

REPRESENTATION OF FEMINISM IN KRETEK GIRL SERIAL FILM EPISODE 2

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Abstract. This study aims to analyze the representation of feminism in *Gadis Kretek* episode 2, focusing on how women are depicted through narrative, visuals, and dialogue. This study also explores whether female characters have full agency or are subject to the male gaze, and how social, cultural, and class factors influence these representations. In addition, this study compares the representation of feminism in *Gadis Kretek* with other films or series in Indonesia, and assesses its impact on audience perceptions of feminism and the role of women in Indonesia. The method used in this study is John Fiske's semiotic approach, which focuses on the analysis of signs in media texts, both in narrative and visual aspects. This method is integrated with feminist theory, especially the concept of the "male gaze" from Laura Mulvey and intersectionality from bell hooks. This approach allows researchers to uncover the meaning behind the representation of women in the series and how gender power dynamics are played out. The conclusion of this study shows that *Gadis Kretek* represents feminism through a process of negotiation between patriarchal norms and women's resistance. The female characters in this series have power and agency, but remain bound by a patriarchal social system. In addition, class and cultural factors influence this representation, where women from different social backgrounds experience feminism in different ways. The series influences the audience's perception of feminism by providing a realistic depiction of women's roles in Indonesia's patriarchal society.

Keywords: feminism; representation of women; *Kretek Girls*

I. INTRODUCTION

Feminism is currently one of the important discourses in social, cultural, and media studies for the past few decades. As a movement that aims to fight for gender equality, feminism criticizes various social structures that tend to discriminate and oppress women (Biana, 2020). In the world of media, especially films and television series, the representation of women is one aspect that determines how feminist ideas are translated into stories and characters (Lestari & Suprpto, 2020; Surahman, 2015). One of them is the *Gadis Kretek* serial film which aired in Indonesia, featuring a story that combines history, culture, and social life. In episode 2, the role of women in a patriarchal society is depicted very prominently, thus creating space for interpretation and analysis from a feminist perspective. This episode depicts the social dynamics between women and men in certain social and cultural settings, showing how women try to negotiate their identities and roles in a society influenced by patriarchal norms.

Basically, films and television series often function as social mirrors, where the values and norms of society are represented through characters, plots, and visuals (Akbar & Ardi, 2021; Holipa et al., 2022). Therefore, to see how *Gadis Kretek* depicts feminist issues and how women are represented in the narrative. This study has urgency because it helps understand the extent to which this film reflects or

distorts social realities related to women's roles and gender equality. The theory used by researchers to represent feminism is the theory of Laura Mulvey and Bell Hooks. Mulvey, (1988) in her essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" highlights how traditional cinema positions women as objects of the male gaze, known as the "male gaze." According to Mulvey, women in films are often only objects to be enjoyed and do not have full agency in the narrative (Mulvey, 1988b). Using this theory, the study will analyze whether women in *Gadis Kretek* are represented in a way that reinforces the "male gaze" or offers a more empowering view of female characters.

In addition, Bell Hooks in her work "Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center" emphasizes the importance of viewing the representation of women from an intersectional perspective, where factors such as race, social class, and culture also play a role in shaping women's experiences (Hooks, 2000). This analysis is important to see whether *Gadis Kretek* only depicts feminism from an upper-middle class perspective, or also pays attention to the experiences of women from various social backgrounds. To support the analysis, the study examines several previous studies related to the representation of feminism in media and films, especially in Indonesia. Research conducted by Wulandari, (2020) on the representation of women in Indonesian soap operas shows that women are often depicted as weak creatures,

subject to male authority, and limited by traditional roles as mothers and wives. This analysis is relevant because it provides an overview of the representation of women in Indonesian television media. A study by Febryani, (2022) on the film *Marlina the Murderer in Four Acts* illustrates how feminism is explored through the main character who refuses to submit to patriarchal violence. This study shows that there are efforts by Indonesian filmmakers to present stronger and more independent feminist narratives in national cinema.

Suryani et al., (2020) examined the representation of women in cigarette advertisements on television and print media. They found that although women's roles are starting to diversify, they are often still viewed as objects that must be sexually attractive, thus reinforcing patriarchal views. Research conducted by Devi et al., (2023) on the film *Kartini* highlights how historical Indonesian women are depicted as strong figures who fought against injustice, but are still limited by traditional roles in society. Febiola et al., (2022) examined the film *Yuni* which highlights the social pressure on women to marry young. This study shows that although there are narratives that seek to empower women, there is still strong pressure from patriarchal social structures that dictate their roles and life choices.

This study differs from previous studies because it focuses on the *Gadis Kretek* series, a work that combines history, culture, and society with a depiction of women's roles in a unique context. While most previous studies focus on films or media with clear feminist themes, *Gadis Kretek* offers a more subtle nuance in the depiction of women, where gender issues are packaged in a more complex story about history and tradition. In addition, the study focuses more on the representation of intersectionality, looking at how female characters in *Gadis Kretek* are not only depicted in the context of gender but also social class and culture. This provides a richer perspective than previous studies that often only focus on one dimension of representation.

This study brings novelty because it examines a specific episode of the *Gadis Kretek* series, which is rarely discussed in feminist studies. Focusing on episode 2 also provides an opportunity to conduct an in-depth analysis of the female characters that develop in the narrative, as well as how they interact with male characters and society as a whole. In addition, by using feminist representation and intersectionality theories, this study tries to see more complex dynamics related to women's identities in Indonesia. Another novelty of this study is the analysis of the historical and cultural background in the series, which provides a different context in understanding feminism.

The urgency of the research lies in the importance of seeing how media, especially films and television series, play a role in shaping public perceptions of feminism and gender equality. In Indonesia, the issue of feminism is still a sensitive topic and is often misunderstood. Therefore, this study aims to help clarify perceptions of feminism, as well as see how popular series such as *Gadis Kretek* can influence society's perspective on women. Amid the development of the media and film industry in Indonesia, there are more and more works that try to raise social issues, including feminism. However,

there are still many challenges in terms of fair and empowering representation for women. This study is expected to contribute to a broader discussion about the role of media in shaping feminist narratives.

The main objective of this study is to analyze the representation of feminism in the *Gadis Kretek* serial film, especially in episode 2. This study begins by identifying how women are depicted through various elements in the series, both in terms of narrative, visuals, and dialogue. Every detail related to the way female characters are constructed will be examined to see whether their representations show empowerment or reinforce traditional gender stereotypes. The analysis will also focus on how female agency is displayed, namely whether female characters have full control over their choices and actions or are subject to the male gaze which is often referred to as the "male gaze." The concept of the "male gaze" refers to the way the media often positions women as objects of the male gaze, and this study will evaluate whether *Gadis Kretek* has succeeded in going beyond this gaze or still reinforcing it.

Next, this study explores how social, cultural, and class factors influence the representation of women in the *Gadis Kretek* series. This is important because the depiction of women is not only determined by gender, but also by the social and cultural context in which they are located. The series features a time and place setting that is strongly influenced by Indonesian culture, so this study will explore how this background influences the way women are represented in the story. In addition, this study also compares the representation of feminism in *Gadis Kretek* with other films or television series in Indonesia. This comparison aims to determine whether *Gadis Kretek* offers a new feminist perspective or follows existing patterns of representation in other Indonesian films or series.

Finally, this study will assess the impact of these representations on audience perceptions of feminism and the role of women in Indonesia. Given that the media plays a significant role in shaping public opinion, this study will explore the extent to which *Gadis Kretek* influences its audience's views on gender equality and the position of women in society. The results of this study are expected to contribute to a broader discussion on the representation of feminism in Indonesian media, as well as help guide the production of films and series that are more equitable and empowering for women in the future.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach. According to Denzin and Lincoln, qualitative research is a study that uses a background natural, with the intention of interpreting phenomena that occur and are carried out with The path involves various existing methods (Purwanza, 2022). Qualitative research approaches are very useful in exploring complex, in-depth, and contextual research questions, as well as a better understanding the nuances and complexities of social phenomena. In this study, the researcher used John's semiotic theory. Fiske, in semiotics (the science of signs) there are two

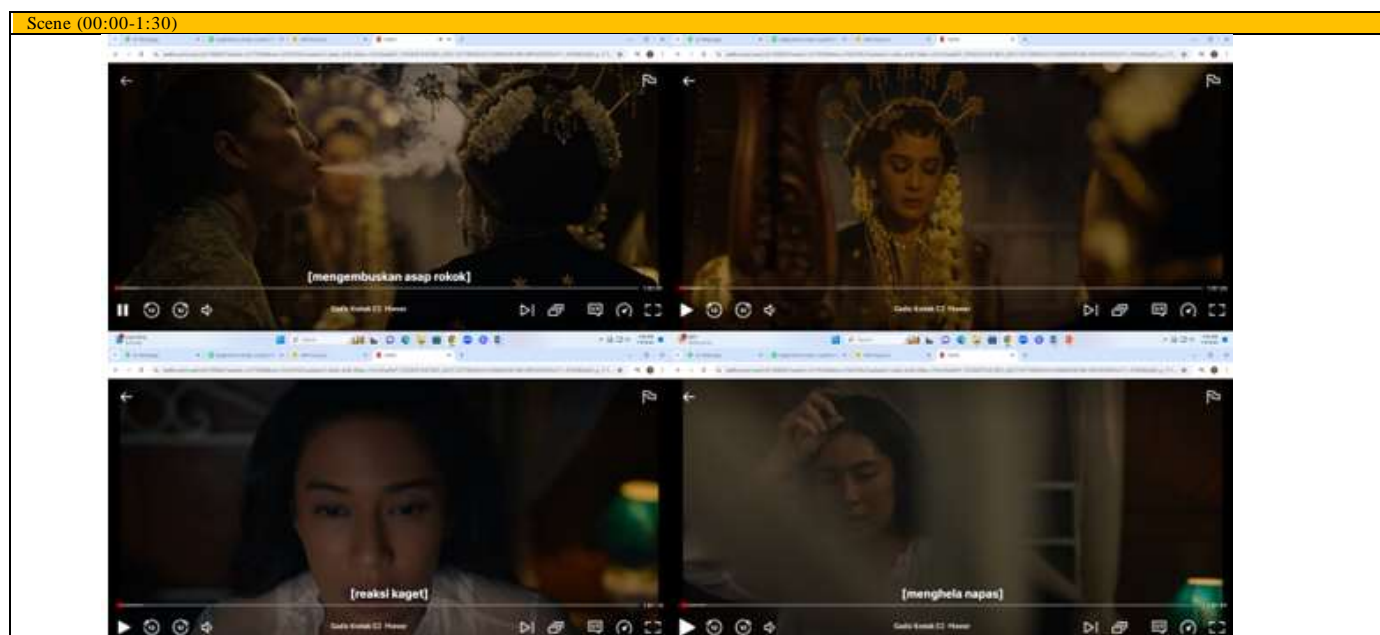
main concerns, namely the relationship between a sign and its meaning, and how a sign combined into a code. Text is the main focus of attention in semiotics. Text in terms of This can be interpreted broadly, not just written text. Everything something that has a communication sign system, such as that found in written text, can be considered text, for example films, soap operas, opera dramas soap, quizzes, advertising, photography (Fiske, 1985).

John Fiske put forward a theory about the codes of television. According to Fiske, (1985) the codes that appear or are used in television programs are interconnected so that a meaning is formed. According to this theory, a reality does not just appear through the codes that arise, but is also processed through sensing according to the references that have been owned by television viewers, so that a code will be perceived differently by different people too. In the television codes expressed in John Fiske's theory, the events broadcast in the world of television have been encoded by various social codes at three levels (Fiske, 1985).

In the first stage is reality, namely events that are marked (encoded) as reality-appearance, clothing, behavioral

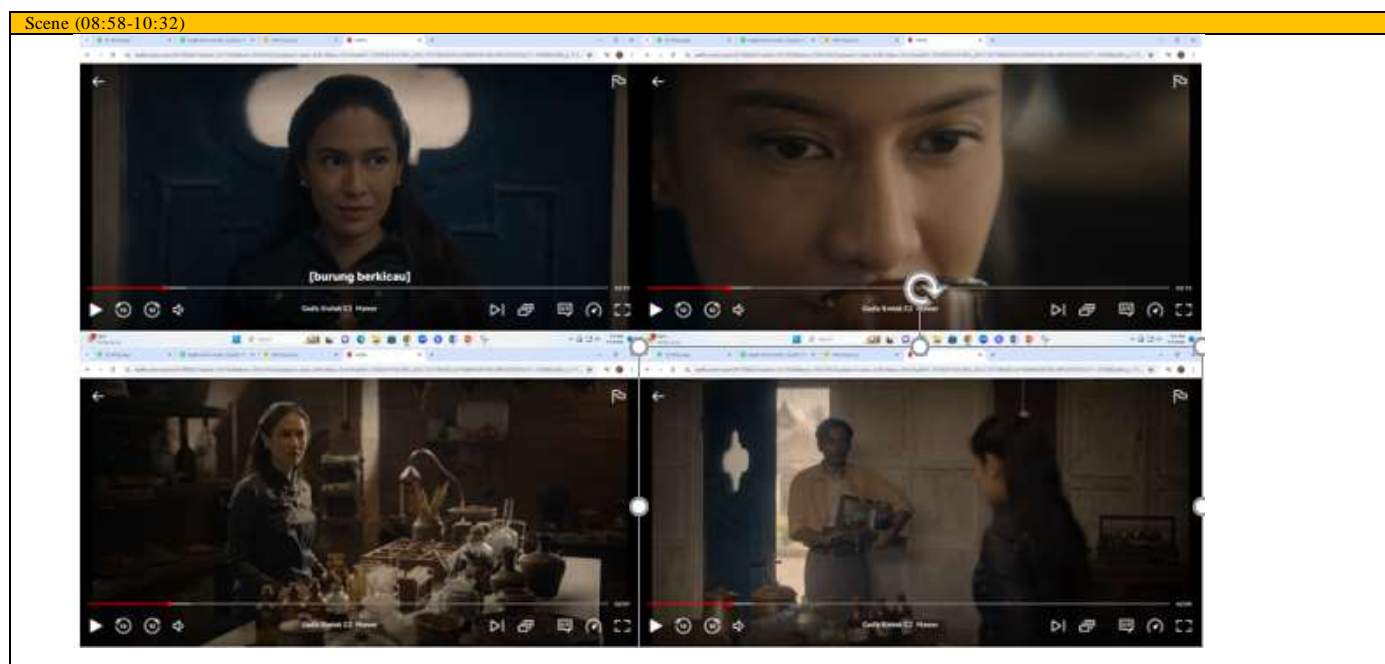
environment, conversation, gesture, expression, voice, and so on. In written language in the form of text, interview transcripts and so on. (Fiske, 1985). In the second stage is called representation. Reality encoded in encoded electronically must be displayed in technical codes, such as cameras, lighting, editing, music, sound. In written language there are words, sentences, propositions, photos, and so on. While in the language of images or television there are cameras, lighting, editing, music, and so on. These elements are then transmitted into representational codes that can actualize, among others, characters, narratives, dialogues, settings and so on. This is already seen as television reality (Fiske, 1985). The third stage is ideology. All elements are organized and categorized in ideological codes, such as patriarchy, individualism, race, class, materialism, capitalism, and so on. When we do a representation or a reality, according to Fiske, (1985), it is inevitable that there is a possibility of including ideology in the construction of reality.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION



Code	Discussion
Appearance	In her dream, Dasyah was dressed in a beautiful wedding dress but looked sad and shed tears. Then after waking up, Dasyah looked simple in a thin kebaya, her hair was left loose and messy, and she was sweating. From the appearance it can be seen how the main female character has just woken up from her nightmare (unwanted marriage)
Costume	The costume worn by Dasyah at the beginning of the scene is a black bridal kebaya complete with accessories, a bun and the jewelry she wears. Then when she wakes up, the costume worn by the main character Dasyah is a white monochrome kebaya with a white camisole undergarment and a brown batik wrap skirt. The costumes worn reinforce their roles and functions. The bridal costume worn at the beginning of the scene gives the impression of prominent beauty to be the center of attention, then the costume worn when waking up gives the impression of simplicity and comfort for resting.
Makeup	The makeup at the beginning of the scene on the main character uses bridal makeup. Then after waking up Dasyah's makeup is minimalist with the use of light powder, light mascara, lip color lipstick. The makeup applied creates a feminine impression both at the beginning of the scene (dream of a wedding) standing out as the center of attention and at the end of the scene (waking up from sleep) with natural impression
Environment	Being in the room, morning. Size room seen big, with bed big closed mosquito net next to it there is a small table with a table lamp on it, the walls of the room are made of stone walls. The furniture is made of wood typical of that era in the 1960s. The large room with brick walls and furnishings indicates the residence. the main character's house was a rich man at that time

Behavior	<p>In this scene, Dasiyah wakes up from her sleep, shocked and then gets lost in her own thoughts (anxiety). The behavior of the main female character cannot be separated from her introverted character and personality. According to research published in the National Center for Biotechnology Information, people with introverted personalities tend to be prone to depression and anxiety disorders compared to people with extroverted personalities.</p> <p>Source: https://www.klikdokter.com/psikologi/kesehatan-mental/orang-introvert-vulnerable-to-depression-bagaimana-faktanya</p> <p>Some reasons for anxiety disorders, such as those that occur in female protagonists:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overthinking: An introvert often thinks too much or overthinks. • Difficulty Expressing Feelings: For people with an introvert personality, expressing feelings or problems they are facing is often difficult. Moreover, an introvert tends to have few or no close friends. <p>In this scene, the main female character experiences anxiety about marriage which will change her world.</p>
Dialog	<p>Dasiyah's Monologue: "My wedding is still six months away. But little by little, my world is crumbling. And the life I love will be gone, when I marry a foreign man."</p> <p>The monologue excerpt implies that marriage is not something the female protagonist wants. However, she is helpless to feel that everything she loves will slowly disappear before her marriage.</p>
Movement	<p>At the beginning of the scene, an elderly woman next to Dasiyah blows kretek cigarette smoke towards Dasiyah's face. Then Dasiyah, who is the bride, sheds tears.</p> <p>This traditional wedding tradition implies the Javanese tradition of "Sembogo". The Sembogo tradition is carried out to break the 'tejo', so that the aura of the bride and groom's beauty can be emitted. For Javanese people, 'tejo' is the peak of a person's beauty and loveliness. Like other Javanese traditional rituals, the Sembogo tradition also has a deep philosophy. This tradition has a lesson that in building a household must be based on beauty, both physically and non-physically. Javanese society in general when holding a ritual cannot be separated from elements that use fire. Such as using betel nut, burning spices or incense that produce a fragrant smell, then sprayed to break the tejo. The person who blows the cigarette smoke is usually a shaman who is considered older and has a clean heart. This tradition is believed to make the bride look more beautiful, like the angels who are present at the wedding location.</p> <p>Source https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2023/11/07/153000665/ada-di-gadis-kretek-ini-makna-meniup-asap-rokok-ke-pengantin-wanita?page=all. Not long after, Dasiyah woke up in shock and her whole face was sweating, her breath was short.</p> <p>The movement shown at the beginning of the scene (wedding dream) shows the wedding tradition in Java at that time. Then at the end of the scene how the main female character then wakes up with fear facing her marriage</p>
Expression	<p>At the beginning of the scene, Dasiyah is seen in a bridal costume looking at the mirror with a sad expression, shedding tears. Dasiyah wakes up from her sleep with a surprised expression seen on all her eyebrows raised and her eyes widened, her jaw dropped and her mouth opened slowly. This expression shows the fear of the main female character before the marriage she doesn't want.</p>



Code	Discussion
Appearance	Dasiyah has a simple, neat and polite appearance, besides that, the strengthening of the black kebaya costume is a symbol of the color of firmness, simplicity and depth. as a form of feminism.
Costume	<p>The costume worn by the main character is a kebaya, which depicts the characteristics of Indonesian women as a symbol of feminism. In this scene, the main character wears a kebaya costume called a janggan kebaya. The name janggan comes from the word jangga which means neck. This kebaya symbolizes the beauty and purity of the palace women. In addition to the high collar, this kebaya has button details that run diagonally. With long sleeves and a slim shape, the janggan kebaya is made with a floral patterned fabric base that is usually black. This black color has the meaning of firmness, simplicity, and depth, while the flower motif is also called stone flower. Several female historical figures also wore Janggan kebaya in their daily lives, such as Ratna Ningsih, the wife of Prince Diponegoro.</p> <p>Source: https://www.cnnindonesia.com/gaya-hidup/20231106193750-277-1020716/mengenal-kebaya-janggan-kebaya-yang-dipakai-jeng-vah-gadis-kretek.</p> <p>Her kebaya is always combined with a gold brooch and black sandals. In addition, Dasiyah also wears white jasmine flower decorations on her head, wears rings and round earrings.</p> <p>Like the setting of the film <i>Gadis Kretek</i> in the 60s, at that time, the janggan kebaya was a kebaya worn by elite women in that era.</p>
makeup	Dasiyah's make-up is very soft, but emphasizes Dasiyah's bone structure (emphasizing the posture of her facial bones) which emphasizes the reflection of her character in episode 2, namely being enthusiastic about getting what she has dreamed of for so long. This means being a kretek sauce maker.

environment	Inside the sauce room, during the day . The room with blue doors, wooden walls, and blue doors has a large wooden table on it filled with spices, and equipment for making sauces and a large wooden shelf filled with bottles of sauce mixtures. <i>setting in the scene</i> implies a workroom full of materials and equipment. Which because it is full, this workroom is only intended for one or a few people. This is in line with the film script that the secret of kretek is in the sauce. So the sauce room is specifically intended for an expert sauce maker in a kretek factory.
behavior	Dasiyah secretly entered the sauce room and tried to mix kretek sauce. She felt happy in her solitude. The behavior seen in the main female character is inseparable from her introverted personality. She prefers to be alone and works to record things related to kretek, including the sauce concoction she will make. Source: https://editorial.femaledaily.com/blog/2023/11/10/bedah-karakter-dasiyah-yang-karakter-dian-sastrowardoyo-di-gadis-kretek
dialog	Dasiyah's Monologue: "A place where I can feel all the aromas of life. An aroma that can lead me to find my true self. Although no one should know what I'm doing here. After Soeraja opened the sauce room he said: "Please continue, miss. I won't tell anyone. I was only asked by Mr. Dibyo to put this in." The dialogue excerpt above implies the message that the main female character must hide, no one must know she is in that place (the sauce room), and do what she likes (making sauce concoctions).
movement	When alone in the sauce room, Dasiyah's hands are seen grabbing bottles and ingredients to make the sauce, grinding the ingredients, combining them, and inhaling the resulting aroma. The movement implies that the main female character is skilled at doing the job (making sauce), this can be seen from the character's movements when choosing and smelling the ingredients to determine the right mixture, then mixing and grinding the ingredients in a mortar. In the view of society at that time, the job of mixing kretek sauce was a job that could only be done by men (an expert sauce maker). The presence (aroma) of women in the sauce room was believed to make kretek have a sour taste that kretek lovers did not like. This view led to the marginalization of female workers in the kretek industry. Female workers have been treated unequally with male workers regardless of the skills they actually have.
expression	Dasiyah's expression when she was alone in the sauce room was happy, seen from the lower part of her eyelids which were slightly raised, there were wrinkles, and her eyes were narrowed, her cheeks were red and enlarged, her lips and mouth were wide. Then Dasiyah's expression changed to surprise after Soeraja entered, seen from all her eyebrows raised and her eyes widened, her jaw dropped. The expression shown by the main female character implies her happiness, if she is free to do what she likes, and how the views/treatment of society at that time greatly influenced/restricted her freedom.

In this study, John Fiske's method is used as a framework to analyze the representation of feminism in the Gadis Kretek series episode 2. John Fiske is famous for his semiotic approach in media analysis, which allows us to see how meaning is formed through signs and codes in media texts. With this method, the study focuses on how the series communicates the representation of women and feminism through narrative, visual, and dialogue elements. This analysis is then integrated with feminist theory, especially the idea of the "male gaze" from Laura Mulvey and intersectionality from Bell Hooks, to provide a deeper understanding of the dynamics of gender power in the narrative.

Representation of Women in Narrative and Dialogue

The first finding shows that women in the 2nd episode of Gadis Kretek are depicted as strong individuals, but are still trapped in the prevailing patriarchal social norms in society. The main female characters in the series, although depicted as having strong desires and determination, often have to deal with social expectations that restrict their freedom. In several scenes, the dialogue shows women's resistance to the patriarchal system, such as when one of the characters refuses a marriage arranged by her family, which is a symbol of social control that oppresses women's freedom. However, despite this form of resistance, women in the series are often depicted as submitting to the expectations of their families and society, indicating that their agency is still limited by the dominant social context.

From John Fiske's perspective, the narrative contains two levels of meaning: the first, the surface meaning in which women are seen as having strength and fighting power, but the second, on a deeper level, the series shows that the patriarchal system remains dominant, even when female characters try to fight it. This is consistent with feminist theory, especially Mulvey's concept of the "male gaze," which states that women are often placed in subordinate positions in media narratives, even though they appear strong on the surface (Mulvey, 1993).

Visual: Gender Codes and the Depiction of the Female Body

From the visual analysis, it was found that the female body in Gadis Kretek is often used as an object of male gaze. This is clearly seen in the way the camera takes pictures of female characters, focusing on their physical aspects, such as their faces and bodies, which seem to be designed to attract the attention of male viewers. This sensual shooting supports Mulvey's "male gaze" theory, where women in the media are often reduced to visual objects to satisfy male desires.

However, this study also found resistance to the "male gaze" in several scenes, where female characters managed to take over the narrative and portray themselves as empowered subjects. For example, in one scene, the main female character wears clothes that show her strength and authority, not just sexual objects. In this case, Gadis Kretek shows a duality in the representation of women: on the one hand, they are still subject to the male gaze, but on the other hand, they also try to redefine their self-image as independent subjects.

Fiske's approach highlights how these visual signs create tension between traditional patriarchal codes and subversive attempts to challenge those norms. This strengthens the argument that feminism in the series is presented through a form of compromise between traditional expectations and attempts to break free from patriarchal social control.

Social, Cultural, and Class Influences on the Representation of Women

John Fiske proposes that meaning in media is not only shaped by the text itself, but also by the social and cultural contexts that surround it. The findings of this study suggest that social class and culture play a significant role in shaping the representation of women in Gadis Kretek. Female characters from higher social classes appear to have more freedom to make their own life choices, while women from lower classes are more bound by stricter social rules.

For example, female characters from well-off families in the series have greater access to education and freedom to express themselves. In contrast, female characters from poor families are depicted as more subject to male authority and

patriarchal society. This phenomenon supports bell hooks' idea of intersectionality, where women's experiences are not only influenced by gender but also by other factors such as social class and culture. In this context, the representation of feminism in *Gadis Kretek* is not monolithic; it varies depending on the social and economic background of the female characters.

Comparative Analysis with Other Movies and Series

When comparing the representation of women in *Gadis Kretek* with other films or television series in Indonesia, it is found that *Gadis Kretek* offers a more subtle approach to feminism compared to feminist films such as *Marlina the Murderer in Four Acts* or *Yuni*, where feminist issues are presented more explicitly. *Gadis Kretek* focuses more on depicting complex social and cultural dynamics, where women must navigate conflicting social expectations.

Films like *Marlina the Murderer in Four Acts* feature female characters who firmly reject patriarchal violence through extreme acts of retaliation, while *Gadis Kretek* shows a more subtle resistance, where female characters try to find space for freedom without having to directly fight the patriarchal system. This comparison shows that although *Gadis Kretek* is more subtle, it still conveys a strong feminist message, especially through its complex narrative and characterization.

The Impact of Representation on Audience Perception

The final finding suggests that the representation of feminism in *Gadis Kretek* has the potential to influence audiences' perceptions of feminism and the role of women in Indonesia. Based on a small survey conducted among viewers of the series, many felt that *Gadis Kretek* provided a more realistic depiction of the challenges women face in a patriarchal society. Several respondents stated that the female characters in the series inspired them to be more critical of gender roles shaped by society. However, there were also respondents who felt that the series was not radical enough in voicing feminist issues, especially when compared to other feminist films. This suggests that audiences' perceptions of feminism are highly dependent on their personal expectations and social backgrounds. John Fiske refers to this as "audience polysemy," where audiences can interpret the meaning of a media text in different ways depending on their own experiences and perspectives (Fiske, 1985). The above findings suggest that the representation of feminism in *Gadis Kretek* is a product of the tension between traditional patriarchal norms and efforts to challenge the system. From the perspective of feminist theory, especially Laura Mulvey's views on the "male gaze" and Bell Hooks' concept of intersectionality, it is apparent that the series attempts to provide a more complex portrayal of women, but remains within established social boundaries.

John Fiske's method allows us to see how the meaning of feminism in *Gadis Kretek* is shaped by ambiguous visual and narrative signs. On the one hand, female characters are depicted as strong and independent individuals, but on the other hand, they still have to deal with a social system that

limits their freedom. This representation reflects the social reality where women in Indonesia still face major challenges in achieving gender equality, despite efforts to empower themselves. The series also shows that feminism does not always have to be displayed through direct resistance to patriarchy, but can also be through negotiation and adjustment within the existing system. Thus, *Gadis Kretek* offers a more nuanced view of feminism, where women do not always have to be radical agents of change, but can choose to fight within the boundaries given by society.

IV. CONCLUSION

The conclusion of the findings and discussion above shows that the representation of feminism in the *Gadis Kretek* series episode 2 is a reflection of the tension between patriarchal norms and resistance efforts against them. Through John Fiske's semiotic approach, this study found that although the female characters in the series are presented as strong and independent individuals, they remain within the boundaries of the dominant patriarchal social system. Laura Mulvey's "male gaze" theory is identified through the visual focus on the female body as the object of the male gaze, but the series also shows resistance by presenting women as subjects who have agency. Bell hooks' intersectionality concept is also clearly visible, where the representation of women is influenced by social, cultural, and class factors, showing that women from different social classes experience feminism in different ways. Compared to other feminist films or series in Indonesia, *Gadis Kretek* displays a more subtle resistance to patriarchy. However, the series still influences the audience's perception of feminism by providing a realistic depiction of women's struggles in a broader social context. The film, *Gadis Kretek* presents a multi-layered representation of feminism, where women do not always have to fight patriarchy radically, but can resist through negotiation and adjustment within existing boundaries. This shows that feminism in Indonesian media is still a dynamic and ongoing process. develop .

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