

# **Massage Service Ads: A Discourse of Sub-Margined Culture In Memorandum Daily Newspaper**

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## **Abstract**

*The paper aims at portraying the existence of sub-margined culture and its life breath clipped from 12 massage ads in local newspaper, Memorandum, published daily in Surabaya, the metropolis city after Jakarta. The clipped massage ads were chosen among others during January to March, 2009. The ads were collected from the rubrics of 'Pijat Kebugaran' and 'Pasang Iklan Lebih Mudah!!! Khusus Pengguna Flexi'. The former rubric specifies its publication on offering massage, spa, and other medical treatments. The later offers those three services plus spiritual treatments for those who make use of certain vendor of communication service. One of the reasons why this newspaper is desired is that its massage ads provide variations in services and sexual identities, where they could hardly be found in other local newspapers. The method used in the research is queer-discourse analysis. It combines queer and discourse analysis studies simultaneously in order to get closer to the latent and the manifest contents of the ads where they sometimes represent the realities or the pictures of society's psyche. The analysis shows that gender relations play the powerful influence of newspapers' existence. The gender discourse is more complicated when it is contested with the sexuality issues in the clipped ads. Massage ads picture out the global and local standard of the desired partners to have massage with and of course to have sex with. The clipped massage ads also approve the city life breath of metropolitan city where sex is always the only game in town for capitalism and consumerism.*

**Keywords:** massage service ads, sub-margined culture, marginal, global, local, the other

## **I. Introduction**

*Memorandum* daily newspaper is a local newspaper published in Surabaya city, East Java. It is considered as sub-margined daily newspaper since its publications are mainly on criminals' reports, adultery and affair reports, tragic accidents, murders and entertainments. The word sub-margined here is considered as the same as that of "in-between". Its position is not clearly mapped and stated, and its existence is nonetheless unimportant. Entertainment is the most attractive and impressive mode of publication

since it talks much about the life of national and international celebrities, rough or 'dirty' articles which mainly on sexual issues and stories of husband-wife relationship in family life, mate-search and of course down town massage service ads.

Most of all, *Memorandum* has its unique qualities in its publication. Its purple color of heading gives shadows of gloomy and pale color of blue, which somehow indicates a tacky taste. It embodies its being 'second' and 'sub-margined' as local newspaper as its bad taste. Its being 'second' and 'marginalized' in the matter of intellectuality and quality of news and reports, make *Memorandum* accommodates the 'second class' of society to come up to surface and march for the spirit of 'otherness'. The clipped massage ads were chosen among others during January to March, 2009. The ads were collected from the rubrics of 'Pijat Kebugaran' and 'Pasang Iklan Lebih Mudah!!! Khusus Pengguna Flexi'. The former rubric specifies its publication on offering massage, spa, and other medical treatments. The later offers those three services plus spiritual treatments for those who make use of certain vendor of communication service. One of the reasons why this newspaper is desired is that its massage ads provide variations in service and sexual identities, where they could not be found in other local newspapers in town.

Since its publication is taken over by Jawa Pos Group, the biggest newspaper industry in East Java, *Memorandum* can be said as one of the most desired newspapers in Surabaya. There are many other local newspapers published daily in Surabaya such as *Surabaya Pagi*, *Surabaya Post*, *Surya*, and *Radar Surabaya*. The last mentioned is one the Jawa Pos Group's members besides *Memorandum*. Under the name of Radar [*parabola*, *antena*], Jawa Pos Groups has developed its wings which are spread over the districts in East Java. They sometimes share the same headline news, but each specifies the problems on its own district.

There is much to see in the newspaper, which are all familiar with: news, education, technology, critics, and ultimately, entertainment. As frequent as the writer spends time to read its publication of massage service ads as the very media of amusement and entertainment, he finds there is now tendency of the agents in publishing industry to give a chance for something queer to show itself. Concerning the history of homosexual and lesbian representations in art and public media, there has been much confusion mainly due to the fact that society has had difficulty accepting it. Although the presence of homosexuality in visual art can be found in virtually all epochs since Ancient Greece, no other period has explored the idea of sexuality and its representation

There, in this, have been changes and diverse standpoints of viewing novelty of the canonize truth (instead of fact) about self-identity. Jung calls this as the unconscious state. Moreover, collective unconscious is composed of archetype which manifests its present through symbols. Archetype lies in human's unconsciousness, in the dark, for example, and cannot be responded directly through visual experiences. However, symbols and spontaneous language manifest the archetype. They can be observed and understood by consciousness (Audifax, 2005:4-5; Nimpoeno, 2003: 53-9).

It is noted that the history of sexuality is closely connected to the culture which surrounds it. Sexuality, according to Kristeva (1995:299-302), is as much as there are men and women in this world. Further, the history of homosexuality is not straightforward and demands careful attention when examining works of art [in this

sense the massage advertisements] which deal with the subjects. Male homosexual culture differs significantly from lesbian customs, which requires that they be examined separately on many issues. This is also happened to male and female heterosexuals, as well as male and female bisexuals.

Just as sexuality has repercussions related to violence, poverty, marginalization, and survival, it can instead lead to enjoyment, fulfillment, and well-being, and can enhance human relations with shared intimacy or pleasure (Posner, 1992: 258). Sex can be oppressive, but it can also be a place where women gain power, where men let themselves enjoy being vulnerable, where transgender affirm their sense of self with lovers who see them as they wish to be seen. Many people think of sexuality as private, individual, and biological. It may include these aspects, but it is also a highly political and policy-related issue, as shown by the current mobilizing around sexuality worldwide. It is approved

## **II. Method**

This research used queer-discourse analysis as its basic framework. The data were collected from the massage service ads clipped from several publications during January to March 2009. The publications of the newspapers were randomly chosen according to its days, dates, and months. The even days and dates were chosen among others. And after that, the even days and dates were then randomly taken out as the data of the research. The phone numbers on the ads which were attached by the advertisers were eliminated or written as “03180123xxx” in order to avoid complaint in the future. From the random data, there were 12 data clipped from twelve publications. The data were then tabulated and analyzed using queer-discourse analysis.

## **III. Result of Analysis**

In patriarchal culture like Indonesia, sexuality has been reduced to the maternal and reproductive functions; that is to say, it has been reduced to procreation. This is supported by Julia Kristeva in her *Tales of Love* (1987:374) as well as supported by Judith Butler in her *Gender Trouble* (1990). It is a paradox when a body is needed sexually, while on the other hand it is rejected socially. In reality, sexuality is often confused with sexual intercourse. Hence, it is also reduced to heterosexual relationship only; that is women-men relationship in general. The clipped ads chosen in the paper have shown that sexuality is not only a means of reproduction, but also a means of recreation as well as enjoyment.

The twelve ads clipped from *Memorandum* indicate the difference of sexual orientation and preference. As a matter of fact, Kristeva's argument (1995) is approved here. Dealing with sexual orientation, there are different kinds of sexual orientations or preferences in the clipped ads. They are heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual. It is known that homosexual is divided into two types; gay and lesbian. Both refer to the same sex relationship. From the twelve ads clipped from *Memorandum*, lesbian preference has not been found yet and therefore it is not a subject to discuss in the paper. Look at the following ad for the first evidence:

M9. Galang 22 tahun for women,tante2 kesepian,ramah,sabar,keturunan belanda-arab,tinggi,fullservice,call to hotel/rumah,call me 031727220xxx

The ad shows that the boy's name is Galang, and he is 22 years old. He likes to serve women or mature women rather than girls of the same age as his. It indicates that he likes to give service for those who feel lonely and without company. He promotes himself as warm and gentle boy which mean that he will serve with heart as the same as that of M3. The interesting thing in M9 is that it is stated in the ad that Galang is a mixed blood. He has both Arabic and Netherlands bloods. It is widely known that Arabic men, in general, are tall, hairy, heavy build and having sharp nose. Sometimes, the association toward these physical characteristic is that Arab man has a big penis. When Arab is mixed with Holland, it can be imagined that Galang must be tall, handsome, white-skinned, blonde haired boy with blue eyes, sharp nose, hairy, and of course his penis is considerably big.

The boy is a call boy or a hostler. He prefers to be phoned rather than being visited. It is noted from the word "*Panggilan*". It means that he feels safe to come to the preserved place for the massage service. Home and hotel are safe places for the treatment he serves for. However, from the characteristics he has promoted to the customer, it can be seen that the service he offers is not only a massage, but something more than that, "*full service*". These words indicate that Galang also offers plus services besides massage. It can be noted from the ad that he did not use any word which means anything to massage or treatment service. Instead, he directly promotes his name and his male attributes and characteristics. It can be concluded that he is a hostler rather than a massager. In other word, he is a gigolo.

Being the same as that of Galang, Fernando (M1) also offers the same service. Here, Fernando is not a name of a boy. Fernando represents a group of boys who come from different places and countries. Fernando is a name of association of multicultural boys. They come from *Indo* [mixed blood], Arab, China, and inlanders [the local boys] whose statuses are student, model, and security guard. Culturally, when talking about mixed blood, it can be stated that one or two of the members of Fernando is/are as the same as that of Galang. Their characteristics are tall, heavy build, hairy, white-skinned, blonde haired boys with blue eyes, sharp nose, and having big penis. And when it is mentioned that one or two of the members of them is/are Arabic boys, it is clearly known that they must be big and tall, having sharp nose, hairy body, white-skinned, dark-haired boy, and have big peckers. The other members are China and inlanders. Chinese is always represented as white-skinned with straight dark hair and slanted eyes. While Arabic, Indo, Chinese, and Netherlands are represented as white skinned, inlanders are always represented with darker skin.

Dealing with the above results, it can be stated that race is also playing part in the discourse of clipped ads from *Memorandum*. According to Crooks (Prabasmoro, 2003: 43-4) the first hypothesis of race is that it deals with skin visibility and physical features. However, Crooks beliefs that race is not always connected to what is being seen, but also who sees it and how this view is constructed in society. There is a collective unconscious state here, as has been indicated in the ads, that the advertisers and the readers of the ads might be sharing the same ideas on race. This is clearly

approved by the use of the words “Chinese, Arab, inlanders, Netherlands, and Indo” to indicate the race.

Being different with M9, M7 offers somewhat radical service. Although he serves for mature women, the massager, Reno, guarantees to give satisfactory service. He rejects gay and transvestite callers for his sexual orientation is heterosexual. It is the same as that of Jerry Ang in M11 that he also rejects transvestite callers. The words “cakep+atletis” are the beauty standards he offers the customers which refer to the handsome face or good looking, and well built body performance.

Unconsciously, white skin is a beauty standard for the boys who work for the massage clubs. White beauty standard is put side by side with tall body as is usually required as a model. It is also applied by the other massager as in M12:

M12. *Yusuf Massage for men, 28/175/70, tinggi,putih,cakep,U/panggilan sj.03170850xxx*

Yusuf is a boy of 28 years. He promotes himself as 175 cm of tall, and 70 kilos of weight. This is a proportional body characteristic. His physical performance is also supported by his white skin, handsome face [*cakep*]. His expertise is giving massage service to men only. In other words, he provides men on men massage service. But it is not stated in the ad that he also serves for having sex with men who make a call for him. It is quite different with that of M5. In M5, Argo clearly states that he serves for men only for both massage service and “++” which means having sex after doing massage. The thing which differentiates M5 and M12 is that in M5 the massager states that his skin is “*kuning*”/“yellow” which means local standard skin color, not white as global standard skin color as in M1 and M9. M12 clearly states that he has white skin which refers to global standard of skin color.

M2 and M3 are similar in some senses. They put the characteristics as male massager as the subjects with macho characteristics. The representation of “*Pria Ganteng Tinggi & Berbulu*” is as the same as that of “*Cowok Panggilan Muda Ganteng Macho...*”. Tall and hairy are the characteristics of a macho man, while handsome depends on the other parameters. Both M2 and M3 offer single male massagers who work for themselves. They do not work for the club as in M1.

M2, on the other hand, offers another service besides massage service. Under the label or name of “Perdana Massage” he offers another service which is considered as out of the line, “tri-some” referring to the “*triple*” in the ad. It means that he can serve both male and female customers individually, or he can also serve them together at the same time. From the description of the ad, it indicates that his sexual preference is bisexual. The other service he offers is that he can be contacted for 24 hours.

Above all, M10 offers something different. He states that he comes from Sumatra, the longest island of Indonesia. He promises his customers that he will give the best service by stating “*100% perkasa*” which means that he is in full energy and vitality. Prayitno, the name of the advertiser, does not clearly state that he is a massager. He directly says that he serves all callers include male, female, and spouses. It can be concluded that he is a bisexual. He promotes himself as handsome “*ganteng*”, macho, and provided with big-sized male organ which can be used to admit satisfaction for the customers. Being the same as that of M10, M8 offers a guarantee to have satisfaction

with the massager whose characteristics are athletic, well-built body performance, macho, handsome, baby face and most of all with his big and long penis. He clearly advertises his male organ as, "*long&Big(20cm)(dm gd) umur 28/tb173/bb75/khs dipgl aja dijamin puas call me 08574616xxxx*".

It is important for a massager that he can be contacted for 24 hours by the customers. The service is guaranteed by the massagers in the ads clipped from *Memorandum* by putting the words "24 jam". It indicates that massage and other treatments are the desired pleasure which can be enjoyed anytime depending on the customers' wishes.

Another service offered by the advertiser is vitality treatment. This refers to the service which is given and applied to erotic area of men and women. It can be seen in M11. Jerry Ang, the massager, is a Chinese. It is stated clearly that the service he offers is Mandarin massage therapy. For years, Chinese medical treatment has been acknowledged as one of the best medications in the world. Using the words "Mandarin therapy" for vitality indicates that there is a special treatment on erotic organs for both male and female customers which has Chinese nuance. It means that Chinese herbs will be used as the medicine of herbs for the treatment. Jerry Ang is the therapist. Although he serves both male and female customers, but he does not state that he also serves them for plus services as in M1, M2, M3, and M5. From the description above, it can be concluded that Jerry Ang is a pure therapist. His sexual orientation is not also stated in his ad.

Another interesting thing which is noted from the ads by the massagers is about the size of the male organ. It is becoming another beauty standard for a male massager that his penis is massively big in diameter, and considerably long in length. M1, M8, and M10 promote their ads by using the words "Mr. P" either "*besar*"; "long & big"; "mr. P *besar*". The word "big" or "*besar*" is the beauty standard for a male to be called as "ideal". The words "big & long" are always used to promote the certain standard that having sex will be as enjoyable as possible if the male partner has a big penis. There is also a myth that when a man has a heavy build body and tall, his penis is also big and long. Though this myth is not medically approved, but height is another standard for male's beauty characteristic.

Besides pure medical treatment, which means that the service is oriented only to give massage, another service offered is also on giving treatment on the male organ. Rather than applying medical herbs to male organ as in M11, M6 applies male organ's enlargement and vitality, "*Terapi menambah BESAR & PANJANG alat vital pria serta LEBIH TAHAN LAMA*". The therapy is to make male's organ, penis, becomes bigger than it is before, and could perform erection for any longer time than before. It means that male organ must be treated well to make it bigger and strong enough [vitality] to perform sexual intercourse. It is not clearly stated in the ad that the treatment will be done by male or female therapist. Proxy is the name of the place mentioned which indicates that the customer should come to the place for having the treatment.

Being different from those of male massagers, M4 is a mature female massager. She says clearly that she is now already a widow. She advertises herself as "*JANDA SEKSI LEMBUT KEIBUAN Massage Hub 08123021xxxx*". It indicates that she gives gentle and motherly touch of massage to the customers. Supported by the word "*janda*"/"widow" and "*seksi*"/"sexy", it is a guarantee that she is good in performance

which also means that she is also good in bed. The word widow is always associated to sexuality implication, for a widow in Indonesia is always put in negative connotation. When a widow puts herself in an ad, it indicates that she is going to admit that and agree with the statement that widow is always a good partner in sexual intercourse, for a widow is nonetheless longing for male's touch. Therefore, this ad is ambivalent since its sense is not in the side of women's opinion in general. Seemingly, the advertiser approves male's dominion and preserves patriarchic system.

However, both advertisers and customers are looking for another channel of their aspirations to get enjoyment, money, pleasure, and partners. Here, there is a sense of consumerism in it since there is a bargaining of power between the callers [the pleasure observer] and the advertiser [the pleasure provider]. Moreover, in the discourse of massage service ads there is a sense of power, where sex is put in heterosexual discourse (Prabasmoro, 2006: 354-89). In heterosexual matrix, in Butler's ideas, sex is right when it is enjoyed in the right track. When sex is talked in the public talks, for example, it is condemned taboo and therefore pushed aside. However, when sex is put in the advertisement as in *Memorandum*, it is freely enjoyed and browsed since the characteristic of a newspaper is private and individual.

#### **IV. Discussions**

Massage service ads clipped from *Memorandum* daily newspaper show the differences in sexual orientation and preferences. Unconsciously, it was acknowledged to discern that there were only two kinds of gender: male and female. Most of people's ideas about sexuality had been repressed and fixated to think of heterosexuality as the common pattern of gender relationship. There were, by this, no alternative ways of sexuality. The idea was manifested and reflected by military corps. By this, women sexuality was narrowed down into the monolithic view as the children bearers.

Women's roles had been domesticated into the roles of housewives and homemakers. The traditional ideology repressed the thought of women as free creatures in Indonesia. Massage service ads offer another way of enjoying sexuality. Unconsciously, women are given free choices to enjoy sex in many ways. It is reflected by the ads which serve sexuality for women as in M1, M2, M3, M7, M8, M9, and M10. The massagers offer the customer, especially women, to get pleasurable ways of enjoying sex with some guarantees that they will get enjoyment and satisfaction of sex besides massage service.

In fact, there are also sexual orientations which do not correspond to procreation system. They cover homosexual orientations which include gay and lesbian. In the clipped ads, gay massage services are offered by some massagers who are acknowledged as homosexuals as in M5 and M12. Some massagers are regarded as bisexual since they offer massage services for both men and women. This is because those male massagers mention their male physical characteristics which indicate that they also serve the customer to have sex with. They can guarantee that they will give a pleasurable ways of having sex since they have big male organs.

Heterosexual relationship is promoted by some massagers. They promote themselves to be heterosexual by stating that they reject other orientation such as gay and transvestites. It means that the massagers are heterosexual. It can be found in M1, M3, M7, and M8. Their rejections toward other sexual preferences are sometimes

shown by using the words as, "No gay, No Waria" which mean that they do not want to be called up by gay man and transvestites.

The massagers also put the beauty standard as the categories of being desired by the commoners. The beauty standards found in the clipped ads are being white, being mixed blood, hairy body surface, having big and long male organ (penis), being tall, and having proportional body performance such as ideal weight. Another beauty standards put in the clipped ads are being young, having handsome or baby face, gaining athletic body or having well-built body performance. Race is a matter of fact the other label which is considered as the additional values. If the call boys were Arab, the association which came up to the customers' ideas was that he might be tall and good looking, hairy, having sharp nose, and of course big penis. This is, according to Prabasmoro, an act of viewing others (Prabasmoro, 2003: 44). The act of seeing is a cultural act.

Discussing sexuality discourse in the clipped ads, it can not be separated from the subject who takes part in it. What becomes the problem in expressing sexuality for a subject in the ads were not the sex itself or the organs of sex, but the way sex is put into the discourse. Foucault affirms this as how libido, desire, and passion are transformed into a discourse (1978:20-21). While the notion of discourse is shown in this to be a powerful conceptual tool in discerning the constitution of the subject, its treatment of subjectivity (male as well as female) is argued to be inadequate. For Foucault, discourse is firstly defined as the border of social knowledge which accommodates the systems of postulation within which the world is known (Sianipar, 2004:5-26; Sumarwan, 2006:40-51).

In the discourse of clipped massage ads, the world is not only viewed as something "there" to talk about. People who talk and share as well as write and read about the ads will be brought to understand their existence, their relation, and their world. By this, a discourse of an ad is presented through signs and practices which organize the social existence and reproduction.

By this, Foucault's statement which has the implication that a discourse is not only a set of signs, statements, thoughts, or the ways they are transformed, but is the whole rules and the imagination which possibly produce the existence and the social reproduction is considerably true. Related to this is the existence of the subject behind a discourse. It means that there is a subject behind the ads which were published in *Memorandum*. Someone involved in the ads is a subject in Foucault's views. Through the ads, someone uses his/her *langue* and *parole* conscious and unconsciously to understand and represent his/her life experiences. The role of a discourse [in this matter: ad] is to distinguish the function of the subject with his/her surroundings, and so that there is a difference.

When talking about sexuality issues in the ads, they are not only reduced to reproduction matter. Body and sexuality, for the massagers in the ads, are indeed the battlegrounds to fight for their freedom, and the tunnels of escape from the oppression (Venny, 2005:4-5). The oppression can be in the form of economic problems, society problems, and political problems where their sexual identities and preferences have no tunnel to be exposed to. Those who do not conform, for example single mothers, women who express their sexual desires openly or have sex outside of marriage, transgender people, and people with same-sex s, may face violence and discrimination.

Related to the above phenomena, there are some factors which trigger the change in sexuality perceptions. Firstly, there is much information on sexuality which can easily be accessed. This triggers the change of the old perception about sexuality, that it is condemned taboo, shameful, and mysterious. Secondly, there is a change in gender roles. Women, traditionally, are regarded as passive and submissive in sexuality. Men, on the other hand, are the sexual aggressor. They are active, responsive, and the performer of sexuality. This view is somehow classical and rejected. The term “active participation” is more appropriate to illustrate the men-women gendered link, as what Irigaray (Sarup, 1993:117) has promoted.

Sexuality is now being appreciated as the action for the sake of recreation and relation as opposed to reproduction (Negara, 2005:7-21). Dealing with the ads clipped from *Memorandum*, it can be noted that women and men now have the same chances to enjoy sexuality. It can also be noted that massage service ads is a channel to explore the sexual freedom. *Memorandum* is also a means of getting the sexual enjoyment and recreation since it offers the links to get massaged by and to have sex with the partner the men and the women can have. This can be regarded as the unconscious state of society since the *Memorandum* is one of the society’s institutions.

The openness of society to accept new things is an opportunity for the sub-margined culture to come up to surface. The sub-margined culture is thus the cultural behaviors of the people who have different ideas of breathing the city life’s atmosphere. They must fight against the needs of life and economic pressure. The openness here is indicated by the society’s acceptance of the existence of *Memorandum* daily newspaper which publishes the uncommon professions as becoming massager, call boys, and gigolos.

Men and women of other sexual performers besides heterosexual, in the frame of heterosexual matrix in Indonesia, formerly rarely got chance to channel their sexual orientations. *Memorandum* has been criticized but also has been praised. These phenomena continue until today as more and more people of different sexual orientations have courage to show their identities in expressing themselves in some parts of rubrics in the newspaper, free from ignorance in social dynamic. The newspaper is considered as the response of the repressing, fixating, castrating and manipulating the sexual freedom.

The inability to state opinions, in turn, repressed the mental state of those people which caused repression of sexual behaviors. Religion, tradition, and norms which urged people of other sexual preferences to ignore their sexual desires that are always considered sinful made them lost their courage to come up to surface. *Memorandum* is the only media in East Java which can be used as the tunnel to explore their sexual preferences. Massage service ads are the channels which make them free to choose and decide whoever partner to have massage with and of course to have sex with. This also happens to the areas of the marginal society, for example, lesbian, gay/homosexual, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT). They have to deal with the consequences if they dare to state their sexual identities. Abolishment and other punishments make them chose to hide and repress these rather than admit or show them.

Gender is central to what Butler (1990) calls the “heterosexual matrix”, which is the hegemonic belief in the relationship connecting sex, gender, sexual practice and desire. Men who perform masculinity and women who perform femininity are

considered to be desirable; the coherency between their sex type and gender makes them fully oppositional to one another and therefore potentially sexually desirable. The other ways of bodily acts are considered deviants. In most massage service ads discussed, something called as heterosexual has been questioned by some advertisers.

## V. Conclusion

*Memorandum* is one of the society's institutions. In this, the discourse of gender and sexuality is contested. When sex is put in the public domain, there is a power relation which comes up to surface. Sexuality is referred to the practice of functioning sex in all aspects of human life. This is sometimes regarded as natural function of human beings to generate heredity. Practically, there are many influences attached to this culturally.

The terms abnormal and normal are often referred to sexuality from different perspectives. Denotatively, this term is covering a broader scope because it approaches the whole aspects of sexuality which are referred to as sexual values, attitude, orientation, and behavior practiced biologically, clinically, and culturally(?). The discourse of sexuality in *Memorandum* is the discourse of society's unconscious state. In the newspaper, it is an interesting thing to discern that sex and gender are contested in name of advertisements. As a matter of fact, advertisement is the place for capitalism to spread its wings to gain new targets of production.

*Memorandum* as a society's institution is unconsciously accommodating the people's wishes of variation to enjoy the pleasure of massage and at the same time they wish to enjoy sex. Here, the state of consumerism is contested to the states of sex and gender in some aspects. The analysis found that the twelve clipped ads offer the pleasure of being massaged by the male and female therapists whose sexual orientations vary in terms of sexual preferences. There is a sense of consumerism in the ads since the beauty standard is the categories to be called up, and the bargaining can be continued up to the place they agree upon the deal of price. Above all things, *Memorandum* has marched for sub-margined culture's rights.

The beauty standards found in the ads are being white, having tall and hairy body, proportional in body's size and shape, macho, athletic and good looking, mixed blood and mixed race, big and long penis, and most of all vitality of performing sexual intercourse. There is an insight from the massage service ads clipped from *Memorandum*, that massage quality is no more an important thing since sex is the next best thing to deal with. This is in relation with the beauty standards the advertisers put in their ads, which in return attract the readers [the future users] to make a deal with his/her future massagers.

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- Memorandum* daily newspaper, some publications from Januari to March, 2009

## Appendix

- M1. FERNANDO Dr Jkt Klksi Cowok  
Indo, Arab, China, Pribumi, Mhsswa, Model, Security, Dijamin Mr.P Besar call  
081859xxx
- M2. PERDANA MASSAGE Dg T/Pria Ganteng Tinggi & Berbulu Bs Triple  
U/P/W/PASUTRI Ditemp 24Jam 08133255xxxx
- M3. JAKA MASSAGE Cowok Panggilan  
Muda, Ganteng, Macho, Ramah, Romantis, Servis OK!0818031xxxx
- M4. JANDA SEKSI LEMBUT KEIBUAN Massage Hub 08123021xxxx
- M5. ARGO, 23, 170/62, HANDSOME, KULIT KUNING, MELAYANI MASSAGE++  
UTK PRIA, 24 JAM YG SERIUS CALL 03177075XX

- M6. MAN SPA 10Rb Terapi menambah BESAR & PANJANG alat vital pria serta LEBIH TAHAN LAMA Cuma 10RIBU di Proxy telp. 03150403xx PASTI ENAK DAN PUAS
- M7. RENO cakep+atletis,28/168/62, terima pijit khusus wanita-tante2,call 0318381xxxx.Servis Memuaskan. NO Gay, No Waria!
- M8. Massage body atletis & macho, tampan, cakep, beby face,bodi fitness, long & Big (20cm) (dm gd) umur 28/tb173/bb75/khs dipgl aja dijamin puas call me 08574616xxxx
- M9. Galang 22 tahun for women,tante2 kesepian, ramah, sabar, keturunan belanda-arab, tinggi, fullservice, call to hotel/rumah, call me 031727220xxx
- M10. PRAYITNO FROM SUMATRA dijamin 100% perkasa, ganteng, macho,mr P big-size service bisa semua, untuk pria/wanita/pasutri khusus dipanggil 081231000xxx
- M11. Mandarin massage therapy vitalitas for Female,male,and pasutri, NO WARIA. Call me Jerry Ang or sms 031719599xxx
- M12. Yusuf Massage for men,28/175/70,tinggi,putih,cakep u/panggilan sj. 03170850xxx