

The Construction Reality of Women Image as Patriarchal Objects in Indonesian Horror Film

Konstruksi Realitas Citra Perempuan sebagai Objek Patriarki dalam Film Horor Indonesia

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Abstract

As one of the film genres in Indonesia, horror films have different dynamics in terms of narrative and cinematography. The example is about the characterization of women in films. Women are often associated with victims, monsters, and other main characters in Indonesian horror films. This phase has an impact on the construction of reality in the image of women as a form of insertion of patriarchal culture in films. In patriarchal culture, women are formed through the depiction of figures full of negative emotions and synonymous with terror and revenge. This study aims to describe the forms of patriarchal culture towards women in Indonesian horror films from 1970-2022. In its implementation, this research used descriptive qualitative research methods. This research places Indonesian horror films in the period 1970-2022 as research objects that will be studied regarding the structure and depiction of women's images as objects of patriarchal culture. The results of this descriptive qualitative research will be presented in the form of a narrative regarding the forms of social construction of the image of women in Indonesian horror films in terms of patriarchal culture in the political economic space of the media. Based on this research, several connections were found regarding women who are depicted as objects of patriarchal culture with the main scope being the characterization of women as victims and monstrous feminine in 600 Indonesian horror films in the period 1970-2022. The image of women that is constructed has become a distinct pattern in Indonesian horror films because of the strong patriarchal culture. The commodification perspective according to the political economy of the media has increasingly strengthened the tendency of women to become objects in the Indonesian film culture. Women in horror films are often used as a mere commodity. In other words, women are indicated as an added value to become an exchange value in the horror film market.

Keywords: *Commodification, Construction, Film, Patriarchy, Women*

Abstrak

Perempuan kerap dikaitkan dengan sosok korban, monster, dan tokoh utama lainnya dalam film horor Indonesia. Kecenderungan tersebut berimbas pada terjadinya konstruksi realitas pada citra perempuan sebagai bentuk penyisipan budaya patriarki dalam film. Dalam budaya patriarki yang tersirat pada film horor Indonesia, perempuan dicitrakan sebagai sosok penuh emosi negative dan identik dengan teror dan pembalasan dendam. Perempuan sebagai objek patriarki telah mengalami komodifikasi sehingga timbul ketidaksesuaian dengan realitas. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memaparkan bentuk budaya patriarki terhadap perempuan dalam film horor Indonesia rentang 1970-2022. Dalam pelaksanaannya, penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Penelitian ini menempatkan film horor Indonesia periode 1970-2022 sebagai objek penelitian yang akan dikaji mengenai struktur dan

penggambaran citra perempuan sebagai objek budaya patriarki. Hasil penelitian deskriptif kualitatif ini akan disajikan dalam bentuk narasi mengenai bentuk konstruksi sosial terhadap citra perempuan dalam film horor Indonesia ditinjau dari budaya patriarki dalam ruang ekonomi politik media. Berdasarkan penelitian ini, maka ditemukan beberapa keterkaitan mengenai perempuan yang digambarkan sebagai objek budaya patriarki dengan cakupan utama berupa penokohan perempuan sebagai korban dan monstrous feminine dalam 600 film horor Indonesia pada periode 1970-2022.

Kata Kunci: Film; Perempuan; Komodifikasi; Konstruksi; Patriarki

1. Introduction

Film is a mass communication medium that can reach a wide target audience. As a form of development of mass communication, films are no longer seen as entertainment that presents mere spectacle, but also as a communication medium that conveys messages implicitly or explicitly (Noer, 2021). One genre in the Indonesian film scene is films with horror nuances. Since independence, Indonesia has started producing horror films, such as *Tengkorak Hidoep* (Living Skull) which was produced in 1941 by Tan Tjoei Hock, and the film "Lisa" by M. Shariefuddin, which was produced in 1971. These two films are often referred to as pioneers of the spread of the film genre. horror in Indonesia (Rusdiarti, 2011).

Since Lisa (1971) colored the Indonesian cinema screen, Indonesian horror films have experienced dynamics in terms of narrative and cinematography (Kusumaryati, 2011; Paramita, 2016; van Heeren, 2012). The narration of the characters in horror films of the 1970s is identical to the narrative originating from folklore, whereas the narration in horror films of the 2000s is synonymous with urban legend narratives (van Heeren, 2012). Despite having differences in terms of narrative and cinematography, the Indonesian horror film scene is not free from the tendency to predominantly position women as ghost characters (Larasati, 2021). According to Annissa & Adiprasetyo (2022), women have become the most dominant element of fear in Indonesian horror films.

Brigham (1991) and Master et al. (1992), suggests that women are traditionally seen as figures with a loving, gentle, caring and sensitive (feminine) image. In horror films,

women are often depicted as emotional creatures, or submissive, passive and subjective, mathematically weak, easily influenced, physically weak. The character of Indonesian horror films emphasizes that women have pressure on the storyline, so that women as characters in horror films are often synonymous with revenge and other emotionality (Azizah & Rahayu, 2022).

The image of women formed in horror films implies that there has been a construction of reality through individual actions and interactions or a group of individuals, continuously creates a reality that is shared and experienced subjectively. In the Indonesian cinema industry, films construct subjective reality which is displayed through the media using symbols. The image of women in Indonesian horror films is often dominated by 'negative' connotations (Lasty, 2020). One characteristic that does not change in Indonesian horror films is the presence of vengeful female characters who are manifested in the form of ghosts, supernatural creatures or psychopaths. This reflects changes in the order of film production in terms of the social, political and economic situation in Indonesia. This situation is called symbolic social reality and is accepted as objective social reality because the media is considered to reflect reality as it really is, which in this case is the image of women (Azhari, 2020).

Reporting from Permatasari & Widianti (2018), as a work of popular culture, film is a medium that is full of

ideology and the hegemony of dominant groups. Films contain discourse that demands conformity from the audience. As a genre in film, horror has a meaning cannot be separated from the ideology of a particular group through the actions and interactions of an individual or group of individuals create a reality continuous with subjective characteristics (Annissa & Adiprasetio, 2022). If examined, horror films in Indonesia indirectly display patriarchal ideology. Men are masculine and mark activity, while women as feminine mark their absence and passivity (Nurhayati, 2018).

In the study of the political economy of media, the construction of reality regarding the image of women in horror films can be examined from a commodification perspective. Moscow (2009), stated that commodification is the process of changing the value of something that originally only had use value to exchange value or selling value. Horror films assume that women have exchange value and have the potential to be deceived. Women's helplessness and emotionality are often presented as something that is attractive (Pratiwi, 2018). Female characters in Indonesian horror films are generally depicted as rebels who are facing injustice committed by men (Kusnita, 2010), both personally and in institutionalized systems. By making the image of women something that is traded in horror films, women's freedom is indirectly taken away (Hollows, 2000). This indirectly describes the social construction that occurs in the image of women in the Indonesian horror film (Ayun, 2015).

Based on the statement that has been presented, this article examines the form of reality construction that occurs in the image of women in Indonesian horror films as a result of the domination of patriarchal culture which develops. Apart from that, this article also uses the basis of commodification in Vincent Moscow's (2009) media political economy perspective as the basic theory of the title of this article.

2. Theoretical Framework

Construction of Women's Reality

The term social construction of reality was introduced by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann through their book *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociological of Knowledge*, and then published in Indonesian under the title *Social Interpretation of Reality: Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge* (1990). In essence, the content of film as a mass communication medium is the result of the construction of reality with language or narrative as the basic device. Language is not only a tool in presenting reality, but can also determine what form a film wants to create about that reality. As a result, films also have a huge opportunity to influence the meaning and images produced from the reality that has been constructed (Habermas, 1972).

According to Jensen & Rosengen (1995:174), the construction of social reality includes three concepts, namely (1) Externalization, is an effort to pour out or express oneself into the world, both in mental and physical activities; (2) Objectivation, is the result that has been achieved (both mental and physical from human externalization activities), in the form of objective reality; (3) Internalization, is the re-absorption of the objective world into consciousness in such a way that the individual's subjective is influenced by the structure of the social world. In the scope of horror films, when the construction of media reality is different from the reality that exists in society, then in essence there has been an imbalance in the representation of objects. As is the case with the images of women in horror films that are often found. Representations of women experience changes to what happens in reality (Annissa & Adiprasetio, 2022).

Society's perception of women is that they are loving and sympathetic. However, this is different from what happens in horror films when women are associated with a 'devil' figure with a cruel nature and full of revenge. This is caused by the construction of social reality in political and media perspectives (Nurhayati, 2018).

Patriarchal Culture in Indonesian Horror Films

Turner in Wibisono & Sari (2021), says that films do not reflect or record reality as another medium of representation, but films construct and re-present images of reality through codes, conventions and cultural ideologies. One of the ideologies that is often skewed in Indonesian horror films is the tendency towards patriarchal culture. In general, the term patriarchy is used to refer to "male domination of power", especially the power relationship between men and women in which men dominate over women which is realized through various media and methods (Dewi Chandraningrum, 2013). In *Theorizing Patriarchy*, Walby (1990:20) defines patriarchy as a social structure and practice where men dominate, operate and exploit women.

This patriarchal culture continues to strengthen and in the end has become a culture and ideology that, consciously or not, is also manifested in the rise of Indonesian horror films (Bemmelen, Habsjah, Setyawati, 2000:435). This can be seen from research conducted by Annissa & Adiprasetyo (2022), in 559 horror films mapped from 1970-2019, as many as 60.47 percent or 338 films feature female figures as main characters as spirits or other horror roles. Meanwhile, 24.15 percent or 135 films featured men as the main characters and 15.38 percent or 86 other horror films presented male and female figures with equal roles.

Horror films have often depicted women as rebels who are facing injustice committed by men, both personally and as a result of the system. In other words, female figures in horror films appear as a result of the dominance of patriarchal culture which leads

to revenge for the injustice they receive (Sari & Haryono, 2018). The image of women that is generally lived by is the image held by men, that women must be patient, steadfast, caring, motherly, obedient, willing to give in, a source of peace and justice. However different from the image of women in horror films, this patriarchal culture unwittingly forms an image of women that 'deviates' from what society knows. The massive number of horror films that depict women in such a way has become what is said to be the nature of women. This has been taught from generation to generation, overtly or covertly, so that indirectly film as a mass medium plays a big role in cultivating this image (Kharisma, Devi & Mayangsari, Ira Dwi, 2018).

Commodification of Women as Objects of Patriarchal Culture

The construction of the reality of women's images in horror films is not only the impact of the strong patriarchal cultural ideology embedded in the country's horror film industry. In the study of the political economy of media, this concept can be explored from a commodification perspective. Vincent Mosco (1996) explains that in the political economy of media commodification is defined as the process of transforming use value into exchange value. The political economy of the media has made women a commodity in the horror film market in Indonesia (Ayun, 2015). Image women in films are a form of commodity. Female characters in films are commodified in such a way that they create a properly 'different' image. Women are considered to have added value in Indonesian horror films, they also become a market in the power struggle for various interests and ideologies (Hollows, 2000: 59). The women in this horror film are indirectly women who were formed because of

gender inequality as a result of the dominance of patriarchal culture. Unbalanced power relations between men and women in society result in women being marginalized, as is the case with the image of women that is prevalent in Indonesian horror films.

The Image of Women in Horror Films

Image cannot be separated from the formation of a characterization (Amanda, 2015). The image of women is often interpreted as someone with a loving, patient, polite, obedient and gentle personality in everyday life, both in the family and in society (Rahima Ana, & Sulfiah, 2019). In horror films, women are often positioned as spirits or spirits astral creatures synonymous with terror and revenge. According to (Kusnita, 2010), stated that in the 1970s, when the horror genre began to sell well in the Indonesian film market, female characters began to show a clear dominant position.

Women as spirits characters who often appear in Indonesian horror films are manifested in the form of 'kuntilanak', 'sundel bolong', 'suster ngesot', and demons who have frightening characteristics (Wahid & Agustina, 2021; Saputra & Sulistyani, 2019). The figure of women as the characterization of spirits is not exclusively expressed in horror films in Indonesia, but has become a distinct pattern in the Indonesian film scene. Some female roles in horror films tend to have negative connotations (Lasty, 2022). This connotation arises as a result of the widespread perception that female figures in horror films have characteristics that are contrary to the norms of social life, such as a gentle woman, who is represented as a vile figure in horror films (Nurhayati, 2018). Apart from that, the image of a polite woman was also created by making women laugh as a 'marker' of intimidation of female figures in horror films, for example, women's shrill laughter is associated as a form of terror (Annissa & Adiprasetyo, 2022).

Film as a Media for Mass Communication

Film is a form of art, a source of entertainment, and a tool that has the ability to influence audiences (Pratista, 2008). As a mass communication medium, film can represent information, explain processes and concepts, teach skills, condense or extend time, and influence audience attitudes (Arsyad, 2005). In the history of film development, there are three major themes and one or two important historical milestones (McQuail, 1987:13). The first theme is the use of film as a propaganda tool. This theme is important especially in relation to efforts to achieve its original goals and society. This is related to the view that films have great reach, realism, emotional impact and popularity. Two other themes in film history are the emergence of several schools of film art (Huaco in McQuail, 1987: 51) and the birth of the social documentary film genre.

In order to reach a widening target audience, films are categorized into several genres, such as comedy, horror, romance, action and horror. The horror film industry is one of the fields that is of interest to the people of Indonesia. Theoretically, horror films according to Permana (2001), horror films are films designed to create terror, fear or a feeling of fear in viewer. In the genre of horror films, various events, forces, or sometimes evil characters emerge from the supernatural world, and enter people's daily lives. John Fiske (2004), states that horror films imply hidden desires in humans such as sexual desire, greed and power. In short, in mass communication studies it can be said that horror films are a mediator between the audience and something that people usually avoid (Khoo & Barker, 2011).

According to Rusdiati (2011), Indonesian horror films had significant developments in accordance with the economic, political and media situation at that time. The development of the Indonesian horror film industry in the old order era was synonymous with horror narratives originating from local folklore (Annisa & Adiprasetyo, 2022). Meanwhile, according to Heider (1991), Indonesian horror films in the New Order era cannot be separated from three things that characterize comedy, sex and religion. In the 70s, horror films were produced, including ghost horror mixed with occultism, sadism, sex and comedy, such as *Cincin Berdarah* (The Bloody Ring) (1973), *Si Manis Jembatan Ancol* (The Beauty of Ancol Bridge) (1973), *Pembalasan Guna-Guna Istri Muda* (*Retaliation for the Young Wife's Witchcraft*) (1978), *Kutukan Nyai Roro Kidul* (The Curse of Nyai Roro Kidul) (1979) (Rusdiarti, 2009). Before the monetary crisis that marked the fall of the new order, Indonesian cinema had a long list of horror films which included *Nyi Blorong* (1982), *Malam Jumat Kliwon* (The Kliwon of Friday) (1986), *Malam Satu Suro* (One Night Suro) (1988), *Ratu Buaya Putih* (The Queen of White Crocodile) (1988), *(The Tiger Woman)* *Wanita Harimau* (1989), *Guntur Tengah Malam* (The Midnight Thunder) (1990), *Perempuan Misterius* (Mysterious Girl) (1996) were the names of horror films that were popular in Indonesia at that time (Noer, 2021).

Moving on from the reform era to the present, Indonesian horror films have increasingly experienced composition in several settings and story narratives. This can be seen from the depiction of stories based on urban areas with horror film backgrounds or sets, most of which are modern buildings located in famous cities, such as apartments or hotels (Ayun 2015). Changing this setting represented in several post-reformation films, such as *Jelangkung* (2001), *Ada Hantu di Sekolah* (There are Ghosts in School) (2005), *Film Horor* (Horror Films) (2006), *Suster Ngesot the Movie* (2007), *Hantunya Kok Beneran* (Does the Ghost Real?) (2008), *Hantu Budeg* (The Deaf Ghost) (2009), *Hantu*

Jamu Gendong (The Lady of Jamu) (2009), *Arwah Goyang Karawang* (The Rocking Spirit of Karawang) (2011), *Pengabdian Setan* (Satan Slaves) (2017), *Kuntilanak* (2018), *Suzzana: dimulai dalam Kubur* (Suzzanna: Breathing in the Grave) (2018), *Danur: Sunyaruri* (2019), *KKN Desa Penari* (The Dancing of Penari's Village) (2022). In contrast to the era of film narratives in films in the 1970s, horror film narratives in the 2000s era are known to be identical to the urban legend narratives of Indonesian society (van Heeren, 2012).

Developing the dynamics and changes of Indonesian cinema is a representation of the rapid flow of mass media communication. Films as a composition of mass communication play an important role in reflecting what is considered to be happening in society. Thus, the development of horror films was also influenced by the economic, political, and media situation at that time (Hanich, 2011).

3. Research Method

In its implementation, this research used descriptive qualitative research methods. According to Sugiyono (2012: 9), qualitative research is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from a research result. Qualitative research focuses on social phenomena, giving voice to the feelings and perceptions, of the participants under study. This research places Indonesian horror films in the period 1970-2022 as research objects that will be studied regarding the structure and depiction of women's images as objects of patriarchal culture. The results of this descriptive qualitative research will be presented in the form of a narrative regarding the forms of social construction of the image of women in Indonesian horror films in terms of patriarchal culture in the political economic space of the media.

The type of data in this research uses qualitative data including observations of Indonesian horror films and related literature. The data collection technique was carried out through literature study through previous studies. According to Koentjaraningrat (1983: 420), library research is data collection carried out through reading literature or written sources, such as books, previous research, papers, journals, articles, reports and magazines related to research. With this literature study technique, researchers can collect various theoretical references regarding the study of social construction and images women, Indonesian horror film studies, patriarchal cultural ideology, commodification perspective, and other theories within the scope of political economy related to the object of research.

4. Discussion

The figure of women as ghosts is not exclusively dominant in horror films in Indonesia but has become a distinct pattern in the world of cinema. This tendency is strengthened by research conducted by Annissa & Adiprasetyo (2022). In a study entitled *Inequality in the Representation of Female Ghosts in Indonesian Horror Films for the 1970-2019 period*, it was stated that women are almost always the central characters in horror films who are represented as ghosts or monsters. This statement is supported by a mapping of 559 horror films that were broadcast in the period 1970-2019. According to Annissa & Adiprasetyo (2022), the mapping results revealed a finding, namely that 338 (60.47%) horror films in Indonesia featured female figures as the main ghosts, followed by 135 (24.15%) Indonesian horror films with male figures. man as the main ghost, and a total of 86 (15.38%) Indonesian horror films represented female and male figures as the main ghost. Complementing the data presented by Annissa & Adiprasetyo (2022), the researchers again carried out an analysis based on mapping 41 horror films screened by Indonesian filmmakers in the 2020-2022 time period. This is aimed at obtaining new, relevant

research data as well as aligning previous research. Based on the results of this analysis, female figures as characters in horror films consistently reach the largest percentage in 34 films (82.92%), while male figure in 3 (7.32%) films, followed by 4 (9.76%) presenting female and male figures as representations of ghosts in Indonesian horror films. Thus, in the period 1970-2022, as many as 372 films (62%) featured women as the main figure, 138 films (23%) feature men, and 90 films (15%) relate to women and men in Indonesian horror films.

Female characters in Indonesian horror films are often depicted as figures who demand justice for actions committed by men (Kusnita, 2010). This image indirectly implies that women are often the objects of patriarchal culture which is represented by acts of injustice, misfortune, torture, and even forms of verbal and non-verbal harassment. Women in horror film studies tend to be constructed as objects that disrupt the system, identity, order and do not obey positions, boundaries and rules in patriarchal culture (Retnowulandari. 2010:17). The result of this construction of reality is what follows indicates emergence

The tendency of women's images to be considered dominant in Indonesian horror films. In line with this statement, in this study the researcher explains three forms of reality construction in the image of women as objects of patriarchal culture in Indonesian horror films based on a political economy perspective. These three forms of construction are studied based on the representation of women reviewed in Indonesian horror films in the period 1970-2019.

5. Results

Film and Popular Culture

Popular culture or pop culture represents a cultural product that finds favor in

society, is loved, packaged and made as a supplement for the public. Contested meanings and main ideologies can be disturbed. As a mass media product, films in popular culture place emphasis on style, spectacle, effects and special imagery, at the expense of content, character, substance, narrative and social criticism (Strinati, 2022). Horror films in particular have a special place in Indonesian society. As a country that has diverse cultures, horror films appear to represent the culture that exists in society and are adopted in the form of industrial mass culture in order to make a profit. Sometimes the characters or content in horror films are made so "close" to the cultural conditions of society so that they become more attached to the style chosen by this mass cultural product.

In line with the above, the commodification of women in horror films as a popular culture product. In this case, women are seen as having responsibility for mass culture and its detrimental effects, while men are seen as having responsibility for high culture or art. A feminist perspective from horror film popular culture can be an answer to questions about the commodification of women. Mass media or films have become the main thing for the flow of information and communication within and between modern societies that together with consumerism have given rise to postmodernism (Strinati, 2022). The world will see more and more media films and popular culture images.

Surface appearance and style become more important. Imagery dominates the narrative (Harvey, 1989). We increasingly consume images or signs instead of deeper benefits or values. This is especially evident in popular culture, where surface and style dominate at the expense of content, substance and meaning. This image is reflected in horror films as a product of popular culture, where elements of realism, authenticity and strong narrative tend to be ignored. The narratives that are tried to be built are surface narratives that construct the audience's reality regarding the figure of a female ghost, sexuality, body politics, revenge, patriarchal cultural domination, and even religion.

Women as Sexual Objects

The image of women in films horror era 1970s, describe that there is a distortion of the depiction women (Ayun, 2015). Johnston, Cook, and Mulvey (Hollows, 2000: 59), states that structuralism and semiotics provides a way of understanding how a film constructs and reproduces ideas about what "reality" is and does not reflect existing reality. Horror films shown in Indonesia indirectly produce patriarchal ideology with stereotypes of men as masculine figures, while women as feminine figures with their absence and passivity. Women in horror films are often presented as 'objects' to please men. A horror story that should present a mystery full of fear has been transformed into a film with nuances of sensuality. Women are used as commodities in the horror film market with high selling power in the market.

In its development, horror films in the New Order era often had a background in occultism, sadism, sex and comedy (Rusdiarti, 2009), such as in the films *Beranak Dalam Kubur* (Giving Birth in Grave) (1971), *Sundel Bolong* (1981), *Nyi Blorong* 1982), *Suster Keramas* (2008), and several others. Sexuality in this film can be seen from the characterizations represented in horror films. Women are shown as figures in skimpy clothing which emphasizes sensuality in horror films which should not be like that. Not only in film scenes, posters for Indonesian horror films also show the sensuality of women's bodies through open clothes and sensual poses. For example, in the film *Dendam Pocong Mupeng* (The Revenge of Pocong Mupeng) (2010), a poster displays a scantily clad female body side by side with the touch of a mysterious hand which is allegedly Pocong as the main character. A similar thing can also be seen in the poster for *Dedemit Gunung Kidul* (The Ghost of Gunung Kidul) (2011) which tends to

emphasize the object of two erotic female figures compared to the ghost character (dedemit) in the film so that bodily exposure in several horror films has become a pattern in the development of horror films at that time (Ayun, 2015).

Apart from having an impact on profits, sensuality and women's internal bodies Horror films also implicitly include cultural political 'profit' which is characterized by the formation of a reality construction (Wibisono & Sari, 2021). The appearance of women's sensuality in horror films illustrates that women are in an unequal social structure (Lasty, 2020). Indirectly, women have experienced commodification in horror films, in the form of verbal and non-verbal violence, oppression, employment discrimination, and as objects of sexual harassment. Women are allegedly found to be in a patriarchal cultural landscape inserted in the film. The image of women is depicted as a helpless figure who is dependent on men, and there is an unequal distribution of roles in social roles. The marginalization resulting from patriarchal fanaticism results in women being marginalized as human beings, not equal to men, so that women are often placed as commodities in horror films which are synonymous with elements of sensuality which are considered capable of selling and increasing the prestige of the horror film industry with the aim of namely profit.

Patterns of Women as Victims and Monsters

In its development over time, Indonesian horror films cannot be separated from recurring patterns in terms of characterization. Horror films often present a paradox in female characters because in this case, the image of women is considered to have continuity, namely as victims on the one hand and as monstrous (monsters) on the other (Priyatna, 2004). This is a pattern in horror film stories in general, where by placing women as victims, both murder and other things, can turn women into monsters or figures who show a giant side (Ayun, 2015). The emergence of women who turn into monsters

or supernatural creatures is often caused by murder cases that befall them, so they will have a tendency to rise up and take revenge through terror, torture, and even invisible attacks. This phenomenal pattern can be found in Indonesian horror films, such as the films *Sundel Bolong* (1981), *Sajen* (2018), *Suzzanna: Beranak Dalam Kubur* (Suzzanna: Giving Birth in Grave) (2018), *Ivanna* (2022), *Hompimpa* (2022), and others (Annisia & Adiprasetyo, 2022).

The portrayal of women as a victim in a horror film can be re-examined from the perspective of patriarchal culture. Men are considered superior because of the power they have over women as gentle, obedient and helpless when compared to men. Another image that is a stereotype of women in horror films is passive, stupid, restricted in their freedom, emotional, and unable to compromise, which in the end is the image often displayed by female characters (Hetty, 1999: 9). The strong patriarchal culture embedded in Indonesian horror films can be represented in the film *Survive: The Rise of Psychopath* (2021). Overall, this film tells the story of a psychopath named Dani who received his doctrine from his father. Since childhood, Dani's father has often uttered phrases that indicate the superior nature of men, such as "If a woman makes a mistake, she must be punished. So who punishes? Yes, we are men," said his father to Dani. Apart from emphasizing patriarchal culture, this film also depicts the figure of a woman helpless and thus used as an object as a man wishes. This is reflected in the treatment of the psychopath, Dani, who has a penchant for exploiting women and Dani's father, who normalizes violence against women which is directed at his wife. The emphasis on patriarchal culture is increasingly strengthening not only in terms of actions or behavior but also in horror film narratives which have the

meaning of degrading and alienating women.

The image of women in horror films does not only revolve around one characterization as a victim, but also about the side of women as monsters. The representation of women as monsters is a powerful medium to show that if women do not behave in their prescribed roles, then women will transform into frightening figures which lead to monster connotations (Zahrina, 2016). The metaphor of monsters in women then leads to depictions of women who are difficult to control and even tend to oppose patriarchal culture. According to Creed (1993), the image of women as monsters is depicted in films. This horror is a representation of the power possessed by men so that in this position women are considered monstrous feminine, namely the embodiment of everything that is frightening (Kristeva, 1982).

A horror genre and entertainment has a meaning that cannot be separated from the ideology of a particular group. The metaphor about *monstrousfeminine* which according to (Permatasari & Widisanti, 2018), can be represented in two Indonesian horror films, namely Pengabdi Satan (2017) and Asih (2018) with women as figures depicted as monsters. The meaning behind the representation of women is a metaphor for women who are excluded from the "ideal" female figure in patriarchal culture. The representation of monsters in the image of women is analogous to a "failed product" in society. In the films Pengabdi Setan (Satan Slaves) (2017) and Asih (2018), there are two characteristics of "ideal" women that are violated according to patriarchal culture. In the film Pengabdi Setan (Satan Slaves) (2017), Mawarni's mother is depicted as a monster who terrorizes her own family. The figure of the mother is an image of a 'true' woman who is constructed as a figure who can provide the child. Unfortunately, heredity is not reflected in the figure of Mawarni in servant of Satan, nor in the film Asih (2018), which is actually considered to have harmed her own flesh and blood as a result of the abuse experienced by the figure of Kasih which resulted in a long reign of terror. The

second depiction of the image of women as monsters is considered to deviate from the understanding of women adhered to by patriarchal culture so that women are considered to destroy "nature" because they cannot give birth to offspring or become "true" mothers (Michalik, 2013). The women in this horror film are implicitly women who are structurally affected by gender inequality resulting from the strong current of patriarchal culture which indicates an imbalance between men and women in society causing the marginalization of women (Blackburn, 2004: 139).

Women Who Are Commodified in Horror Films

Indonesian adult horror films are now indirectly showing a form of commodification of the image of women. In this commodification process, class divisions are unequal between men and women making women into objects that can be exposed through their sensuality and bodies (Ayun, 2015). Women in horror films are often used as a commodity that is worth buying and selling, in other words, women are indicated as adding value to become exchange value in the horror film market. Apart from the element of sensuality, the image of women is often described as someone who has no hopes, wishes and desires in life.

Directly or indirectly, this implies that men place women in a lower position, men have power over women, and commit violence against women as a result of the patriarchal ideology that always surrounds women's lives, even in horror films (Sutrisno, 2005). Stereotypes like this make horror films also produce films based on things that are constructed in reality based on what is happening in society. This happens because of society's habituation that it is natural for women to be like that and

this for film production also increases audience interest in horror films. The positioning of women as ghosts whose background is victims of violence with revenge or full of hatred has also become a pattern that has developed since the Indonesian film era (Azizah & Rahayu, 2022).

Female characters in films are commodified in such a way that they create a properly 'different' image. Women are considered to have added value in Indonesian horror films, they also become a market in the power struggle for various interests and ideologies (Hollows, 2000: 59). The women in this horror film are indirectly women who were formed because of gender inequality as a result of the dominance of patriarchal culture. Unbalanced power relations between men and women in society result in women being marginalized, as is the case with the image of women that is prevalent in Indonesian horror films.

6. Conclusion

In the Indonesian horror film market, the presence of women is not an unfamiliar part because of the tendency for women's images to experience a series of constructions and commodifications in the world of cinema. Based on the results of the literature study, the following conclusions can be drawn if horror films indirectly insert elements of patriarchal culture by placing women as objects or commodities that can attract market share. Women as objects of patriarchal culture can be seen from the tendency of women in horror films to be depicted as victims and monstrous feminine figures who demand justice for men's actions. According to the novelty, this research was including the political economic perspective of media, namely the construction of social reality and commodification, is not lost on it takes a role in the trend of women in horror films. The commodification process which is then constructed in horror films further strengthens the indications of patriarchal culture in Indonesian horror films. The main line can be drawn that one of the things that indicates the widespread existence of women as objects of patriarchal culture in

horror films is the cause of the construction of social reality and commodification. The constructed image of women has become a pattern in Indonesian horror films, as well as women are often placed as figures who are under the power of men because of the strong patriarchal culture. This kind of pattern is something that has become a habit in the Indonesian film scene, because having women as the main pillars of horror films is allegedly able to provide benefits for stakeholders in the Indonesian film industry.

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