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CULTURAL HYBRIDITY TOWARDS AN UPWARD MOBILITY: IMPLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN MEDIA AND AMERICAN CORPORATE CULTURE IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Hybridity has been defined in many terms. Subsequently, cultural hybridity is associated with different meanings, as seen from a spectrum of theoretical and disciplinary perspectives. In the realm of Transnational American Studies in Indonesia, the hybridization of American Media and American Corporate Culture into those domains in Indonesia would be an observable transnational cultural phenomenon. American corporate culture has a hegemonic dominance in the world as it has in Indonesia. Similarly, in the current global media culture, American media's influence has brought with it its culture to places throughout the world including Indonesia. In the current discourses hybridity has "long left behind the negative implications and connotations of inferiority" and it presents currently the intercultural exchange of transnational and global mobility. This article explores American and Indonesian cultural hybridity as a notion of upward mobility in the domain of media culture and corporate culture in Indonesia.

Keywords: cultural hybridity, upward mobility, American media, American corporate culture.

INTRODUCTION

Hybridity has been defined in various as well as contested terms. Subsequently, cultural hybridity is associated with different meanings as seen from a spectrum of theoretical and disciplinary perspectives. In the realm of Transnational American Studies in Indonesia, the hybridization of American media and American corporate & management culture into those domains in Indonesia is an observable transnational cultural phenomenon. This article attempts to explain these American cultural productions, in particular their

transnational direction towards Indonesia, and their subsequent encounter with the latter's local cultures. The arguments put forward are in the context of what is referred to as cultural hybridity. Questions then arose, such as: how did this kind of hybridity take place? How did it materialize? In what particular ways? The writers discuss the answers to these questions according to their observations and experiences in the hybridization processes.

We will focus on the two above-named specific cultural products, i.e., the media and corporate & management culture. The preference for this choice is twofold. Firstly, cultural production in the form of the American media as well as American management style and practices in operations have become, whether consciously or not, a familiar and observable sight in Indonesia, something the following sections of this article will bring forth. Secondly, this phenomenon has been the interest of the writers, and such have become subjects of discussion in classes at the American Studies program the writers are affiliated with.

As we see it, the two products, media and management culture, are being implemented almost as if they were the modes of production of local, Indonesian culture in the sense that there seem to be a sort of ‘matter of fact’ in the practice of these supposedly ‘imported’ cultures.

As mentioned before, hybridity, or sometimes hybridization, is a concept that is highly contested, in regard to what it constitutes as well as how it should be interpreted. Various scholars, researchers have termed the notion differently, seen from different angles, and even explained in different ways. It is obvious, then, regardless of or even due to, its controversy, that it is a topic that is worth analyzing. In fact, as stated by Kraidy (2005), this topic of hybridity “has entered many academic arenas, ranging from traditional disciplines like literature, anthropology, and sociology to interdisciplinary venues such as postcolonial

theory and performance studies . . . also employed in more popular versions in trade books about travel, business, and economics, in addition to mainstream press articles on popular culture” (p. 2). Ha (2006) describes cultural hybridity as a concept which

celebrates the dynamics of mixture and intermingling. [I]n a situation in which postmodern late capitalist economy calls for aesthetical and technological innovations through mixed and endless (re)composition . . . cultural hybridity is . . . not based on homogeneity, standardization or the myth of the isolated genius at work, but on inclusion and transgressions of images, languages, sounds and subjectivities to enrich a cultural flow that promises to lead us to a transglobal popular culture and dramatic change of values (n.p.)

He comments further that hybridity in a political economy context “sells well, because it is regarded sexy.” Ha further argues that a new economy is created “based upon industrialization of models of hybridity.” As one of the models Ha points to the music industry, which relies very much on hybridization and created various music styles. Some, Ha observes, are “hot, exotic and vivid hybrid music.” Corresponding to Ha’s descriptions, Raab & Butler (2008) quote the definition by Elisabeth Bronfen and Benjamin Marius (1997) who state that hybrid is “everything that owes its existence to a mixture of traditions or

chains of significations, everything that links different kinds of discourse and technologies, everything that came into being through techniques of *collage*, *sampling* or *bricolage*” (p. 1). Consequently, according to Bronfen and Marius, the concept of hybridity “questions ideas of purity and homogeneity hybridity” (p. 1). Tomlinson (1999) asserts that an appealing thought is that globalized culture is hybrid culture. The increasing interchange between culture practices in the process of globalization produces new complex hybrid forms of culture. But he warns that “the idea of cultural hybridization is one of those deceptively simple-seeming notions which turns out, on examination, to have lots of tricky connotations and theoretical implications” (p. 141). He states, “Perhaps the most basic component of the idea of hybridity is that of simple *mixing*—intermingling, combining, fusion, *mélange* Hybridity is the mingling of cultures from different territorial locations brought about by the increasing traffic amongst cultures” (p. 142).

Pieterse (2010) argues along the above theme that “mixing is intrinsic to the evolution of species . . . and that hybridization is a process as old as history” (p. 1). What is increasing is the pace of mixing and widening of the scope of mixing due to among others new technologies that bring forward new forms of intercultural encounters. He defines globalization as a process of hybridization and that in a political economy context globalization refers to “economic internationalization and spread of

capitalist market relations.” A global economy is created which constitutes a system of globalizing production and global finance.

The common theme or denominator in all the above definitions or descriptions of hybridity is the mixing of cultures, which in the globalization process is accelerated through the rapid interchange of cultures. The usage of the Internet, texting and all types of internet applications created a world where all information and contacts are a few clicks away. The YouTube videos available on the Internet and that are freely accessible make it possible to get hold of all sort of knowledge and view all types of cultures. The internet applications created global virtual communities, those communities interchanged ideas, knowledge and cultures to an unprecedented level. Another phenomenon that brought the acceleration of hybridization were the down spiral of the cost of flying. Air travel, domestic and international became affordable to the common people. Global commerce and business transactions reached all levels of the business community. Farmers could obtain the same information of the global commodity market as the CEO’s of transnational corporations. Borders became irrelevant in the cyber-space. The world was reachable in clicks. Globalization or what Pieterse calls “the process of hybridization” irreversible transgressed and influenced the life of common people throughout the world. Tomlinson (1999) observed that the “mingling of cultures from different territorial locations brought about

by the increasing traffic amongst cultures” (p. 142) through the use of cyberspace was not anymore a monopoly and power of the West. Because hybridity has been so widely analyzed in such varied domains with often-contradictory use, it would be ‘risky’, in Kraidy’s (2005) terms, to use hybridity as a universal description. He emphasizes, consequently, that it would be “imperative to situate every analysis of hybridity in a specific context where the conditions that shape hybridity’s are addressed” (p vi).

Following this argument, we restate that hybridity in this article will be seen in the context of ‘upward mobility’. In more current discourses, hybridity, as Raab and Butler opine, “has long left behind the negative implications and connotations of inferiority” (p. 1), as compared to the decades between 1960-1980 when hybridity was analyzed in the realm of cultural imperialism bringing with it the negativities influencing a cultural mix. The way we see it, the concept of hybridity in present times has shifted, bringing to the fore the intercultural exchange of transnational and global mobility. Our take in this phenomenon is that the cultural mixture tends to direct to an upward mobility as opposed to “connotations of inferiority,” which we elaborate in the coming paragraphs. Upward mobility can be defined from the point of view of the “capacity or *facility* for rising to a higher social or economic position.” (Merriam Webster’s online dictionary, highlight by writers). Apart from capacity, this definition mentions the *facility* for upward mobility. In this

article the emphasis of the said movement is on the facility, since we portray our thoughts on the hybrid media and management culture’s function as a facility in the move upwards for those employing the cultures, be it individually or socially.

We look in particular at selected instances when American media and American corporate management culture come into contact with Indonesian cultures in those specific domains. In the case of the media, the writers look into the encounter of American news and entertainment media’s culture in its practical utilization by the Indonesian media people, the practitioners as well as the users (audience). In the domain of corporate management culture observe the American management culture as practiced in this country.

AMERICAN MEDIA

In the current global media culture American media products have been observed to be incredibly pervasive. From hardware—gadgets—to software (TV programs, social media portals, webs, blogs), American media products are widely used in the world. Already in the year 1997, Jeremy Tunstall in his insightful classic observed how ‘the media are American’, iterating that media innovations made in America were, as he sees it, ‘copied’ throughout the world. Tunstall illustrated how in the era of the print media, a country in Africa literally ‘copied’ the American newspaper: its form, content, and distribution. Compared to the United States, this African younger state had fewer inhabitants to subscribe to the newspaper;

had fewer literates to read the content; had fewer newsworthy events to fill the pages; had less transportation to distribute the papers. Tunstall also observed that television, America's subsequent media production, enjoyed the same mimicry. Its shape (rectangular), its function (domestic use as opposed to public), its place (the living room) experienced no changes when used in different countries of the world. This illustrates how the American media did have an profound impact in the global media at the time Tunstall did his research. "One major influence of American imported media lies in the styles and patterns which most other countries in the world have adopted and copied," states Tunstall (p. 17). Starting from the 'older' media (newspaper, magazine, telegraph, radio, television) to the 'new' media, digital (computer, smart phone, tablet), the world imitated the United States, its media hardware as well as its software.

Media culture analysis proposes three components to be looked into: production; representation; reception (Kellner, 1995), in other words, to look into media's industry, texts, and audiences, respectively. According to Kellner and Durham (2006) "conjoining production/text/audience perspectives can . . . help provide a more complex sense of how culture and media actually operate in everyday life" (p. xii). In the context of American media culture the combined media components in a subtle way communicate the American culture embedded in all the types of media used.

Mass media is considered one of the most powerful tools of communication. It is the getting across of messages. Information is conveyed to the masses, hence the term mass media. Through the decades of its growth and changes in methods, the mass media has become an dynamic means of communicating messages, discussing, shaping, depicting, arguing, and reflecting values, behaviors, and actions of different cultures. In fact, the media world has become our world, in the sense that we are living in a world that is bombarded by messages from the media; the culture we live in is a media culture. Potter (2008) asserts that the world's culture is "saturated with information. The flood of messages comes to us through the mass media The world is rapidly changing because of DVD's, computers, MP3 players, cell phones, Black Berries, and many other technologies that are substantially revising the way media industries do business and the way we receive messages" (p. 2). Center for Media Literacy (www.medialit.org) proclaimed that the culture we live in is not only a media culture, but also a multi-media culture, taking into account the numerous digital devices (gadgets) nowadays used to extract and produce communications, information and entertainment. Multimedia is a significant force in present day culture.

The same technology that has created not only different types of media texts, but also various methods of disseminating them. This, in turn, has facilitated the spread of those messages into different parts of the world in real time. Along

with the media messages came the pervasion of the cultures they brought with them. We have seen how the youth of today uses the digital devices as well how they influence and shape the technology, content and usage of the network and providers. The ever more advanced and sophisticated must-have digital gadgets culture is worldwide. *Media Smarts*, Canada's Center for Digital and Media Literacy (mediasmarts.ca/digital-media-literacy-fundamentals) observes that "today's youth are often called 'digital natives' by adults because of the seemingly effortless way they engage with all things digital . . . [They] live in an interactive, "on demand" culture where they are used to assessing media whenever and wherever they want." Instant-messaging, photo sharing, texting, social networking, video-streaming, and mobile Internet use are examples where youth have led the charge in new ways of engaging online, even changing societies and traditional cultures.

Indonesia is a country where the youth is fast emerging to become digital natives. The on top gadget used for networking in this country is the smart phone. To illustrate how this device has become a must-have-and-use in almost all layers in society is the reaction of one young domestic worker (who just moved from a small town in inland Central Java to Jakarta) to her employer's question why she broke up with her boyfriend: "He can't even 'open' a cellular phone (*Buka handphone aja gak bisa!*)" Surveys in 2013 show Indonesia of being the number 3 and number 4 user in the world of the online social network

services *Twitter* and *Facebook* respectively. *Twitter* was founded and is managed by Americans and has its headquarters in San Francisco, California. *Facebook*, like *Twitter*, was also founded in America, is managed by Americans with its headquarters in Menlo Park, California. *Twitter's* mission, as they advertise it, states: "to give everyone the power to create and share ideas and information instantly, without barriers." *Facebook's* mission is "to give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected." Though the networks that are used in Indonesia are the translated (Indonesian) versions, the use of *Twitter* or *Facebook* inevitably brings with it the use of its culture. The users, then, of these two social networks have become 'natives' of the culture. The fact that Indonesia belongs to the top users of these networks shows that they have used the specific *Twitter* or/and *Facebook* culture and have become comfortable with it. This culture has seemingly merged with the local, e.g., language, style, etc., and has emerged as a newly created culture of their own.

If the two instances above show media culture that is adapted through the digital media, the older form of media, the TV, has had its own contribution of cultural mixing as well. An example of this is *The American Idol*, which is a reality show in the form of a singing competition. The format so far has shown a panel of three to four judges who offer their opinions on the contestants' performances in several layered sessions, elimination rounds in several big cities in

America, and the final rounds for the select few who made it, in Hollywood, California. The show emphasizes viewers' participation in that the audience does selection of winners. Opinions from judges are to show judgment from experts' points of view. Judgment on *the Idol* as it is popularly called, is often times infamously harsh or even crude sometimes, which is one of the characteristics of the show. The show, created in America and distributed by an American media distributor, airs in Indonesia and since 2004 has had its Indonesian version, *the Indonesian Idol*, aired by an Indonesian TV outlet. This Indonesian show, which features Indonesian participants and a cast of judges who communicate in Indonesian, follows the format and method precisely as it is shown by the original, American production, including the sent offs when eliminated; harshness in giving judgments, etc. As a franchise, the culture the show brings with it is then taken as a given, and hence, followed, or even mimicked. As awkward as the process may have been in the adaptation of different values, especially criticizing a person before a big audience, the Indonesian version is now in its fourth episode. On top of that, the show's format, method, style and content has been adopted by other reality-singing contests with no American whatsoever franchising. Singing genres that are popularly known as 'belonging to Indonesia' such as *dangdut* has its own reality-singing contest show on Indonesian TV with a format that essentially copied the *Idol* style but with a variety of Indonesian undertones in it. Apart from the above, Indonesian TV stations

have produced local versions of shows like *the Voice* (originally Dutch but aired and popularized by American TV, *Master Chef* (originally Australian) with Indonesian participants and Indonesian cast but almost everything else, format, method, style, content, are taken from the original.

The shows on TV above, as with the social networks on digital media, are just some examples of how media culture have been adopted and adapted and further on newly developed according to what is considered acceptable for the local public, in this sense, the Indonesian media audience. Norms, behaviors, styles, and so on, that are seemingly 'imported' but 'a must' in particular contexts, are just followed, merged into the local, and adhered to. The networks as well as the shows have their own followers and champions, those who have become 'natives' of the cultural space the media created.

Television news broadcast in America in the 90's, with the emergence of cable news, experienced a substantial change in news viewing. With constant 24/7 news barrage, the audience could access national as well as international news, including breaking news. In general, according to Breyer (2004), cable news networks are not only viewed at home but also at restaurants, bars, newsrooms, airport ratings rooms, hotel lobbies, and even in dispensary waiting rooms. This was because cable news networks succeeded in finding the perfect mix between news and entertainment, which the American TV viewers liked. In America, cable networks (spearheaded by CNN) sent news 24

hours a day and at the outset changed how Americans viewed television and how they sought news. If in the past one had to wait until six o'clock in the evening to watch the news broadcast, with the advancement of cable, news was available at any time. Breyer quoted Walter Isaacson, CEO of CNN (Cable News Network) who says that news which attracted young viewers was the availability of four to five types of information. The young, according to Isaacson want to see at the same time weather, sports, headline news, and celebrities at the same time. The trademark of cable news networks became a mixture of hard news, soft news and entertainment, and became newstainment. Cable TV news united the American viewers to become a community who followed and gave attention to what they saw and heard, and who mostly fully believed what was announced and described by the cable news anchor.

Thanks to the same technology that brought the advancement of, American cable news media, a proliferation of domestic (Indonesian) cable TV providers, has entered the households of the Indonesian cable TV community. But with the news, the audience is also exposed to the culture behind the news. American news stories, in particular, mostly represent peculiar values and ideologies that portray the American dialectic "tug of war" between two different political leanings: the liberal and the conservative. Media bias in American news reportage has become a major issue. Bias in the news observed at the turn from

the sixties to the seventies. Perception of news reportage until the end of the sixties had been that of unbiased stories, in strong adherence to contemporary journalistic codes and ethics. This view changed radically at the end of the sixties (1969) when the then Vice-President Of America, Spiro T. Agnew openly accused the news media in their reporting of President Richard Nixon's speech as being biased against the president (Ranney 1983). This incident became the first major occasion when bias in the news media became a controversial issue, widely debated by the press, universities, as well as the American public (Cirino, 1971). Media bias discourse that emerged in those days, according to Ranney, eventually became a partisan issue that has prevailed until the present. In the Indonesian context the news from the print media, network television channels and cable television channels inevitable will in general represent the bias or the views and ideologies from the owners.

Observing cable news representations in Indonesia, in many cases it looked like replicas of American cable news providers, looking at the format, method, and content. When cable programs newly emerged on Indonesian TV screens, an image of one TV cable station in Indonesia imitated exactly the iconic 'FOX NEWS' box at the bottom left side corner of the screen (with the cable station's own name displayed on it). The image has now disappeared. Another observable phenomenon is that Indonesian cable news providers have replicated or

mimicked their American counterparts, be it program appearance (slogans, sight and sounds, electronic design displays) and performance (breaking news, ticker tapes, commercial inserts, talk show programs), among others.

When viewing graphic display and its audiences, particularly in the general election run-up, a tendency to news bias towards political leanings is noticeable. This is not surprising as it is well-known that major Indonesian politicians are also owners of cable news providers, although the biases shown are not as sharply divided as in America. Basically the content and its methods are the same; the major difference lies in the Indonesian people as they appear significantly different, showing a vernacular (Indonesian) culture. What can be observed is that the American TV culture, especially that of cable news is readily adopted by the Indonesian TV practitioners with remarkable ease, adapted (mixed) with their own mores and norms, the intrinsic Indonesian culture, creating their own unique cable television ways of performing.

An interesting and very significant feature of cable news is the emergence of opinionated news. Opinion has become a major feature in cable network news. Westin (2005) argued that profit oriented business reasons have triggered an expansion and explosion opinionated journalism. In his opinion, expressing opinions is, among other reasons, easier, more efficient and a more effective way in attracting viewers, whereas reporting factual occurrences needs hard work, is expensive,

and inefficient. Cable news in Indonesia is very opinionated in nature, perhaps towards the extreme. Whether or not the same business reasons were behind the choice, obviously opinionated news programs are prominent successful features in these cable news programs. Perhaps ignorant of the characteristics of opinionated news, this practice has been willingly embraced, and has been developed in a very successful Indonesian way.

Upward mobility that has arisen from the contact and mixing of two media cultures, American and Indonesian, as the various instances above have shown, can be seen twofold: the media itself and its users (including practitioners). Indonesian cable news media performance have in the years since its birth improved significantly and has reached a high level of professionalism, the quality of news as well as the methods applied in conveying the message. The adaptation of the highly competitive American media culture in the more relaxed Indonesian media culture in the media domain proved to be very successful. Cable television providers with an enormous variety of programs and subscriber packages are now the norm, available to a huge slice of the Indonesian society. Indonesian television corporations have been expanding with dazzling rate and reaping huge amount advertisement revenues. The Indonesian television has reached levels that in the sixties were unthinkable. To come back to Tunstall's saying that the media are American, what can be observed is, the Indonesian television representing

the Indonesian media is still 'American' but with a distinctive Indonesian cultural influence. Clearly the Indonesian media experienced an upward mobility movement, in quality, television stations, network and cable providers, and a diversity of audience. The upward mobility movement of the Indonesian audience has become far more huge, is better informed, is better educated, is more affluent, has a wider choice of outlets and programs, and has involved itself in issues that previously could only be participated and enjoyed by an elite group. The media audience is now powerful and are active players in the media community; the media audience rose also to another level; they experienced an upward mobility movement.

AMERICAN CORPORATE CULTURE

In the domain of corporate culture, hybridization in the context of commercial globalization or management is not a new process, the introduction of franchises like Kentucky Fried Chicken followed by MacDonald's and Starbuck, introduced preparation, serving and quality control of food products that eliminated the traditional practices and elevated the skills of the employees of those franchises to an accepted international level of food handling. The introduction to new (at that time contemporary) hygienic and quality food handling processes created an "upward mobility" of food handling and food processed product-retailing knowledge. The enormous boom of the 'resto' industry and franchising industry in Indonesia is certainly related to the early food-

franchising era. E-commerce is the fastest growing retail business mode. Almost every product can be bought and sold through the Internet and at almost all locations in the world. The mix of credit cards and e-commerce make it possible to have global retail transaction delivered to almost any location. The cyberspace created a new way of politics and political interchange which started in America but is presently a major mode of political campaigning.

On more recent ICT products the same process is followed. Apple products like the I-phone, I-pad and Mac air computers are designed in America but are produced with components manufactured in all parts of the world. Marketing, promotion and sales are orchestrated and scripted in the Apple headquarters and meticulously executed in Apple shops all over the world. All the Apple shops follow the same design, management, and even the same policies, and are readily recognizable in the malls where they are located. The Apple Corporation's philosophy, corporate values, and management are "enforced" throughout the world. In the same fashion Apple's biggest and fiercest competitor Samsung is using exactly the same approach. What is happening is a hybridization process of American and Korean management practices styles all over the world in countries where the Apple and Samsung products are sold.

Pieterse (2010) argues that "hybridization as a process is as old as history but the pace of mixing accelerates and its scope widens in the wake of major structural changes, such as new technologies

that enable new forms of intercultural contact and transnational contacts. Contemporary, accelerated globalization is such a new phase” (p. 1). Based on Pieterse’s argument, we observe that the adaptation of American corporate culture and management style as a global management style to move upward in business organizations has been a hybridization process since the end of the Second World War.

The American way of management and production started in Western Europe with the Marshall Plan, a plan to rebuild Western Europe with American aid. In this 1945 post war period, argues Kipping (1996), American influence in political, military and economic power in the world reached a new height only countered by the communist ideology of the Soviet Union. The US Technical Assistance Program as part of the Marshall Plan offered an “apparently American successful management model” (p. 113), and the apparent superiority of American industrial organization.

The post-war management phenomena of apparent American management methodology superiority influenced also the Asian countries including Indonesia. At the end of the sixties the Indonesian economy was controlled by three organizations, the World Bank, The International Monetary Fund and The Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia. With those organizations as sponsors, Indonesia was flooded with foreign companies like Siemens, British American Tobacco, Philips, Shell, Bechtel, Freeport, ALCOA, INCO, GM, Goodyear, USS, International Paper, ICI, ITT, and institutions such

as USAID (Indonesia Digest, 2013). At the same time students from the Faculty of Economy of the University of Indonesia were sent to the University of California, Berkeley. Returning from America they became key members of the Indonesian Economy team, known as the ‘Berkeley Mafia’. Together with the corporate culture and management style of foreign corporations operating in Indonesia and also oriented towards America, American corporate culture, management style and practices became hegemonic and dominant. Career development in corporations, or upward mobility was linked to mastering the American way. In line with the above development, subsequently, education on Economics, Management and Business in Indonesia became mainly oriented to the American Model. A Master of Business Administration degree became de facto a ticket to a better paying job and higher entrée level management position. In the nineties, to fulfill this demand of the MBA degrees, a flux of MBA programs were being offered in the big Indonesian cities to such extent that the Minister of Education regulated all those programs, and decreed that degree offered were called Magister Manajemen (MM) (Undip, 2014). The MM education programs were designed based on an academic approach. Currently, throughout Indonesia there are hundreds of MM programs offered by higher education institutions and are very popular. Even though MM programs have been run for more than two decades in Indonesia, not many of them have a professional orientation. Nevertheless, modern American management

theory and practice were introduced through the American management literature that was the mainstay of management books used in MM programs. Popular books were readily translated in the Indonesian language and American management gurus were quoted in almost any management book in the Indonesian Language. US management concepts, ideas and phrases were the buzzwords in the Indonesia business schools and are still current. Peter Drucker and Jack Welch were elevated to an almost management deity status.

The same proliferation of business schools was also experienced in India. To cope with the increasing global commerce, India trains around 75,000 MBA's degrees annually (Gupta et al, 2003). Gupta et al observed that the "Indian business schools have sought to replicate the US-based organizational, pedagogical, curricula, industry interface and academic research model, but are struggling to introduce several adaptations because of differences in the work culture system" (n.p.). To cope with the increase of international commerce and the demand of business professionals, both countries, Indonesia and India, attempted to provide business education based on an American business school model but had to accept that adaptations were required to include cultural differences. Hybridization in the business school education became the norm. Western or American models were modified in all aspects of the business education. In Indonesia special

decrees were even issued to regulate the business education.

A unique phenomenon is the Korean Model. If Gupta et al. argue that the American business school model which is based on a "hyper-competitive culture" is not attainable in India, in Korea this 'rat race' is accepted and is becoming the norm. Yang and Kum (2013) introduce three concepts that influence the socio-cultural characteristics of Korea. They define the concept of time hybridity where they argue that Koreans possess a combination of elements from traditional, modern and postmodern values simultaneously. In the same way, Koreans also experience space hybridity, a "mixture of values and characteristics from different regions" (p. 85). Due to the Japanese occupation and the Korean War, Koreans "aggressively replicate American and Japanese cultural values. In this way Koreans acquired both East Asian and European/North American values" (p. 87). Besides the concept of time/space hybridity, Yang & Kum introduce the term cosmopolitan striving, "a metaphor for a collective motivation toward upward mobility in a transitional society from Asian or developing economies to modern and Western economies." Koreans, argue Yang & Kum, have an obsession to achieve this. Learning the North American culture, especially education, "is also considered to be an important stepping stone to advance one's economic fate in society." To reach and achieve their cosmopolitan dream, Koreans are willing to work extraordinary hard far beyond other races.

The discussions above bring forward the arguments that to achieve or to enjoy an upward mobility in Indonesia or developing economies, even such as India and Korea, embracing Western and especially North American cultures were the way to go. The usage of American media culture and technology is described above.

What is the present outlook on American management model compared to the Indonesian management model? MBA degrees or MM degrees in Indonesia are still sought after. As Hunter (2013) reports, “business, entrepreneurship and management courses are the fastest growing areas of education in South-East Asia” (n.p.). Particularly in the ASEAN region, for the reason upward career mobility, one requires a diploma, a degree, and some form of postgraduate qualifications.” In general, according to Hunter (2013) those programs are highly influenced by imported management knowledge and preference for foreign expertise. Recognizing the gap between ASEAN leadership needed and the business education offered, there is an attitude change to the mixing of leadership style needed to succeed in the South-East Asian business world. Southeast Asian leadership characteristics are now considered essential for CEOs operating in corporations in the Asian market. Answering to the question “Asian and American Leadership Styles: How are they Unique?” Mills (2014) concludes that American and Asian leadership styles are different; “culture colors the way things are done.” But it is also Mills’ opinion that “as Asian companies seek

access to world capital markets, they will move toward professional managers who will employ leadership styles more akin to those now used in the United States” (n.p.).

Management culture, style and practices, which are now prevalent in Indonesia, are without question based on the American management model. Management or business education in Indonesia was designed based on the MBA programs in the US and their graduates studied the American management knowledge and practices in the respective courses in the MBA program. Besides the business education institutions, American corporations operating in Asia also provided the practical and professional environment plus experiences in American management operations. The managers that were developed in the Indonesian business and commerce had their Indonesian cultures embedded in their American management culture and style. A management hybridization, which was and still is considered in Indonesia, is the path to a career upward mobility. In all aspects of Indonesian business and commerce, American management influence is the major influence and in most instances is proudly displayed by local corporations. Whether the Indonesian business community likes it or not, American management culture, style and practices are considered the road to success. Hybridization in Indonesian management is American management with Indonesian cultural undertones depending on from which region the managers come.

With the incredible dependence of businesses on information and communication technology, which is dominated by American technology, it is hard to foresee in the future another form of management hybridization.

CONCLUSION

American media culture and American corporate culture in Indonesia are very dominant in their respective fields. The prevalent notion in the Indonesian media and business communities that are keeping up with the American development in media, and in the management knowledge and technology, ensures sustainable competitiveness in both fields. In news and entertainment media it is keeping track of the diversity of programs, scheduling and style of delivering, and in management the latest approaches and practices to increase profitability. However, tensions will still arise from this process of “keeping up” with the latest and newest inventions or approaches, such as the Indonesian cultural boundaries that inhibit or sometimes prohibit the implementation of those newest inventions.

Compared to the more individualistic and self-reliance values of Americans and their highly competitive culture, Indonesians are still very depended on community values and traditionally strife to a more harmonious approach. The balancing act between the American and Indonesian cultures and values in keeping up with newness is a hybridization process. A successful hybridization process results in progress and

advancement, personally and institutionally. Upward mobility becomes then an individual and an institutional process. Hybridization in media and management in Indonesia is a delicate process, the diversity of the Indonesian nation and the written and perceived norms and regulations plus biases are very influential in the hybridization process. Resistance to change and reluctance to accept newness and embrace diversity are still stumbling blocks in accepting new cultures that are perceived alien to the existing cultures. On the other hand, Indonesia is on the leading edge in embracing new technology in information and communication technology or communication gadgets and social networks services. Balancing the above contradictions is also a cultural hybridization process, which perhaps will lead to a faster Indonesian progress in the media and management field.

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THE SEAMY SIDE OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM IN JOHN STEINBECK'S *THE GRAPES OF WRATH*

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ABSTRACT

This article is an attempt to study Steinbeck's vision of the American system of capitalism during 1930's as causing the greatest economic crisis in American history. The study particularly observes the growth of materialistic values in this era. The main discussion concerns the dramatic journey of Joad's family toward California as reflected in *The Grapes of Wrath*.

With an interdisciplinary approach, the study examines the novel to comprehend the author's view about his social phenomena. This is a kind of qualitative research in which the researcher applied library research on *The Grapes of Wrath*. The data gathered from bibliographical sources was analyzed and written descriptively to describe the seamy side of capitalism in America.

The result of this research shows that material success is not the human's only orientation in his life. The great depression and tragic life of Oklahoma tenant farmers were viewed by the author as due to the impact of uncontrolled American Capitalism in 1930's. The seamy sides of American Capitalism such as greed, selfishness, corruption, and consumptive behavior, etc. have been described by the author as source of the extensive destruction among American people.

Keywords: capitalism, the great depression, materialism, dehumanization.

INTRODUCTION

Between 1885 and 1920, America was the leading industrial capitalist country. In the early years of industrialization, American industry had still been noted by monopoly in local areas that avoided competition through high cost transportation. Thirty-five years after the civil war, the trading competition, as part of the spirit of capitalism, began to spread in American industry. Only a few cases had industry become dominant, instead there were many small and medium industries that grew and developed (Encarta Encyclopedia, 2009).

In the decade of the 1920s, Americans experienced new technologies, including radios, cars, movie theaters, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators,

and telephones. Women found more freedom to go out to work or attend university. Most people had jobs and money to spend, and they spent it having a good time. Because of this release from the miseries of the war, the period was known as the "Roaring Twenties,"

Wealthy socialites often went to nightclubs to eat, listen to live music, and dance. "The Twenties" was probably only roaring for a small fraction of free thinking individuals. By the 1930s much of that new morality had calmed down, as a generation of restless, postwar young people grew up. (McNeese, 2010, p.88)

After a decade of optimism and prosperity, the United States fell into depression on

Black Tuesday, October 29, 1929, the day the stock market crashed and the Great Depression officially began. As stock prices fell with no hope of recovery, panic struck. Masses of people tried to sell their stock, but no one was buying. The stock market, which had appeared to be the surest way to become rich, quickly became the path to bankruptcy (Burg, 2005).

The Great Depression that occurred in the 1930's encouraged intellectuals and artists to respond to such phenomenon. Many works of art emerged reflecting the bitterness and concern of the American people that were experiencing poverty and unemployment. One of the phenomenal works which appeared as a concerned response to those Oklahoma people migrating to California was *The Grapes of Wrath*, a novel by John Steinbeck.

The hard life of the American people, especially in Oklahoma, in the 1930's caused by The Great Depression and Dust Bowl disasters was clearly depicted by John Steinbeck. The writer also showed the unfairness experienced by tenant farmers as result of the American economic system at that time, Capitalism, the system that was run by the bourgeois class and land lords. Thus critical depictions were considered by literary critics as a criticism and protest toward American capitalism in the decade of the 1930's (Shillinglaw, 2011).

This study is concerned with the experiences and ideology of the author, his viewpoints toward American capitalism, and the seamy sides of American Capitalism as portrayed in Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*.

METHODOLOGY

This research is a qualitative research. John Creswell defined qualitative research as an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, report detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting (as cited in Emzir, 2010).

The researcher applied library research on *The Grapes of Wrath* novel. According to Semi (1993), library research is a research that is done in the researcher office himself, or in a library in which he/she found the data and information about his/her research through many books, or other audiovisual equipment. The primary data were from Steinbeck novels, essays, articles, autobiography, letters, and even notes. Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* will serve as the literary text, which the study is based. While the secondary data are the supporting resources, it was collected from related and trusted documents such as books, journal, periodicals, and newspaper which contain the topic discussed.

Then, the data gathered from bibliographical sources were analyzed and written descriptively to describe the seamy side of capitalism in America. Thus, the research found the expressions of John Steinbeck criticism toward the seamy side of American capitalism through his novel story in the form of words or sentences that used by the author.

DISCUSSION

John Steinbeck was an American Novelist whose books and works, including his masterpiece *The Grapes of Wrath*, usually related to social and economic issues. He was born on February 27, 1902, in Salinas,

California, a cattle and wheat town with 2500 people at the turn of the century. It was a town that had grown up at a crossroads near the end of a narrow valley pinched long ways into California's coastal mountains (Benson, 2006).

In most of his works, Steinbeck took a true figure as a major theme. He shows the poor, oppressed, and unfair life through calm, sympathetic, and heroic characters. According to Mangunwijaya (1988), Steinbeck's works have the populist favor. He radically expressed his posture toward the American social condition as if he was not American. He looked like an American Indian from *Marhaen* class that used works of art to represent the dream of rebellion.

Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, for instance, is read not only for entertainment but also as a reputable source of information about the dust bowl disaster, American Great Depression, and the brutality of American capitalism result and its affect on tenant farmers and migrant laborers during the 20th century. Steinbeck used the novel to reflect on the American social condition and his sympathy by transforming the reality into fiction. The laborers regarded Steinbeck as their spokesman and the novel as their manifesto. On other hand, the landowners and administrators considered *The Grapes of Wrath* as part of communist propaganda (Jack, 1939).

The story of *The Grapes of Wrath* identifies the side of capitalism, which Steinbeck protests. He illustrated another side of Capitalism full of uncontrolled, savage, amoral, and inhumane behavior. However, it does not mean that Steinbeck is a socialist since he owned big ranches. The practice of capitalism that he fought is the one that allowed the owners to do everything to

enrich their own selves, including seizing the rights and property of the poor.

When Steinbeck's book was published in 1939, he was criticized for being communist and socialist. It was because his works depicted the government camps in the novel and within the novel he introduced the idea that people should work together for the common good. Thus, although he radically criticized capitalism, he also showed that the workers, in the *Dubois Battle*, were manipulated by labor organizers and corporate farmers as the agents of socialism.

The suspicion of Steinbeck for being a communist was confirmed by his first trip to Soviet Union in 1947 as a journalist. Steinbeck's works and travels brought him into frequent contact with labor organizations, strikers, and communists but he also criticized their activities. He was not a formal member of socialism, nor communism or other political organizations.

Based on his novel's topic, Steinbeck can be categorized as a proletarian writer. Proletarian writer is a creative artist who concerns himself with the lower classes, with the stuff of proletarian writing. He, Steinbeck, laid himself open to criticism, usually in the form of either disgust or enthusiasm, on the score of subject matter. He also named this "apostle of reform," an inciter of revolution because of milieu and setting (Jones, 1940).

Throughout his careers and works, Steinbeck's concerns with the working class and marginalized people were the visible stories for international readers. Steinbeck used realistic depictions of working class people in authentic settings to politically charge his work. By examining his works through the working class perspective, it

finds that a wealth of working class themes embedded in the social commentary that runs throughout his works. The stories took source from his social observation that is best illustrated in *The Grapes of Wrath* (Mays, 2013).

However, economic prosperity was considered as the sign of success of the American system of capitalism, but this enjoyment of life and leisure also had negative consequences in the value and morality of American people. These consequences simultaneously appeared with the crisis of economy that is familiar to Americans in the Great Depression.

Material Success and Monetary Wealth Based Values

According to Ryan and Dziurawiec (2001), this desire of pursuing material was recently associated with by the term of materialism. However, acquisitive desires have appeared since the ancient civilization. Belk (1984) described materialism as the substance that ownership plays in an individual's life. Still according to Belk, at the highest level of materialism ownerships suppose the innermost place in an individual's life. It is also believed by materialists that materialism could be a means of providing satisfaction.

Steinbeck in this novel discovers the money and profit-oriented lifestyle in his government and society. The critique is an attempt to condemn the behaviors which only consist in satisfying one's financial desires. According to Steinbeck, this is believed to have affects on the government's economic policies and incites people to be selfish, greedy, and show contempt for gracious human moral qualities such as altruism, dignity, and solidarity.

Consequently, the material success will only then seek social success and will regulate everything exclusively in terms of material prosperity and earthly satisfaction.

Steinbeck was disappointed with American materialism that inculcated a sense of bitterness in him, for poor people were cruelly exploited by a ruthless agricultural system. Steinbeck was unsympathetic to American materialism where all sense of real dignity and unshakable human values were practically non-existence. He protested the values of materialism which had affected the ruling government which did not care about the real condition of poor farmers,

“I ain't got a hell of a lot of respect for 'em now,” said Muley. “On'y kind a govern'ment we got that leans on us fellas is the 'safe margin a profit.' There's one thing that got me stumped, an' that's Willy Feeley-drivin' that cat', an' gonna be a straw boss on lan' his own folks used to farm. That worries me. I can see how a fella might come from some other place an' not know no better, but Willy belongs. (Steinbeck, 1958, p.55)

Steinbeck saw that the end of the tenant farmers system was not only caused by those government programs. Together with the era of effectiveness, Capitalism had successfully pushed the development of mechanization in many sides of industries. The mechanization, in one side, became a significant factor on the effectiveness of productivity. However, it was also a disaster for unskilled human labor. Tenant farmers were victims of that mechanization of modern agriculture.

And at last the owner men came to the point. The tenant system won't work anymore. One man on a tractor can take the place of twelve or fourteen families. Pay him a wage and take the entire crop. We have to do it. We don't like to do it. But the monster's sick. Something's happened to the monster. (Steinbeck, 1958, p. 14)

THE CRISIS OF MORALITY

The development of capitalism in America was also viewed by Steinbeck as the rise of moral decadency. It was indicated by the rise of amorality among part of the American social class. These values grew with the impact of capitalism, which endorsed people to pursue material success. The impacts are implicitly explored by Steinbeck (1958) are as follows,

Many people believe that greed is the prominent source of many economic disasters. When the Dalai Lama was asked “what is the real cause of this short of economic crisis?” He answered “Too much speculation and ultimately greed”

Above statement confirmed that moral authority of certain societies has a significant role in determining economic development (Singh, 2008). According to Suranovic (2010), some believed that greed fuels economy. Capitalism runs on the principle that everyone is motivated by a healthy dose of economic self-interest. Therefore, the buyer looks for the best bargain on a commodity, the farmer looks to get the highest price for his crops, however the officer looks to earn the biggest wages.

Steinbeck portrayed part of the world in California that gradually influenced by

capitalism. He told the story of Greedy American immigrants that stole California land from Mexican. This episode was recorded in following plot,

“Once California belonged to Mexico and its land to Mexicans; and a horde of tattered feverish Americans poured in. And such was their hunger for land that they took the land—stole Sutter’s land, Guerrero’s land, took the grants and broke them up and growled and quarreled over them, those frantic hungry men; and they guarded with guns the land they had stolen...”

“The Mexicans were weak and fed. They could not resist, because they wanted nothing in the world as ferociously as the Americans wanted land...” (Steinbeck, 1958, p. 231)

Here, Steinbeck tried to describe the greed of capitalism and the consequence that was internalized in part of American community. They used their power to drive out the weak Mexican people from their independent land.

Steinbeck identified the growth of selfishness and egoism among the owners or rich people exclusively getting their own profit. However, the Okies (migrants) were also previously living in an individualistic social system when they were still living in their homeland. It described that the capitalist system had radically affected American people to live selfishly. Until the company owner drove them away from the land, they changed the relation to a different quality.

Steinbeck described that egoism system in the early chapters of *The Grapes of Wrath*. An egoistic rule is fingered on the truck driver. The system forbids the drivers from

giving a lift to any strangers. It is said through the dialogue:

The hitch-hiker stood up and looked across through the windows. "Could ya give me a lift, mister?"

The driver looked quickly back at the restaurant for a second. "Didn' you see the No Riders sticker on the win'shield?"

"Sure-I seen it. But sometimes a guy'll be a good guy even if some rich bastard makes him carry a sticker." (Steinbeck, 1958, .7)

As the capitalist society, Steinbeck is aware how individualistic and egoistic characters have absorbed into the American social consciousness. The quote was likely to say that individualistic character does not only occur in human cultural interaction, but it is also manifested into a formal system. Capitalism endorsed every individual to totally pursue own their profit rather than social altruism.

Steinbeck described the morality of capitalism as the corruptive power that manipulates migrant laborers to be slaves. This part was described through the adventure of Joad's search for work. He found that landowners took advantage to get cheap workers by spreading large number of handbills so that many workers came to California. There were huge number of people compete for job even the landowners offer them by lower and lower wages,

And this was good, for wages went down and prices stayed up. The great owners were glad and they sent out more handbills to bring more people in. And wages went down and prices stayed up. And

pretty soon now we'll have serfs again. (Steinbeck, 1958, p. 283)

The above quote tells us about the deceptive propaganda done by landowners in the West. They take benefit by deceptive handbills calling the dispossessed to go massively to California, where they would find plenty of jobs (Nyrubugara, 2002). This part describes the morality of capitalism in *The Grapes of Wrath* as a disgusting system, which exploited manpower by pounding only a couple of dollars a day for workers to live on.

Steinbeck criticized the trend of consumerism among American people that led to the economic depression. He illustrated how Americans pursue consumer goods however they did not need them,

"I didn' hardly see 'em. Funny thing. I wanta buy stuff. Stuff I don't need. Like to git one a them safety razors. Thought I'd like to have some a them gloves over there. Awful cheap." (Steinbeck, 1958, p. 411)

The above quote illustrates people in consumerist societies who live by the influence of advertisements, and often methodically buy things they do not need, and in most cases, cannot afford. This, in turn, leads to greater economic disparity, and despite having the most or latest products, consumerists have a feeling of unfulfillment due to spending a lot of money yet having nothing of personal importance.

What Steinbeck wrote above also implies his views about the impact of American capitalism on the expansion of consumerism. Hence, Steinbeck seems to say that consumerism is one of capitalisms

effects on the society. That view is reasonable since capitalist's solution to the economic downturn is to increase the circulation of capital. In other words, increase social consumerism. Thus, capitalism is a system of economy driven by consumer spending.

Dehumanization

Capitalism belonged to the higher class and undermined the role of the lower class. They did not pay attention to the basic rights of the poor's life as human beings. Steinbeck described the process of dehumanization growth significantly among the relation between higher and lower class society. Steinbeck depicted this economic calamity in *The Grapes of Wrath* as the result of capitalism failure. The author advocated the most suffered victim of the unfair system of economy, the tenant farmers, who were drove out from their own lands,

The tenant men looked up alarmed. But what'll happen to us? How'll we eat? You'll have to get off the land. The plows'll go through the dooryard. (Steinbeck, 1958, p. 33)

After experiencing the dust bowl disaster that destroyed their crops, the poor tenant farmers were confused about how to survive with those damaged lands. Not only that, afterwards the farmers had to find officers inspecting their lands on behalf of the banks. The farmers had to face the end of the tenancy system since it was no longer profitable for the banks. There was nothing they could do but left their lands.

Hence, Steinbeck vulgarly attacked the banks and banking system of America, and blamed them for many of the causes of the economic poverty of the time. For this

reason, Steinbeck saw banks and its system as a monster, which endlessly pursued its own profit. On other hand, the author also blamed the landowners who oppressed the poor farmer during the hard life as migrant labor in California.

Steinbeck described the marginalization in various situations. However, he was particularly concerned with law, economic and political marginality. In many chapters, Steinbeck described marginalization in the form of police oppression, which intimidated and discriminated against the poor migrants or Okies.

The Poor migrants were discriminated against police and media as non-citizens who were assured by the human rights and laws. Hence, they always found some threat and intimidation from local citizens and even security institutions, like the police. Steinbeck (1958) distinctly told:

"I was scairt," she said. "They was a policeman here. He says we can't stay here...."

She hesitated a long time. "Tom, this here policeman—he called us— Okies. He says, 'We don' want you goddamn Okies settlin' down.' "...

"Jus' says they don' want no damn Okies settlin' down. Says he's gonna run us in if we're here tomorra." (pp. 215-216)

Steinbeck characterized the police negatively. In *The Grapes of Wrath*, the police are described as not assuring the Okies migrant security, as The Joad family experienced. Instead, they are sadistic, inhuman, arrogant, and trouble makers for migrants. Those characteristics are represented by the policemen's refusal to acknowledge the existence of migrant labor,

burning the camps, and breaking up the labor union. The following statement by Casy represented all the images of those police,

“I tol’ you. Cops cause more trouble than they stop. Look, Tom. Try an’ get the folks in there to come on out. They can do it in a couple days. Them peaches is ripe. Tell ’em.” (Steinbeck, 1958, p. 384)

Steinbeck was seriously concerned about the low salary accepted by the migrant labor as they were powerless to demand more. The author seemed to criticize what the owner did by spreading more and more propaganda, so that they will find workers more than needed.

The over plus of workers then made them free to cut labor’s wages. The dependent condition of the migrant laborers to survive led them to be exploited by the dominant group, land owners,

Three hundred thousand in California and more coming. And in California the roads full of frantic people running like ants to pull, to push, to lift, to work. For every manload to lift, five pairs of arms extended to lift it; for every stomachful of food available, five mouths open. (Steinbeck, 1958, p. 238)

A handbill was the effective means of capitalist landowners to bring more and more migrant workers to California. The huge current of migrants was profitable as they can both reduce the time it took to harvest and cut the wages. It was kind of sadistic exploitation motivated by the values of capitalism, more profit with less cost.

In this context, Steinbeck delivered his message that capitalism is inherently exploitative. Steinbeck proved that in capitalistic society, exploitation is used to increase profit and detriment the poor. The rich men of California tend to exploit their compatriots who are dependent on their salaries equally to the jobs.

CONCLUSION

Steinbeck has contributed to the American ethos through his own portrait of the migrant workers, the disposed and dirt farmers, and manual laborers. His pictures of crouch laborers, strikes, and depression became the proof of his protection of the values of morality and humanity. This was an unpopular ethos in the American capitalist society.

Steinbeck’s concern for the difficulties of the farmers in the rapid development of agribusiness, and his sympathy for union organizers became important themes in the novel, along with the resistance of the average person against big business. Steinbeck’s preference for continuous protest of the predatory system of economy was somehow influenced by the development of socialism in America.

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JAMES FENIMORE COOPER AND THE IDEA OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION IN THE LEATHERSTOCKING TALES (1823-1841)

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Abstract

The spirit to respect the rights of all living environment in literature that was found in the 1970s in William Rueckert's works was considered as the emergence of the new criticism in literature, ecocriticism, which brought the efforts to trace the spirit in works of literature. Works arose after the 1840s written by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and Margareth Fuller, the American transcendentalists, are considered to be the first works presenting the respect for the living environment as claimed by Peter Barry. James Fenimore Cooper's reputation in American literary history appeared because of his role in leading American literature into its identity. Among his works, *The Leatherstocking Tales* mostly attracted European readers' attention when he successfully applied American issues. The major issue in the work is the spirit of the immigrants to dominate flora, fauna and human beings as was experienced by the indigenous people. Applying ecocriticism theory in doing the analysis, it has been found that Cooper's works particularly his *The Leatherstocking Tales* (1823-1841) present Cooper's great concern for the sustainable life. He shows that compassion, respect, wisdom, and justice are the essential aspects in preserving nature that meet the main concern of ecocriticism and hence the works that preceded the transcendentalists' work places themselves as the embryo of ecocriticism in America.

Keywords: Ecocriticism, James Fenimore Cooper, *The Leatherstocking Tales*, living environment, sustainable life

Introduction

The understanding of a literary work is usually related to the text, the writer, and the world (Glotfelty and Fromm, 1996, p. xix). Some materials on the environment are detected in *The Leatherstocking Tales* by James Fenimore Cooper, which are inseparable from the term 'the world' that precipitates the emergence of Cooper's attention to the environment. An in-depth analysis of the environment in a literary work is a part of the 'Ecocriticism.' Critics of the environment understand the world as an entire ecosphere that is broader in terms of scope than to understand the concept of the world which is commonly understood as social

sphere (Glotfelty and Fromm, 1996, p. xix). It can be said that *The Leatherstocking Tales* appears from the impulse of the entire ecosphere. The spirit of exploitation to dominate the American plains that control every action was the spirit that was around Cooper when he was completing his work. Environmental Conservation ideas contained in these works were written in the early 19th century in a contemporary perspective regarding the current global environmental crisis, which underlines the role and ability of Cooper in raising the prestige of American literature, which is the focus of discussion in this work.

Methodology

The examination on the ideas of environmental preservation in *The Leatherstocking Tales* follows the opinion of William Ruckert in Glotfelty and Fromm (1986) which signals the protection of nature. Referring to the first ecological law raised by Commoner, “man does not have the right to do anything he wants with nature. The idea that nature should also be protected...to articulate and defend their rights is one of the most marvelous and characteristic parts of the ecological vision” (p. 108). It guides reader in determining the direction of the focus of discussion in his work. The role of James Fenimore Cooper in *The Leatherstocking Tales* in maintaining safety and fighting for nature as the living environment can reveal his ideas on environmental conservation.

Findings

Issues on Environmental Conservation

1. In *The Deerslayer* (1841)

Natty Bumppo known as Deerslayer is the protagonist in this work. This work has another name which is “The First Warpath” because in this work Natty starts to be involved with the war at the age of 20. This work is important for two reasons, which are work contains ideas that are more mature and that this work describes the standpoint and the direction of Cooper. This maturity is also the base of his attitude of appreciation towards the environment and his role in realizing the belief of the importance of maintaining the harmony of the environment.

As the work is the first in *The Leatherstocking Tales*, it started with Natty Bumppo who is called a Deerslayer for appreciating the environment by showing a strong attitude towards the actions of the

environment at such a young age. Natty’s firm attitude expresses his steadfast confidence in the values of environmental conservation as well as his maturity. Confidence, assertiveness, and this maturity are growing strengths in the work of *The Leatherstocking Tales*. One example that shows maturity in this first work is when facing Hurry Harry, a friend he meets on her way to meet Chingachook and Uncas on a rock at the mouth of a river, while Hurry is heading towards Tom Hutter’s residence. Hutter is older than Deerslayer but unmarried. In their conversation during the trip Hurry assumes that Deerslayer is much younger and therefore he considers more of Deerslayer as expressed in the phrase “Have you the gal’s faith, to encourage you to hope otherwise?” Not at all, I know not how it is-I am good looking, boy...” (The Deerslayer, 1841, p. 506).

Hurry and Deerslayer’s moral qualities in their statement look quite different compared with when Deerslayer understands that a good relationship should be based on the desire of the two parties, not just one-sided desire that will lead to coercion and not on the basis of love. Hurry does not value love, which must be owned by a couple who would later become husband and wife. Hurry does not heed the existence of love; he is relying on his power to dominate others, which has implications for the suffering of others and even the environment. He does not have appreciation for other people and the environment, so on that respect, wisdom and justice will never materialize in his life.

Environment inhabited by people like Hurry will suffer, or be damaged. Hurry in this work begins to be contrasted with Deerslayer when Hurry’s interest in Judith Hutter begins to be interfered with by Deerslayer, Facing Hurry’s attitude, although he feels younger, he always shows his stern face to Hurry who does not give any value to human life and does not add

value to the existence of flora and fauna. In addressing the killings that occurred in the war, Hurry and Deerslayer have different views. Both are involved in the killing of man, in this case Mingos tribe, which is depicted to be always against the migrants who disturb them.

However, the cause of their involvement in the murder is different. Deerslayer does it due to the urgent situations when he has to suddenly protect himself from the barrage attack by the Indians. While Harry does it on purpose, together with Tom Hutter, Harry often disturbs the tranquility of Mingos tribe who feels that they have dignity in their fight when it is in war. Harry and Hutter both nurture a grudge against Mingos tribe by conducting reprisals against the Indians, although they are not attacked. They keep seeking the head of the Indians as a proof of their victory. The attitudes of underestimate and not giving value to humans with the desire to kill human beings are more apparent when Harry has the intention to kill any man who would become the husband of Judith Hutter. "If she has the courage to marry in my absence, she will ne like to know the pleasures of widowhood, afore she is twenty!" (The Deerslayer, 1841, p. 506).

Deerslayer has a different attitude with Hurry and Tom Hutter. His respect toward human lives is evident when he treats the killed Indians lovingly and not by cutting off their heads as Hurry and Hutter did. Deerslayer is against the beheading though it was done by the Indians who did the beheading to demonstrate their success in addressing the issues that are different from Hurry and Hutter who are doing it to satisfy the desire for revenge while they have Christian faith that teaches love. This opinion is analogized by Tom Hutter, "Treachery is an Indian virtue and the whites that live much in their tribes, soon catch Reviews their ways and practice"

(The Deerslayer, 1841, p. 550). Tom Hutter thinks that the scalping action undertaken by the Indians should be avenged in the same way, but ideally, according to the faith they believe in, such treatment does not have to be repaid with the same thing. It is written in the scriptures read by Hetty Hutter as a guide to life, "whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also" (The Deerslayer, 1841, p. 672).

Other teachings believed by the whites that the murder and mistreatment done on purpose to our fellow human beings is also raised by Hetty, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them the which despitefully use you and persecute you" (The Deerslayer, 1841, p. 672). The ways of the civilized white people can be taught to the Indians who have a heart to appreciate the basic virtues, like when they show it to Deerslayer who abides by coming to give his life to the Mingoes after freeing Mingoes prisoners. Deerslayer, ignoring the fact that he is still 20, does not hesitate to refuse Harry's treatment and attitude. He says loudly to Hurry who intends to kill anyone who will win the heart of Judith Hutter as follows:

"If that man should be Judith Hutter's husband, after what has passed, I might tell enough, at least to put the Colony on trail...I would dare to speak truth, Hurry, concerning you, or any man that ever lived...You may shake Harry, until you bring down the mountain...but nothing beside truth will you shake from me. It is probable that Judith Hutter has no husband to slay, and you may never have a chance to way lay one, else would I tell her of your threat, in the first conversation I held with the gal..."(The Deerslayer, 1841, 507).

The Deerslayer here also relies on the law as a way to overcome the attitudes that do not appreciate other fellow human beings. Deerslayer will not hide Hurray if one day there is a murder of the husband of Judith.

Natty in *The Deerslayer* had his first experience at war. Moral quality attached to it is based on the Christian belief that teaches people not to kill. The murders that happen in the woods are terrible incidents in his view and he thinks it would never be done by those who have the morals he has. His inner turmoil when facing a war is clearly visible:

“He was as yet unpractised in the ruthless expedients of savage warfare, of which he knew nothing except by tradition and theory, and it struck him as an unfair advantage to assail an unarmed foe. His colour had heightened, his eye frowned, his lips were compressed, and all his energies were collected and ready, but, instead of advancing to fire, he dropped his rifle to the usual position of a sportsman in readiness to catch his aim, and muttered to himself, unconscious that he was speaking—“No-no—that may be red-skin warfare, but it’s not a Christian gift...we’ll take it out like men; for the canoe he must not and shall not have. No-no; let him have time to load, and then God will take care of the right!”(The Deerslayer, 1841, p. 594).

His religious belief does not allow him to kill. And for him, his enemies have to deal with him face to face and it is unfair to kill an enemy from behind. In desperation, such as in a state of war against him, murdering cannot be avoided when it threatens his life,

“I know’d it-I knowed it !” exclaimed Deerslayer, who was already preparing to force a fresh bullet into his rifle—“I know’d it must come to this as soon as I

got the range from the creature’s eyes. A man sights suddenly, and fires quick, when his own life’s in danger; yes, I know’d it would come to this. I was about the hundredth part of a second too quick for him, or it might have been bad for me! the riptyle’s bullet has just grazed my side, but say what you will, for or ag’in ‘em, a red-skin is by no means as sartin with powder and ball, as a white man. Their gifts don’t seem to lie that-a-way. Even Chingachook, great as he is in other matters, is not downright deadly with the rifle.”(The Deerslayer, 1841, p. 599).

In this quote, many times Deerslayer convinced him that killing in war is unavoidable when he is being threatened. Deerslayer is actually threatened when the bullets start to come towards him. In the quote: “I want none...” (The Deerslayer, 1841, p. 507) it means that he does not want anything. It is the recognition that he did not pursue his personal interest to apply much less greed to destroy nature; human as well as flora and fauna. His mission is as he points out below:

“I look forward to a life in the woods, and I only hope it may be peaceable one. All young man must go on the war path when there’s occasion, but war isn’t needfully massacre...and I now invite you to go your own way, while I go mine ; and hope that we may part fri’nds” (The Deerslayer, 1841, p. 596).

It becomes clear here that despite his skin color, he would not side with the whites when white people are not on the path that he believes is right. Moreover, he presents a peace mission. He is forced to kill the Indians who are firing bullets towards him. His attitude towards the Indians who get killed shows that he regrets that it happened. He is

totally against murder. This is evident from how he treats the helpless Indians:

“...and Deerslayer, after tossing the tomahawk into the canoe, advance to his victim, and stood over him, leaning on his rifle, in melancholy attention. It was the first instance in which he has seen a man fall in battle, it was the first fellow creature against whom he had ever seriously raised his own hand. The sensations were novel; and regret, with the freshness of our better feelings mingle with his triumph” (The Deerslayer, 1841, p. 599).

The habits that are often carried out by the Indians for scalping the deceased are later imitated as an act by white people who do not fully understand their own religious values but the Deerslayer does not participate. In contrary, he is extremely sad and has a feeling of uncertainty when looking at it.

Deerslayer is someone who does not justify the killing of men, except in cases when one is being threatened and in the care of his own safety and when there is an open fire. He hates the destruction of flora and fauna and admires the natural beauty unspoiled by civilization. He also has a role as a helper and protector such as when he has to protect the two girls, Judith and Hetty, and he explains that humans, flora and fauna are to be loved and appreciated. Deerslayer repeatedly refers to the teachings of Christianity. Hetty Hurry whose view of life is based on the holy books that Deerslayer also believes is shown by Cooper as a character that appears to emphasize Deerslayer’s beliefs.

The protection given to Hetty Hurry, though she is an enemy, is only due to one reason that she is honest and true to what the Bible says. The criticism is made by the head of the Indian tribe towards Tom Hutter’s father

whom he regards as an enemy and who is a greedy Christian who is against the Indians, but who knows well the values in the Bible. So it can be said that the protection of the environment, in this case to humans, flora and fauna, can be maintained through the values of truth in Deerslayer’s belief that is based on love.

The causes of damage on the environment are greed and extravagance that come from a heart that does not love others or the environment. The starting point of the ideal attitudes and behavior towards humans and the environment is owned by Deerslayer who is admired and loved by many people, both the Indians and the whites. Natty Bumppo’s good attitude and behavior are based on his belief in Christianity that has a central teaching of love, to love other fellow human beings.

2. In *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826)

Frontier area in New York in 1757 is the background of this work. The background story is the war between France and England. In this war, the Indians are divided into two. The Indians that are easily bought are described here as Huron tribe, one of which is Magua or Le Renard Subtil. Natty Bumppo in this work is called Hawkeye or La Longue Carabine and he is an ally of the Delaware tribe. The tribe is known as a dignified tribe, and Hawkeye is raised in the midst of this tribe.

The environmental destruction in this work that makes it different from the other works in *The Leatherstocking Tales* is the destruction of one of the Indian tribes, the Mohicans, with the death of Uncas or Le Cerf Agile, the son of Chingachgook, also known as Le Gros Serpent. This tribe is a part of the good tribes of the Delaware. One element that was developed in this work relates to the conflicts

between the Indians, between the French and the British, and between Indians and blacks. Another element is the views of Chingachgook who is left as the last of the Mohicans when the newcomers arrive, how they treat them as the first inhabitants in the new world and the depression as a result of the extinction of the tribe.

The conflict in this work is a struggle for power between France and England. The conflicts involving the Indians have caused bloodshed everywhere because there are mass killings that occurred. The extinction of the tribe of Mohicans in this work is an example of human greed that can lead to the destruction and the extinction of human beings. In this work, there is no presumption in favor of one of the races except their opposition to the prevailing evil or who ignore the interests of the environment. In a power struggle in this work, the victory is only expressed in the heart of Chingachgook, the last of the Mohicans, when facing the lamentations that are heard when his son was killed on the battlefield. Chingachgook felt that he had done noble work properly so he believes that he has dignity and honor.

There are three kinds of elements in the warring factions: the intruder, the intruded, or two warring parties that intrude on each other. The inner satisfaction of Chingachgook indicates that he and his group are troubled. The extinction of good people like the Mohicans is a symbol of destruction when the US just stays still while the Mohicans become extinct. Thus, the damaged environment in this work is spiritual and social environment. Thus, the idea of environmental conservation in this work is to overcome environmental destruction with the intent to do good without claiming someone else's belongings as practiced by the Mohicans.

3. In *The Pathfinder* (1840)

The Pathfinder is the third in the series based on the aging of Natty Bomppo. The background is Ontario Lake and the war between France and the Indians. The Indians who misbehave or have impressionable quality, paid to get out of the identity of their quality as dignified people also colors this story. Natty's identity as highlighted in *The Deerslayer* does not have any particular change in attitude and outlook toward nature and the environment. Similarly, the pattern of the plot is not that different from *The Deerslayer*, which involves assault, persecution, torturous violence, politeness, and romance.

The idea of environmental conservation in this work can be understood from Natty's love of the natural beauty of God's creation, longing for a respectful and courteous society which is aware of the different gifts given by God. The main idea developed in this story is about a sense of mutual respect and being prudent through the romance involving Mabel Dunham, Jasper Western, Pathfinder and David Muir.

Realistically, one woman later will only be owned by a man. Mabel Dunham is liked by those three men. Of the three men who want Mabel Dunham, there are three different ways to react. Jasper Western is addressing that he has the ability, honesty and courage as he demonstrated to the Pathfinder when he says that he wants Mabel Dunham.

On the other hand, David Muir is imposing his will. Faced with this problem, Pathfinder does not impose his will when he hears Jasper's confessions. Jasper Western is skilled in the race and really loves Mabel Dunham. Avoiding coercion is a way to avoid the destruction of the environment. Coercive attitude is to fulfill the desire to have whatever one wants, including flora and fauna with no

thought of the reality, and by not having a heart that is willing to give. Therefore, collisions can occur which can lead to destruction.

4. In *The Pioneers* (1823)

This work is the first of the five works in “The Leatherstocking Tales” written by Cooper. The setting of place is in Cooperstown, around Otsego Lake in the frontier area by the Templeton that takes place from 1793-1794. In this series, Natty Bumppo is called Leatherstocking and he is seventy-one years old. This work contains adventure, morality, and the history of America. The main conflicts built in this work are the differences regarding the outlook and attitude towards life which occur between Natty Bumppo or Leatherstocking with the Templeton’s vibrant rural communities that live from cutting trees, farming and animal husbandry.

Environmental destruction in this work is the cutting of trees which is done on pride, power and with the purpose of the collection of wealth as much as possible. Other environmental elements that were damaged are abundant birds in the air and plentiful fish in the lake which Templeton villagers harness as the source of their pleasure.

In this work, the Templeton villagers feel the benefit of the environment around them because they can get their food from the environment, such as fish, birds, and deer meat. Leatherstocking earns a living from the surrounding environment. A clear distinction between Templeton villagers and Leatherstocking is their way of life or their lifestyle. Regarding residence, Judge Temple owns a large building equipped with very luxurious household appliances, while Leatherstocking occupies only a very small hut in the forest. The cause of this difference can be understood from the phrase to Judge

Temple “Put an in, Judge, to your clearings ... Use, but do not waste” (*The Pioneers*, 1823, p. 250).

This expression does not mean that people cannot cut trees. It means that Leatherstocking is maintaining frugality and not destructive. Taking as needed is the way he wants to live. This expression, leads to the understanding that living in a hut is enough so that he can take shelter from the rain and heat. Building costs a lot and sacrificing a lot of natural resources. Understandably, Natty Bumppo is so upset with the attitude of Billy Kirby who wants to cut any trees on the hill just to show that he is the greatest and cannot be defeated. For fine dining in the celebration of feast days such as Christmas, Leatherstocking only requires a small bird, while Judge Temple and his colleagues need to kill five deer. Another commendable behavior performed in this work is the responsibility to rescue others that are weak. Leatherstocking has saved Elizabeth, the child of Judge Temple from tiger attacks and from the fire. His anger towards Judge Temple is not a reason to not help Elizabeth.

The essence of Leatherstocking’s thinking about the environment is that the environment is the source of life. The idea that flora and fauna’s lives should be maintained is seen when he argued Judge Temple about tree cutting and the destruction of the forests, stating “was not the woods made for the beast and birds to harbor in? And when men wanted for Reviews their flesh, Reviews their skin, or Reviews their feathers, there's the place to seek them” (*The Pioneers*, 1823, p. 250). A good way that must be applied to maintain the viability of the environment is to treat the environment with love, because only love can save a little bird that does not mean anything for the Templeton rural communities, like what Leatherstocking does when feeling

affectionate towards a bird that was lying in agony (The Pioneers, 1823, p. 250).

Leatherstocking cannot bear to let the bird die as a result of shooting games done by Templeton villagers. This occurs when there is empathy in Leatherstocking's heart, like when he compares the small birds to humans or to himself when he says that they only need their tongues to express their thoughts and feelings. In such circumstances, Leatherstocking was imagining himself being a wounded state, near death and as helplessness as the bird. Human strength cannot be combated by birds, therefore, to save the flora and fauna is a must as shown by the attitude of the Leatherstocking.

5. In *The Prairie* (1827)

The Prairie takes place in 1805. This work tells the story of Natty Bumppo in old age at 82. Almost the same as *The Deerslayer*, this work also shows the maturity of Natty Bumppo, since the end of his life and the end of the story of *The Leatherstocking Tales* are in this work, so that this work reflects his maturity as parents. In this work, his nickname is the old trapper.

The development of the idea of environmental conservation in this work is built on moral actions by Natty Bumppo or old trapper as he did in other works in "The Leatherstocking Tales", such as the actions of giving help and liberation. Old trapper in this work helps the family of Ishmael Bush in the Great Plain after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. As usual, he gives help and protection. He also gives assistance and protection to Middleton by helping free his wife Inez who was kidnapped by Abiram White, Esther's brother, the wife of Ishmael Bush.

Then, the idea emerged from a clash between the good and bad, between the treatment of

migrants and the old trapper to the environment. In a controversy, old trapper is always on the side of what is good and commendable. In this work, the old trapper, again, admires the nature of courage displayed by a young Pawnee fighter from the tribe named Hard-Heard. Nevertheless, the old trapper did not accept the desire to end other people's lives when he said: "Pawnee, I love you; but being a Christian man, I cannot be the runner to bear such a message" (The Prairie, 1823, p. 819). The desire to kill people according to old trapper should not be maintained. This feeling is a superior feeling granted when a man can be killed freely and it is beginning of cruelty towards flora and fauna.

Compassion for one another and for the environment needs to be maintained to keep the harmony of the environment. References to scripture believed by Natty are rediscovered in this work. Protection of the environment in this work is in the form of respect for the law made by man to protect the environment. West area, which is free from migrants is considered a place to commit crimes freely since they see that the man-made law cannot reach them in the wild.

Natty does not accept it even though he prefers to always move around the free areas. His trip to the free region is the rejection of the attitudes and behaviors of malicious newcomers to the environment. The strength of the idea of environmental conservation in this work is that the environment should be maintained with the laws of man. The old trapper's hatred is shown by refusing to stay together with the settlers in the colony-settlement which indicates the absence of tolerance towards anyone who damages the environment.

Damaging the environment is not necessary because according to the old trapper, nature

has provided for the needs of man. The food available in nature is already tasty, so there is no need to add seasoning made by man. A solid defense for the environment of the old trapper is when he decides to stay together with good Pawnee tribe in the barren Great Plain area than with those white people who damage the environment when they justify the killing of human beings. The destruction of flora and fauna will be easier to do by them than by man who has the ability to resist. Old trapper is not able to justify the killing when he practices his religious belief properly when he warned the young Pawnee fighter he admired that the teachings which he believed did not justify murder.

In Christianity, the Bible is the religious reference. It is written in it that “Thus live these three things: faith, hope and love, and the greatest of them is love” (1 Corinthians 13:13). In another part of the Holy book it is written, “and the second law is: Love thy neighbor as yourself” (Matthew 22:39). The old trapper’s attitude towards humanity is greatly influenced by Christianity. Loving others will prevent people from doing as they please.

The Leatherstocking Tales as embryos of Eco-criticism in America

The Leatherstocking Tales contains the spirit of exploitation in connection with the eviction of the Indian Cherokees executed in 1838. The extinction of the Mohican tribe and the attitude and behavior shown by the newcomers towards the flora and fauna show the lack of their understanding that nature can affect human. Nature is an important element which should be considered by humans as exemplified by the writers of American literature. Henry David Thoreau’s opinion in “Walden” is that nature “is hard to be overcome but she must be overcome” (Thoreau, 1971, p. xvi).

This opinion is also justified by Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville. The third author believes that nature can affect and influence people. Natty Bumppo concerns against forest destruction which will result in animals losing their habitat which can also lead to human catastrophe. Violations of norms by Hester Bryne and Pastor Dimmesdale are also due to the restraint of the natural properties inherent in both of individuals that can result in death as experienced by Dimmesdale. The same thing happens to Captain Ahab who tries to fight a giant whale in *Moby Dick*. The size of the whale will not be able to be defeated by Captain Ahab, though he is well known as an expert in killing whales. The fight finally takes his life. Addressing the existing problems in each of these works, Cooper chooses to react in a manner that is not greedy and frugal, Hawthorne deals with attention and love, and Melville responds not with dexterity but with ingenuity.

Humans also have balanced power of nature according to Thoreau. In his work *Walden*, he says that humans naturally possess wildness and goodness. They like both of them (Thoreau, 1971, p. 210). Thoreau’s definition of balance also appears in *The Leatherstocking Tales*. In some of the issues, Cooper is always in the ‘middle position’. Wilderness is a symbol of freedom, but Natty Bumppo’s desire to follow the forest that he loves due to the environmental destruction that he does not like is not a decision to acquire absolute freedom as freedom inhuman laws. Abiram’s desire in *The Prairie* to stay in the wild as ‘prairie’ is a motivation to find freedom from the human laws. In the end, he committed a murder to assume that the ‘prairie’ is a free area from the law.

Thus, Cooper is not on a particular side when confronted with the conflicts between whites

with whites, Indians with Indians, Indians with whites, and vice versa. Cooper does not choose Judith whom he admires as his wife even though she was a bright girl, he does not choose Hetty either, his sister, who obeys the teachings of religion, in his work *The Deerslayer*. Cooper does not choose the old Ta Wah Wah who becomes his lover in *The Pathfinder*, nor the young Judith. The middle position selected by Cooper is a strong understanding of the nature and its properties.

From writers who wrote about the significance of the nature above, Cooper is the author of nature that accommodates the physical, social and spiritual environment. Hawthorne's defense is on the properties that stick to human beings when Hester Prynne was so strong in character as well as his defense of nature, which he has in himself as he prefers to be punished in prison and scaffold or by hanging and humiliated in the market place. Natural elements that Hawthorne raised are different with natural elements raised by Cooper. Hawthorne chooses natural properties of the human psyche or mentality. Hester Prynne and Dimmesdale feel different when Hester Prynne violates the rule because she was neglected by her husband Chillingworth, while Arthur Dimmesdale feels that he commits treason against the trust of parishioners.

Hawthorne here distinguishes the quality of the offense. Vices of human nature are ultimately defeated when Dimmesdale dies because of the pressure of guilt against the prevailing norms in the society. Dimmesdale's death is a result of psychological pressure to neglect the rules of society.

“...Happy are you, Hester, that wear the scarlet letter openly upon your bosom! Mine burns in secret...now it is all falsehood!-all emptiness!-all dead!”...O

Hester Prynne, thou little, little knowest all the horror of this thing! And the shame-the indelicacy!-the horrible ugliness of this exposure of a sick and guilty heart to the very eye that would gloat over it!” (Baymn, 1989, p.1265).

Some secret mistakes have made Dimmesdale suffer and eventually die. The mode of nature, which is reflected here is that every human being has natural properties that are unscrupulous to demonstrate their capacity as a savior. Hester's obstinacy is Hawthorne's recognition to the needs of attention for the human soul. Hester believes that what he did would be justified by God (Baymn, 1989, p. 1265).

Dimmesdale's death is Hawthorne's attitude that does not tolerate an attitude which is against natural moral stance contained in man. Hawthorne has the same attitude toward nature, that nature cannot be resisted. Both authors differ in the scope of nature's size that they manage, although in principle they reject the bad traits of nature. Both have an eco-centric attitude. Dimmesdale's moral attitude, even though he eventually dies, is Hawthorne's form of defense against moral values, as well as the moral values that are believed by Hester Prynne, which are protected by Hawthorne with the opportunity to continue living. Cooper is also eco-centric. Natty Bumppo's hut in the forest and the extinction of the Mohican tribe indicate the dialectic between cause and effect.

The extinction of the Mohican tribe causes Natty Bumppo to restrain his natural human desire on the abundance of properties that is shown by the migrants who exploit the environment. Melville also has an eco-centric moral soul when human's revenge eventually is defeated by the nature. It is the same with Cooper, Hawthorne and Melville, who show eco-centric moral attitude, with different

displayed nature. Cooper, Hawthorne and Melville show the similarity of view about the positive and negative of nature. Melville has a strategy to play with nature that cannot be changed by man with moral values and wisdom and not with the attitude shown Captain Ahab (Melville as cited in Baymn *et al.*, 1989, pp. 2157-2158).

The spirit, which is owned by Captain Ahab is the spirit of arrogance that consider as he considers himself great, powerful and more than others. With the spirit of arrogance, by relying on his physical abilities, he advances to conquer the giant whale but eventually dies. Thoreau does not dismiss nature in human beings. In "Higher Laws" in Thoreau's "Walden", he says, "I love the wild not less than the good" (Thoreau, 1971, p. 210).

However, Thoreau's recognition gives a sense of tolerance or gives place to the bad natural properties which are circumvented by Cooper, Hawthorne and Melville. Whitman also appreciates nature but he prefers to be anthropocentric. For him, nature can be used for the benefit of man. Although Whitman has a noble purpose to meet his Lord in the journey to the east like in "Passage to India," he has a dominant admiration to technological developments for the sake of the people. The eco-centric attitude of Cooper in *The Leatherstocking Tales* has a broader level, as Cooper describes the physical elements of nature such as flora, fauna and humans in a unity that are justified by ecological principles. Cooper has a tight defense against living natural elements.

Thus, it can be said that the ideals of Walt Whitman at the time were being fought by the migrants, which makes America as a modern country, advanced in technology, although in a way damaging the environment, such as the extinction of Mohican tribe, as well as the cutting of trees for amassing wealth as was

done by Billy Kirby in *The Pioneers* and the fauna mass murder in the village of Templeton for pleasure.

Materials about environmental safety in the work of Cooper *The Leatherstocking Tales* began to be written two years after he wrote his first novel *The Precaution* (1821). Through his work, fighting for a good cause towards the environment that he began in 1823, forty-seven years after American independence, Cooper already reminded the country to be sensible to the natural environment and human environment around it. Cooper's popularity in the 19th and 20th centuries exceeded writers like Thoreau, Melville, and Whitman. These three authors were discovered by modern readers when they got American awards. Cooper's fame in obtaining national literature from the quality of his works reveals the identity of American literature, which is "American-ness" as the emergence of varied dialects, 'frontier' background area and familiar characters that are often heard in the area, and the theme of the ideas of a new republic (Walker, 1962, p. 120).

Cooper is regarded as "the first American writer to express a sense of concern for the wanton destruction of the environment." Cooper's love for the natural world began when he was always close to nature, and familiarity with the nature made him miss it, so he did not like the activities of eviction of forest, flora and fauna undertaken by migrants (Franklin, 2007, p. 12). The benefits provided by the universe are actually traceable in his memory. His attention to the flora and fauna was born for the longing to the quiet time in the beautiful American wilderness that was once his playground. Untouched American nature in his childhood has been cultivating his love of flora and fauna so that changes that occurred when flora and fauna started to be evicted led to hatred against the frontiersmen.

The cacophony of the activities of the frontiersman had been disturbing the peace of flora and fauna, which he had acquired in the wilds of America. "Cooper was indeed making a social and moral issue out of his own sense of loss. The loss was visual, as his emphasis on the ugliness of the frontiers the stump-strewn landscape suggest" (Franklin, 2007, pp. 12-13). Cooper's knowledge on how to treat the natural and human environment was a value that was very expensive to have in this new nation which was officially formed on July 4th, 1776. This is in accordance with the principles of ecology that emphasizes the absolute dependence of each other between all the elements that exist on the earth (Odum, 1971, pp. 1-3).

The dream of the settlers that a new world is a place that promises a better life has resulted in the exploitation of the environment such as; the cutting of trees to be used to build settlements as well as a commodity to be marketed to countries in Europe and the killing of animals for the use of their leather and fur which will be sold in Europe as well as for fun for the newcomers are the environmental issues portrayed by James Fenimore Cooper. When such exploitation makes the quality of the environment unstable, and when it is not addressed, it will maintain an un-commendable attitude of the newcomers towards the environment. Since very early, Cooper had dreams to straighten the migrants to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' which contains values of environmental sustainability.

The success of Cooper's observation of the urgency of his country's future was projected from the state of super abundance accompanied by a strong self-belief that superior European settlers were a consequence of a superior quality. That quality is reflected in the nature of Cooper's

persistence in facing many challenges as a writer in the era of early America, the challenges in his personal life, his concern for the condition of American literature, the intention with the spirit of patriotism and concern for the environment, the flora, fauna and humans in America even around the world in general.

As the first American writer who cares about the environmental damage and presenting the ideas of environmental preservation in *The Leatherstocking Tales* (1823-1841), he became viable as an environmentalist in America when this work was recognized as a monumental work. It was necessary to warn the Americans, even all of humankind to the dangers of environmental destruction. Historically, eco-criticism in America refers to works that glorify 'nature' from the 'transcendentalists' in 1840s which are the works of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), as well as Margaret Fuller (1810 -1850), while in the UK in the works of William Wordsworth in the English Romantic period in the 1790s (Barry, 2002, p. 250).

Eco-criticism applies a 'natural science' concept which is different from the domination of other criticisms that do not accommodate these fields in analyzing literature (Dodd, 2014). Cooper's intelligence in the work is not limited to providing admiration for the natural beauty but more in the issues that arise in the present period as hatred against pollution (*The Prairie*, 1827, p. 674), as well as the concept of alive habitat, when he is worrying about the life of the fauna habitat being destroyed in the forest (*The Pioneers*, 1823, p. 250). This thinking has emerged in the period prior to the 'Transcendentalist.' This factor qualifies the work of Cooper *The Leatherstocking Tales* is an embryo of eco-criticism. The other reason is that, historically, the work appears before

the works of the 'Transcendentalists' which appears after 1840, earlier than the effort to save the environment in the United States pioneered by John Muir, Theodore Roosevelt and Pinchot in the 1850s and emerged much earlier from the birth of the environmental legislation in the United States in September 1964.

Conclusion

Cooper's integrity in American literature has been determined by the integrity to the natural environment, the state and nation, humanity and to life. The relevance of the ideas of environmental preservation in Cooper's work *The Leatherstocking Tales* with current environmental issues has placed the work as a monumental work in the world, from the properties or nature of the world raised by Cooper, which can never be changed by time and is universal. Therefore, eco-criticism that emerges in the era of post-modernism can still refer to the work of Cooper. Thoreau, Emerson and Margaret Fuller mentioned as forerunners of eco-criticism in America have actually been preceded by Cooper, and Cooper also preceded other American writers who wrote about nature like Hawthorne, Melville, and Whitman. These factors can mean that the works of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Leatherstocking Tales* as an embryo of eco-criticism and can put Cooper in the category of environmentalists in America, together with Thoreau, Muir, Roosevelt and Pinchot.

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THE TRANSNATIONAL SUCCESS OF COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE

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Abstract

Studying about an American popular culture product such as the Cosmopolitan magazine for American Studies' scholars can no longer be framed in studying how it is operated within the U.S. only. Instead, a look at how it is being transferred across nation's borders and how it is regulated in other nations become a concern also to scholars. Time and space is no longer a border for a world that is transnational, so global values that are being sold in the magazine's advertisements are being made continually popular by inserting local ideas. How has Cosmopolitan successfully achieved its globality? The following article discusses on the transnational culture that Cosmopolitan and its magazine advertisement brings and how it has taken in the local to support the global.

Key words: Cosmopolitan, Global, Local, Transnational, Popular culture

INTRODUCTION

Ever since 2004, American Studies scholars are encouraged to use transnationalism in their methodology. This means that scholars are asked to look "beyond the nation's borders" when criticizing a piece of work, because the U.S. culture originated from a migration of cultures (Fishkin, 2004, p.21). With the coming of different cultures into the U.S., transnationalism paved the way for whatever is popular in the U.S. to be as equally popular in other nations. This can be possible whenever the U.S. people originating from these multi-cultures have a chance to return to their origins and spread the idea of for example, the benefit of the already popular culture of the U.S. supermarkets, fast-food chains and credit cards.

The word transnational is sometimes interchangeable with the words "international, multinational, global", and "supranational" (De Mooij, 2004, p.6), that connotes "boundarylessness" so that a Coca-Cola can be travelling around the globe and being drunk by a "Black, White, Middle Eastern, East and South Asian, who is beating his own indigenous drums

to the beat of the Coca Cola jingle" (Rao, 1996, p.1). According to Haque (Haque, 2011, p.1) transnationalism is globalization, and is usually associated with the free market-based classical liberal economic policies pursued by developing and transnational societies of the world, that have embraced Western, more precisely, American values and modes of doing things not only in the realm of economics and politics but more visibly in the production, consumption and circulation of popular culture products, manifested in a pervasive process of commodification of advertising.

With regards to advertising, in addition to those posted on the internet where its usage is continually climbing at astounding rates on a worldwide basis (Roberts & Hajun, 2001, p.18), the traditional pages of print advertising in magazines are still popularly used as publication and promotion media. Feng and Frith (Feng & Frith, 2008, p.2) informs that ever since the 1900s, advertisements from the back of especially women magazine pages were moved to the front because they were a good source of revenue. Years later, the advertisements are also integrated with editorials. With advertorials

special position, therefore, many transnational advertisers use the chance to globalize women magazines. The expansion of women magazines crossing the borders have been made possible with global media corporations' franchise systems that produces international women's magazines. Thus, making advertisements in international women's magazines have a globalized culture.

The globalized culture that advertisements have is in making their readers, who are potential consumers to not only watch, but also dream, and eventually buy things. Having the advertisements go transnational, therefore, makes corporations or organizations think of how to sell the American dream for Europeans or Asians. How it is possible to sell an American Barbie to a Japanese or an Indonesian, is a clause of example. One best way to do is to create valuable images and make consumers addicted to it (Transnational Advertising Culture). This is why, nowadays, "joy and happiness are perfumes" and "love-and-caring and hope are cosmetics" for most women of the world (Kavanaugh, 2013). One of the most popular women's magazines which enjoy global success is the *Cosmopolitan*. Below is a recount of its history and how *Cosmopolitan* later achieved its transnational success story.

THE SUCCESS STORY OF COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE

Cosmopolitan magazine started its business in the U.S. in 1886 and since that time, it the magazine experienced a management of various owners (Simkin, 2013). First, it was owned by the founders, Schlichtand Field, who initially intended the magazine to be read for the family because there were articles devoted exclusively for the caring and management of children, cooking, household decoration, and other interests for women such as fashion. In addition to this, articles for the younger members of the family were available.

Eventhough this domesticated magazine managed to reach a circulation of 25,000 in its first year, the founders could only manage the business for two years (Simkin, 2013). By 1889 the magazine was owned by John Brisben Walker, who appointed E.D. Walker as his editor. The new editor made the magazine more attractive, by providing colorful illustrations, serials and book reviews. Serial stories from Theodore Dreisser, Rudyard Kipling, Jack London, Willa Cather and Edith Wharton were among those that help built up *Cosmopolitan* as a popular literary magazine. Thus, by 1892 its circulation climbed up to 75,000 and made *Cosmopolitan* one of America's leading literary magazine. Walker's management, however, was successful for only around ten years. William Randolph Hearst became the next owner to have bought the *Cosmopolitan* for US \$400 in 1905. In his ownership, well-known journalists and top illustrators were hired to help him publish a literary magazine which had three serials and ten short stories. Due to its popularity, its circulation rise up to 1,700,000 with an advertising income of \$5,000,000 in 1930. A decade after, the circulation amount was then increased up to 2,000,000 during World War II. Yet, due to the rise of paperbacks and television, there was a decrease in the demand for fiction in the 1950s' *Cosmopolitan*. This decrease continued on for a decade, until Helen Gurley Brown took over as chief editor in 1965.

In Brown's hands, she refocused the literary magazine into a magazine for women. The change from a literary to a women's magazine was because the 1960's was also the rise of feminism. In this decade, women demonstrated against their daily domesticated role as housewives and other forms of discrimination such as the lower pay and fewer promotions for women at the work force. It was in this decade that women are taught to believe that they, too, have the abilities to have political and academic achievements (Friedan, 1963, p.348).

With the above condition, therefore, Brown cleverly made the *Cosmopolitan* magazine as a media that can give support and advice to women on how to deal with their new roles. Her message of ‘Live big, go for it, be the best you can be in every area of your life’ and vision for women to be ‘fun, fearless female’ was popular among women readers. She envisioned that a woman may still want to be traditional in many ways, but did not want to get her identity from other people because she wanted to achieve on her own. Therefore, she made the magazine to “serve career women in their 20s and 30s by writing openly on topics such as sex and personal relationships including premarital and extramarital affairs” (Sternadori 2). Other women’s magazine had also treated sex as a subject but they were most often in the context of its domestication (Ehrenreich and English). In *Cosmopolitan*, sex was discussed as a “function of the public sphere, in the context of the workplace, and in the explicit terms of the marketplace” (McMohan, 1990, p.382). By 2001, the *Cosmopolitan* reached a much greater popularity among young women with a circulation of 2,963,351 in the U.S. (Pan, 1993, p.8).

Cosmopolitan is continually popular. It is more than a magazine, it is an “empire, a brand, a state of mind” (Taylor, 2003, p.7). With a target audience of young, ambitious, and informed women, most readers are employees, who have earnings and time to spend. It is for this reason that advertisers would look into *Cosmopolitan* to advertise their products. For example, Taylor (Taylor, 2003, p.7-8) reports that in the United Kingdom (U.K.), *Cosmo* women would spend over one billion a year on fashion, two billion on their homes, 3.5 billion on food, 1.4 billion on new cars and account for 1 out of 11 spent on cosmetics and skincare. It is also in *Cosmopolitan* that readers rely on as a girl-power guide to getting things right. Citing Kesley, *Cosmopolitan* magazine is regarded

More insightful and intimate than the best friends, more of an instant feel-good fix than the bubbliest of champagnes, more saucy and sinful than the most calorific of chocolates, *Cosmo* is the relationship bible for today’s modern young woman. It’s fun, fearless and fabulously flirtatious attitude is a manifesto for her life (Taylor, 2003, p.8).

Cosmopolitan is basically a magazine that women would use as a guide. It has established a brand, too. In 2001 the National Magazine Company launched *Cosmo GIRL!* and *Cosmopolitan Bride*. There is also a *Cosmo TV* with 3 TV networks, 2 Spanish language channels, one in Spain and one in Latin America, and an English channel in Canada launched in February 14th, 2008. *Cosmo Radio* airs in Sirius Radio XM162 in the U.K. and also targets its listeners of the 18 to 34 age group (Kesley, 2003).

Cosmopolitan’s success story is also partly owed to the condition that women are the largest consumers. It is the women rather than men that “spend more time on shopping, banking, and sending e-greeting cards” (Pan, 1993, p.5). Women are seen to be financially powerful with an “expenditure of about \$2 trillion per year in the U.S. because in the family, they are usually in charge of the families’ daily finances” (Pan, 1993, p.6). Because it is predicted that \$12.5 trillion will be passing through women’s hands in between the years of 2010 and 2015, thus, ever since 2004, the *Cosmopolitan* was expanded internationally with 25 languages and reaches the women of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, China, and other nations (Pan, 1993 p.8).

In 2010, the prediction is proven true. The latest data in 2013 showed that the *Cosmopolitan* magazine was recognized as the most popular magazine in the world because it had 64

international editions, printed in 35 languages and distributed in more than 100 countries (Cosmopolitan magazine). The numbers mentioned here are mostly related to the print magazines. Nowadays, with digital magazines on the internet, its popularity is more than ever on the rise. Ever since it made itself available on the Zinio platform in 2005 and much later on the Ipad, the magazine definitely gained exceptional popularity with its 100,000 individual subscribers.

Helen Gurley Brown And her's Cosmopolitan Message

The name Cosmopolitan is not only a magazine label, but literarily to show that it is intended for the modern, outgoing cosmo or modern women of the 18-34year old range. For the 32 years as editor, this Cosmo-ness to Brown has been translated into the revolutionary idea that "women working outside of the home can have sex, including sex outside of marriage" (McMohan, 1990, p.382). Because the magazine explicitly puts on many things about sex, it becomes the reason for people to have the attribute that Cosmopolitan magazine means sex. As explained above, it was Brown that promoted the running theme of placing importance to women's sexual desire as a working goal for the magazine. It was not the first time she did this. Back in 1962, she was successful in her then-scandalous self-help book *Sex and the Single Girl*, which sold 2 million copies in three weeks in 35 countries and made the bestseller lists in the Los Angeles Times, The New York Times and Time (Scanlon, 2009, p.1).

In her book, *Sex and the Single Girl*, Brown (Brown, 1962, p.1) encouraged single women to advance their situation of being alone by being daring and finding suitable partners. Through a list of men available in a woman's life, Brown suggested in one of her book's chapters for where women should meet men and how to keep

a good healthy shape, so women can maintain their sexy outlook. Other chapters of Brown's book showed how women could become a good home maker and manager by becoming a good home decorator, cook, and child manager, yet also having financial independence and have freedom to sexual relationships regardless of whether a woman is still single or already married. Although receiving many critics at a time when Cosmopolitan was already famed as the foundering for monthly fiction, it was these initial ideas for women who should have a "sexual desire" and "financial self-sufficiency" (Simmons-Duffin, 2012) that Brown persistently transfers to the Cosmopolitan magazine. This is why, with Kate White as the current editor, she could instruct almost every issue of Cosmopolitan to have the word sex explicitly written on the covers and articles' headlines.

With regards to the running theme of sexual desire, based on a research that McMohan (McMohan, 1990, p.384) did to a selection of articles from the 38 issues of the 1976 to 1988 *Cosmopolitan* magazines, she found 77 articles talking about relationships with men, 51 articles on the lives of celebrities and 49 articles explicitly offering advice about sex. Yet in the 49 articles she mentioned are misleading because in reality their articles about relationships with men, and the lives of celebrities contained sexually explicit material and deal with sexual relationships and problems (McMohan, 1990, p.385). Consequently, it is logical to see many vocabularies and phrases, which connote the theme of sexuality throughout many of the magazine's issues. In the U.S. August 2012 issue, for example, the following phrases are found: "52 Sex Tips", "When Your Vagina Acts Weird after Sex", "50 Kinky Sex Movies" and "His Best Sex Ever" (Zimmerman, 2012). Interestingly enough, it is this particular message that is being maintained globally by many other countries. As informed by Pan above, *Cosmopolitan* has been distributed in

Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, China, and other nations. Zimmerman also says that the other nations or countries also include Armenia, Azerbaijan, Britain, China, Croatia, Finland, France, India, Indonesia, Middle East, Mongolia, Russia, Singapore, South Africa, South Korea, and Vietnam

When *Cosmopolitan* is globalized, it means that the U.S. magazine's version gets to be read by people of different countries. It may also mean that some articles or advertisements from the original U.S. version are directly translated from the English language to the different nation or countries' languages. Yet most of the time it is the magazine's messages that are transnationalized by bringing the global into the local. This means that the article on for example, "His Best Sex Tips" may be a show and tell of the local people's experiences rather than just taking for granted the ones directly from the U.S. with no changes whatsoever.

As a transnational magazine, *Cosmopolitan* relies on a global strategy, dealing with a private 50-page manual, which dictates criteria in the selection of cover models and editorial focus (Nelson & Paek, 2005, p.372). For example, the woman on the cover is "always a woman, with large hair, remarkable features and not too much clothing" (Carr). This becomes understandable for why a Russian *Cosmopolitan* co-editor then comments, "Hearst is a great partner, as long as you don't put a guy on the cover" (Carr).

APPLICATION OF COSMOPOLITAN'S TRANSNATIONALITY

Samples on how *Cosmopolitan* applies transnationality throughout the globe are illustrated as follows. In Indonesia, the *Cosmopolitan* changed the way Indonesian women think about sex. It used to be a taboo topic, but now it can be discussed openly. Originally called *Cosmopolitan Higinia*, the

initial September 1997 made its breaking new ground of promoting sexually assertive women (Saraswati, 2010, p.21). Upon this fact, Saraswati (Saraswati, 2010, p.22) commented that although there were protests from some Muslim groups in Indonesia that women became to love sex too much, it was nonetheless this sexuality issue that made *Cosmopolitan* a great hit and has a circulation of 139,000 in the year of 2004. To state yet another transnational example is in Russia's *Cosmopolitan* edition. Because young Russians cannot afford to move out from their parents' homes, the editor then released an article on how to have sex while living with their parents (Carr).

With regards to other countries, it is written that in India the message received by the readers is that Indian women can marry someone whom they like and not because their parents told them to (Zimmerman, 2012). Because Indian women traditionally live with their parents until marriage, the teachings that women can go out and find their own men is a culture that needs to be accustomed. In Singapore, whenever a sexual content is published a yellow warning box with the writings: 'Unsuitable for the Young' would run on the cover. For the Middle East, dating and premarital sex are punishable by law, so the editor had to treat the issue of sex carefully. In South Korea, articles on sex are not as popular as the 'dreamy wedding' ones, so pages of the magazine are inclined to have lots of fashion wear and accessories for the bride-to-be. In Finland, to change the notion that Finnish guys are not hot, most of the centerfold type pages are filled with topless Finnish guys. For nations, who are not overly interested with sex issues, the editors of *Cosmopolitan* have made ways for ideas that would sell better. For example, in Kazakhstan, readers are more interested in articles on career and travel rather than sex, because as a newly independent and developing nation, their women are more interested in the kinds of career opportunities and economy the

market has to offer. In Croatia the topics on how women could act bravely on their own have been the most popular. For Germany, it is business-oriented issues that become a hit.

In obtaining its materials, Chang (Chang, 2001, p.3) explains that *Cosmopolitan* has both “centralized and localized” qualities. Various editions from many countries can borrow materials from a “central bank”, which is from the New York headquarters. The borrowing can also be from the “sister bank” of other countries, thereby, making *Cosmopolitan* unique as it blends the global and local topics concerning womanhood. This model allows a “parent company to build up branches or subsidiary networks of local agents and in this way, they can establish important connection and alliances in foreign markets” (Feng & Frith, 2008, p.2). What usually happens when new magazine editions are to be published, local publishing companies form joint ventures with the head office of the international publishing company. Then the staff from the head office will be sent to train the staff and editors in the new foreign office to receive text and pictures from the head offices. By making use of the parent publication’s brand name, reputation, format, and experience the local editions of the international magazines have more of a chance to attract international advertisers.

Technically, a team of staff members at *Cosmopolitan* headquarters would usually create the initial ideas for the articles and have them transferred to the *Cosmopolitan* network around the globe (Zimmerman, 2013). The magazine has a database for international editors to see what features the U.S. headquarters have in mind three months beforehand. Once the images and layout for the featured articles are uploaded, each international editor can adjust the contents according to their own countries’ needs. The following is an illustration:

what appeared as ‘Fascinating Breast Fact’ in the U.S. July 2011 *Cosmopolitan* which featured a close-up of a woman tugging her shirt open, became ‘15 Facts You Need to Know About Your Breasts’ in the October 2011 edition of *Cosmo Middle East*, where it ran a model demurely dangling a bra over her shoulder. ‘What His Sleep Habits Can Tell You’ ran in *Cosmo U.S.* in March 2012 and, months later, appeared in China (same photography but with text translated into Chinese) and in Armenia (different photography). And what ran as the fashion spread ‘Motorcycle Diaries’ in August 2009 in *Cosmo U.S.* – featuring an abandoned gas station, denim, plaids, a hot guy and the open road – ran two years later in *Cosmo Mongolia* with the same blend of denim, plaid, gas station and open road, except the whole thing had been reshot with guys who looked Mongolian (Zimmerman, 2012).

A similar sample on how Indonesian *Cosmopolitan* has made a transnationalism of the U.S. version is as follows. For example, in her research Dukut found that Hollywood, blonde haired celebrity Brittany Murphy is on the *Cosmopolitan* cover for the U.S. June 2003, U.S. September 2004, U.S. July 2006, Serbian July 2006 and Indonesia’s August 2006 version. All have her as the model, but photographed in different attires. The U.S. June 2003 have her in white, you-can-see blouse with the top part of the unzipped, thus showing the cleavage of her breasts. The length of the blouse is midi length, which deliberately shows off her belly button with the way she wears her tight blue denim. With a blonde hair and no smile on her face, Murphy looks professionally sexy. This sexiness is maintained in the other two U.S. versions, i.e. the September 2004, which has Murphy again showing the cleavage of her

breasts but now wearing a red, white, black abstract motif party dress. Meanwhile, the July 2006 chose Murphy to wear a floral pink dress. In sequence with the U.S. July 2006 is the Indonesian August 2006 version, which shows her in a sexy, tight, red dress, which is just like the Serbian's choice for their September 2006.

Who is Murphy, that she is used in three of U.S. issues and also used for the cover of other nation's issues? She is one of the luckiest celebrities to be on three issues of the prestigious magazine. Kate White tells HollywoodLife.com (Cosmo Editor Fondly Remembers Brittany Murphy) and is known for her upbeat and cheerful demeanor. She is remembered well by fans because in addition to starring a number of Hollywood movies such as *Something Wicked* (2012), *The Ramen Girl* (2008), *Sin City* (2005) and many more. She gained her popularity from the film *Girl Interrupted* (1999) and *Clueless* (1995). In addition to cinema movies, she was a leading female performer for a TV film in *David and Lisa* (1998) and vocal singer for a TV series *King of the Hill* (1997). That her death at 32 years old had surprised many of her fans.

Inspecting the covers again, an example for the same monthly issue is the May 2009. In it is found that the model in the U.S. version is Whitney Port who had on an orange low cut summer dress with a long blonde hair. By comparison the Indonesian May 2009 edition prefers to have Britney Spears, who is also with long blonde hair, but in white three-piece suit. Although Spears has a formal suit on, the way she stares at the readers and how she clutches her suit and opens her legs while standing with no smile on her face are equally sexy signs for some readers. From these covers, it is learnt from that the transnationality is the myth of beautiful goddess like women, who ought to have a long blonde hair, where through her gaze,

readers can feel how confident a woman can be with herself. Referring back to Brown's 'fun, fearless female' concept then it fits with the ideal picture of a financially independent woman who knows what to do with her gifted capabilities.

Inside the magazine, the transnationality of some articles or sections may be exemplified by the May 2009 version. In the U.S. version's one-page section of *Hot Sheet: 6 Things Being Buzzed About Right Now* it becomes the Indonesian's two-page section of *Hot Sheet: 7 Hal yang Sedang Hangat Dibicarakan*. In the U.S. version there are small notes on 1. The truth about sloppy kisses, 2. The practice off peacocking, 3. What's not so hot of Pamela Anderson's behavior, 4. Sexed-up sandals, 5. Twitter.com blows up, and an announcement that "a whooping 88 percent of men admit to fantasizing about one of their female coworkers" (White 35). By comparison the Indonesian version has 1. *Hang out di Rooftop*, 2. *Bergembiralah*, 3. *Halus tanpa cela*, 4. *Perihal keterlambatan*, 5. *Waspada Alzheimer*, 6. *Fisik atau Fakta* with one out off four photos showing Ellen DeGeneres and Colin Farrell kissing sloppy, and a small announcement on *Tahukah Anda?* "69% pria mengatakan kalau mereka tak akan pernah berselingkuh dari pasangan atau kekasihnya, tapi 32% pria juga mengaku berfantasi soal kekasih sahabatnya. Wow!". What is the same in both versions is the show of a couple kissing sloppily and the percentages found of men fantasizing about women (Basuki, 2009, p.54-55). The mentioned sample means to show that the editor of the Indonesian magazine do have the freedom of which ideas are to keep, discard, or expand from the U.S. version, so that they go with the local readers' needs, and they do not go over the basic mission of encouraging financially dependent women who know how to deal with their own sexual desires.

It becomes clear from the discussions above, therefore, that the global message of *Cosmopolitan* can be made local in order to achieve continual recognition and the increase of revenues. This quality is something that advertisers are on the go for. Thus, even though some themes on sex are repeatable in editions of *Cosmopolitan* over the world, the magazine is assured in its success of never lacking a world wide readership.

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ASIAN INDIAN MUSLIM NEGOTIATING FOR IDENTITY IN THE POST 'SEPTEMBER ELEVENTH' AS DEPICTED IN THE FILM *MY NAME IS KHAN*

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Abstract

This article is an attempt to examine the problem of Muslim identity and how they negotiate their identity as Muslim whereas they have to face anti Muslim racism by Americans. The film has the theme of racism in the context of Muslim racial profiling. Therefore to accomplish the objectives, it applies Kant's theory called as "races of mankind" that is, people are distinguishable according to their inherited physical attributes. This term illustrated the racialized of religion in the context of physical attributes related to labeling of Muslim racial profiling and stereotypes as terrorist. Since "September Eleventh", Muslim is suspected as terrorist and has to be responsible for the tragedy. The interesting fact found in the analysis of the Asian Indian Muslim identity in the United States America post "September Eleventh" as depicted in the film is that, the Muslim Americans community was particularly impacted by the attacks and has had to face the growing Islamophobia including discrimination and prejudice, racial hatred, as well as violence. Rising Islamophobia and the negative reaction of American society to "September Eleventh" have led to changing definitions of the good multicultural society in the United States of America. Therefore, to decrease the impact of Islamophobia, Asian Indian Muslim Americans undergo the process of negotiation for their identity as Muslim through the way such as assertiveness in faith, showing the truth of Islam and participate in social activity. Accordingly, Americans Muslim can reduce the suspicions of their identity until Americans do not assume them as threat even less as enemy but rather as human being that have right to be appreciated because of their humanity and not because of their identity as Muslim.

Key words: Negotiation, Asian Indian Muslim identity, September Eleventh, Muslim racial profiling.

INTRODUCTION

Diversity is the thing that God has given in the world of America. This diversity also can create the anxiety or phobia that is difficult to be omitted by American society. This kind of anxiety can be like the anxiety to foreigner or to other people who are distinct in some way of race, caste, ethnic or religion. The most visual difference in multiethnic society in the United States of America is usually the issue of race, whereas the largest number of crime referring to racial hatred is sometimes followed by the crime motivated by religion. It is related to the case of Islam, when the tragedy of the crash "September Eleventh" happened in the U.S. as Islam is then connected to the action of terrorism. Americans

have negative stereotypes to Muslim. Muslim becomes the victim of misconception in which they experience racial hatred referring to their racial profiling as Muslim that identically have the way of their dressing and wearing the headscarf. This way of life which constitutes to the profile of the Muslim becomes the reason why people assume some of the Muslim as terrorist who are, in this case, they are responsible for the tragedy. In the western world, history is marked simply by BC and AD. But now, there is a third distinction "9/11" (MNIK, 01:03:00) Related to this issue, it is still very much in reformed Muslim identity especially when they face the tragedy of "September Eleventh" in which they have to experience

some actions of Islamophobia as from of the backlash from Americans who perceived lose everything in their life and its real consequences for Muslims living in the United States of America. Islamophobia can be defined as the action addressed to Muslim in the form of discrimination, prejudice, racial hatred, and violence rooted in misinformed and stereotyped representations of Islam and its adherents (Ghazali, 2008, p.18). It seems very ironic because not every Muslim is a terrorist. But then, Muslim America has to pay the cost over the death of humanity in the United States of America related to the tragedy.

Furthermore, this article aims to reveal the factors that contribute toward Asian Indian Muslim's uncomfortable experience in the post "September Eleventh" as depicted in the film *My Name Is Khan* as well as to find out how Asian Indian Muslims negotiate their identity in the post "September Eleventh" as depicted in the film *My Name Is Khan*.

In doing this research, library research is used in order to collect the appropriate data which are needed in analyzing the topic. The main data are taken from the film *My Name is Khan*. The supporting data are taken from other sources such as some critical books, essays, journal, articles, and some data from the internet (international network) related to the context of Asian Indian Muslims identity and Muslim Americans in the United States of America. All those data are compiled together as supporting data.

To gain the needed data, the movie is watched repeatedly to observe the striking scenes, the portrayal of the characters, and the development of the characterization and many other aspects that appropriate to the discussion of this research. It is done particularly on the conditions in American society in the post "September

Eleventh" that make the Asian Indian Muslims feel uncomfortable because of being targeted as terrorist in the United States of America and how they create the harmonic relationship with Americans through the process of negotiation for their identity as Muslim in the United States of America as depicted in *My Name Is Khan*.

DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE

In this research, discrimination and prejudice against Muslim Americans viewed that the reality of an entire race of Muslims related to their identity, portraying them as terrorists and treating them as the "others" after the "September Eleventh" incident. In the film *My Name is Khan* reflects the dangerous for Muslims become the victims of misconception as terrorist. Muslims experienced in uncomfortable and unhappy life since the tragedy crash "September Eleventh".

In the film, after the "September Eleventh", discrimination and prejudice to Muslims are found in the very beginning of scene whereby Khan (the main character of the film) continues to endure long waits at airports, where he are often asked for questioning. It tells the condition in which Khan whose identity is Muslim, he is detained at airports by American airport security when he took a plane and he is being interviewed regarding to his identity. He is fumbling with pebbles in his hand and starts reciting a Surah in Arabic (a verse from Holy Quran). A lady in front of him stares at him suspiciously. Next he is being asked by an officer to come with him.

*Would you come with me, sir?
Hands in front, hands behind your head
Behind your head and turn around open
your mouth
Anything on the watch-list, George
No flags. He's clean. Okay Mr. Khan,
we are done here. You can go.*

But why are you going to Washington DC?

I'm going to meet the President of the United States.

Why is that? Is he a friend of yours?

Oh, no, no, no. He is not a friend. No, no, no. I have something to say to him

Oh yeh? Yes

Well, tell the President something from me too then

Okay, okay

Tell him I said, howdy.

But I have my own message to give to him first

Oh yeah? What is that? You know where Osama is? Oh no, no, no, no. No, this is not my message. No, no, no What is your message, Mr. Khan?

I have to say to him. My name is Khan and I'm not a terrorist

(MNIK, 07:36)

From the quotation above, he has to face some investigations as he is accused of a terrorist who has relation with Osama bin Laden. Osama bin Laden following the tragedy of "September Eleventh", is accused of the agent responsible for the crash attack of World Trade Centre. Osama is Muslim known by Americans as the leader of the Islamic fundamentalist, Al-Qaeda. Al Qaeda by American is known as the tenet of Jihad or the holy war that allows violent act and murder. In the story of Khan, the airport officials suspect Khan having connection with Osama. Then, Khan reveals their misunderstanding and whispers in his suffering of Asperger Syndrome that he wants to meet the President of the United States to tell him that "My name is Khan, and I am not a terrorist." The airport officials ask Khan about his message to president and look at him with sympathy and confusion but are unable to answer his statement. The snickering officers only see that his name is Khan, he is a Muslim, and he becomes the suspect. Muslims are treated

through the heavy scrutiny that has to be done to fight Islamic terror. Furthermore, to raise the psychological effect on Khan, in terms of the high security he experiences, he is checked for hours, and thereby he loses his flights. Nevertheless, the incident of the arrest of Khan is clearly to show his Muslim identity, to bring down his fear, just the opposite of the airport officials who do not have tolerance with Muslim.

For Khan, after the tragedy of "September Eleventh", it encouraged him to struggle hard to maintain as well as to show his identity as a Muslim. It is more difficult to be a Muslim in the United States. Most Americans feel prejudice and anxiety to Muslim. The experience of Khan related to the profiling of Muslim in airports by airport security officers cause the emergence of misconception among Americans toward Muslims, in this case of Khan, that tends to treat as the enemy of the state, the enemy of the United State of America so that those people had acted suspiciously to him because of his name.

Race as recognized by visual and eternal characteristics, whereas religion is identified by a body of ideas and practices. Hence, racist and religious crime is particularly hurt the victims because they are being targeted solely because of their personal identity, their actual or perceived racial or ethnic origin or their actual or perceived belief or faith.

In the film *My Name is Khan* the bigotry and racial hatred in the United States culminate in the senseless killing of a young Indian boy Sam or Sameer, who is beaten to death by youths in the football ground, in part due to the adopting of his stepfather's name, Khan. This murderous of Khan's son is very painful for Khan. Related to this issue, the film portrays the life of Muslim who experiences the discrimination, especially

in refer to the character of Khan. Since the tragedy of “September Eleventh”, he experiences suspicion because of his identity as Muslim. Because of his religious belief, he is treated as a person unpleasantly. Besides, his family also becomes the victim of misunderstanding because he marries a Hindu woman who has one child in her previous marriage and unexpectedly his stepson died because of adopting his name. Consequently, the wife of Khan, Mandira, the mother of his stepson, feels miserable for the tragedy. It can be seen as follows

*Sam, my baby. We killed him.
It's time for dinner. Doctors say that
post traumatic disorder causes people
to ignore their health.
Both of us killed him.
You need to take care of your health.
Just shut up, shut up. Are you listening
to what I am saying?
We killed him (MNIK, 01:24:32)
It is my entire fault. If I hadn't married
you, all this wouldn't have happened. I
though you loved me so much, loved
Sam so much. What difference would it
make if his name is changed? What
difference would it make if a 'Khan' was
added to his name? But I was wrong. It
makes a difference. It does make a
difference. I should never have married
a Muslim man! If Sam had been a
Rathod (Hindu) he would have been
alive today. He was a Khan, so, he died.
(MNIK, 01:25:14).*

Following the events of “September Eleventh”, Khan and Muslims in general as well as those who marry with Muslims begin to face a number of difficulties and their life has change drastically. Following a tragedy, for a while, they have to separate because Mandira's son has been killed. The tragedy that sacrifices his

stepson, the murder of Sam, makes Khan and Mandira separate for a while. When this effect reaches Khan, indirectly, makes him uncomfortable and injures him because it is so bad that it dangers his marriage. What his autistic mind instructs him to save his marriage is by having a journey meeting the President of the United States of America. In order to solve it, Khan begins a long journey across the United States living up to the demand of his wife. He goes against the odds, does what a normal mind would feel insensible and tries to save his happiness. He travels across America attempting to meet the President of the United States to deliver a memorable message as direction of his wife, "My name is Khan and I am not a terrorist. He wants to explain that not all Muslims are terrorists.

*He died because of you. Because of
your surname! I don't even want to see
you. Whenever I see you, I remember
Sam's wounds. I can't do this anymore.
I'm leaving you, Khan When should you
be back?*

*You know Banville? It has a population
of 30.000 and each of those 30.000
people hates you. Tell all of them that
you are not a terrorist. Why only them?
Tell every person in America. Can you
do that? Can you? No, you can't. Why
don't you tell the President of United
States then? Mr. President, my name is
Khan and I'm not a terrorist. So, he can
tell all these people that my Sam was
not the terrorist son of a terrorist father.
He was just a baby. When you have
done that, please comeback.*

*I'm just a mother whose son has been
killed (MNIK, 01:34:08)*

From the quotation above it is clear that Khan experiences extreme personal hardships due to his religion. These hardships culminate in the tragic death of his teenage son Sam, beaten to death in the school playing field by boys of Caucasian origin (older student in Sam's school). In his son's grief, Sameer's mother, Mandira blames her husband Khan, accusing him of the fact that if she and her son had not taken the name of Khan, her son would not be dead. She then tells Khan sarcastically that the only way he can atone for this stigma of being a Khan and, by implication a Muslim, is to meet the United States President and to tell him that: "My Name is Khan and I am not a Terrorist." The message for President becomes the requirement from Mandira to Khan in order that Khan can reunite together with her.

The tragedy of 'September Eleventh' presents two combination identities namely terrorist and noncitizen that constitute national identity. This national identity creates racist Muslim identity in the sense of race in the United States of America post terrorist attack that cause racial profiling to Muslim. This is serious social issues of stereotyping and profiling of Muslim with sensitivity whereas Khan as conveyed in the film *My Name is Khan* appears to have been profiled because he has a common Muslim last name Khan. Furthermore, Chris Barker (National identity: 197) proposed that the nation-state, nationalism and national identity as collective forms of organization and identification are not 'naturally' occurring phenomena but contingent historical-cultural formations. The nation-state is a political concept which refers to an administrative apparatus deemed to have sovereignty over a specific space or territory within the nation state system. National identity is a form of imaginative identification with the symbols and discourses of the nation state. Thus, nations are not simply political formations but systems of

cultural representation through which national identity is continually reproduced as discursive action. The nation-state as a political apparatus and a symbolic form has a temporal dimension in that political structures endure and change while the symbolic and discursive dimensions of national identity narrates and creates the idea of origins, continuity and tradition. Related to the case of Khan, the reason of Mandira asks Khan to meet Presidents because President constitutes the symbol of national identity.

Since "September Eleventh", Muslims in the United States of America are living in fear. In the film *My Name is Khan*, Rizwan Khan, a Muslim man has been put into jail without any specific reason. The black September is the decade of fear in accordance with surveillance and deportation. Khan experiences a trauma for no fault he has committed. Khan is almost incapable to handle how American world works that put him as the other. He accepts the scrutiny concern accusation as terrorist. He becomes the target by the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) that leads to his fear and grief. He was called a terrorist and tortured mercilessly.

A moving portrait of a Muslim in the alienating landscape of a post "September Eleventh" in the United States, Khan attempts to keep his family together in the wake of international and personal tragedies by willing to accept the inhuman attack as an accusation from FBI's nationwide that hunts for terror suspects to be arrested, incarcerated and tortured. Khan is sent to prison where he is mentally and physically tortured.

This place is stranger. There are no windows to any room and the bathrooms do not have a door. And the toilet has lock. My eyes burn and I feel sleepy too. At times, it's very hot here. At other times, it is very cold. I told them I would repair air conditioner but they won't let me. They do

not even tell me the time so that I can pray. That's why every time I feel scared. I bow and pray (MNIK, 01:58:00)

From the quotation above shows that the tortures are visibly depicted in the film *My Name is Khan* and are apparently based on the true life accounts of innocent victims by FBI who have been illegally arrested and committed to prison like Khan, for no other reason just because of his religious faith background. This event gives the facts that Khan as Muslim in the United States of America is illegally abducted, detained and tortured. Nevertheless, the government did not find evidence linking the agent to the "September Eleventh" attack related to the terrorist movement.

THE PROCESS OF MUSLIMS NEGOTIATING FOR IDENTITY POST "SEPTEMBER ELEVENTH"

Negotiation concerns on the series of Muslim effort to create the solidarity among religious diversity post "September Eleventh". Through negotiation, Muslim will be received by American society inch by inch and it will support the new social reality to create tolerance and comprehension among religious interfaith in the United States of America. American religion is like such negotiation among religious groups and American society to understand as well as tolerance each other. Then, the process of negotiation for Muslims identity as conveyed in the film *My Name is Khan* including 1) Assertiveness in faith; 2) Participate in social activity; and 3) Showing the truth of Islam. Thus, below are the discussions.

In the film *My Name is Khan* it shows the Muslim man who remains consistent to his Muslim identity. He is Rizwan Khan. The fact that Khan is a pious Muslim is also a form of assertiveness in his faith because there is nothing wrong for Khan with being an

outwardly devout Muslim. To be a pious Muslim in the midst of conflict as the effect of the tragedy black September is very significant way to face the prejudice and other kinds of Islamophobia.

In one of the scene of the film, the mother of Khan advises him a message that there are no fixed labels such as Hindu and Muslim, but only good and bad people, Khan freely practices his religion with equal love and respect for all other races and creeds, only differentiating between what is in the hearts and minds of people, not to what religion they profess, or to what race, culture and nationality they belong.

Hadith says that the Almighty does not judge by color or creed but by actions and deeds. If that is the truth then Rizwan Khan by the sheer force of his actions has elevated the entire of humanity in the eyes of God (MNIK, 02:50:00)

It is shown in a Hadith reflected in the film *My Name is Khan*, Khan understands the fundamentalist in practicing their knowledge about Qur'an and Hadith. Therefore, this is to show the fact there is no mistake in his faith about his comprehension of Qur'an and hadith. This action is on the contrary of becoming the essential thing in maintaining and negotiating for his Muslim identity among American society in the post "September Eleventh". This is also the assertiveness that Islam is not a barbaric and violent religion.

The tragedy of "September Eleventh" brings experience to some extent and creates the conditions for the religious sentiment including Khan. It can be seen in the following quotation

I'm sure Allah is happy that Sameer is with him in heaven (MNIK, 01:42:57)

I'm Imran and this is Sajida

It's time for the bus to leave. This is Prayer time.

Prayer time? Now? Here? You should pray depending upon the place and the people around

No, no, no. Prayer should never depend upon the place and the people. It should depend only on your belief (MNIK, 01:35:41)

I have reached Los Angeles now. The President is coming visit the college campus here. I have reached three days before him so that I do not miss him this time around. I am going to pray that Allah wills it so too (MNIK, 01:46:22).

Rizwan Khan, a Muslim man and a simple man who leads a simple life, is devoted to his family and religion and who is accused of being a terrorist in the United States of America. He overcomes the obstacles facing against unjust world after "September Eleventh". He has created a certain pride in being a devoted and strong Muslim which is shown in the film. He always persists recalling the name of Allah in his heart anytime and wherever he is. He prays five times a day, as most Muslims do, Khan uses phrases from the Koran in his daily conversation and believes that justice will prevail both in this world and the afterlife for those who uphold the existence of God (Allah), Prophet Mohammad and Islam.

Considering that in the following the tragedy of black September, it is harder to be a Muslim in the United States, American Muslims have to recovery the bad image as terrorist that addressed to them. The accusations as terrorist

label for Muslim are unclear and unreasonable because the terror actions constitute the activity which do not respect to the boundaries of religion, race and geography. Islam constitutes inclusive religion, love the peaceful, and respect to dissimilarity.

In accordance with this issue, one of the scenes in the film *My Name is Khan* shows how Khan wants to purify the misconception among other Muslims about their wrong perception concerning to their comprehension about the meaning of the religious story of the Quran. Partly Muslims in the United States of America sometimes have the negative views and does not understand well about the interpretation of Quran. The film also portrays a Muslim man, Dr. Faisal Rehman who thinks the terror action as the backlash of the injured Muslims. The action of Dr. Faisal Rehman who preaches about the revenge to the people who have tortured Muslim before and the aftermath of "September Eleventh" is a dramatic. Below what Dr. Faisal Rehman has said as conveyed in the film

Listen, listen brothers. We are digressing. I have said it before. I have no problem with Christians or the Jews. In fact, I have no problems with our Hindu brothers too. I treat a lot of Hindu patients in St. Benedict's hospital. I get angry only when this same grace is not reciprocated towards us Muslims.

My blood boils when Israeli Jews massacre our Palestinian brothers or when Hindu in India cut our women and children to pieces with their swords. That's when my bloods. Doesn't your blood boil? Answer me, answer me.

It does, it does.

So, do something! I Dr. Faisal Rehman, take an oath that I'm ready. Are you all ready? Are you?

Yes, we are.

Mighty Allah had even asked Ibrahim to sacrifice his son. And without asking a single question, Ibrahim agreed to sacrifice him. It's our turn today. It's our duty to let our blood flow for the cause of Islam. This is what Allah demands! This is what Islam demands! (MNIK, 02:30:00)

From the quotation above, Dr. Faisal Rehman wants to conduct the backlash for people who hold the injustice treatment toward Muslims by delivering the logic reasons why Muslim have to revenge. He convinces his adherent to revenge by delivering the story of the agreement of Prophet Ibrahim to sacrifice his son. He considers that murder is allowed in Islam so that the revenge or backlash will be permitted by Allah. He is unaware or willfully ignorant of the Quran that surmounts universal non-violence. He does not understand that Islam preaching values of peace, love, and tolerance. Therefore, Khan receives the misinterpreting statement by laying out his understanding of what the Prophet really said and meant to them.

My Ammi has told the story about Saint Ibrahim. Saint Ibrahim did not doubt the compassion of the lord. The story is an example of his immense strong faith and belief. And that's the reason why despite being incited by a stranger repeatedly. Saint Ibrahim did not waver from his path of righteousness. He did not listen to the stranger. He was sure Allah would never allow the blood of his progeny to be shed. And he was right. The mighty Allah saved Ismail's life.

This story shows that the path of Allah is that of love. Not of hatred and war. Allah's path is that of compassion. That's why his loved ones are called "blessed by the compassionate!" (MNIK, 01:51:00)

Through the story above, the conviction of Khan to the rightness of the story is appropriate with his mother's comprehension about how the tenet of Islam is. Islam has five pillars or basic foundations to act. Acting correctly and sincerely on these foundations will transform a Muslim's life into the line of the Creator. Faithful practice of these duties inspires him to work towards the establishment of justice, equality and righteousness in society, and the eradication of injustice, falsehood and evil. Hate cannot be countered with hate. Khan believes on that tenet.

Furthermore, in the film *My Name is Khan* describes that it is difficult for American Muslim to show the truth of their religion because many Americans considers that there is connection between Islam and terror action in the following tragedy of "September Eleventh". For Khan, the terror action is useless and extreme practices that only create more and more hatred. Therefore, it happens because many people in the United States do not understand well about Islam and consider that the tenet of Islam as "Jihad" (the holy war) in related to terrorism whereas Islam is anti terrorism and Muslims society is very tolerant. Therefore, Khan then read one of the verses in Quran that:

In chapter five, verse 32of the Quran, Allah has decreed that the death of one innocent is equal to the death of humanity (MNIK, 01:01:00).

Many people realize that there is no the actions of terror as broad as the tragedy of September

Eleventh. Asian Indian Muslims and Muslim in general cannot live safely because of it and they are accused as a terrorist. Related to this issue, in the Quran explicitly condemns the action that causes the die of human being. It is portrayed in Quran that whosoever killed a human being for other than man slaughter or corruption, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind (QS 5:32). In other occasion Quran asserts that punishment to whomever that engender the emergence of disturbance or turmoil in the earth; it is the same as the punishment to them who give battle to God (Allah) and His Prophet.

Generally, Muslim Americans have to recognize that they live in plural country in order that they are necessary to maintain their Muslim identity. Pluralism constitutes challenges for the possibility of constructing a strong and positive religious identity in the context of pluralism. In the pluralistic country Muslim in the United States could more understanding of history, religious traditions and tolerance in the case of religious interfaith. In the film *My Name is Khan*, the existence of Muslim as American has been recognized. Therefore, they have to show their loyalty to their nation and state as American. They have dual identity as Muslim and as Americans. Nevertheless, as American they have to loyal to their country by truly implemented their right and obligation citizenship and in the other side remain perform their religious faith.

In the film *My Name is Khan*, Rizwan Khan shows his social participation by giving a help hand to the Georgia town people namely to Mama Jenny (a black American) who suffering in a flood. It can be seen in the following quotation

Mama Jenny, Mama Jenny, I have to go to her. I have come to Wilhemina, Georgia.

*Mama Jenny and funny hair Joel are in trouble (full on by hurricane molly)
(MNIK, 02:10:00)*

Khan hears that hurricane has hit Georgia and he immediately helps Mama Jenny. Later, many people find Khan in Georgia and join him and then they subsequently rescue Mama Jenny and the folks there. For the first time, he doesn't experience judgment and rejection by new people in a rural shantytown in Georgia. Sadly, the town residents embody crude, outdated and painful stereotypes of African Americans, right down to their names ("Mama Jenny" and "Funny Haired Joel"). The media airs Khan's story and this is seen by everyone. Khan gives support and power to Mama Jenny to remember the miserable time in the past of the colored people in the South and references to the civil rights movement via the theme song "We Shall Overcome" (song from 1960s). The film describes the purpose in educating and enlightening Westerners in a very subtle way through the exploration of the themes and the images to the United States and the West. The action of Khan shows how he participates in society to gain harmonic relation among religious interfaith.

CONCLUSION

The crash of "September Eleventh" has changed the course of the history and has affected many communities including Muslim. The Muslim Americans community has been particularly impacted by the attacks and has had to face the growing Islamophobia, including discrimination and prejudice, racial hatred, as well as violence. Rising Islamophobia and the negative reaction of American society to "September Eleventh" have led to the difficult position of Asian Indian Muslims because of their profiling as Muslim.

Therefore, to decrease the impact of Islamophobia, Asian Indian Muslim Americans undergo the process of negotiation for their identity as Muslim through the ways such as assertiveness in faith, showing the truth of Islam and participating in social activity. The film *My Name is Khan* shows the character of Khan who gives information that has the quality of enlightenment, awareness and understanding to American society about Islam with his way he brings back and constructs the positive image of Islam in the midst of Americans that generally keep Islamophobia on Asian Indian Muslims in the post “September Eleventh”. Khan thinks more open to other Americans or get his act together with other American society. To define his role as Muslim Americans and keep moving forward, he has to attempts to improve the image of Islam wherein Islam is an inclusive religion (part of a whole or part of a larger society), love peace, and admiring to disparity. Khan portrays the struggle of Muslim as the way to negotiate his identity as Muslim in the United States of America in the post “September Eleventh” as conveyed in the film *My Name is Khan*.

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REPRESENTATION OF COCA COLA AS AMERICAN MULTICULTURAL ICON IN THE TV ADVERTISEMENT *AMERICA IS BEAUTIFUL*

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Abstract

On February 2, 2014, Coca Cola released a new television advertisement titled “America is Beautiful” during Super Bowl event. The advertisement shows American multicultural families having a good time together. What makes this advertisement different from the previous ones, is the usage of a patriotic song *America is Beautiful* as the musical background. This research examines how Coca Cola as a brand represents the multicultural America through this advertisement. The result shows that it is affected by the historical values and the fact that the CEO of Coca Cola blatantly advertise multicultural America by encouraging and supporting the immigrants.

Keywords: Advertisement, popular culture, multiculturalism, immigrants

INTRODUCTION

Advertisement is one of the priority marketing strategy to promote certain products, as it has been an effective commodity to reach out to new consumers. In United States, the emergence of advertisement started out in the eighteenth century when the American people were still dependent to British consumer products—porcelain, furniture, musical instruments—in which it usually showed persuasive appeals accompanied with dry descriptions on a paper.¹ After they gained independence and the economic power rised along with the evolving technology, the forms of advertisement also developed into many types of audio-visual. Audio visual communications, in terms of television broadcast advertisement is one of the most effective and powerful medium to spread and promote a product, and also to campaign something.

1 Daniel Pope, “Making Sense of Advertisements”, History Matters: The U.S. Survey on the Web

Coca-Cola, as the biggest beverage company in the world from United States, has also been optimizing the use of advertisements to promote its product. With a handful of professionals in their marketing team, Coca-Cola made a significant change within their advertisement with not only promoting its product, but also delivering ‘implied’ message. Coca-Cola has been the most popular icon of soda beverages, and it has been producing numerous campaigns within their marketing strategy with ‘catchy’ slogans, including ‘America’s Real Choice’, ‘Open Happiness’, or ‘Life Begins Here’. As a commercial company, their main objective is to obtain profits as much as possible and such slogans are created to reach out broader market and possible new consumers. However, such campaigns did affect the society, as Coca-Cola has become the ‘icon of togetherness’ and it’s prevalent to find the product on the table whenever a gathering occurred. Coca-Cola isn’t merely a beverage product, it grew as a culture and a lifestyle, in which most people would buy and follow the trend created by the product without question.

As the popularity of the product grows bigger—with international offices in more than 200 countries—Coca-Cola also transcends into not just a beverage product, but also an American icon. Earlier this year, Coca-Cola released a new television titled “America is Beautiful”, which featured Americans with multi-ethnic figures. As previously being famous of creating advertisement that ‘challenges racial boundaries’, this time Coca-Cola seems to take it to a whole new level by showing that this product belongs to the country that celebrates people of the world. In another word, the product Coca-Cola here is seen as representing an ‘American icon’. This paper examines about how Coca-Cola implies a lot of meanings within its newest television advertisement; especially the multicultural America.

METHODOLOGY

Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of culture (Hall, 1997, p. 15). One of the most common ways to represent certain concept is by describing or depicting it within a portrayal or imagination, which will be the main theme of this paper. The meaning that’s fundamentally underlying the main concept carries certain value that is constructed by the producers or makers of the concept to be grasped by their targets of objects. The process is structurally explained by Saussure, in which he divided the language of representation into *signifier* and *signified*.

Signifier, the first element of the sign, refers to what we actually see—it’s the actual product. This signifier will imply a certain concept or idea within our heads, which defines and gives meaning to it, called the *signified*. Although these might seem to be two separate entities, they exist only as components of the sign which is the central fact of language (Culler, 1976, p.

19). Saussure also argues that signs are “members of a system and are defined in relation to the other members of that system”—for example, it is hard to define the meaning of ‘father’ except in relation to, and in terms of its difference from other kinship terms, like ‘mother’, ‘daughter’, ‘son’, and so on (Hall, 1997, p. 31). However, the relation between signifier and signified are arbitrary as it isn’t permanently fixed and it can historically change. The change can be seen within an evolvement of certain culture, which has certain historical moment causing the culture to have different point of view compared to another. According to Saussure:

Language sets up an arbitrary relation between signifiers of its own choosing on the one hand, and signifieds of its own choosing on the other. Not only does each language produce a different set of signifiers, articulating and dividing the continuum of sound (or writing or drawing or photography) in a distinctive way; each language produces a different set of signifieds, it has a distinctive and thus arbitrary way of organizing the world into concepts and categories. (Culler, 1976, p. 23)

The change of the relation of signifier and signified makes it possible for audience (or viewer or reader) to interpret different meanings and not exactly what has been given by the producer. This is also included within the historical process of interpretation of a certain product, and this is where audience takes important part to prove that “signs which have not been intelligibly received and interpreted are not, in any useful sense, ‘meaningful’” (Hall, 1997, p. 33). To communicate the certain meaning itself, Saussure divides language into two parts; the underlying rule-governed structure of language, which enables us to produce well-formed sentences, the *langue*; and

particular acts of speaking or writing or drawing [...] produced by the actual speaker or drawer called the *parole* (Culler, 1976, p. 29). According to Saussure's structure schema, "each authored statement only becomes possible because the 'author' shares with other language-users the common rules and codes of the language system – the *langue* – which allows them to communicate with each other meaningfully (Hall, 1997, p. 34).

For this paper, the *signifier* and the *signified* will be derived from the television advertisement "America is Beautiful", in which Coca-Cola, isn't merely a beverage product but also conveys another signified meaning or concept; an American icon. The term *icon* here means three-dimensional objects which are visible, concrete embodiments of the myths, beliefs, and values which form a culture's mindset—in short, icon is the tangible shape to invisible ideas (Nachbar & Lause, 1992, pp. 170-171). This icon has three main characteristics; a) they are all objects, b) express important popular beliefs and values, and c) convey "magical" powers upon their defining group (Nachbar & Lause, 1992, p. 172). Furthermore, Nachbar & Lause also divide the icons into six main categories; a) pure personal icons, b) functional personal icons, c) pure local icons, d) functional local icons, e) pure cultural icons, and f) functional cultural icons. This paper will focus more on the last category, functional cultural icons, as they have

[...] an exceedingly complex process (and the movement is not unilateral) but what is important is that we recognize that icons in created environments can help us in understanding the meaning and appeal of both the story form of which they are a part and of the icon's real-life counterpart. Functional cultural icons from television [...] have gained such formal acceptance as important barometers of cultural myths, beliefs,

values, and tastes [...] (Nachbar & Lause, 1992, p. 175)

AMERICAN ICONS IN POPULAR CULTURE

In particular, this paper will examine a specific cultural icon called 'American icon', which is not just merely an icon, but an icon with underlying American values. Nachbar & Lause explains that the essential element of American beliefs and values are that of "significant conflict or complexity which runs throughout the history and evolution of the American cultural mindset" (Nachbar & Lause, 1992, p. 176). Furthermore, Nachbar & Lause examines the contradiction within the underlying ideals of *individual freedom* and *democracy*.

One way to study an American icon, therefore, is to examine the object to determine how it may express this vital conflict between the competing ideals of individual freedom and democracy. (Nachbar & Lause, 1992, p. 177)

There's a significant disconnection between these two ideas, in which the individual freedom always attributed to the independent movement, power, and identity; while democracy often leads to collective responsibility, stability, citizenship, and majority rule (1992, p. 176). These ideas are what reflected within the so-called American products or American icons; they are *democratic* because they are mass produced and made equally available for all, and they are also the *expression of individual freedom* as well, because they are marketed as signs of individual identities. One of the example mentioned in the book is the production of *cars*.

In the course of examining cars as an icon balancing individual freedom and democracy, for example, it is quite likely that we will also see that one aspect of that freedom is defined in the American values associated with mobility and discovery, and one aspect of that democracy is expressed in the way cars often bind families together and help maintain vital elements of rural simplicity in modern life. (Nachbar & Lause, 1992, p. 177)

Upon studying and analyzing the American icons, Nachbar and Lause offer five groups of *inquiries* to examine the object thoroughly; 1) appearance of the icon, 2) history of the icon, 3) evolutionary change of the icon, 4) iconic group, and 5) exploitation of the icon. The first inquiry is determined solely from the physical appearance of the object—it could be the shape, color, and size. Second inquiry, the object or icon can be examined through how it develops from the very first creation, including the description of what kind of cultural circumstances that helped shape the icon to be significant. These cultural circumstances can be derived from the representation of important values in myths or beliefs. Third, evolutionary change of the icon revolves around the alteration through the year or generation. Nachbar and Lause point out that the more evolving the icon is, then the more it implies the increasing individual freedom values in it. Fourth, the iconic group, is particularly the society that favor the icon. Every object or icon has its own demographic characteristics, whether it's by age, sex, class, region, etc. The last one, exploitation of the icon, basically about the significance of the icon itself; including what makes the icon so appealing to the audience.

The creation of American popular icons is the more visible and concrete form of permeation

the aforementioned ideas and values, as they are expressed into artifacts that bind people together by “displaying people’s similarities as well as the individual selves”. The work of American icons is basically as the anchors which “permit a culture to float on the shifting currents of change” (Nachbar & Lause, 1992, p. 178) because it will perpetually be created and produced even in different generations with the same underlying ideas and values.

DISCUSSION

As the biggest beverage company in the world, Coca-Cola has sold over 3,500 products worldwide in more than 200 countries. In 2012 alone, Coca-Cola company obtained \$9 billion net profit, and in the same year, Interbrand ranked it as the Most Valuable Company with \$77.8 billion value. In terms of advertising and creative marketing, the company also received a lot of recognition. Cannes Lions, the biggest award shows for creativity in communications, awarded the company as Creative Marketer of the Year in 2013 from its various television commercials; “Share a Coke”, “Coca-Cola FM Amplifier”, “Coca-Cola Share a Can”, “Million Reasons to Believe in Thailand”, and “Small World Machine”. This company truly has a positive track record as it always shows tradition, creativity, and optimism in every of its television advertisement—which also contributes to boost the actual selling numbers of the beverage product.

Jonathan Mildenhall, the Vice President of Coca-Cola’s Global Advertising and Content Excellence, explained how this company has been contributing to promote social goods within their marketing strategy—particularly visual communication—since 1970s. Although the commercials are seemingly inspiring and innocent, they were mostly considered provocative in each period which they were

released. Straddling boundaries and challenging racial prejudice are two of the nine main values of Coca-Cola's advertisements, and this is particularly why they frequently employed multicultural figures within their commercials. Mildenhall further stated that as a powerful company, Coca-Cola has the opportunity and responsibility to create a significant change in the world.

Earlier this year on February 2, 2014, Coca-Cola debuted a teaser of their new television commercial, "America is Beautiful", during the broadcast of America's National Football League biggest tournament, Super Bowl XLVIII. The 60-seconds commercial teaser shows various ethnic groups gather with their relatives or companions, with patriotic song "America the Beautiful" sung in the background with various languages. The commercial was initially made to be broadcasted during Sochi 2014 Olympics, in which Coca-Cola has been taking part as a partner and supporting Olympic Movement since 1928. As it was originally aimed for worldwide audience, seeing the commercial from the perspective of the global citizen shows how the product symbolizes 'togetherness' and breaks the multicultural boundaries. This is the main underlying idea that Coca-Cola in this advertisement is not just an American beverage product, but transforming into an American icon which represents the *equality for all*, by displaying people with multicultural ethnicities having a great time in America.

COCA-COLA AS AN AMERICAN MULTICULTURAL ICON IN "AMERICA IS BEAUTIFUL"

The transformation of Coca-Cola into an American icon in this commercial is the process of representation and is explained with the semiotic theory, where the advertisement was seen through two main structures, *signifier* and

signified. The *signifiers* here were derived from every scene in the "America is Beautiful" advertisement, while the *signified* meanings were examined through the main five *inquiries* as described by Nachbar and Lause, and further making a coherence and relevance with the underlying contradictive American values, *democracy* and *individual freedom*.

The first step was to see the product through its appearance. The famous countour-shaped Coca-Cola bottle is designed by The Root Glass Company of Indiana.² It is designed as distinctive as possible to help the product "stand out from other drinks", and that the design is made profoundly to make it "recognizable" even in the dark and when it's already broken. The 'distinctiveness' here is relevant as to the concept of American exceptionalism, a concept that was first brought by puritan John Winthrop in his sermon, "A Model of Christian Charity" in Massachusetts back in 1630. It was the start of the establishment of puritans in the New England, and Winthrop delivered his sermon on a ship, telling his followers that the new place they were going to live in is a "city upon a hill".³ Winthrop's preach then had permeated through the nation, giving the people a new belief that America is the "God's country", as the term "city upon a hill" connotatively means that America is in "the highest position", which later leads to the emergence of American exceptionalism. This idea has been lived up through the generation, for example, during a

2 The Coca-Cola Company, "Who designed the distinctive Coca-Cola bottle?", Coca-Cola Official Website. Accessed from: <http://www.coca-cola.co.uk/faq/heritage/who-designed-the-distinctive-coca-cola-bottle.html>

3 John Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity". Accessed from: <http://religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu/sacred/charity.html>

speech in Massachusetts, former president John F. Kennedy cited Winthrop's famous metaphor.⁴ Kennedy further elaborates that United States of America have "the eyes of all people" upon them, a country "constructed and inhabited by men aware of their great trust and their great responsibilities".

In relation to the distinctive shape of Coca-Cola, it is clear that the product had wanted to be seen different—or, exceptional—than other products. The "contour bottle" shape, with its ridged glass, bowed middle, and unmistakable curve appeal⁵, is so iconic even in the silhouette people would recognize that it's Coca-Cola. Before they came up with the idea of this shape, Coca-Cola already had many imitators with the identical names—as Coca-Cola's company historian Phil Mooney explained, there was Cheracola, Dixie Cola, Cocanola—and that the customers weren't too aware about 'which one is the real product'. After the company upgraded the product into the contour shape, Coca-Cola has become so unique and people could identify it easily. The fact that they had 'imitators' it means that Coca-Cola was the pioneer of beverage product that became widely successful. All eyes were on this product, and they saw how it became commercially profitable, thus they deliberately produced the 'imitation' to make profit for themselves as well. In the end, Coca-Cola is still exceptionally

4 John F. Kennedy's address delivered to Joint Convention of General Court of Commonwealth of Massachusetts on January 9, 1961; from the archive of JFK Library. Accessed from: <http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/OYhUZE2Qo0-ogdV7ok900A.aspx>

5 Mark Strassmann, "The real thing: Coke's iconic bottle" (22 July 2012), CBS News. Accessed from: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-real-thing-cokes-iconic-bottle/>

powerful even in its physical form, because people will immediately identify it easily.



Picture 1. A blurred shape of Coca-Cola stamped in a cork glass

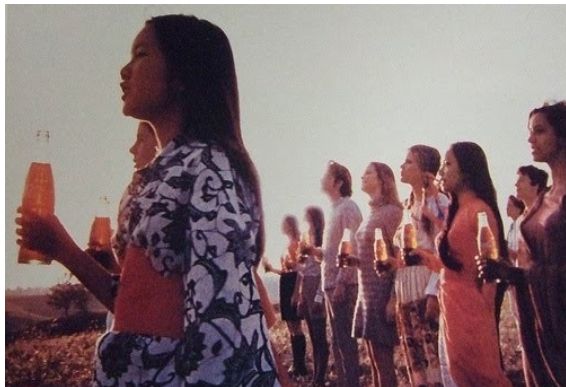


Picture 2. A bottle of Coca-Cola in the woman's hand with the brand label obscured by her hand

From the two images above, which are the screencapped version from the scenes in "America is Beautiful" television advertisement; the product is shown in a not-obvious way. In the first image, there are two little girls enjoying a movie in a cinema, but the person next to them—presumably their relatives—is carrying a large cork glass with the silhouette of Coca-Cola bottle on it. In the second image, a woman is sitting in her truck, carrying a bottle of Coca-Cola with her hand obscuring the label. Even when the text of the brand, "Coca-Cola" is nowhere in sight, we need no time to find out

that they are indeed carrying the product, and that the cork glass is filled with the product. It shows how even the shape alone is already exceptionally remarkable, and recognized worldwide.

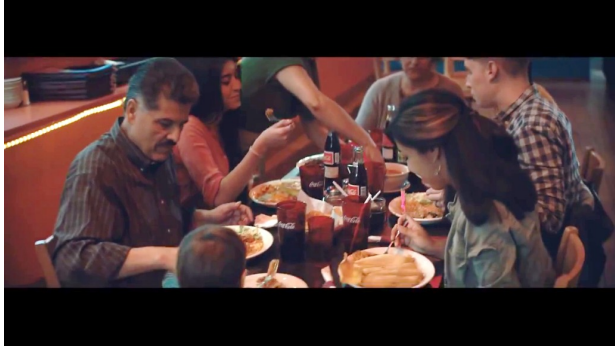
The second inquiry requires an explanation about the *history of the icon*, which in this research is merged with the third inquiry, *evolutionary change in the icon*, as the two elements are significantly related. “America is Beautiful” is not the first television advertisement from Coca-Cola which depicts multicultural ethnicities in United States. Ever since the company has received worldwide recognition in the 1960s, including the establishment of Coca-Cola in other global places such as Cambodia, Montserrat, Paraguay, Macau, and Turkey⁶; there was a drift in how Coca-Cola made its television advertisement. In the 1970s, Coca-Cola started to make a shift in broadening its international appeal. Still sticking with the idea of reflecting fun, companionship (friends), and enjoying the togetherness (good times), Coca-Cola remarkable embodied the universal joy in 1971 commercial, “I’d Like to Buy the World a Coke”. The advertisement showed people with various ethnicities gathered on top of a hill in Italy.



6 The Coca-Cola Company, “The History of Coca-Cola: 1960-1981”, Coca-Cola Official Website. Accessed from: <http://www.coca-cola.co.uk/about-us/history-of-coca-cola-1960-1981.html>

Picture 3. Multicultural figures carrying a bottle of Coca-Cola in “I’d Like to Buy the World a Coke” television advertisement, released in 1971

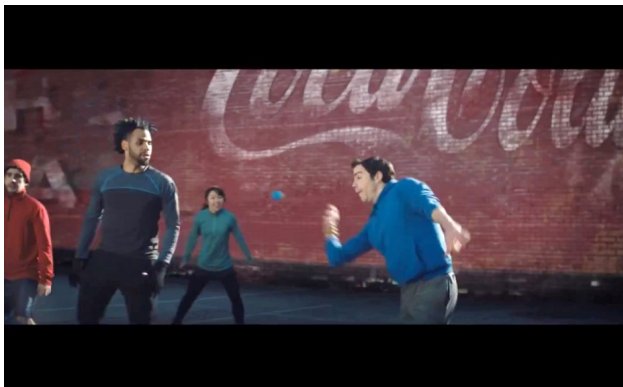
Despite not being filmed in United States, this commercial has a similar idea to that of “America is Beautiful”. As the very latest campaign of Coca-Cola company in 2014, it has a wide range of 57 years from the aforementioned commercial. And in the 57 years, Coca-Cola has been evolving to a bigger and bigger company internationally, with a more significant codification that it’s already an American icon. The shifting of values from Coca-Cola as a beverage that is enjoyed by American people, to the beverage that is enjoyed by international multicultural people, and finally a beverage enjoyed by multicultural people who specifically *live* in America signify the perpetual evolvement of this popular product. In relevance to Nachbar and Lause’s concept of American icon, Coca-Cola wasn’t only increased in marketing manner, but the fact that it is now enjoyed by a wider and larger number of people from all around the world, it shows that it was also increased in terms of the fundamental American values, *individual freedom* and *democracy*. The product is mass produced (specifically, globally produced) for *any kind* of people—thus *everyone* can enjoy it. This also puts a significant element to the fourth inquiry, *iconic group* or *demographic groups*, in which Coca-Cola can now be examined in a broader demographic characteristics from all ages, sexes, classes, regions, and ethnicities; with the fact that the company has placed its international offices in more than 200 countries.



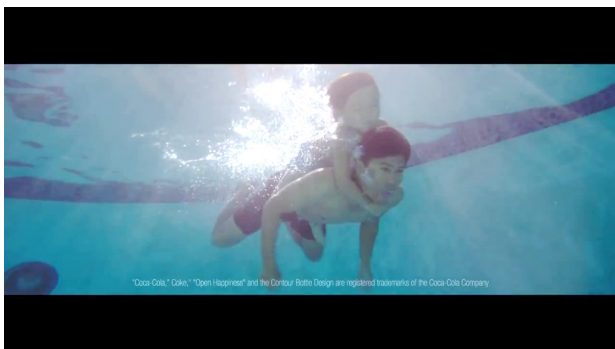
Picture 4. *A Mexican family enjoying the meal in a restaurant with Coca-Cola as their main drink.*



Picture 6-7. *A Filipino-American family swimming and plays a game of collecting Coca-Cola bottle caps beneath the pool.*



Picture 5. *A group of young people with various ethnicities (which features African-American boy, Asian-American girl) playing around in front of a large wall with "Coca-Cola" written on it.*



The last inquiry, *the exploitation of the icon*, is derived from what makes this product so appealing and what is the ‘magical power’ attached to the icon. From the television advertisement “America Is Beautiful”, the magical power is of course how Coca-Cola symbolically binds the people together in their good times, even when it’s only featured as a decoration on a wall. Also, the people featured in this advertisement are that of various ethnicities. As aforementioned in the opening of this chapter, ‘straddling boundaries and challenging racial prejudice’ is one of the key concept in making almost all Coca-Cola advertisement. After its release during Super Bowl, the company released the advertisement internationally on YouTube, in which they announced through their Twitter account with the following introduction: “The only thing more beautiful than this country are the people who live here.”⁷ As it mentioned “people who

7 Coca-Cola official Twitter account (February 2, 2014), accessed from: <https://twitter.com/CocaCola/status/430140839763783680>

live here”, it indicates that all multicultural figures shown in the commercial are indeed Americans. The commercial tried to live up to the fundamental idea of how America is a multicultural country, just the same as the Coca-Cola company which has been led by a Turkish-American, Muhtar Kent.

Muhtar Kent publicly supports the immigration reform, and wrote an open letter to USA Today on February 23, 2013, titled “Immigration reform good for business”. Kent, whose father was a Turkey’s consul general for United States when he was born in New York, shared his viewpoints about how immigration is an essential part of the growth calculus for the country. Kent stated how the fortunes of 500 companies in United States were started by immigrants, including the company he’s been working for since 1978. Kent took an example of the former Coca-Cola Company CEO, Roberto Goizueta, a Cuban native who’s under his leadership; Coca-Cola eventually obtained its top American corporation status by creating vacancies and billions of shareholder value. As the leading country in the world, Kent propelled that United States has the opportunity to promote immigration reform beyond borders, and tried to define the fundamental problem of this reform, which is protectionism. Kent addressed that international organization, such as G-20, United Nations, and World Trade Organization to advance immigration issue in their upcoming summit and meetings.

In his letter, Kent propositioned United States to be more open especially to the immigrants with high competency as they would likely to contribute in the country’s economic growth. However, the immigration reform is still required as the current policy is still a restraint for the immigrants. Kent briefly mentioned how immigrants still need to face complicated bureaucracy and ‘outdated regulations’, and this is one of the main causes why illegal immigrants

(or how he wrote it, ‘undocumented’ immigrants) are prominent in United States. In the other hand, Kent also indirectly encouraged non-US citizens whose dream is to make a living in America. As an immigrant himself, he wrote he was lucky that his family made it easier for him to acquire the American citizenship, but by reforming the immigration policy, Kent was hoping that everyone will have the same chance.

Kent’s values are also coherent to the published “values of Coke” by the company in the press release of “America is Beautiful” commercial. According to the press release, the new commercial reinforces the spread of optimism, promotes inclusion, and celebrates humanity.⁸ Katie Bayne, the president of Coca-Cola North America stated, “Our ad provides a snapshot of the real lives of Americans representing diverse ethnicities, religions, races, and families [...] We believe “It’s Beautiful” is a great example of the magic that makes our country so special, and a powerful message that spreads optimism, promotes inclusion, and celebrates humanity — values that are core to Coca-Cola.” These values were also reflected as the commercial used “e pluribus unum” as the title in its online release video on Youtube, which is the Latin phrase included in the Great Seal of United States and also appears on coins and currency. This phrase was also considered as the national motto until 1956. “E pluribus unum” literally means ‘out of many, one’ but usually rephrased ‘one from many’, and it refers to the thirteen colonies that joined together to form a single nation of United States.⁹ The meaning, however, evolved through the years, that the unification of United States came from people with various races/ ethnicities, religions, languages, and ancestries.¹⁰ The latter meaning is more relevant to what “America is Beautiful” attempts to represent, that America is

8 Journey Staff, “America is Beautiful and Coca-Cola is For Everyone” (7 February 2014), Coca-Cola Company official website

the country where people of the world gather and celebrate.

CONCLUSION

The emergence of Coca-Cola going global has brought the significance of American company to a whole new level. It has offices in more than 200 countries with global employees, and with the products that already reached out to the most urban areas, that makes Coca-Cola the most popular beverage product in the world—or in another word, a product that can be bought and enjoyed by all kinds of society. This democratic value of Coca-Cola is of course the main reason behind the popularity of the product. Additionally, the company has a remarkably creative marketing team who often transcends Coca-Cola into something else more meaningful than just a beverage product in the advertisements; a symbol, an icon of breaking social boundaries. The company has created numerous creative advertisements all around the world and this year, Coca-Cola came back with a new campaign, “America is Beautiful”.

From the displayed image from the scenes along with Nachbar and Lause’s five inquiries of American icons, the television advertisement “America is Beautiful” is indeed a representation of Coca-Cola as American multicultural icon. Coca-Cola does contain the contradictive American values of *individual freedom* and *democracy*. The advertisement

9 Susan Headley, “E Pluribus Unum - What Does This U.S. Motto Mean?”, About.com, accessed from:
http://coins.about.com/od/uscoins/f/e_pluribus_unum.htm

10 Edwin Warner, “E Pluribus Unum?” (7 June 1976), TIME Magazine, accessed from:
<http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,947739,00.html>

shows how Coca-Cola can be universally enjoyed by all the people in any occasion which represents the *democracy*; but at the same time, it shows the multi-ethnic figures that accentuate their role as individuals, thus represents the *individual freedom*. By showing the multi-ethnic figures in the advertisement, “America is Beautiful”, also represents the liberty and equality in America—which is considered *beautiful*, just like the title—and that the country is the place to celebrate the people of the world.

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