of change and economic struggle. The story of these long-lasting enterprises shows how they withstood the challenges, not only from a very tough business environment but also from political turmoil and war. Each company can be seen to have developed their own approach for the continuation of their business. Some chose to sell the share stock to the public, while others chose to remain owned by a circle of family and relatives. Gudang Garam, one of the biggest tobacco businesses in Indonesia, became a public company in 1990 by selling some of their shares to the public. Sampoerna, Bentoel and Wismilak have also become public companies, while Djarum, another very large business, remains privately owned (Gustia, 2008; Prayogi, 2012). This is despite Djarum's modernisation: it has imported high-tech cigarette manufacturing machinery and uses modern marketing strategies, yet the family is still at the core of this company's operation. Family businesses depend on decisions made by the head of the family who act also as the head of the business. Sometimes a clash within the family can happen, creating a further problem in the business. This happened with Nitisemito Tobacco Company which has already closed down (details below). Family is very important in the culture and tradition of Indonesian people, planting the seeds for cultural transmission and perpetuation (Winarto, 2006). The story of these families' struggle in the tobacco industry will reinforce the idea that the story of these families reflects the story of Indonesia.

Currently the tobacco industry is mainly run by six big companies, two of which are owned by transnational companies (PT. Sampoerna and PT. Bentoel), three are owned by local family business (Gudang Garam, Djarum and Nojorono) and one is a transnational company (British American Tobacco which by 2009, already had a majority share in Bentoel (TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009)). These

corporations had 74% of the Indonesian market share in cigarettes in 2003, which, after some takeovers, became 84% of the total market in 2008 (Tobacco Facts; TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009). These large tobacco companies will be discussed in further detail in this chapter, but to be clear about how the tobacco companies work it is crucial to consider tobacco consumption in Indonesia. The explanation of tobacco consumption in Indonesia will draw out the larger picture of the market of cigarettes, especially *kretek*, in Indonesia, and demonstrate how it is crucially important for those companies to know their markets.

## **TOBACCO USE IN INDONESIA**

Tobacco use in Indonesia has grown rapidly over the last four decades and changed demographically. From 1960 to 2004, cigarette consumption had increased 6.2 times from 35 billion sticks to 217 billion sticks per annum (Ministry of Health Republic of Indonesia, 2004). In contrast, consumption in developed countries declined 0.2 % annually in the period from 1970 to 2000 (Goel & Nelson, 2008). This fact shows that the restrictions on smoking in the developed world actually work, but also that the market has shifted to developing countries, especially in Asia, where control of cigarette consumption is not as strict. Developed countries started the campaign against tobacco in the 1960s and 1970s while Indonesia and many other Asian countries have not started a comprehensive campaign against it, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The National Socio-economic Survey in 2004 (Soerojo & Budiantoro, 2007, p. 4), showed that smoking prevalence among adults (which is defined as 15 years and older) increased from 26.5 % in 1995 to 31.5% in 2001 and to 34.4% in 2004. Adult male smoking prevalence was 63.1% in 2004, a 1.4% increase from the year 2001 and a large increase of 9.7% from 1995. The smoking prevalence for woman was

down from 1.7% to 1.3% from 1995 to 2001 but increased by a factor of three from 1.3% in 2001 to 4.5% in 2004. The increase in smoking prevalence among adults was predicted, as there are no comprehensive rules against the habit according to the surveys. The small percentage of women smoking in the developing world is because it is traditionally considered culturally inappropriate for them to smoke (Nichter et al., 2008, p. 103). This is the case in Indonesia where, culturally, it is not proper for women to smoke, but the percentage increases, especially in urban areas, shows that this cultural restriction has already begun to shift.

Smoking prevalence in 2004 is higher in the rural population (36.5%) compared to the urban population (31.7%) and there have been significant increases: between 1995 and 2001, rural smoking prevalence increased from 29.5% to 34.1% and urban prevalence increased from 22.6% to 28.2% (Ministry of Health Republic of Indonesia, 2004, p. 3). In urban areas, people are more likely to be exposed to advertising and marketing campaigns for tobacco companies. Other influences on smoking in urban areas may be stress and peer group pressure.

The percentage of current smokers who started smoking before the age of 19 years has also increased from 64% in 1995 to 78% in 2004 (Soerojo & Budiantoro, 2007, p. 4). The highest increase has occurred in the 5-9 years age group: from 0.4% in 2001 to 1.8% in 2004. According to a 2008 Demographic and Health Survey (Reimondos, Utomo, McDonald, Hull, Suparno, & Utomo, 2012), 17% of children under 12 years of age have attempted smoking their first cigarette. Twenty-one percent of those 15 years and under have attempted their first cigarette. The young initial smokers are the number one target for most tobacco companies as these young people will age and therefore become a long-term market (Ling & Glantz, 2002).

Smoking consumption is also patterned by income. In 2004 the poorest strata in Indonesian society is estimated to have spent 11% of their monthly income on cigarettes and betel nut, while the richest spent 9.7% of their income (Soerojo & Budiantoro, 2007, p. 4). This means that the poor spend a large proportion of their income on tobacco and related products and, although wealthier groups spend a smaller percentage of their income this way, because their income is higher, they also spend much on cigarettes.

According to the 2006 Indonesia-national Global Youth Tobacco Survey (GYTS) (Aditama, et al., 2006), smoking prevalence among youth (13-15 years old) was relatively high, with 37.3% of them having smoked cigarettes at least once in their life and 30.9% of these having their first cigarettes before the age of 10. About 12.6% of youth (more than 1 in 10) is a current smoker: 24.5% among boys, which is significantly higher than the 2.3% of girls. Among current youth smokers, 3.2% reported that they had a cigarette first thing in the morning when they wake up, thought to be indicative of nicotine addiction. Again, these data provide a picture of the Indonesian tobacco market, which can be seen from the industry point of view to be a growing and promising business now and in to the future.

On the other hand, from a health point of view, an Indonesian report on tobacco use and its control (Soerojo & Budiantoro, 2007) indicates that tobacco is the most common risk factor for illnesses such as chronic respiratory disease, cardiovascular disease, cancer, and reproductive disorders, including impotency and also deaths. The data provided in the report suggests that in 2005, about 400,000 or 23.7% of the total deaths in Indonesia (estimated 1.7 million) were associated with tobacco-related illnesses. According to the report, the economic costs caused by premature mortality, morbidity and disability in 2005, was estimated to be at least



US\$13.84 billion (Rp 125 trillion). This cost was much higher than the tobacco tax revenues of US\$2.94 billion (Rp 32.65 trillion). That is, in 2005, the cost in terms of health was about 4.7 times that of tax revenue (Soerojo & Budiantoro, 2007, p. 4).

The statistics I have presented reveal who is the main target consumer for advertising agencies: relatively affluent, young adult men from urban areas. In addition, each brand has its own target market and the job of advertising is to specifically target the right audience for the brand. Advertising agencies use research in order to provide data regarding their brands and associated markets. Indeed, after comprehensive research, the target market for a brand can be changed by a cigarette manufacturer. The classic example of this is Marlboro cigarettes, which, until 1954, were targeted at women. The target market was transformed to the male consumer by repackaging the cigarettes in red, sending a message of stronger flavour and using the cowboy as their main character for the advertising campaign (Parker-Pope, 2001, pp. 88-89). In the next chapter, I will show in more detail how advertising companies use creative ideas built up from their research on brands and target market.

Current data on smoking prevalence and the consumers' situation are important to the industry for marketing their product. The data, as discussed in this section, reveals that the number of smokers is increasing which is very good news for the cigarette industry. Cigarette companies always monitor these facts to create a new way of selling more of their product. Indeed, companies transform themselves in order to adapt to surrounding changes such as politics, religion, society and the economy. Indonesia has some significant companies in the tobacco business. An outline of the history of these companies will provide a perspective on the culture of smoking and how the product has been able to last for more than a century despite

all the challenges and restrictions that have faced it. The next section will discuss the development of the tobacco industry in Indonesia since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and show how it incorporates all elements of culture, business, family, and even globalization.

## **FAMILY BUSINESS TURNS INTO MEGA BUSINESS**

The global tobacco business remains a profitable enterprise. Philip Morris, the biggest tobacco company in the world, earned US\$ 67.713 billion in revenue in 2010 (Philip Morris International, 2011). To compare, Google received revenue of US\$ 29.321 billion in 2010 (Google Inc., 2011). International tobacco corporations such as Philip Morris, British-American Tobacco and Imperial Tobacco are private companies while big companies such as China National Tobacco Corporation and Japan Tobacco International are state-owned companies. State tobacco monopolies have been popular in some parts of the world. For example, in the Soviet Union, before the communist regime collapsed, it had 7000 state-owned tobacco companies (Mackay & Eriksen, 2002, p. 50). More countries are under pressure from the International Monetary Fund to privatise their state tobacco companies as part of the loan program for countries suffering the economic crisis of the late 1990s, notably Korea Republic, Thailand and Turkey (Mackay & Eriksen, 2002, p. 50).

Though a global private company, Philip Morris started as a family business. Philip Morris started the company in 1847 in the United States. It was taken over by his wife and son after Morris's death and eventually went public in 1881 and since then has become a private company. Other private companies such as British-American Tobacco and Imperial Tobacco were established from many small corporations creating a joint venture company.

Moreover, the state owned Tobacco Corporations in Japan and China were established to create a tobacco selling monopoly in their respective countries. The China Tobacco Corporation has 350 million consumers and only 3% of the Chinese market belongs to other international tobacco companies. Furthermore, Japan Tobacco International, which took over R.J. Reynolds' Company in 1999 for US\$ 7.8 billion, has a comfortable monopoly for the cigarettes business in Japan (Japan Tobacco International, 2011).

Indonesia, on the other hand, has a unique and distinctive tobacco business, in which the big four tobacco companies—Sampoerna, Djarum, Gudang Garam and Bentoel—all started out as family-owned businesses. In the early years of these businesses, the founders probably could not imagine how big they were going to be. Now, after decades of making *kretek*, the third and fourth generation of these companies' founders are taking control of this multi-million dollar business. Another unique fact about the tobacco industry in Indonesia is that nearly every owner is Indonesian-Chinese whose ancestors came to Indonesia as immigrants in the late of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The blending of Chinese business traditions along with a rich Indonesian tradition has led to unique marketing and production practices. This section will explain the history of the business of some of the biggest tobacco companies that exist in Indonesia and their progress into becoming parts of a mega industry. The section also discusses the history of some of the leading brands created by these companies that dominate the market today. This cigarette brand history sheds light on the brands' marketing strategies and production methods. This part of the chapter is important as it shows how these dynamic tobacco companies have been able to survive and thrive, selling their products despite external regulation, war and political turmoil.

I have chosen to focus on several of the biggest and most significant companies, including those which have brands that were the focus of my ethnographic and semiotic analyses. Nitisemito will be the first company to be discussed because this is the pioneer company in terms of turning *kretek* from a home industry into mass production.

## **Nitisemito**

The production of the clove *kretek* cigarette was actually started by Nitisemito in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The company developed Haji Djamahri's *kretek* into mass production. Nitisemito started by manufacturing *klobot* (*kretek* wrapped in corn husk) on a large scale and naming the packaging with his own name and brand on the label. The first brand chosen was Kodok Mangan Ulo (Frog Eating Snake) but it did not succeed. Then Nitisemito came up with the legendary name of Bal Tiga (Three Balls) in 1906 and registered his company NV (a Dutch term: Naamloze Vennootschap meaning a limited liability company) Bal Tiga Nitisemito in 1908 (Hanusz, 2000, p. 34). These brand names of Kodok Mangan Ulo and Bal Tiga reflect how the company tried to sell cigarettes in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century suggesting how a simpler name (Bal Tiga) appeared to be a better strategy to market the product in those days.

Nitisemito can be called the founding father of the modern tobacco industry because he was the first to introduce the *abon* system where part of the manufacturing process is subcontracted to individuals who are responsible for recruiting labour and delivering the finished product to the factory (Hanusz, 2000, p. 38). This *abon* system was a huge success but as time went on, the need to have the whole process of production at the same place to reduce expenditure was recognised and the *abon* system was abandoned.

The second important method established by Nitisemito was the promotion and marketing of tobacco products, for example, the use of a beautifully crafted, free gifts and special offers to customers. He also used a specially fitted bus to travel from town to town in order to promote *Bal Tiga* (Hanusz, 2000, p. 42). The traveling bus gave away gifts and also transported a traveling theatre company which gave wonderful entertainment for the customers who only needed a used pack of *Bal Tiga* as their admission tickets. The current marketing strategies of tobacco companies use similar kinds of promotion and marketing strategies, including gifts and entertainment packages, such as sponsoring music concerts of famous international bands.

A family feud in the mid-1920s created the downfall of Nitisemito's company, and the Japanese occupation of 1942 put the pioneering company into serious trouble from which it never fully recovered. In 1953 Nitisemito died at the age of 78 and two years later the company was declared bankrupt and was gone forever (Hanusz, 2000, p. 49). But the name *Bal Tiga* remains as the first established *kretek* brand in Indonesia. The *Bal Tiga* brand, although a short-lived one when compared to other big tobacco companies, was the forerunner of other more modern brands.



Figure 5

Picture of travelling promotion car of Nitisemito at Kretek Museum Kudus  
(Private Collection – 2011)

## **Sampoerna**

Sampoerna, now the biggest tobacco company in Indonesia, was founded by Liem Seng Tee in 1913. Sampoerna is one of the family businesses taken over by Philip Morris in the last decade. The takeover in May 2005 made Sampoerna a more profitable company; so much so, it has overtaken Gudang Garam as the market leader with 29.5% share in 2008 (TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009) (PT. H.M Sampoerna Tbk., 2009). The long history of the company goes back to when Liem Seng Tee was just a little boy in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Liem Seng Tee was only 5 years old when Liem Tioe, Seng Tee's father, an immigrant from Ang Kwee, a village in Hokkien, China, brought him to Indonesia (Surabaya to be exact) in 1898 (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, & Sumardy, 2005, p. 26). Liem Tioe died in a cholera epidemic leaving Seng Tee to live with a Bojonegoro Chinese family who were kind enough to teach him how to do business. He also learnt Mandarin and Hokkien dialects from his new family, which proved very helpful in business those days.

Young Liem Seng Tee first business was selling food on the Surabaya-Jakarta train. This hard work paid off, as he was able to buy a used bicycle, the purchase of which contributed much to his initial business activities in Surabaya. Marrying Sin Tjiang Nio in 1912 also proved to be a good business decision by Seng Tee, as his wife was also a great businessperson (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, & Sumardy, 2005, p. 27). In the same year, Seng Tee started working in a small cigarette factory in Lamongan, 45 km from Surabaya, as a blender and roller of cigarettes for that company (Hanusz, 2000, p. 120). Soon he opened his own shop in Surabaya where he initially sold tobacco with natural flavours like chocolate, vanilla and cloves (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, & Sumardy, 2005, p. 29). After learning that his

customers preferred certain flavour combinations, he created his own versions of those mixtures and sold them as pre-rolled cigarettes (Hanusz, 2000, p. 120). This strategy was a success. The packages for those cigarettes were called *Dji Sam Soe* (which means 234 in *hokkian* dialect), Sampoerna's signature brand until today.

In 1913, Seng Tee formed a company called *Handel Maatschapij Liem Seng Tee* which later on changed its name to *NV Handel Maatschapij Sampoerna*. After World War II, the company's name became *Hanjaya Mandala Sampoerna*. The name *Sampoerna* was chosen because of its philosophical and mystical connection (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, & Sumardy, 2005, p. 31). *Sampoerna* is an old spelling of perfect in Indonesian. Interestingly, there are 9 letters in the word *Sampoerna*, which is regarded as a lucky number in the Chinese tradition. The company management has incorporated this mystical number into every aspect of the company, i.e. car number plates, addresses, phone numbers, the size of the factory, even the salaries for its employees. The numbers implied could be 9 or a multiple of 9. In 1990, when Sampoerna started selling its shares on the stock market, they sold 27 million shares ( $2+7=9$ ) (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, & Sumardy, 2005, p. 31). Another example for this superstition is exposed on the packaging of their signature product: *Dji Sam Soe* which has numbers 234 printed on the pack. The numbers equal 9 if added ( $2+3+4=9$ ).

Seng Tee's business grew until the beginning of World War II when, in 1940, 3 million sticks a week were produced. The business stopped abruptly as Seng Tee was arrested by the Japanese and was forced to give all his businesses and fortune to the Japanese imperial troops (Hanusz, 2000, p. 120). Seng Tee was sent to a Japanese Labour Camp in both east and west Java. He was released from prison in

August 27, 1945, ten days after the Indonesian Declaration of Independence. By 1952, the business was back on track with 3 million sticks produced per week.

In 1955, Tjiang Nio, Seng Tee's wife, passed away. Seng Tee could not bear the separation and, suffering from declining health, died a year later. With his death, the business fell into the hands of the two daughters, Sien and Hwe. The sons, Liem Swie Wha and Liem Swie owned a tobacco trading operation and a *kretek* factory in Bali, respectively. The two daughters could not manage the company as a successful business. They made a poor decision by focusing on the production of white cigarettes which led the company into near bankruptcy in 1959. Swie Ling, also known as Aga, took over the business and rejuvenated the company by turning its focus back into their core product, *kretek*, especially *Dji Sam Soe*. The decision made the company strong and by 1972 it was producing 1.3 million sticks per day and employing more than twelve thousand workers (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, & Sumardy, 2005, p. 83).

In the 1970s, Aga started handing over the day-to-day operation to one of his sons, Putera Sampoerna. In 1978, Putera bought a Philip Morris factory in Malang, East Java province that produced machine-made cigarettes (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, & Sumardy, 2005, p. 120). This move was made to cut the cost of production as the factory was located closer to the raw materials. Putera's move also included direct purchases from tobacco farmers, which was unusual those days as traders usually bought the tobacco from the farmer before selling it to tobacco factories. Another development was the creation of direct distribution, cutting out all the agents in between. This move was very successful as it increased the company's profit to make it one of the largest tobacco companies in Indonesia.



In 1987, Putera decided to sell a machine made *kretek* named A-Mild with lower tar and lower nicotine than Sampoerna's other cigarettes. Regarded as a flaw at first, consumers responded positively and the product was widely accepted. A-Mild brand is now, after Dji Sam Soe, the second 'legend' product made by Sampoerna (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, & Sumardy, 2005, p. 136).

In 2002, Putera handed over the management to his son Michael Sampoerna who continued the tradition of this company until the takeover by Philip Morris in 2005. The takeover was announced to be valued at US\$ 5.2 billion, representing a 40% stake in the company (Gessler & Sampoerna, 2007, p. 174).

The takeover was already planned, at least as early as 2003 by the Sampoerna family, as they had begun to shift their interests to other businesses. The family transferred their entire share to a Mauritius-based Investment Company called Sampoerna Holding Family Co (Goliath, 2009).

One of the Sampoerna family activities has been to establish a philanthropic foundation in 2001, called Sampoerna Foundation. The foundation focuses on providing education for Indonesian people. More than 18,000 people in 2005 received scholarships from this foundation, including some to the best MBA programs in the world (Gessler & Sampoerna, 2007, p. 166). Another business run by the family is Alfamart, a mini-mart chain of more than 1000 stores across Indonesia (TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009, p. 4). Alfamart is popular among those in urban areas where most of these stores are located and the stores have become another means for selling cigarettes. Other businesses of the Sampoerna family include agriculture, timber, packaging, online gambling, and a mobile phone network (Goliath, 2009).

Sampoerna, as one of the biggest companies in Indonesia, is playing a big role not only in the tobacco industry but also in the Indonesian economy as well. The Sampoerna's history shows how they created the signature brands for cigarettes and were still able to maintain the level of demand for the product over a long time. The way Sampoerna markets their products, especially using modern day marketing methods, while still consistently using traditional means of production and honouring their heritage, has made this particular company an important part of smoking culture in Indonesia. Sampoerna's brand "Sampoerna Hijau" is one of my case studies to be presented in what follows in chapter 5.

## **Nojorono**

Nojorono is a tobacco company based in Kudus, Central Java Province, one of the main cities for tobacco production. In 1932, Tjoa Kang Hay, the founding father, started the business as a home production affiliated with Nitisemito and Bal Tiga brand, as noted, a company and brand which no longer exists today. After gaining enough experience, he then started his own company 'Trio' with his two brothers, Tan Tjiep Siang and Tan Kong Ping. After some time Kang Hay left Trio and started another company with two businessmen from Kudus, Ko Djie Siong and Tan Djing Dhay. This company they called Nojorono.

Bal Tiga's collapse was mainly because of Minak Djinggo, a brand made by Ko Djie Siong, a Bal Tiga sales agent. He is said to have stolen secret ingredients and marketing methods when he worked at Nitisemito (PT. Nojorono Kudus, 2008).

Nojorono has brands which exist today, notably Minak Djinggo and Clas Mild. Minak Djinggo, derived from a Javanese shadow puppet character, has the remarkable feature of water-resistance as the tip of the cigarettes is dipped in paraffin. The process was patented by Nojorono. Minak Djinggo, for its water-

resistant quality, is a preferred *kretek* for seamen and people who work on the waterfront (Hanusz, 2000, p. 122). Clas Mild is a low tar and low nicotine machine made *kretek*, which emerged as a new product in the early 1990s.

Nojorono has the fifth place in market share with 6.3% in September 2008 (TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009, p. 3). There is an interesting story about one of the products produced by Nojorono. In 2010, a man lost six teeth as a Nojorono cigarette blew up in his mouth. The case was settled outside of court as the company paid for the victim's medication and also some financial compensation (BBC News, 2010). The company denied any wrongdoing in the production process and would not recall the product from the market.

Nojorono, although not as big as the other companies, still has a successful business running. This is one of the examples of the survivors in the tobacco business in Indonesia.

## **Bentoel**

Bentoel's founder, Ong Hok Liong, started a small cigarette manufacturing business in 1931 named Strootjes Fabriek Ong Hok Liong, before changing it to Bentoel (PT. Bentoel). Bentoel, based in Malang, East Java Province, became one of the big five tobacco companies in Indonesia. In 2009, British American Tobacco (BAT) took over 85% stock share of the company to become the second company to be acquired by a transnational tobacco company (TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009, p. 4).

The name Bentoel was derived from the root of the cassava plant with old Indonesian language spelling. Hok Liong decided on the name after he made a pilgrimage to the sacred Gunung Kawi to pay his respect to a holy tomb of the ascetic named Mbah Djugo (Hanusz, 2000, p. 126). From 1920 to 1930, Hok Liong

made commercial *kretek* named Burung (bird), Kendang (a percussion instrument), and Turki, all with no great success. Just before he went on his pilgrimage to Gunung Kawi, Hok Liong made a decision to make a new brand called Djeruk Manis (sweet orange) but after the pilgrimage he change his decision and started the successful Bentoel brand.

In 1950, the company employed 3000 people and decided to use machinery to grind cloves and to blend tobaccos. In 1968, Bentoel was already using a fully automated rolling machine and in 1974 became the first factory to produce machine-made *kretek*.

This success unexpectedly stopped in the late 1970s when the chief executive, a second generation descendant of Ong Hok Liong, resigned, and it was revealed that the company had several hundred million dollars of debt (Hanusz, 2000, p. 127). The Rajawali Group took over the management in 1991 and made several changes including replacing the board of directors, new management in production and rescheduling debt repayments. In 1996 and 2000, the company changed its name into Transindo Multi Prima and Bentoel Internasional Investama respectively. The move went well but internal financial crisis forced the Rajawali group to sell their share to British American Tobacco, which acquired the company in 2009. In 2010 Bentoel merged with BAT Indonesia (PT. Bentoel).

## **Djambu Bol**

The largest *pribumi*-owned (that is with, local but with no link to Chinese descendants) tobacco company in Indonesia was established in 1937. Unlike other corporations that are owned by Indonesian-Chinese families this business was started by Haji Roesydi Ma'roef, a *pribumi* (local indigenous person). Different from other tobacco companies, Djambu Bol still remains loyal to hand-made *kretek* and

refuses to use mechanization in their production. Surprisingly, this is probably the reason that this company still survives today.

The name Djambu Bol originated from a variety of rose-apple (Hanusz, 2000, p. 129), with the old Indonesian spelling still used on the package and also the company name. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, many companies chose their names from fruit names, animals, and other things that can easily be found in their consumer's surroundings. The intention was that the brand be simple, straightforward and easily memorable.

The company had only twenty employees when it started and produced mainly *klobot* (*kretek* wrapped in corn husk). The production stopped in 1942 during the Japanese occupation. In 1949 the production re-started, but the company decided to switch from corn husk *kretek* to paper wrapped *kretek*.

Djambu Bol is not well known in Java, but in other Islands it is a vastly popular brand, especially in Sumatera. Ninety-five percent of its sales are in southern Sumatera (Hanusz, 2000, p. 129). Djambu Bol is out of the ordinary because its founder and owner are not Indonesian-Chinese and has a different business policy compared to its Indonesian-Chinese counterparts. The policy of not using any machinery in their line of production is one of them. The policy sends a strong message of keeping to traditional industry and smoking culture practices.

## **Djarum**

Originally named *Djarum Gramopon* (Gramophone Needle), the owner, Oei Wie Gwan, shortened the name to Djarum in 1951. At first, the company focused sales in West Java province and the capital city of Jakarta, even though the main office of Djarum was actually in Kudus, Central Java. The marketing strategy at the time, like Nitisemito, involved a customized bus travelling from town to town to

promote the product. Sometimes the promoters showed open-air movies with empty packs of Djarum *kretek* as the admission ticket (Hanusz, 2000, p. 132).

In 1963 Wie Gwan passed away and left command to his two sons, Budi and Bambang Hartono. In the middle of the 1965 turmoil when a lot of Indonesian Chinese fled the country in fear of their lives, the two sons conversely were determined to rebuild the empire that their father had built. The market expansion to Central and East Java was the starting point for the company. By 1968 the production was tenfold compared to the time when Wie Gwan was in charge. In 1970, they built a Research and Development department in Kudus and started to export the products in 1972. Djarum Super, one of the flagship brands for the company was the result of the R&D Department and it only needed four years from the first time it was launched in 1981 to turn Djarum into the largest *kretek* company in Indonesia (Hanusz, 2000, p. 136). In 1989 it became the company with the largest market share: 31 % producing 720 million sticks of Djarum Super every week (Hanusz, 2000, p. 136).

In 1986 Djarum's R&D department created the world's first low tar *kretek*, three years before Sampoerna's successful brand, A-Mild. The market for this low tar *kretek* was the United States (Hanusz, 2000, p. 141). Djarum is also the largest employer of all private cigarette companies in the world with 75 thousand employees. Philip Morris has only 40 thousand while BAT has 60 thousand employees. Gudang Garam has 45 thousand while Sampoerna has 35 thousand (Hanusz, 2000, p. 142).

Budi's eldest son, Victor Hartono, who is US educated, was in charge of day to day management in 1999. He brought a new perspective to the company as he converted Djarum into a more technological and information age-conscious

company. He installed computers for every staff member and also installed new high-tech machinery which can take unprocessed tobacco on one end and have the finished product at the other end of the factory, all controlled by computer (Hanusz, 2000, p. 142). Djarum also gave the authorization to a tobacco company in Brazil to produce some of their products for the purpose of business expansion.

Djarum is famous for sponsoring sporting events and is a big spender on the badminton academy in Kudus, which has a world-class facility enabling athletes to train. The academy recruits young gifted athletes to train them into Indonesian national players in Badminton. Djarum is also the main sponsor of the Indonesian Super League, the premier Football League in Indonesia. In addition, Djarum also sponsored many music concerts through its brand LA Lights and lifestyle events through Djarum Black brand.

Djarum along with Sukun (a smaller tobacco company in Kudus) also built a *kretek* Museum which shows the production of *kretek* with exhibits showing the sample of products, some dioramas, and machinery. The museum also shows a tribute to Nitisemito, the founder of the *kretek* industry. The exhibit includes some promotional material from Nitisemito's era.

In 2008 the company took third place in market share with 18%. The corporation is still locally owned and still remains a private company headed by the Hartono family. Djarum has many brands but the signature brands are still Djarum Super and Djarum Coklat, the earliest brands that the company made. The advertising for the various brands is one of the strong points of sales that the company focuses on. The company sent the advertising agency to shoot commercials for Djarum Super TV Commercial to Namibia to enhance the international image of this brand. Djarum Black, which is the youngest brand that the

company has, took a different approach to selling the product, using a multi marketing campaign, including not only advertisements but also creating events which have no connection at all with smoking. Djarum Black has events that are linked to lifestyles like clubbing, night-time slalom, and automobile and motorcycle modification. Another event is where people submit their ideas for tools that will help their everyday activities called Black Innovative Awards. More detailed aspects of the Djarum Black campaign will be discussed in the next chapter.

### **Gudang Garam**

Founded in 1958, the company become the largest tobacco company before Sampoerna overtook it in 2005. Gudang Garam (Salt Warehouse) was named after the forefather, Ing Hwie who had a dream about the old salt warehouse which stood across from Cap 93, one of the famous *kretek* factories in the 1950s where Ing Hwie used to work before creating his own company. Ing Hwie left Cap 93 in 1956, taking 50 employees with him to start his own *klobot kretek* production.

In 1979 Gudang Garam started to produce machine-made *kretek* by completely renovating the company production, ordering 30 rolling machines and developing a new formula for its machine-made *kretek*. Ing Hwie was beginning to pass the leadership to his eldest son Rachman Halim when the decline in production of over 15% in 1982 forced him to come out of retirement (Hanusz, 2000, p. 151). He then made two important decisions: to stop the dependency on paper supply and create a new brand specially made for machine production. Gudang Garam bounced back in 1988 and became one of the top ten largest cigarette manufacturers in the world (Hanusz, 2000, p. 151).

Gudang Garam enjoyed almost two decades since the 1980s as the biggest tobacco company. The sale of shares to the public through the stock exchange in



1991 proved to be the next step for the company to become the leader in the industry (PT. Gudang Garam Tbk, 2002).

The history of some of the biggest tobacco companies in Indonesia has introduced some pictures about the conditions of the Indonesian tobacco industry and also some cultural aspects of the industry. The challenge for the money making industry does not stop there as they eventually encountered their biggest challenge; the transnational tobacco corporation. A description about how the Indonesian local tobacco companies interact and also cooperate with transnational tobacco companies to change the face of the tobacco industry in Indonesia is given below.

## **TRANSNATIONALISATION**

South East Asia is considered to be the final frontier for transnational tobacco companies (TTC) as their market in Europe and US has shrunk over the years. As already noted, South East Asia region is a potential market in terms of population of people and also smokers. In this area, Indonesia with 237 million people and the Philippines with 96 million people are among the leading contenders in cigarette selling market (The Economist, 2011).

Despite the increasing competition, some of the Indonesian tobacco companies create their own pathway into a global market as the big three Indonesian tobacco companies are spreading their venture overseas. PT. Djarum is sublicensing their product to a Brazilian manufacturer while PT. Gudang Garam has a deal to distribute Imperial International's brand such as West and Davidoff in Indonesia, while PT. Sampoerna entered into a joint venture with Gallaher in Malaysia (Lawrence & Collin, 2004). Until 2005, Gudang Garam was the biggest company followed by Sampoerna and Djarum, but the takeover by Philip Morris of Sampoerna

created different circumstances and turned the table around, pushing Sampoerna to the top.

The involvement of transnational tobacco companies in Indonesia can be traced back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. BAT (British-American Tobacco) has been involved in the Indonesian market since 1908 when they took over a factory in Java and by 1930 its annual *kretek* output was around 7 billion (Lawrence & Collin, 2004). Philip Morris, on the other hand, started a joint venture in 1971 and the selling of white cigarettes was around four-fifths of the total market at that time. By then, the sale of white cigarettes was threatening *kretek* sales. The tables turned again when local tobacco companies purchased *kretek* rolling machines in the mid-70s which gave them a greater efficiency to counter their opposition. In 2006 the production of machine-rolled *kretek* cigarettes was approximately 56% while hand-rolled *kretek* cigarettes occupied 35% of total production (TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009, p. 2).

British-American Tobacco operates through two companies in Indonesia. One is British-American Tobacco Indonesia, which sells white cigarettes with 2% market share in 2008, and also roll-your-own tobacco products with 20% market share in 2008 (TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009, p. 5). The second one is through its acquisition of Bentoel in 2009 in which BAT purchased 85% of Bentoel's shares. In September 2009, its share ownership was increased to 99.74% (TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009, p. 4). Both companies then merged into BAT Indonesia in 2010 (PT. Bentoel).

On the opposite side, Philip Morris operates through two companies in Indonesia, almost in the same way as British-American Tobacco did. The first company is Philip Morris Indonesia, which was established in April 1984. Later after the Sampoerna acquisition, Philip Morris started its own production activities in May 2006 (PT. Philip Morris Indonesia, 2011). The second company run by Philip Morris

is Sampoerna, which was acquired in March 14, 2005 with 40% of share valued at \$US 5.2 billion (Gessler & Sampoerna, 2007, p. 174). The shareholding was later increased to 98.18% by Philip Morris (PT. Philip Morris Indonesia, 2011). Philip Morris has maintained the name of Sampoerna. The reason behind this is because Sampoerna is a well-established brand and the company will preserve the name for the sake of four generations of heritage. In its 2009 annual report, Sampoerna claimed that the company occupied 31.9% of market share, an increase from 29.5% in 2008 (PT. HM Sampoerna Tbk., 2009; TobaccoFreeCenter.org, 2009).

The acquisition by both transnational tobacco companies had a great impact on their revenues, especially Philip Morris', whose acquisition of Sampoerna led to it overtaking the previous number one tobacco company, Gudang Garam. BAT's market share combined with that of Bentoel to push it into fourth place behind Djarum.

The unique aspects of the transnational tobacco companies in Indonesia are the preservation of the local products, mainly *kretek* as their signature products, and the hand-rolling *kretek* cigarette tradition. While the international brands that the transnational tobacco companies have are still being marketed in Indonesia, *kretek* is still the focus of production for these companies. The large market for *kretek* is probably behind this decision. The decision to keep the unique *kretek* product while maintaining the international and global image of the transnational tobacco companies is also creating a unique hybridised blend of brands under the companies. This exceptional blend can be seen in how the brands are sold to the public. The advertising, events, and other marketing tools are focused on a balance between images from both worlds, traditional and modern. While these acquisitions can be seen as another form of colonialism, it can also be seen as the compromise

from both worlds to preserve the culture of smoking. On the other side of the story, other local companies try to manage the competition with those transnational tobacco companies that have taken over local companies in the field of marketing the brands and products.

By gaining control of the local tobacco companies, this expansion of transnational tobacco companies is creating a sense of *déjà vu*, in that it echoes the earlier occupation of most Asian countries by the Europeans. The clash has not only happened at a superficial level; it has also affected the value of the cultural product created by the colonialist, which is considered as being of superior quality than the colonized cultural product. To illustrate, I am going to point out how this occurred in Indonesia, particularly in relation to smoking culture and the tension between white cigarettes vs *kretek* cigarettes.

## **WHITE CIGARETTES VS *KRETEK* CIGARETTES**

Talking about white cigarettes versus *kretek* engenders visions of colonialism, especially when it is pointed out that those who brought white cigarettes to Indonesia were the Dutch. The different social classes created by the colonialist—the Dutch and noble Indonesian (which usually was appointed by the Dutch as a local government official) and the common Indonesian—at that time was very significant. The Dutch and noble Indonesians usually enjoyed the luxury of wealth and had more access to western culture. Smoking cigarettes was a Western habit brought to Indonesia and white cigarettes were the “enjoyment” that only a few could have because of their high price and scarcity. The commoners created the cheaper version of the cigarette using the corn husks called *bungkus* which looks ugly, unlike white cigarettes which use white paper which looks attractive in appearance. This tradition of the white cigarette as a high class product and other kinds of cigarette

(*bungkus* and *kretek*) as lower class lasted at least until the late 1960s. *Kretek* was consumed by the poor male population in the rural areas or by the poor people in the city (Tarmadi, 1996, p. 91). Even though back then, rich people actually loved to smoke *kretek*, because they were associated with lower class status, they smoked them secretly and hid them in their trousers to avoid being seen by others (Tarmadi, 1996, p. 91)..

The difficult thing for transnational tobacco corporations attempting to penetrate the South East Asian market, especially Indonesia, is that the local *kretek* product is the number one preference for most smokers in Indonesia. Companies such as Philip Morris and British-American Tobacco tried to create campaigns that intentionally tried to shift *kretek*'s users to international brands, notably white cigarettes. 'White cigarettes' is the name given to cigarettes made by overseas companies that usually consist only of tobacco and are rolled in a white paper, unlike *kretek*, which consists not only of tobacco but also cloves and sauces of many flavours. The campaign underlined that white cigarettes were less dangerous to health compared to *kretek* which is considered to be heavier in term of how people smoke it or the ingredients in it (Lawrence & Collin, 2004). This campaign was also used to urge the Government to reduce the allowed tar and nicotine in *kretek* cigarettes so that in the end the sales of white cigarettes would be higher. This tactic was not progressing well as Indonesian Governments have been consistently supportive of the local tobacco industry (Lawrence & Collin, 2004). The regulations always favour the local industry as they are a major source of employment, which is a very hard thing to establish in a developing country like Indonesia.

Nevertheless, transnational tobacco companies have the international image that proves to be the best device in selling their brand locally in Indonesia. Research

conducted by Philip Morris concluded that the preference for the white cigarette's taste is probably due to the international white cigarette's more elite international imagery (Lawrence & Collin, 2004). White cigarettes are considered more modern and the image of using the same cigarette smoked by people in the western world is usually seen as 'state-of-the-art' style, and a sign of contemporary culture and of being progressive and modern.

On the other hand, the story of competition between lighter white cigarettes and *kretek* cigarettes is more complicated than it at first seems. Indonesian tobacco companies not only strive against the multinational companies but also with their local compatriots, which creates light *kretek* brands made by a modern cigarette machine, using the same imagery of the international, modern, sophisticated cigarette as their transnational counterparts.

In the 1970s, there was a decline in demand for white cigarettes. This was a result of the regulations for manufacturing white cigarettes becoming very complex for many transnational tobacco companies but also because smart-looking *kretek* packages were in high demand by the middle income class (Tarmadi, 1996); (Lawrence & Collin, 2004). The *kretek* resurrection was the result of the mechanisation of the local tobacco industry that created a more sophisticated look for their product. This marked a new era for *kretek*'s image. Afterwards, the modern sophisticated and international image has been the face of every machine-made *kretek* in their advertisements and other marketing campaigns.

Nowadays, the great variation in cigarettes' price range, whether machine-made *kretek*, hand-rolled *kretek* or white cigarettes, creates a new kind of class (Reid, 1985). The higher the price, the more prestigious the consumer will be. Now a special edition of Dji Sam Soe consisting of 12 hand-rolled *kretek* cigarettes is twice

the price of Marlboro, which consists of 20 machine-made cigarettes. White and *kretek* cigarettes have the value not based on appearance but based on the price that the company charges the consumer. A regular middle-to-low income employee can rarely afford those brands so they will choose a cheaper brand or buy those expensive brands per cigarette, not the whole pack.

Many tobacco companies see it as necessary for their product to have an international image of white cigarettes; this continues to be a basic foundation of some of the leading brands of machine-made *kretek*. This is evident with most of the brands that are produced by modern machinery. Djarum Black is one of the brands that I am going to discuss as it matches this criterion. On the other hand, the hand-rolled *kretek* usually has references to the tradition and culture of Indonesia, such as Sampoerna Hijau, whose main theme is about friendship, a value that all Indonesians regard as very important in everyday life.

## **CONCLUSION**

An understanding of the history of the tobacco business in Indonesia from its humble beginnings in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century into a mega business in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century is needed for an understanding of the culture of smoking. The industry itself has a complex intertwined connection to Indonesian people, politically, socially, economically and, of course, culturally. The corporations, while struggling to sell a product that is harmful to people's health, are still able to provide large-scale employment, a large sum of tax revenue to the Government, and also in a sense "preserve" the culture of Indonesian people.

The takeover of local tobacco business by some transnational tobacco companies created a new hybridised image for the local brands that surprisingly are still maintained as the local products of a more global company. In addition to the

smoking habit being condemned as a deadly one and responsible for millions of deaths and being condemned by health organizations and most governments, the Indonesian tobacco industry has business competition among their own products to be concerned about. The competition is fierce, especially when it comes to marketing the products. Transnational takeovers show how difficult it is for a non-local company to compete in Indonesia, as *kretek* is still the most consumed cigarette in Indonesia. Knowing that Indonesia is the fourth largest cigarette market in the world, and knowing that they cannot promote white cigarettes the only thing for them is to buy local companies to gain a market share. A globally more constrained market gives the transnational tobacco company no other choice but to adapt to the local environment and market by keeping *kretek* production for the Indonesian consumer.

In the local companies' view, while *kretek* is their number one product, connecting their brand to an international image still has relevance in selling the local product. The hybridised image of international and local has occurred as the result of the eagerness of local brands to be recognized as international products or at least have an image of international products. These hybridised images can be seen in the advertising campaigns of the local cigarette brands in Indonesia. The next chapter on cigarette advertisements will provide an account of the marketing strategies of both transnational tobacco companies and local companies, especially in using advertising as their tools. It will also provide a more detailed description on the use of hybridised images in cigarette advertisements, especially in television commercials.



## **CHAPTER V**

### **SAVING/SELLING SMOKING CULTURE IN CIGARETTE ADVERTISEMENTS**

That is the triumph of advertising in the culture industry: the compulsive imitation by consumers of cultural commodities which, at the same time, they recognize as false (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 136)

Product marketing is very important for tobacco companies. Without it the company will suffer as their product will not sell to the public and the income needed to run the company will not be obtained. One of the key factors in marketing cigarettes is advertising: the advertisements are the spearhead of product marketing for big tobacco companies. The ads are the company representation of its rich culture and dynamic reflected in a few seconds of a television commercial or images pictured in print media. This chapter is about advertisements from tobacco companies, and the kind of representation that they make for the company, especially for the brand. This chapter will also analyse the process of creating the symbolic representation of identity and its transformation in the advertising agency.

Advertising can be considered as part of a culture industry, as explained in the previous chapter that discussed the tobacco industry itself. In the globalized world today, 'brand' is one of the most important resources of the industry. While the culture industry somehow connects to a certain power—whether it is business or government—the brand itself works as the ambassador of the company. It is the representation of the business, the image of the company, powerful enough to affect the mind of the consumer. As Lash and Lury argue, "if culture industry worked largely through the commodity, global culture industry works through brands. Both of them are largely sources of domination, power" (Lash & Lury, 2007, p. 5).

Advertising agencies use this so-called power to convince audiences to buy products by bombarding consumers' minds with ads.

The advertising itself has its own price—it is not free. The advertising industry is a creative industry that is paid large sums of money by companies to generate profit by encouraging the audience through media to buy their products. As O'Guinn notes, advertising is “a paid, mass-mediated attempt to persuade” (O'Guinn, Allen, & Semenik, 2000, p. 7). Nowadays, advertising itself looks like a lucrative industry since every ad created by the agency will result in a large cheque being received by the agency. Like many other industries, advertising agencies need to adapt better and faster to have more chances to survive. Advertising agencies that have difficulty in adapting to demand will be less fortunate and end up failing to get clients and therefore are likely to become bankrupt in the future.

In order to connect to the audience, advertising uses language, which constructs reality. In Williamson's (2002, p. 2) view, advertising creates structures of meaning so as to connect the product to the consumer. There is always a symbolical meaning attached to a product. For example, if you buy a Mercedes Benz, this purchase is usually connected to prestige, establishment, elegance, wealth, and modern innovation. Mercedes Benz is best known as an expensive piece of German engineering. They build cars using the best materials available, using the latest technology and designed by the top car designers. These are the reasons behind the expensive price of every car they build. The car production method by Mercedes Benz is recognized as using the best available material and resources. Thus their advertisements create the same images linking to that method of production.

The general idea of advertising as a whole is to persuade audiences to buy the products and it has been used as a tool in promoting products, whether it is

consumer goods or services or even culture. Advertising works as a reminder in the consumer's mind. As Sutherland states, "it reinforces the salience of the brand in our mind" (Sutherland, 2008, p. 109). This can be explained by the fact that the consumer is exposed to a certain advertisement for some period of time so that, at an unconscious level, reference to a certain brand or commodity or product will develop. Some people choose a product just because it is more frequently heard or seen. In addition, as Bednall and Kanuk explain, "the consumer's decision-making processes are influenced by their awareness of various product choices, their information gathering activities and their evaluation of alternatives" (1997, p. 530)". Products, in order to be recognized and then later to be chosen, must first create the consumer's awareness of it. Again, this is a sign of how advertising has a power to dominate, as will be explained further in this chapter. One of the aims of this research is to uncover the mechanism by which people in the advertising agency create such a message, which can last in the mind of the target audiences who in the end buy the product or identity that is being sold. The process of transferring ideology (in this case identity) is what Althusser (2001) called 'interpellation'. Media, in this case advertising, as he pointed out (already discussed in Chapter II) acts as an ideology of state apparatus (Althusser, 2001, p. 96). Furthermore Jarre concludes that:

[T]he hail of the advertisement works to recruit subjects into its dominant system. The mass media message calls out, hails, to the viewer and as attention is gathered and solidified, subjectifies the viewer through their total acceptance of the ideological proposition, and in doing so interpolates them into the ideological system. (Jarre, 2007)

The audiences are regarded as subjects that accept the ideology that is offered to them by the advertising agency. The Ideology/identity being offered to the subjects (audiences) creates a new kind of mirror society, which can be seen in the advertisement.

The information or message that advertising delivers should be meaningful to the audience, socially and culturally. Hackley explains that: “advertising’s meaning draws on the cultural environment within which it is framed...our understanding of ads and the brands they promote is in the light of social contexts within which such communication subsists” (Hackley, 2005, p. 38). Advertising should, in a way, imitate culture or even better create its own culture that is connected to the brand. The brand itself has its own characterization that mirrors the consumer’s image and aspirations of themselves. This happens especially in cigarette advertisements, as there are rules forbidding the practical use of the product and anything connected to it. Therefore, the only way to advertise is to have an image that represents the brand which, in most instances, is a culture which the consumer feels they connect with most. That is why advertising should consider the socio-cultural background of the target audience in order to succeed in its purpose of selling the products. If an advertisement succeeds in influencing the audience to buy certain products, then it is not impossible to influence lifestyle or even create a new one, in this case smoking culture.

## **CIGARETTE ADVERTISING**

There is obviously a difference not only between cigarettes as smoked and cigarettes as marks of gender, status, generation, etc; but also between the latter as generic conventions that have culturally taken root, and the specific

identities advertisers construct to distinguish their particular brands. (Wernick, 1991, p. 33)

The quotation above is used to give some illustration of how cigarette advertising works. The act of smoking and the identity created by advertising agencies are somehow different in a way. Cigarette advertisements create an identity of a certain brand while audiences are given an aspiration to be followed as their own identity. In other words, cigarette advertisements offer identities (connected to the brand) to the viewer, not the actual product itself. As Gilman and Xun argue, “Advertising imagery became the place where twentieth-century fantasies about the power of smoking to provide status, desirability or pleasure were defined” (Gilman & Xun, 2004, p. 21). By this description it is very clear that cigarette advertising now is more focussed on how to create status by providing an image coming from the imagination of the agency that creates the advertisement rather than directly promoting the cigarette as the product.

Cigarette advertising is banned in many countries including the United States and Australia. In the United States the ban on cigarette advertising from radio and television started in 1970 (White, 1988, p. 145), while in Australia the total banning of cigarette advertising in radio and television was implemented in 1976 (National Archives of Australia, 2011). However, there were times when cigarette advertisements were legally approved in developed countries. As Pennock (2007, p. 103) has written in relation to a Camel brand advertisement in 1947 (reproduced below), advertisements used professional doctors for their campaign in order to exploit people’s faith in medical experts. Back then, tobacco companies could

promote their products by using any means of promotion including newspaper, radio, magazine, billboard and other media available.

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**EXPERIENCE IS THE BEST TEACHER!**

THE WARTIME CIGARETTE SHORTAGE WAS A REAL EXPERIENCE. I LEARNED THAT CAMELS SUIT ME BEST!

*Elaine Dasher*  
WELL-KNOWN FENCER

**More people are smoking CAMELS than ever before**

"The shortage taught me the big difference in cigarette quality," says Miss Dasher.

SMOKERS everywhere shared your experience with cigarettes, Miss Dasher. They too smoked many different brands... and remained.

And millions found that experience is the best teacher... that for day-in and day-out smoking pleasure you just can't beat the rich, full flavor and the cool softness of Camels. That's why today more people are smoking Camels than ever before. But no matter how great the demand for Camels, this you can be sure of: We don't tamper with Camel quality. Only choice tobacco, properly aged, and blended in the time-honored Camel way, are used in Camels.

**YOUR "T-ZONE" WILL TELL YOU...  
T for Taste...  
T for Throat...**

That's your proving ground for any cigarette. See if Camels don't suit your "T-Zone" to J.T.

According to a recent Nationwide survey:

**MORE DOCTORS SMOKE CAMELS than any other cigarette**

These nationally known independent research organizations asked 11,000 doctors in every branch of medicine to name the cigarette they smoked. More doctors smoked Camels than any other brand.

Figure 6

"Camel Advertisement"

Source: (Pennock, 2007, p. 103)

The Camel campaign of 1947 in the United States was controversial in that the use of the phrase "more doctors smoke camels" was supposedly based on independent survey results. A doctor is considered to be a highly respected professional and the

jargon created by the advertiser would connect the consumer to a high position in society. Not only are doctors highly respected but, as health experts, they should know if there is any danger in smoking. Using doctors as the campaign theme not only created some images of a sophisticated and intelligent brand (thus used by sophisticated and intelligent consumers), but also provided an image of a non-health threatening product. The portrayal of cigarettes as healthy products in the advertisement above is the opposite of the cigarettes today which are described by health authorities as unhealthy products that will lead to life threatening diseases such as cancer. This kind of advertisement where it was implied that cigarettes were not dangerous to people's health, as used by Camel to promote their product, is no longer allowed anywhere today.

The above image of a Camel advertisement in 1947 shows considerable symbolism and signs. Other than the jargon of more doctors smoke Camels, there are images that enhance the text. One of the images pictures a fencer named Elaine Decker, who was a beautiful and healthy athlete. Her health and fitness is unquestionably great as an athlete and she is pictured holding a cigarette which is an obvious suggestion that she is smoking the Camel brand. Some fencing movements are also part of the image here. These actions also suggest the agility of not only the fencer but also the brand through the difficulty of war. The heart symbol on her chest acts as signifier for the love of the brand itself, although it was commonly used on fencing uniforms.

The second image in the Camel advertisement I am going to discuss is located beside the pack of Camel cigarettes. It is a photograph of people queuing in front of a tobacco store to buy cigarettes and was covered by a written explanation about how the difficulty of war created such queuing and that the Camel brand was

the one preferred by those people. This picture acts as additional information which helps develop the theme of the people's choice of the Camel brand. The text says, "The Wartime cigarette shortage was a real experience, I learned that Camels suit me best". The use of this text can be explained by the fact that the Camel brand was a brand that maintained its quality throughout the time of World War II, when cigarettes were mostly exported to soldiers overseas. Many companies in order to maintain their margin of profit tried repackaging and rearranging the ingredients of their cigarettes. The depression and Post World War II had created food shortages and unemployment which haunted people and thus created a higher demand for cigarettes as a release from every day difficulty. The identity offered by a brand is the one that can create a temporary relief for people in those tough days. Indonesia's tobacco industry, which also experienced economic depression and world war, as discussed in previous chapters, also adopted the strategy of branding cigarettes in such a way that they offered consumers escape from their troubles.

The next image of the same Camel advertisement to be analysed is the one at the bottom left corner which shows a young woman, fresh and beautiful, holding a cigarette with the 'T' sign imposed on her face area between the nose, mouth, and also part of upper throat. This image suggested the freshness of Camel and signified by the beautiful young woman. The image of the young woman also creates a particular image of modern women at that time. This purpose of the image is to focus on the 'T' area where the mouth, nose and throat are and the sensational feeling that follow inhaling Camel cigarettes. Another suggestion, which is written in the text balloon, explains that customer satisfaction, especially in those areas of the body, is the main concern for the Camel brand.



The images in the advertisement will be seen from the above and left to right. The text 'More Doctors smoke Camels' will be the last that the audience will see and will enhance all the supporting themes in the campaign. In what follows, I apply these perspectives to discuss more about these symbols and signs in cigarette advertisements but leap forward more than 60 years and across culture from the Camel advertisements in United States to Indonesian contemporary cigarette advertisements.

## **INDONESIAN CIGARETTE ADVERTISEMENTS**

Today, advertising plays a distinctive role in promoting smoking as a culture in Indonesia. Gilman and Xun provide a description about how "The brands provide a means by which images are used to define not the tobacco product but the very act of smoking itself" (Gilman & Xun, 2004, p. 21). As part of identity, tobacco advertising creatively connects the individual to social values. Nichter et al. (2008, pp. 98-107) in the research on tobacco advertisements in Indonesia, found out that the themes of tobacco advertisements relating to the personal and the individual are control of emotions or balance, masculinity, adventure, friendship, enjoyment or pleasure, and being modern. Furthermore, Pennock explains that in creating cigarette advertisements, agencies and companies use lifestyle attributes: "Through abundant use of lifestyle symbols, advertisers focus on selling not merely the product, but a total lifestyle that promises pleasure, sexual attractiveness, adventure, and sophistication, among other desirable attributes" (Pennock, 2007, p. 9). Here Pennock sees that agencies, in selling the cigarette brand, create themes/attributes/social values and generate a particular identity merged with the brand itself.

Social values are attached to a certain brand of cigarette, which create their appeal by attaching those values to the individual or personal consumer. According to Nichter, et al. (2008), there are social value themes in cigarette advertising, such as tradition, loyalty, modernity, globalisation, nationalism, and expressions of critical political views. These themes largely connect people to a certain situation where smoking should be considered as an act of social value. Indonesian cigarette advertisements try to project these social values. The brand has attached a certain social value to itself (created by tobacco companies) in order to persuade consumers to buy not only the cigarettes, but also the brand identity being offered. The research by Nichter et al. (2008) also highlights themes for individuals such as control of emotions/balance, masculinity, adventure/strength, friendship/being social, enjoyment/pleasure, and being a modern woman. The 'control of emotions' and 'balance' themes are taken from the Indonesian culture itself, especially from the Javanese ethnic group where expressing strong emotions is considered inappropriate, and smoking cigarettes can be an instrument of distraction from it. The masculinity theme is a common theme for cigarette advertising everywhere in the world, but in Indonesia the masculinity image is different as it suggests more strength of character and the value of will power (Nichter et al., 2008, p. 101). The adventure/strength theme here tries to provoke the adventurous side of Indonesian people and therefore encourage them to try new things, such as driving through the African jungle or sky diving from the top of angel falls. Such activities might be common in some cultures. However, in Indonesia it is uncommon for conservative Indonesians to do adventurous things, especially in Javanese culture. According to Choy, in Javanese or Sundanese ethnic group culture showing emotion for a man is considered a taboo: a man must be strong willed and calm at the same time. (Choy,

1999, pp. 49-50, 53) To be adventurous in Indonesian culture implies breaking with custom, activity Indonesians find hard to do.

The friendship/being social theme is attached to Indonesian culture; namely being friendly and socially accepted by one's peers—one of the highest values that an Indonesian should have (Nichter et al., 2008). The enjoyment/pleasure theme is more attached to the entertainment needs of Indonesian people, and one of the easiest entertainments that one can find is smoking cigarettes. Being a modern woman was not a common theme for Indonesian cigarette industry advertising campaigns, until at least the early 21<sup>st</sup> century when more women, especially in urban areas, have more income and smoking is probably one of the symbols of modernity. However, in more conservative society in Indonesia, cigarette smoking by women is negatively viewed; equivalent even to prostitution. Cigarette advertisements for women are mostly linked to a lighter version of cigarettes. The movement for women smoking was actually started in 1929 in New York City in a so called 'Torch of Freedom' movement where in publicity stunts, women start smoking cigarettes in public at the time when it was considered taboo for women to do so. This movement (or publicity) was started by the ideas of Edward Bernays, a public relations and advertising person, who at that time was handling Lucky Strike brand as a client (Brandt, 2007). This movement not only promoted cigarette smoking but also contributed to a gender equality movement at that particular time.

All these themes spread into many brands in many demographic targets in Indonesia. Every cigarette brand has its own characteristic with one or more themes attached to it. These themes are planned carefully by tobacco companies in order to reach the right consumers. In planning those themes, tobacco companies realise

that eventually the brand itself will have an identity, which the consumer will refer to when using the products.

As suggested by Adorno and Horkheimer, advertisements are characterized as a tool that create some options for consumers: "In the competitive society advertising performed a social service in orienting the buyer in the market, facilitating choice and helping the more efficient but unknown supplier to find customers" (2002, p. 131). While the consumer is offered choice, as Adorno and Horkheimer argued, advertising is also a power that makes people choose a specific brand:

In both under the dictate of effectiveness, technique is becoming psychotechnique, a procedure for manipulating human beings. In both, the norms of the striking yet familiar, the easy but catchy, the worldly wise but straightforward hold good; everything is directed at overpowering a customer conceived as distracted or resistant. (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 133)

The universal repetition of the term denoting such measures makes the measures too, familiar, just as, at the time of the free market, brand name on everyone's lips increased sales. The blind and rapidly spreading repetition of designated words links advertising to the totalitarian slogan.

(Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 135)

The repetition and the ubiquity of advertisements, especially cigarette advertisements, is used by companies to create an impression of their brand in the mind of the consumers or, as Adorno suggests, "psychotechnique" to manipulate people's point of view on a specific brand. Psychotechnique in Indonesia is typically used by cigarette advertisements as the restriction and regulations drive the agency to recreate a new connection to the brand being advertised by using a particular

lifestyle that resembles consumers' lifestyles, and uses an easy-to-remember jargon/slogan and symbols to link the consumer to the brand.

Advertising is also a kind of art that needs creativity to produce and also to sell the products. In the advertising agency, the ideas coming from a brainstorming session are recorded on a story board by the art director who is more or less an “artist” and responsible for the artistic aspect of the ads. Even the worst looking ad has, at least, some aspect of art in it as I observed in my fieldwork at an agency that created many advertisements. The creative process involves many steps from brainstorming through to execution.



Figure 7

Djarum Black Advertisement

(Billboard – Private collection 2011)

The creative ideas inside each advertisement can be seen in the use of signs and symbols that are a result of the creativity of the advertising agency. The agency must create a system to communicate the brand to the audience. In order to connect the tobacco product to the themes, the advertisement has the second level of signification, which Barthes called ‘myth’ and Baudrillard called ‘hyperreal’. These

concepts are somewhat similar; however, while the former is shared by many people, the latter is experienced only on an individual level. To explain these notions it is best to have an example of the implementation of myth and hyperreal in the context of advertisements. In Djarum Black television commercials, myth is represented by the wardrobe that a character wears in the advertisement, which is acknowledged as high class by most people. Hyperreality, on the other hand, can be found in the colour being used in the television commercial such as the use of the colour of green for the vehicle found in Sampoerna Hijau advertising which refers to the colour of the packaging of the brand. It is possible to show how these sign systems work by seeing advertisements work, which is “constructing myths, in such a way as to endow products with meanings which appear to be natural and eternal” (Gill, 2007, p. 49). This kind of myth pushes people to buy an unnecessary product because it appears both socially and culturally natural for them to own it. As seen in a billboard (shown above) located at the city centre of Kudus, a small city in Central Java Province, one of the tobacco industry centres, an advertisement only shows a watch worn by supposedly a man, a young executive, with Black brand as the brand of the watch. This suggests that Djarum Black consumers are being constructed into this character of a modern, international, sophisticated young executive that the billboard shows. This claim is supported by Adorno and Horkheimer who suggest that “the culture industry does not sublimate: it suppresses. By constantly exhibiting the object of desire” (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 111), the character in the Djarum Black advertisement is generally depicted as a sophisticated, modernised and westernised man and therefore establishes an identity for audiences to aspire to. The advertisement interpellates an audience interested in material gain. It

materialises for them their desires, inviting them to take up the ideology of consumer capitalism.

The cigarette advertisement could also be considered as a struggle for identity in a global world. To be more exact, it could easily be labelled as a postcolonial cultural product. Cigarettes themselves, especially *kretek*, are a complexly colonised product, as discussed in Chapter IV. In the creation of the advertisement, the use of the universal audio-video “language” (or in other terms metropolitan language) constructs the western worldview. The advertisement also employs a hybridisation of symbolical figures, which are taken from both global (western) and local cultures at the same time, as explained in what follows. As already mentioned in Chapter III, there are some rules in Indonesia that create limitations in producing cigarette advertisements. According to these rules, the depiction of cigarettes, smoke, or an object connected to education and health are not permitted in advertisements. This is important as the basis of creativity in cigarette advertising is to get around the regulation implemented by the Government.

The following section will look at identity, culture, and hybridization as represented in cigarette brand television commercials in Indonesia, more specifically in two brands: Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau. Djarum Black, as already mentioned, is a hybrid product of both western and local, a mixture of *kretek* and white cigarettes. A modern production line from a local tobacco company with a western image attached to its marketing campaign created by a hundred percent local advertising agency; a truly unique product. On the other hand, Sampoerna Hijau is a traditional hand rolled *kretek* cigarette without filter, with a traditional production line from a local company acquired by Phillip Morris, a mammoth transnational tobacco company, using a local image for its marketing campaign

created by a multinational advertising agency; a local product heavily influenced by western capitalism.

## **ADVERTISING AGENCIES, CIGARETTE ADVERTISEMENTS AND BRAND**

In this section I will draw on my fieldwork in Indonesian advertising companies in connection with semiotic analyses of some ads that were under development or had been released by the agencies. This will help us to understand what the companies are trying to achieve, what kind of Indonesian consumers they seek to target and therefore what those companies do when they launch their advertising campaigns. Here I would like to blend my fieldwork observations and interviews with semiotic analysis of some cigarette advertisements from two brands—Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau, both with their own unique proposition for Indonesian people.

The first to be analysed is the TV commercial from Djarum Black, one of the brands from PT. Djarum that has a unique packaging, which is also different from other contemporary cigarettes because of its black cigarette wrapping. Djarum Black production uses very modern machinery and ‘modern’ is a key aspect of the Djarum Black brand characterization. The reason for selecting the Djarum Black advertisement is because it uses novel marketing campaign strategies and is adopted by non-smokers, along with smokers, indicating that the brand has value in the eyes of consumers over and above its connection with cigarettes. Djarum Black is bigger as a brand than as a product. Djarum Black brand advertisements are handled by an advertising agency called MACS909.

The second to be analysed is the TV commercial from Sampoerna Hijau, one of the brands from PT. Sampoerna a large local company whose majority shares are owned by Philip Morris International. Sampoerna Hijau is a hand-rolled *kretek* brand that, compared to Djarum Black, still uses a traditional method in its production line.



The agency that handles the account is Lowe Indonesia. Comparing how two different *kretek* products are promoted will reveal much about the different approaches being adopted by a local advertising agency promoting an international brand and a branch of international advertising agency promoting a local brand owned by transnational tobacco company, respectively. In different ways, both brands can be considered as hybrid products as they are both influenced by local and western culture. Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau were chosen because of their contrasting product characteristics of traditional and modern-traditional. Though different, each campaign hybridises Indonesian traditions with modern practices and identity signs, providing important insight into how contemporary Indonesian consumer identity is taking shape. The following will provide more understanding in how contemporary Indonesian culture is seen through the perspective of cigarette advertisements.

### **Djarum Black brand**

Djarum Black advertisements have been handled by MACS909 advertising agency since 2002, since the time the brand emerged in Indonesia. Djarum Black initially only sold to overseas markets notably United States, starting in 1996 (PT. Djarum, 2011). MACS909 has done a very good job in promoting the brand as it is a new brand for the Indonesian market and the agency proved to be a good partner for PT.Djarum. This cooperation has probably lasted because of the nature of the relationship between the advertising agency and PT. Djarum as a cigarette manufacturer has been both successful and harmonious. The agency strives to be aware of what the client wants so that, when creative ideas are generated, the CD (creative director) and AE (Account Executive) can match them with what they

expect will be accepted by the client, at times sacrificing their own preferences and creative ideals.

The role of MACS909 is to manage the Djarum Black brand so that it promotes audience attachment to the product. The first step taken by Djarum Black when it started the campaign was to introduce the brand to audiences, creating a buzz about the differentiation and to make sure the audiences knew that PT. Djarum, an established tobacco company, was behind the brand. As explained in Chapter IV, PT. Djarum is one of the big five locally owned tobacco companies in Indonesia. The observations undertaken reveal a complicated procedure being carried out on a daily basis, with demanding deadlines. It is usual to have a brainstorming session as part of this procedure. It is basically collecting ideas from each member of the group in the creative department to meet the client's demand. At MACS909, even staff members from outside of creative department can give their insight as sometimes ideas can come from anywhere.

During the fieldwork undertaken at MACS909, the observations uncovered the difficulty of creating a single advertisement not to mention a whole campaign. The relationship between the client, product, and advertising agencies is tough to maintain in a positive direction. On the one side, there is demand from the client; on the other, there is an attempt to juggle between idealism and providing what the client wants. The two sides sometimes have to give up some of their ideals in order to create a decent product/brand advertisement. A presentation of one advertisement requires at least 20+ ideas that have to be seen by the client. The ideas presented to the client are chosen from about 60 ideas which are discussed in sessions of brainstorming. Out of those 20 ideas presented to clients, usually there is only one or two ideas which will get approval from the client, and even the one which

is approved at this stage may potentially be dropped from the campaign. This may happen when the story board created by the creative department of the advertising agency is not appealing enough to the client. The long process of creating one regular advertisement is hard work. Creating an advertisement for a cigarette or tobacco product is much harder because of the restrictions on tobacco advertising in Indonesia. The point in creating an effective advertisement—the collaboration between the advertising agency and the company (in this case tobacco company)—is to create a suitable character into the brand, which later on generates a brand identity. Thus it can be said that both organizations in a way are creating identity for the brand and its user.

According to Asep Herna, the Creative Director who handles this account from the very beginning, there are four stages that MACS909 has undertaken to promote the brand. As Asep said in the interview (translated to English):

C: Since when were you handling Djarum Black?

Asep: Djarum Black came to MACS around 2002, when the name of Djarum Black itself was born. We have been handling the brand since the brand was born until now, for almost eight years ...It was an immediate success, the trial product targets for six months can be reached in three months...(Interview #2 at Pasaraya Food Court, Asep Herna, Creative Director at MACS909, 18 March 2011)

C: What is the function of MACS909 itself for Djarum Black?

Asep: We have been handling this account from 2002 so the positioning of the brand can be pictured here ... Our first job was to have a new positioning for the brand among the competitor's brand in a mild

cigarette category, and introduce it to audience... the next level was to have consumer loyalty...and after the brand has established, it became a superior brand... Djarum Black positioning now is at a cult brand level where everybody from any social strata and economy feel that Djarum Black brand become their pride... (Interview #1 at Brewww Café, Asep Herna, Creative Director at MACS909, 16 September 2010)

As we can be seen from the above, Asep tries to break the level or states of the brand into four terms. These terms are suggested by Asep as his approach in upgrading the brand from the beginning. Firstly, the agency introduces the brand and places it in a mild *kretek* cigarette—a lighter kind of *kretek* with a white cigarettes look (see Chapter IV)—market positioning; at this level the slogan introduced was “Full of Imagination”. Secondly, after the brand established itself, the next job is to create consumer loyalty. Thirdly, the brand profile and consumer loyalty needs to be established—this is the stage where brand is considered to be superior. Fourth, the established brand becomes the identity of the target audiences or, in Asep’s words, a “Cult Brand”. By this stage, the brand becomes a source of pride and is bonded emotionally with the target audience, regardless of their economic and social strata or even their everyday cigarette use. The brand tries for wide brand recognition and appeal to a much more specific group of product consumers. Asep emphasises the importance of the brand itself rather than the sales of the product: with the brand having achieved its profile, the sales eventually will follow.

A brand achieves cult status when people from any social strata such as truck drivers, motor bike riders, car drivers (from a cheap car to an expensive one) are all using Black as their identity. The identity is represented by the consumer’s use of

stickers and any other media with a Djarum Black logo attached to their vehicles, clothing, or helmet. These stickers and media, some of them are not officially created by the company but are of a “Do It Yourself” form created by people outside the official Djarum Black community, can be found in many areas of Indonesian cities, especially big cities. The quality of merchandise created by the outsider is certainly lower than the official one. The official Djarum Black communities are actively encouraged in every city. Some of them are called black car communities, or motoblack (motorcycle) communities. The same characteristic for these communities is that the members have black vehicles with modification parts applied to them and most of the vehicles look ‘cool’. These communities create a new kind of buzz around people in towns, declaring in a sense that the Djarum Black identity of coolness and modernity can be achieved without the requirement for those members of the community to smoke Djarum Black cigarettes. Another event that has created a big buzz is Black Innovation Awards (BIA) that brings together new inventors to present their ideas of innovation for mostly everyday life equipment. The finalists are financially supported by Djarum to build a mock-up of their invention and put it on a display in an exhibition which combines with live music from a well-known performer. Black Innovation Awards can be looked at from a cultural point of view as promotion practices beyond the cigarette brand itself. It does not promote cigarette smoking *per se* but rather the brand image and eventually the company’s image as modern, creative and contemporary.

As noted by Nichter et al. (2008) in their research on reading culture from tobacco advertisements in Indonesia (see Chapter I), the Djarum Black themes of advertising are modernity and control of emotions/balance. The control of emotion/balance is very important for Indonesian culture as it is considered

unsuitable and rude to show anger, sadness and other emotions, especially if you are a man (Nichter et al. 2008). Djarum Black, therefore, is a product that keeps emotions hidden. The details of Djarum Black's advertisements, below, will provide an answer as to whether the themes attached to the ad are the same as suggested by previous research or whether this is more to it.

The still photo and visual of Djarum Black advertisements, appearing as part of television commercials, are taken from material given by MACS909 in the period of undertaking the field work in MACS909 in 2010-2011. These advertisements will show how the four stages of brand activation created by MACS909 applied. Those stages span from as early as 2002 until now. These advertisements are only a few examples of each period/stage for Djarum Black.

### ***First stage, slogan: Full of Imagination***

#### **Shower**



Figure 8

Djarum Black Print Ad (MACS909)





Figure 9

#### Djarum Black TVC Capture (MACS909)

This advertisement is one of the first that introduced the Djarum Black brand to the public in 2002, with the campaign including TVC (television commercial) and print ad from the same storyboard. This TVC started focusing on the young beautiful girl surfacing from the water and surprising a man on the beach because the girl is covered by a hatched black marker. The girl continues her walk to a shower nearby and the hatch dropped reveal a red swimsuit that the girl wears. The sun on the background appears to be a symbol of the glorious success that is shining on the girl. The girl here represents Djarum Black. The actual Djarum Black product is covered by black packaging but the inside still has the well-known Djarum taste. The red swimsuit represents the company, Djarum that has red as their company's colour. The black marker hatch is also representing the product's uniqueness; the cigarettes for Djarum Black are all wrapped using black paper as the result of the ideas and imagination of the company. The fact that the product has its own distinctive style helps give the message to the audience that by using this brand the consumer will have a distinctive style and the imagination created by using the product will be far beyond expectation. The look from the man at the girl creates an

assumption of a desire towards the girl, which represents the brands desirable look and feel. Sexual desire shown by the man is analogised with the smoking desire that the consumer has and Djarum Black offers itself as the answer to that desire. This technique of using sexual imagery has been utilized in marketing for a long time. It was used by Edward Bernays and George Washington Hill in the 1920s and 1930s in the United States. Their campaign was based on psychology to shape mass behaviour and values. They put photos and news articles linking cigarettes, women, beauty and a range of smoking accessories (Brandt, 2007, pp. 80-83).

A man pictured here represents the target consumer who is already in awe looking at the product. The black marker hatch is there to make the consumer curious as to what is inside and the red swimsuit is the answer to the question of quality, because Djarum is already an established tobacco company. The print ad has a similar style along with the TVC (television commercial) using the beach with the waves under the heat of the sun as the symbol of freshness for the brand as the girl signifies it. Depicting beach culture in the advertisement has significance in Indonesia. Indonesians do not have a western-style beach culture, such as using bikinis or doing sun bathing as the characters in the TVC do. The advertisement, therefore, locates the brand in a global, western context, desirable, but not readily accessible to most Indonesians. The advertisement gives the viewer access to a mode of consumption – western beach culture – that they may not be able to experience in other ways.

The girl's and the man's age represent the age of the target audience for Djarum Black, namely, the early 20s. Djarum Black as a new brand has tried to establish the character that will be the backbone of the future advertisement campaign.



This ad tries to mirror contemporary young Indonesian identity, still at the beginning of their matureness and still having a flare of sexual drive that acts as an aspiration to Indonesian audiences. The opposite attraction here as suggested by the ad creates an impression of hormonal urge which is common in the targeted audience. Djarum Black as a product creates a layer of identity that is attached to the user as a youthful, modern, creative and attractive character. This attached identity acts as a 'myth', as suggested by Barthes (1972). As Barthes said, 'myth' is not defined by the object of its message but rather by the way in which it utters its messages (Barthes, 1972, p. 107). Both characters here seem to like each other, or at least that is the impression that Djarum Black is trying to communicate to the audience. The identity of a young Indonesian is more likely to be "converted" into a western-like identity but still with some hints of traditional culture. After-work hours in Jakarta can be a good example for this. Hanging out at the coffee shop is a cultural tradition among Indonesians but the modern coffee shop today, like the global brand Starbucks, is the destination for young Jakartans after work. The example suggests, again, the hybridization of the culture as hanging out and having a chat after work while drinking coffee and smoking cigarettes is the old tradition but nowadays they are doing it in a global franchise brand such as Starbucks. Even the local café has the same global touch.

The other important thing is that the cast are deliberately chosen to create a global image. The features of these two characters have more western-like characteristics, or at least have the mixture of Indonesian and Western descendants. There is even a term for a person who has this mixed blood of westerner and Indonesian; the term is Indo. Indo is the term used by Indonesian to describe "persons of mixed Indonesian-foreign (usually western) heritage. It's not quite as the

same as *bule*, the term used to describe white westerners” (Kebon, 2011). This term can easily be applied as the hybridization of the product itself, a *kretek* with a modern production line, the fusion of traditional ingredients and the taste of global world.

## **Bicycle**



Figure 10

Djarum Black Print Ad (MACS909)

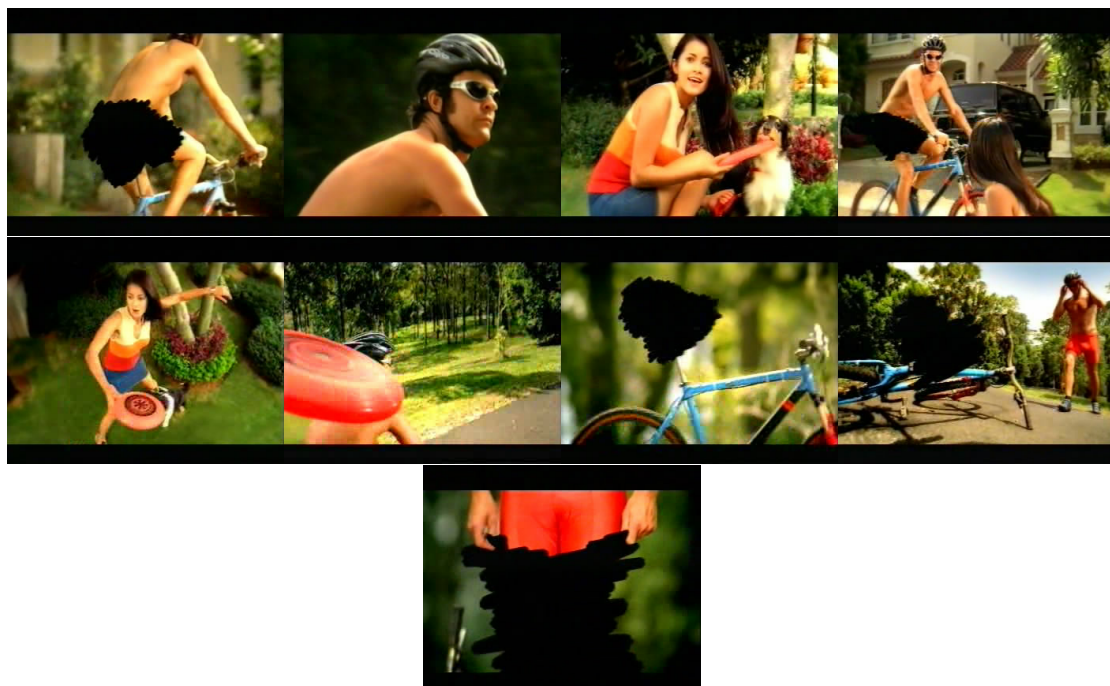


Figure 11

Djarum Black TVC Capture (MACS909)

The second version of the advertisement, launched in 2002, has almost the same characteristics as the previous one, but instead of using a girl as an object, this

time the man is used as an object representing Djarum Black. The focus starts with the man riding a bicycle with his top off and only a black marker hatch covering his private parts. A girl, who is playing Frisbee with her dog, watches in awe as the man passes by, and accidentally throws the Frisbee onto his head and brings him to the ground. In this process the black marker hatch stays on the bike seat and reveals the red pants that the man wears. Again the same symbolism is used in this television commercial, but the sexual desire has shifted from the man to the woman. This creates a significant message for the target consumer that Djarum Black is not only for men but also for women in their early 20s, as suggested by the women's appearance. It can also be said that it represents the male desire to be seen as attractive, and vice versa.

The television commercial shows how the female character is eager to see what's behind the hatch and again this sexual drive is being compared to smoking desire. Mulvey suggest that this is called 'scopophilia', meaning "taking other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze." (Mulvey, 2009, p. 17). The female character is taking the man as their object of desire that in a way controls them, and vice versa. From the two examples of the ads that are being used, it can be seen that this technique delivers the implicit message to the audience of how smoking desire is equated with sexual desire, with both being in need of being satisfied. The campaign appears to address the heterosexual desires of both sexes since both men and women are depicted as the object choice in the MACS909 campaign materials. According to Asep, however, the TVCs were made to raise curiosity among the audience rather than targeting a particular gender market, as most cigarette smokers are men.

At this stage of the campaign, Djarum Black tries to create a character for the audience and creates a theme that introduces the brand as a form of enjoyment rather than as a symbol of modernity or the control of emotions, as suggested by Nichter et al. (2008) earlier. Although the modernity theme is shown as part of the advertisement, the image of a woman wearing a swimsuit or a man riding a bike with his top off are not regular things that you can see in contemporary Indonesia. Most Indonesian people traditionally (especially conservative Muslims) consider showing their skin as taboo. The man and the woman here reveal themselves as a modern, western-like, more global character that the brand is trying to attach to. Unlike other ads that reflect the realities of the social life of the viewer, Djarum Black ads create a new kind of world that the viewer cannot find in their normal everyday activities. This can only mean one thing: the brand is trying to say that the product itself can move you to another reality where modern, youthful people with more Western-like lifestyles predominate and where beauty and pleasure are in abundance. As previously stated, the identity of Indonesians here is in the hybridization status and easily can be found anywhere in Indonesia especially in urban areas where a western-like lifestyle is followed.

These examples of television commercials at this early stage of the campaign shows that Djarum Black brand as an identity still operates on the exploitation of the product. Brand character at this phase is still eager to reach more general audiences and the use of humour and voyeurism are truly for the purpose of attaching the brand to the target audience's mind because both themes are the easiest way of making the brand remain in the viewer's head. Asep explains in the email interview about this:



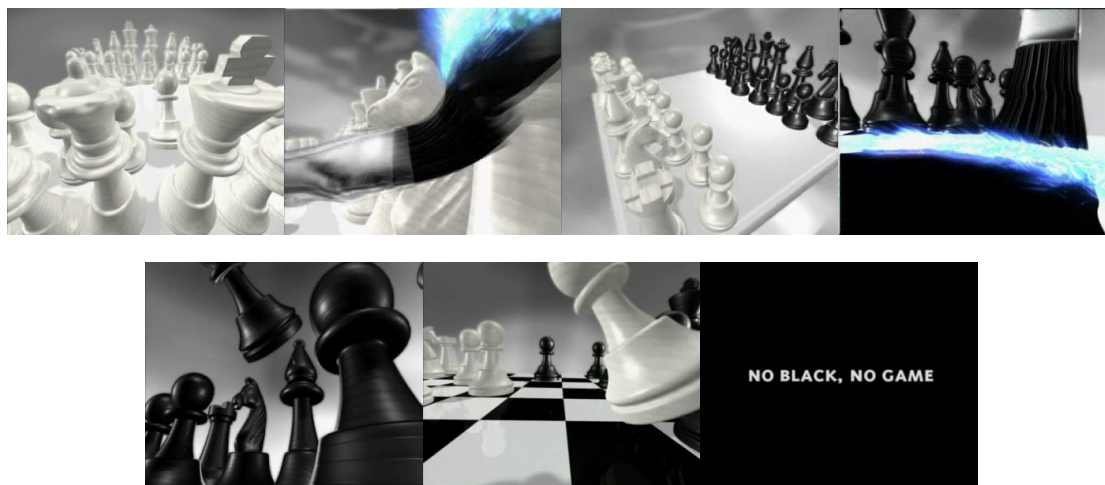


Figure 13

#### Djarum Black TVC Capture (MACS909)

The second stage of the campaign in 2003, using the main slogan of No Black No... [slogan/jargon]. The television commercial shows a chess board complete with all the chess pieces from both sides, all in white colour. As the TVC moves on, one side of the chess pieces is painted black. Eventually all the missing black colours on the chess board are painted black. After that the chess pieces start to move as if they were in a chess game, and at the end the phrase 'No Black No Game' appears.

This Djarum Black advertisement has moved from themes of sexual desire/smoking desire to a more subtle theme emphasising the importance of Djarum Black in life. The advertising campaign at this stage revolves around the significance of the black colour. Black here not only represents the product but also the identity of the consumer who will identify themselves as an important part of a social group. Chess in Indonesia is more a man's game and the game is played in spare time where some people, mostly men, sit around in a group chatting and smoking cigarettes while watching two people playing the game of chess. The

connection between chess, cigarettes and a social gathering here can be seen as part of the smoking culture in Indonesia. The ad itself tries to identify the closest things that happen to an audience while providing a thought on the importance of black.

This advertisement is also creating a notion of the importance of Djarum Black to everyday life. The simple idea of creating an association of the importance of black in a chess game is actually a brilliant one. Chess is a well-known global sport, and it is general knowledge that the game needs black and white pieces to play. The theme of globalization shown here is an effort to put the brand on the global stage, the same as the previous advertisements. These ads are the representations of how the cigarette industries want to be seen in Indonesia. The brand acts as if they it leads the Indonesian cigarette industry, in this case PT Djarum, where its core duty is to create a steady population of consumers, which will lead to create good sales and profit. In order to do this cigarette brands try to create a new reality that leads to, as Althusser explains, "The mutual recognition of subjects and subject, the subjects' recognition of each other and finally the subject's recognition of himself" (2001, p. 123). This self-recognition is the main purpose of these ads, which connect the Djarum Black with symbols that will be recognized by audiences from their daily life, therefore helping them to identify with the brand. Djarum Black's efforts to give an identity to its brand as modern, creative, sophisticated, young, and fresh will take a further step on the next television commercial.

### ***Third stage, slogan: Think Black***

#### **Wanna be**

The third stage of the campaign starting in 2006 is called 'think black' because, as Asep said, this is when the brand is already on the next phase of brand recognition. The brand is already well known by audiences and the campaign's purpose is to put the brand into the top of mind of the audiences.



Figure 14

Djarum Black TVC Capture (MACS909)

According to Asep, this commercial is part of the third stage state of Djarum Black. A different approach is implemented here, while still using the premise of having the black colour to stir the imagination. The main character here looks like a typical staff employee working at an office; the surrounding is white with an iMac in front of him. It symbolizes a modern office, most possibly a designer's office. Looking bored at



first, while using his metal ruler to do things, suddenly a hand with a black marker gives him a hair extension which gives the main character a Rasta looking style which is connected to reggae music and the ruler suddenly becomes a guitar drawn by the hand. The main character suddenly looks lively while pretending that the metal ruler is a guitar.

Reggae music here represents the symbol of resistance while the “wild imagination”, as Asep suggests, creates a new kind of liveliness. Djarum Black acts as the thing that is needed to make the life of bored staff livelier. Djarum Black here tries to expand the breakthrough from the previous stage of the brand’s life by turning the wild imagination into practice in daily life. The setting for this ad is inside an office with desk and computer which is exactly what an ordinary office looks like, but Asep and his team take it further by making this ordinary office into an extraordinary one by using very clever creativity. This stage also shows how the culture of smoking is depicted in contemporary Indonesian life as portrayed by the brand’s own world which is closer to what consumers encounter in daily life.

### **Portrait of Black**





Figure 15

#### Djarum Black TVC Capture (MACS909)

This television commercial, aired in 2007, shows a young man being followed by a photographer who turns out to be a woman. During the course of the action he does several things that could be regarded as part of the everyday life of this central character. In the first scene, he gets out of the car in the basement parking area and when he ties his shoelaces, the sound of snapshots start. There is a red cone besides him, which represents the logo of Djarum Black itself being captured. Then there are snapshots being taken showing his glasses hooked to his shirt, which looks like a letter B, a mug holder which looks like a letter C, a laptop being opened suggesting a letter L, and when the character walks from a pole it is shaped like a K letter. These chains of photograph are later collected together to create the word BLACK.

This ad is trying to show how close Djarum Black is to the everyday life of people—not ordinary people, but a young male executive, an established kind of person, the kind that the brand wants audiences to connect with. The lifestyle that he has—driving a good car to his office, drinking coffee and working with his laptop in a sidewalk café—are signs of a modern, sophisticated young successful person. These signs create the impression of how up-to-date and modern the Djarum Black brand is.

There is also the same impression of using the second stage idea, which is to reveal how important Djarum Black is and also using the same character of desire from the first stage. This third stage is a mixture of both stages. The desire is shown in the form of the female photographer who takes pictures of the man, this woman stalking the man and taking many photographs, which eventually reveal that Djarum Black is always around this character. The 'scopophilia', as Mulvey suggests, appear again as the main intention for this ad. Asep suggested in an interview that:

One thing that always occurs in the Black commercial is that the main character has to be the centre of attention for his surroundings.

The curious gaze in the first stage has been replaced by a camera which captures every moment, and it is also illustrates how happy the woman is when collecting the print of her photo result which suggests the desire, like the first stage.

The third stage shows how the brand has become more and more settled to a certain kind of setting and already has a soul and personality of its own. One of the MACS909 jobs initially done for Djarum Black was, according to Kerry (Art Director of MACS909) in his interview: "to give this brand a soul and personality".

At this stage MACS909 can be said to already have given Djarum Black the soul and personality needed to have the brand at least in the mind of the consumer for machine-made *kretek* brand. The slogan of think Black refers to not only the matureness of the brand but also a connotation of creativity, youth and modernity. As the ad shows, the unlikely surroundings of this character can be turned into a meaningful thing creatively. The next stage of Djarum Black development will reveal more about how the brand positions itself in the mind of the audiences, which is the fourth stage of the brand development of Djarum Black.

#### ***Fourth stage—the establishment of the slogan ‘Black It Is’***

##### **Black effects**

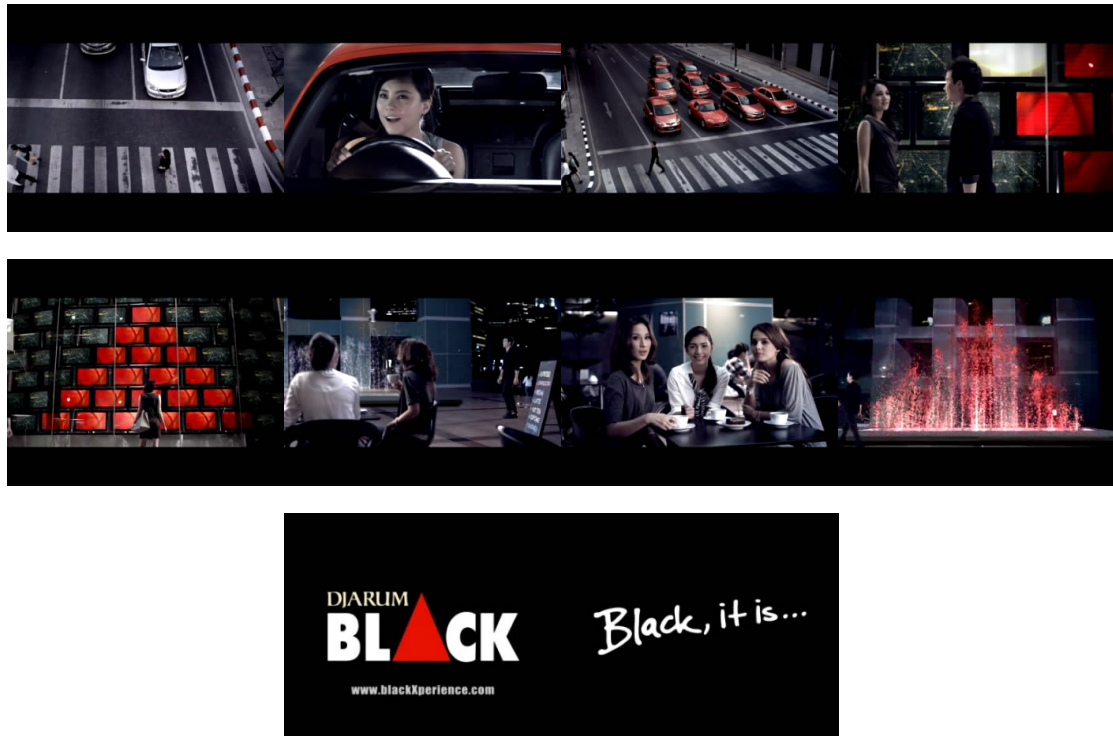


Figure 16

Djarum Black TVC Capture (MACS909)

The fourth stage for Djarum Black campaign, aired in 2011 is what Asep regards as the establishment of Djarum Black as a brand. In this ad the centre of attention is still a man, young and fresh. The campaign is still focusing on the effects created by this particular man on his surroundings. In the first frame the man is crossing the road while a woman is staring from inside the car with a look of desire and suddenly the whole lane is filled with cars that turn red after the man has crossed. The next scene moves to the front of a TV shop. Again the man comes across a girl who looks at him admiringly and suddenly all the TVs in the display create a red triangle colour after he has gone. In the next scene, the main character

is crossing a sidewalk café with a water fountain at the front of the café. There are three girls here who look at him in awe, and the fountain suddenly turns into a triangular red shape after he is gone. Again, the use of 'scopophilia' here is dominant.

The plot here is still the same: a young man being admired by women. However, unlike the first stage campaign, this ad has something more to it. The character is now not only being admired by the opposite sex but creating an effect that makes him even more admirable. The Djarum Black identity by now has more meaning attached to it; the brand has climbed up from being only admired to becoming a brand that lasts longer in the mind of the audience. All three scenes have the same intention, which is to send a message about how the brand has particular effects on users. The design of the ad shows how it is linked with the world of the consumer.

The symbolism from the first scene is cars being turned into red colours. Cars symbolize modernity, urban life, and also the mobility of people. The second symbolism can be found in the car stopping at the red light. These cars stop when the character crosses the road, which can be explained as a representation of people stopping and staring with admiration when the character representing the brand passes by. The brand here is portrayed as being an aspiration for others.

The second scene has almost the same explanation with the first but the TV here symbolises media, which can be influenced by the brand, therefore Djarum Black is as strong as media can be. TV is generally regarded as a major influence for large numbers of people but here it can be conquered by Djarum Black—thus creating admiration from the audience.

The third scene at the café with a fountain suggests the vitality of a man. Fountain symbolizes the man's vitality, or fertility to be more specific. The look and the body of the man is not the only thing that can be admired by those three women hanging out at the café, but the vitality, which is much more appealing.

By using these three major symbols in the ad, it can be said that Djarum Black wants to deliver a modern, influential, and healthy identity for the audience. The influential symbols, in addition, have served to establish visibility for the brand. The influence is such that it can be considered to be a cult brand, as Asep suggested previously. Cult brand status is regarded as the highest status that a brand can obtain. At this level, smokers and non-smokers really want to claim to be part of Djarum Black world, regardless of whether they actually use the product or not.

Djarum Black brand development can be seen in the four steps that MACS909 has undertaken. I wish to now turn attention to Lowe, a branch of an international advertising agency. The investigation will reveal a different approach to brand development of a local product from Sampoerna, a local company acquired by Philip Morris, a transnational tobacco corporation. The comparison will demonstrate how a different approach is used for the same purpose of creating the identity of the brand, and later on generating sales.

### **Sampoerna Hijau brand**

The Lowe Indonesia advertising agency has been handling Sampoerna Hijau since 2000/2001 when the brand was trying to reintroduce itself to Indonesian audiences. Sampoerna Hijau was first introduced in 1968 as the second hand-rolled *kretek* brand for Sampoerna which already has Dji Sam Soe as a premium hand-rolled *kretek* brand. Sampoerna Hijau was intended to be consumed by 25-35 year

old men in a low-middle class category (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, & Sumardy, 2005, p. 380) while Dji Sam Soe was intended for the middle-to-upper class category.

The brand had its moment in the wake of Indonesian economic crisis in 1997/1998 when the price of cigarettes increased three- to four-fold compared to before the crisis, due to increased production costs. Sampoerna Hijau had loyal middle-to-low class consumers but with stagnant sales. The crisis made the brand an alternative to the much more expensive cigarettes that other consumers usually purchased. The honeymoon period for Sampoerna Hijau only lasted for a couple of years. The figures for those years show an increase of 61% in 1997 but decreasing in 1998 with only a 45% growth increase in sales. The trend then continued in 1999 with only 32% growth increase in sales (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, & Sumardy, 2005, p. 401). This decreasing growth in sales was beginning to worry the PT. Sampoerna management. Seeing that a dramatic response was needed to counter the problem, PT. Sampoerna made a pitch to advertising agencies to increase the sales growth for the brand. Lowe Indonesia won the pitch and secured the Sampoerna Hijau account. Lowe's job was to rejuvenate the brand to improve sales. To find what development the brand made in a decade since Lowe started, I would like to discuss in the following section Sampoerna Hijau advertisements, especially television commercials from 2001 until 2010. The television commercial selected is based on each theme/slogan that occurs during that period. Material is taken with permission from Lowe Indonesia, obtained during my fieldwork carried out from January to March 2011.

## ***Refresh the brand***

When Lowe obtained the job, the first thing was to create a new kind of cigarette advertising that had a different theme from previous cigarette advertisements in Indonesia. Edwin recounts that era in the interview:

Edwin: We asked some fishermen about Sampoerna Hijau, most of them told us that it gives them a warm [feeling] when they sail, they told us they need a warm cigarette...we then translated that warm feeling into “rame-rame” (free translation: with a group of people mostly doing fun things)... when you’re with your friends you always get the warm feeling and intimacy... (Interview #1 at Lowe Indonesia, Edwin Herlambang, Creative Director of Lowe Indonesia, 17 February 2011)

The tagline of “Asiknya rame-rame”—translated as having fun with a group of people—then became the platform of “Geng Hijau” (Green Gang) which consisted of 5 characters for the advertisements. These 5 different characters were cast from common people and not one of them has a ‘great look’ like typical characters depicted in cigarette advertisements. Instead they have a bit of a rural look, which was a breakthrough at that time but nevertheless created an accurate representation of the targeted audience for the brand. One of the key differences between Sampoerna Hijau and Djarum Black is how the character appears. While Sampoerna Hijau uses a rural appearance and more than one main character, Djarum Black’s approach is to use a modern, young executive, with only one main character. The contrast of those two brands is interpreted as a difference in how consumers use the product itself. Sampoerna Hijau is associated with smoking in groups while Djarum Black is linked with the solitary pleasures of smoking.



The following snapshots are from the first advertisement of Sampoerna Hijau, produced by Lowe. It has the setting of a rural area around the time of Indonesian Independence Day celebrations where a festival being held and some traditional games are contested. This tradition usually takes place in the month of August to coincide with Independence Day. The setting itself already gives a hint of the target audience for this campaign, which takes place in either a rural area or some slums in an urban area. The celebration of Independence Day is rare sight nowadays in urban areas because people tend to be more individualistic and this kind of event is not interesting or considered relevant anymore for urban people.



Figure 17 Sampoerna Hijau TVC capture (Lowe Indonesia)

This Green Gang is competing in *bakiak* (sandal wood) race that requires cohesive team work as they have to walk together step by step. This analogises the togetherness that the brand is trying to emphasise. The *bakiak* race symbolises close friendships, which serve to reach an ultimate goal. Each member of the group

has a different background and ethnic group but they still work together closely, which echoes the Indonesian national motto of unity in diversity.

The desired look still plays a role in this cigarette advertisement using the same 'scopophilia' approach, described by Mulvey. One of the members sees a woman who gives them applause for their efforts in the race coupled with a look of desire. It has a little twist, when a pickpocket steals the woman's wallet from her bag, one of the members sees what happens, stops the group from competing in the race and moves sideways to catch the pickpocket. After returning the wallet to the woman, they become heroes and everybody applauds them and forgets about the race. This suggests that the brand is dedicated to safety and community.

The main rival for the race is pictured as not only stronger in shape but with a better look than the gang. The portrayal of strong built man can be connected to other brands of cigarettes, which proudly declare themselves as manly cigarettes with all the qualities to be a macho person. Sampoerna Hijau is different. While other brands are linked with a form of masculinity which gives emphasis to the well-built body, good looks and wilful character, Sampoerna Hijau links with the idea that all that is needed to become a man is to have some dependable friends. While other brand images embodied a meaning that smoking is a one-person solo act, Sampoerna Hijau embodies the importance of doing all things together, including smoking. As Erwin says in the interview:

If we talk about genk ijo (green gang), we talk about breakthrough...if you see [cigarette advertising] in the TV before [genk ijo] you will see a macho man alone, climbing the mountain or doing his own thing by himself... We create the ad with a lot of people in a casual setting and with ordinary manners ...not the cool kind of things [as in other cigarette advertisements] (Interview #1 at

Lowe Indonesia, Edwin Herlambang, Creative Director of Lowe Indonesia, 17 February 2011)

This provides more evidence of how Sampoerna Hijau tries to be as humble as it possibly can be to connect themselves to the intended target audiences through a different kind of mythology. This contrasts with Djarum Black whose character is always depicted as being surrounded by an admirer.

The togetherness of the gang within the crowd, watching the *bakiak* competition, is implied by the advertising message. In Indonesia, it is customary and considered to be much more fun if one does things together with many people. Communal action is a valued tradition in Indonesia where it is seen that social interaction should be collective, consensual and cooperative (Bowen, 1986), and Sampoerna Hijau as a brand tries to identify itself as the thing that ties people together. The obvious message of the campaign is that it is much more fun to share the cigarettes (Sampoerna Hijau) with friends, thus attempting to connect with consumers in their everyday lives.

### ***Establishing and maintaining the brand***

Between 2001 to 2003, *Geng Ijo* was the Sampoerna Hijau Brand Ambassador. A series of advertisements featuring this gang going through different stories all used a similar main theme of *Asiknya Rame-rame*. (Have fun with a group of people). According to Edwin, the story of this *Geng Ijo* was cut short because:

based on the insight at that time, the client wanted this gang to be “killed”. We still can use a bunch of guys but we had to change the talent in every campaign. According to the client, apart from the insight that told them that the gang is boring, the other reason was that *Geng Ijo* was more famous than

the brand itself. (Interview #2 at Lowe Indonesia, Edwin Herlambang, Creative Director of Lowe Indonesia, 10 March 2011)

The stopping of *Geng Ijo* forced the agency to come up with new and fresh ideas so the new campaign was established with a tagline *Nggak Ada Loe, Ga Rame*. (The Indonesian language used here is slang which means “it is no fun without you”). The series of this theme was practically using the tagline in the campaign. The example below is one of the TV commercials aired in 2006, which has a story of three close friends who want to go to the concert of a beautiful famous Malaysian singer, but one of them cannot attend the event because of their workload at the office that must be finished that night.



Figure 18

#### Sampoerna Hijau TVC Capture (Lowe Indonesia)

The other two mates trick him by asking a favour of a tall lady who can speak Malay dialect and, pretending to be the well-known singer, to call the man at the office to come to the concert. The plan works, and the three close friends are together again happy and, surprisingly, the tall lady who pretended to be the artist, comes from behind the three mates. The link of using more than one character from the beginning of *Geng Ijo* is still there but the different environment and atmosphere generate a different image of the brand itself. The setting is notably set in a modern surrounding: an office cubicle, the use of a cellular phone, and three actors dressed

in a modern young style, which differs from the previous campaigns, most of them being in rural areas. The brand still has the youthful, energetic characteristic but the modern setting—a pop music concerts not a dangdut, which is preferable for rural public (the real consumer of Sampoerna Hijau)—creates confusion among the audience according to an audience survey conducted by the agency during this particular campaign and after it finished in 2006.

PT. Sampoerna, as Lowe's client, at that time was planning to move the demographic of Sampoerna Hijau Brand from lower-middle class to upper-middle class. The commercial in this campaign follows that intention. However, the advertisement was a failure, as the real consumers for this brand are actually the lower-middle class. The survey conducted on this particular campaign suggested that the actual consumer could not get the meaning of the ads. Thus, according to Edwin, it creates lower sales as the consumer finds the change to be uncharacteristic of Sampoerna Hijau.

After this letdown, Lowe tried to convince PT. Sampoerna to create a supporting line before the tagline, to have it more comprehensive and much more understandable to the actual audience. This was done because, as Edwin said:

practically, it is difficult to tell the story for the campaign apart from the TV commercial. When we create the ads for Billboard and other print ads from the same campaign it did not work. How do you recognize the story? The supporting line is connecting the story to the main tagline. It was a success...

(Interview #1 at Lowe Indonesia, Edwin Herlambang, Creative Director of Lowe Indonesia, 17 February 2011)

The campaigns had supporting lines for a while and followed the success of the *Geng Ijo* instalment, although not as successful. Some of the advertising campaigns of the second settlement are discussed below.

### **Nggak Ada Loe, Ga Rame Campaign**

#### **Falling vase – Teman selalu bisa jadi pegangan (a friend is the one you can always rely on)**

The Sampoerna Hijau Campaign for the second settlement started with a supporting line of *Teman selalu bisa jadi pegangan* (friend is the one you can always rely) to support the main tagline of *Nggak Ada Loe, Ga Rame*. The writing of the tagline itself can be described as a way of connecting the brand to the audience and also to the glorious past of both Indonesia and the cigarette company. The use of slang or, in other words, everyday language, is the way that the brand tries to connect to the consumer. The use of old spelling in 'LOE' instead of 'LU' somehow creates the image of how this brand existed a long time ago.





Figure 19

### Sampoerna Hijau TVC Capture (Lowe Indonesia)

The television commercial's setting takes place in an urban area, but the three friends work as gardeners which is considered as a lower class profession in Indonesia, and therefore easily connected to the intended customers. The problem occurs when a flowerpot plunges into a small creek nearby. When one of the boys tries to reach for the pot, an ant crawls onto him; the other boy tries to get rid of the ant but instead makes the other lose his balance. Then desperately, the boy who tries to grab the pot reaches for the other's hair and the one with the hair being grabbed frantically reaches for the other's pants and they struggle to maintain their balance. The supporting line of *Teman bisa selalu jadi pegangan* (A friend is the one you can always rely on) is translated literally in this commercial, thus creating a funny circumstance which is supposed to have the intention of having it remembered by audiences. The supporting line in this commercial creates a situation that can really connect to the tagline. The main intention of this brand is to create an image of a cigarette that can be enjoyed together and Sampoerna Hijau is the one that can be relied upon to create togetherness.

The setting, casting and story ideas for this campaign are different from the previous campaign. Instead of using the upper-middle class environment this campaign moved back to the lower-middle atmosphere where the real consumer of the brand can be found. The casting also strengthened the story and the



construction of the commercial, the same concept of using ordinary people without selling the looks, creates a bond to the real consumer of Sampoerna Hijau.

### ***The reestablishment***

#### **Teman Yang Asyik (Cool Friends) Campaign**

##### **Grandma – Ada Budi Ada Balas (What goes around comes around)**

The last campaign during my fieldwork in 2011 was a campaign with a tagline of *Teman Yang Asyik* (cool friends) with a supporting line of “Ada Budi Ada Balas” (what goes around comes around). The setting is a typical lower-middle class urban area with the theme of young men helping each other. In other words, the theme concerns how these young men represent Sampoerna Hijau as being useful for society, which is how PT. Sampoerna wants the brand to be represented. The main characters are three typical young men from the lower-middle class who are willing to help an old lady carrying some goods. (Some hints— from the fashion and the brand that the characters are using—indicate that these young men could probably be from a higher class in society.) It was hard work because it turns out that the old lady’s house is quite far away. In the end, the hard work paid off because the old lady has beautiful triplets, which gives them a reward for their effort.

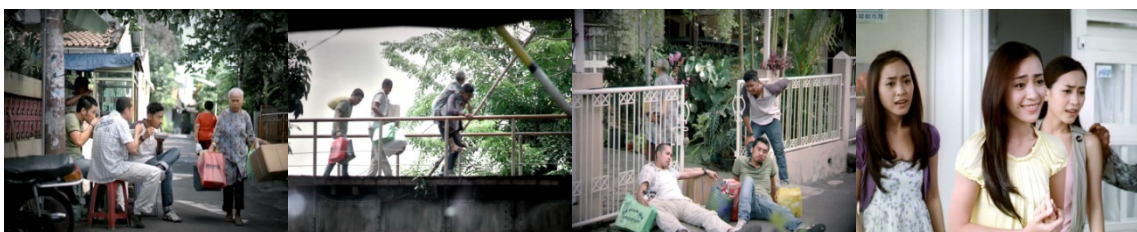






Figure 20

### Sampoerna Hijau TVC Capture (Lowe Indonesia)

This campaign is trying to give an image of the goodness of the brand itself as a cool friend to be with. The supporting tagline of what goes around comes around is more likely a gesture of PT. Sampoerna that it is useful for society while persuading people to buy the product so both the consumer and the company will benefit.

According to Erwin, the class bias of the target audience is inevitable as the brand tries to reach the upper-middle class consumer. One of the rules in the tobacco industry in Indonesia is to limit the amount of cigarette production per brand by implementing a higher tax for a higher production output. The rule is implemented to protect small-scale cigarette production, ensuring healthy competition in the market. The demand for Sampoerna Hijau is high and, as the production goes up to meet the demand, the higher tax alters the basic price of Sampoerna Hijau to be higher than before. With a higher price, only the upper-middle class can afford to buy the product.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on the process of producing images for advertisements, especially via commercial television, and how advertising agencies employ implicit constructions of identity. The fieldwork conducted in these two agencies, along with a semiotic analysis of the advertisements, revealed the identity and character of the

intended target of the brand's end user. This research reveals much about the character of the industry as well as the ways in which contemporary constructions of Indonesian identity are employed by and are reinforced through advertising.

In creating the image intended for cigarette advertisements, Indonesian advertising agencies struggle to present their ideas without breaking any legislation that has been enacted by the Indonesian Government. Getting around the legislation requires creative strategies for communicating with the consumer. This chapter shows how two brands from two big tobacco companies in Indonesia, PT. Djarum and PT. Sampoerna, introduce the images while still operating within the permitted set of regulations. The legislation, which prohibits showing cigarettes, provides some room for the agencies to communicate their messages to audiences. The gap in the cigarette advertising legislation requires a highly creative agency to outsmart it. As seen in this chapter, the two brands are evolving their campaigns in order to cope with the legislation and also the changing audience/consumer.

The reason for selecting those two brands is that they have unique characteristics and provide a basis for the evaluation of contrasting approaches. While the television commercials of Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau have different approaches, the goal is still the same—to sell cigarettes. The MACS909 approach of selling the Djarum Black brand in the ads uses the theme of modernity and cosmopolitanism, while Lowe Indonesia's approach for Sampoerna Hijau is to use the theme of lower class urban (and rural) friendship as the main focus. It can be seen that the different markets have a role in how these brands are being brought to the public. Both agencies have a unique approach in line with the brands being marketed. MACS909, a local advertising agency which has no expatriates among its staff, creates a hybrid of international and local images with its connected references

in Djarum Black advertisements. Lowe Indonesia, on the other hand, as a franchise of an international advertising agency with some expatriate staff, aims to create a pure local character in its Sampoerna Hijau advertisements.

It is important to recognise that the advertisements, in both cases, are based on in-depth research on the intended audiences conducted by the advertising agency using focus group discussions and surveys. Thus, the identities being presented by the advertisements act as interpellation of the identities already existing in society, but these identities are polished and tweaked so that they connect to the brand itself.

The next chapter will provide another layer on how the contemporary Indonesian identity is linked to the Indonesian identity represented by cigarette advertisements, especially via the two brands discussed in this chapter, viz., Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau. Cigarette advertisements try to reshape the image and identity of contemporary Indonesia by associating and linking the brand to the lifestyle of consumers.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **INDONESIA INC.**

#### **Smoking and Identity in a modernizing society**

The story about smoking and the tobacco industry in Indonesia not only uncovers the culture of Indonesian people but also reveals how smoking helped shape the nation. This chapter is about how tobacco brands created an identity through their marketing campaigns. The chapter will uncover how smoking culture, tobacco business and cigarette advertisements establish themselves in the contemporary Indonesian modern society in the form of contemporary Indonesian identity. The first part of this chapter will discuss brand culture, globalisation and the rise of the Indonesian middle-class, which becomes a backdrop of how modern society in Indonesia has evolved to the present. This section will also discuss how brand, culture and identity are connected and, in turn, linked to globalisation and the rise of the Indonesian middle class. The second part will then discuss smoking culture and how it is connected to Indonesian society as a new kind of culture, a mixture between traditional and modern, global and local.

#### **BRAND CULTURE, GLOBALISATION AND THE RISE OF THE INDONESIAN MIDDLE CLASS**

##### **Brand, Culture and identity**

Culture, brand and identity are the three important concepts that act as a cornerstone to bring together this whole thesis. This section will try to connect the dots between them and will reveal a new perspective on contemporary Indonesian identity. The first section of this chapter will talk about how the three factors

connected and the influence that they have on the Indonesian middle class that has become increasingly powerful in terms of purchasing power. The spending consumption of this middle class is certainly a big factor in shaping the new kind of culture in Indonesia. Globalisation, which spreads information in a blink of an eye, has also been a decisive aspect of shaping this consumption pattern. The middle class in Asia, particularly in Indonesia, is growing rapidly, which offers a promising market for some of the internationally recognized brands. To begin this chapter, the following paragraphs will try to uncover the connection between those three factors of brand, culture and identity as a point of departure.

The origin of the brand itself can be traced back to when the tradition of giving names to certain products started. Brand names have been given to products as early as the nineteenth century (Danesi, 2006, pp. 1,14). In Indonesia, one of the earliest brand names was for a cigarette brand called Bal Tiga. Naming a particular product is called branding, which originally referred to the use of the hot iron marking of livestock (Danesi, 2006, p. 8). When companies put a name on the product, there will be some expectation on the product itself. The name will give the product a life of its own and, furthermore, as Danesi remarks, the name makes it possible to refer to it as though it had a distinctive character or quality (Danesi, 2006, p. 14). This unique nature and value embedded into the product itself is what defines 'brand'. The importance of brand can be understood when the value attached to it affects the people when they buy or use the product of the brand and feel the same unique character that the brand aims to give.

Branding is applied distinctively in the cigarette industry. Every tobacco company creates different brands with different target markets. The different markets for each brand forces companies to create some kind of connection between the

market and the brand or, in other word, an added value. The added value creates a brand character that represents the market, which will, in the end, hopefully generate sales. This characterization of a brand can be seen in the semiotic analysis of the cigarette advertisements in the previous chapter: the way Djarum Black associates itself with a man being admired for his surroundings (young and modern lifestyle) as compared to Sampoerna Hijau which is tied to rural traditional culture of more lower class status. It is obvious what kind of targeted markets that these two brands are looking at. Djarum Black, with its connotations of modern lifestyle, tends to focus on the middle upper classes with white-collar jobs at offices around the big cities in Indonesia. Sampoerna Hijau, on the other hand, with its rural characteristic, turns to the blue-collar, peasant and other more lower classes as their targeted market. Both brands try to address their consumer aspirations in order to create more attractive characteristics for the brand user. Djarum Black, for example, attracts the upper middle class by creating not only creatively made advertisements but also events that support their lifestyle aspirations. Events such as Auto Blackthrough (car modification festival) or Black Menthol Power Beat (Rave Party) are used intentionally to draw the intended target user to eventually buy the product.

Nowadays, branding is not entirely about a product line. 'Brand' has transformed itself to become the company that manufactures it and the social image that the company wishes to have for its products (Danesi, 2006, p. 14). For instance, back at the end of the nineteenth century, Coca-Cola was no more than a product brand, now it has grown into a company that has various names for its products. The brand Coca-Cola today is not only associated with the soda drink but also associated with the large multinational company that has millions of workers all around the globe.

Cigarette companies in Indonesia, especially the big three, Gudang Garam, Sampoerna and Djarum, use their own company name as a brand when their businesses were still at the early stage but later on use various kinds of brand to sell their products. On several occasions during the year, especially religious festivals or other national holidays, these companies create a campaign that promotes themselves as proud Indonesian companies that support Indonesian culture or religious practices that occur during those festivals or holidays. These campaigns usually have no relation to cigarettes themselves and usually have no connection to the brands of cigarettes that they created. Most of these campaigns are used to build the company's image as a good company that cares about Indonesia and Indonesians, their culture, and their environment. Below (figure 21) is an example of the company campaign of PT. Sampoerna during a 100-year commemoration of national awakening of Indonesia in 2008,



Figure 21

(PT. Sampoerna TVC Capture - Lowe Indonesia).

The above campaign does not even show anything connected to cigarettes or smoking. Rather, it shows some of the best young people ranging from artists, musicians, film producers, athletes, and wartime heroes, arranged into a stack of

dominos that rise from the ground and push other dominos in a reverse domino effect, with pictures of figures that have made a great contribution to the nation. This commercial intelligently associates these public figures with the character of the company itself: the strong willed, smart, and powerful persona from each of those people help builds the image of the company brand.

The next step in establishing connection is to find out the relationship between brand and culture. Klein pointed out that brands are ideas, attitudes, values and experiences, so they can be considered as culture (Klein, 2002, p. 30). The effort to create the brand by using those qualities is at the same level as the creation of the 'culture' itself. Brand as a culture has the ability to create a way of life for a group of people in society or at least a pseudo way of life which one can pretend to have. This idea is supported by Kornberger who stated that the brand becomes the medium and therefore a catalyst that creates community consisting of internal and external stakeholders (Kornberger, 2010, p. 131). In Kornberger's view, brand becomes an agent that connects the company (as a brand or as owner of a brand) to the consumer. The company's identity is represented not only in the company's campaign but also in how the companies represent themselves to the public and how the public perceives it. For example, the Djarum Black marketing campaign uses the Djarum Black community. The Djarum Black community includes owners of modified cars connoting a luxurious lifestyle, and giving Djarum the quality of a lifestyle in its own right.

Brand is very important in the modern era as it is the one that connects the product/company to the consumer through advertising and other promotional tools. Brand links the product through the image, which can be associated with the consumers. This is when customers start to correlate themselves to the product and



begin becoming attached to the value of the brand. In order to survive, a brand must adapt to its surroundings and modify its image every now and then to settle into recent cultural developments. Danesi notes that the integration of brand image with pop culture has actually been the implicit strategy in big brand marketing (2006, p. 92). The possibility of a brand becoming extinguished or redundant is relatively high, which is why a brand needs to be altered from time to time to prevent this from happening. This can be seen in the metamorphosis of Sampoerna Hijau brand, from a simple rural lower class characteristic to becoming more and more adjusted to the fast paced era that the world has become. In its early days, the Sampoerna Hijau brand was the cigarette brand that PT. Sampoerna produced to cover the lower segment of Dji Sam Soe brand, a premium brand that the company had had since the beginning. The brand offered people who could not afford Dji Sam Soe with cheaper cigarettes with almost the same sensation as the first-class quality. Sometime in the last five years or so Sampoerna Hijau has stepped up into a more respectable brand in terms of value. Even Edwin (Creative Director of Lowe) in the interview provided an insight on how middle class café-going people are not embarrassed anymore showing a pack of Sampoerna Hijau (which decades ago was considered to be a cigarette for the lower class) at their table while having a good time at a gathering spot. The brand looks like adapting to the contemporary world, which is actually the representation of the development of the economy and culture of Indonesia. And the brands themselves are one important aspect that has helped create culture in Indonesia. The alteration can be seen in a modified hybrid culture that Indonesian people encounter today. While absorbing a western lifestyle, Indonesian culture has made some adjustment to it by maintaining aspects of traditional value, thus creating a new kind of global and local culture which can be

seen in cigarette advertisements that mirror the real world. The cigarette advertisement that I discussed in chapter V clearly suggests this, where three young men help an old lady carry her shopping bag within a natural lower class suburb setting and a small pathway, sidewalk food merchant, and so on.

Brand, as described above, has a value of its own. This value is somewhat created by either company or advertising agency to create a certain characteristic of the product in question which accommodates adaptations in line with wider socio-cultural influences. The concept of creating a character/identity for a product, is advanced by Kornberger, who states that brands are discursively constructed identities that accommodate change and stability (2010, p. 104). In Kornberger's view, the identity of the brand is made intentionally to deliver the right attitude towards and value for the product, in which case the aim of the company will be accomplished. The identity of the brand should consistently represent the product or the company and it should be altered to reflect social changes. This is exactly what Sampoerna Hijau is trying to do by gradually creating characters that can represent both modern change as well as traditional values. In the TV commercials of Sampoerna Hijau, the progress of the brand identity from early 2000 to 2010 is noticeable—from a rural traditional character at the beginning to a more modern character later on—without leaving out the core of the Sampoerna Hijau value of its tradition. The adaptation is needed to accommodate the change in the market segment, while the tradition is also still needed in terms of keeping the stability for the brand intact.

Danesi added that across culture, names are perceived as fundamental to the identification and personality of the individual (Danesi, 2006, p. 13). The brand name should be able to be identified by consumers and the personality of the brand

itself should be well matched to the intended consumer. In other words, consumers should have the feeling of being identified as the same as the product's identity, thus creating the need of using the product in the long term. As Adorno and Horkheimer (2002) indicated many years ago, 'psychotechnique' is used by companies, through advertisements and events, to manipulate desire for products. Djarum Black is the best example of this. The Djarum Black community started with the car community then expanded into the motorcycle community. Clubber community where young and upwardly mobile socialites usually gather in Black Menthol Power Beat where clubber usually enjoy a skilful DJ in providing them with a dancing rhythm at some hangout places, this clubber community does not have any formal organization but such community do exist in some places especially in big cities in Indonesia. These communities provide people, especially young people, a place where they can be identified as an up-to-date person and perceived by their peers as sophisticated.

The three components of brand, culture and identity intertwine with each other; they cannot be separated. Brand is a representation of culture and is created from cultural effort while identity is also what the consumers see in a brand and the thing that consumers want to be bound to, better argument for this lies on how brand is created and represent culture, which consequently generated identity connected to brand and to society itself. Example for this particular case is Djarum Black which represent hybrid culture and generate a hybrid identity for its brand consumer. Indonesia, as one of the fastest growing countries in Asia, is an excellent case of study of how those three components are being implemented. Indonesia, with a large number of middle class people who are able to spend money, becomes an ideal market for many brands/products. The larger market provides a bigger chance for many companies, local or global, to establish their brands. The globalisation

generates transnational companies, which expand their market all over the world, including Indonesia. Globalisation, brand culture and the implication of identity in contemporary Indonesia will be the focal point of the next section which will closely examine the effect of globalisation on Indonesia and how Indonesian culture is addressing the effect by creating a hybrid culture.

### **Globalisation, Indonesian hybridity and the rise of middle class**

National differences and antagonism between people are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto (Marx & Engels, Manifesto of The Communist Party, 2000) [1848]

Marx and Engels predicted globalisation as early as 1848 but until now the term is still sometimes disputed among academicians and researchers. Globalisation has been a debatable topic with many trying to define the word crossing the border of many fields of interest such as Ohmae's borderless world, Friedman's communication revolution driven, Giddens' concept of time distancing, Robertson's global consciousness or Marx and Engels' vanishing differences and antagonism, but in general, it refers to the process by which the world is said to be transformed into a single global system (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2006, p. 153). Globalisation is unavoidable as a result of the rapid development in technology, economics and science. One perspective on globalisation comes from Marshall McLuhan who coined the term 'global village' in the early 1960s to emphasise the speed of electronic devices as communication tools to create an instant message and create a sense of being in the same time and at the same place (Ray, 2007).

The phenomenon of globalisation in Indonesia was rapidly increased with the help of television. Until the late 1980s there was only one TV channel in Indonesia, TVRI. This Government owned television channel could not broadcast any commercials starting from April 1<sup>st</sup> 1981 (Sen & Hill, 2000, p. 114). The early 1990s marked the beginning of a rapid increase in global exposure. Privately founded TV channels were allowed to broadcast advertisements and they started to introduce brands and new television programs, mostly purchased from the United States and other western countries. These programs introduced a new kind of lifestyle that was rarely seen before. Western lifestyle, which is considered modern and state of the art culture, created a new kind of obsession for Indonesians and television commercial created a new platform for advertising agencies and companies in introducing their products nationally which already discussed in chapter I on Indonesian television history.

Indonesia has been exposed to Western cultural influences, as gradually the well-known world brands make their way into the one of the most populous countries in the world. Global brand such as McDonald's, Starbucks, Adidas and Nike are familiar sights in urban parts of Indonesia. McDonald's first outlet in Indonesia was established in February 1991 in one of the main streets of Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia (McDonalds Indonesia, 2012) and McDonald's now has more than 100 outlets across Indonesia. Meanwhile, Adidas and Nike products are popular among the youth and are creating a modern and global image. Starbucks Indonesia opened its first store in May 2002 (Starbucks Coffee Company Indonesia, 2012) and since then has become a place for young workers/employees to frequent after a long working day.

In the social media context, Indonesia has 47,165,080 Facebook users, the fourth largest in the world and 1.43 % of the world's twitter users. Over 19% of the population are on Facebook (Beevolve, 2012; Social Bakers, 2013). This growth of social media is the direct result of the increased middle class numbers who use modern gadgetry such as Blackberry, which is still the number one mobile phone preference for Indonesians (Social Bakers, 2013).

Indonesia's accelerated economic growth is also playing a significant part in generating tastes for global brands. Asian Development Bank states that the Indonesian middle class roughly doubled over the ten years from 1999 to 2009, from 45 million people to 93 million people, with expenditure per person per day growing from \$2 USD to \$20 USD over this period (Asian Development Bank, 2010, p. 11). While Nielsen (a worldwide research and analysis company) research similarly suggests that the Indonesian middle class is now the third largest in the world with 48% of the population and accounting for 44% of all FMCG (Fast Moving Consumer Goods) spending in the country (Eddy & Pratignyo, 2012). This research also provides an illustration of how the middle class plays an important role in shaping the economic backdrop for Indonesia. Most of the middle class lives in or around big cities such as the capital city Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya and Medan, where the centre of the economy is located. With the country's per capita income now being around \$3000 USD? and with 50 million people having a disposable income of at least \$3000 USD? a year (Westhead, 2011), the middle class is truly enjoying their life in Indonesia. This fact is also supported by Eddy and Pratignyo, both Directors of Nielsen, who suggest that while all the income groups are enjoying economic growth, the middle class in Indonesia is the one that has the largest proportion of the increase on spending expenses and quality of life improvements and is creating

more demand in a wider range of consumer categories than other classes (Eddy & Pratigny, 2012). The buying power of this middle class cannot be underestimated with the size of middle class predicted to increase to 150 million by the year 2014 (The Economist, 2011). The statistics on the emergence of the middle class in Indonesia can only suggest that this social stratum has become a significant factor in the connecting of brand, culture, and identity.

The dramatic change in the life of many Indonesian consumers with the rapid expansion of the middle class corresponds with the change in the structure and practice of the purchaser-provider relationship. The subsequent section will explain the significance of this middle class influence on the culture, especially in terms of the lifestyle of Indonesian people.

### **Contemporary Indonesian Lifestyle**

Indonesians are increasingly visiting shopping malls, especially if they live in urban centres (van Leeuwen, 2011, p. 156). Traditional markets are steadily being taken over by supermarkets or hypermarkets. Even though the number of people going to traditional markets or provision shops is still the highest in Indonesia, urban areas are being taken over by supermarkets, mini markets and hypermarkets. As they grow stronger they reduce the percentage using the traditional market as their source of consumable goods (Australian Government Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry, 2004). The interaction between seller and buyer which usually takes place at traditional markets has been replaced with a modern concept of [name the concept] which, in many ways, creates less intimacy than in the past. The hang out place has been shifted from the privately-owned small sidewalk coffee shop to global franchise model coffee shops such as Starbucks. Malls, cafés and coffee shops have increasingly become places where contested identities can be

explored and celebrated by those who can afford it (van Leeuwen, 2011, p. 180). Their development can only suggest that these places are increasingly growing into important spots for the middle class to 'prove' their existence and to become the identity they want to become. This transformation poses one major question: how did they come about? The rise of middle class and the rapid economic growth are not the only the causes, though these are important factors. The media is somewhat responsible in creating the lifestyle as it has evolved today in Indonesia. Jatman suggests that the media acts not only as an agent of culture but also becomes a culture in itself (Jatman, 1997). And Redana adds that the media, especially television, is promoting a lifestyle through its commercials and shows consequently creating a consumption pattern, which at this level is not based on the value of basic need but as an image of the consumers of their own lifestyle (Redana, 1997). Media, the rise of the middle class and rapid economic growth together have created a consumer society, which equates the consumption of a product or brand with a particular standard of living experienced today.

The rise of consumerism as a part of the global culture raises the question as to whether traditional Indonesian culture can survive. The answer to this question lies not in completely excluding the idea of having a global/modern kind of lifestyle but by adapting and merging them with traditional values. This is how hybridization takes place. Culture hybridity is defined by the assumption of the separateness and the intermingling of local and global spheres (Kraidy, 1999, p. 459). The separateness itself is not automatically a result of the hybridization but is part of the co-construction of the global and the local and also a mixture of symbolic unrest where power relations are being reproduced (Kraidy, 1999, p. 460). A practical example for this hybridity can be explained as follows: The custom of having some



friends having an intimate chat at the small traditional coffee shop while smoking a cigarette is being adapted into having the same kind of conversation at a much more up-to-date, or modern café. Although in some locations it is prohibited to smoke, many cafés still provide a smoking section. Tobacco companies have used the same technique of being modern while at the same time holding onto traditional values. While creating new products with an international orientation, the traditional ingredient of kretek is still there. Djarum Black is exactly the right example for this adaptation. Smoking is often associated with the idea that it makes conversation much more complete and satisfying.

The fashion business in Indonesia is another example of how this hybrid lifestyle, which is triggered by the rapid economic growth, becomes a new trend. Indonesian youths are now wearing local branded clothes with pride. For a simple illustration, I will choose Bandung as one of the fashion centres in Indonesia. Bandung is one of the largest cities in Indonesia, located about 140 km from the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta. Famous as *the* city for fashion, music, and great food, Bandung has become a main tourist centre for capital city Jakarta's people, creating a massive traffic jam every weekend. Bandung has a population of 2.3 million people according to BPS (National Centre of Statistic Biro) in a 2010 survey (Pemerintah Propinsi Jawa Barat (West Java Province Government), 2011). The brands selling their clothing lines are not in the range of cheap clothes like people can find in traditional markets but in the higher range which middle class people can afford. The other thing for the customers to be proud of is the fact that almost all of the clothing lines are limited production, unlike other internationally recognized brands such as Adidas. In a fashion sense, middle class youth prefer to be unique and distinctive but, on the other hand, still connected to their local brand that they

can be proud of. While the local brand name has the strong image of hybridization, there are some people who still prefer the international but rather cheap probably-fake items, which can be seen in many factory outlets in Bandung, the same city where local brand stores are located. This phenomenon probably can be explained as this is how the middle class cope with the modernity and international brand effect that has entered the Indonesian mindset as a representation of global identity. Some of the middle class preference today is not merely for a global brand, but for the exclusivity of the product itself. Local brand names are made in limited numbers, which raises the exclusiveness of the brand, thus creating a great demand.

Modern lifestyle and hybrid identity in Indonesia, as explained, occurs in every aspect of Indonesian people life, especially in the middle class group, which has become considerably larger in number. However as the focus of this thesis is on smoking culture rather than the fashion, the next section will discuss smoking culture and its connection to hybrid identity.

## **SMOKING CULTURE AND INDONESIAN HYBRID IDENTITY**

### **Hybrid Identity, re-traditionalism or glocalization?**

As discussed in earlier chapters, Indonesian smoking culture has gone through many changes. From sidewalk sales into a billion dollar industry, smoking is not merely a personal satisfaction but is also integrated in lifestyle, business and even Government through dependency on revenue. Each brand of cigarettes has a story behind it; some of them came from the realm of dreams. Smoking is about escaping reality, creating a dream, forgetting the difficult times, connecting socially to surroundings and holding onto the tradition. While for many health-concerned people

these qualities are an untruth, the smoking culture nevertheless exists vividly among Indonesian people and few argue about it.

Each brand of cigarette, especially *kretek*, has its own flavour. Even a brand from the same category has a different taste, whether spicy, sweet, or sour. These different flavours create a differentiation that, in capitalism itself, acts as a process of creating identities based on product difference, style and lifestyle (Piliang, 1997, p. 192). The identities are created from the moment that cigarette production starts at the factory. The means of production, using traditional methods or using modern machinery will determine the marketing of a particular brand of cigarette. Most of the cigarettes manufactured via a traditional process will dedicate the brand to its traditional value. On the other hand, machine-made *kretek* will be more focused on modernity. The marketing campaign of each brand depends on *who* the brand will be sold to. Generally the traditional *kretek* will target lower classes and older people, but with some exceptions. *Dji Sam Soe*, for example, one of the flagship brands of PT. Sampoerna is a traditionally-made cigarette but is targeted to the higher class and younger but more settled people than other brands of cigarettes. The machine-made *kretek*, especially in the light *kretek* category, are targeted to a much younger consumer with higher-class status than common traditional *kretek* brands. The smoking prevalence for middle income earners for filtered *kretek* reaches 41.1% out of 55.55% smoking prevalence in the group which is the highest in the category, much higher than unfiltered *kretek* with 11.98% and white cigarettes with 5.19% (Adioetomo, Djutaharta, & Hendratno, 2005). This data indicates that the middle class is a much more important target for machine-made *kretek* market rather than more traditional hand-made *kretek*.

The style of each brand is different, thus creating a distinctive offer of a different lifestyle as their signature. The result from those particular lifestyles can be divided into three categories: modern, hybrid and traditional. As Kraidy (1999) put it, hybridity occupies an interstitial space between local tradition and global modernity. In the modern categorisation, lifestyle/identity is mostly created from the brands marketed from overseas such as Marlboro and Lucky Strike which are both white cigarette products. Ironically, the modern lifestyle suggested by white cigarettes has a different implication in western countries. Australia, for example, the highest smoking prevalence occurs in the lower blue-collar class constituting 36% of all smokers (Cancer Council Victoria, 2008). In this case, the blue-collar class does not have the same image of identity and lifestyle that the tobacco companies intend them to have. Traditional identity implies hand-made *kretek* production brands, such as Sampoerna Hijau and Djarum 76. The value of sustaining such local tradition is often a tagline for these kinds of cigarettes. Hybrid identity is linked with machine-made *kretek* production, such as Djarum Black, Sampoerna A-Mild. This hybrid category offers a more complicated mixture of modern and traditional.

There is a twist about the white cigarette product with a modern western lifestyle image. While the marketing campaign for the brand is almost the same globally, the production line is positioned in Indonesia. This is creating the glocalization effect, and the brand itself represents a global brand, the product itself is a mixture of a local and global product, with some of the local ingredients added to the product. On the other hand, some of the machine-made *kretek* brands try to associate themselves with a modern image while the products are also a mixture of imported tobacco and local ingredients. In order to reach consumers, the struggle between these three types of cigarettes is reaching the peak in the marketing arena

where they try their best to create the best image that they can in order to relate themselves to the intended target consumer market. The next section will discuss in more detail the image and identity representation of two types of cigarettes brands, specifically Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau.

### **Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau and Contemporary Indonesian Identity**

Chapter V employed a semiotic approach to analyse television commercials of two brands of *kretek*, namely Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau. These two brands represent the two types of cigarettes, *kretek* filter and *kretek*. *Kretek* filter is the development of traditional Indonesian cigarettes to withstand the white cigarette domination in the 1960s and 1970s. The filter in a way imitates the form of the western cigarette, the intention being to get through to the consumers of white cigarettes, mainly the upper-middle class. The combination of the white cigarette form and local *kretek* created a large buzz and generated more consumers who switched from white cigarettes to a new hybrid form of cigarette. This hybrid form of cigarette also created a new kind of attributed lifestyle that has developed into a fusion of the modern and the traditional way of life. The production line shifted into machinery-based manufacture that underlines the modern part of the product itself. The advertisements for *kretek* filter cigarettes have emphasized the modern aspect of lifestyle. Although different approaches are used by different brands, the main goal is still the same. Djarum Black is one of the brands that belong to this category. Djarum Black advertisements have been using the modern (western) lifestyle as the basic theme of its campaign. The 'Black' personality always represents this modern lifestyle, thus creating a kind of modern identity for its consumers. On the other hand, Sampoerna Hijau, with its traditional *kretek* form after the 1998 economic crisis, has concentrated on advertising campaigns that reproduce the basic and principal things

about smoking traditionally and the enjoyment of having things together with people that you know the most. Both types of cigarettes have the same basic ingredients but with a minor adjustment to create a different representation of who the consumers are.

The consumer and audience of these two brands' advertisements are constantly being shown a connection between the brand and the lifestyle that in the end promises an identity of a certain personality. Djarum Black promises a modern sophisticated identity while Sampoerna Hijau conversely tries to remind its consumers of the traditional value of Indonesian culture. Although the two brands have a different target market, interestingly, both of them aim at almost the same age range group. Two images from two advertising campaigns reproduced below suggest this:



Figure 22  
Djarum Black 2006  
advertisement  
(MACS909)



Figure 23  
Sampoerna Hijau 2008  
advertisement  
(Lowe International)

Both advertisements, suggest the same young target consumer but different ones in term of lifestyle and class. Djarum Black is focusing on a more settled middle-upper class while Sampoerna Hijau's focal point is more the lower-middle class.

Djarum Black attached itself to a modern, sophisticated lifestyle. Djarum Black consumers are exposed to many images of identity through advertisements, events and other marketing campaigns. Djarum Black carefully chooses events that will improve the image identity of the modern sophisticated consumer. Events such as rave parties and automobile contests will definitely increase the connection between Djarum Black's identity and consumers. Djarum Black as a brand represents people in the rising middle class category, which mostly consists of more financially secure people, which means more money to spend on leisure activities and on pampering themselves. The identity that Djarum Black is associated with would be the same as the established middle class identity: viz., a modern, contemporary Indonesian. The modern contemporary Indonesian identity emerged within a country that has a vast area with various local cultures existing throughout the archipelago. This fact not only gives Indonesia a unique situation but also provides cultures that sometimes assimilate to create a more "Indonesian identity" as a whole. Indonesian people are used to this kind of blend of cultures. For example the Javanese adapted Islam, which was a foreign religion brought by Muslim traders mostly from Middle East. This is a uniquely adapted religion and in many ways mixes the Hindu-Buddha practice with Islamic rules (Ricklefs, 1993, p. 7). Events that took place centuries ago have been replicated over and over again in Indonesia with different cultures coming through. Western influences have been coming through television programs and cinema, especially Hollywood movies. While being bombarded by western influence and lifestyles, Indonesian culture itself can survive not by eliminating traditional culture or by rejecting the western idea completely, but by integrating cultures of contemporary Indonesia with a mixture of traditional values and western values creating a globalization effect, which constructs a new hybrid culture. Djarum Black is

an example of how this hybrid culture has been implemented at the pragmatic level. That is, it employs the production line, which uses modern machinery to create a local *kretek* taste, while using white cigarette's shape, thus producing a new kind of cigarette that combines two influences.

By contrast Sampoerna Hijau employs a different marketing approach from Djarum Black. Targeting the lower-middle class, the agency uses traditional values as its main focus. But while the production line of Sampoerna Hijau still employs a traditional hand-made method, the company itself is modern, being owned by Philip Morris, a transnational tobacco company. The fact that a global corporation owns a local company that produces a local product has already created a mixed cultural value for the end product. PT. Sampoerna (the company) has been using a modern marketing method for every brand that they produce including the hand-rolled premium brand of Dji Sam Soe and the cheaper hand-rolled version Sampoerna Hijau. The interesting choice of using an international advertising agency to represent the Sampoerna Hijau brand, which has a rich traditional value, is a very good example of the interaction between the global and the local, creating assimilation between cultures.

To see how these brands manage to create an identity, a semiotic analysis of an illustration from television commercials will be undertaken. It is interesting to note the different approaches adopted by, respectively, the local advertising company seeking a global image and the transnational advertising company aiming at a local image.





Figure 24

Djarum Black TVC Capture (MACS909)

The TVC above, aired in 2003, is made by MACS909 a local advertising company. This TVC shows a man driving a red convertible Mercedes-Benz around a city (obviously not in Indonesia) before heading out to the suburbs. Along the way he switches between radio channels and the songs are ranging from R n B, classical, blues and rock n roll. The lyrics for all the songs are strangely the same “I Feel Good”. The song “I Feel Good” by James Brown closes this ad as the car enters a pitch-black tunnel.

The character in this TVC, a man, western-like, represents a modern western man. The car he is driving is obviously representing Djarum’s colour of red, while the Mercedes-Benz suggests the modern, sophisticated machinery that the company uses. The red colour represents the company’s colour while the black colour represents the brand itself.

The music of this ad is very important as it uses different sets of musical genre that have different styles and backgrounds. The R n B music at the beginning suggests more popular contemporary music but it does not suit the brand as the man switches his car radio onto another channel that plays classical opera music which is

straight away changed by the driver. The impression here is that Djarum Black is not a classic brand but a more modern brand. The channel is then switched onto blues music which is definitely not suitable for the brand as it represents sadness and is not a vigorous kind of music that the brand needs. Then the next song comes, which is sung by James Brown, "I Feel Good". This evergreen song creates an exact characterisation of the brand. The song is an old one but it is still considered today to be a great song, and the freshness of the song, despite its 1965 original release, cannot be ignored. The song by James Brown connects the brand straight away to a brand that has a soul of its own and will be considered a classic but still incorporates the future as the song will be remembered for generations to come.

The location of this ad is also noteworthy. At a glance, it is definitely not in Indonesia but somewhere in the western world. (It was actually shot in Australia according to Asep, Creative Director of MACS909.) Again, the overseas place indicates and enhances the global feel of the brand itself, which is consistently attached to the brand from each of the advertisements discussed so far. The local agency here is trying to identify the brand to be the international brand by including a lot of modern, western-like symbols into their campaign. The glocalization effect of 'local tries to go global' by using a sign of modern lifestyle is being played out here. The identity of the brand, which is the advertising campaign itself creates, is one which modern, contemporary Indonesians would connect to. As Heryanto suggests, one major characteristic of the new middle class that distinguishes this class from other groups identified among the other new rich is its highly cosmopolitan outlook and activities (Heryanto, 1999, p. 165). The characteristic of this new middle class is very obviously represented in each campaign of Djarum Black: how the characters in the advertisement dress up, the occupation of its "hero" (a term suggested by Asep,

Creative Director of MACS909) and the overall modern and contemporary outlook of the ads itself. The events that accompany the advertising campaigns also suggest the same representation of this brand, as we have discussed earlier in this chapter. Information about the events that accompany the advertising campaign are put together comprehensively into a website called [blackxperience.com](http://blackxperience.com) which details everything about the brand. The website also provides visitors with entertainment news about new movies, new songs and all the latest from the entertainment business. There is also news about technology, automotive and everything that supports the modern lifestyle. The Djarum Black website not only provides backup for the whole Djarum Black campaign but is also a tool in strengthening the brand to be modern and sophisticated and closer to the target market.

On the other hand the Sampoerna Hijau campaign takes a completely different approach to that adopted by Djarum Black. The different target market of a much lower class than Djarum Black generates a unique method in creating the brand identity. Sampoerna Hijau is being handled by Lowe Indonesia, a subsidiary of a transnational advertising company, which remarkably creates a touching advertisement that connects the brand not only to its customer base but also to audiences as a whole.





Figure 25

### Sampoerna Hijau TVC Capture (Lowe International)

The television commercial shown above, aired in 2001, has a rural background and even, if it is located somewhere in the city, the place would not be in a rich neighbourhood. The ad opens up with a view from a mechanical shop owned by one of the 5 characters that created the backbone for this campaign. Upon seeing a beautiful girl through a rear-view mirror one of the characters suggests to the others to catch up with the girl, but with the engine being overhauled they need to push the car. They succeed in catching the girl's attention but create their own problem as the car is now at the bottom of the hill and they have to push it back up the hill to the shop.

The above television commercial for Sampoerna Hijau (Figure 25) is a funny and entertaining advertisement that is the base of every advertisement that the agency made for this brand. The use of a green car and the mechanical shop sign with green and yellow suggests the brand colours, while the use of a Toyota Kijang car in the story suggests that the brand is used by common people. Toyota Kijang is the highest selling car in Indonesia and considered as the "people's car" because many Indonesian families use one as their everyday car. The characters' clothing is

noticeable as that worn by commoners/rural people in everyday life, unlike Djarum Black which has a character dressed in a much more sophisticated suit.

The identity representations on both advertising campaigns are very obviously aiming at different end markets. The identity representation of Djarum Black reveals a sophisticated central individual who has a modern lifestyle and who is at the centre of attention in his surroundings. On the other hand, Sampoerna Hijau reveals a much more traditional Indonesian way of doing things within group in a rural background where sharing is more important than individuality. The identity of the two brands is different: one emphasizes individualism and modernity while the other focuses on sociability and Indonesian/local tradition.

Middle class Indonesia nowadays actually has the same contradictory identity as reflected in the above advertisements. While, on one hand, people in this category would really love to be considered as modern and sophisticated individuals, on the other hand, they are still enjoying the social interaction of the Indonesian traditional way of life. The glocalization effect on the middle class has created a new kind of hybrid identity, which represents both global and local cultures at the same time, thus creating what could be called a contemporary Indonesian identity.

## **CONCLUSION**

This chapter has discussed globalization, brand culture and how cigarette advertising has created a mirroring image in creating the identity of contemporary Indonesia. While having different targeted markets, the two cigarette brands put a lot of effort into creating a strong impact on the middle class, with Sampoerna Hijau aiming at the lower middle class and Djarum Black at the higher middle class. The middle class, as the centre of attention for many producers of goods and products, has enough influence to drive others to choose a particular brand. Heryanto (1999,

p. 165) suggests that the middle class in Indonesia has been described as the main agent of contemporary consumer culture and lifestyle. The hope of advertisers is that the middle class will spread the brand image into a broader market area, acting as the “role model” for the lower class and, being the largest population, will definitely influence which brand will be the choice for the contemporary lifestyle. The high or upper class is really small in number and it is not significant enough in influencing the market, at least culturally if not economically.

The culture of smoking *kretek* itself has evolved from the culture of the peasant and lower classes into this influential middle class where smoking becomes an act of performing a modern lifestyle and freedom in daily life. The term middle class is really not that absolute, ranging widely from lower middle class into high middle class. There is no guarantee about the actual numbers of lower class people that become middle class, only the factor of increased financial expenditure. However, they actually still consider themselves to be low class because they cannot fulfil their daily needs in relation to the contemporary consumer culture. Selling the *kretek* brand to the middle class then actually has more potential than it looks on the surface: smokers in the lower middle class category, in order to be considered as modern, sophisticated and belonging to the middle class, will try to portray themselves in the image that is being suggested by the brand.

Glocalisation has affected the Indonesian middle class in a way that they want to be seen as modern and contemporary while still holding onto Indonesian culture and tradition. The term glocalisation is forcing much culture to become hybrid, with the society absorbing the global influence and mixing it with the traditional local culture. This hybrid society is also reflected in the *kretek* filter cigarette product which combines modern production with local traditional ingredients, and marketing

the brand with a touch of modern style with hints of traditional culture embedded. Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau are the representation of this product of fusion of culture. Djarum Black is the hybrid modern-traditional product while Sampoerna Hijau is a traditional product from a transnational/global owner of the marketing campaigns. These hybrid products are creating a hybrid identity in their advertising campaigns that actually emulates contemporary society in Indonesia.

The next (concluding) chapter will discuss on the future of smoking culture in Indonesia, its effect on contemporary society in Indonesia, and how this hybrid identity is influencing the development of the nation in the foreseeable future.

## CHAPTER VII

### AN ABSOLUTE DRAG: THE FUTURE OF SMOKING CULTURE IN INDONESIA

,A man in his mid-20s is walking down the street, crosses the road, passes the electronic shop and continues to stroll along to the café. He seems to be a successful person who has everything in his life fulfilled. He is also a calm and cool personality without any hint of recklessness. Everywhere he goes, he creates a trail of incredible effects while being admired by every woman that he encounters. On the other side of town, a mid-20s gang helps an old lady coming back from a traditional market carrying a lot of groceries with her. They walk through the narrow alleys and the old bridge with the aged companion pointing out the way to go. The journey leads them to three beautiful girls who turn out to be her granddaughters, a rewarding finish when, afterwards, they are being massaged by those girls. Both stories could be a rare sight in real life but both happened in the television commercial for cigarette brands. So what is the point in making these stories when there is nothing that can be connected to cigarette brands at all?

Those advertisements never show any connection to cigarettes whatsoever, other than the logo of the cigarette brands at the end of the commercial. The representation of young man with sex appeal (especially to woman) is the key in selling this cigarette brand. The differentiation from each brand lies in how the story is told to the audience. Different brands try to approach the consumer differently, and the story in the advertisement tells a lot about how the brands want to be perceived. The story being made is essential as the rules for cigarette advertisements are strict on not showing anything related to smoking. Contemporary smoking culture in



Indonesia reflects the hybridisation and tension that tends to characterise societies undergoing rapid modernisation and demographic change. In particular, it reflects the conflicts that surround the drive for economic development and the pursuit of western standards of living and lifestyles, on the one hand, and the adherence to traditional values and ways of life, on the other. In Indonesia there are tensions between the cigarette industry, anti-smoking campaigners (WHO, Health NGOs), the Indonesian Government as a policy maker, the advertising industry, and the people of Indonesia. The competing layers of power in smoking culture are discussed throughout this thesis. These layers of contest are not simply to do with as the pro-smoking and anti-smoking positions because, economically the Government, along with the wider society and also the industry, is responsible for the growth that the middle class experiences today.

Important historical perspectives were substantially needed to act as a foundation for this thesis so as to understand the smoking culture in Indonesia from the very beginning. This view is shown in Chapters III and IV which cover how the culture comes to Indonesia and how the tobacco industry is built upon Indonesian smoking culture. The analysis of some television commercials for Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau mixed with the fieldwork results brought up by these historical elements are part of the core components of this thesis. The following is a summary of key points from this thesis and the view on the future of smoking culture, particularly in Indonesia.

## **CIGARETTE MARKETING CAMPAIGN-CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN IDENTITY**

The research in this thesis started with a question of what can we learn from an analysis of cigarette marketing campaigns about the formation of contemporary

Indonesian identity? But the research uncovered other layers to that of the marketing campaign and contemporary Indonesian identity viz: the hybridization/glocalization of the brand, the anti- and pro-smoking campaigners in the recent development and also the Government influence in creating rules and laws on smoking matters. The rise of the middle class in the last two decades in Indonesia has also put itself in the analysis of the layers of smoking culture. The changes from the original proposal made are also caused by the dynamic situation on smoking culture including changes in regulation and the tobacco industries' adjustment through modernization. This thesis sought to provide the best picture of those transformations as it possibly could by starting with smoking culture. The use of ethno-semiotic methods as reflected in this thesis is required to gather as much data as possible to build a case of revealing a dynamic smoking culture in Indonesia. The chosen method in my view is the proper method that has at least two different points of view to look at: from the view of the advertising maker (who can be said to be a culture producer) and the view from semiotic analysis of the product (the advertisement) itself. The use of this mixed method resulted in a new angle of seeing the problem and providing the answers to the research question.

### **Smoking culture**

While still being able to air the advertisements (which are still being criticized by the anti-smoking lobby as broadcasting an unhealthy behaviour), cigarette brands are trying hard to get through the legal barrier of creating a suitable marketing campaign. Government rules on banning smoking in public places and limiting marketing campaigns is being encouraged by the Health Department, religious organizations and anti-smoking non-governmental organizations and this is creating another problem for cigarette manufacturers. Cigarette advertisements in many other

countries are already banned from television but not in Indonesia which has not yet signed the WHO's Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. The large amount of tax revenue and the employment provided by the tobacco industry explain why this industry still has a strong foothold today. Indonesia has a unique approach in dealing with the tobacco industry. While, on one hand, it benefits from the existence of the industry, the Government through the Health Department and some non-governmental organizations supports the health guidelines of banning smoking. The latest development is that the Constitutional Court, the highest court that examines law and rules in Indonesia, on April 18, 2012 decided to still give a clearance to the broadcasting of cigarette advertisements, rejecting the cancellation on one of the laws that covers tobacco as an addictive substance, and agreeing to having cigarette packaging have pictures of smoking's ill effects and to ordering every public place to provide a dedicated smoking area (Saputra, 2012). Those decisions reflect the Indonesian Government's accommodation of both the anti- and pro-smoking sides of the debate over the health harms of cigarette smoking. The Government allows advertisements and places to smoke in public while at the same time acknowledging that tobacco is addictive and that it endangers the health of smokers and those in their social space.

Smoking culture in Indonesia is not at all about a man or woman smoking a cigarette during their lunch break or during their leisure time. The Government is obliged to take care of the people's health— a position that is supported by anti-smoking non-governmental organizations and religious organizations that try to connect smoking to the act of sin. In contrast, there is the pro-smoking organization *Komunitas Kretek* or *kretek* community who argue that the danger of smoking is being exaggerated and that the West is trying to oppress Indonesia by taking out

*kretek* as a traditional cultural practice through “sponsored” research by western researchers. Its main campaign is against the modern imperialism of the west which is likely to eradicate many Indonesian traditional commodities such as coconut oil, sugar, salt (which are considered as the main causes of many illness), and *jamu* (traditional herb medicine) (DM, Ary, & Harlan, 2011). Identity is thus a big issue rather than just a cosmetic one in this smoking culture. The Indonesian identity for *Komunitas Kretek* is how to protect cultural and traditional values in *kretek* while condemning the western world as responsible for the disappearance of Indonesian commodities such as coconut oil. Through their campaign, this community tries to remind people that the culture of smoking, especially *kretek* products, becomes important symbol of the fight against neo-colonialism. Meanwhile others just simply consider that smoking is a bad habit. Still, others in advertising agencies consider smoking culture as their place to put great ideas into practice, while tobacco companies consider it as a business that they can hang on to. Some street merchants consider the culture as their chance of survival. By selling cigarettes, their income is larger than from selling any other products.

Chapter III of this thesis discussed how smoking traditionally acts as a social tool through the use of them in many rituals such as gathering to pray for the dead or at a wedding, the custom coming through the tradition of betel chewing used on these occasions which was later replaced by cigarettes when the Dutch introduced smoking. *Kretek* has a distinctive flavour, which comes from the mixture of tobacco, clove, and sauce (special ingredients added to make favourable flavour such as spicy and sweet). It is customary in Indonesia to add some spices into food and this is also applied to cigarettes, which make it stand as a representation of Indonesian tradition. Hanusz states that not only can *kretek* be seen as a symbol of Indonesian

society and culture—a smoke that captures the soul of the nation—but it is also something that brings Indonesian people together (2000, p. 181). The symbolism of *kretek* as an Indonesian traditional value that is being kept alive while modernization impacts on the industry in the form of the hybrid cigarette, very much illustrates how Indonesia has coped with processes of globalization. The hybrid cigarette is one of the indicators of the blending of modern and traditional, local and global. *Kretek* as one local cultural product is now affected by global influence in the form of the filtered *kretek*. Their notable features represent the mixture of local culture and the global effect of modernization.

### **The cigarette industry**

Indonesia is still a great place to market cigarettes. It has a population of more than two hundred million and at least one third are smokers. The opportunity to market a profitable product to a large number of people in the archipelago is being exploited by many international and local companies. In Chapter IV, details of how this industry operates, especially in some big companies, are explained and also how international tobacco companies have entered the Indonesian market through the acquisition of some of the largest local tobacco companies. The tobacco industry in Indonesia has been one of the strongest industries that has continued to operate since the Dutch occupation more than a century ago, as mentioned in Chapter IV. Most of the companies are coming from small family businesses. The present-day condition of the industry is an outcome of a process of transformation that has taken place over a period of decades. However, not all major tobacco companies survived from the dynamic situation in Indonesia: some major companies, such as Nitisemito, collapsed after internal problems in their management and the effects of World War II. Some of them survived through the war years such as Sampoerna or Bentoel but

then decided to offer their major shares to transnational tobacco companies, namely Phillip Morris and British American Tobacco. Out of the many big tobacco companies, only Gudang Garam and Djarum still have their principal shares within the family and are still content with the family business management style, as explained in Chapter IV.

The taking over by transnational tobacco companies has created a unique situation, with *kretek* maintaining its position as the main product for the local company. The modern machinery implemented in the 1970s by most local tobacco companies created a new kind of global-local product in filtered *kretek* or, in other words, a hybrid product. White cigarettes and *kretek* are representations of global and local traditional in Indonesia, respectively. The image of white cigarettes as more prestigious since its introduction in the early 1900s has been rivalled by the emerging filtered *kretek* in the 1970s. The premium hand-rolled *kretek* brands such as Dji Sam Soe even has exceptionally high status due to its first-class production quality and is still considered to be a superior local cigarette. The use of modern machinery not only creates a new kind of mixed global-local product but also a new kind of cigarette in the form of low tar low nicotine filtered *kretek*. This new global-local product has been further developed by Djarum into Djarum Black with its distinctive characteristic of filtered *kretek* cigarette wrapped in black paper.

The Indonesian tobacco industry, all in all, has moved in a new direction of combining the legacy of a traditional industry with the support of modern machinery, affecting the product itself and how the product is being marketed. The following paragraphs explain how this merging of the local and the global is being implemented in the marketing area, especially in the sphere of TV commercials.

## **Cigarette TV Commercials**

One of the key findings of this research is that each brand of cigarette has its own way of creating the right representation to attract audiences and consumers. (See Chapter V). This thesis also confirms earlier work on advertising and identity namely Judith Williamson's semiotic analysis on advertisements, Baudrillard's 'hyperreal' and Barthes 'myth' which were discussed in Chapter II. The representation of a product's brand creates a kind of personality, thus creating an identity of its own. A brand which aims to develop an identity needs to understand who is going to be the target consumer. For both Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau, middle class consumers are influential because of their significant numbers and also because of their position in society, which makes them influential in shaping lifestyle consumption. Djarum Black aims at the higher middle class in differentiating their products into a more segmented target market rather than taking the whole middle class altogether. In order to reach their goal, PT.Djarum and their advertising agency approach the matter by using a personality that suites the higher middle class. Not only that, the events that support the product marketing as a whole cover the same personality as the brand itself. By using this kind of approach, the brand and its users have a connection as they represent each other in real life. Sampoerna Hijau, on the other hand, creates the same intention of connecting the end user to the brand by putting in a personality that really connects itself to the consumer. While the intention is almost the same, the implementation is different as the brand is targeting a different segment, namely the lower-middle class.

The semiotic analysis (Chapter V) showed that the different approaches adopted by Djarum Black and Sampoerna Hijau reflect how the brands position

themselves in the market. As discussed, Asep, the creative director of Djarum Black advertisements, talked about the targeted market that focuses on cool middle class young people, who already have an occupation of some sort. This is later reflected in the advertisements being made by the agency, which suggests an imaginative lifestyle of that particular segment. As noted in Chapter V, Edwin, the creative director of Sampoerna Hijau advertisements described a change of the brand's target segment during the brand's development. Sampoerna Hijau's market used to be a rural lower class but, in the course of time, it changed to a lower middle class in urban areas. Edwin mentioned how at the beginning, the people being surveyed for the advertisements mostly came from that rural lower class as they were the core consumers for Sampoerna Hijau, but the rules of tobacco production which limit each brand's sale to one particular price (if the production of one particular brand surpassing a certain number of production output, the price tag must go up as well) pushed Sampoerna Hijau into a more expensive price tag. The more expensive price tag can only mean that the brand has to move on into a higher class consumer market, which can be seen in the development of advertisements for the brand.

The cigarette advertisements being analysed in Chapter V reflect how society sees itself with the brand creating an option on how people want to refer to the identities or lifestyles portrayed in the commercials.

### **Identity, Hybridization, Middle class, Brand Culture**

The hybridity in cigarette production is also spreading into the product/brand marketing of the cigarette. Cigarette marketing follows the trends of what contemporary Indonesians currently enjoy, which is a hybrid culture/lifestyle. This is basically a thing that needs to be followed in order to meet the intended target market. The identity represented in the advertisements, as already described in



Chapter V, is made to make the end user feel the sensation of the cigarette with an additional identity that is attached to the brand. Cigarette advertisements are made through a series of processes which try to connect what the cigarette company wants, what the research of the intended target market reveals, and how the agency, which generates ideas, operates, to produce a marketing campaign oriented to reaching the intended consumer market.

As a symbol of Indonesian society and culture, *kretek* is associated with contemporary identity formation and adapts to the development of global world using any means possible, including machinery and marketing approaches. Hybridity or glocalization in Indonesia developed at the same time when *kretek* took a new step via the mixing of the traditional and modern production of cigarettes in 1970s. It began to be noticed when a noticeable rise in middle class numbers in the 1990s created a new type of lifestyle which combined the local tradition and global influence at the same time. At the beginning of the 1990s, advertisements for all products were starting to be permitted on air through television after a decade of television without advertisements. The impact of western movies and television series on the audience can be seen during those years. For example, luxurious western lifestyles and fashions depicted in film and television, have encouraged Indonesians to spend money on such products. Cigarette brands could not find a better timing in terms of promoting a hybrid product like filtered *kretek* to the market. The global image being offered by the television programmes was perfect. During those years the 'Indonesian local tradition' was being encouraged because of the anxiousness from the Government and religious leaders at that time about the effect of western influence. The hybrid product that was the filtered *kretek* was a kind of compromise of traditional and modern influences. Tobacco companies have

exploited the image of an international product being made locally, with a distinctive and unique local flavour.

The middle class, through processes of modernisation and globalization, had shaped themselves to be a segmented class influenced by both modern and traditional values. The global and local ideals mixed together to create a blend of the two into a hybrid culture, thus creating a new identity of its own. The combination of those ideals can be seen in how the contemporary Indonesian identifies himself/herself as an Indonesian with the qualities of global counterparts. The middle class of Indonesia spends at least two to four US Dollars per day at the lower middle class division (Asian Development Bank, 2010) and is the one that has the capability of doing so. The expenditure is enough for the middle class segment to be an influential class as they have received sufficient education and also exposure to global influences through media and the Internet. The glocalization of lifestyle, fashion, music and food are some of the basic values that constitute the attributes of this contemporary Indonesian middle class.

The hybrid culture is not only implemented at the pragmatic level but is also followed by the industry. The cigarette industry creates a fusion of modern and traditional through its production line. The blend of modern machinery with a local traditional product to create a new kind of cigarette in the filtered *kretek* makes it an important an image of hybridity, a physical and symbolic mix of global and local culture.

## **THE FUTURE OF SMOKING CULTURE**

In heated arguments about whether smoking should be banned completely and that the industry itself should be disbanded or whether it should be supported as a massive tax provider and employer, the Government tries to accommodate both

pro and anti-smoking by delivering policy that does not fully satisfy either parties but at least gives them some acknowledgment. The Government, however, has a responsibility to protect its citizen's health, which places it partly on the same side of the anti-smoking movement. However, it also needs to consider the economic side of having the tobacco industry as one of the major sources of tax and employment. This clash at the Government level is not the only clash of power that happens in the smoking culture domain in Indonesia. Transnational tobacco companies, having taken over the local companies, have created more layers in the socio-politico-economic domain. On top of this, the advertising agencies and cigarette brands try to market the products with symbolical character and attach an identity to it which aims to touch certain aspects of contemporary Indonesian identity which are represented by the influential middle class. What is the likely development in tobacco culture on the horizon? With cigarette production still increasing and the pressure from WHO and anti-smoking campaigners who are still in disagreement with pro smoking campaigners, and the Indonesian Government desperately trying to accommodate both sides, it will be interesting to see how the smoking culture in Indonesia unfolds.

With the current rate of both people smoking and anticipated population growth, unless something dramatic happens, the Industry will still support the economic sector of Indonesia through tax and employment. The overseas campaigner on anti-smoking is going to expose the influential middle class through the Internet and social media with the intention of encouraging fellow Indonesians to give up smoking. This strategy could be more effective than simply putting the pressure on the Government. Then again, the more educated middle class could reject the idea of the anti-smoking campaign by considering it as an act of oppression against Indonesia and its traditions.

The claim above has come from the conceptual tools that I developed in this thesis by using an ethno-semiotic mixed approach. By using the same tools, I am going to demonstrate these conceptual tools by speculating on the dynamic smoking culture as identified above. In this part I would like to propose some of the possibilities of the future of smoking culture in Indonesia, including scenarios of what might become of Indonesian tradition in the years to come.

### **Scenario number 1: Status Quo**

The influence of the global anti-smoking movement was felt in the new 2012 tobacco regulations, which address the import and export of tobacco and media exposure. The pro-smoking statement from the regulations that proclaimed that, “smoking is an act that is protected by law” (a statement that repeatedly appears in *Komunitas Kretek* campaigns in support of smoking) led to the order that every building should provide a smoking area for smokers. The pro-smoking lobby was nevertheless less satisfied about the lack of protection given for tobacco and clove farmers, accusing the Government of creating the regulation on behalf of health sponsors from overseas. Protests in several places were held by tobacco and clove farmers against this regulation, even before the Government ratified the regulation. According to pro-smoking lobby, the regulation which is supposed to focus on health and which restricts the product and smokers, actually regulates how tobacco is supposed to be traded which eventually will result in less demand for tobacco and clove farm products (Setiawan, 2013; Kurniawan, 2013; Suprpto, 2013). The anti-smoking party is actually closer to achieving its goal of bringing the smoking habit to extinction. Nevertheless, the health campaign against smoking cannot claim that it has already succeeded in winning the war; it is still a long journey to become a successful movement.

A significant element impacting on Indonesian smoking culture is the regulatory environment. The Government relies on the tax from tobacco products, as it contributes greatly to its income. Hence, it creates regulation which is very much tailored to trying to satisfy both parties, but which actually satisfies neither. While the anti-smoking lobby met with the tobacco industry lobby, the anti-smoking groups have the edge in winning the smoking war as they have backing from international institutions and countries. Those institutions and countries have a vested interest in health and the economy in Indonesia through some support including monetary aid. This particular aid could force the Indonesian Government to work in accordance with the fund providers for the anti-smoking lobby. The dilemma faced by the Indonesian Government will continue at least for a decade to come as the economy, labour force and monetary sectors are still of major interest for a developing country such as Indonesia.

Religion in Indonesia also plays a big part in smoking culture. As the most populous Islamic country, some big non-government funded influential Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah have the power to determine the daily life of their followers, even in the habit of smoking. Muhammadiyah has been a supporter of anti-smoking campaigns, which is opposite to the line followed by Nahdlatul Ulama whose followers are largely based in the eastern part of Java where the tobacco industry is mostly located. Majelis Ulama Indonesia, a government funded Islamic organization, is indecisive about this matter in the same way as the Indonesian Government who financially supports it (NU Online, 2008).

The status quo will be one of the scenarios of how smoking culture will be played out in the future of Indonesia. The Government dependence on tax, the

generation of employment and economic turnover from tobacco industries are still the main reasons why this culture is going to continue to be administered as it is today. The influence of global health as the other consideration for the Government could influence a change of regulations, but only very slightly as it cannot afford to bring about a more revolutionary impact without providing a convincing alternate solution to Government reliance on the tobacco industry.

Tobacco and clove farmers cannot be easily redeployed on new profitable plantations. They have been tobacco farmers for decades and the anti-smoking parties cannot provide a satisfactory answer to how to transfer these farmers to employment in other sectors or to other crop farming that could produce the same income as it does now. The pro-smoking parties, on the other hand, use this as one of the reasons for conserving the culture, and consider the influence of foreign power as responsible for the decline of culture and tradition in the local environment. Many books on the culture of smoking in Indonesia, condemning the influence of globalization on demolishing the local culture are being published e.g. *Membunuh Indonesia* (Killing Indonesia), *Kriminalisasi Berujung Monopoli* (Criminalization led to Monopoly). Given the pro-smoking social media campaign being pitted against the health campaign supported by Health Ministry and NGOs, it is going to be a fierce battle for years to come between these anti- and pro-smoking sides without any hint of who is going to accomplish their goals.

The important thing to be noted is that the middle class is at the heart of all this. The middle class will be the main target as this is the biggest population group in Indonesia and ultimately will have the biggest influence on how things will develop in the future. While cigarette advertisements are obviously targeting this class from the outset, health campaigners are trying their best to persuade and Government to

produce regulations to restrict or even prohibit smoking and therefore preserve and promote the health of Indonesians and generations to come.

According to this scenario the current state of smoking culture in Indonesia will remain the same. The Government and the media are dependent on revenue from the tobacco industry. Health promotion is curtailed by the current regulations which effectively protect the tobacco industry and therefore Government income. For this reason, it will remain difficult to reach the people at the grass roots level and reduce the extensive health harms of smoking.

### **Scenario number 2: anti-smoking campaigners managed to reach their goals**

The second scenario I am proposing contradicts the previous one. It is possible that circumstances could switch in favour of anti-smoking campaigners. In this scenario the anti-smoking lobby will be fully supported by global public health. Indonesia, from the economic point of view, is a developing country with an excellent growth rate and large potential market for consumer products. Such economic stability and wealth will favour anti-smoking since the Government will be less dependent on tax revenue from the tobacco industry.

I will start by indicating some pointers on how the speculative scenario of anti-smoking campaigners eventually managing to achieve their goals in the future:

- Farmers diversified into another crop and/or employment.

The diversification of tobacco farmers to change their crop has been discussed for a while now. Agricultural Minister of Indonesia conveys the fact that 70% of tobacco for the industry is imported from overseas and the Government is planning to have farmers diversify as the market for local tobacco shrinks (El Hida, 2013). This plan will go on to be regulated in the forthcoming government

regulations, which are still being debated in the House of Representatives. The plan is opposed by PUSKINDO (Centre of Kretek Studies Indonesia) as there's no guarantee that farmers' welfare will rise, and also on the assurance of an import protection program for the crop product designated for diversification, plus verification from the Government on guaranteed markets for the crop (Malau, 2013). Even with some concerned opposition groups being against the plan, the Government, in this scenario will proceed to do so. Farmer diversification is feasible regardless of what the farmers will say. Eventually the farmers will comply to ensure that they have some income.

- Structural change in the cigarette industry

The large amount of foreign investment coming into Indonesia is predicted to be high in the future. The GDP of Indonesia is expected to reach US\$ 1trillion in 2012 and the value of direct foreign investment in 2011 reached almost US\$20 billion, higher than in 2010 when the total was US\$17 billion (BKPM (Indonesia Investment Coordinating Board), 2013). The amount of investment can only mean more jobs for workers in the future and the possibility of workers in the tobacco industry being moved into a new industry is a real possibility. This scenario is quite possible in the near future as new business sectors will need more workers, and the rate of investment annually shows improvement. The scenario also makes it possible that retail tax for tobacco products will be raised, resulting in large increases in the price of cigarettes being, putting them out of reach of many smokers. This in turn will destroy the tobacco industry, which will see a big decrease in the demand for its products. The current tax for Sampoerna A-Mild brand, for example, is 50% of the total price of a pack of cigarettes. In the



future, the tax will probably reach 75-80% or higher which will ultimately reduce smokers significantly as smoking will simply be too expensive.

- Smoker's limitation or even prohibition by law (clean air policy) and /or religion

The new Government regulation on tobacco already states that some places are strictly prohibited for smoking. The likes of facilities connected to health and education, playgrounds, religious places, and public transport are some places mentioned in the new PP109 2012 (Government Regulation 109 2012) which has already been implemented in the Jakarta Municipality and is called the 'clean air policy' (Achadi, Soerojo, & Barber, 2004). Workplaces and public places, on the other hand, still have to provide a smoking area separated from the public area. Some of the provinces have already applied a no smoking area policy around some of their governmental buildings. A healthy environment can become a crucial campaign especially in governmental buildings that in turn will push other institutions and businesses alike to do the same thing. The next step would be a far stronger anti-smoking movement supported by legislation to produce a regulation that narrows smokers' activities which, in the end, will result in a healthier society, one without cigarettes. From a religious point of view, the smoking habit has been debated across Islamic factions in Indonesia. The debate has centred on whether it is considered a wasteful thing to do or is a sin. Muhammadiyah has already released a *fatwa* of the smoking status to become *haram* in 2010 (Nahdlatul Ulama Online, 2010) while the Nahdlatul Ulama still contends that the status of smoking should be *makruh* (Maslan, 2010). As discussed in Chapter III, the view that smoking is *makruh* is supported by the Religion Minister, Suryadharma Ali (Damanik, 2010). The debate eventually

comes down to an agreement that smoking can be hazardous to human health, but each Islamic faction has their own agenda which sways accordingly, with some accused of having received bribes or funding support from foreign health campaign institutions or from the local tobacco industry. High media exposure may focus on this issue, revealing how dynamic the smoking culture is and making this scenario a possibility for the future.

- Cigarette advertisements will become history and plain cigarette packaging will be introduced.

In this scenario, advertisements for the tobacco product will become history and Indonesians will not be able to see tobacco products in billboards, TV commercials, magazines, newspapers, the internet or events that are sponsored by cigarette brands. The approach of the anti-smoking campaigners through Governments that create the regulations would reach a peak when the industry is not allowed to promote the product and also sees the introduction of plain cigarette packaging which, along with higher tax on tobacco products, will lead to a substantial decrease in the smoking populations (Achadi, Soerojo, & Barber, 2004).

- Health conscious citizens will avoid smoking and therefore there will be less tobacco-related illness.

More and more contemporary Indonesian people, especially the middle class, who have more access to information globally, will create a health-conscious society as they become informed about the dangers and effects of smoking. Through the internet and social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, the flow of statistics and research on the harm of cigarettes will increase. With 40 million

Facebook users and almost 30 million Twitter users in 2012 (Semiocast, 2012) ; (Vaswani, 2012) the rate of data movement is really high among the Indonesian people. This will result in a more health conscious society as Indonesian awareness about diseases and illnesses caused by tobacco products will be much higher. Although social media and the internet would also be used by the pro-smoking campaigners, the amount of information gathered by Indonesians will provide them valuable information on which to exercise freedom of choice. Encouraged by the internet and social media users, Indonesians will, at the end of the day, choose to have a healthier lifestyle.

The lifestyle of the Indonesian middle class in a way creates a distinguishable identity which, effected by the involvement of this class in social media, will prevail as a consciously modern identity. The amount of information on the hazards of smoking available on the internet is massive. The middle class will turn this knowledge and take the stand against smoking. So much so, that an anti-smoking identity will come to be seen as being contemporary Indonesian. With my basic observation during my fieldwork, it can be seen that more young middle class members have quit smoking cigarettes, although there is no research available to support this claim. But it does provide a good topic for a further research project in Indonesia.

### **Scenario number 3: pro-smoking campaigners accomplished their goal**

The third scenario is the extreme opposite of what I already discussed above, namely the anti-smoking campaigner 'winning the war'. This time, on the imaginative scenario of pro-smoking campaigners accomplishing their goals, the following points emerge:

- The tobacco industry will be stronger

The industry will provide more employment as well as more tax revenue for the Government. With no restrictions on how the industry can promote their product, it will be great news for anyone involved in this industry. Tobacco farmers and industry workers will still be working in the cycle of this industry and with a stronger industry their welfare will be safe or even stronger than it is now, as the demand for the product will be higher than ever. Cigarette advertisements in any media will flourish, and not only will the tobacco industry reap the profit—advertising agencies, event organizers, and other industries indirectly connected to the tobacco industry will financially benefit from the promotion, distribution and retailing of tobacco products. The Government tax on each tobacco product will not go higher than the current tax which will provide smokers with a steady price for cigarettes, thus creating a stable (and possibly increasing) demand for cigarettes which will benefit the tobacco industry. The economic influence of the tobacco industry will be at an all-time high, with its sponsorship in every sector, and the reliance on the industry's tax revenue will definitely influence the future of the Indonesian economy. With current regulations ensuring some restrictions on the promotion and sponsorship of tobacco products, it will be fascinating to see if this scenario unfolds in the future where the restrictions will be loosened (even abolished) as the industry is controlling the Government and its regulators. The Government's reliance on the tobacco industry will be at the highest point as taxes and political support are coming from this industry, and both directly and indirectly, this will change the course of the nation.

In reality, with the current status quo, the tobacco industry already has considerable influence on the Government, not only because of the tax revenue

from the tobacco products but also in other fields of business that some of the owners of the biggest tobacco companies have. Other businesses and industries such as banks, the electronics industry, and property are only a few of the other businesses that the tobacco industry has. PT. Djarum, for example, has acquired 51% stock of the biggest private funded bank in Indonesia in Bank Central Asia, and also has Polytron, one of the biggest Indonesian electronic companies along with owning several large malls and hotels (Atmanto & Haris, 2011).

- No limitation on smoking anywhere (in regulations and religion)

Here smokers could actually light up their cigarettes anywhere they want. Malls and buildings would not have to provide smoking areas, as everywhere would be a smoking area. The restaurants would probably have to give some spaces for non-smokers by providing them with a non-smoking area not the other way around, as it is currently. The regulation on smoking and tobacco products made by Government will likely favour the tobacco industry, as its political influence on Government will be very high.

Influential Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah currently have opposing positions in the way they view smoking from a religious point of view (Chapter III). To accuse either one of them of receiving the funds from the tobacco company or an overseas source is completely unjustified but the base of NU supporters are from eastern part of Java where the tobacco industries had their base, while Muhammadiyah is based on the central part of Java where the tobacco industry has less influence (except in Kudus, the eastern part of central Java). NU still regards smoking as *makruh* (a disliked or offensive act in which the person who abstains from this act will be rewarded) (Maslan, 2010) while

Muhammadiyah regards smoking as *haram* (it is a sin, equivalent to eating pig and drinking alcoholic beverages) (Dirgantara, 2010). With that in mind, it can be seen how influential the industry could be in changing the tone of religious thinking which could make it even more influential if the industry has near-complete control throughout the country.

- Change of marketing strategy as advertisements showing cigarettes and other promotion is allowed

With all promotion bans lifted for tobacco products there will be no limitation in how products are promoted. Events being sponsored will range from sports to art, and no restrictions means that cigarettes can be sold to minors that come to the events which in turn creates a new market for tobacco products. Women are going to be targeted as the next market of tobacco products. The relatively low proportion of woman smoking due to the cultural stigma associated with it will be turned around due to sophisticated marketing tactics which in the end increases the female smoking population significantly.

The restriction of not showing cigarettes will be banished, thus paving the way for a new way of creating advertisements. The symbolic notion of smoking connected to lifestyle will be much more obvious as it can be explicitly shown in advertisements. It is likely that television commercials will show how young people smoke a certain brand along with other implicit messages of the pleasures of smoking. Ironically, advertising may be less creative and more obvious. Agencies will certainly have the freedom to do whatever they choose to depict the brand and promote it. The current creative and innovative cigarette advertisements born with the limitation and restriction created by regulations,

means that there is no urgent need to create a wonderful crafted piece of advertising when the actual product being promoted can be sold without advertisements. The advertisements will act solely to remind the audiences about the brand and keep the consumer loyal.

- Smoking illnesses become an industry

With the number of smokers rapidly growing in this scenario, so does tobacco-related illness. Hospitals and health clinics will be flooded with patients suffering tobacco-related illnesses. In an extreme kind of way of seeing it, the health industry, especially pharmaceutical companies, will also gain profit from the increased demand for medicines especially connected to tobacco-related illnesses. Currently, pharmaceutical companies already make a large profit from providing people with medicines. With the wave of tobacco-related illnesses increasing, there is no doubt that they will gain much more profit in this scenario.

## **EPILOGUE**

The man in his mid-20s is walking down the street is not sure whether to take the cigarette out of his pocket or just keep it there. Not far away, some women in the background look desirably upon him. He could not know how the women would react. He picks up a cigarette and lights up. One group of women look the other way in disgust while another group of women become more excited because of that particular move. This man, in mid-20s, then walks up to the group of women, that have more interest in him, before he is seized by a security officer from a nearby building and dragged away. He then receives sympathy from all the women.

This is probably the way of describing how smoking culture in Indonesia could become. The dynamic of the smoking culture itself cannot be denied: it has its own

surprise ending which is open to various interpretations because of the many aspects that created the circumstances. The scenarios presented above, by using the conceptual tools in this thesis, demonstrate the way innovation should be applied in doing research. The innovation of this thesis was using the mixed approach of ethnography and semiotic to try to explain the phenomenon of Indonesian smoking culture. The mixed methodology was needed to bring out more data in answering the questions on smoking culture, especially the workings of advertising.

Whether the scenarios mentioned above will happen in the future of Indonesia is nevertheless wide open, owing to the fact that smoking culture is dynamic because it is affected by so many factors—local and global. It will be interesting to see the direction in which smoking culture heads in future decades. There is not going to be a simple answer on which scenario is likely to play out, and also how Indonesians will cope with these global and local factors. Hybridity or glocalisation is the key factor shaping the identity of contemporary Indonesians. As I have argued, contemporary Indonesians have responded to modernity by mixing modern with local values, because both local and global influences have emerged at the same time. It is obvious that this is the same way in which Indonesian society deals with smoking culture. The Indonesia smoking culture is progressing dynamically, affected by many elements happening in a combined local–modern contemporary cultural environment. The product itself results from a mingling of local and global influences that deliver a unique set of related cultural practices. Smoking culture could have a different story in another developing world but Indonesia's own tradition and hybridity is more than enough to make this remarkable story one worth telling.



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# **APPENDICES**

**SECTION 1**  
**GOVERNMENT REGULATION**  
**NO. 109/2012**



PRESIDEN  
REPUBLIK INDONESIA

PERATURAN PEMERINTAH REPUBLIK INDONESIA  
NOMOR 109 TAHUN 2012  
TENTANG  
PENGAMANAN BAHAN YANG MENGANDUNG ZAT ADIKTIF  
BERUPA PRODUK TEMBAKAU BAGI KESEHATAN

DENGAN RAHMAT TUHAN YANG MAHA ESA

PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA,

- Menimbang : bahwa untuk melaksanakan ketentuan Pasal 116 Undang-Undang Nomor 36 Tahun 2009 tentang Kesehatan, perlu menetapkan Peraturan Pemerintah tentang Pengamanan Bahan Yang Mengandung Zat Adiktif Berupa Produk Tembakau Bagi Kesehatan;
- Mengingat : 1. Pasal 5 ayat (2) Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945;
2. Undang-Undang Nomor 36 Tahun 2009 tentang Kesehatan (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2009 Nomor 144, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 5063);

MEMUTUSKAN:

- Menetapkan : PERATURAN PEMERINTAH TENTANG PENGAMANAN BAHAN YANG MENGANDUNG ZAT ADIKTIF BERUPA PRODUK TEMBAKAU BAGI KESEHATAN.



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## BAB I KETENTUAN UMUM

### Pasal 1

Dalam Peraturan Pemerintah ini yang dimaksud dengan:

1. Zat Adiktif adalah bahan yang menyebabkan adiksi atau ketergantungan yang membahayakan kesehatan dengan ditandai perubahan perilaku, kognitif, dan fenomena fisiologis, keinginan kuat untuk mengonsumsi bahan tersebut, kesulitan dalam mengendalikan penggunaannya, memberi prioritas pada penggunaan bahan tersebut daripada kegiatan lain, meningkatnya toleransi dan dapat menyebabkan keadaan gejala putus zat.
2. Produk Tembakau adalah suatu produk yang secara keseluruhan atau sebagian terbuat dari daun tembakau sebagai bahan bakunya yang diolah untuk digunakan dengan cara dibakar, dihisap, dan dihirup atau dikunyah.
3. Rokok adalah salah satu Produk Tembakau yang dimaksudkan untuk dibakar dan dihisap dan/atau dihirup asapnya, termasuk rokok kretek, rokok putih, cerutu atau bentuk lainnya yang dihasilkan dari tanaman *nicotiana tabacum*, *nicotiana rustica*, dan spesies lainnya atau sintetisnya yang asapnya mengandung nikotin dan tar, dengan atau tanpa bahan tambahan.
4. Nikotin adalah zat, atau bahan senyawa *pyrrolidine* yang terdapat dalam *nicotiana tabacum*, *nicotiana rustica* dan spesies lainnya atau sintetisnya yang bersifat adiktif dapat mengakibatkan ketergantungan.
5. Tar . . .



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5. Tar adalah kondensat asap yang merupakan total residu dihasilkan saat Rokok dibakar setelah dikurangi Nikotin dan air, yang bersifat karsinogenik.
6. Iklan Niaga Produk Tembakau yang selanjutnya disebut Iklan Produk Tembakau, adalah iklan komersial dengan tujuan memperkenalkan dan/atau memasyarakatkan barang kepada khalayak sasaran untuk mempengaruhi konsumen agar menggunakan Produk Tembakau yang ditawarkan.
7. Promosi Produk Tembakau adalah kegiatan pengenalan atau penyebarluasan informasi suatu Produk Tembakau untuk menarik minat beli konsumen terhadap Produk Tembakau yang akan dan sedang diperdagangkan.
8. Sponsor Produk Tembakau adalah segala bentuk kontribusi langsung atau tidak langsung, dalam bentuk dana atau lainnya, dalam berbagai kegiatan yang dilakukan oleh lembaga atau perorangan dengan tujuan mempengaruhi melalui Promosi Produk Tembakau atau penggunaan Produk Tembakau.
9. Label adalah setiap keterangan mengenai Produk Tembakau yang berbentuk gambar, tulisan, kombinasi keduanya, atau bentuk lain yang disertakan pada Produk Tembakau, dimasukkan ke dalam, ditempatkan pada, atau merupakan bagian Kemasan Produk Tembakau.
10. Kemasan adalah bahan yang digunakan untuk mewadahi dan/atau membungkus Produk Tembakau baik yang bersentuhan langsung dengan Produk Tembakau maupun tidak.

11. Kawasan ...





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11. Kawasan Tanpa Rokok adalah ruangan atau area yang dinyatakan dilarang untuk kegiatan merokok atau kegiatan memproduksi, menjual, mengiklankan, dan/atau mempromosikan Produk Tembakau.
12. Setiap Orang adalah orang perseorangan atau badan, baik yang berbentuk badan hukum maupun tidak berbadan hukum.
13. Pemerintah Pusat yang selanjutnya disebut Pemerintah adalah Presiden Republik Indonesia yang memegang kekuasaan Pemerintah Negara Republik Indonesia sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945.
14. Pemerintah Daerah adalah gubernur, bupati, atau walikota dan perangkat daerah sebagai unsur penyelenggara pemerintahan daerah.
15. Menteri adalah menteri yang menyelenggarakan urusan pemerintahan di bidang kesehatan.
16. Kepala Badan adalah kepala badan yang tugas dan tanggung jawabnya di bidang pengawasan obat dan makanan.

## Pasal 2

- (1) Penyelenggaraan pengamanan penggunaan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan diarahkan agar tidak mengganggu dan membahayakan kesehatan perseorangan, keluarga, masyarakat, dan lingkungan.

(2) Penyelenggaraan . . .



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- (2) Penyelenggaraan pengamanan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) bertujuan untuk:
- a. melindungi kesehatan perseorangan, keluarga, masyarakat, dan lingkungan dari bahaya bahan yang mengandung karsinogen dan Zat Adiktif dalam Produk Tembakau yang dapat menyebabkan penyakit, kematian, dan menurunkan kualitas hidup;
  - b. melindungi penduduk usia produktif, anak, remaja, dan perempuan hamil dari dorongan lingkungan dan pengaruh iklan dan promosi untuk inisiasi penggunaan dan ketergantungan terhadap bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau;
  - c. meningkatkan kesadaran dan kewaspadaan masyarakat terhadap bahaya merokok dan manfaat hidup tanpa merokok; dan
  - d. melindungi kesehatan masyarakat dari asap Rokok orang lain.

### Pasal 3

Peraturan Pemerintah ini mengatur mengenai:

- a. Produk Tembakau;
- b. tanggung jawab Pemerintah dan Pemerintah Daerah;
- c. penyelenggaraan;
- d. peran serta masyarakat; dan
- e. pembinaan dan pengawasan.



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## BAB II

### PRODUK TEMBAKAU

#### Pasal 4

Produk Tembakau yang diatur dalam Peraturan Pemerintah ini meliputi Rokok dan Produk Tembakau lainnya yang penggunaannya terutama dengan cara dibakar dan dihisap dan/atau dihirup asapnya, yang mengandung Zat Adiktif dan bahan lainnya yang berbahaya bagi kesehatan.

#### Pasal 5

- (1) Selain Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 4, Produk Tembakau yang mengandung *nicotiana tabacum*, *nicotiana rustica*, dan spesies lainnya dan/atau hasil olahannya termasuk pembuatan sintetis yang jenis dan sifatnya sama atau serupa dengan yang dihasilkan oleh *nicotiana* spesies dan penggunaannya dengan cara dibakar dan dihisap dan/atau dihirup asapnya termasuk dalam ketentuan Peraturan Pemerintah ini.
- (2) Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) diatur dengan Peraturan Menteri.

BAB III . . .



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BAB III  
TANGGUNG JAWAB  
PEMERINTAH DAN PEMERINTAH DAERAH

Pasal 6

- (1) Pemerintah dan Pemerintah Daerah sesuai kewenangannya bertanggung jawab mengatur, menyelenggarakan, membina, dan mengawasi pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan.
- (2) Pemerintah dan Pemerintah Daerah bertanggung jawab atas ketersediaan akses terhadap informasi dan edukasi atas pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan.

Pasal 7

- (1) Pemerintah dan Pemerintah Daerah mendorong kegiatan penelitian dan pengembangan dalam rangka pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan.
- (2) Pemerintah dan Pemerintah Daerah mendorong pelaksanaan diversifikasi Produk Tembakau.



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## BAB IV PENYELENGGARAAN

### Bagian Kesatu

#### Umum

#### Pasal 8

Penyelenggaraan pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan meliputi:

- a. produksi dan impor;
- b. peredaran;
- c. perlindungan khusus bagi anak dan perempuan hamil; dan
- d. Kawasan Tanpa Rokok.

### Bagian Kedua

#### Produksi dan Impor

#### Pasal 9

Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau wajib memiliki izin sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

#### Pasal 10

- (1) Setiap orang yang memproduksi Produk Tembakau berupa Rokok harus melakukan pengujian kandungan kadar Nikotin dan Tar per batang untuk setiap varian yang diproduksi.

(2) Ketentuan . . .



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- (2) Ketentuan mengenai pengujian sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) tidak berlaku terhadap Rokok *klobot*, Rokok *klembak* menyan, cerutu, dan tembakau iris.
- (3) Pengecualian sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (2) tidak berlaku apabila perkembangan teknologi telah mampu melakukan pengujian kandungan kadar Nikotin dan Tar terhadap Rokok *klobot*, Rokok *klembak* menyan, cerutu, dan tembakau iris.

#### Pasal 11

- (1) Pengujian sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 10 dilakukan di laboratorium yang sudah terakreditasi sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.
- (2) Hasil pengujian kandungan kadar Nikotin dan Tar sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dilaporkan kepada Kepala Badan.

#### Pasal 12

- (1) Setiap orang yang memproduksi Produk Tembakau dilarang menggunakan bahan tambahan kecuali telah dapat dibuktikan secara ilmiah bahan tambahan tersebut tidak berbahaya bagi kesehatan.
- (2) Bahan tambahan yang dapat digunakan pada produksi Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) ditetapkan dengan Peraturan Menteri.

(3) Setiap . . .



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- (3) Setiap orang yang memproduksi Produk Tembakau yang menggunakan bahan tambahan yang berbahaya bagi kesehatan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dikenakan sanksi administratif oleh Menteri berupa penarikan produk atas biaya produsen.

### Pasal 13

- (1) Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau berupa Rokok putih mesin dilarang mengemas kurang dari 20 (dua puluh) batang dalam setiap Kemasan.
- (2) Ketentuan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) tidak berlaku bagi Produk Tembakau selain Rokok putih mesin.
- (3) Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau berupa Rokok putih mesin dengan Kemasan kurang dari 20 (dua puluh) batang dalam setiap Kemasan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dikenakan sanksi administratif sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

### Pasal 14

- (1) Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau ke wilayah Indonesia wajib mencantumkan peringatan kesehatan.
- (2) Peringatan kesehatan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) berbentuk gambar dan tulisan yang harus mempunyai satu makna.

(3) Peringatan . . .



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- (3) Peringatan kesehatan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (2) tercetak menjadi satu dengan Kemasan Produk Tembakau.

#### Pasal 15

- (1) Setiap 1 (satu) varian Produk Tembakau wajib dicantumkan gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan yang terdiri atas 5 (lima) jenis yang berbeda, dengan porsi masing-masing 20% (dua puluh persen) dari jumlah setiap varian Produk Tembakaunya.
- (2) Ketentuan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1), tidak berlaku bagi industri Produk Tembakau nonPengusaha Kena Pajak yang total jumlah produksinya tidak lebih dari 24.000.000 (dua puluh empat juta) batang per tahun.
- (3) Industri Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (2) wajib mencantumkan paling sedikit 2 (dua) jenis gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan yang ditetapkan dalam Peraturan Menteri.

#### Pasal 16

Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 14 dan Pasal 15 diatur dengan Peraturan Menteri setelah berkoordinasi dengan menteri yang menyelenggarakan urusan pemerintahan di bidang keuangan.

Pasal 17 ...





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#### Pasal 17

- (1) Gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 15 dicantumkan pada setiap Kemasan terkecil dan Kemasan lebih besar Produk Tembakau.
- (2) Setiap Kemasan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) mencantumkan 1 (satu) jenis gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan.
- (3) Ketentuan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) tidak berlaku bagi Rokok *klobot*, Rokok *klembak* menyan, dan cerutu Kemasan batangan.
- (4) Pencantuman gambar dan tulisan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) harus memenuhi persyaratan sebagai berikut:
  - a. dicantumkan pada bagian atas Kemasan sisi lebar bagian depan dan belakang masing-masing seluas 40% (empat puluh persen), diawali dengan kata “Peringatan” dengan menggunakan huruf berwarna putih dengan dasar hitam, harus dicetak dengan jelas dan mencolok, baik sebagian atau seluruhnya;
  - b. gambar sebagaimana dimaksud pada huruf a harus dicetak berwarna; dan
  - c. jenis huruf harus menggunakan huruf *arial bold* dan *font* 10 (sepuluh) atau proporsional dengan Kemasan, tulisan warna putih di atas latar belakang hitam.
- (5) Gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (4) tidak boleh tertutup oleh apapun sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

Pasal 18 ...



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#### Pasal 18

Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau tanpa mencantumkan peringatan kesehatan berupa gambar dan tulisan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 14, Pasal 15, dan Pasal 17 dikenakan sanksi sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

#### Pasal 19

Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau berupa Rokok wajib mencantumkan informasi kandungan kadar Nikotin dan Tar sesuai hasil pengujian sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 11 pada Label setiap Kemasan dengan penempatan yang jelas dan mudah dibaca.

#### Pasal 20

Pencantuman informasi tentang kandungan kadar Nikotin dan Tar sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 19 wajib ditempatkan pada sisi samping setiap Kemasan Produk Tembakau, dibuat kotak dengan garis pinggir 1 mm (satu milimeter), warna kontras antara warna dasar dan tulisan, ukuran tulisan paling sedikit 3 mm (tiga milimeter), sehingga dapat terlihat dengan jelas dan mudah dibaca.

#### Pasal 21

Selain pencantuman informasi tentang kadar Nikotin dan Tar sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 20, pada sisi samping lainnya dari Kemasan Produk Tembakau wajib dicantumkan:

a. pernyataan . . .



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- a. pernyataan, “dilarang menjual atau memberi kepada anak berusia di bawah 18 tahun dan perempuan hamil”; dan
- b. kode produksi, tanggal, bulan, dan tahun produksi, serta nama dan alamat produsen.

#### Pasal 22

Pada sisi samping lainnya dari Kemasan Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 20 dapat dicantumkan pernyataan, “tidak ada batas aman” dan “mengandung lebih dari 4000 zat kimia berbahaya serta lebih dari 43 zat penyebab kanker”.

#### Pasal 23

Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau tanpa mencantumkan informasi kandungan kadar Nikotin dan Tar sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 19, Pasal 20, dan Pasal 21 dikenakan sanksi administratif sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

#### Pasal 24

- (1) Setiap produsen dilarang untuk mencantumkan keterangan atau tanda apapun yang menyesatkan atau kata-kata yang bersifat promotif.
- (2) Selain larangan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1), setiap produsen dilarang mencantumkan kata “*Light*”, “*Ultra Light*”, “*Mild*”, “*Extra Mild*”, “*Low Tar*”, “*Slim*”, “*Special*”, “*Full Flavour*”, “*Premium*” atau kata lain yang mengindikasikan kualitas, superioritas, rasa aman, pencitraan, kepribadian, ataupun kata-kata dengan arti yang sama.

(3) Ketentuan . . .



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- (3) Ketentuan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (2) tidak berlaku bagi Produk Tembakau yang sudah mendapatkan sertifikat merek sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.
- (4) Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau yang mencantumkan keterangan atau tanda apapun yang menyesatkan atau kata-kata yang bersifat promotif sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dikenakan sanksi sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

### Bagian Ketiga

#### Peredaran

#### Pasal 25

Setiap orang dilarang menjual Produk Tembakau:

- a. menggunakan mesin layan diri;
- b. kepada anak di bawah usia 18 (delapan belas) tahun;  
dan
- c. kepada perempuan hamil.

#### Pasal 26

- (1) Pemerintah melakukan pengendalian Iklan Produk Tembakau.
- (2) Pengendalian Iklan Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dilakukan pada media cetak, media penyiaran, media teknologi informasi, dan/atau media luar ruang.

Pasal 27 . . .



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#### Pasal 27

Pengendalian Iklan Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 26, antara lain dilakukan sebagai berikut:

- a. mencantumkan peringatan kesehatan dalam bentuk gambar dan tulisan sebesar paling sedikit 10% (sepuluh persen) dari total durasi iklan dan/atau 15% (lima belas persen) dari total luas iklan;
- b. mencantumkan penandaan/tulisan “18+” dalam Iklan Produk Tembakau;
- c. tidak memperagakan, menggunakan, dan/atau menampilkan wujud atau bentuk Rokok atau sebutan lain yang dapat diasosiasikan dengan merek Produk Tembakau;
- d. tidak mencantumkan nama produk yang bersangkutan adalah Rokok;
- e. tidak menggambarkan atau menyarankan bahwa merokok memberikan manfaat bagi kesehatan;
- f. tidak menggunakan kata atau kalimat yang menyesatkan;
- g. tidak merangsang atau menyarankan orang untuk merokok;
- h. tidak menampilkan anak, remaja, dan/atau wanita hamil dalam bentuk gambar dan/atau tulisan;
- i. tidak ditujukan terhadap anak, remaja, dan/atau wanita hamil;
- j. tidak menggunakan tokoh kartun sebagai model iklan; dan
- k. tidak bertentangan dengan norma yang berlaku dalam masyarakat.

Pasal 28 ...



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#### Pasal 28

Selain memenuhi ketentuan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 27, Iklan Produk Tembakau di media cetak wajib memenuhi ketentuan sebagai berikut:

- a. tidak diletakkan di sampul depan dan/atau belakang media cetak, atau halaman depan surat kabar;
- b. tidak diletakkan berdekatan dengan iklan makanan dan minuman;
- c. luas kolom iklan tidak memenuhi seluruh halaman; dan
- d. tidak dimuat di media cetak untuk anak, remaja, dan perempuan.

#### Pasal 29

Selain pengendalian Iklan Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 27, iklan di media penyiaran hanya dapat ditayangkan setelah pukul 21.30 sampai dengan pukul 05.00 waktu setempat.

#### Pasal 30

Selain pengendalian Iklan Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 27, iklan di media teknologi informasi harus memenuhi ketentuan situs merek dagang Produk Tembakau yang menerapkan verifikasi umur untuk membatasi akses hanya kepada orang berusia 18 (delapan belas) tahun ke atas.

Pasal 31 ...



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#### Pasal 31

Selain pengendalian Iklan Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 27, iklan di media luar ruang harus memenuhi ketentuan sebagai berikut:

- a. tidak diletakkan di Kawasan Tanpa Rokok;
- b. tidak diletakkan di jalan utama atau protokol;
- c. harus diletakkan sejajar dengan bahu jalan dan tidak boleh memotong jalan atau melintang; dan
- d. tidak boleh melebihi ukuran 72 m<sup>2</sup> (tujuh puluh dua meter persegi).

#### Pasal 32

Dalam rangka memenuhi akses ketersediaan informasi dan edukasi kesehatan masyarakat, Pemerintah dan Pemerintah Daerah menyelenggarakan iklan layanan masyarakat mengenai bahaya menggunakan Produk Tembakau.

#### Pasal 33

Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai Iklan Produk Tembakau diatur dengan peraturan instansi yang menyelenggarakan urusan pemerintahan di bidang penyiaran.

#### Pasal 34

Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai Iklan Produk Tembakau di media luar ruang diatur oleh Pemerintah Daerah.

Pasal 35 . . .



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#### Pasal 35

- (1) Pemerintah melakukan pengendalian Promosi Produk Tembakau.
- (2) Ketentuan pengendalian Promosi Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dilakukan sebagai berikut:
  - a. tidak memberikan secara cuma-cuma, potongan harga, hadiah Produk Tembakau, atau produk lainnya yang dikaitkan dengan Produk Tembakau;
  - b. tidak menggunakan logo dan/atau merek Produk Tembakau pada produk atau barang bukan Produk Tembakau; dan
  - c. tidak menggunakan logo dan/atau merek Produk Tembakau pada suatu kegiatan lembaga dan/atau perorangan.

#### Pasal 36

- (1) Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau yang mensponsori suatu kegiatan lembaga dan/atau perorangan hanya dapat dilakukan dengan ketentuan sebagai berikut:
  - a. tidak menggunakan nama merek dagang dan logo Produk Tembakau termasuk *brand image* Produk Tembakau; dan
  - b. tidak bertujuan untuk mempromosikan Produk Tembakau.
- (2) Sponsor sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dilarang untuk kegiatan lembaga dan/atau perorangan yang diliput media.

Pasal 37 ...





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#### Pasal 37

Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau yang menjadi sponsor dalam bentuk tanggung jawab sosial perusahaan hanya dapat dilakukan dengan ketentuan sebagai berikut:

- a. tidak menggunakan nama merek dagang dan logo Produk Tembakau termasuk *brand image* Produk Tembakau; dan
- b. tidak bertujuan untuk mempromosikan Produk Tembakau.

#### Pasal 38

Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai tata cara pengendalian Sponsor Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 36 dan Pasal 37 diatur oleh Pemerintah Daerah.

#### Pasal 39

Setiap orang dilarang menyiarkan dan menggambarkan dalam bentuk gambar atau foto, menayangkan, menampilkan atau menampilkan orang sedang merokok, memperlihatkan batang Rokok, asap Rokok, bungkus Rokok atau yang berhubungan dengan Produk Tembakau serta segala bentuk informasi Produk Tembakau di media cetak, media penyiaran, dan media teknologi informasi yang berhubungan dengan kegiatan komersial/iklan atau membuat orang ingin merokok.



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#### Pasal 40

Setiap orang yang mengiklankan dan/atau mempromosikan Produk Tembakau tidak sesuai dengan ketentuan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 27, Pasal 28, Pasal 29, Pasal 30, Pasal 31, Pasal 35, Pasal 36, Pasal 37, dan Pasal 39, dikenakan sanksi administratif oleh Menteri dan/atau menteri terkait berupa:

- a. penarikan dan/atau perbaikan iklan;
- b. peringatan tertulis; dan/atau
- c. pelarangan sementara mengiklankan Produk Tembakau yang bersangkutan pada pelanggaran berulang atau pelanggaran berat.

#### Bagian Keempat

#### Perlindungan Khusus Bagi Anak Dan Perempuan Hamil

#### Pasal 41

Penyelenggaraan perlindungan anak dan perempuan hamil terhadap bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau, dilaksanakan secara terpadu dan komprehensif melalui kegiatan pencegahan, pemulihan kesehatan fisik dan mental serta pemulihan sosial.

#### Pasal 42

Kegiatan pencegahan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 41 dilakukan dalam rangka memberi pemahaman kepada anak dan perempuan hamil mengenai dampak buruk penggunaan Produk Tembakau.

Pasal 43 . . .



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#### Pasal 43

- (1) Kegiatan pemulihan kesehatan fisik dan mental sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 41 ditujukan untuk memulihkan kesehatan baik fisik maupun mental anak dan ibu hamil akibat penggunaan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau.
- (2) Pemulihan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dilakukan melalui kegiatan antara lain:
  - a. pemeriksaan fisik dan mental;
  - b. pengobatan;
  - c. pemberian terapi psikososial;
  - d. pemberian terapi mental; dan/atau
  - e. melakukan rujukan.
- (3) Pemulihan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (2) dilakukan oleh tenaga kesehatan yang berkompeten.

#### Pasal 44

- (1) Kegiatan pemulihan sosial sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 41 ditujukan untuk memulihkan dan mengembangkan kemampuan anak yang mengalami disfungsi sosial akibat penggunaan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau agar dapat melaksanakan fungsi sosial secara wajar.
- (2) Kegiatan pemulihan sosial sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dilakukan melalui rehabilitasi sosial dalam bentuk antara lain:
  - a. motivasi dan diagnosis psikososial;
  - b. perawatan dan pengasuhan;

c. pelatihan . . .



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- c. pelatihan vokasional dan pembinaan kewirausahaan;
  - d. bimbingan mental spiritual;
  - e. bimbingan fisik;
  - f. bimbingan sosial dan konseling psikososial;
  - g. pelayanan aksesibilitas;
  - h. bantuan dan asistensi sosial;
  - i. bimbingan resosialisasi;
  - j. bimbingan lanjut; dan/atau
  - k. melakukan rujukan.
- (3) Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai rehabilitasi sosial sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (2) diatur dengan peraturan menteri yang menyelenggarakan urusan pemerintahan di bidang sosial.

#### Pasal 45

Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau dilarang memberikan Produk Tembakau dan/atau barang yang menyerupai Produk Tembakau secara cuma-cuma kepada anak, remaja, dan perempuan hamil.

#### Pasal 46

Setiap orang dilarang menyuruh anak di bawah usia 18 (depalan belas) tahun untuk menjual, membeli, atau mengonsumsi Produk Tembakau.

Pasal 47 . . .



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#### Pasal 47

- (1) Setiap penyelenggaraan kegiatan yang disponsori oleh Produk Tembakau dan/atau bertujuan untuk mempromosikan Produk Tembakau dilarang mengikutsertakan anak di bawah usia 18 (delapan belas) tahun.
- (2) Setiap orang yang menyelenggarakan kegiatan yang disponsori Produk Tembakau sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) yang mengikutsertakan anak di bawah usia 18 (delapan belas) tahun dikenakan sanksi oleh pejabat Pemerintah Daerah sesuai dengan kewenangannya.

#### Pasal 48

- (1) Dalam rangka memberikan perlindungan kepada anak terhadap bahaya bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau, Pemerintah dan Pemerintah Daerah wajib menyediakan posko pelayanan selama 24 (dua puluh empat) jam.
- (2) Posko pelayanan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dapat berupa *hotline service* atau *call center*.

#### Bagian Kelima

#### Kawasan Tanpa Rokok

#### Pasal 49

Dalam rangka penyelenggaraan pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan, Pemerintah dan Pemerintah Daerah wajib mewujudkan Kawasan Tanpa Rokok.

Pasal 50 . . .



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#### Pasal 50

- (1) Kawasan Tanpa Rokok sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 49 antara lain:
  - a. fasilitas pelayanan kesehatan;
  - b. tempat proses belajar mengajar;
  - c. tempat anak bermain;
  - d. tempat ibadah;
  - e. angkutan umum;
  - f. tempat kerja; dan
  - g. tempat umum dan tempat lain yang ditetapkan.
- (2) Larangan kegiatan menjual, mengiklankan, dan mempromosikan Produk Tembakau tidak berlaku bagi tempat yang digunakan untuk kegiatan penjualan Produk Tembakau di lingkungan Kawasan Tanpa Rokok.
- (3) Larangan kegiatan memproduksi Produk Tembakau tidak berlaku bagi tempat yang digunakan untuk kegiatan produksi Produk Tembakau di lingkungan Kawasan Tanpa Rokok.
- (4) Pimpinan atau penanggung jawab tempat sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) wajib menerapkan Kawasan Tanpa Rokok.

#### Pasal 51

- (1) Kawasan Tanpa Rokok sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 50 huruf f dan huruf g menyediakan tempat khusus untuk merokok.

(2) Tempat . . .



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- (2) Tempat khusus untuk merokok sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) harus merupakan ruang terbuka yang berhubungan langsung dengan udara luar.

#### Pasal 52

Pemerintah Daerah wajib menetapkan Kawasan Tanpa Rokok di wilayahnya dengan Peraturan Daerah.

### BAB V

#### PERAN SERTA MASYARAKAT

#### Pasal 53

- (1) Masyarakat dapat berperan serta dalam rangka pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan untuk mewujudkan derajat kesehatan yang optimal.
- (2) Peran serta sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dapat dilakukan oleh perorangan, kelompok, badan hukum atau badan usaha, dan lembaga atau organisasi yang diselenggarakan oleh masyarakat.

#### Pasal 54

Peran serta masyarakat sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 53 dilaksanakan melalui:

- a. pemikiran dan masukan berkenaan dengan penentuan kebijakan dan/atau pelaksanaan program pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan;
- b. penyelenggaraan . . .



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- b. penyelenggaraan, pemberian bantuan, dan/atau kerjasama dalam kegiatan penelitian dan pengembangan pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan;
- c. pengadaan dan pemberian bantuan sarana dan prasarana bagi penyelenggaraan pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan;
- d. keikutsertaan dalam pemberian bimbingan dan penyuluhan serta penyebarluasan informasi kepada masyarakat berkenaan dengan penyelenggaraan pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan; dan
- e. kegiatan pengawasan dan pelaporan pelanggaran yang ditemukan dalam rangka penyelenggaraan pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan.

#### Pasal 55

Peran serta masyarakat dalam rangka penyelenggaraan upaya pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan dilaksanakan sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

#### Pasal 56

Dalam rangka meningkatkan peran serta masyarakat, Pemerintah dan Pemerintah Daerah bekerja sama dengan lembaga terkait lainnya untuk menyebarluaskan informasi dan edukasi penyelenggaraan pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan.





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## BAB VI

### PEMBINAAN DAN PENGAWASAN

#### Bagian Kesatu

#### Pembinaan

#### Pasal 57

Menteri, menteri terkait, Kepala Badan, dan Pemerintah Daerah sesuai dengan kewenangannya melakukan pembinaan atas penyelenggaraan pengamanan Produk Tembakau sebagai Zat Adiktif bagi kesehatan dengan:

- a. mewujudkan Kawasan Tanpa Rokok;
- b. mencegah perokok pemula dan melakukan konseling berhenti merokok;
- c. memberikan informasi, edukasi, dan pengembangan kemampuan masyarakat untuk berperilaku hidup sehat;
- d. bekerja sama dengan badan/atau lembaga internasional atau organisasi kemasyarakatan untuk menyelenggarakan pengamanan Produk Tembakau sebagai Zat Adiktif bagi kesehatan sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan; dan
- e. memberikan penghargaan kepada orang atau badan yang telah berjasa dalam membantu penyelenggaraan pengamanan Produk Tembakau sebagai Zat Adiktif bagi kesehatan.

#### Pasal 58

- (1) Menteri, menteri terkait, Kepala Badan, dan Pemerintah Daerah melakukan upaya pengembangan dalam rangka diversifikasi Produk Tembakau yang penggunaannya akan membawa manfaat bagi kesehatan.

(2) Diversifikasi . . .



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- (2) Diversifikasi sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dapat dilakukan dengan melibatkan peran serta masyarakat sebagai upaya melindungi kelestarian tanaman tembakau.

## Bagian Kedua

### Pengawasan

#### Pasal 59

- (1) Menteri, menteri terkait, Kepala Badan, dan Pemerintah Daerah melakukan pengawasan atas pelaksanaan upaya pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan sesuai dengan tugas dan fungsi masing-masing.
- (2) Dalam rangka pengawasan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1), Menteri, menteri terkait, Kepala Badan, dan Pemerintah Daerah dapat mengambil tindakan administratif terhadap pelanggaran ketentuan dalam Peraturan Pemerintah ini sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

#### Pasal 60

- (1) Pengawasan terhadap Produk Tembakau yang beredar, promosi, dan pencantuman peringatan kesehatan dalam iklan dan Kemasan Produk Tembakau dilaksanakan oleh Kepala Badan.

(2) Pengawasan . . .



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- (2) Pengawasan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dilaksanakan oleh Kepala Badan dan berkoordinasi dengan instansi terkait.
- (3) Dalam melakukan pengawasan Produk Tembakau yang beredar, iklan, dan promosi sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1), Kepala Badan dapat mengenai sanksi administratif berupa:
  - a. teguran lisan;
  - b. teguran tertulis;
  - c. penarikan produk;
  - d. rekomendasi penghentian sementara kegiatan; dan/atau
  - e. rekomendasi penindakan kepada instansi terkait sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.
- (4) Rekomendasi sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (3) huruf d dan huruf e harus dilaksanakan oleh instansi penerima rekomendasi dalam jangka waktu paling lama 30 (tiga puluh) hari kerja.
- (5) Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai pelaksanaan pengawasan Produk Tembakau yang beredar, pencantuman peringatan kesehatan dalam iklan dan Kemasan Produk Tembakau, dan promosi diatur oleh Kepala Badan.

## BAB VII KETENTUAN PERALIHAN

### Pasal 61

Setiap orang yang memproduksi dan/atau mengimpor Produk Tembakau harus menyesuaikan dengan ketentuan Pasal 14, Pasal 15, dan Pasal 17 paling lambat 18 (delapan belas) bulan terhitung sejak Peraturan Pemerintah ini diundangkan.

Pasal 62 . . .



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#### Pasal 62

- (1) Setiap orang yang mempromosikan dan/atau mengiklankan Produk Tembakau harus menyesuaikan dengan ketentuan Pasal 27, Pasal 28, Pasal 29, Pasal 30, Pasal 31, dan Pasal 35 paling lambat 12 (dua belas) bulan terhitung sejak Peraturan Pemerintah ini diundangkan.
- (2) Setiap orang memproduksi, mengimpor, dan/atau mengedarkan Produk Tembakau yang menjadi sponsor suatu kegiatan harus menyesuaikan dengan ketentuan Pasal 36, dan Pasal 37 paling lambat 12 (dua belas) bulan terhitung sejak Peraturan Pemerintah ini diundangkan.

#### BAB VIII

#### KETENTUAN PENUTUP

#### Pasal 63

Pada saat Peraturan Pemerintah ini mulai berlaku, semua peraturan pelaksanaan dari Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 19 Tahun 2003 tentang Pengamanan Rokok Bagi Kesehatan (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2003 Nomor 36, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Nomor 4276) dinyatakan masih tetap berlaku sepanjang tidak bertentangan dengan ketentuan dalam Peraturan Pemerintah ini.

#### Pasal 64

Pada saat Peraturan Pemerintah ini mulai berlaku, maka Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 19 Tahun 2003 tentang Pengamanan Rokok Bagi Kesehatan (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2003 Nomor 36, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Nomor 4276), dicabut dan dinyatakan tidak berlaku.

#### Pasal 65

Peraturan Pemerintah ini mulai berlaku pada tanggal diundangkan.

Agar . . .



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Agar setiap orang mengetahuinya, memerintahkan pengundangan Peraturan Pemerintah ini dengan penempatannya dalam Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia.

Ditetapkan di Jakarta  
pada tanggal 24 Desember 2012  
PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA,

ttd.

DR. H. SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO

Diundangkan di Jakarta  
pada tanggal 24 Desember 2012  
MENTERI HUKUM DAN HAK ASASI MANUSIA  
REPUBLIK INDONESIA,

ttd.

AMIR SYAMSUDIN

LEMBARAN NEGARA REPUBLIK INDONESIA TAHUN 2012 NOMOR 278

Salinan sesuai dengan aslinya  
KEMENTERIAN SEKRETARIAT NEGARA RI  
Asisten Deputi Perundang-undangan  
Bidang Politik dan Kesejahteraan Rakyat,

Wisnu Setiawan



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PENJELASAN

ATAS

PERATURAN PEMERINTAH REPUBLIK INDONESIA

NOMOR 109 TAHUN 2012

TENTANG

PENGAMANAN BAHAN YANG MENGANDUNG ZAT ADIKTIF BERUPA  
PRODUK TEMBAKAU BAGI KESEHATAN

## I. UMUM

Pembangunan kesehatan sebagai salah satu upaya pembangunan nasional diarahkan guna tercapainya kesadaran, kemauan, dan kemampuan untuk hidup sehat bagi setiap penduduk, agar dapat mewujudkan derajat kesehatan yang setinggi-tingginya.

Untuk mewujudkan derajat kesehatan yang setinggi-tingginya bagi masyarakat tersebut, diselenggarakan berbagai upaya kesehatan di mana salah satu upaya dimaksud adalah pengamanan Zat Adiktif yang diatur dalam Pasal 113 sampai dengan Pasal 116 dan Pasal 199 Undang-Undang Nomor 36 Tahun 2009 tentang Kesehatan. Dalam Pasal 113 ayat (2) Undang-Undang Nomor 36 Tahun 2009 tentang Kesehatan, dinyatakan bahwa Produk Tembakau merupakan Zat Adiktif.

Dalam kaitannya dengan bidang kesehatan, konsumsi Produk Tembakau terutama Rokok, menjadi masalah tersendiri, karena sebenarnya di dalam Produk Tembakau yang dibakar terdapat lebih dari 4.000 (empat ribu) zat kimia antara lain Nikotin yang bersifat adiktif dan Tar yang bersifat karsinogenik.

Dampak negatif penggunaan tembakau pada kesehatan telah lama diketahui, dan kanker paru merupakan penyebab kematian nomor satu di dunia, di samping dapat menyebabkan serangan jantung, impotensi, penyakit darah, enfisema, stroke, dan gangguan kehamilan dan janin yang sebenarnya dapat dicegah.

Merokok merugikan kesehatan baik bagi perokok itu sendiri maupun orang lain disekitarnya yang tidak merokok (perokok pasif). Perokok

Merokok . . .



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mempunyai risiko 2-4 kali lipat untuk terkena penyakit jantung koroner dan risiko lebih tinggi untuk kematian mendadak.

Gencarnya iklan, promosi, dan sponsor Rokok berdampak pada semakin meningkatnya prevalensi merokok pada anak-anak. Berbagai penelitian menunjukkan bahwa iklan, promosi, dan sponsor Rokok menimbulkan keinginan anak-anak untuk mulai merokok, mendorong anak-anak perokok untuk terus merokok dan mendorong anak-anak yang telah berhenti merokok untuk kembali merokok.

Pengaturan iklan sebagaimana diatur dalam Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 19 Tahun 2003 tentang Pengamanan Rokok Bagi Kesehatan belum optimal untuk mencegah meningkatnya perokok pemula dan mengingat bahwa Produk Tembakau telah dinyatakan sebagai Zat Adiktif berdasarkan Pasal 113 ayat (2) Undang-Undang Kesehatan, maka Pemerintah perlu melakukan pengendalian terhadap iklan, promosi, dan sponsorship Produk Tembakau.

Perlindungan terhadap bahaya paparan asap Rokok orang lain (perokok pasif) perlu dilakukan mengingat risiko terkena penyakit kanker bagi perokok pasif 30% (tiga puluh persen) lebih besar dibandingkan dengan yang tidak terpapar asap Rokok. Perokok pasif juga terkena penyakit lainnya seperti perokok antara lain penyakit jantung iskemik yang disebabkan oleh asap Rokok.

Masyarakat berhak mendapatkan informasi dan peringatan yang jelas dan benar atas dampak yang ditimbulkan akibat merokok. Walaupun lebih dari 90% (sembilan puluh persen) masyarakat pernah membaca peringatan kesehatan berbentuk tulisan di bungkus Rokok, hampir separuhnya tidak percaya dan 26% (dua puluh enam persen) tidak termotivasi berhenti merokok. Studi di berbagai negara membuktikan peringatan tertulis yang disertai gambar lebih efektif daripada hanya berbentuk tulisan saja. Oleh karena itu, pesan kesehatan pada Kemasan Rokok wajib dicantumkan dalam bentuk gambar dan tulisan untuk meningkatkan kesadaran perokok dan bukan perokok akan bahayanya merokok bagi kesehatan. Agar efektif, peringatan kesehatan harus mudah dilihat, relevan dan mudah diingat serta menggambarkan aspek yang perlu diketahui oleh Setiap Orang.

Pengamanan . . .



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Pengamanan Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan perlu dilaksanakan dengan pemberian informasi tentang kandungan kadar Nikotin, Tar yang ada pada setiap batang Rokok, walaupun kadar berapa pun tidak aman dikonsumsi, pencantuman peringatan kesehatan pada Kemasan Produk Tembakau berupa gambar dan tulisan, pengaturan produksi dan penjualan Produk Tembakau, persyaratan periklanan, promosi dan Sponsor Produk Tembakau serta prinsip penerapan Kawasan Tanpa Rokok.

Peran masyarakat dalam upaya pengamanan Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan perlu ditingkatkan agar tujuan dari Peraturan Pemerintah ini tercapai dengan optimal.

Pembinaan dan pengawasan oleh Menteri Kesehatan, menteri terkait, dan Kepala Badan Pengawasan Obat dan Makanan atas pelaksanaan upaya pengamanan Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan dilaksanakan di berbagai bidang sesuai tugas dan fungsinya masing-masing. Pembinaan dan pengawasan diarahkan untuk menjamin kelestarian tanaman tembakau dengan tetap mengupayakan pengembangan mutu tanaman tembakau agar dapat bersaing dengan mutu tembakau impor dan mampu memenuhi kebutuhan tembakau bagi industri Rokok dalam negeri.

Pengamanan Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan ini juga perlu dilaksanakan secara terpadu dengan lintas sektor terkait dan memperhatikan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan lainnya.

## II. PASAL DEMI PASAL

### Pasal 1

Cukup jelas.

### Pasal 2

Cukup jelas.

### Pasal 3

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 4 . . .





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#### Pasal 4

Yang dimaksud dengan “bahan lainnya” antara lain karbon monoksida dan Tar yang di dalamnya terkandung 4000 (empat ribu) senyawa kimia yang berbahaya bagi kesehatan.

#### Pasal 5

##### Ayat (1)

Produk Tembakau lain yang termasuk dalam ketentuan ini ditujukan bagi varian Produk Tembakau lain yang akan ada di kemudian hari sesuai dengan perkembangan ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi yang penggunaannya juga akan membahayakan bagi kesehatan.

##### Ayat (2)

Cukup jelas.

#### Pasal 6

##### Ayat (1)

Cukup jelas.

##### Ayat (2)

Bentuk informasi dan edukasi atas pengamanan bahan yang mengandung Zat Adiktif berupa Produk Tembakau bagi kesehatan termasuk iklan layanan masyarakat.

#### Pasal 7

Cukup jelas.

#### Pasal 8

##### Huruf a

Pengaturan produksi meliputi uji kandungan kadar Nikotin dan Tar, penggunaan bahan tambahan, Kemasan dan Label, peringatan kesehatan.

Huruf b . . .



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Huruf b

Pengaturan peredaran meliputi penjualan, iklan, promosi, dan sponsor.

Huruf c

Pengaturan perlindungan ditujukan bagi anak, remaja dan ibu hamil agar tidak memberikan kemudahan untuk memperoleh Produk Tembakau.

Huruf d

Pengaturan Kawasan Tanpa Rokok dimaksudkan untuk melindungi kesehatan individu dan masyarakat dari bahaya asap Rokok orang lain.

Pasal 9

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 10

Ayat (1)

Keharusan melakukan pengujian kandungan kadar Nikotin dan Tar dimaksudkan untuk memberikan informasi kepada konsumen mengenai bahaya merokok.

Ayat (2)

Cukup jelas.

Ayat (3)

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 11

Ayat (1)

Yang dimaksud dengan “laboratorium yang terakreditasi” adalah laboratorium yang telah memenuhi standar akreditasi yang ditetapkan oleh lembaga yang berwenang.

Ayat (2) . . .



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Ayat (2)

Cukup jelas.

## Pasal 12

Ayat (1)

Yang dimaksud dengan “bahan tambahan” antara lain penambah rasa, penambah aroma, dan pewarna.

Cengkeh, *klembak*, atau kemenyan tidak termasuk bahan tambahan, melainkan sebagai bahan baku.

Ayat (2)

Cukup jelas.

Ayat (3)

Cukup jelas.

## Pasal 13

Ayat (1)

Maksud dari pelarangan membuat Kemasan Rokok kurang dari 20 (dua puluh) batang bertujuan agar harga Rokok tidak mudah terjangkau oleh konsumen.

Ayat (2)

Yang dimaksud dengan “Produk Tembakau selain Rokok putih mesin” antara lain Rokok kretek tangan, Rokok kretek mesin, Rokok *klobot*, Rokok *klembak* menyan, cerutu, dan tembakau iris dikemas sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

Ayat (3)

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 14 . . .



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#### Pasal 14

##### Ayat (1)

Pencantuman peringatan kesehatan dalam bentuk gambar dan tulisan dalam Kemasan Produk Tembakau dimaksudkan untuk mengedukasi dan menginformasikan kepada masyarakat tentang bahaya akibat penggunaan Produk Tembakau secara lebih efektif.

##### Ayat (2)

Gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan dalam setiap Kemasan Produk Tembakau mempunyai pengertian yang sama.

##### Ayat (3)

Yang dimaksud dengan “tercetak menjadi satu dengan Kemasan” adalah bahwa peringatan kesehatan tersebut bukan merupakan stiker yang ditempelkan pada Kemasan Produk Tembakau.

#### Pasal 15

##### Ayat (1)

Yang dimaksud dengan “porsi masing-masing” adalah untuk setiap jenis atau merek dagang yang diproduksi harus menggunakan kelima peringatan kesehatan.

Misal :

Merek produk A yang akan diproduksi untuk tahun X adalah 1000 (seribu) bungkus, maka:

- 200 (dua ratus) bungkus menggunakan gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan jenis kesatu;
- 200 (dua ratus) bungkus menggunakan gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan jenis kedua;
- 200 (dua ratus) bungkus menggunakan gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan jenis ketiga;
- 200 (dua ratus) bungkus menggunakan gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan jenis keempat; dan



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- 200 (dua ratus) bungkus menggunakan gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan jenis kelima.

Hal ini dimaksudkan agar tiap jenis atau merek dagang tidak hanya memilih satu diantara lima tetapi menggunakan kelimanya untuk setiap merek, 1 (satu) peringatan untuk setiap Kemasan.

Ayat (2)

Cukup jelas.

Ayat (3)

Cukup jelas.

#### Pasal 16

Koordinasi dilakukan dalam hal penggantian jenis gambar peringatan kesehatan.

#### Pasal 17

Ayat (1)

Yang dimaksud dengan “Kemasan terkecil” adalah bungkus Rokok yang berhubungan langsung dengan Produk Tembakau, sedangkan Kemasan yang lebih besar antara lain slop.

Adanya pencantuman gambar dan tulisan peringatan kesehatan pada Kemasan baik kecil maupun besar, merupakan sarana edukasi yang paling efektif untuk masyarakat.

Ayat (2)

Cukup jelas.

Ayat (3)

Cukup jelas.

Ayat (4) . . .



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Ayat (4)

Cukup jelas.

Ayat (5)

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 18

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 19

Kewajiban mencantumkan informasi kandungan kadar Nikotin dan Tar bertujuan untuk memberikan informasi kepada konsumen tentang bahaya Tar dan Nikotin bagi kesehatan. Selain menyebabkan ketergantungan (adiksi), Nikotin dapat juga menyebabkan penyempitan pembuluh darah termasuk pembuluh darah koroner yang memberi oksigen pada jantung dan penggumpalan sel darah.

Karena penyempitan pembuluh darah, maka jantung akan memompa atau bekerja lebih keras, sehingga terjadi kenaikan tekanan darah, karbondioksida akan mengikat hemoglobin menggantikan oksigen. Tidak adanya aliran oksigen ke otot jantung ditambah penyempitan dan penyumbatan arteri koroner yang mengakibatkan serangan jantung. Sedangkan Tar yang bersifat karsinogenik dapat menyebabkan penyakit kanker.

Pasal 20

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 21

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 22

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 23

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 24 . . .



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#### Pasal 24

##### Ayat (1)

Yang dimaksud dengan “menyesatkan atau kata-kata yang bersifat promotif” antara lain memperdayakan atau cenderung bermaksud menciptakan kesan keliru tentang dampak kesehatan dari Produk Tembakau atau seolah-olah produk tembakau memberi manfaat untuk kesehatan pada Label Produk Tembakau.

##### Ayat (2)

Kata “*Light*”, “*Ultra Light*”, “*Mild*”, “*Extra Mild*”, “*Low Tar*”, “*Slim*”, “*Special*”, “*Full Flavour*”, dan “*Premium*” dapat menyesatkan karena Rokok bersifat adiktif sehingga perokok akan menghisap lebih banyak untuk memenuhi kebutuhan adiksi Nikotinnya.

##### Ayat (3)

Cukup jelas.

##### Ayat (4)

Cukup jelas.

#### Pasal 25

##### Huruf a

Pelarangan ini dimaksudkan untuk mempersempit jangkauan anak untuk memperoleh Produk Tembakau.

##### Huruf b

Pelarangan ini dimaksudkan untuk menghindari penjualan kepada anak di bawah umur.

##### Huruf c

Cukup jelas.

#### Pasal 26

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 27 . . .



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Pasal 27

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 28

Huruf a

Yang dimaksud dengan “sampul depan dan/atau belakang media cetak” termasuk halaman/cover tempelan yang dilekatkan baik pada bagian depan ataupun bagian belakang sampul media cetak.

Huruf b

Cukup jelas.

Huruf c

Cukup jelas.

Huruf d

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 29

Yang dimaksud dengan “media penyiaran” adalah media elektronik yang meliputi televisi dan radio.

Pasal 30

Yang dimaksud dengan “media teknologi informasi” adalah semua media *online* yang menggunakan fasilitas internet.

Pasal 31

Yang dimaksud dengan “media luar ruang” adalah segala benda yang diletakkan di luar ruang yang tidak digunakan sebagai alat penunjang aktivitas proses produksi dan peredaran Produk Tembakau.

Media luar ruang tersebut antara lain papan reklame, *billboard*, *display*, baliho, poster, megatron, stiker, spanduk, umbul-umbul, neon box, lampu hias, papan nama, balon udara, gerobak, rumah, gardu, tempat ojek, tenda, bus, mobil, motor, halte, dan sarung ban.

Pasal 32 . . .





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Pasal 32

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 33

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 34

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 35

Ayat (1)

Cukup jelas.

Ayat (2)

Huruf a

Yang dimaksud dengan “produk lainnya” antara lain barang-barang selain Produk Tembakau yang menggunakan merek dagang, atau yang dapat menimbulkan persepsi baik langsung maupun tidak langsung dengan Produk Tembakau.

Huruf b

Cukup jelas.

Huruf c

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 36

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 37

Huruf a

Yang dimaksud dengan “*brand image*” termasuk diantaranya semboyan yang digunakan oleh Produk Tembakau dan warna yang dapat diasosiasikan sebagai ciri khas Produk Tembakau yang bersangkutan.

Huruf b . . .



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Huruf b

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 38

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 39

Ketentuan larangan menyiarkan dan menggambarkan Produk Tembakau antara lain dalam film, sinetron, dan acara televisi lainnya kecuali tayangan/liputan berita.

Pasal 40

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 41

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 42

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 43

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 44

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 45

Yang dimaksud dengan “barang yang menyerupai Produk Tembakau” antara lain makanan dan minuman termasuk permen yang berbentuk seperti Produk Tembakau.

Pasal 46

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 47. . .



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Pasal 47

Ayat (1)

Yang dimaksud dengan “kegiatan” antara lain konser musik.

Ayat (2)

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 48

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 49

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 50

Ayat (1)

Huruf a

Cukup jelas.

Huruf b

Cukup jelas.

Huruf c

Cukup jelas.

Huruf d

Cukup jelas.

Huruf e

Yang dimaksud dengan “angkutan umum” adalah alat angkutan bagi masyarakat yang dapat berupa kendaraan darat, air, dan udara.

Huruf f

Yang dimaksud dengan “tempat kerja” adalah tiap ruangan atau lapangan tertutup atau terbuka, bergerak atau tetap dimana tenaga kerja bekerja, atau yang sering dimasuki tenaga kerja untuk keperluan suatu usaha dan dimana terdapat sumber atau sumber-sumber bahaya.

Huruf g . . .



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#### Huruf g

Yang dimaksud dengan “tempat umum” adalah semua tempat tertutup yang dapat diakses oleh masyarakat umum dan/atau tempat yang dapat dimanfaatkan bersama-sama untuk kegiatan masyarakat yang dikelola oleh pemerintah, swasta, dan masyarakat.

Yang dimaksud dengan “tempat lainnya” adalah tempat terbuka tertentu yang dimanfaatkan bersama-sama untuk kegiatan masyarakat.

#### Ayat (2)

Cukup jelas.

#### Ayat (3)

Cukup jelas.

#### Ayat (4)

Cukup jelas.

### Pasal 51

#### Ayat (1)

Cukup jelas.

#### Ayat (2)

Yang dimaksud dengan “ruang terbuka” adalah ruangan yang salah satu sisinya tidak ada dinding ataupun atapnya sehingga asap rokok dapat langsung keluar di udara bebas.

### Pasal 52

Cukup jelas.

### Pasal 53

Cukup jelas.



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Pasal 54

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 55

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 56

Yang dimaksud dengan “lembaga terkait” antara lain meliputi fasilitas pelayanan kesehatan, lembaga swadaya masyarakat, organisasi profesi, lembaga pendidikan, dan perkumpulan kepemudaan.

Pasal 57

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 58

Ayat (1)

Diversifikasi dimaksudkan agar penggunaan Produk Tembakau tidak membahayakan bagi kesehatan. Diversifikasi Produk Tembakau dapat dilakukan antara lain dengan mengolah daun tembakau sehingga diperoleh bahan kimia dasar yang dapat digunakan sebagai pestisida, obat bius, produk kosmetik (pengencang kulit), industri farmasi, dan lain-lain.

Dengan demikian daun tembakau tidak hanya dimanfaatkan sebagai bahan baku pembuatan Rokok tetapi dapat pula digunakan sebagai bahan baku berbagai macam produk hasil diversifikasi.

Ayat (2)

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 59

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 60 . . .



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## Pasal 60

### Ayat (1)

Pengawasan oleh Kepala Badan terhadap peredaran Produk Tembakau terkait dengan kebenaran kandungan kadar Nikotin dan Tar dan persyaratan Label yang telah ditentukan dalam Peraturan Pemerintah ini.

Pengawasan oleh Kepala Badan terhadap peredaran iklan dan promosi terkait dengan pencantuman peringatan kesehatan berupa gambar dan tulisan serta persyaratan yang telah ditentukan dalam Peraturan Pemerintah ini.

### Ayat (2)

Yang dimaksud dengan “instansi terkait” adalah instansi yang terkait dengan periklanan, promosi, dan sponsorship, antara lain Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika, Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia, Lembaga Sensor Film, Dewan Pers, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Kementerian Pemuda dan Olahraga, Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif, Kementerian Perindustrian, Kementerian Perdagangan, Kementerian Keuangan, dan Pemerintah Daerah provinsi dan Pemerintah Daerah kabupaten/kota.

### Ayat (3)

Penarikan produk dilaksanakan oleh Direktorat Jenderal Bea dan Cukai Kementerian Keuangan dan/atau Badan Pengawas Obat dan Makanan sesuai kewenangan masing-masing berdasarkan ketentuan perundang-undangan.

### Ayat (4)

Cukup jelas.

### Ayat (5)

Cukup jelas.

## Pasal 61

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 62 . . .



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Pasal 62

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 63

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 64

Cukup jelas.

Pasal 65

Cukup jelas.

TAMBAHAN LEMBARAN NEGARA REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 5380

## **SECTION 2**

# **FIELDWORK DOCUMENTS**



**Permission Letter**  
**084/MACS/HRD-VI/2010**

**Permission Letter for "Smoking Culture in Indonesia"**

**Jakarta, June 17, 2010**

**Centurion C. Priyatna  
School of Political and Social Inquiry  
Faculty of Arts  
MONASH UNIVERSITY VIC 3800**

**Dear Centurion C. Priyatna**

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from **PT. Mitraguna Adikriya (MACS909)** and conduct observation for the above-named research.

I have read and your letter from Professor Alan Petersen and understand that the research entitled "Smoking Culture in Indonesia" is including doing observation, collecting promotional material and interviewing staff, and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.

Yours Sincerely,

[REDACTED] **MACS909**  
**MITRAGUNA ADIKRIYA**

**Dwina Mayesti  
HRD Coordinator**

# Consent Form

Consent Form

Title: *Smoking Culture in Indonesia*

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records

I agree to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that:

List all procedures relevant to your data collection – delete those not applicable

I agree to be interviewed by the researcher	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped and/or video-taped	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
I agree to make myself available for a further interview if required	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
I agree to be identified by name	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
I agree to be identified by position	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview / focus group / questionnaire / survey for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics.

I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

I understand that data from the interview and audio-tape will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the research team.

Participant's name

ASEP HERNA

Date

2 DECEMBER 2010



# Consent Form

Consent Form

Title: *Smoking Culture in Indonesia*

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records

I agree to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that:

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I understand that data from the interview and audio-tape will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the research team.

Participant's name

KERRY Dwi Farisma

Signature



Date

December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010

# Consent Form

Consent Form

Title: *Smoking Culture in Indonesia*

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records

I agree to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that:

List all procedures relevant to your data collection – delete those not applicable

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| I agree to be interviewed by the researcher                          | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped and/or video-taped  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| I agree to make myself available for a further interview if required | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| I agree to be identified by name                                     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| I agree to be identified by position                                 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No |

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

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I understand that data from the interview and audio-tape will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the research team.

Participant's name

Mohamad Fibrah Maulana

Signature

Date

17-01-11



4TH - 6TH FLOOR JL SULTAN HASANUDDIN KAV 47 - 51 JAKARTA 12160 INDONESIA  
TELEPHONE [REDACTED] FAX [REDACTED] WWW.LOWE.CO.ID

## Permission Letter

### Permission Letter for "Smoking Culture in Indonesia"

October 21, 2010

Centurion C. Priyatna  
School of Political and Social Inquiry  
Faculty of Arts  
MONASH UNIVERSITY VIC 3800

Dear Centurion C. Priyatna

Thank you for your request to do a research from our agency – Lowe Indonesia for the above-named research.

I have read the letter from Professor Alan Petersen and understand that the research entitled "Smoking Culture in Indonesia" is including collecting promotional material and interviewing staff, and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.

We only can share the process of making advertising from conceptual process until execution. You may set interview with our team that handle cigarette brand to help you get the data.

We believe that you can keep all of datas/informations that you may get from us for you source data as a confidential matters

Yours Sincerely



Viena Meuthia  
HRD Group Head

CITRA : LINTAS INDONESIA  
Jakarta

CC:

- Adri F. Basuki (Account Director)



# Consent Form

Consent Form

Title: *Smoking Culture in Indonesia*

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List all procedures relevant to your data collection – delete those not applicable

I agree to be interviewed by the researcher ☒ Yes ☐ No

I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped and/or video-taped ☒ Yes ☐ No

I agree to make myself available for a further interview if required ☒ Yes ☐ No

I agree to be identified by name ☒ Yes ☐ No

I agree to be identified by position ☒ Yes ☐ No

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

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I understand that data from the interview and audio-tape will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the research team.

Participant's name

*Edwin Herlambang*

Signature

Date

*March 18 2011*

# Consent Form

Consent Form

Title: *Smoking Culture in Indonesia*

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records

I agree to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that:

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I agree to make myself available for a further interview if required	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
I agree to be identified by name	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
I agree to be identified by position	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

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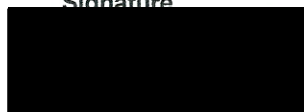
I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

I understand that data from the interview and audio-tape will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the research team.

Participant's name

*Paulus Soni C. Gumilang*

Signature



Date *17/02/11*

# Consent Form

Consent Form

Title: *Smoking Culture in Indonesia*

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records

I agree to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that:

List all procedures relevant to your data collection – delete those not applicable

I agree to be interviewed by the researcher ☒ Yes ☐ No

I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped and/or video-taped ☒ Yes ☐ No

I agree to make myself available for a further interview if required ☒ Yes ☐ No

I agree to be identified by name ☒ Yes ☐ No

I agree to be identified by position ☒ Yes ☐ No

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I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

I understand that data from the interview and audio-tape will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the research team.

Participant's name

SATRIO K DWI KURNIAWAN

Signature

Date

17/02/11

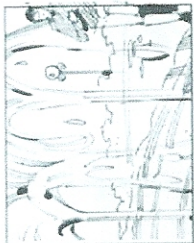


# Agency Board

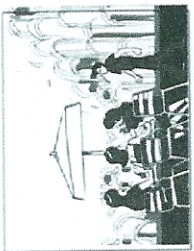
DIARUM  
**BLACK**



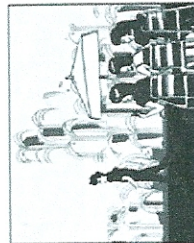
Video: The "Black" guy walks in a park



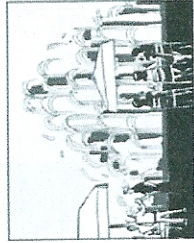
Video: He walks tranquilly, passing by a fountain illuminated by a somewhat red colored light.



Video: As he passes by, suddenly, the fountain pipe spills out the water hardy. Captivated by his charm, three girls sitting down in front of him stare at him.



Video: The fountain water spill out according to his moves. The three girls keep watching the impressive phenomenon.



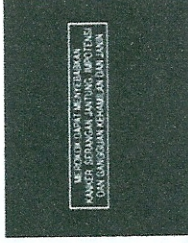
Video: Camera pulls out. The water spill turn out to form a triangle shape, illuminated by a reddish colored light. While sitting down, the girls are still impressed by the phenomenon



Video: The triangle morphed into Djurum Black logo.

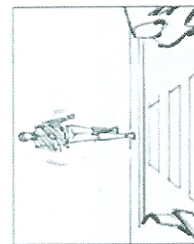


Video: Supers Black it is.

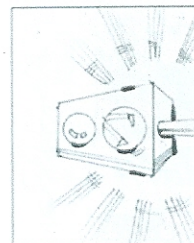


Video: Government warning.

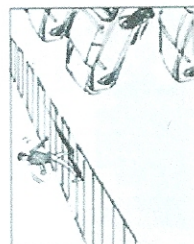
DIARUM  
**BLACK**



Video: The "Black" guy stands on the side walk.



Video: Camera cuts to, the walk sign from the traffic light turns on.



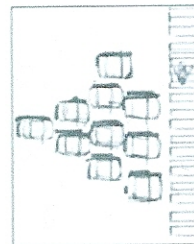
Video: he "Black" guy crosses over the zebra cross. As he walks by, one by one all cars totally stop.



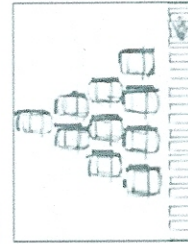
Video: Camera cuts to, There's a girl inside the car who is impressed by the "Black" guy's charm, while he walks.



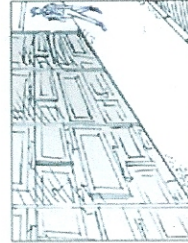
Video: Being deeply impressed, the girl can't stop staring at him.



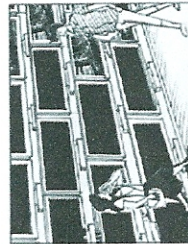
Video: Camera pulls out. In effect, all the stopping cars nearly form a triangle shape



Video: All the stopping cars form a triangle shape.



Video: The "Black" guy steps over the sidewalk. He passes by the electronic shop.



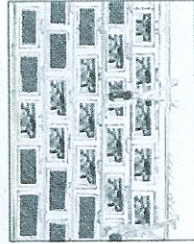
Video: There are so many TVs at the shop display, as the guy walks in front, the TVs suddenly turn on by one.



Video: Being there, a girl is captivated by the "Black" guy's charm.



Video: The TVs are truly turned on, the turn on effects are clearly shown. The girl is being even more impressed.

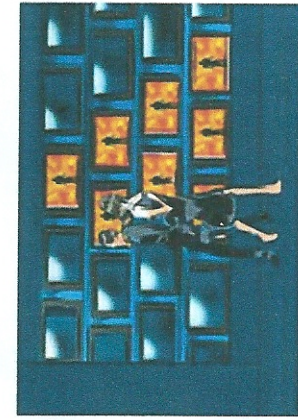
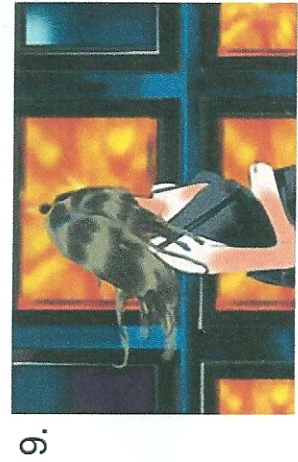
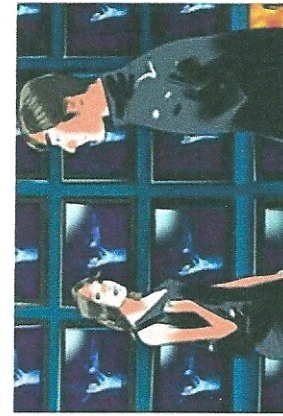
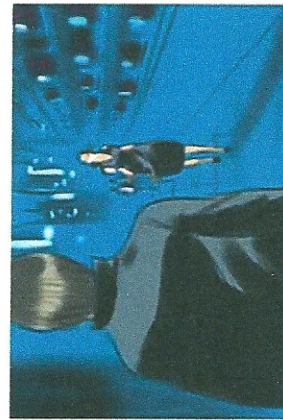
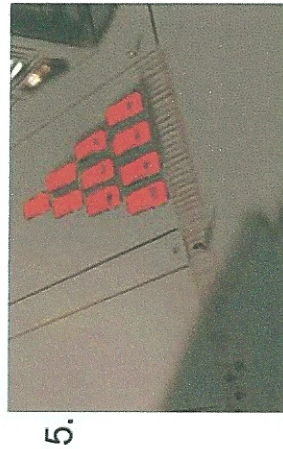
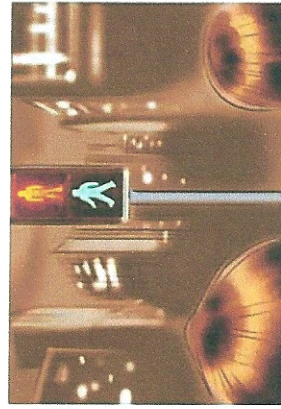


Video: Camera pulls out. In effect, all TVs turn out to form a triangle shape.



# Director's Shooting Board

Product: Djarum Black  
Version: Black Effect  
Duration: 30 sec





## Director's Shooting Board

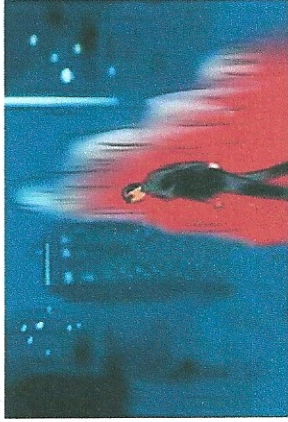
Product: Djarum Black  
Version: Black Effect  
Duration: 30 sec



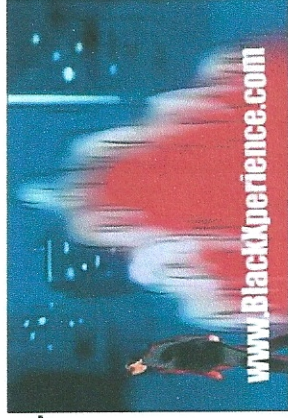
13.



14.



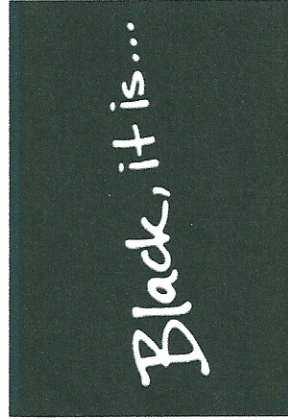
15.



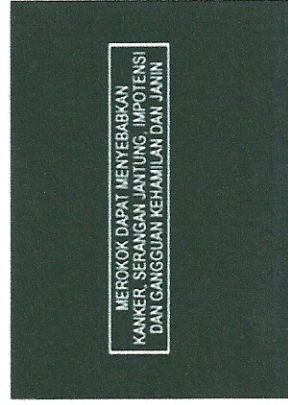
16.



17.



18.



19.