

Sex Exploitation in the Editorial Content of Malay Magazines after the Second World War, 1945-1957

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Abstract: The Malay magazine publishing in the period after World War II had a quick progress. The 145 magazines were published at this time with >35% of it were magazines in the form of entertainment and magazines which tend to exploit sex. In a loose meaning, sex in Malay magazines is in the form of photography, particularly the actress or Western model pictures and description on obscene actions. This study discusses editorial elements in the Malay magazine publishing after the Second World War, specifically the ones concerning the exploitation of sex in entertainment magazines. This discussion on the magazine publishing history uses copies of magazines as the main source. In general, it is found out in the study that entertainment magazine publishers have to use sexual elements as the bait for readers. These are elements needed by the audience due to keen competition to vie for readers. Furthermore, while the income from the selling of advertisement spaces in magazines and circulations cannot be guaranteed that the selling of magazines is not interrupted in the market.

Key words: Malay magazines, magazine publishing, editorial, three legs of a stool, sexual elements in magazine

INTRODUCTION

The concept of three legs of a stool is extremely important to be understood in magazine publishing. To enable a stool to be stable and comfortable to be sat on the three legs need to be balanced and ought to help one another in order to strengthen the stool. The same thing goes in magazine publishing. To enable a magazine to be comprehensive and viable to be published three elements which are important-editorial, circulation and advertisement must play each of their roles effectively. Three legs of a stool mean these three elements or pillars that enable a magazine to withstand in the market. Editorial materials that are recounted in magazines should be able to attract readers' interest. A magazine physical form must be able to captivate the public and the magazine cover should be able to attract the eyes of the readers until it is able to stimulate them to buy the magazine. The content will play the role after that. Presentation style, design technique, picture manipulation, writer's popularity, information contained in it all must be able to convince its readers that their decision to buy the magazine is right (Morrish, 1996; Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1993; Beetham, 1991).

Publishers should have plans on how to market their magazines. How do they attract subscription from readers? How do they convince sellers so that they make an order? What is the most suitable selling system to

be practiced? How do they increase the number of magazines' circulations or how to retain the circulation level which is already achieved? Is a grand promotion the right thing to be done to introduce a magazine? How do they inform the magazine's existence to the public? How do they explore the income from the selling of magazine advertisement spaces? How do they convince advertisers that the magazine reader segment is valuable for their business? Is it necessary for publishers to establish a specific division to manage the selling of advertisement spaces?

All the above questions which cover three things-editorial, circulation and advertisement are considerations that are conceived as publishing economy. The question is how are all the three being treated by Malay magazine publishers in the post-war period?

In the pre-war period, the conclusion which is made regarding this matter is economical issues and although it is undeniable that it definitely becomes an encouragement to publishers, it is not everything in the Malay magazine publishing. The objective which is more emphasized is spiritual: inviting readers towards doing good and avoiding misdeeds and social: awareness to improve and increase the usefulness of fatherland and nation (Hamed, 2013, 2006). However, besides making efforts to achieve the objective, economical issues are also being emphasized, only that the important consideration given is far less.

The tendency changed in the post-war period. Although, it was not drastic, the change completely proved that economical issues began to be given proper consideration in the magazine publishing program. Questions involving product preparation (magazine) which fulfill readers' taste, penetration strategies and product permanence in the market and the manipulation of other income besides the selling of magazine copies started to be given possible consideration by publishers. In this period, editorial steps were more activated as well by publishers to prepare copies of magazines which were able to captivate readers. While physical forms were arranged in order with decorations and make-up which attracted readers more, magazine contents were also improved and insured that they fulfilled readers' desires.

Efforts which were more aggressive were also made to increase subscription besides arrangement that was done in the distribution system, sales representative selection, sales promotion and also including the determination of business management terms which were more effective. Those steps were then supported with efforts which were full of interest to attract advertisers. Among them was appointing an agency to manage the selling of advertisement spaces in the magazine.

In fact, while the appearance of pre-war magazines was more determined by its publishers' internal factors, post-war magazines were much determined by market factors. In spite of this, it does not mean that the entire magazine that was published in this period considered economical issues as important since there were still magazines (although in small numbers) which were published to bring up its publisher's idealism to mass readers and did not intend to hunt for profit that much.

THE EDITORIAL OF POST-WAR MALAY MAGAZINE

The Malay magazine is always editorially orientated. Editorial becomes the foundation which supports the life wire of Malay magazine. Editorial is everything that stimulates its birth and which kills its own life. All of it originated from the editorial contents. Publishers' interests and preferences in writing will result in magazines, nevertheless its incapability to attract the public constantly terminate the magazine in the end. Although, many magazines are published to fulfill the aim to gain profit, however the attention which is given by its publisher considers editorial as more important compared to two more pillars of magazine which are circulation and advertisement. Moreover in a few cases, the two pillars

were like completely forgotten. The publisher felt very satisfied to know that his magazines were published and more if it's publishing cost was not provided by the individual person. They did not make efforts to market them and more to sell the magazine spaces to advertisers.

In the post-war period, important considerations to editorial still did not change much, although, there were signs that the other two pillars were given more attention. However, this fact does not oppose to our hypothesis that the Malay magazine world before independence was more editorial-orientated than circulation and advertisement. Due to editorial issues becoming the determination which was strong enough for the birth and survival of a magazine, then it is not surprising if publishers' attention was more to those issues. Most publishers only had editorial staff which consist of editor in-chief, editor, editorial assistant, technical compiler and illustrator but did not have staffs who were assigned to manage circulation, subscription and advertisement. Even if the work was carried out, no specific staff was taken. But on the other hand, editorial staff in which its real job is to prepare the magazine was assigned to carry the burden. Publishers who owned many backlists or ones which consist of printers or retailers perhaps did not have problems to employ specific staff other than editorial work. However, it was very small in number. The majority of Malay magazines continued to neglect jobs other than editorial.

Since, important consideration given more to editorial, therefore in terms of magazine preparation, efforts had been made by a publisher to at least balance its weaknesses in circulation and advertisement. Other than to insure the materials which were published in the magazine were able to attract readers' interest, other efforts were also made in order to perpetuate their interest besides to attract new readers. These included preparing various gift offers to readers besides editorial readiness to follow its audiences' wants on what and how the magazine should be filled and furthermore changed the magazine original concept based on its readers' preferences. Mastika which was before the war appeared as a monthly general knowledge and literature were republished after the war with writings in the form of nationalism to create awareness in the society and stimulate them towards liberating the nation. That was the current tendency during the post-war period which was the remainder of hope that still existed among literal readers to see Malaya being liberated like Indonesia. However, reading preferences later changed to literature on short stories, poetry and anecdotes such as the ones

clearly shown from the magazine content of Hiburan, Juita and Mutiara. This situation forced Mastika to change its concept to such literature that was at the exact moment with Keris Mas's participation as its editor in 1948. When craze for short stories decreased in the early 1950s, Asraf who became the new Mastika editor changed the magazine concept again, this time to culture although literature elements in it were still retained. This change was done appropriate to readers' interest and if an editor was insensitive to the current reading development, his magazine would definitely face problems.

Change of concept in magazine was not done only after the publisher got signals from its readers. Many other factors influence the change of concept in magazine such as market condition, competition from other magazines, media influence besides print media, particularly radios and movies, production technology factors, economical factors and editor's expectations itself concerning the market demand in the future. In this issue, concept change which occurred to Utusan Film and Sport should be observed. The magazine was published by Utusan Melayu Press on the 6 November 1952 with its main competitors, Filem Raya (28 April 1951) and Bulanan Filem Raya (November 1952). When Bintang was published on the 10 March 1953, the entertainment magazine competition was more acute and the magazines had to compete for the segment of readers. To enable competition to favour the Utusan Film and Sport, the editor changed its concept from weekly magazine to weekly newspaper so as enabled more pictures to be published besides the production with shorter period of time. By changing its size to broadsheet, the magazine's presence was more felt by the readers because besides its size which was bigger and easier to be seen, the magazine placement location changed as well from the inside part of the shop or stall to the outside part that was easier to attract the public's attention. By changing the magazine concept, publishers hoped to perpetuate its loyal readers besides making efforts to attract new readers.

In the post-war, magazine concept which was the most popular was entertainment with film world-orientated. This type of magazine was the one which gave colour to the Malay magazine world. Magazines in the form of nationalism and religion which were dominant before began to be left by readers, although entertainment magazines with elements of short stories were still able to compete with this entertainment that revolves around the film world and artistes. Entertainment magazine in which among its main recipes were the actresses pictures in various naughty actions

and less decent were like putting out the fire of the nationalism spirit in which since January 1946 witnessed the appearance of 14 such magazines. Why did this new reading scenario appear and what is its significance towards the Malay reading preferences? To discuss this issue, the current situations of the society should be observed.

Early 50s was a period which was coloured by frustrations among the Malay literati. The idea of independence that was proclaimed in Malay newspapers and magazines since the war and later continued after that obviously did not able to shake the society majority to rise up, fighting the colonizer as their brothers in Indonesia. This literati group who were national-spirited only could bite their fingers when Indonesia succeeded in its struggle thriving for independence in September 1945, leaving Malaya continuously hoping for its own independence. This frustration gave effects to the development of Malay magazine for quite some time.

Especially from 1946 to 1947, the Malay magazine world was flooded with this nationalism idea. However, the longer the 1945 precious moment (the moment Malaya should be independent like Indonesia as well) was left, the further the independence achievement was felt then although the awareness to free the motherland continued to grow in their hearts. Later when British declared a state of emergency in 1948, the frustration increased due to the non-peacefulness situation in the country that would become the reason for the colonizer to delay independence. The frustration and sad situation tried to be eliminated with the appearance of short story magazines that were active in the late 40s.

With the state of emergency also the Malay magazine reading level changed. The emergency produced a reader new segment which was important that later determined the Malay magazine direction. The participation of many Malay male youths in the military and police security forces which was an effect from the emergency not only increased the reader segment but furthermore changed the Malay magazine scenario to entertainment. Those youths were still single and owned a little bit of education and already owned a job and a fixed salary. The purchasing power which they had, then stimulated by the fact that the entertainment sources which were available were very limited and the free time that they had was relatively long, influence them to look for reading materials which were light and enjoyable. Here was the starting point of the change of the Malay magazine preferences to pop entertainment. Since, January 1950 until the date of

independence, it was found out that 26 pop entertainment-orientated magazines were published whereas only one was published before that. The total was 28% of the whole Malay magazines in the post-war period (Hamedi, 2013).

However, not only the emergency had caused the development of such magazine. Early 1950s was the period when foreign movies, especially from Hollywood were actively imported to Malaya. These movie attacks more or less bore Western influence, particularly among urban youths. The general public economy then was better with the rubber price increase, the consequence of the Korean War which occurred in 1949. From another aspect, printing technology had increased with photograph production became easier and cheap too. Blocks to produce pictures and photos from foreign magazines and newspapers could be reproduced easily for publication in Malay magazines. Educational opportunities which were better as well had produced non-military new reader segment that had interest in reading. All the factors encouraged the Malay magazine publishing development, particularly the ones regarding this pop entertainment magazine.

The question is, why were pop entertainment magazines very much liked until its presence in the Malay magazine world was extremely felt? The magazines were longer in life-span in the market, read by a larger number of readers and more importantly these magazines were the ones which made efforts to support the publishing economy concept. This magazine's presence indicated that the Malay magazine world was not solely editorial issues but also involved circulation and advertisement. In terms of form or content, certainly there were specials of this type of magazine compared to other types. Magazine which is more in content contributes to its popularity, particularly that involves sex, picture and magazine cover manipulations, besides other attractions such as sufficient offers from contests which are organized and the role of one column that is very popular in such magazines which is acquaintance or pen-pal column.

SEX EXPLOITATION IN MALAY MAGAZINE AFTER THE WAR

Sex exploitation (in a loose meaning suitable with the Malay culture) in the Malay magazine can be divided into two forms. The first and the most common are Western actresses' pictures publications which stimulate strong desires. Pictures in the various lustful actions usually do not have connection with the texts. The second one is description on obscenities either in general article form or

in story form. In the history of Malay magazine, both the sexual elements could be detected since in the 1930s, particularly with the role being played by Sulaiman Ahmad in his 'less decent' magazines, *Dunia Sekarang* (14 July, 1934), *Kesihatan Kekuatan* (1935) and *Shorga Dunia* (March 1936). Publication of sexy and naked pictures and moreover which were topless or poems that were obscene specifically for adult reading can be found in the magazines' pages. In spite of this, the magazines had an exceptional characteristic and did not reflect current tendency which occurred. This matter is different from pop entertainment magazines in this post-war period. Publication of sexy pictures, particularly among Hollywood actresses in various actions with thrills besides actions descriptions which brought sexual intercourse could be found widely in the pages of such magazines. Most of the pictures were also used as completion and usually had no connection at all with the texts being published.

In a society that were still left behind in terms of social and economy which reflected their readership level, preference for materials that were light and not challenging the mind like that were not difficult to be understood. On the whole, readers hoped for entertainment materials for the purpose of escapism from their daily problems. Magazine was hoped to be able to provide instant sources for them to forget weaknesses of the self besides helping to build their own imagination. Then what other reading materials which are able to satisfy the urges besides a magazine that publishes actresses' gossip stories about the self and career as an entertainer? Furthermore, sexual elements exploration and exploitation, either in the form of actress picture which was sexy or description on a couple hot scene was often found in Malay entertainment magazines in the post-war period.

Among the Malay magazines that were brave enough to recount this element which was less decent was *Asmara* and its accompaniment magazine *Album Asmara* in 1955. Other magazines were *Aneka Warna*, *Dunia Baharu*, *Suasana* and *Dunia*. From the magazine name only, *Asmara* promised something that was unusual in the Malay magazine. Captions in its first publication in August 1954 such as 'The meaning of kiss, Mistress, Make love in drama, Love vibration, Four men for five women and Prostitute all night' gave enough signals to readers regarding the magazine direction. *Aneka Warna* was also published to fulfill such reading material necessity among readers. In its first publication, *Aneka Warna* (1 October, 1954) stated:

After considering that our society still need light reading very much, reading which is solely in the form of story-teller and far from the ones in the form of expedience, therefore now we with delighted and thankful feeling can present Aneka Warna to be looked at by readers who like light reading that is in the form of entertainment for free time while filling it in with stories regarding the society (One of the attractive powers of this magazine was advertisement copies which were published in magazines or newspapers that gave warning not to allow children to read the magazine because Aneka Warna was specifically for adult reading. The purpose of Suasana also did not have much difference with Aneka Warna. Its editor stated, 'As the beginning ambition to publish Suasana is to give entertainment and light reading to Malay youths generally and as it is known, entertainment covers general matters and as a newspaper definitely what is aimed at are light writings but contain completion pictures which more or less give attraction.' See Suasana, 21 January, 1955, pg. 2)

Aneka Warna actually used concept and approach which were almost the same as an Indonesian magazine, Pusparagam which was published in Bandung but its circulation spread widely in Singapore (Moreover, when Aneka Warna was terminated in December 1956, its publisher, Qalam Press Ltd. substituted it with the name Pusparagam (May, 1960). The Pusparagam Indonesian edition was published by Umar Mansoor on behalf of National Publishing in Bandung in January 1950. The magazine that was edited by A. Sasmita Effendy and sold widely in Singapore with the price of RM0.40 could last until the year 1962. The Malay 'obscene' magazines presence was very much stimulated from the wide spread of such Indonesian publication magazine in Singapore. Besides Pusparagam, among other Indonesian magazines which manipulated sex too were Mambo, Koncho, Film Varia, Riang, Ultra, Aneka, Lukisan Dunia, Dunia Film, Genit and Monalisa). The size of both were the same-digest and tended to publish Western actresses' pictures that had no connection with the texts, besides recounting stories about love, love relationships and ones which had the tendency towards man-woman lusts. The difference was only one which was while Pusparagam was published in Roman, Aneka Warna was in Jawi script. If Aneka Warna used digest size that was easy to be brought anywhere, Dunia (In its first publication Dunia stated its purpose of publishing, 'Until today one magazine in the form of Life or illustrated pictorial magazine in the English language version has not existed

yet in Malay writings. With this realization the Harmy side took the opportunity to try one magazine with an aim to truly becoming one pictorial magazine. The content is light and good to be read on Sundays or during the holidays.' See Dunia, 8 January, 1956, pg. 2) and Suasana were printed in the form of newspaper. One of the purposes of such size usage was to make it easy to compete in the market since broadsheet size easily caught the sight of the public. A large size like that also enabled both magazines to publish more pictures and both claimed themselves as 'illustrated magazine.' However, the characteristic as illustrated magazine as if became a license for its editor to publish pictures which stimulated strong desire and in sizes that were larger too.

The picture of Marilyn Monroe who was lustfully lying down, only wearing a bra and panties for instance, fulfilled half of the first Suasana publication. For Dunia, large-sized sexy pictures like that also became a must in its outside page. Tendency which was almost the same too sometimes appeared in Utusan Film and Sports although in general this magazine's display was better mannered. For Fashion (June, 1953), the magazine concept that model clothes was as if used by its publisher to also model Western actresses' or models' bodies. Two spaces in the magazine which gained enough attention are 'Film Star Fashion' and 'Western Star Fashion' that were usually filled with sexy pictures which affected its readers' faith. The ironic thing is all the magazines were printed in the Jawi script, the main script at that time and the script with the closest connection with Islam and the holy book of Quran (Only Dunia provided two to four pages out of its 16 pages for Roman. It was stated, 'We made Dunia appeared with two scripts which are Jawi and Roman. For the Roman section, we hope it will become a reading for other races who know the Malay language.' The action was taken by the publisher due to '... following the demand that is a lot for us, particularly the youth level which has high hopes so that one general magazine can be published in Roman continuously. Therefore, by respecting demand from our readers that was what we tried which was half of the Dunia magazine section was published in Roman.' See Dunia, 8 January, 1956, pg. 2. Anyhow, obviously the response to this Roman section was very poor until almost May 1957; all the Dunia 16 pages were published in the Jawi script).

Sexy images display in Malay magazine after the Second World War revolved more around pictures compared to texts. Western actresses' pictures, specifically from Hollywood which became the world movies center dominated the images published. Actresses' photos in various actions that were attractive and seductive were easily obtained by publishers either

reproduced from the picture being published in international film magazine or the pictures were supplied by foreign film supplier company in Singapore or straight from the actresses' themselves (Abdullah Hussain who became the Bintang, Film and Gelanggang Film editors before stated that he obtained a lot of materials concerning Marilyn Monroe from the actress herself through her personal secretary. He received a letter before which asked him to meet the actress himself when he reached Singapore on the invitation of Cathay Organization. Abdullah stated the letter 'was enclosed with a picture of Marilyn Monroe who was known all over at that time being in the nude to help one of the photographers who had been very thoughtful to her. The picture was in the form of postcard and had Marilyn's writing at the back together with her signature. I also became chaotic, hard to sleep for a few days...' See Abdullah Hussain, *A Journey*, Kuala Lumpur; Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1984, pg. 375-76).

Besides Marilyn Monroe, other actresses who often appeared in Malay magazines at that time in the sexy and less decent actions were Rita Hayworth, Lana Turner, Debra Reynolds, Ann Miller, June Fontaine, Sophia Loren, Rita Moreno, Elizabeth Taylor, Charlotty Austin, Ronda Fleming, Jean Russell and Betty Garble (The special side of the actresses was portrayed in a magazine as follows: 'Marilyn Monroe raised the audiences' lust by showing the shake of her buttocks while walking, Betty Garble with her legs, Jean Russell with her breasts, Rita Gamn with her calves, Loren Beguile with her sidelong glance and Martin Carol with her nudity.' See *Majalah Bintang*, 26 September, 1955, pg. 13). Local actresses who often gained magazine editors' attention for the pictures to be displayed, although, the display were better mannered are Maria Razak at the rate Menado and Kasmah Booty while Indonesian artiste was Nurnaningsih who were in the nude in front of the camera. A stripper's half naked pictures (tiger show), Rose Chan also often appeared in such magazine pages.

The Western actresses' pictures which stimulated strong desires usually were not published on the cover page (Generally, the magazine cover picture was much more decent than the ones found in the inside part. Usually pictures which were often used as cover pictures were local actresses' or Malay girls' faces in which on the whole indicated the Malay characteristics. Publishers were reluctant to use Western artistes' pictures which were sexy due to readers' response that would decrease. Film Raya stated '...regarding our magazine cover, we had succeeded in finding a conclusion that our readers consider choosing Malay film stars more to complete the Film Raya magazine cover. The first time we published an

English actress's picture as our magazine cover, it was proven that there was less response which was given to Film Raya that had a Hollywood actress cover.' See *Film Raya*, 19th of April, 1952, pg. 3. Most other magazines tend to use Malay girls' pictures or Malay girls' portraits which were dressed decently with a veil or wearing a shawl). Such open pictures would embarrass readers to buy or while reading it since it is easily seen by others. In spite of this, sometimes Western actresses' pictures which were sexy still appeared on the Malay magazine cover. Six out of eight Utusan Film and Sports cover pictures for November and December 1953 for example presented Hollywood actresses' pictures such as Abby Lyn, Anne Vellaiz, Verra Alien, Jean Wayman, Dorris Deah and Marilyn Monroe in various naughty actions of their own. Usually the pictures were placed on the inside front cover or inside back cover besides on four middle pages of the magazine. Usually the pages mentioned were printed by using papers that were thicker and shiny as well. As such picture quality which was printed was better and more lasting too.

The number of less decent pictures which were published for any magazine was not fixed depending on the magazine concept itself. The Hiboran in which its concept was more to literature usually did not publish more than two such pictures. For pop entertainment magazines like Asmara (Observation for the year 1957 indicated that the number of pictures which contained obscenity elements in the Asmara magazine was 5 (January), 9 (February), 7 (March), 4 (April), 11 (May), 17 (June), 4 (July), 6 (August), 6 (September), 5 (October), 13 (November) and 14 (December). The summit of this less decent picture publication was in June 1957 when the magazine cover exhibited three Iban girls who exposed the breasts (without bras) and 16 other pictures of the same kind at the inside part) and Aneka Warna, sometimes the ratio between picture and its texts was higher and more for special edition magazine such as Album Asmara (For the year 1956 'Hari Raya' special issue for instance on the whole there were 74 pictures which were published with 46 of them were categorized as having sexual elements. From the total number 10 pictures displayed the breasts (not wearing the bra), 7 pictures displayed the upper breasts including magazine cover picture, a picture kissing with the lips, 3 flirting, 3 displayed lustful facial expressions, 14 pictures wearing bikinis and 8 pictures displayed sexy bodies even with the clothes on. Included in the picture was a naked woman's portrait, the work of art of a famous Indonesian artist, Basuki Abdullah, together with the picture description, 'Although this picture is in the nude to the extent of exposing her breasts and the whole body, it cannot be said as obscene, since

that is art'). The sexy pictures were supported as well with a caption which was very creative and accurate. Among the picture captions which were found in the Album Asmara 1957 are 'Don't observe too long, otherwise your vision will be blur. Just a bit is enough...', 'Perhaps too intimate until the breasts exposure was left as it is', 'Even though the head is already bald, if meeting a woman without clothes, immediately becomes young' and 'Observe how lovely a person who has a beautiful body shape is.' For Dunia Baharu, among its picture captions are 'with this at her breasts which are round and full, her waist slender, her armpits fine, delicate and smooth', 'Thighs that are round and big are the ones which are attractive and raise the lust' and 'How trembling the body parts of young unmarried men if we see in front of the mosquito-net way in a woman's shape such as this.' (Dunia Baharu, July 1948). Among the Aneka Warna picture captions in February 1956 are 'Cold! No, just trying to cover part of the body that are exposed with the fingers', 'This is definitely suitable for bathing in the sea' and 'Try to observe brother... What must be observed'; April 1956: 'Oh... the way she sits... how pleasant the atmosphere here is'; May 1956: 'Oh! Brother, showing the face or buttocks!' and July 1956: 'Oh! Feeling dazzled looking at the light which is bright, very bright!'

For Asmara, January 1956, among such picture captions are 'Try to observe what attracts you friend?' (for an actress's picture wearing thin clothes which showed her breasts); 'Which eye can get attracted to ordinary pictures only...' (for an actress's picture that displayed the upper breasts); 'Holding delicately, releasing pleasantly, touching lovingly, completely unforgettable (for the picture of a couple kissing with the lips); 'If you look not for too long', 'One of a few body movements is healthy', 'Is this less attractive?' and 'Take it! Watch the swaying of her body' (all for Western actresses' pictures wearing bikinis).

Besides such pictures display, entertainment magazines also published writings that supported the sex taste. Among the forms of writings which usually had the connection with that matter were short stories which revolved around issues of youngsters love and greedy lust, articles that had the tendency towards obscenity and poems to release yearning for love and passionate feelings. In Album Asmara 1957 for example, among the article captions which were published are 'The forbidden kiss', 'The story of past and present prostitutes', 'The story of Malay prostitutes', 'Dirty business', 'Naked and nude are the same' and 'Market at the back lane'. For the second publication 1957 among the article titles which were published are 'The origins of strip-tease', 'Seven prostitution areas in Singapore', 'Fraud in virgin selling', 'A kiss to know a lover' and 'The busty group'.

Certainly such display gained reactions which were negative from the society. Responses opposing this practice which were in conflict with moral values and religion were voiced a lot specifically in other magazines that supported aspirations which went against the pop entertainment magazine. Most critics saw the magazines as an agent that ruined the society. Suara UMNO editor's article stated, '... love and lust books and magazines and completed with the pictures which have no decency have caused bad deeds that are prostitution increase, increase in adultery and woman disease and divorce increase which leads to chaotic socialization. For all of these most of the reasons are due to lust that struggles and rebels against religion and mental attitude which is sane with the reason of being influenced by books and pictures that make strong desire acts inconsiderately' (Suara UMNO, 15 November, 1952: 4). Waktu (10 November, 1956) also invited readers to 'give co-operation which is more closely too in strengthening our society again that is almost utterly destroyed which is regarding obscene matters that are shameful until they become a threat to the Malay race group, even though to religious issues which are not given priority anymore'.

However, the magazines which were criticized would defend its action with various reasons. Among the justification that tried to be used by its editor was the fact that the materials which were published had a close connection in human life and therefore not right to be disregarded since they did not bring disaster to readers. For Asmara (September 1954: 4), the reason which was given is '...as long as we are named humans who live under the roll of blue sky to fear love is like we fear death... Not Asmara that leads to wickedness and not bad morals too which are led by Asmara.' Others stated that such form of content was what was actually desired by readers. Suasana stated, 'What are the purposes of Suasana that are accepted by its readers by publishing the half naked pictures? No other and not inaccurate, if readers really go around line by line, page by page also words which are arranged to fill out each space by resembling the article and pictures are solely to give an indication on how the world of entertainment thinking circumstances and atmosphere are that are desired these days' (Suasana, 21 January, 1955: 5).

There were also magazines which stated that less decent objects in their magazines were not Malay but on the other hand consist of foreigners. Dunia Baharu (July 1948) stated, 'readers certainly can identify from body shape, style, face, skin, hair and others that all these pictures which were published are not from the Malay race or races that are Muslims except all of them are European races from the colonizer group which is race that are Christians.' The Dunia (17 June, 1956) then stated

that 'the reasons we published those women's pictures are as a comparison and furthermore the pictures with the half naked form are Western women's pictures and women of other races who are non-Muslims. The magazines are ones that become light reading for readers who want entertainment in their free time. If it is observed the contents and its pictures are so much different since the contents aim at awareness and struggle.'

There were ones that used the letter to its editor's column as well in order to defend magazine sex manipulation among readers. One reader, Hj. Geluguk wrote, 'Since the Dunia was published I never miss reading the magazine although there were people saying most of its pictures are not fit to be seen by people like me who already wore the turban and held the rosary. But I assume at the present day, magazines or newspapers without attraction will instantly be buried without knowing where the grave is' (Dunia, 11 April, 1956: 6). The strange thing was there were magazines in which their editorial board itself felt embarrassed to display naked or half naked objects but had to do so to teach a lesson to its nation (Dunia Baharu stated, 'We ask in front of God to be protected against devil's lust which is cursed and despised. We do not intend to reveal these pictures since we ourselves feel ashamed and unpleasant as well for this magazine publication. Just to remind my race to avoid that'. See Dunia Baharu, July 1948, pg. 3. Even though we can argue, Fashion stated, 'We have never published pictures from its readers or anyone with the intention of being dishonest and that is of course what we do to the utmost not until the Fashion magazine is made a place to share love or find love as what is done by other magazines.' Fashion, 11 September, 1955, pg. 4. Suasana, 21 January, 1955, pg. 4 then stated, 'Actually Suasana does not aim at annoying the society by publishing such pictures and lead youths particularly towards moral decline but what was done by Suasana with the publication of those pictures was solely to indicate how low the moral is and to what extent the youths' moral decline is lately') or at least such object was used as a completion only (Jambangan Juita stated, 'Actors' pictures which are filled in this 'book' has nothing to do with the news or stories being published, only that the pictures are solely meant for entertainment or completion only, same as for instance a house which is beautiful, if inside or outside the house there are no decorations, then the house will become pale as if there is no spirit.' See Jambangan Juita, 1955, pg. 3). This hypocritical and irresponsible action was continuously ignored since such reading materials that were distracting would not threaten colonizer's status quo at that time.

For 'obscene' magazine editors who were transparent enough, the society's dissatisfaction was also published in their magazine. Suasana (21 January 1955: 3) admitted that the magazine received dissatisfied letters from the public. 'Readers' letters frankly stated this newspaper's readers who like such pictures are mangy cats and mad dogs and many words which are not good to be heard were mentioned by readers. All these are caused by publication of pictures by this newspaper are pictures that were said as shameful and some readers felt embarrassed to keep it.' Asmara (July 1956: 3) then stated, 'We are accused and reviled as an obscene magazine and having a few staff that have no Islamic education and were said as a magazine that wants to spoil the moral and character of the youths.'

In spite of this definitely more objection letters or readers' opinions were thrown into the waste-paper basket by its editor than the ones being published. In defending this pop concept and sex manipulation, the argument between the Dunia magazine and an Indonesian theologian, Professor Abdul Kahar Mudzakir is right to be brought up. The religious leader who came to visit the Dunia office when he was in Singapore stated that 'this is the reason why our youths are morally bad' when referring to the magazine which published a lot of naked and half naked pictures. The opinion was not accepted by the Dunia editor's board in which at that time was led by Harun Aminurrashid and assisted by Abdul Jalil Hj. Nor and Dahlan Buyung. In its editorial on the 17 June 1956 the editor stated:

Definitely what was criticized by the religious teacher is right. For us ourselves agreed if possible every magazine published by this motherland of ours does not contain sexy pictures. Only regrets were directed towards the religious teacher, if possible publications which become a wide market in Indonesia such as Koncho, Mambo, Monalisa, Genit, Linsa, Roman Kenchana, Bikini Tigang and others to be given attention by him in which the magazines have become an attractive market to readers in this Malay State

Aneka Warna in which its presence in the Malay magazine world helped to stabilize its publisher's business, Qalam Press Limited, after being affected badly by a boycott by UMNO towards the Qalam magazine and the Warta newspaper as if compromised democratically in determining its sex manipulation direction. Its editor, Abdullah Hamid El-Idrus, after receiving extreme criticisms due to the Aneka Warna content which was very daring,

handed over the magazine direction to readers (One of the letters which was received asked the editor, 'If we are a patriot, then we must 'terminate such publication. How can the Malay race progress and be independent if wise and intelligent people like you sir poison your own race all the time?' Aneka Warna (February 1955: 3).

Readers were invited to vote by sending their own stand either 'not to have pictures which can raise the feeling' or 'such pictures are continued by adding that women's' pictures which are beautiful are increased from Far East countries rather than pictures from the West' (Aneka Warna, November 1954: 3). The vote which was named the Readers' Public Vote was done in a period of 3 months (February to April 1955) and the result was out of 564 readers who voted 513 wanted that the concept and less decent pictures to be continued and only 51 votes wished Aneka Warna was changed. Stated by its editor, 'As what is promised, the Aneka Warna Reader Public Vote is then closed and from the results which are obtained, according to the democratic way, the most votes want Aneka Warna to proceed according to its principle. Therefore brother, the most votes want Aneka Warna continuously, continuously and continuously' (Aneka Warna, May 1955: 3).

With the concept continuation as well, Aneka Warna continued to become the target for more criticism. The most extreme criticism certainly came from UMNO, specifically after Abdullah Hamid Al-Idrus, the Qalam Press Ltd. owner who also became the Aneka Warna and Qalam editors used its column in the Qalam and Warta to criticize UMNO and Tengku Abdul Rahman. He was criticized as becoming the cause of moral corruption as a consequence of Aneka Warna publication. In this matter Al-Idrus stated that many parties had '...accused that with the existence of this Aneka Warna, the Qalam Printer and Publisher by itself had tarnished other publishers, especially the Qalam magazine. He then stated, 'It is difficult for us to publish knowledge books and magazines due to our own society which is not fond of them yet. That is the reason why we ourselves attempted to publish this magazine to try to the utmost to achieve their likes while we give knowledge with laughs and the like with an expectation may sooner or later this can affect the readers' soul' (Aneka Warna, June 1956: 3).

CONCLUSION

That was the tendency regarding sex manipulation in the form of picture publication in Malay magazines after the Second World War. Publishers faced with the situation where in order to make their magazines survived; they have to fulfill the needs of their readers. This was the editorial pillar which became magazine publishers' focus. For two other pillars, that are advertisement and circulation, their effectiveness was difficult to be insured

by a publisher to guarantee their magazine performance. In giving focus to editorial elements, publishers still had the decision concerning the direction in which their magazine aimed at. As a gate-keeper a magazine publisher had the right to determine anything that was suitable to be published in his magazine. Writing from contributing writers could be edited according to the foundation being determined (Fashion for instance had reminded its contributors to be more responsible. 'We hope the fashions which are created are not too sexy or go against religious rules. To youths who are enthusiasts for new creations of fashion as well, we ask them to wear fashions that are beautiful and attractive and do not go against the limit. In this way, we can avert insults of religious experts who consider that the new creations of modern fashions are less decent or show the parts of the body that should not be exposed according to Islamic law.' Fashion, 6 January, 1957: 4). Bintang, 1 July, 1955: 4 too reminded, 'To short stories writers it is reminded that the stories which want to be written must not be too obscene. The reason we are saying this is because we received such story lately'). Although, the total number of magazines which clearly used sex images as a bait for its readers were not many, nevertheless in reality, most magazines which were in the non-entertainment form per se realized that the bait was the one which was able to attract readers' attention.

In fact such pictures sometimes appeared here and there in magazines such as Hiboran, Mastika, Mutiara, Juita, Rumaja and Irama which in truth did not support that matter. If such pictures appear in magazines like Bintang, Film Raya, Film, Film Juita and Utusan Film and Sports, certainly this matter is not difficult for us to understand. In this issue, the magazine's editors actually had made the decision in terms of editorial to insure the magazine in which they supported is steady and stable to enable their magazines to continue to sustain in the market.

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