

The Representation of Healthy Women on the Packaging Design of Traditional Medicine (*Jamu*)

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Abstract

Jamu is an Indonesian traditional medicine used for maintaining health and treating ailments based on experience and handed down through generations. *Jamu* in the form of powder is packaged in the packaging design show women in various poses and objects in outdated appearances. We believe that *jamu* packaging design have meanings and could become the representation of Indonesian healthy women. We choose *jamu* packaging design from five big producers which have survived for at least three to four generations: *Air Mancur*, *Sido Muncul*, *Jamu Jago*, *Nyonya Meneer* and *Jamu Iboe*. This research aims to read the meaning that represented on *jamu* packaging design for woman's health and reveal the ideology behind them. We analyses twelve packaging designs consist of seven packaging designs which use woman photographs and five packaging designs which use woman illustrations. The analysis uses Roland Barthes' semiotic theory that reveals the linguistic message, the denoted image and rhetoric of the image. Texts and images on *jamu* packaging design seem to describe *jamu* as a traditional product and *jamu* as a modern product. Generally, the representation of healthy women is tend to be modern, eventhough *jamu* is well known as a natural product and closely associate with traditionality. Active women describe healthy women, they can do activities inside and outside house, dinamic like men. The concept of health is not always related with pretty face but mostly about ideal body outside and inside. Healthy is mostly related with the inside body especially women reproductive organs. As a signification, *jamu* signifies the ideology of 'femininity.' *Jamu* tends to represent healthy women as modern and natural. However, there are always negotiation between 'feminine' and 'masculine', 'traditional' and 'modern', 'natural' and 'cultural' in linguistic and image messages.

Keywords: Representation, Healthy Woman, Packaging Design, Traditional Medicine (*Jamu*)

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INTRODUCTION

Among many kind of medications, Indonesia has *jamu* that used for maintaining health and treating ailments based on experience and handed down through generations. Traditional medicine in Indonesia was known since influence of Hindu and Buddhist into the archipelago that changing the culture of oral into written in 78 SM. Keraton (Javanese palace), as the center of Javanese culture also holds many manuscripts on the history of traditional medicine. There are two manuscripts which contain this knowledge: Serat Centhini (1841) and Serat Kawruh Bab Jampi-Jampi Jawa (writing on Java knowledge about herbal medicine) were made in 1858 and contain 1734 types of herbs. Since that, there are many texts about *jamu* written by the Indonesian people (Trubus, 2010).

For a long time Indonesian women drink *jamu* for maintaining their health. Nowadays, *jamu* is produced not only for individual medication but also for public medication which are produced in home industries and modern industries. Since *jamu* is produced in mass production, *jamu* need to be packaged in packaging design for wider distribution. A product requires packaging design for wrapping, protecting, storing, transmitting, issuing, differentiating a product in the market, giving identity to sell the goods (Klimchuck and Krasovec, 2007: 33; Roth, 1990; Wirya, 1999). The role of visual aspects in packaging design become important.

We find in the market, *jamu* in the form of powder is packaged in the packaging design show women in various poses and objects. The images on packaging design still use illustrations or female models who are now no longer young or the photograph of the founder who has passed away. The images of women usually describe women in a dense and long hair, pretty face with wide eyes, thick eyebrows, and long nose. They have brown skin, tan and slim body and appear continuously wearing clothes that are no longer used today or outdated. Those appearance are still maintained until now though trend, health, fashion apparel, art, age, mobility progress, and ethnic have changed. We believe that *jamu* packaging design have meanings and could become the representation of Indonesian healthy women. This research aims to read the meaning that represented on *jamu* packaging design for women's health and reveal the ideology behind them.

METHOD

We analyzed the packaging design of *jamu* related to women's health produced by five major manufacturers of traditional medicine that have survived for at least three or four generations: *Air Mancur*, *Sido Muncul*, *Jamu Jago*, *Nyonya Meneer* and *Jamu Iboe*. Among ninety *jamu* for women that we found, we analysed twelve *jamu* for women health. We collected *jamu* packaging design as our main data through the official website of *jamu* producer and did the survey in *jamu*'s kiosk or retail. We also got some complementary data through observation and informal interview with retailers. This research is a qualitative study that investigated through textual approach/ literature by using semiotic as a method of analysis. The analysis uses Roland Barthes' semiotic theory that reveals the linguistic message, the denoted image and rhetoric of the image. Semiotic helps us

not to take representations for granted as reflections of reality; enabling us to take them apart and consider whose reality they represent (Chandler, 2007: 82). In semiotic sense, signs take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures and objects. Contemporary semioticians study how meanings are made and how reality is represented (Chandler, 2007).

There are two linked operations that are required to complete the representation process by which meanings are produced. First, we need a basic code which links a particular piece of material which is cut and sewn in a particular way (signifier) to our mental concept of it (signified). Second, a wider level, which links these signs to broader, cultural themes, concepts or meanings. Barthes called the first, descriptive level of denotation. The second level, that of connotation. Denotation is the simple, basic, descriptive level, where consensus is wide and most people would agree on the meaning. At the second level, connotation, wider meaning is no longer a descriptive level of obvious interpretation. Connotations are not purely personal meanings; they are determined by the codes to which the interpreter has access. According to Barthes in his book, photographic message, there are connotation procedures, the first three (trick effects, poses, objects) should be distinguished from the last three (photogenia, aestheticism, syntax) (Barthes, 1984: 20-25). The analysis of the image emphasize on the poses and objects, those two connotation procedures can give us description about the representation of healthy women.

Connotation and denotation are often described in terms of level of meaning. The second level of signification, Barthes suggest, is more 'general, global and diffuse...' It deals with 'fragments of ideology (Barthes, 1977, Barthes, 1981; Barthes 1983). This common domain of the signifieds of connotation is that of ideology, which cannot but be single for a given society and history, no matter what signifiers of connotation it may use. To the general ideology, correspond signifiers of connotation which are specified according to the chosen substance. These signifiers will be called connotators and the set of connotators a rhetoric, rethoric thus appearing as the signifying aspect of ideology (Barthes, 1987: 49). Ideology propounded by Barthes mostly operates at the level of connotative (Procter. 2004: 66).

JAMU PACKAGING DESIGN

Linguistic Messages

This *jamu* packaging design leads us to a first message which its substance is linguistic. The messages on the design when they are read from top to bottom are generally consist of tagline, label or product's name, slogan, type of bussiness, manufacturer name, and bussiness location. If they are read from left to right there will be *jamu* logotype or text, halal text, product code, net weight, registration number, all of this texts are placed in the front of *jamu* packaging design. The front side of the packaging design is the face of the packaging that has polysemi meaning, as well as to give identity to distinguish with another health products. Among many linguistic messages in *jamu* packaging design, the main linguistic message refers to the name of the product. There are variety names of *jamu* for women's health, like *Galian*, *Galian Putri*, *Gadis Remaja*, *Sehat Perempuan* and *Sehat Wanita*.

Galian comes from Javanese ancient language, *galih*, which means bone; stem veins; liver/ terraces. According to Sanskrit dictionary, *galih* has many meanings and one of the meaning that related to *jamu* means *jamune wong wadon* or *jamu* for women (Poerwadarminta, 1939; Prawiroatmojo, 1988). The use of Sanskrit that is believed come from Kawi language or Javanese language seems confirm the presence of Java on *jamu* products, besides it indicates the presence of the past. Sanskrit is considered as mystical language so it connote 'traditionality'. In most of *jamu* packaging design, the text *galian* is used with another text such *Galian Putri*. Generally the word *putri* is chosen to show women with younger age, usually refers to a daughter. The word *putri* can also refer to a female teenager ([http:// www. artikata. com/ arti-346580-putri.html](http://www.artikata.com/arti-346580-putri.html)). In addition, *putri* can have connotation of princess, the daughter of the King which has incredible beauty, flattered, and honored. The use of the word *putri* reaffirmed as well as explain in more subtle that this *jamu* is for younger women. So the meaning of *Galian Putri* connote something that related to 'femininity' and 'traditionality'. The term *putri* usually refer to a young female, so this text is a metonimi of the meaning 'femininity.' There is a repetition of meaning in the text *Galian Putri*, because the word *Galian* refers to *jamu* for women. So *Galian Putri* implicitly refers to *jamu* for younger women who want to be healthy like princess. The text *putri*, indirectly referring to certain strata between parents and children, between older and younger, distinguishing between the higher and lower related to social status between noble and ordinary woman.

There is a linguistic message refers to product name of *Sehat Perempuan*. *Sehat* or healthy according to Indonesian Language Dictionary means both the whole body and its organs (free from pain), the good of the body, recovering from illness, sane, good and normal. In the Oxford English Dictionary, health is defined as: 'the state of being free from sickness, injury, disease, bodily conditions; something indicating good bodily condition'. The concept of health is wide and the way we define health also depends on individual perception, religious beliefs, cultural values, norms, and social class. Generally, there are two different perspectives concerning people's own definitions of health; a narrow perspective and a broader perspective. People with a narrow perspective consider health as the absence of disease or disability or biological dysfunction. According to this view (or model), to call someone unhealthy or sick means there should be evidence of a particular illness. The most widely used of the broader definitions of health is that within the constitution of the World Health Organization (1948), which defines health as: 'A state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.' (LapSpace, 2014). Healthy is not only refers to the physical body but also the mind concerning mental. Furthermore, we see that the text of *sehat* juxtaposed with text of *perempuan*, here we see that there are many words that refers to the female gender, *perempuan* is selected among the words *wanita*, *gadis* or *putri*. Until now there has been no agreement on the use of the term (whichever is appropriate) between *perempuan* or *wanita*. The word *perempuan* comes from the masters, significantly appreciated, or respected lords. Feminists (in Indonesia) chose to use the word *perempuan* instead of *wanita*. The word *perempuan* is chosen because the word derives from "empu" which means "master." The meaning of *perempuan* is more describe about normative reality than the everyday practical reality (Handayani and Novianto , 2004: vi-vii). The

term "*perempuan*" is more widely used after 1990 (Suryakusuma, 2012: 139). The product name *Sehat Perempuan* leads to the perception of a woman who should be respected and connote 'femininity.'

Other health products named *Sehat Wanita*. The efficacy of *Sehat Wanita* is to maintain woman's health, so she will not lethargic, weak, tired or susceptible to disease, so she is always healthy and fresh. There are many *jamu* products that use the word *sehat wanita* than *sehat perempuan*. Primbon (Javanese dictionary) used the words *wanita usodo*, the word *wanita* is closer to practical day-to-day awareness of the Java community. The word *wanita* comes from "wani" (brave) and "ditata" (regulated). Javanese woman dared to be regulated but it does not mean passive and dependent on the person who set it up. *Wanita* is also said to have originated from the word "wani" (brave) and "tapa" (asceticism). It means someone who dared to suffer even for others (Handayani and Novianto, 2004: vi-vii). Historically, the word *wanita* was used before *perempuan*. The product name *Sehat Wanita* leads to the connotation 'femininity' referring to a woman as an object who is obedient.

Another product name is *Gadis Remaja*. *Gadis* means girls who have grown-up; unmarried daughters; virgin (<http://www.artikata.com/arti-327540-gadis.html>). While *remaja* means a teenager who is grown up; had reached the age of marriage; young (<http://www.artikata.com/arti-347461-remaja.html>). The efficacy of *jamu Gadis Remaja* is for girl aged 14 years and over, or who has first menstrual period. Maintain body shape in order to stay proportional and reduce body odor. The word *Gadis Remaja* refers to young women. The meaning of *Gadis Remaja* connote something that related to 'femininity'.

We find that texts on *jamu* packaging design seems to describe *jamu* as a traditional product and *jamu* as a modern product. Most of *jamu* is intended to women who are married, there is only one product for girl who assume still virgin which is *Gadis Remaja*. In the following analyses, we try to categorize *jamu* for women's health in Sanskrit and Indonesian language based on the product names and then analyse the connotative meaning of the images.



Figure 1. *Jamu* for Women's Health in Sanskrit Language



Figure 2. *Jamu* for Women's Health in Indonesian Language

Rhetoric of the Images

The photograph doesn't stand alone. Meaning of a photograph, does not lie exclusively in the image, but in the conjunction of image and text. Two discourses, the discourse of written language and the discourse of photography are required to produce and 'fix' the meaning (Hall, 1972). Reading a photograph also depends closely on the reader's culture, knowledge of the world, and ethical and ideological stances (Barthes, 1961: 29). Barthes adds that 'the viewer receives at one and the same time the perceptual message and the cultural message' (Barthes, 1964: 36). Photography 'seems to find in nature the signs of culture, masking the constructed meaning under the appearance of the given meaning' (Barthes, 1964: 45-46). John Tagg argues that 'the camera is never neutral. The representation which produced is highly coded' (Tagg, 1988, 63-63; cf. 187).

The images on packaging design of *jamu* consist not only photographs but also illustrations. The analysis of the rhetoric of the image distinguish images of photographs and illustrations or drawings, although both have in common substance of the message which based on line, surface, shades. Color nicks, scratches lines, and all other visual elements within an image work together to form a cluster of icons that can be recognized as something, whether objects, people, events geometric shapes and so on (Budiman, 2011:117). The illustrations of women in the packaging design of *jamu* are depicted as icon.

Poses

In *jamu* packaging design for women, we see a sign that prominent presence there, the idea of representing women. We distinguish the analysis of *jamu* packaging design between packaging design that using photograph and illustration. We find that the photograph of women mostly show us the image of young pretty women. Women who become the point of interest look at the age of 20s or 30s. The shape of the body, face, poses and objects in particular clothing worn become an index for most young-aged women. Meanwhile, the illustrations of *jamu* packaging designs all showing women faceless.

In the poses, we see that the body gesture which are prominent: hand on hip, hand on head, hand holds leaves, and hands free. Touching the head, hip, and other gestures that are considered normal by Western society, can be considered impolite (Suryakusuma, 2012:53). According to Symbolism Comprehensive Dictionary, hand on hip signifies a challenge, pride, independence, impatience, and anger. Hand on hip, hand on head and hands free are closer to the impression of the presence of 'western' attitude, ready to accept the challenge, the attitude of 'arrogant' because it looks more superior than the others and independent. All these attitudes are actually synonymous with a 'masculine' in general. It turns out that hand on hip and hand on head is only done on one side, which is on the right hand or left hand of a woman. In a pose with one hand on her hip, a woman is depicted on the one hand as a masculine figure and on the other hand which straight as a the feminine figure. The women in the photographic messages are described as 'feminine' and at once 'masculine.'

The second prominent pose in *jamu* packaging design is the image of woman who lay down in a tilted position. The woman poses in a photograph can

be interpreted as a woman who challenging when she is in bed. The illustration of woman who lay down in a tilted position described naked and mostly faceless, but we can still recognise the body as female body. These tilted positions show us that the women are in between position, it can connote 'femininity', 'masculinity' and 'sensuality'.

The hair is not only considered as an object, but we notice that the hair style is included in the pose may have a particular meaning. The hair style is generally different between the right and left side of a woman. One side of the hair is positioned at the back of her shoulder so we can not look her hair, while the hair on the other side positioned in front, so we can see the entire section of her hair. The hair on the back of the body seem 'hidden', 'covered', while the hair positioned in front gives the impression 'shown', 'on display', 'opened.' Then marker that is present is the 'closure' at once 'openness'. There are binary opposition to the meaning of hair poses which are 'natural' at once 'cultural', 'tied' at once 'free', 'passive' simultaneously 'active', 'feminine' and 'masculine'. Women are identical with something enclosed, natural, bound and passive, while men are synonymous with open, cultural, free and active.

On five senses, we noticed that women lips constructed with a variety of attractive poses, among others, lips pressed together or silent, smiling and laughing. This marker will be something that is 'limited' and 'free', 'closed' and 'open', 'traditional' and 'modern', 'feminine' and 'masculine'. We notice that the smiling poses are in between silent and laugh.

There is one exception photograph which show us the photograph of the company founder who is Nyonya Meneer. In *jamu Sehat Wanita* we can see photo of Nyonya Meneer in the passport format. Her formal pose along with *kebaya encim* which is traditional cloth and *konde* as her traditional hair style connote 'femininity' and 'traditionality.'

Objects

Body is the most important object in *jamu*, because almost all packaging design depict body, besides the benefit of *jamu* is for body's health. We saw that the photos and illustrations are mostly accentuate women's body that associated with the reproductive organs such as the chest (breasts), abdomen (womb), waist, hips, buttocks. The body shape support the appearance of a healthy woman body. In illustrations, the size of the waist compare with the hip is not proportional, this is an abstract and imaginary body. The body is also illustrated naked with flexible line but firm. The parts of the body represents woman 'sensuality', besides some parts of the body looks 'closed' and 'open', 'feminine' and 'masculine'.

Women in photographs wear cloth while in illustrations all of women are depicted naked. In photograph, most of the women wear casual cloth for everyday activities. We categorise three kinds of clothing wear by women in photographs and in illustrations which are women in modern clothes, traditional clothes and not wearing clothes (naked). The categorisations of modern clothes are consist of casual clothes, work clothes, sports wear, and sleeveless dress. There is only one woman who wear traditional cloth, *kebaya* who is Nyonya Meneer. Women with *kebaya* and modern dress signifies 'traditionality' and 'modernity'. While the depiction of women without clothes and wearing clothes, indicating the presence of the 'natural' and 'cultural'.

Signs that appear in almost all models which indicated by photographs are long wavy thick black hair. Hair can be the objects and poses. As an object, black hair has the meaning 'temporal energy' (Olderr, 1986), in the context of Indonesian society the original color of hair is black so the color black can connote 'natural'. Thick hair is a symbol of 'vitality', 'sexuality', 'passion' and 'wild' (Olderr, 1986) but can also connote 'naturalness' and 'fertility'. Hair that is not tied signify 'freedom' and tied hair means 'bound'. Signs associated with this object is very likely to be interpreted as metonymic (metonymy). In metonymic, long hair this is a small part or the attributes of the whole thing that presents the impression of natural, free, sexy, and feminine. Long wavy hair is a marker of the presence of 'naturalness', 'fertility', 'sensuality' which also presents a marker of 'femininity'. Based on hair color, the image that generally depict dark-haired of a woman signifies 'natural', while the other colors like brown, yellow and white hair signifies the 'artificial', 'chemical', the touch of chemicals make Indonesian women hair become colorful.

The next object is skin color. It is quite difficult for us to identify the color of the skin, especially on the photograph. This is due to various factors, among others: photos are in small size, the lighting effects make the skin look brighter and darker making it difficult to identify the original color. The printing factors of packaging design are not constant which can lead to the same woman picture sometimes looks dark but in other photos looks brighter. We find that the most common of skin color in the photographs are brown skin, yellow skin, while in the illustration we find that most of the women's illustration depicted in white skin. Indonesian women are mostly have brown and yellow skin, so that skin colors connote 'natural'. Meanwhile white skin can connote 'artificial', 'cultural'.

There are also details of the object that we consider significant on the construction of healthy women. There are flowers as accessories that adorn the crown of a woman, a flower in woman hair pinned on one ears, or clamped to the hair. The presence of flowers is believed to make a woman prettier. Besides symbolize beauty, flowers can become a sign of the presence of fragrance. In addition, there is also leaves depicted around the woman. Leaves and flowers are present as accessories, as well as a sweetener which smoothes the appearance of women being closer to nature. Flowers are presented as an background, accessories, and variation around the woman's body. Meanwhile, leaves are presented as a foreground. The presence of leaves and flowers bring the meaning of fertility and fragrance, connote 'nature' and 'natural'.

There is one packaging design use the illustration of the sun. The sun can describe the existence of an expectation, especially sunrise, can also symbolize something warm or it could be hot. In the context of *jamu* products, the sun illustration refers to something warm. Sunlight radiates warmth on the surrounding environment. This warm connotation is also supported by the use of warm color, such red, yellow, and orange. Warmth is also synonymous with women, where women are expected to be warm figure to her husband, family and the surrounding environment. The womb of women should also warm to protect her baby. The sun brings the connotation of 'natural' and 'warm'.

THE CONCEPT OF HEALTH

The most striking difference between traditional medicines and modern medicines are in their ingredients. *Jamu* uses a wide variety of plants taken directly from nature. While modern medicine is produced from compounds of synthetic chemicals. Therefore, *jamu* side effects are minimal compared to modern medicine, even *jamu* is believed to be free of side effects. In addition to the advantage that no side effects, *jamu* has a weakness, *jamu* can not cure the disease in a short time, this is in contrast with the modern medicine. Modern medicines or drugs can not be separated from the chemical elements in it. Drugs can heal quickly, instantly and directly. While natural *jamu* means free of chemical elements and are not usually used for treatment within a short time, but rather for prevention, increase endurance or healing process that is not instant. Western medicines are usually aimed at treating the infection, whereas herbs make the body produce its own antibodies. In other words, herbs serve as a catalyst and do not replace the functions of the body.

The herbs have four basic functions: herbal medicine to treat certain diseases (such as kidney stones, cervical cancer, diarrhea), herbs for health maintenance (improving blood flow and improves metabolism), herbs reduce pain (by minimizing inflammation), herbs for cure digestive problems and certain malfunctions of the body (such as less fertile or unpleasant body odor). Sometimes herbs can serve many (multifunctional) as an example of herbal medicine can be a tonic, but also can serve to prevent stomach infection. There are 300 herbal mixture. Herbal medicine is not an overnight cure. The result can be felt when used regularly over a given period. And because of the gradual healing of patients normally do not experience side effects (Rathore, 2010).

Jamu as traditional medicine has stated that can not be used for healing in a short time. *Jamu* needs process, the public is more familiar with traditional medicine as a means of prevention and treatment. In terms of rapid treatment, traditional medicine obviously can not compete with modern medicine. Not to mention the more general efficacy of *jamu* making one product can be used to treat various diseases. This position can be advantageous when *jamu* do not compete with modern medicine, but in this era of globalization, where consumers are demanding certainty then the medicine that can cure everything can not be trusted. *Jamu* needs to be taken regularly in order to achieve the so-called healthy. With a relatively long treatment and it takes diligence and patience, hopefully the body is not only healthy physically but also mentally.

Modern and Traditional Healthy Woman

Although *jamu* is defined as a traditional medicine, it turns out that the photographs which depict women do not always reflect the traditionalism. Some images of women portrayed through poses and objects as modern women, as if to say that *jamu* is also for modern women not just the traditional one. In terms of poses, women are described to be feminine and masculine, which depicts women can be like men. Modern women also drink *jamu*. Pictures of healthy women are modern women who are open, free, dynamic and active. Women do not only move in the house but also outside home, in the public domain. Female figure are depicted not only cook rice but can also look for a bite of rice. Women are depicted with modern attributes as if showing about modern healthcare. Modern healthcare is usually associated with something fast, practical and instant. Pictures

of the ideal women as an artist or a career woman who are active and dynamic as man are considered 'feminine', 'masculine' and 'modern'.

When examined in more detail, images of women do not fully represent modernity. In addition there is one photo of Nyonya Meneer that seems "conflicting" with the image of the other *jamu* packaging design. The image detail show us that even though the woman is shown in a modern but their appearance is not completely abandon traditionality. Through objects, the presence of tradition as a visual construction is illustrated by the presence of a woman with *kebaya* dress and *konde* (traditional hair style). *Kebaya* is a mirror of traditionalism. The characteristics of traditionalism is reflected also in the woman's hair. *Konde* and tied hair connote that this woman 'bound' and 'limited'. The hair is long and flowing on one hand symbolizes freedom but the long hair restricts movement so the women are not totally free.

There are some poses that construct women to look more elegant. A woman smiles in a very limited way, they are more likely to smile or smile by showing a bit of her teeth, it can show the presence of self-control. Women represented free but limited. Traditionally, healthy woman portrayed as a feminine figure, while in modern way, healthy women represented as a masculine figure, feminine and masculine figure often negotiate in one image. The images on *jamu* packaging design almost do not represent healthy women as passive figure, traditional nature, but healthy women are represented as active, dynamic and modern figure.

Natural and Cultural Health

Body are constructed in such a way to convey the message, especially related to the product. Depicted naked, women brings the connotation of 'nature', 'natural'. Natural health is also represented by objects in nature such as leaves, flowers and sun. A healthy woman's body described as a 'beauty', 'fragrance' and 'warm' from inside the body. Natural skin color is brown and yellow also supports natural impression. A woman's body is identified with nature, like *jamu* which are natural products. Beauty and elegance of a woman's body is the mirror of beauty and elegance of nature and vice versa. The beauty of the women skin displayed on *jamu* packaging design often synonymous with natural beauty and they can be explained in detail in a Javanese proverbs such as skin such as fruit langsep (*pakulitane ngulit langsep*), brown like the skin of sapodilla (*pakulitane sawo mateng*). This proverbs describe that female body and nature is a mirror. A woman's body raises a shadow of natural environment: the eyes, teeth, and gums reflect a type of flower, the arms and waist like slender plants creeping, the curve of her calves like interest pandanus, and her chest like fantasy coconut (Creese, 2012: 25).

If a picture of naked woman connote 'natural', so a picture of a woman who dressed can connote 'cultural'. Black hair connotes 'natural', colored hair can connote 'cultural'. The hair is not only described the natural black color but also in other artificial colors. Woman hair is not only long but also illustrated short, not only bumpy but also straight. Women who are illustrated with white skin is not natural but cultural. Woman and her body become the "battle" arena between *jamu* which is the natural and drugs which is chemical. There are negotiations between natural and cultural health.

CONCLUSION

The use of Sanskrit and Indonesian language as a product name on *jamu* packaging design for women health seems to categorise *jamu* as a traditional and modern product. Traditionally, the text "*putri*" referring to higher strata related to social status of noble woman. While the product name in Indonesian language distinguish the text "*perempuan*" and "*wanita*" based on her role as a subject who is respected and object who is obedient. The product name leads to the perception of women product connote 'femininity.'

The photographs mostly show young women with her pretty face and wearing modern clothes, we see that the representation of healthy women is tend to be modern, eventhough *jamu* is well known as a natural product and closely associate with traditionality. Active women describe healthy women, they can do activities inside and outside house, dinamic like men. Binary opposition between the various poses such as the 'open' and 'closed', 'visible' and 'hidden', 'free' but 'bound', 'masculine' and 'feminine' as well as objects such as the 'natural' and 'artificial', 'traditional' and 'modern' indicates that the woman is not completely free but it is limited, as if to communicate meaning that a healthy woman is a woman who is active, dynamic, modern but still be able to control herself.

On the images, women faces are depicted beautiful but also faceless, her body are naked and dress up. Here we found that faces can be removed but the body should be displayed. The photos and illustrations are mostly accentuate women's body that associated with the reproductive organs. The concept of health is not always related with pretty face but mostly about the ideal body outside and inside. Women who are phisically healthy are depicted as beautiful and pretty, and also faceless, but commonly they display their bodies as slim and sensual. The meaning of healthy also related with the inside body especially women reproductive organs, women who have healthy body usually smell fragrant like flowers, fertile as green leaves and warm like a sun ray.

As a signification, through product names, photos and illustration, packaging design deflected from the notion of health products and naturalized that force people to accept the meaning of *jamu* as something that signifies the ideology of 'femininity.' *Jamu* tends to represent healthy women as modern and natural. However, there are always negotiation between 'traditional' and 'modern', 'feminine' and 'masculine', 'natural' and 'cultural' in linguistic and image messages In the terminology of health, the ambivalence in *jamu* packaging design show a negotiation of *jamu* as traditional natural health products, which also wants to be a modern product that scientific like drugs.

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