



Lifestyle Ambiguity: The Visuals of Cigarette Advertisements in the Dutch East Indies Era

Bedjo Riyanto✉, Nurhayatu Nufut Alimin, Endri Sintiana Murni

Universitas Sebelas Maret, Indonesia

Submitted: 2022-09-04. Revised: 2022-10-04. Accepted: 2022-11-28

Abstract

The focuses of this research are the visual style reconstruction of cigarette advertisements published in magazines during the colonial era of the Dutch East Indies and the expressions of lifestyle recorded in them. This study examines the visualization and visual style of cigarette advertisements published in magazines in Indonesia from 1925 to 2000. This study also aims to reconstruct the lifestyle in the visual representation of cigarette advertisements as a reflection of the process of social change in Indonesian society during the colonial to the post-colonial period (1925 - 2000). This research employed descriptive analytical methodology, with the main theory of the social history of Art and David Chaney's lifestyle theory. The visual style of Oriental Modern Eclecticism captures the Indies' hybrid lifestyle expression, namely: a pseudo-modernity lifestyle as a result of the integration among the colonized communities which were spread across the Dutch East Indies (1925-1942). The cigarette advertisements of that era presented an imaginary world that depicted the harmonious social interactions of various social layers which is contrary to the social reality of the segregated colonial life.

Keywords: cigarette advertisement, visual style, lifestyle

How to Cite: Riyanto, B., Alimin, N. N., & Murni, E. S. (2022). Lifestyle Ambiguity: The Visuals of Cigarette Advertisements in the Dutch East Indies Era. *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education*, 22(2), 227-240

INTRODUCTION

Cigarettes are very popular and controversial products. Some of the substances contained in cigarettes are the causes of deadly diseases. This review journal provided clear evidence of the negative effects of smoking on the musculoskeletal system. Evidence found that smoking is associated with lower BMD, an increased risk for fracture, periodontitis, alveolar bone loss and implant failure, increased joint disease, poor functional outcomes, and poor therapeutic response. Moreover, it is evidence of adverse effects on muscles, tendons, cartilage, and ligaments, despite the scarcity

of studies. (Al-Bashaireh et al., 2018).

Moreover, since covid has become a global issue lately, it turns out that smokers also make things worse if they are infected with covid. The present analysis found that current smokers have an increased risk of presenting to the hospital with severe COVID-19 and are approximately twice as likely to experience severe or critical COVID-19 as former or never-smokers. In addition, patients with a smoking history were more likely to experience disease progression and require mechanical ventilation (Reddy et al., 2021).

On the other hand, in terms of economic aspects, the tobacco industry is a very

✉ Corresponding author:
E-mail: bedjoriyanto@staff.uns.ac.id

important manufacturing industry in Indonesia. The tobacco industry can provide a very significant income to the state and absorb labor and contribute to the prosperity of millions of its citizens. As evidence, the Ministry of Industry of the Republic of Indonesia mentioned that the tobacco industry creates 5.98 million employments, of which 4.28 million are in manufacture and distribution, and 1.7 million people work in tobacco farming. In 2018, the export rate of tobacco as cigarettes and cigars was 931.6 million USD, increasing by 2.98% compared to 2017 (Andarini, 2019).

According to the history of Cigarettes and tobacco products, a manufacturing industry with a modern production process entered Indonesia (Dutch Indies at that time) in the late 19th century. Economic liberalization, imposed by the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government in the 1870s after the Forced Cultivation, provided an opportunity for foreign investors to invest in the Dutch East Indies. Foreign investors exploited this opportunity outside the Dutch East Indies government, allowing the entry of an international cigarette industry network. The entry of foreign capital due to the political liberalization of the Dutch East Indies government allowed the entry of the international white cigarette industry.

The development of cigarette types in the Dutch East Indies era produced a variety of products with distinct uniqueness that represented each of their production areas. One of them is Rokok Kretek (clove cigarettes), which has survived throughout the ages. Rokok Kretek is a type of cigarette which uses a clove and sauce mixture developed by Haji Djamhari at the end of the 19th century in Kudus city. Its existence marked a new era where the kretek industry was acknowledged as a local genius of the Indonesian culture's original heritage. The new opportunity of clove cigarettes as the product preferred by millions of consumers with hundreds of thousands of labor absorption had invited Chinese merchants to invest in this field and enliven market competition with the

indigenous kretek products.

The economic potential of cigarettes was promising. Thus, investment in the tobacco industry in the Dutch East Indies grew rapidly, especially since the international cigarette company British-American Tobacco established its factory in Cirebon in 1925, followed by its new factory in Surabaya in 1928. Cigarettes produced by the western industry were usually made from Virginian tobacco which was called the white cigarette (white machine cigarette) (Castles, 1982). Since then, the cigarette industry in the Dutch East Indies entered a new phase as a modern industry. The industry is required to create a loyal consumer (customer) market, guarantee the availability of raw material supplies, master modern production technology, and create an integrated distribution network and marketing communication to win the market competition.

The business development of the cigarette industry did not always run smoothly. Business rivalry, combined with non-conducive political conflicts, had led to anti-Chinese riots backed by the indigenous cigarette business actors and members of Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union) in October 1918. In the following developments, due to the decline of the indigenous kretek industry economy, especially in Kudus city, the Chinese ethnic kretek business actors managed to emerge as a major force that increasingly dominated the kretek industry in Indonesia.

The urban lifestyle and the growing instant popular culture spurred clove cigarette products to emerge as a commodity of enjoyment, status symbols, and class identity enjoyed by all social strata. Each brand has its fanatical consumer layer according to its economic and social class. As non-functional impulsive convenience goods whose benefits to its customers are symbolic and intangible, market penetration was performed by relying on persuasive communication through advertising and promotional campaigns. Advertising myths that were considered the builders of the consciousness and lifestyle of modern

humans began to be utilized by the cigarette industries in the Dutch East Indies at the beginning of the 20th century. This was done to create the consumption desire that knew no boundaries.

The establishment of the modern advertising services industry, such as Aneta (Algemeen-Generaal-Nieuws-en Telegraaf Agentschap) by D.W. Berrety in 1905 further strengthened the development of advertising media as the front liners of the marketing force. Professional graphic designers of art academics graduates from the Netherlands, such as Frits Adolph van Bommel, Cor van Deutekom, Is van Mens, and others, played an important role in the advancement of the advertising industry in the Dutch East Indies. From then on, advertisement as the means of persuasive communication that relied on visual aesthetic charms effectively enabled the power of marketing appeal. Beautiful pictorial advertisements (display ads) were supported by a combination of text/typography and illustrations to make the pages of newspapers and magazines published in those days to be more vibrant and pleasing to their readers. Imaginative spaces were formed to build the image of cigarettes and their relation to modernity through advertisements (Riyanto, 2017).

Cigarette advertisements appearing in the press were presented as reflections of the social order in the colonial era. In the advertisement of the Shag Van Nelle tobacco company, published in Kedjawen magazine in the 1930s, a transformation process and social changes in the life of the indigenous rural agrarian society toward modern urban society were portrayed in a realistic, detailed, and artistic illustration.

The visuals of the cigarette advertisements in that era were presented as a harmonious narrative of the social solidarity bonds that existed between the colonizers and the colonized. The visual representation of cigarette advertisements became a symbol of modernity as well as an ideal imaginary space for ethical, ideological propaganda over the claim of political success to civilize the Dutch East Indies.

Through the visual representation of cigarette advertisements, it can be seen clearly that Orientalism's ideology as a Western colonial ideology had established and represented the image of Eastern nations as an exotic and romantic society, in contrast to the advanced, modern, and rational Western binary opposition.



Figure 1 Shag Van Nelle Tobacco Advertisement on (Kedjawen Magazine, 1939)

Advertisement seemed to have become a part of the means to construct the ideological romantic imagery of the beautiful Indies (*Mooi Indies*) with its escapist characteristic as the spirit (*zeitgeist*) of the orientalist period of the era. Through the imaginary space of cigarette advertisements, the Ethics showed their success in producing educated indigenous people oriented towards modern Western humans and acting and thinking like their white skin masters (*black skin white mask*).

This study is a chronological reconstruction of the development of cigarette advertisements published in magazine media, as an expression of middle-class society's lifestyle, since the colonial period of the Dutch East Indies before the Japanese occupation (1925-1940). The selection of cigarette advertisements featured in the magazines is based on the consideration that magazines are popular cultural texts that are important to modern consumer society. Through media magazines, the mass culture industry constructs tastes, lifestyles, and consumer behavior in terms of fashion, culinary, entertainment, aesthetic choices, sexual orientation, body care,

religious beliefs, and even the orientation of political ideology that the people believe. Like Kaur Said, Magazines, like other media, greatly impact readers; his research about Beauty Product Advertisements in magazines stated that it manipulates women into buying a way of life (Kaur et al., 2013).

Advertising has great expansive power, and without realizing it, advertising forms the consumer culture that is the cornerstone of marketing, goods and services. Finally, advertising becomes part of the strategy and cultural manipulation that underlies the survival of the system capitalist economy. In short, advertising is created to manipulate and create continuously and simultaneously needs new to consumers. Advertising is a lifestyle and beauty propaganda agent. As part of the lifestyle, popular culture embodies the power of provocation and seduction in the mass media, especially advertising as a representation of the image (Aprillia, 2005).

Cigarettes are closely related to modern lifestyles, as written and recorded in history. Celebrities such as Humphrey Bogart, Marilyn Monroe, and Audrey Hepburn helped to cement the association between cigarettes and style. "Cigarettes had once been the vice of immigrants and juvenile delinquents", writes Sarah Milov, in her intriguing history of the American cigarette. "But war, advertising, and Hollywood had helped to broaden, professionalise, and glamorise smoking's appeal" (Burki, 2020).

Furthermore, the ad will affect the people who see it, especially adolescents. They are attracted by the ad and influenced to try to smoke. Research in Massachusetts by Siegel, conducted in early adolescence, suggests that the television component of an antismoking media campaign may have reduced the rate of progression to becoming an established smoker among young adolescents (Siegel & Biener, 2000). Additionally, Biener research said that Adolescents who, at baseline, owned a tobacco promotional item and named a brand whose advertisements

attracted their attention were more than twice as likely to become established smokers (odds ratio = 2.70) than adolescents who did neither (Biener & Siegel, 2000). At the same time, another research mentions that exposure to retail cigarette advertising is a risk factor for smoking initiation (Lisa Henriksen, Nina C. Schleicher, Ellen C. Feighery, 2010).

On the other hand, magazine reproductions are of technically good printing quality. Thus, they may last longer according to their publishing cycle (weekly, monthly, quarterly, or yearly). The magazine layout is also more beautiful and charming, and it contains a variety of in-depth information that allows it to be a collectible and referential item for its readers (Lane, W. Ronald ; King, Karen Whitehill ; Russell, 2009).

Taking on lifestyle expression recorded in the visual style of cigarette advertisements published in magazines from 1925 to 1940 as its formal object, the purpose of this research is to analyze the form and visual style of cigarette advertisements published in magazine media during the Dutch East Indies era before the Japanese occupation (1925-1940). Furthermore, it also explains the style of design as a reflection of Indonesian society's lifestyle in the Dutch East Indies era before the Japanese occupation (1925-1940).

METHOD

The primary sources of this research are cigarette and tobacco product advertisements published in magazines from 1925-1940. All the visual samples were obtained from the collections of The National Library in Jakarta, the Mangkunegaran Palace Library, as well as the National Press Monument in Surakarta. Source selection was conducted according to a purposive sampling or criterion-based selection strategy that emphasized the creativity characteristics of the advertisement design style, message content, typography, creativity of advertising illustrations, and print quality rather than the level of its presence in the

population.

Research periodization was selected during the Dutch East Indies era (1925-1940). It was based on the fact that since 1925 which was an industrialization process of cigarette production, where the activity demanded a modern marketing communication system increased along with the intensity of advertising in the press media.

To analyze the description of the visual style development of cigarette advertisements and the lifestyle expressions presented in the visual messages, the art and design criticism by Terry Barret as described in his book *Criticizing Art* was used in the following steps (Barrett, 1994).

Description Stage: verbally describing visual representations so that the special characteristics of an artwork or design can be seen, identified, and ultimately appreciated. This stage uses a Theory of Art Social History by Arnold Hauser and John Walker to describe the social history of Indonesian society.

The main theory used in this research is the theory of Art Social History. The existence of an artwork or a design always describes the social position of the artist or designer as an individual in the network of the social structure in his supporting society in a certain historical space and time (Hauser, 1951). Further, Hauser also stated that in its historical development, artwork originally served as an instrument of religious ritual in tribal or primitive societies. It then transformed into a propaganda medium for interest groups, clicks, political parties, and certain social classes. Ultimately, in modern society, artworks serve as a recreational means that promote the interests of certain social strata to pursue their practical interests either openly or covertly.

Visual Culture Theory and The History of Modern Graphic Design Styles. The relationship between lifestyle and visual style that becomes the identity or the spirit of an era of artwork and design is always closely related. Visual culture, a blend of lifestyle and style, is a culture built with

visual elements as the main constructing forms. In the process of meaning construction, visual culture involves the dominant activity of sight (vision) or gaze.

Visual style always blends with lifestyle and the spirit of an era (*zeitgeist*), thus, it is called the style of the era (*zeitstil*). All visual styles of different periods can be present together so that no dominant style applies (Walker, 2010).

An analytical descriptive research model with the main theory of art social history is applied to reconstruct the development of the visual style of cigarette advertisement depicting the lifestyle expression published in magazine media during the Dutch East Indies era from 1925-1940 before the Japanese occupation.

Interpretation stage; the act of identifying the secondary meaning by relating to the visual elements of an artwork or design described in detail in the previous stage, to the theme, concept, or event captured in the picture/image/form.

Judgment/Evaluation stage; the act of understanding the essential and basic meaning or philosophical meaning of an artwork or design.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Development of the Cigarette Industry in Indonesia

In the Dutch East Indies era, the white cigarette symbolized the elite and upper-middle-class lifestyles, distinguishing them from the lower middle class or the people who mostly consumed clove cigarettes or homemade *tingwe* (manually rolled) cigarettes. Until 1925, white cigarettes primarily consumed by white communities and indigenous elites were still imported from the West, with an average of 4 billion cigarettes each year. In the 1930s, there was a world economic crisis called the Malaise era. The Government of the Dutch East Indies experienced a decline in export revenue and taxes from foreign trade. Since 1932, all packs of cigarettes must be sealed with a "tag" paper to show the retail price. This tag was obtained from the

Customs Service as a sign of payment of the cigarette sales tax (Castles, 1982). To increase state revenue in the form of tax and cigarette excise taxes, the Dutch East Indies government implemented import substitution policies, granting British-American-Tobacco (BAT) a license to build its first factory of white machine cigarettes in the city of Cirebon in 1925 and Surabaya in 1928.

In addition to cigarette products, one of the tobacco industries that did a lot of advertising promotion in the Dutch East Indies era was the Shag Van Nelle tobacco factory which successfully captured the market interest in the 1930s. The success of Van Nelle's marketing was supported by its courage to advertise in various magazine media and newspapers such as *Kedjawen*, *D'Orient*, *Sin Po*, *Pandji Poestaka*, and others with the themes of modernization of community life in the Dutch East Indies (Hermanu, 2006).

Among the indigenous communities, cigarette industries originally produced on the household industry scale began to appear especially in the Kudus region at the end of the 19th century. The presence of clove cigarettes produced by Haji Djamhari, which according to society, can cure asthma, began to be produced in large quantities and sold for general public consumption in Kudus (Budiman, 2016). The success of the clove cigarette industry was finally enjoyed by Chinese entrepreneurs who made use of the lucrative findings of the indigenous people into a clove business conglomerate with a global reach of marketing lasting up to the 21st century. One decade later, Haji Djamhari's clove cigarette findings became a large-scale industrial product in the hands of Nitisemito who was considered the pioneer of the clove cigarette industry in Indonesia, with a picture of three circles on all of the packs of his cigarettes called "*Bal Teloe*", "*Bal Tiga*", or "*Tiga Bola*" (S. Margana, 2014).

Nitisemito carried out the marketing communications with creative concepts such as renting Fokker aircraft from the Dutch East Indies (*Koninklijk Lucht Mat-*

schapij/KLM) airline worth 200 guilders to distribute flyers of promotional pamphlets by air in Jakarta and Bandung. Nitisemito also sponsored traditional performances and modern theaters such as plays, shadow puppet shows, *wayang orang* (traditional Javanese plays), etc., that the people of the Dutch East Indies favored. Nitisemito also pioneered modern sales promotion by providing gifts and bonuses as a sales volume incentive. Some packets of cigarettes can be exchanged for prizes such as glasses, plates, cups, watches, clocks, and even bicycles which are luxuries of those days (S. Margana, 2014). The success story of Kretek King Nitisemito inspired both indigenous and Chinese entrepreneurs to establish new clove cigarette factories. The established factories spread from Kudus to other cities such as Semarang, Surabaya, Blitar, Kediri, Malang, Surakarta, Tegal, Pekalongan, Cilacap, Banyumas, and Cirebon.

City, Social Changes, and Lifestyle Development in the Press Media during Dutch East Indies Era

The social change process that transformed the Dutch East Indies colonized society from the traditional feudal agrarian society to the modern urban society began when the Agrarian Law (*Agrarische-Wet*) of 1870 was applied. The law opened the possibility of liberalizing the colonial economy and trade system to capital private as well as foreign capital outside the Dutch. The liberalization of the colonial economy led to a process of modernization for the colonized people in the Dutch East Indies. Modern cities with all of their infrastructure and superstructure were soon built by the Dutch Indies government on a large scale, especially in Java, Sumatra, Bali, and Sulawesi. The settlement of capitalist businessmen and white professionals in these modern cities as the upper layers of the social strata of the Dutch East Indies society had brought a system of values, lifestyle, civilization, and modern Western culture that they embraced. The beginning of the 20th century was a new era in the politics of the

colonial state marked by the application of ethical policy (good deed repayment policy) with three priority programs education, irrigation, and transmigration. All three programs encouraged the Dutch East Indies to enter the process of transformation into a modern society.

Intensive cultural contacts between modern Western civilization and indigenous traditional feudal agrarian cultures (especially the royal culture developed in the traditional royal centers in *Vorstenlanden*) spawned a new cultural hybridization or cultural acculturation called the Indis culture. This mixed culture became a new way of life that rapidly spread and was adopted by all social strata of society in the Dutch East Indies (Wertheim, 1956).

Modern communication systems utilizing modern media communication technology soon became a vital need for the development of urban communities in the Dutch East Indies. In every major city in the Dutch East Indies, newspapers or magazines using Dutch, Malay, Chinese, or local languages (such as Javanese, Sundanese, etc.) were published (Von Faber, 1930).

The modernization of the Dutch Indies' consumption since the beginning of the 20th century was portrayed in press advertisements that clearly illustrated the dynamic development of new lifestyles in urban areas. The advertisement was published in various Dutch language press media such as *De Locomotief*, *Java Bode*, *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, *De Nieuwe Vorstenlanden*, *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, and other Malay press such as *Betawi*, *Sin Po*, *Trade News*, *Betawi*, etc., during the 1870s period. until the 1940s the advertisement depicted consumption patterns among the new economic elite (rich nouveau) and the new middle class of both white (Dutch and European American), Chinese and Foreign Eastern, and Indigenous peoples.

Through various advertising information, the Dutch East Indies became an arena of marketing field struggles and consumer market of various industrial

products produced by western developed countries.

The new lifestyle due to the growth of modern cities with all facilities and public services, had formed a dandy society among the elite and the middle class of the Indies communities. Information about these products was obtained from advertisements in newspapers and magazines. The well-known brands of daily needs products from global companies were always advertised in newspapers or magazines and became the consumption of modern lifestyles at that time. Health care and the use of modern medicines in hospitals, professional doctors, and pharmacies with their medical products were introduced through various press advertisements.

The Role of Advertisement in the Cigarette Industry Marketing Competition

The visuals of advertisements presented in various media have designated purposes and multiple interpretations. David Ogilvy, a renowned advertising figure and founder of Ogilvy & Mather's advertising agency, stated that advertising has a dual role. On the one hand, advertising is a medium of information to transmit commercial or non-commercial messages to audiences. On the other hand, it also serves as an artwork with all of its visually enthralling elements. The synthesis of the messages should be easy to comprehend (legible) and contain a clear message (single-minded) aesthetically and creatively.

Building customer loyalty to realize brand-loving customer is a key to the success of modern marketing that big cigarette companies have realized since the Dutch East Indies. As a multinational company marketed its products in the Dutch East Indies, it had the white cigarette industry. Therefore, advertising messages conveyed through an artistic, persuasive, and creative visual language designed by graphic artists from the Netherlands were displayed on the pages of various newspapers and magazines in the era.

Chronologically, the development of advertising visuals in the tobacco and ci-

garette industries published in the press media during the colonial period (the early 20th century before the Japanese occupation of 1942) represented the spirit of stylistic eclecticism that can be grouped into two stages. The form is (1) an introduction/ product information form and (2) a dramatic narrative advertisement form. In this period, the advertisement did not only convey the use value of a product, but it also built the perception and delivered the symbolic value of the product (change value) to its customers. Consumers are suggested to require a symbolic consumption associated with prestige, self-image, or awareness of the exclusivity of their social classes as the essence of the lifestyle of the era.

Thousands of guilders were spent by the white cigarette industry to put cigarette advertisements in various press media and produce enamel advertisements from Italy and France to be installed as outdoor media advertisements in the Dutch East Indies. Some of the most aggressive advertisers in the press media, which also produced outdoor enamel advertisements were the Van Nelle shipping tobacco companies, BAT, Philip Morris, ATC, Faroka, R.J. Reynolds, and Jacobson van den Berg. Various brands of cigarettes such as Camel, Mascot, Abdulla, Lucky Strike, Capstan, Davros, Van Nelle, etc., were advertised in almost every issue of newspaper and magazine publications.

Marketing promotion activities (*propagandamiddels*) in the form of top-class media advertising were still limited and undertaken only by the white cigarette companies. This is because white cigarettes, representing the segmented tastes of the middle and upper class of Western colonial consumers, were still a class marker as well as a symbol of lifestyle modernity. Meanwhile, clove cigarette companies, mostly owned by indigenous people and Chinese businessmen, preferred to promote their marketing in the form of prizes, sweepstakes, sponsorship of public performances, and so forth (the term is now downstream media advertising) as exemp-

plified by the cigarette company Nitisemito in Kudus. This was by the target segmentation of consumers, which was the lower class society as the majority of the population.

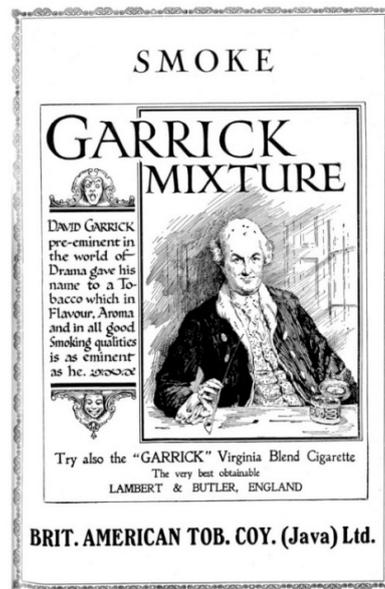


Figure 2 Garrick Cigarette Advertiser on (d'Orient magazine, 1924a)

The visuals of cigarette advertisements were getting more and more improved. Garrick's cigarette advertisement produced by UK Garbert Lambert & Butler was the pioneer of display advertising form with a dramatic narrative which was distributed in the Dutch East Indies by the international cigarette company British-American Tobacco Coy (Java) Ltd. It was published on the page of d'Orient magazine No. 39, dated September 27, 1924 (Figure 2). The Garrick's cigarette advertisement used an endorser of David Garrick, the greatest playwright of the era. It was the first advertisement in the campaign to promote cigarette products in the Dutch East Indies using the testimony and quotes of praise by the endorser. The readers were expected to align the quality of the advertised cigarette product with the achievements and the greatness of David Garrick.

The persuasive value of an advertisement was not only a display of product packaging as a form of direct selling (hard-

sell), but also as presented in “The Seven Stars” Cigarettes advertisement, produced by Nanyang Bros Tobacco Coy Batavia which was published in *d’Orient* magazine No. 35 dated on August 30, 1924 (Figure 2). This advertisement illustrated the picture of the cigarette itself that looks piecemeal and enjoyment.

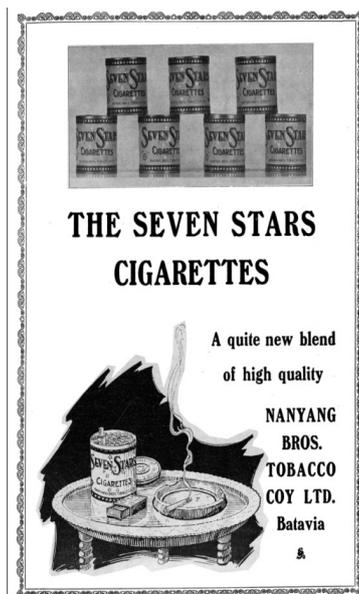


Figure 3 Seven Stars Advertisement on (*d’Orient* magazine, 1924b)

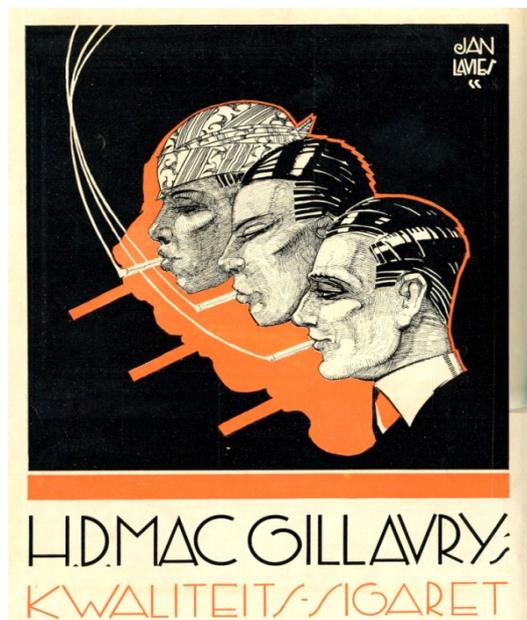


Figure 4 Mac Gillavry Cigarette Advertisement on (*d’Orient* magazine, 1925)

A parodic approach to colonial social stratification as a visual appeal was presented attractively in the H.D. Mac Gillavry cigarette advertisement (Figure 4). This cigarette advertisement produced in Ambarawa-Central Java was published in the *d’Orient* no. 40 magazine dated October 3, 1925. The sociographic segmentation approach appeared to have been utilized by describing the three most important social classes of the Indies at that time: white people (Dutch or European) as the ruling elite, the eastern (Chinese or Arab) foreign class as a minority between the middle classes, as well as the indigenous people as the lowest-held majority. All social classes were portrayed as loyal consumers of tobacco products.

The new tendency to lure in the eastern culture with all of its aspects of life (orientalism) greatly affected the international cigarette industry. R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Cigarette Company (RJRT) successfully launched the Camel white cigarette product (marketed in late 1913) that combined Turkish tobacco flavor with Burley and Bright tobacco, which was then introduced as the flavor of native American cigarettes (Figure 5). The oriental exoticism in the visual discourse of cigarette advertisements can be further seen in Camel cigarette advertisements. The advertisement was published in *d’Orient* magazine in 1937 (Hermanu, 2006).

In the era of the 1930s, which was the culmination of the Dutch East Indies advertising industry, there was a new media called enamel advertisement. Enamel advertisement is a medium to convey an advertising message that is manufactured through a series of printing processes but not on paper but an iron board or steel plate. Enamel advertisement can serve as an indoor advertising media as well as an outdoor advertising media. The modernization themes depicting the process of social changes in the Dutch East Indies were the most prominent visual appeal of Enamel advertising and were most often featured by its illustrators.



Figure 5. Camel Cigarette Advertisement on (d'Orient magazine, 1937)

With the style of naturalism, the beauty and elegance of the Dutch East Indies colony were presented through astonishing technical skills in terms of accuracy, anatomy details, proportion, perception, lighting, brightness, color, three-dimensional plasticity, and the fashion style of indigenous and white people being displayed. The Mooi style of Indie or the elegant Indies involved the visuals of design and advertising fields that showed a combination of Western and Eastern visual vocabulary that produced the popular eclectic style known as the Indies style of that era (Burhan, 2008).

These tobacco enamel advertisements serve to show the importance of marketing and promotion practices. Therefore they were reproduced in magazines or newspapers. A series of commercials made by Shag Van Nelle Tobacco Company was more of a painting that built a narrative about the drama of colonial life in the Dutch East Indies as the central theme or the main idea (Figure 6). Human figures with diverse cultural identities and social roles were widely explored as cigarette advertisement figures that were emotionally considered to represent and serve as a link between the product and its customers.

Character figures with a variety of ethnicity, profession, social class, and cultural affiliation were used to help explain how the product was functioning or used.



Figure 6. Shag Van Nelle Tobacco Enamel Advertising in (Shag Van Nelle Tobacco Enamel Advertising, n.d.)

The style of Oriental Modern Eclectic advertisement design is a blend of the western advertising visual design styles with the traditional eastern life, resulting in hybridity that reverses the realities of colonial life into a dreamland of imaginary modernity in the advertising space. When within a period, there is an overlap of simultaneously present various visual styles of different periods, a stylistic eclecticism occurs, an absence of a dominant visual style that serves as the marker of an era.

Every period has a historical moment that gives birth to certain visual features called visual styles as an aesthetic paradigm that reflects the soul of the era (zeitgeist). The visual style takes place in a series of cycles of birth, growth, the peak of development, decline, and even an end. The visual style that manages to be the commonly acknowledged style of a certain period is called the "zeitgeist" (soul of the times). In the process of historical development, the visual style as the marker of an era does not always present linear but is full of twists that are simultaneous and progressive, overlapping, and far from

monolithic nature. Some circumstances produce a plurality of mutually coexistent styles between the old and the new, predecessor and successor, inventor and follower that occurs dialectically.

Instead of showing Indonesia's exotic like in the "Mooi Indie" era, the advertising tends to show Indonesia's new side. Commonly in Indonesia, there is a time period of the "Mooi Indie" painting era, which was popular to show The life of the indigenous Indonesian people as a harmonious, exotic, traditional, foreign, and mysterious ancient world life (Burhan, 2008). The field of modern Indonesian painting in the Dutch East Indies and the Republic of Indonesia today can be divided into four stages; The first phase (1900-1942): Mooi Indie; The second phase (1942-1950): Indonesian Identity; The third phase (1950-1965): nationally oriented and some were more internationally oriented; The fourth phase (1965-1995): figurative art. (Spanjaard, Helena, 2018, pp. 100-102). Mooi Indie resembles a lot Western and Eastern forms of Art were dominated by the orientalism of "Mooi-Indie" art. Orientalism is based on forming a colonial image of the world of exotic and special Eastern populations (Iswahyudi, 2020).

Most modern cigarette advertisements present the beauty of Indonesia as it was in the Mooi Indie era. Aziz's research shows the representational meaning in Dji Sam Soe's "Mahakarya" advertisement, namely nationalism in Mooie Indie packaging and Balinese cultural inclusion.

The representation of national identity in Mooie Indie shows love for the homeland. Love for the country of birth is visualized as the state of Indonesia. It is in the form of own love country (Aziz et al., 2019).

On the other hand, the advertisement showed the opposite picture of the painting. Instead, it was rather depicted as a process that had undergone progress and enjoyed the modern lifestyle as what "their white masters" enjoyed (though that was only in the imaginary realities of the advertisement space). The eclectic visual nar-

rative of romantic modern Orientalism in the cigarette advertisements in the Indies became a simulation of imaginary reality.

Basically, a lot of ads make the audience feel it is the ideal form of something they want. As explained in the Borau research, this study explains that advertisements that use female models become the ideal picture of a perfect woman. This became real, and many women who watched the advert made the female model their competitor in the ad (Borau & Bonnefon, 2019).

In the strategic management of a brand's communication, advertisements play a significant role. Today's advertising strategy aims to differentiate their products from those of competitors by connecting consumers' lives to fictional worlds and inspiring strong associations with the product. Organizations are constructed using myths, different symbols, and metaphors in advertising's verbal and visual components. This accomplishes tasks including generating fresh meanings, transferring them, and enhancing their significance (Yildirim, 2021).

One of the best methods to introduce any product, concept, or service to its intended market is through advertising. Advertisements actively contribute to the dissemination of ideologies, the creation of meaning, and the justification of the fundamental principles underlying the capitalist system. The target audience must be able to understand the messages being conveyed through advertising for this process to be successful. In other words, customers' ability to perceive and interpret advertising communications is a noteworthy barrier to building favorable associations with and positions for the brand in their thoughts (Yildirim, 2021).

The visual style of Oriental Romance that captures the lifestyle expression of Indies hybridity is pseudo modernity of lifestyle resulting from the integration of the colonized communities in the Dutch East Indies territory (1925-1942). Cigarette advertisements from the Dutch East Indies era in communicative, creative and aesthe-

tic visuals appeared since the operation of the international cigarette industry which opened its factory in Java in the early 20th century. At the same time, there are various modern advertising agencies that employ professional ad designers from the Netherlands.

Display advertisements that presented images as the power of attraction no longer gave product information but showed romantic and dramatic narratives that recorded the ideal lifestyle of colonial society at that time. Through hand drawing techniques, the cigarette advertisement graphic artist presented the process of modernizing the various social layers of the Dutch East Indies colonial society.

Cigarette advertisements became a hyper-realistic world show, an imaginary world that described the social interactions of various social layers involving the colonizers and the colonized. The ideal picture in the visual narrative is contrary to the social reality of the segregated colonial societies in which there were strictly social and political barriers to distinguish between the white colonizers and the colonized majority of indigenous peoples. The imaginary spaces for cigarette advertisements become an arena for presenting the hybrid Indies lifestyle in various forms of fashion and consumption of other modern industrial products. It also describes the dreams of indigenous people who want to be modern and a narrative of how multiculturalism is practiced in everyday life.

The self-identity displayed in the visual narrative of cigarette advertisements shows more personal meaning than the colonial era's social collectivity. Celebrities of the popular industrial world, such as public idols, were often used as an endorser and appeal for its product sales. They became a lifestyle reference and charm followed by fanatical devotees. Being modern is celebrating the body as a spectacle as well as showing off popularity as a prestigious achievement.

In a situation of pros and cons among supporters and opponents of cigarette and tobacco consumption which is increasing

sharply in Indonesia at this time, the results of this research can be used as input in the formulation of policies and laws regarding substances that are permitted or prohibited in advertising campaigns for cigarettes and tobacco products. It is based on the spirit of protection for the consumer community.

The choice of lifestyle themes as the power of cigarette advertising persuasion is also expected to be an interdisciplinary study of sociology, anthropology, communication, marketing, media culture, psychology, etc. This is to get a more holistic outcome to enrich our perspective on the various dimensions of the issue, which concerns the cigarette and tobacco products industry that continues to cause controversy both in the scale of the national and the global community up to the present day.

CONCLUSION

Some of the layers of meaning that can be inferred from the visual narrative of cigarette advertisements during the Dutch East Indies era are: first, the cigarette advertisement simulation space serves as propaganda for The Dutch East Indies government's success in advancing and modernizing the indigenous society through its emancipatory political policy. Secondly, the cigarette advertisement simulation space serves as a demonstration of an egalitarian society that dissolves the discrimination and segregation of the colonial social stratification. Third, the cigarette advertisement simulation room promotes the image of lifting the indigenous people as important actors who were always highlighted as the majority of cigarette product consumers although in the social reality, they remained third-class citizens who were underdeveloped and underestimated.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to express our great appreciation to all interviewers and people

involved in this research for their valuable responses and contribution.

REFERENCES

- Al-Bashaireh, A. M., Haddad, L. G., Weaver, M., Kelly, D. L., Chengguo, X., & Yoon, S. (2018). The Effect of Tobacco Smoking on Musculoskeletal Health: A Systematic Review. In *Journal of Environmental and Public Health* (Vol. 2018). Hindawi Limited. <https://doi.org/10.1155/2018/4184190>
- Andarini, S. (2019). ES20.05 Tobacco Control in Indonesia. *Journal of Thoracic Oncology*, 14(10), S63–S64. <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.JTHO.2019.08.160>
- Aprillia, R. D. (2005). Iklan dan Budaya Populer: Pembentukan Identitas Ideologis Kecantikan Perempuan Oleh Iklan. *Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2(1), 41–65.
- Aziz, L. A., Studi, P., Komunikasi, I., Komunikasi, F., Informatika, D. A. N., & Surakarta, U. M. (2019). *Rerpresentasi Nasionalisme Indonesia Dalam Kemasan Mooie Indie*.
- Barrett, T. (1994). Criticizing Art. *Understanding the Contemporary*.
- Biener, L., & Siegel, M. (2000). Tobacco marketing and adolescent smoking: More support for a causal inference. *American Journal of Public Health*, 90(3), 407–411. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.90.3.407>
- Borau, S., & Bonnefon, J. F. (2019). The Imaginary Intrasexual Competition: Advertisements Featuring Provocative Female Models Trigger Women to Engage in Indirect Aggression. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 157(1), 45–63. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-017-3643-y>
- Budiman, A. dan O. (2016). *Hikayat Kretek. KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia)*.
- Burhan, M. A. (2008). *Perkembangan seni lukis mooi Indie sampai Persagi di Batavia, 1900-1942*. Galeri Nasional Indonesia.
- Burki, T. K. (2020). The cigarette: a political history. *The Lancet Respiratory Medicine*, 8(2), 146. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s2213-2600\(19\)30474-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/s2213-2600(19)30474-6)
- Castles, L. (1982). *Tingkah Laku Agama, Politik, dan Ekonomi di Jawa: Industri Rokok Kudus*. Sinar Harapan.
- D'Orient magazine. (1924a). Garrick Cigarette Advertisement. *D'Orient Magazine*.
- D'Orient magazine. (1924b). Seven Stars. *D'Orient Magazine*.
- D'Orient magazine. (1925). Mac Gillavry Cigarette Advertisement. *D'Orient Magazine*.
- D'Orient magazine. (1937). Camel Cigarette Advertisement. *D'Orient Magazine*.
- Hauser, A. (1951). *The Social History of Art*. Vintage Books.
- Hermanu. (2006). *Pikat Pameran Iklan Cetak Generasi Ke-2*. Bentara Budaya.
- Iswahyudi. (2020). Towards Remediation of Indonesian New Fine Arts. *Britain International of Linguistics Arts and Education (BloLAE) Journal*, 2(3), 797–809. <https://doi.org/10.33258/biolae.v2i3.332>
- Kaur, K., Arumugam, N., & Yunus, N. M. (2013). Beauty product advertisements: A critical discourse analysis. *Asian Social Science*, 9(3). <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v9n3p61>
- Kedjawen Magazine. (1939). Shag Van Nelle Tobacco Advertisement. *Kedjawen Magazine*.
- Lane, W. Ronald ; King, Karen Whitehill ; Russell, J. T. (2009). *Kleppner : Prosedur Periklanan Jilid 1 (Indeks (ed.); 17th ed.)*.
- Lisa Henriksen, Nina C. Schleicher, Ellen C. Feighery, S. P. F. (2010). A Longitudinal Study of Exposure to Retail Cigarette Advertising and Smoking Initiation. *Pediatrics* (2010), 126(2), 232–238. <https://publications.aap.org/pediatrics/article-abstract/126/2/232/68653/A-Longitudinal-Study-of-Exposure-to-Retail?redirectedFrom=fulltext>
- Reddy, R. K., Charles, W. N., Sklavounos, A., Dutt, A., Seed, P. T., & Khajuria,

- A. (2021). The effect of smoking on COVID-19 severity: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Journal of Medical Virology*, 93(2), 1045–1056. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jmv.26389>
- Riyanto, B. (2017). Hibriditas budaya indies dan pengaruhnya terhadap gaya desain grafis Indonesia kontemporer. *Mudra*, 32(1), 30–40.
- S. Margana. (2014). *Kretek Indonesia Dari Nasionalisme Hingga Warisan Budaya*. Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Gadjah Mada & Puskindo.
- Siegel, M., & Biener, L. (2000). The impact of an antismoking media campaign on progression to established smoking: Results of a longitudinal youth study. *American Journal of Public Health*, 90(3), 380–386. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.90.3.380>
- Von Faber, G. H. (1930). *A Short History of Journalism in the Dutch East Indies*. G. Kolff & Co.
- Walker, J. A. (2010). *Desain, Sejarah, Budaya Sebuah Pengantar Komprehensif*. Jala-sutra.
- Wertheim, W. F. (1956). *Indonesian Society in Transition*. Sumur Bandung.
- Yildirim, M. B. (2021). Enriching The Meaning With Associations In Advertisements: Semiotic Analysis Of Turkcell Fiber Advertising. *Journal of Social Science*, 20(1), 90–109.