



# RUBIKON

JOURNAL OF TRANSNATIONAL AMERICAN STUDIES

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Democracy as Hemispheric Views”**

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Nestiani Hutami



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## A Brief Remark from ASSINDO

Along with the development of information technology and communication, national borders seems to disappear. Globalization generally assumed as a way of expanding market and lowering labor costs by making use of labor force from poor countries results in many different way of thinking. With globalization, American Studies experiences changes in the way scholars, researchers, and students approach the study of the United States culture and society in a more international framework. This is different from when it was founded, when the study focused on the uniqueness of the American culture.

At American Studies program of Universitas Gadjah Mada, for example, the study also focuses on much the same with what Parrington purposes: “to give some account of the genesis and development in American letters of certain germinal ideas that have come to be reckoned traditionally American— how they came into being here, how they were opposed, and what influence they have exerted in determining the form and scope of our characteristic ideals and institutions.” The students are then trained to deal with the United States as democratic country whose people rely on self-reliance, tolerance, freedom, brave, smartness, etc. It is a study of this nation in its historical moment that makes it become a great nation. As a result, students looked like celebrating the US rather than making academic judgment over the US. This is actually not at all surprising for those who study American literatures and culture.

I remember when American Studies was first established at Universitas Gadjah Mada, the general issues coming up in most seminars and discussions is whether or not it is a discipline or US propaganda with the purpose solely on the official US national interest. In its development, since the urge of studying literature and culture of the US is for the benefit of Indonesians and knowing from the fact that most students do not have chance to go to the US in doing research on American culture makes the students tend to work on comparative study. This often makes advisor question whether it belongs to American Studies or to Indonesian Studies. Students, for example, are getting more interested in linking research of Anglo-American writers with Indonesian writers, or they work on diasporic communities. The increasing interest in the research on American popular culture also shows the increasing call to internationalize the study of American culture. In popular culture context, for example, the increasing transnational practices in film production, funding, distribution or popular literature publication, writings are so strong that need to re-conceptualize the study of the US as it once was in the past. The shift in the study of American culture by not focusing only on localized subject but on a

more transnational is also a new concept in American Studies today, although it has already been voiced since 1990s.

The broad view on American Studies today a consequence of transnational turn. Robinson (2012) defines it: "transnational American studies explores the varieties of American culture and of American experience(s) in a larger framework that stretches beyond the national borders of the United States" or "The immediate import of transnational thinking lies in the scholarly arena. For American Studies, the effect is akin to looking through the reverse lens of a telescope. What once loomed large has shrunk to insignificance. To globalize American Studies is to displace American perspectives on the subject" (Gross, 2000).

The question is whether transnational American Studies is no longer American Studies. What I mean here is, whether the study in American culture in transnational American studies makes the study driven to different direction or to other disciplines. Many scholars argue that transnational approaches as intended in transnational American Studies also seek to gain insight into American culture. For example, when the analysis involves comparison between Indonesian and American literature, it does not mean that it becomes a comparative literary study as the goal of the study is the comprehension of American culture. This also the case with what is commonly practiced by the students when they see the strong influence of the American popular culture in Indonesia.

The new concept looks simple but complicated in practice. The complication mostly lies on theoretical framework operated among academicians. The moving far away from established disciplines, by the inventions of new theories, perspectives, thoughts create complication on the methodology of American Studies, especially to those studying American culture far away from the US. This makes discussions on the future of American Studies as intended in the publication of the Journal of Transnational American Studies important.

It is based on those thoughts that American Studies Society Indonesia (ASSINDO) publishes RUBIKON. This journal is intended to be a bowl in which all ideas of American Studies research and thoughts are exposed in order to meet the new challenges linked to the discourse of internationalization. This new parameter in critically exploring US culture, society and literature, however, is newly introduced in Indonesia. This indeed results in the scarcity of research dealing with, for example, cultural hybridities, diasporic identities, and literary comparative studies. Therefore, in the first publication of the journal, articles which are not that strong in their the aspects of transnationality are also most welcome.

**Reference:**

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## JEFFERSON AND TOCQUEVILLE ON DEMOCRACY AS HEMISPERIC VIEWS

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### Abstract

This paper examines democracy to Jefferson's and Tocqueville's philosophy in shaping the American polity. A few scholars have discussed the connection between Jefferson and Tocqueville, but this writing provides a value of democracy as hemispheric mind or trans-national sources. Democracy is not only an American intellectual mind, but also a global mind. The philosophers, sociologists, and economists of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century formulated a political program that served as a guide to social policy first in the United States, then on the European continent, and finally in the other parts of the inhabited world as well. It was reflected in Tocqueville's journey for learning democracy in America around the mid of the nineteenth century. Therefore, there are two significant points to describe both Tocqueville and Jefferson; they are democracy and tradition with all conditions.

**Keywords:** Jefferson, Tocqueville, democracy, founding, and liberal

### INTRODUCTION

Most people are familiar with the name of Alexis de Tocqueville, even some of them adore Alexis de Tocqueville these days. His extraordinary account of the political landscape of the early United States, *Democracy in America*, is endlessly quoted by pundits and politicians of every bar. Today if one reads about America, about democracy, about liberty, about bureaucracy, about equality, about almost any aspect of politics, or for that matter about large stretches of human nature as it emerges in a political context, one sooner or later encounters Tocqueville. In the work of *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville utilizes facts, observations, and speculations to examine both democracy in general and American

democracy in particular. Democracy was the lens through Tocqueville saw the political world.

For him, the brave and frightening new world ushered in by the era of revolutions was an era of democracy. As he wrote in the introduction to *Democracy in America*, "a great democratic revolution is taking place in our midst" (Tocqueville, ed. Richard D. Heffner, 1956, p.26).

Furthermore, Alexis de Tocqueville has become a fixture in contemporary American political discourse as reflected in *Democracy in America*. This work also contains Tocqueville's associational life in America. The tendency for democratic societies to centralize power was an important aspect of

“Tocqueville’s thought on the role of associations” (Boesche, 1980, p.550-563; Gannett, 2003, p.1-16; Koritansky, 1975, p.63-81). Associations served as an artificial aristocracy in democratic societies and helped to counter democratic tendencies toward centralization (Dolence, 2006, p.3-4).

Most scholars have created a certain Tocqueville, one who slips easily into the main dialogue of American politics between self-designated liberals and conservatives, with each camp claiming him as its own. To the one he is a “liberal conservative” who values freedom as well as property rights; the other he is a “conservative liberal” who is alert to the dangers of “too much democracy” and who commiserates with the burdens borne by political elites, not the least of which is the periodic invasion of the political realm by the masses (Wolin, 2001, p.3).

Tocqueville represented an important early engagement between liberalism and democracy. The eighteen-century revolutions in America and France had been widely represented as the triumph of liberalism over monarchy and aristocracy. Tocqueville’s self-description as a new kind of liberal reflected his strong conviction that freedom or liberty was the fundamental political value and an even stronger fear that the greatest threat to freedom was from a combination of political democracy and social equality. Nineteenth and twenty-century have responded warmly to Tocqueville’s criticism of egalitarian democracy, in both its political and social

forms, and to his warnings about “the tyranny of the majority” (Ibid, p.9-10).

In the modern society at that time, it preferred to a democratic country. This sense, democracy, then, is to be understood as a conveyor of accumulated experience. For Tocqueville, “democracy is the product of the new political system derived from the process of the changing of modern society” (Stone & Menel, 2005, p.xvi). It began the immigrants called ‘the Puritans’ with their religious orthodox in the New World. Tocqueville remarks that “All the Europeans who successively established themselves in the New World. All these European colonies contained the elements, if not the development, of a complete democracy” (Tocqueville, ed. Richard D. Heffner, 1956, p.40-41). They forced American society to adopt the Puritan beliefs including hard work, competition, discipline, and individualism.

Meanwhile, Thomas Jefferson as one of leading American founding is chosen because of his uniqueness. Jefferson had showed his great accomplishments among other American founding fathers such as George Washington and John Adams. He looks monumental and unique.

Although his speech is lower than others, he has great power in writing. His pen is like a sharp sword that is ready to cut down any problem shortly. Jefferson’s ideas are mostly embodied in scattered writings, particularly in his superb letters. Through his letters,



Jefferson spoke on the nation and by means of letters he stimulated his followers. One of the great aspects of Jefferson thought is that it is relevant with era. It is not only the age when he gave his ideas but also the age which passed through that era. However, Jefferson was more relevant with the crises or great stories happened in America.

Thomas Jefferson is also a mystery. He is a man who promoted democracy and majority rule yet who also proudly claimed to be a member of the natural aristocracy. He favored legislative rather than executive supremacy yet he was the first American president to advance a complex political agenda. He disfavored constitutions yet generally supported the American Constitution. He did not support the Constitution clearly. He was particularly critical of the presidency, writing to John Adams that “their President seems a bad edition of a Polish king” (Peterson 1984, p.910). He was also concerned over the lack of a Bill of Rights, and fretted that the new government might be an overreaction to Shay Rebellion.

Jefferson was careful in making the political changes in order not to make social and political upheavals. He learned from the French Revolution and the American Revolution that those revolutions were absolutely different. According to Burke’s discourses, the American Revolution referred to freedom, democracy, non-violence, and legitimacy, meanwhile the French Revolution was as antipode – despotic, undemo-cratic,

violent, and illegitimate. Jefferson also learned about the overreaction of the Shay’s Rebellion. Therefore, the values of classic liberal were always embedded in the Jefferson’s thought such as limited government, laissez-faire, and freedom. As Louis Hartz (Hartz, 1995, p.3) suggests in *The Liberal Tradition in America* that “America has inherited a liberal tradition primarily through the teachings of John Locke, and that these ideas were in turn transmitted by Thomas Jefferson”.

In order to assess the quality of American democracy, it is useful to trick out democracy from the tapestry of the tradition. Jefferson appreciated the importance of custom and tradition, and he did not seek to radically reinvent American society. Moreover, the framer of the American Constitution looked at populist democracy. And though Jefferson undertook a fairly radical experiment in framing a new government in the new world, he was conservative skeptics who did not believe in the perfectibility of mankind.

Both Tocqueville and Jefferson are passionate democrats who look to free society from the dead handoff the past, and who are guided by a quasi-utopian outlook. Tocqueville said that “The second circumstance to which I have alluded is, that the social condition and the constitution of the Americans are democratic” (Tocqueville, ed. Richard D. Heffner, 1956, p.144). He described himself between aristocracy greatness and democratic justice. According to Tocqueville, “In aristocratic

ages, vast ideas are commonly entertained of the dignity, the power, and the greatness of man” (Ibid, p.166). Tocqueville sees as well as Jefferson that the aristocrats’ claim that their nobles help them to understand between twofold world between aristocracy and modern society.

Therefore, this paper engages with the American founding from a critical historiography perspective. Mainly, it connects with the ways in which the American founding has been studied in order to understand not what the American founding is, but instead what it might have meant at different points in meanings. Such an analysis entails foremost changing the terms with which Americans conceptualizes the American Founding: from an historical event and a set of facts fixed in the past, towards conceptualizing it as a dynamic and contested idea that is constructed in different ways to serve different political and social needs. As a result, the concept of trans-national in studying the founding ideas is also inevitably true, mainly American founding.

### **AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL MIND IN AMERICAN STUDIES**

Since this paper is a product of American Studies’ discipline, it will follow the characteristics of American Studies which has the main stream as interdisciplinary studies (Smith, 1980, p.14, McDowell, 1948, p.iv, Lohof, 1978, p.3). The interdisciplinary

approach is used to analyze American experiences from multidisciplinary perspectives, namely historical, political, economical, sociological and cultural disciplines. It describes the concept of American democracy from founding like Thomas Jefferson to the Industrial Revolution. Democracy is as one of the important American intellectual minds that is still held until now. The growth and the development of American democracy as an American mind cannot be parted from phenomenon living in the society at a particular time. Democracy as a living concept has its connection with history, politics, economics, sociology, and culture of the society where it is nurtured. And the best understanding of that issue is through inter-connection among those disciplines.

The best thing we can do is to conceive American Studies as collaboration among men working from within existing academic disciplines but attempting to widen boundaries impasse by conventional methods of inquiry. This implied a sustained effort of the student of literature to take account sociological, historical and anthropological data and methods. (Smith, 1980, p.14)

In this paper, American classic democracy in the United States can be understood accurately by comprehending the founding. A founding is not only as the birth of nation, the moment of creation after which regime is said to exist, but also as a concept, an idea made up of many

other ideas. By comparing American founding and European elite, it builds on a premise that gradually should seem self-evident: the American and European ‘democracy’ experiences have been intrinsically different. European traditional-ists defended aristocracy, social hierarchy, and ecclesiastical establishment, meanwhile the Americans advocates of such concerns as a market economy, an anti-Communist foreign policy, and a global democratic crusade.

Therefore, a concept of founding can be understood well by adopting the reconciliation the past, present, and future. McDowell (McDowell, 1948, p.v) points out that “American Studies are designed to modify a persistent characteristics of mankind and to advance a contemporary movement in education. The characteristic is tendency of men to live predominantly in one of three tenses, past, present, or future.” He assumes that if one applies the interdisciplinary approach, he can bridge past, present, and future. Founding itself cannot be separated from the concept of tenses. Since founding existed in some time in the past, and it still exists in the present time and has been developed into various variations but limited by some characteristics in the future. In short, those tenses are interrelated.

Furthermore, American democracy is a phenomenon in American society. It is not only as an American intellectual mind, but also as hemispheric mind. Therefore, this paper also uses a ‘trans-national’ approach

from John Carlos Rowe. He states that “the multicultural and multi-ethnic US cannot be understood adequately without considering its transnational sources, hemispheric interests, and global relations”

(Rowe, 2010, p.1).

Some ideas from American founding and some changes of America’s cultural eras bring distinctive characters in each historical one. Therefore, by studying the historical background issues like American democracy can reveal the democratic values, traditions, and customs. Teuku Ibrahim Alfian (Alfian, 2003, p.5) stated “one aspect that must be considered in the historical method is time element. The inter-related categories in this method are diversity, change, and continuity”. Therefore historical approach is a suitable one to get acquainted information of American democracy from two prominent figure, Thomas Jefferson and Alexis de Tocqueville.

History itself is a phenomenon. It is a transcript of the relentless surge of events, the sequential and meaningful record of human activity. Therefore, the historical method aims to access the meaning and to read the message of the happenings in which men and events relate meaningfully to each other. Gilbert J. Garraghan as quoted by Teuku Ibrahim Alfian (Alfian, 2003) wrote

Historical method is a systematic body of principles and rules designed to aid effectively in gathering the source—

materials of history, appraising them critically, and presenting a synthesis (generally in written form) of the result achieved.

In studying ideology like classic democracy, a historical perspective can be used as an analysis tool of ideology. As Karl Mannheim argue that “no ideology could be fully understood unless this historical relationship was clear” (Baradat, 1984, p.7). No ideology, in other words, can be understood unless we grasp the ideas of the previous era and investigate the impact of the previous ideology on the current one. Simply, in order to get better understanding about the American democracy, we firstly understand about the ideology of democracy, mainly the roots of American democracy.

Two literary works, both *Democracy in America* and *Notes on Virginia* describes the events and the society when those novels were produced. Some eras both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution are used to know the relationship between America and Europe. In order properly to understand the impact of France’s Revolution on America, one must have some pictures of what America was like when the news of revolution began arriving from Europe. American Revolution also depicted the struggles of American founding in forming American government.

The American Revolution was an ideological revolution, which is to say a revolution most notably about ideas and philosophy of

governing. To colonial leaders, humans beings were inherently susceptible to being corrupted and to suing the instruments of government power, whether legislation, rules, and regulations or criminal sanctions, to advantage themselves and harm others. Government was necessary, they believed, but government could also be used to impose its will over other individuals and groups. The victims of the abusive use of government power were individual liberty and freedom. Anxiety was clearly present in much of what was said regarding the new Constitution. As the 1780’s drew to a close many people felt that the Articles of Confederation were simply inadequate to govern the new nation. Beneath the feeling was a sense that the revolution had created a spirit hostile to order and efficient government (Coleman, et al. 2012, p.65-66).

In short, there was a debate between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists about the issue that were essentially social. The Federalists saw the passion for liberty they feared mani-festing itself in the form of “new men” coming to power in the states. The Anti-Federalists justified the infusion of new blood with a radical challenge to the fundamental Federalist belief in a hierarchical society and elite rule. They conten-ded that society was a longer a homogeneous unit for which an elite could speak. Society had changed from a organic hierarchy of ranks and degrees eternally linked to each other to a heterogeneous mixture of many classes in which only a member of a certain class could speak for the wants and interests of that class.

Gordon Wood concluded that all the Federalists hopes for a strong self-reliant nation and a healthy economy. “In short, all of what the Federalists wanted out of the new central government seemed in the final analysis depended upon the prerequisite maintenance of aristocratic politics”

(Wood, 1969, p.490-91).

The fundamental debate over the Constitution was one of the most bitter in American history but perhaps nearly as bitter was the conflict over religious matters. By the end of the Revolution religious orthodoxy in America was in retreat. Indeed it had been under challenge since the early seventeenth century when the Puritans arrived to create their city of saints in the wilderness, only to find the freedom of the wilderness a stronger force than the pull of salvation. “The revolution gave impetus to this gradual process by bringing the American soldiers into contact with the multitude of visitors from Europe at the time” (Koch, 1973, p.23). The influence of European Enlightenment thinkers made a profound impression on the American people who debated whether religion had been a benefit to man and took for themselves nicknames such as Voltaire and Rousseau (Purcell, 1963, p.19). The religious liberalism grew up in the era.

In the last two decades of the eighteenth century such anxiety over religious matters has a special meaning. In the context of rapid

political change, religious radicalism can create the feeling that all authority is being washed away and leads to a desire to reestablish the old beliefs or in some way institute religious restraints on the social and political transformation of the time. This movement was closed to American conservative who preserve and keep their traditions.

Meanwhile cultural and social approach can be seen from the changes of cultural values living among American society, mainly democracy. The changes have deep impacts toward the changes of behaviors. Therefore culture and society cannot be separated in learning of a phenomena in the American society. According to Diana Laurenson and Alan Swingewood

Sociology is essentially the scientific, objective study of man in society, the study of social institutions and of social processes; it seeks to answer the question of how society is possible, how it works, why it persists. But, of course sociology is concerned also with the processes whereby society changes, gradually, or cataclysmically as in revolution, from one type of society to another. (Laurenson & Swinge-wood, 1972, p.11-12)

A culture is shared by a society. Members of the society agree about the meaning of things and about the ‘why.’ They have interpreted life experiences in ways that validate their own culture’s views. Therefore, since they have

little doubt about that validity, they all share the view that their interpretations are correct. They agree about what the important things are that truly merit respects. Most American traditions are strong work ethic, small government, and Christian-Protestant. The birth of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century was a threat for the fate of Christendom and tended to reform society by using reason for spawning materialism, secularism, and totalitarianism of the modern era.

Culture is not something we are born with, but rather it is learned. This is not to say people can talk objectively about their own culture. Much of what is learned about one's own culture is stored in mental categories that are recalled only when they are challenged by something different. We all have to be taught our culture. If culture is learned, then it is also learnable. That means nobody has to remain for a lifetime locked inside only one culture. In the United States, two prominent cultural spectrum in politics— conservative and liberal — greatly give influences each other. Even the French Revolution (1789-1799) with old ideas about tradition and hierarchy of monarchy, aristocracy, and religious authority was abruptly overthrown by new Enlightenment principles of equality, citizenship, and inalienable rights. In response to the changes, traditionalists emphasized other virtues: close family, morality, responsibility, and social order. In government issues, they were against women's movement, isolationism in foreign

policy, and government support for the less advantaged.

Meanwhile, culture consists of three manifestations as follows: cultural ideas, cultural activities, and humans' work. A product of culture begins with the existence of idea in the mind of humans then it is followed by a work to produce it. The final product is acquired after completing the process of the cultural work. American classical democracy is a cultural artifact. This research focuses on describing the cultural behaviors or the process of cultural influences. There are three prominent issues – continuity, selecting and filtering, and preserv-ing—in the process of the changing a culture to other types. It is undeniably true that culture is always dynamics in a society.

Economics in America is familiar with the concept of capitalism. In economical approach, it highlights on capitalism system. Capitalism is an economic system where the means of production are privately held and operated for profit. It is a system of resource allocation where prices are based on the law of supply and demand. It is premised on the idea that self-interested individuals participate in a competitive market where they buy and sell their goods, services, and labor. As Adam Smith put it in his classic work *The Wealth of Nation*,

It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard

to their own interest. We address ourselves, not to their humanity but to their self-love, and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantage. (Smith, 2000, p.14)

It is a system where the vast majority of people learn their living by selling their labor-power for a wage to the owners of the means of production. The driving forces of the system are profit maximization, accumulation of capital, and the incessant need to innovate and expand in order to remain competitive. As Ellen Meiksins writes in capitalism “the production of goods and services is subordinate to the production of capital and capitalist profit. The basic objective of the capitalist system, in other words, is the production and self-expansion of capital” (Wood, 2002, p.2-3).

Another approach is literary approach. A work of literature is any reflection of events or phenomena in a society. Hence the study of literature is very crucial because it exposes to meaningful contexts that are full with descriptive language and characters in line with the spirit of era at the time. As with sociology, literature is pre-eminently concerned with man’s social world, his adaptation to it, and his desire to change it. Thus the novel, as the major literary genre of industrial society, can be seen as a faithful attempt to re-create the social world of man’s relation with his family, with politics, with the State; it delineates too his roles within the family and other institutions, the conflicts and

tensions between groups and social classes (Laurenson & Swingewood, 1972, p.13). In short, literature provides a mirror to the age as reflected from two great literary works: Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes on Virginia* and Alexis de Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America*.

This approach is no different from other kinds of analysis; it attempts to find truth. Literary interpretations always reflect a particular institutional, cultural, and historical background. One of literary approach is ‘Reader-response criticism’ which includes attention of the role of the reader and a process-oriented approach to reading literature. This approach supports activities that encourage us to draw on our personal experiences, opinions, and feelings in our interpretation of literature. According to Davies and Stratton (Davies & Stratton, 1984, p.3) “Reader-Response addresses this problem by making the learners “active participant(s) in the learning proceeds.”

In this case, a reader can give his opinion and interpretation about a phenomenon reflected in the literary work. The interpretation must be proved by giving some facts.

## **A CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY IN JEFFERSON AND TOCQUEVILLE SEEN**

### **AS TRANS-NATIONAL VIEWS**

This study is an attempt to reveal the roots of democracy and the thought of founding in making a discourse of democracy. Thus, it is focused on some ideas of democracy between Jefferson and Tocqueville who gave them the position as two of the figures of democracy. The great ideas do not come automatically, they commonly born from the great thinkers too. Jefferson as an American founding is mostly seen as founding of classic democracy, this democracy tends to classic liberal with its distinctive characteristics. Meanwhile Tocqueville is rather than aristocracy but he is also a bit of liberal with modern democracy as reflected in Jacksonian presidential era in the end of the nineteenth century.

It is not easy to understand the nineteenth-century liberalism. This is particularly true when liberalism is considered from a European rather than an American perspective. Therefore, this study is also intended to define the different types of liberalism by making concrete one of the nebulous shapes of European liberal thought in nineteenth century, it is "aristocratic liberalism"

(Kahan, 1992, p.3).

One of major European thinkers who has correlation with the thought of aristocratic liberalism is Alexis de Tocqueville. Tocqueville is generally conceded to be important thinker, part of the traditional canon of the intellectual history of the West, and thus any re-interpretation of his meaning and significance is important. But the other

European thinkers -Jacob Burckhardt and John Stuart Mill- are used to support the European nature of liberal thought in relation to Tocqueville's ideas. Certainly "they were not all aristocrats by birth, and none of them wished to revive the Old Regime or to base liberty on a traditional aristocracy" (Logue, 1983, p.5).

The aristocratic liberals saw the eighteenth century and the French Revolution as the origins of modernity. For them, the Enlightenment and the Revolution sketched the outlines of the typical social, political, and ideological struggles of the nineteenth century. From these beginnings flowered the commercial spirit and middle-class domination of the nineteenth century, as well as the ominous first stirrings of the great future struggle between the bourgeoisie and the lower classes. The centralized state continued the growth that had begun in the eighteenth century and threatened aristocratic liberal values both because it provided a means for imposing the domination of one class or idea and because it was a threat in itself to the chief values of liberty, individuality, and diversity (Kahan, 1992, p.5).

America had a feudal present and, moreover, its feudal elements provided the basis for commending American democracy to his countrymen. Historically the presence of a strongly entrenched feudalism had been synonymous with a weak central administration, with an "incomplete national government." While this combination may



have been cause for Tocqueville claim that the French could learn from the American example, it was precisely the combination of southern plantation feudalism and an “incomplete” national government that would make secession possible and civil war near interminable. Tocqueville’s feudalism expressed itself in the representation of dispersed power, a loose political system in which the most significant unit—in terms of power, loyalties, and active individual involvement—were local character, hence far smaller than the nation state. (Wolin, 2001, p.232).

The crucial element in Tocqueville’s feudalism was aristocracy. Aristocracy is represented as the instinctive opposition to any form of massed power, monarchical or popular. Although the pride or confidence of self-worth natural to aristocrats prevented them from coalescing their power and honors. Tocqueville, himself a lawyer, found an aristocratic counterpart secreted in America in the values, outlook, and functions of lawyers and judges. “Hidden at the bottom of the soul of legists is something of the tastes and habits of the aristocracy.” They have a natural contempt for the multitude and form a “corps” that is opposed to “the revolutionary spirit.” They prize “order” and “authority”; they have “a liking and respect for what is ancient” and they make a ritual of the following “the legal decisions of their fathers (Ibid, p.233).

Moreover, *Democracy in America* has been recognized as an indispensable starting point for understanding American politics.

... The social condition of the Americans is eminently democratic; this was its character at the foundation of the colonies, and it is still more strongly marked at the present day... (Tocqueville, ed. Richard D. Heffner, 1956, p.49)

It is based, in large part, on Tocqueville’s experiences during his 1831-32 journey through Jacksonian America, but it certainly cannot be reduced to a mere travelogue, or even to a work of mere social science. Nor is it quite a treatise of political philosophy in the tradition of Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. They were classic liberalists.

In order to understand about Jefferson, it is necessary to grasp the issues of Jefferson's age confronted and the kinds of conflicts those issues invited as well as the social causes for which he fought. Therefore, the writer can, with greater confidence, interpret the meaning of the political thought that Jefferson bequeathed and only then endeavor to determine its significance for future conflicts and even current controversies. And it is always relevant to raise questions concerning the meaning of particular political theory that are referable to Jefferson’s social life-world and the purposes for which the political theory was formulated.

Jefferson follows the central starting point of the social contract tradition and its classical predecessors in presupposing two phrases to human associations. The first phase is a pre-political phase in which individuals are said to live in the so-called 'state of nature.' In contrast to Plato and Aristotle who saw the pre-political phase as ruled by a natural monarchy among individuals, Jefferson envisioned individuals in the state of nature as living in a state of equality. In the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson famously defines this equality in two ways. First, as an equality of condition –“all men are created equal.’ And second, as an equality of natural rights –as he put it, that men are endowed with equal, inalienable rights by their creator including the rights to ‘life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” (Appleby & Ball, 1999, p.102).

Jefferson’s ideas as founding are greatly influenced by British philosopher John Locke. In his classic liberal values, Locke believed in natural law. He believed that people were rational beings who could use their reason to perceive the basic principles of natural law. Natural law, according to Locke, guaranteed each individual certain rights that could not legally be taken away, or alienated, without due process of law.

He summarized these inalienable rights as “life, liberty, and property.” Those above statements have a contradiction with Hobbes. Hobbes was very pessimistic about human nature. He believed that people were basically evil and that they would harm each other if

they were not subject to the control of an outside authority. Hence, Hobbes equated freedom with restraint by the government. Locke, by contrast, was very optimistic about human nature. He believed that governmental restraints on people were largely unnecessary (Baradat, 1984, p.68).

Another crucial argument that was to be the basic of Jefferson’s assumption about democratic government was his confidence on the abilities of common men in giving judgment on what was the best in their life together and their activities on participating in politics. Based on this confidence, Jefferson found that there was no any single reason to reject the democratic government. This Jefferson’s thought also showed the Enlightenment which stressed on the common sense in order to get the truth. He wrote to William Johnson in 1823:

We believed, with them, that man was a rational animal, endowed by nature with rights, and with an innate sense of justice; and that he could be restrained from wrong and protected in right by moderate powers, confined to persons of his own choice, and held their duties by dependence on his own will (Peterson, 1984, p.1470)

Thomas Jefferson is not only an idealist but he tends to a realist. In his concept of democracy, Jefferson realized in order not to be trapped on the perfect of human beings. In his *Notes on*

*Virginia*, he depicted that each government had the typical weakness of human beings.

In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy ... Every government degenerates when trusted to the rules people alone. The people themselves there are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe their minds must be improved to a certain degree. (Ibid, p.274)

Jefferson's confidence on the ability of people in giving rational critics was a significant characteristic in his concept of democracy. But Jefferson was also be wise in order to not to stress on the goodness of people in participating to determine the government's policies. The most important things here was people had to rid from the tyranny of foolishness.

Another crucial Jefferson's concept is the balancing of powers in government. The separation of powers in executive, legislative, and judicative (Hofstadter 1974:36). The balancing in the separation of powers and the crosscheck among the powers prove that power cannot be hold absolutely by someone of group in order not to abuse it. As Jefferson's writing in Peterson (Peterson, 1984, p.1380)

No, my friend, the way to have good and safe government, is not to trust it all to one, but to divide it among the many,

distributing to every one exactly the functions he is competent.

Both figures has given great contribution toward the development of democracy. Democracy is itself notoriously difficult to define. It does not consists of a single unique set of institutions. There are many models of democracy, and their diverse practices produce a similarly varied set of effects. According to Macpherson (Macpherson, 1977:20-21), "a model of democracy was a theoretical construction intended to exhibit and explain the real relations, underlying the appearances, between or within the phenomena under the study; to explain the probability or possibility of future changes in those relations; and with a concern for what id desirable or good or right." Based on the above definition, substantially, there is the distinction between direct democracy and indirect democracy, both of which are forms of political democracy.

Since the time of the Greek's democracy has been used to denote different types of government, but arguably all have a shared heritage which supplies a central core of meaning, Graham Maddox (Maddox, 1997, p.16) said:

Words such as democracy are shorthand reports intended to convey ideas about how are to behave as experienced people in matters regarding which each generation starts by having no experience. And if this is so, the term democracy is a carrier of historical experience whose meaning is stabilized

by an endless trial and error historical process.

This sense, democracy, then, is to be understood as a conveyor of accumulated experience. In order to assess the quality of American democracy, it will be useful to trick out some styles of democracy from the tapestry of the tradition. We shall then be in a better position to fit the American experiences into the wider backdrop.

Democracy in America has developed in various models from classical democracy to liberal democracy in the twenty-first century. The specific form democracy takes is contingent upon a country's socioeconomic conditions as well as its entrenched state structures and policy practices. According to Payne and Nasser (Payne & Nasser, 2003, p.30), "definitions of democracy have often depended on local conditions and special circumstances." For example, in America when it was still a New World, English settlers in America faced frontier conditions that emphasized the importance of the individual and helped in breaking down class distinctions and prejudices. These led to a democratic political structure marked by a high degree of individualism, civil liberty, and a government limited by law.

In the era of colonization and revolution, the ideas such as representation and individual rights were very crucial to be exposed. Thomas Jefferson as quoted by Allan Nevins and Henry S. Commager wrote

A certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that to secure these rights, Government are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Democracy as a practical possibility of individualism is also linked with the rights of the people pertaining the government. Democracy refers not only to right of life, liberty and happiness individually and personally, but also to the rights of people in determining their own government. People have a central and strong position and right in establishing their own government system. They have rights to abolish the government if the government is corrupt or weak and institute again a new government that can secure and save their lives and freedom.

According to Hegel, a democratic political system is a historical necessity. Sooner or later, it comes to all societies. Human history shows that political systems changed from monarchy (in which one person rules) to oligarchy (a group rules) and lastly to democracy (all the people rule). A democratic political system, according to Hegel and later

picked up by Francis Fukuyama, is the end of history (Budiman, 1999, p.41).

I do not mean that I agree with his conclusion that we are arriving at the end of history by having a democratic political system. Democracy is something desirable, but it is also a project of capitalism to secure free market competition. Democracy does not solve the unjust economic exploitation of the poor by economically rich. Therefore, rather than arriving at the end of history, societies continue to struggle for a must society (Fukuyama, 1992, p.19).

It is to emphasize that democracy needs for continuous and progressive improvement with a view to perfecting democratic institutions in all their aspects and practical applications. Though, these will of course differ from country to country and from continent to continent, based on the lessons of experience.

Nowadays, some countries such as German, Chile, Japan, China, Malaysia, Thailand, and India claim their nations have adopted democracy principles. It must be remembered that each country has different background of sociology and culture. Therefore it has distinctive characteristic of democracy embodying on cultural values, for example, Indonesia has *Pancasila* democracy in New Order era. Here, *Pancasila* is as philosophical basis of the state.

China tends to equality-oriented democracy that adopted communism as the philosophical basis of the state. Meanwhile a term of liberal democracy is associated with western democracy.

As it is mentioned above, there is no single definition of democracy, much less in a liberal democracy. It means that democracy is always followed by local values. Democracy has no end. On the other hand, democracy cannot be taken for granted as something established once and for all, nor can it be viewed as a single model applicable work. On the contrary, democracy is an evolving system that is gradually enriched and fine-tuned in each country that adopts it in response to the socioeconomic, technological, and cultural changes to which today's open and dynamic societies are exposed.

Since the term of democracy is the paradigm case of the essentially contested concept, or one about which there is no agreed meaning. This is not to say, however, that the word lacks contents; in fact it is one of the richest concepts in heritage of political thought. According to Mas'oed (Mas'oed, 2004, p.3), "democracy is a system of government in which all adults persons within the unit of rule are entitled to participate equally in making general laws and policy. It is also supported by the continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens, considered as political equals. And a crucial one that cannot be ignored is government's accountability.

In more recent times, definitions and practices of democracy vary widely. The United States is one of countries that practice it in the political life. In the U.S. Constitution, adopting some principles among others –the rule of law, a commitment to popular sovereignty, and a respect for the inalienable rights of individuals and minorities, make the U.S. Constitution an attractive model for emerging democracies. During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, many nations overthrew monarchs or established their independences from colonial power.

In the era of Jefferson and Tocqueville, the spirit of the Enlightenment also triggered the American Revolution and the French Revolution. The kind of radical thought expressed by Englishman Thomas Paine in *Commonsense* (1776) and *Rights of Man* (1791-1792) was taken up in a revolt over taxation in Britain's American colonies. The American Revolution (1775-1783) ended a colonial rule and led to the U.S. Constitution (1789); its Bill of Rights amendments (1791) became the classic statement of liberal rights, including the trial by jury and freedoms of religion, speech, press and assembly. French Revolution (1789) referred to the values of liberty, equality, and fraternity. European liberalism became inextricably of national self-determination. In the Western world, democracy gradually became the norm.

American democracy as a model has a significant role in shaping of government type

for other countries over the world. Therefore, democracy is not only an American intellectual mind, but also a hemispheric mind. The existence of American liberal democracy is undeniably true. Sometimes, democratization is followed by backlashes in which some of the democratized countries became authoritarian again. However, the democratization always came back, and more countries became democratized. Therefore, the necessity of learning democracy is greatly needed to comprehend the phenomena around us, mainly social-political changes and the roles of government in economic affairs.

In some events, American democracy is closed to participatory democracy which would entail more active involvement by citizens in community affairs, social movements, and interest groups. Supporters of participatory democracy usually look to civic education to encourage a more politically interested and active citizenry. At earlier periods, Thomas Jefferson and Alexis de Tocqueville called it as an instrument of civic education. The associations in America clearly run well as a mediating structure between government and people.

Meanwhile, one critique of representative democracy like liberal democracy is that it centralizes power into the hands of a few or oligarchy democracy, thereby increasing the likelihood of corruption in and abuse of power by the government. In their works, Jefferson and Tocqueville also are afraid of the excess of centralized power. Citizens cannot participate in government, except by asking

their elected officials to listen to their views. To reduce this risk, most nations with representative democracies constitutionally separate powers to establish a system of checks and balances.

This study also finds that founding is merely not as an event, but also as a concept. Founding as a concept is an idea made up of many other ideas. As an idea, founding can be seen from the perspective of past, present, and future. Founding is a historically situated idea, comprised of other contested and ever changing ideas some more dominant than others, but all fighting to be heard. Therefore, founding can serve as a tool for change. By borrowing the thought of Heddy Shri Ahimsa-putra, “mythology figure” is closed to founding.

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## **THE ‘AMERICAN’ HEGEMONIC CULTURE: ITS ROOTS, FEATURES AND IMPLICATIONS TO WORLD CULTURE**

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### **Abstract**

That America is historically a nation which developed a hegemonic culture around the world has been an unquestionable issue for many Americanists. In that kind of culture, it insisted that the *world* had no alternative but acceptance of *American* ideas, values and way of life. This is what we call as Americanization which drives a cultural imperialism through eagerly practicing the hegemonic culture primarily when the country rose as the single world hegemon. It is really factual that American hegemonic culture is the cultural heritage from British Empire, which had already got a strong influence from Roman Empire. Because of the strong myth as the chosen people, the United States is clearly identified as a strong expansionist which always tries to control others and acts unilaterally. Through this way, the United States promotes itself as the most influential country and its culture as the most widely imitated around the world.

**Keywords:** Hegemonic Culture, Americanization, Expansionist, the Most Influential

### **INTRODUCTION**

In *Gramsci's theory of hegemony*, the hegemony is a concept that may explain at least two things: *firstly*, how the apparatus of the state or a political society can lead strongly the various strata of society to accept the status quo, through legal institutions, the police, soldiers and prisoners, *secondly*, and this is more significant to this paper, how and where the political society, as well as civil society, with all its institutions at their disposal, ranging from educational institutions, religions, and family up to the production of meaning and value of the product, directing and confirming agreement forms 'spontaneously' various strata of society with the status quo (Holub, 1992, p.5).

In the matters of cultural practices, Gramsci has not only highlighted the cultural aspects of consumption or reception only, but also investigated the importance of the cultural production or how they are produced. Gramsci's analysis of hegemonic cultural production explained that the organization provides material of hegemonic structures while ensuring a large space for the development of popular culture. For the sake of this research, the word 'hegemony' is a much more appropriate term than 'empire', as it is noted that the U.S. foreign policies tend to describe generally the historic U.S. relationship with other countries that emphasize the existence of a consensus based on the rules, the values and institutions arranged by the U.S., and also the possibility of violence but not for the purpose of the

occupation of territory (Agnew, 2005, & Beeson, 2003). Meanwhile, “America” is a category with particularizing effects that are as central to how we think about the possibilities and limitations of the field of American studies as the universalizing term “culture” is to our understanding of the shape of the field of cultural studies (Burgett and Hendler, 2007, p.4).

Because of the U.S. strong position in the international arena, in a review of the New American Studies, the notion of ‘America’ is no longer understood only as a country that runs the political isolation, but rather a network of cultural influence extended beyond its hemisphere since the period of colonization to the present (Levander, 2009, p.28). It suggests that ‘America’ is a huge area of cultural influence globally to all nations and countries in the world. It also implies that American Studies should focus on the hegemonic culture to explain the how and why America develops its hegemonic culture, as Gruesz (Gruesz, 2007, p.20) said, “*America* has generally been used as a term of consolidation, homogenization, and unification.”

On this paper, the hegemonic culture is defined as a set of values, beliefs, ideas and cultural practices that are always willing to dominate, defeat and manage other cultures that are within the circle of power culture. This meaning relates to and is based upon the new perspective of American Studies, which are new parameters developed to critically

explore US culture and discuss the role of America in a changing world order (Fluck, Brandt, and Thaler, 2007, p.1). This paper puts three big questions: Where does the *American* hegemonic culture come from? What are the features of the hegemonic culture? What are its implications to the world culture? *These questions* need to be answered and enshrined in many discussions on the American hegemonic culture and its implications to the world culture.

## THE ROOTS OF ‘AMERICAN’ HEGEMONIC CULTURE

*The question about the source of* the current U.S. hegemony becomes critical in understanding the hegemonic culture; the search for the answer to this question even has quite dominated the discourse and the scientific works in the field of American Studies. In general, there are three options for the answer of the questions: (a) it comes as an imperial heritage of the United Kingdom; (b) it comes from the western European ancestors; and (c) it is the American specific national culture. In specific, the root of this hegemonic culture had been from the Romans culture.

The theory that the U.S. hegemonic cultural roots originate from the imperial heritage of the United Kingdom was proposed by Russell Kirk (Kirk, 1993) in his book ‘*America’s British Culture*’. He states that the United

Kingdom is a country regarded as the ancestral land of the modern American nation, so that when the elements of British culture cleaned of all cultural patterns in the United States, then surely the American people will lose their own cultural values. With this understanding, the United States is currently worth mentioning as an heir to the throne of Imperial Kingdom of Great Britain (Ferguson, 2004, & Garrison, 2004), without having to go through war to seize the throne (Garrison, 2004, p.74-76), so it can be said that the 20th century is “a century-born U.S. hegemony and empire”.

The next view reveals that the American people forever are the Western European. It is based on the history of the conquest of the Americas by the British Americans. This view can be traced from Madison Grant's *The Conquest of the Continent* and Ales Hrdlicka's seminal work entitled *Old Americans*. Madison Grant said: "It is probably accurate to say that there never has been a nation which was so completely and definitely Protestant as well as Nordic as was the United States just after the American Revolution." On the final pages of *The Racial Origins of the Founders of America*, Ales Hrdlicka characterized *Old Americans* as individuals whose ancestors arrived prior to the wars between the States (Peterson, 1995). In addition, the majority of Americans can trace their family to at least one ancestor who lived in Western Europe.

Both opinions are then summed up by Joseph Fallon (Fallon, 1995, p.150) who said that the

United States has a specific national culture, although in fact it is essentially the English culture through the modification by their wild nature. American culture is said to be specific because it is a configuration of ways and means used by the American people to express a collective sense of self (Kroes, 1999, p.465), and this culture remains imperialistic nation since it confirmed the presence of a comparable nature with the nature of Roman imperial power (Ibid, 1999, see also: Garrison, 2004, p.4). The U.S. imperial power inherited from the United Kingdom has been implementing global hegemony across the world as well as the basis for the determination of foreign policy (Mead, 2002, p.125 & Garrison, 2004, p.76).

The uniqueness of American culture is also seen in the implementation of foreign policy, especially after it inherited 'the mantle of global hegemony', which actually fought over by various countries through World War II. Bradley (Bradley & Lubis, 1991, p.xvi-xvii) said that the U.S. politically applies dual-branch with a number of conflicting characteristics. The United States combines a realistic-practical with the idealistic-utopian. On the one hand, its foreign policy is directed to protect and extend the benefit to U.S. commercial interests around the world, while on the other hand, it has an ideal to become a superpower that capable of building an international system, and as far as possible in the manner and according to its will and own interpretation, so it will bring a flat, globalized world (Kroenig & Ratner, 2007), under the

leadership of a single superpower, accompanied by expanding ideology as illustrated by Garrison (Garrison, 2004, p.80) as follows:

The essential reason for the success of American foreign policy is that, following Britain, the United States has been motivated fundamentally by resources and trade, not territory. ... money, not land, has always been at the core of American imperial designs. Integral to its imperial strategy has been the mission of spreading democracy and human rights around the world.

From what Garrison mentioned above, it can be understood also that in establishing its hegemony, the U.S. has different ways from European countries which mostly use the political power in the occupied territories. The United States is widely known to have anti-imperialist sentiments; but in fact, it also applies the methods of imperialism. The United States does not engage in direct imperialism or colonial territory, and even has anti-imperialism as it has been pointed out since the Cold War era with decolonization policy. However, in practice, as a country that embraces the ideology of capitalism, the U.S. paradigm cannot be completely separated from the imperial strategy of development effort (Garrison, 2004). Veriyawan (Veriyawan, 2007) also said that the ideology of capitalism is not only the basis for the development of the economic system (capitalism or neo-liberalism), but also as a

basis to build its foreign policy. Colonization or imperialism is used as its method in the foreign policy, though not directly. By using a unique and aggressive foreign policy over the past two centuries, the U.S. has managed to establish its global hegemony (Garrison, 2004, p.57).

Most notably, the uniqueness of American culture that can be traced in the differences between American and Western European values as surveyed by the Pew Research Center in 2011 are as follows: (1) Americans are more individualistic and are less supportive of a strong safety net than are the publics of Britain, France, Germany and Spain, (2) Americans are also considerably more religious than Western Europeans, and are more socially conservative with respect to homosexuality, (3) Americans are somewhat more inclined than Western Europeans to say that it is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world.

Above all, there are some astonishing similarities between the rise of the American state and power and the upsurge of Roman Republic. Tsonchev (Tsonchev, 2012) wrote, "These likenesses are not due to the specific character of both states, rather there is a common pattern in the development of every powerful state and the U.S. and Rome are examples of this pattern." These common patterns are the evidence or the strong indicators that the American hegemonic culture has a root in the Romans culture. We can trace the Roman hegemonic culture from

the history fact in which the Romans produced a great civilization to the world. No wonder if the Americans have used many Romans myth as expressed in values, norms and even buildings and statues.

## **The Features of ‘American’ Hegemonic**

### **Culture**

Traditionally, Americans have struggled for their lives based on the American dreams of success, fame and wealth through thrift and hard work. In brief, the American dream is a *myth* that, in America, opportunity exists for reward that is directly commensurate with one’s effort. The inspiration of American Dream has come long before the independence of United States was declared, dating back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when people began to share *hopes* and *aspirations* for the new and largely unexplored continent (Smith, 2012). As Freese (Freese, 1985, p.78) says ‘*Long before ‘America’ became a country, it was a continent, and long before it was known to exist as a continent, it was a vision and a dream.*’

Boorstin (Boorstin, 1962, p.239-240) illustrated America on his book: “America has been a land of dreams. A land where the aspirations of people from countries cluttered with rich, cumbersome, aristocratic, ideological pasts can reach for what once seemed unattainable. Here they have tried to make dreams come true.”

The image of the America has clarified the existence of the so-called ‘*the American Mind*’ (Wise, 1979, p.179) — a term taken from the title of Williams and Gabriel’s book in 1937 about the American thought and civilization, the idea of soul or character typical of Americans who have great expectations (*hopeful*), net of bad temperament (*innocent*), keep freedom and personal rights (*individualistic*), give priority to the principle of expediency and practical (*pragmatic*) and own a goal-major goal to build the civilization of the world (*idealistic*). Thus, the American Mind may be considered as “a testament to the height of the nation’s culture and American countries”. The American Mind can be traced since 1900, when Senator Albert J. Beveridge announced his conviction that God has established the nation-American as His chosen people to inherit the leadership that saved the world. To be able to carry out the mission of the American people, Beveridge brought together world religious themes, politics, economics, history and psychology to the issue of a new imperialism (Judis, 2004, p.14).

The hegemonic culture has also been empowered by the concept of ‘American exceptionalism’.

The term exceptionalism was coined to describe the ideology of a promised land and a chosen people (Fluck, 2007, p.60). American exceptionalism and the manifest destiny image are at the heart of any understanding of United

States imperialism/empire (Grondin, 2006, p.10). It can be classified into two types: (a) *substantive exceptionalism*, which is the study of exceptionalism in terms of actual outcomes and the actual doctrines, and (b) *methodological exceptionalism*, namely the study of exceptionalism in terms of methods and approaches. In its actualization, Michael Ignatieff (Ignatieff, 2005, p.3-8) divides American exceptionalism into three different faces, namely:

(1) *American exemptionalism* (arbitrariness of America to not comply with the rule of law and international treaties unilaterally) ; 2) *double standard* (using a different measurement standard between himself and other countries; between friendly countries with a country that does not like), 3) *legal isolationism* (interpretation of the law and justice unilaterally by the United States) (Schauer, 2005, p.30-31).

By looking at the division of American exceptionalism by Michael Ignatieff, the actual understanding of exceptionalism is not relevant when associated with the label of America as a country striving for democracy, — in fact, Americans use double standards in formulating and practicing democracy, but rather as a good luck in history due to its ability to be a rich nation from human and natural resources and its success in winning the two and its success in winning two World Wars and the Cold War, as written by Hodson (Hodson, 2009, p.157-158):

In the Twentieth Century, America was exceptional not so much for a commitment to democratic ideals but for two other reasons. For one thing, the United States became exceptionally rich, partly because of its natural and human resources, but also because, unlike its European rivals, it was not devastated and impoverished but was enriched by two world wars.

American exceptionalism has also been used for insulation, which is a policy to isolate, and supervise all gestures or the leader of another nation in violation of democracy and human rights according to the standard one-sided American. Politic is the result of the foreign policies priority that run the U.S. role as a 'world's policeman'. Feeling as the global cop, said Jiemin (Jiemin, 2005), the U.S. has never wanted to hear any voices or criticisms of other nations or other groups who disagree with U.S. foreign policy practice. In other words, all the countries of the world must be willing to accept and follow American will; while whoever against the U.S. interests, culture, or world view would be seen as a threat to human life and serve the common enemy (Sardar & Davies, 2004, p.64-65, & Soderberg, 2005). This foreign policy based on U.S. leadership perpetuates and encourages the myth that the United States can and should manage the rest of the world (Conry, 1997).

## THE IMPLICATIONS TO WORLD

## **CULTURE**

The world history records that the American hegemonic culture has occupied since the occupation of the American continent itself. In the early phase, the conqueror of the continent have killed almost 97% of the 4-9 million indigenous people who have been first occupied this region. This phase can be termed as the era of colonialism as an obvious evident in the practice of American hegemony. Through the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the hegemonic practice expanded to American hemisphere regions, including Central America to the Caribbean islands and a number of islands in the Pacific region, even to the country Philippines. This period was also marked by the rise of the corporate capitalism where businesses in agriculture and bank loans monopolized various concessions in large quantities overseas. In the next phase, in the 1970s, a new style of American hegemony took advantage of global control over a wide range of economic regulation through the post-World War II Bretton Woods system, but this strategy got opposition or challenges from Europe and Japan. As a result, America changed strategy of expanding its power of virtual forms of colonialism into the form of hegemony to the world culture.

The implications of the American hegemonic culture to the World culture have been analyzed in many ways. It has created an Americanization which dominated all aspects of life in the whole world. In the early 1900's, "Americanization" referred to the movement

where immigrants were urbanized into Americans (Huebner, 1906, p.191). Now, in today's world, the term has a different, but similar meaning - the globalization by the U.S. of the world. Henry R. Luce in writing an editorial in *Life* magazine (17 February 1941) has been called the era of U.S. dominance in the term of *the American Century*.

The term is intended to describe the emergence of the United States in the international arena as the greatest power, or a pax Americana (Hodson, 2000, p.118, & DeConde, Burns, and Logevall, 2002, p.495). The Luce's editorial has encouraged Americans to accept their destiny and use influence to remake the world according to their own values (Hogan, 1999, p.1). It has confirmed the U.S. image as a nation that is as strong as imperialistic Rome in the reign of the Roman Empire (Kroes, 1999, p.465).

A strong majority thinks US culture had a lot of impact on other countries in the 20th century, and an overwhelming majority believes it will have equal or greater influence in the 21st century. The American victories experience achieved in various battles in the global scale, both physically and ideology, — it has undermined the spread of the ideology of Fascism at World War II, and the ideology of communism in the Cold War —, has encouraged greatly the growth of American awareness and confidence so that the Americans truly believe that they have a superior and privileged nation. Based upon that special feeling, it is no wonder the U.S.

later perceives the world in the eyes of America itself, thus encouraging the process of so-called Americanization of culture, as written by Jiantao (Jiantao 2007, p.39):

After the World War I, especially after World War II, with the unprecedented development of American economy, the abundant supply of material goods prompted the rise of the popular culture based on the consumption and entertainment, and since then Americanization has been used to describe the process of American popular culture influencing, reshaping other countries' culture and the latter's converging to the former.

In the global hegemonic culture, the values, consumption patterns and the Western way of life spread around the world through a number of strongly influential channels of globalization (for example: trade, tourism, cultural exchanges, print and electronic mass media, a partnership or alliance ). This process is believed to bring the impact of changes in mindset and culture of social life resulting in homogenization of the world, a flat, globalized world (Kroenig & Ratner, 2007). Thus globalization has become a very powerful weapon to force poor countries and developing into the range of cultures, markets and power of America (Mishkin, 2006, p.131). In other words the process of globalization can be identified as the process of Americanization effort.

One phenomenon of globalization which brings culturally resonant and getting lots of attention from the public, activists, observers and experts of culture is what is called '*the McDonald-ization*', an idea that is considered to describe many things ranging from religion, the university and museums. *The McDonaldization* clearly brought new cultural values for the nations of Asia, especially on the model of business organization, style of consumption and consumerism. This happens because *the McDonaldization* is the process by which the principles of fast-food restaurant comes to dominate more sectors of American society and world society (Ritzer, 1996, p.1), and because fast food, style of dress, entertainment, and the language of the West brought hidden cultural communication about values which are considered more important in the aspect of morality, identity and life (Marsella, 2005, p.3).

It is obvious then that the globalization today is American-centric; in that much of the information revolution comes from the United States, and a large part of the content of global information networks is currently created in the United States and enhances American '*soft power*' (Nye, 2007, p.170). Globalization has indeed been used extensively by the United States for the benefit of the future of the nation itself, the power to expand and maintain the empire (Garrison, 2004, p.39). The phenomenon of globalization has even been seen as an aspect of the nature of imperialism, that is the cultural hegemony of a particular center to further increase the spread



of values, consumer goods and lifestyles of America (Tomlinson, 1997, p.174). The worldwide spread and dominance of American consumer culture and products, which many nations claim is eroding their local cultural traditions and values and represents a form of global cultural regulation. For instance, in the context of Asia, the cultural globalization deals directly with the Asian values. Thus, the issue of cultural imperialism raises both questions of cultural identity and government policy (Rauschenberger, 2003, p.1-2).

As a result, the cultural hegemony has become a powerful medium to read the power structures between different cultures (Hanafi, 2009, p.139). The use of American hegemonic culture through globalization established the assumption that cultural power is "bigger than the political and economic rule" (Wattenberg, 1991, p.213, quoted by Nye, 2004, p.47). The spread of American culture into the daily life of the global community has led the U.S. into a new form of colonialism, the 'cultural imperialism', so that globalization as an international system has replaced the Cold War, in which the tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union ended and replaced with the tension with many other countries in terms of policy and practice its imperialistic culture.

## **CONCLUSION**

There are three main perspectives about where the American hegemonic culture comes: (a) it was inherited from the United Kingdom; (b) it

was developed by the whole western European ancestors; and (c) it originates form of American specific national culture.

The American dream and the American exceptionalism are the main features of the hegemonic culture since both of them have been occupied by and familiar among American people since the very early of American history.

The two myths have been internalized in the mind of American so that it is reasonable if they also are reflected in American foreign policies for establishing a new international political order and a new international economical order based on its own interests.

It is recognized that the power of culture has been greater than the political and economic rules. As the changes of the world political situation in the post Cold War era, the United States attempted to unify the world with its cultural values in order to gain its success that cannot be reached through military force. The implication to the world culture is very obvious, that is the changes of other cultures to be Americanized. The global public, ranging from Austria to Australia, tend to believe that the process of Americanization of American popular culture is a subject, even necessary, before the advent of the success of the United States in the political, military and economic developments in the Cold War.

The American culture is the culture of the most widely imitated around the world while

what drives the American cultural imperialism is the expansion of foreign markets and the recognition of the greatness of America. The motivation behind the American cultural imperialism runs parallel to the justification of imperialism of the United States throughout history, the desire to gain entrance to foreign markets and the belief in the superior value of American culture.

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**THE INFLUENCES OF NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE'S *YOUNG GOODMAN BROWN*  
ON BUDI DARMA'S *BAMBANG SUBALI BUDIMAN*:  
A COMPARATIVE LITERATURE**

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**Abstract**

The purpose of this article is to observe the influence of “Young Goodman Brown” on “Bambang Subali Budiman” applying Comparative Literature Study. The theme of Hypocrisy as the result of the journey of looking for evil inside is the universal values in both works. Although those works have similarities, some elements are different. Furthermore, the differences demonstrate the originality of “Bambang Subali Budiman” as influenced work. The study of Comparative Literature eliminates the gap between Western and Eastern literary works under the coverage of World Literature.

**Keywords:** Comparative Literature, World Literature, Influence relation, Originality

**INTRODUCTION**

The progress of World Literature is supported by Comparative Literature Study by improving the discussion among works from all around the world. As a way to celebrate the various works under World Literature, this study organizes comparative literature study as a way to expose the influence relation between Nathaniel Hawthorne's “Young Goodman Brown”, American works already acquired across the globe, and Budi Darma's “Bambang Subali Budiman”, Indonesian literary works.

Seeing the background differences of those two literary works, the study need common basis as according to David Damrosch in his book *How to Read World Literature*:

To be effective, a comparison of disparate works needs to be grounded in some third term or set of concerns that can provide a common basis for analysis.

Without some meaningful ground of comparison, we would be left with a scattershot assortment of unrelated works<sup>1</sup> In applying David Damrosch premises, it will answer three following common basis as ground of comparisons. Firstly, common basis or link of thinking between “Young Goodman Brown” and “Bambang Subali Budiman” in a relation of influence, in which the former influences the latter. As Budi Darma confess in the footnote of his short story; *Dalam sebuah pertemuan ada*

*seorang peserta membicarakan sebuah cerpen Nathaniel Hawthorne pengarang abad kesembilan belas, berjudul "Young Goodman Brown".*

*Cerpen ini menyangkut salah satu segi kehidupan orang Puritan di New England. Mereka percaya bahwa manusia selalu diancam oleh pengaruh setan, karena itu mereka harus berusaha sekuat tenaga untuk membebaskan diri dari ancaman ini.*

*Bagi beberapa orang justru usaha manusia yang berlebih-lebihan untuk menyucikan diri sendiri membuka kesempatan yang lebih luas bagi setan untuk menyelundup ke jiwa manusia. Pembicaraan ini mengaduk kembali ingatan saya pada cerpen ini, yang sudah saya baca beberapa tahun yang lalu. Sebelum pembicaraan selesai saya pulang, dan langsung menulis "Bambang Subali Budiman." Tentu saja nama, tempat, dan peristiwa dalam cerpen ini tidak ada sangkut pautnya dengan keadaan sehari-hari.<sup>2</sup>*

(In a meeting, a certain participant raised the topic of Nathaniel Hawthorne's, a 19<sup>th</sup> [American] author, short story entitled "Young Goodman Brown." This short story tells about an aspect of Puritan in New England. They believed that Man was always threatened by Satan persuasion, thus, they had to work very hard to be free from it. For some people, this

excessive effort to sanctify themselves, indeed, opened to immense opportunity for Satan to enter human soul. This discussion reminded me of this short story that I had read years ago. I went home before the discussion ended, and wrote (my) short story "Bambang Subali Budiman". Certainly, the name place, and occasion in this story did not related to the real events).

This confession that directly connects both the short stories is the main key to do the study as a comparative literature. The influence concept itself is also fundamental to determine the point of view taken. This analysis takes the standpoint of the work that influences Budi Darma's "Bambang Subali Budiman". Secondly, the intrinsic elements also provides a common basis for the analysis. Related to these similarities on contents, the third common basis connects to how the two short stories work on the same theme on Hypocrisy. By conducting Comparative Research based on the influential relation, the originality of work that influences should be proved in order to get the equivalence position as Comparative Literature.

In order to understand the influences of Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Young Goodman Brown" on Budi Darma's "Bambang Subali Budiman", the main question raised is the relation of influence and response depicted by Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Young Goodman Brown" and Budi Darma's "Bambang Subali Budiman" including the originality of the latter works.

## THE INFLUENCE AND RESPOND RELATION

All publication and courses in comparative literature according to François Jost are grouped into four categories: relation; analogies and influence; movements and trends; genres and forms; and motif, types, and themes<sup>3</sup>. This study selects the categories of influence relation and the themes to analyze the relation between those works. Generally, a study of influence is a literary research that focuses upon the interactions and resemblances between two or more national literatures, works, or authors, or upon the particular function of certain personalities in the transmission of various literary doctrines or technique<sup>4</sup>. Based on those ground, the analysis of influence will be focused on the influence and response of the first work to the latter particularly in theme, characterization, and event of the story.

Determining the focalization and narrator supports the analysis of theme, event, and characterization since it as the basic to find out the perspective of the stories. Narrator and Focalization is distinctive. Narrator in stories is central as its existent essential to describe and identify the setting and characters, and also report the flow of stories. Focalization is not verbal; however, like everything in the text, it is expressed by language. The overall language of a text is the narrator, but focalization can 'color' it in a way which

makes it appear as transposition of the perceptions of a separate agent<sup>5</sup>.

The narrator in "Young Goodman Brown" is the third person who told story from beginning until the end. Therefore, the external focalization is seen through the perspective of the narrator who portrayed the events, setting, and characters' situation through external description. Moreover, the narrator described the event when Brown took the road as:

*He had taken a dreary road, darkened by all the gloomiest trees of the forest, which barely stood aside to let the narrow path creep through, and closed immediately behind<sup>6</sup>*

The description of Narrator on Brown's journey above aims to add the effect of mysterious and dark of the journey compared to the description of the road itself. Moreover, the description of setting not only symbolizes the situation but also supports the mood of story. Although the story is in the gloomy mood, the narrator in some way connects it to the Narratee. Narrator challenges the question to trigger the narratee to guesstimate, it is seen as followed; "Had Goodman Brown fallen asleep in the forest, and only dreamed a wild dream of a witch-meeting?"<sup>7</sup> This sentence points out whether the narrator is reliable or not because this sentence is triggered with the hesitation after whole Brown's journey has been told. The narrator gives a clue that all Brown's night experience is only a dream, moreover, the journey is the illusion created



by the Devil, through saying, “Be it so, if you will. But, alas! It was a dream of evil omen for young Goodman Brown”<sup>8</sup>. Narrator’s technique which emphasizes on the word “dream” suggests that whole story is more closely to the dream rather than the real. Thus, once again narrator comments, “A stern, a sad, a darkly meditative, a distrustful, if not a desperate man, did he become, from the night of that fearful dream”<sup>9</sup>. The remark on “from the night of that fearful dream” implies the dream or illusion created by the Devil which weakens Brown’s faith. Seeing these literary proofs, the narrator is unreliable for telling the vague events that are potentially identified in various way by readers. The unreliability of the narrator is one of the factors that makes “Young Goodman Brown” enormous work.

Seeing the description of unreliable narrator above, All Brown seen in the forest is the Devil’s illusions, not the real one. “Young Goodman Brown” constructs the inner hypocrisy of an individual that is always suspicious to others. Brown is manipulated by his mysterious fellow traveller, the Devil, from the first meeting. The way of devil to do a manoeuvre toward Brown is by damaging devotion he seizes. In the first debate between Brown and Devil, Brown strongly holds his faith toward the honesty of his ancestor and himself. Satan’s influence is mentioned by his ancestors as sinners who devote his loyalty toward evil. The Satan’s manipulation toward Brown’s heart on the second phase is illustrated through the people Brown initial recognition as pious, but secretly Evil devotee.

Devil raises the level of Brown’s distrust through manipulating more illusions on others pious figures as the sinful ones; including Goody Cloyse, the minister and Deacon Gookin. Brown loses and surrounds to the Devil when he thinks seeing Faith, his wife, emerge as one of Evil Followers. The victory of the Devil means the birth of Brown’s hypocrisy. The lost of Brown by surrendering his heart toward Devil; has changed him psychologically and emotionally for the rest of his life. Brown acts and believes himself as the good one but he always suspicious of other’s guilty.

There is no good on earth; and sin is but a name. Come, devil! For the thee is this world given.<sup>10</sup>

Brown, himself, is considered as half-conscious on the identity of his fellow traveller. He understands that his fellow is a devil, however, the ambiguity lies at a stage of journey, he makes a conversation with the devil, “What if wretched old women do choose to go to Devil, when I thought she was going to heaven!”<sup>11</sup> It is strange to mentioned “to go to Devil” when his chat-mate is the Devil himself.

Along the story line, the sins of Faith, Goody Cloyse, Deacon Gookin, and the minister are not presented. The explanation on crime or mistakes defined to them as sinners is absence from the plot. Their sin appearances were only

at night of evil ceremony when Brown has found them joining the Devil, which is the hallucination created by the Devil. The internal focalization of Brown toward others is wrong and unjust that leads to his hypocrisy. Moreover, he is always worrying others befriend with Devil, conversely, without his full realization that his heart has already belonged to the Devil.

In “Bambang Subali Budiman”, there are three narrators with subordinate relation among them. Subordinate relation is a narration model of the story which means “a character whose actions are the objects of narration can himself in turn engage in narrating a story”<sup>12</sup>. The story within story, like in “Bambang Subali Budiman”, creates “a stratification of level whereby each narrative is subordinate to narrative within which it is embedded”<sup>13</sup>. The characters of the traveller is the primer narrator, the doctor who takes over the story is the secondary narrator, and finally, Bambang Subali who takes over the story from the doctor is the third narrator.

The first Narrator told story on his visit to sub-district named Wonoireng. First narrator limited knowledge of Wonoireng situation and its people, thus in the middle of story his role as Narrator is changed by the second narrator, the doctor. The following paragraph below is the turning point of its transformation;

*Maka, dia bercerita. Untuk enaknyanya, lebih baik saya kutipkan cerita dokter ini selengkapnyanya. Meskipun di sana sini*

*saya mempergunakan kata-kata saya sendiri, sama sekali saya tidak mengubah isinya. Demikian: <sup>14</sup>*

(Then, he told a story. For simply reason, I better quoted Doctor's story completely.

Though I still used my own language on several parts, I didn't change the substance at all. Here):

The traveller does not have personal interest to change the story. Accordingly, he could be labelled as reliable narrator. The Doctor is also categorized as reliable narrator. He has creditable knowledge on Wonoireng sub district. The third narrator is Bambang Subali Budiman himself. Bambang Subali Budiman is just like the other two narrators who are reliable narrator. He has knowledge of himself particularly his internal focalization built in deeper knowledge on the story particularly on his journey to find out the evil ceremony. Moreover, he doesn't have personal interest to hide the truth of the story seeing that he was the character who looks for the truth within his society. In the transformation process from the doctor to Bambang Subali, the doctor said;

*“Untuk enaknyanya, baiklah saya kutip cerita*

*Bambang Subali selengkapnyanya. “Saya” dalam cerita ini adalah Bambang Subali*

*Budiman*<sup>15</sup>

(For simply reason, I would  
quote

Bambang Subali's story entirely. "I" in  
this short story is Bambang Subali).

The truth values of story told from one mouth to another mouth and continued to others' are considered as less believable. However, when the three narrators have been regarded as reliable narrators, then, it is concluded that the story which they have told is generally trustworthy too. It could be missing or bias in detail in supporting the whole story viewing the fact that each narrator possibly improvises the story with their own language style, as the traveller has said, "I still used my own language on several parts". The tiny shift on the story improvising process by each narrator will be acceptable as long as the core points of the story were not destroyed.

Accordingly, the signs of sins and hypocrisies are followed by its evidence of attending Evil ritual in "Bambang Subali Budiman". "The "laugh parade ritual" as the indication of the real existence of Evil service is admitted to be heard not only by Bambang Subali but also by the first narrator, the traveller. As the traveller has stated, "*Suara-suara ajaib ini benar-benar ada, dan saya mendengarnya. Makin lama, bunyi genderang bertalu-talu makin jelas*"<sup>16</sup> (The magical voice was very real, and I heard that. More time I heard, the pounding sound of drum is sharper). Bambang Subali, in

the same sense, who has heard the appearance of the sound in couple of times describes the laugh parade as; *saya mendengar suara tertawa ajaib lagi..kemudian diikuti oleh genderang bertalu-talu dan suara tertawa berderai-derai. Saya yakin bahwa tidak bermimpi*.<sup>17</sup>(In a one night I heard the magical laugh voice, and, then, the pounding sound of drum and patter laugh. I was sure I was not dreaming).

All the evidences pointed to the real existence of evil ceremony above are triggered to the next stage explanation which denotes the resident of Wonoireng and Bambang Subali as the real part of Evil devotee. "Bambang Subali Budiman" assembles the individual hypocrisy, then leads into the social and mass hypocrisy that is infectious. The hypocrisy in "Bambang Subali Budiman" was dissimilar from "Young Goodman Brown. Accordingly, the main way to analyze the hypocrisy in "Bambang Subali Budiman" is mainly through the sin admission in the night of Evil ceremony. It is diversion from "Young Goodman Brown" in which the evil ceremony scene can't be used as the indicator of hypocrisy in society. Several characters that admit their sin in the evil ritual night are Bambang Subali, Rikayani (his wife), Jayadi, and the head of school.

Bambang Subali's is known as saint figure, it is revealed through the narration of the doctor that said Bambang Subali "wasn't like Jayadi, this young man didn't have desire to be a leader" (*Tidak seperti Jayadi, orang muda ini tidak mempunyai keinginan untuk menjadi*

*pemimpin*).<sup>18</sup> However, the society knowledge on him is contradictory to his admission in the night of evil ceremony; he confesses that he likes to have power but he is excessively coward to take the responsibilities;

*Karena itu saya sering mempergunakan Jayadi. Saya senang melihat Jayadi menjadi alat keinginan saya. Tapi, kadang-kadang saya juga ingin kelihatan.*<sup>19</sup>

Due to this reason, I often used Jayadi. I loved to see Jayadi being means to accomplish my desire. However, sometimes I would like to be seen.

Bambang Subali willingly joins the evil ritual by searching and following the traces of Evil ritual custom without any enforcement. Therefore, Bambang Subali sincerely wants to be closer to the evil. Rikayani, Bambang Subali's wife, recognized in society as ideal wife confesses her hatred toward his husband. The admission of evil intention is also done by Drs. Jayadi and the head of school. Moreover, all the characters' hypocrisy is basically in the "secret evil" intention which means that it is purposely to be hidden and buried while their surface appearance always in publicly good poses.

"Bambang Subali Budiman" is influenced by "Young Goodman Brown" predominantly in the parallel presentation events of story. Brown and Bambang Subali initiate un-delay vague journey to find the answer for their

eagerness on mysterious thing. The way Rikayani to persuade Bambang Subali is similar with the Faith's method. Both wives express the frightening of bad dream. The responses of the husbands are similar; they object to fulfil the demand of the wives, Brown replied, "of all nights in the year, this one night must I tarry away from thee..."<sup>20</sup> and Bambang Subali also answers; *Tapi, saya menolak.*<sup>21</sup> (However, I rejected). The mysterious temptation is more appealing than the seduction of the wife for both Bambang Subali and Brown. In the middle of the Journey, Brown and Bambang Subali are disturbed by their memory of lonely wife at home. Brown is sad and doubt as he thinks "Poor little Faith!" .....for his heart smotes him. "What a wretch am I, to leave her on such an errand..."<sup>22</sup> Bambang Subali feels the same guilty toward his wife, "I was interested in following them, while my heart cried thought of my wife" (*Saya tertarik untuk mengikuti mereka, sementara hati saya menangis memikirkan istri saya*).<sup>23</sup> The guilty feeling is redeemed through a promise to be more loyal and faithful toward his wife;

*Saya tahu bahwa istri saya adalah perempuan yang paling mulia di kolong langit ini....Kalau kami sudah sama-sama pergi, saya ingin mengikutinya ke surga.*<sup>25</sup>

(I knew that my wife was the noblest woman under this sky....If we both left this world, I will follow her to the heaven)

In order to reduce the guilty feeling, Brown also commits to follow his wife to the goodness. The words used are almost similar with “Bambang Subali Budiman” as followed; well; she's a blessed angel on earth; and after this one night, I'll cling to her skirts and follow her to Heaven.”(1033). The turning point of both short stories is when Bambang Subali and Brown wake up in the morning and are confused whether the last night event is only a dream or a reality. In

“Young Goodman Brown”, this moment is signed with the questioned mark; “Had Goodman

Brown fallen asleep in the forest, and only dreamed a wild dream of a witch-meeting?

(1042)” In “Bambang Subali Budiman”,

Bambang Subali also doubted it;

*Apa yang terjadi selanjutnya saya tidak begitu tahu, seolah saya dalam keadaan setengah mimpi (190)*

What happened next I didn't know, as if I was in partially dream

As the result of Evil ritual was the alienation feeling that grown in the heart of Bambang Subali and Brown. McKeithan said;

Goodman Brown's sin is not identified, but its horrible effects are most impressively described. At the end of the story he is full of cynicism and moral skepticism; they are not his sin but merely its effects.<sup>24</sup>

As the effect of Brown cynicism and moral scepticism, Brown is casted himself away from others. He doesn't believe when the sincerity of others when sing the church hymns, the speech of minister, and even when his own family pray together. The alienation feeling was also undergone by Bambang Subali. His relation with his wife is being vague. The highest result of Alienation in Brown is miserable long live and death, while Bambang Subali leaves Wonoireng as the result of the haunted unease feeling.

#### **“YOUNG GOODMAN BROWN” AND “BAMBANG SUBALI BUDIMAN”: GOOD AND EVIL IN NAMES**

Young Goodman Brown contains of three words; “Young”, “Goodman”, and “Brown”. Every word has its own meaning. “Young” is related to the newness as baby-born, as Ezghoul and Zuraika define, “the word “Young” represents innocence and purity.<sup>25</sup> The story begins with young spirit of Brown and ends by his miserable old and later dies. “Young”, here, according to Ezghoul and Zuraika is a representation of interest to explore beyond the limitation; “At the beginning of the story, Brown makes the journey out of his sense of curiosity.”<sup>26</sup> Thus, Young also signifies inception. “Goodman” in

"Young Goodman Brown" has two definitions. Firstly, it is directly defined as man with good quality of trait; nice, polite, faith, and solemn. Secondly, according to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Fourth Edition, Goodman is defined as the male head of household and a husband. Goodman is used formerly as a courtesy title before the surname of a man not of noble birth<sup>27</sup>. Another definition from this dictionary, Goodman is used formerly as a courtesy title before the surname of a man not of noble birth. In "Young Goodman Brown", other characters also called with "Good" title, such as; Goody Cloyse and Good Old Deacon Gookin. Even, the unchanged witch also called Goody Cory. It denotes the word "Good" are generally used for villagers in Brown's village. It points to the meaning of "Goodman" in the name of Young Goodman Brown which is closer to the definition as male head of household rather than a man with good quality. Lastly, the name Brown is family name. It had been noted that Brown in the beginning adored his "Brown Family". This pride is later ruined by the Devil. The definition of Brown is suggested by Ezghoul and Zuraika;

We may also exploit the relation between the name, "Brown" and the word, "dusk" as words that represent a middle position between two extreme opposites. "Brown" as a name of color that lies between whiteness and blackness, reflects a state indecision and hesitation which Brown experiences

throughout the journey. In the same way, "dusk" stands in the same relation with light and complete darkness. Moreover, Brown's, reference to the minister as "the gray blasphemer" right before the end of the story is suggestive because "dusk" is closely related to "gray" and "brown" as colors indicating hypocrisy.<sup>28</sup>

Brown is classified as brown character which means that he potentially could be good or bad. The journey he has taken is the path to choose between those preferences. In the meantime, Bambang Subali Budiman is structured of "Bambang", "Subali", and "Budiman". "Budiman" does not belong to the real name. It is a compliment and a praise which means that it is related directly to the good quality of Bambang Subali as a saint. The quality as saint is received from his environment; it can be seen in the following sentences;

*"Seluruh kecamatan terkena pengaruh jiwanya tenang, tenteram, damai, aman, dan makmur. Karena wibawanya, maka kecamatan ini tidak pernah dilanda suasana panas, kesusu, atau tegang."*<sup>29</sup>

(His calm, peaceful, amicable, secure, and flourish soul affected the whole sub-district. Under his masterfulness, this sub-district never had been in the heat, hasty, or tense situation)

The Journey of Bambang Subali Budiman involves the role of good and evil that is always in confrontation. Good and evil are constantly confronted along with Bambang Subali's life; one of the psychological encounters is marked out through once he stabs his wife. Thus, guilty feeling as the result of it is followed by his eagerness to be punished by law. Moreover, Good and evil physical confrontation is also occurred when Bambang Subali generally known as saint meets the evil followers and joins them.

Based on the names "Bambang" and "Subali", the confrontation of Good and evil in "Bambang Subali Budiman" is related to the epic stories of Bambang Cakil dance and Subali-Sugriwa's battle (Bali-Sugriwa's battle) as part of Ramayana story. The form of relation is an allegory. As stated by M.H. Abrams, allegory is narrative in which the agents and action, and sometimes the setting as well, are contrived both to make coherent sense on the "literal," or primary level of signification, and also to signify a second, correlated order of agents, concepts, and events.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, the name Bambang allegorizes Bambang-Cakil. Bambang-Cakilan is Javanese dance as historically being part of *adegan perang kembang*<sup>33</sup> (Flowery battle scene) in a wayang (puppet show). Bambang, in this dance, is as the delicate, kind, and gentle one, while Cakil is the one who is cruel and rude. Moreover, Bambang Murtisoyo points out;

*Dalam pewayangan baik wayang kulit maupun wayang wong panggung perwujudan tokoh bambangan lazimnya bermuka 'luruh;' arti-nya menunduk (tidak mendongak) berperawakan langsing dan kecil (mbambang). Bambang merupakan simbolisasi dari tokoh ksatria berwajah tampan yang serba halus dalam segala hal, meliputi: perilaku, cara berbicara, isi ucapan, dan budi pekertinya.<sup>30</sup>*

(In pewayangan, either wayang kulit (puppet show) or wayang wong panggung (stage man show), the appearance of Bambang usually has 'luruh' face which means bowing, slim and small (mbambang). Bambang is a symbol of warrior with handsome face, gentle in every act, such as; attitude, diction, contain of speech, and moral).

He define *adegan perang kembang* as the scene that is composed of physical conflict between two opposite parties; a battle between tender subtle character who is fighting dynamic and attractive character (*dalam adegan ini telah terjadi sebuah konflik fisik antara dua kubu yang sangat kontras, yaitu perkelahian antara tokoh halus yang lemah gemulai melawan tokoh-tokoh yang dinamis dan atraktif*)

Bambang that resembles warrior is always praised as a figure in good side. In Javanese wayang, a knight should have "admirable mannerism", "always defends the right",

“helpful”, “being the chosen man”, “being an idol”, and “other good traits.”<sup>31</sup> Cakil, on the contrary, is in bad side that is cruel and is often in terrible or ugly appearance. Bambang and Cakil’s fighting symbolizes the fighting between good and evil which is often won by Bambang or the good one; Bambang could be lost first in the beginning or the middle of the battle, however, in the end he becomes the winner. From the term Bambang-Cakil, Budi Darma takes “Bambang” which means the character bambang Subali Budiman which is identical to

“Budiman” as good one. Meanwhile, Subali allegorizes one part of Ramayana story, a story about brotherhood of Subali-Sugriwa. Subali-Sugriwa is a Javanese term, while in Ramayan of Valmiki translated into English uses Bali and Sugriva term<sup>36</sup>. Bali is the King of Kishkindhá, while Sugriva is his younger brother. From Bali-Sugriva or Subali-Sugriwa, Subali is taken as part of the name Bambang Subali Budiman. Unlike Bambang and Budiman who are in the same side, Subali emerges as the contradiction. The character of Bali that is ambiguous, even closer to evil. However, the Subali’s bad act is triggered by the betrayed feeling and the lack of trust toward his weak brother, thus, Subali has potential to do the good deed.

### **The Originality of “Bambang Subali**

### **Budiman”**

The discussion earlier indicates that the influenced work is not in the passive mode. The response does not only show the similarities, but also the different ways to build similar realization, such as the hypocrisy as the theme and also the way to establish the narrators mentioned above. This sub chapter reveals another distinction between those works so that the latter work can be labelled as original.

The absence of Dark Romanticism in “Bambang Subali Budiman” is strong indication of different composition of both works as realized that “Young Goodman Brown” convincingly contains the elements of dark romanticism. Figun Dincer says that “dark Romantics reflect them as inclined to sin and self-destruction. For the dark Romantics, individuals fail attempting to make changes for the better in their lives ..... The dark Romantics stress what is wrong with humanity, the negative components of human life”<sup>32</sup> In “Young Goodman Brown”, the sin idea emerges as Brown meets the Devil. In “Bambang Subali Budiman”, the sin is defined differently; Bambang Subali’s society don’t count their involvement in the evil ritual as sin. The duality soul of society is the result of dark intention covered by publicity shame resulted in dark secret sin and the sin related to public knowing. Furthermore, Dincer mentions that dark romanticism works as “their stories contain dark, creepy, gloomy and dreary tones mostly with unhappy ending.... They deal with the personal weaknesses in



one's character which is eventually led to tragedy."<sup>33</sup> "Young Goodman Brown" is tragedy ending. Brown is tragically living in the rest of his long life with the suspiciousness toward others and inside his own family. He is continuing to participate and join others including attending Sabbath day where his heart rebels and is distrustful. The tragedy doesn't occur in "Bambang Subali Budiman".

Bambang Subali leaving Wonoireng could be read as the prevention of the tragedy. The journey in "Young Goodman Brown" is decorated with mysterious, lonely, frightening and dark tone. The atmosphere in "Bambang Subali Budiman" is not as mysterious and gloomy as "Young Goodman Brown". The name of "Wonoireng" as defined as dark forest sounds frightening, however, according to the external focalization of the traveler, "As its name, this district was lined by dense forest" (*sesuai dengan namanya, kecamatan ini dipagari oleh hutan lebat.*)<sup>34</sup> The narrator continues to comment "its color is not black but green as other forests (*warnanya tidak hitam, tapi hijau seperti hutan-hutan lain*)"<sup>40</sup>, this frightening impression is vanished. The forest encircled Wonoireng is not discussed greatly at the story because the setting of the story is majorly in the district itself. With the light and joy voice the traveler's narrator has in describing the setting in Wonoireng, the scary impression has been abandoned. The impression of the beauty of place also sends the awareness that this story is not applying dark romanticism.

Although, the tone of dark romanticism didn't apply in this story, the mysterious impression cannot fully neglected. Identifying Narrators' tone in "Bambang Subali Budiman" and "Young Goodman Brown" is required to classify the atmosphere. The narrator in "young Goodman Brown" doesn't involve along the story. As the third person and unknown, the narrator adds the impression of dark and mysterious atmosphere along with the story, particularly in the forest as seen in the following sentences:

The road grew wilder and drearier, and more faintly traced, and vanished at length, leaving him in the heart of the dark wilderness, still rushing onward, with the instinct that guides mortal man to evil. The whole forest was peopled with frightful sounds; the creaking of the trees, the howling of wild beasts, and the yell of Indians;<sup>35</sup>

The mysterious of dark romanticism is not only built through the atmosphere of the place, but also by the presence of magic show along the story. The magic has created different dimension contrasted to the daily life. It is seen through the part when Brown flees with the deep desperation. The trick of Brown flees across the trees is the supernatural fact within the story. The supernatural fact is the events that happen above human being's power. This magical thing is absence in the "Bambang Subali Budiman".

In "Bambang Subali Budiman", the traveler, the doctor, and Bambang Subali used the pronoun "I" (*Saya*). The using of "I" implies the narrator's major involvement within the story. It eliminates the mysterious tones since the stories are focalized by the characters involved itself. In narrating the event of evil ritual, each narrator completes each other perspective comprehensively. It is similar to the chained story as one people narrates and is continued by others until the story is completed.

The other originality determined in "Bambang Subali Budiman" is the way of worshipping the Evil by laughing meanwhile "Young Goodman Brown" presents the hymn as ritual. Hymn is song that is usually sang in Sabbath days as part of ritual to praise God in Puritan religion (Salem and Puritan are mentioned as the setting). In "Young Goodman Brown", the hymn is also sung in the evil ritual. The hymn sung in the Evil ritual is portrayed with evil, guilty, and sin's tones. The parallelism between hymn sung at church and evil ceremony are parallel with the way of praising good and evil. The devil's illusion to tempt Brown is by composing the opposite of Brown's daily religious rituals. Therefore, the hymn is sung in the frightening tone in order to create the tortured feeling for the one who hear it. The song is purposely to explore the sin in human heart and there is no way to escape from this sin. The effect of his transformation is hymn in Sabbath ss recognized by Brown as the evil song. The

parallelism hymn in Sabbath and evil ritual indicates that evil power always competes with the religious aspect of human life.

In "Bambang Subali Budiman", there is no parallelism on the religious ritual and the evil ritual. The cultural background is more affected by the preference of evil ritual elements in "Bambang Subali Budiman". Worshipping the Evil in "Bambang Subali Budiman" is by laughing together interspersed with pounding drum alike the celebration moment. The evil ritual is similar to the celebration moment that is full of joy and amusement. Thus, the atmosphere in "Young Goodman Brown" and "Bambang Subali Budiman" is different: the evil in "Young Goodman Brown" is gloomy, whereas the ritual in "Bambang Subali Budiman" is performed with festive passion. The laugh of worshipping is the medium to release the guilty by exploring self hideous sin. Hymn and laugh are different ritual described by both short stories. The similarity of the two is the usage of Mouth as the medium. Mouth is the reflection of willingness on human being; the transformation from feeling, thought and willingness, to be words of speech, request, and order.

The last originality is the presence of Devil, Evil, and Satan. The Devil and Evil are considered as interchangeable term which the Devil holds evil power and the evil belongs to the Devil. However, in "Young Goodman Brown", the two are kind of Devils. As described previously, the Devil in "Young

Goodman Brown” has a form in human body that accompanies Brown’s journey. Furthermore, the second Devil is the one who worships during Evil ritual. In “Bambang Subali Budiman”, the Satan or devil is interchangeable with the Evil. The Devil or Evil or Satan described doesn’t have body form as the one being worshipped and it also sends the negative influence to the people.

### **SATIRE IN “YOUNG GOODMAN BROWN” AND “BAMBANG SUBALI BUDIMAN”**

Satire is the literary art of diminishing subject by making it ridiculous and evoking toward it attitude of amusement, contempt, indignation, or scorn<sup>36</sup>. The satire is laid on how “Young Goodman Brown” and “Bambang Subali Budiman” ridicules term of “evil.” The satire lies on how the characters from both works particularly Brown and Bambang Subali consciously search for the evil. Evil is metaphorically like a hypersensitive disease that should be avoided, thus, generally the evil is recognized as outside ourselves. The idea of searching the evil is not only strange but also frightening since the result shown in both works is that evil is lying inside each own individual.

### **CONCLUSION**

“Young Goodman Brown” and “Bambang Subali Budiman” are related under World literature. It is recognized that those works are

structured by similarities and differences, however, those have similar perspective on bringing the theme of hypocrisy as the result of positioning the evil outside an individual. Thus, through the analysis, it can be concluded that Nathaniel Hawthorne and Budi Darma criticize the act of neglecting the existence of evil inside ourselves.

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## HENRY A. KISSINGER'S ARTICLE ON TERRORISM: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

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### Abstract

The aim of this study is to conduct a critical analysis of Kissinger's article "America's Assignment" on Newsweek 2004, and to elaborate US foreign policy toward Islam world and Terrorism after the end of the Cold War, this article also tries to find the ideology or tradition of American foreign policy reflected in Kissinger's article "America's Assignment", and how is Realism ideology reflected in the article. The study employs library research in which the data gathered from books, journals, magazines, and internet. The study also employs Van Dijk's critical linguistic model for the critical analysis of Kissinger's "America's Assignment".

The result of the study shows that Kissinger's "America's Assignment" reflects both "multilateralist-realist" and "realist-idealist" perspectives for the US foreign policy that the US government should employ. He argues that no single superpower in the world could manage the world order alone without the participants of other world countries. He opposes W. Bush's unilateral foreign policy toward Iraq though he agrees to "the move toward empire (terrorist) must be halted immediately". He also argues that bringing democracy into the world, especially Iraq and Muslim worlds, is necessary in order to set up the new world order. The study also shows that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, there is a new ideological and cultural conflict between Islam, especially the militant fundamentalist in the fringe of Islam, against the US (Western) globalization of democratization. The new conflict is also generated by the Western phobia toward Islam that can be traced back to the mid-century when the War of Crusade between Islam and Christianity happened.

**Keywords:** US foreign policy, Realist, Idealist, Multilateralist, Unilateralist

### INTRODUCTION

The United States is recognized as a country that embraces liberal democracy that includes democratic principle in its politic, capitalism in its economy, and individualism for its citizen-high appreciation of human rights of its people. Today, the United States is in a wholly new age of world affairs. For the

United States, it is an age which is both full with confusions and dangers, and with one major blessing that is no great-power rivalries threaten immediately the pace of the world. However, there are still some paradoxes in the United States role in international politics.

The United States wants to promote democratic values abroad, but also strengthens

non-democratic governments, such as Saudi Arabia to secure its sources of energy. Then, the debate over US foreign policy revealed sharply contrasting conceptions of American interests (Burns, 1998: 555). After the terrorism of September 11<sup>th</sup>, the W. Bush's administration defined a new grand strategy whose main features were an unending war on international terrorism, preventive war, aggressive unilateralism, and a commitment to maintain US military supremacy (Barry, 2004: 1). Even Hoadly says that US foreign policy has become more activist and controversial, so that terms used to describe have become more varied and flamboyant. American policy abroad is now routinely characterized as not only unilateralist and arrogant, but also hegemonic, militaristic, exploitative, provocative of terrorism, and destructive of international order (Hoadly, 2003, p.1).

September 11<sup>th</sup> has shackled the great power of the United States in international politics. Most its people and governments cursed on this event. This event is considered as humanity crime because the most numbers of its victims was common people or ordinary citizens. This event is also considered as the enemy of freedom, so the fight against terrorism is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, and tolerance and freedom. So it is

the world's fight. This provocative words of terrorism was reflected in

George W. Bush's speech in front of Joint Session of Congress (September 2001): "... This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, and tolerance and freedom. The civilized world is rallying to America's side" (Heffner, 2002, p.526).

Particularly, the study intends to know and demonstrate that Kissinger's article of "America's Assignment" on Newsweek 2004 contains the *war against terrorism issue* as a reflection of the American tradition of realism in its foreign policy. Realism and Real politics is foreign policy based on practical and self-interest factors rather than on moral, idealistic, or theoretical considerations. Realists say that the United States should intervene in world affairs only if its vital interests are in jeopardy or if a dispute involves overt outside aggression, not simply internal rebellion (Burns, 1998, p.557). Political Realism is one of relevant perspectives to see American foreign policy. In political Realism, referred to Morgenthau (1962), American foreign policy can be discriminated into three categories: 1) Imperialism, which tends to change political

structure or regime authority; 2) Status Quo, which tends to defend the existing political structure; and 3) Prestige, which tends to execute and promote power and strength to support those two categories (Siswanto, 1999, p.83).

The study intends to know and discuss that Kissinger’s article of “America’s Assignment” is a reflection of realism ideology. So the problem of the study can be stated as the following:

1. What is the ideology reflected in Kissinger’s article of “America’s Assignment”?
2. How is Realism ideology reflected in this article?
3. How is the American Foreign Policy toward Islam after the collapse of the Soviet Union?

## **CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA) FRAMEWORK**

Discourse has various meanings in the sense that many different disciplines and fields have their own definitions and scopes. The term of discourse is used in the fields, such as language, psychology, sociology, politic, communication, literature, etc. Discourse, in

linguistics, means language in use, as opposed to language as an abstract system. It also means that what is possibly said about one or more topics within the constraints of a given time, place, or social, cultural, or institutional setting. Discourse can be defined as a verbal expression in speech or writing, a verbal exchange that is conversation, a formal lengthy discussion of a subject, either written or spoken form, and the process or power of reasoning.

There are many approaches to discourse analysis, rooted in different disciplines. The approach will be concerned with the discourse analysis that is, based on a close examination of language in use, that seeks to illuminate the significance and implications of social, cultural, historical, and political practices. A particular concern of this approach will be the ways in which discourse functions within institutions, especially the media.

Approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis of texts of media are also varied. There are many models of discourse analysis proposed by some experts, such as Sara Mills, Teun A. van Dijk, and Norman Fairclough. Although each of them has its own patterns and features, they share commonness in some aspects. Those models consider: 1) that ideology is a central part of the analysis, ideology and power are

always employed to determine the grammatical and syntactical choices of a text or discourse. It is also said that ideology is always contained in all texts virtually or un-virtually, diction, sentence, and grammar reflects that ideology; 2) that power has central role in the analysis, discourse can strengthen and widen the power influences. Each group of society has less or more power, so that the more powerful will play more roles in defining the discourse. Thus, there will be more or less dominant discourse; 3) that discourse can be manipulated by the more powerful to increase and broaden the dominance over the dominated or to marginalize less powerful group of society. So that the discourse analysis intends to analyze how the dominant discourse defines and describes the dominated group; 4) that discourse analysis uses language does not represent things as what they really are, but has been influenced by the more powerful group's ideology which has certain goals or

purposes. Discourse analysis treats language in relation to social practices, it does not only focus on the study of linguistics, but also on the study of language usage in social perspectives (Eriyanto, 2001, p.342-343).

**a. Van Dijk's Model: a Critical Discourse Analysis**

Teun A. van Dijk's Model of Critical Discourse Analysis is also called "Social Cognition". This model is mostly used by researchers (Eriyanto, 2001, p.221). That is why this study is conceptualized under this *Social Cognition* in the analysis. Teun A. van Dijk's analytical framework differs from that of Fairclough. Van Dijk's schematic and method of research uses an integrated analysis which covers: 1) texts structure; 2) social cognition; and 3) social context (Eriyanto, 2001, p.224). Teun A. van Dijk's method in research can be described as follows:

| STRUCTURE  | METHOD   |
|--|--|
| Text: to analyze the discourse strategies used in describing a person or an event and in marginalizing or negating a certain group, idea, or event | Critical Linguistics                                   |
| Social Cognition: to analyze journalist's cognition in understanding a person or an event to be written  | Depth Interview  |
| Social Analysis: to analyze the discourse that exist in society; the process of production and reproduction in describing person or event          | Library research in social and historical perspectives |

Adapted from Eriyanto (Eriyanto, 2001, p.275)



## **CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF KISSINGER’S ARTICLE: “AMERICA’S ASSIGNMENT”**

### **b. Profile: Henry A. Kissinger**

Dr. Henry Alfred Kissinger was born in Fuerth, Germany, on May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1923. He came to the United States in 1938, and was naturalized a United States citizen on June 19<sup>th</sup>, 1943. He received the BA Degree Summa Cum Laude at Harvard College in 1950, and the MA and Ph. D Degrees at Harvard University in 1952 and 1954 respectively. He was the 56<sup>th</sup> secretary of State of the United States from 1973 to 1977, continuing to hold the position of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, which he first assumed in 1969 until 1975. He was one of the first to react to the recent tragedy of terrorism. “Those who provide support, financing, and inspiration to terrorists are as guilty as the terrorists themselves” (Kissinger, 2004, p.5), he intoned. These were the words that Walker Bush would repeat hours later.

### **c. The Main Message of Kissinger’s “America’s Assignment”**

It is an illusion that the current international relation is a world without conflict. In the aftermath of 9/11, the beginning challenge for

the US primacy has begun. Terrorism was emerging as a threat to the global equilibrium. Moreover, countries that develop nuclear weapons have also become new threats as their sovereignty in nuclear proliferation and advances threaten the safety of the global world. Kissinger says, “The contemporary security challenge arises from two unprecedented sources: terror caused by acts until recently considered a matter for internal police forces rather than international policy, and scientific advances and proliferation that allow the survival of countries to be threatened by developments entirely within another state’s territory” (Kissinger, 2004, p.30).

However, the challenge or threat of international order does not only come from terrorists, but also from nuclear proliferation. The international system is now confronted by the imminent spread of nuclear weapons into the hands of two countries with a worrisome agenda, namely: North Korea and Iran. North Korea is responsible for assassinations, kidnappings, and a rouge regime. Similarly, Iran has held American diplomats as hostages and has supported a variety of terrorist groups in the Middle East and continuous to declare America as its principal enemy (Kissinger, 2004, p.33).

**d. The Analysis of Kissinger's  
"America's Assignment"**

Realism is very influential to the American foreign policy. The roots of realism can be traced back to the era of some philosophers, such as Thucydides and Santo Augustine. Henry A. Kissinger calls it as *geopolitics*. Realism pessimistically views humankind as wicked and evil, so that no people institution could manage them. The struggle for power becomes the eternal political dimension of human life, especially in the term of relations among nations. No nation could solve the conflict in international relations. Each nation has its own power interest and each struggle to preserve the power. Consequently, the global relation is always in caseless conflict. Morgenthau says that international politic is the struggle for gaining power and so is foreign policy of each nation (Minderop, 2006, p.131-132). As realism focuses on the shifting distribution of power among the states, its core belief is that international affair is a struggle for power among self-interested states. Hence, nuclear sighted states can mitigate the causes of war by finding ways to reduce the danger they pose to each other. Although it seems that the September 11 tragedy has weakened this perspective, the realist can explain that when a state grows

vastly more powerful than any other opponent, it will eventually use that power to expand its sphere of domination (Snyder, 2004, p.55).

In his "America's Assignment", Kissinger assertively confirms that notion above. In the first part of his article, he says the world today is in the threat of the new coming challenges coming from the terrorists, the fundamentalist militant fringe of Islam, and two countries which develop and proliferate nuclear weapons, such as North Korea and Iran, they are considered as a threat to the current international order, since they have worrisome agenda in which North Korea is responsible for assassinations, kidnappings, and a rogue regime, and Iran has held American diplomats as hostages and has supported a variety of terrorist group in the Middle East and continuous to declare America as its principal enemy (Kissinger, 2004, p.33). His perspective on "America's Assignment" could also be called "idealist-realist". It is in the sense that he agrees with Walker Bush's war on Iraq and democratization of Iraq. Kissinger agrees with the US dominant military approach in the global war on terror. It can be discerned that the dominant interpretation of terrorism as an external phenomenon located in haven states. As realism generally highlights states as the relevant actors in the world politics and neglects other actors, so the

necessity in dealing with the rise of terrorism is to trace translational terrorism back to the state. The construction of haven states is the best way to achieve. Iraq, then, becomes the target of this construction theory. What Kissinger rejects is that the war on Iraq is not appropriate, because of the current US intervention policies, and he argues that it will be a much more efficient approach by multinational cooperation and police coordination.

Kissinger’s idealism comes in when he refers to democratization of Iraq. Promoting the spread of democracy was a genuine interest of idealists, such as Wilson. So that Kissinger has changed his old ideas of realism turned into the amalgam of realism and idealism. His controversial idea is reflected in his statement about democratization in Iraq, as he says, “The effectiveness of Iraqi forces will depend not on their military training, but on the degree to which the emergence of institution gain domestic legitimacy. Democracy must not be seen as a suicide pact by the Sunnis and Kurds” (Kissinger, 2004, p.32). The multilateralists can be the idealists or realist managers (Kissinger, 2004, p.33) – have little influence over the US foreign policy in the contemporary era. Indeed, until there is a change of administration in Washington it is unlikely that the United States to harness its

‘soft power’ is likely to go unheeded. In the meantime, the language of Bush’s foreign policy is replete with the pro-active rhetoric of Wilsonian democratic imperialism. The argument of the unilateralist idealist finds its fullest articulation in contemporary US policy in Iraq. Based on the sociological perspective, “America’s Assign-ment” is a rhetorical argument for the US policy toward Middle East, especially Iraq, with terrorism stereotyping. It is the US “assignment” to build international order by destroying and attacking Iraq (terrorist state) that was dominated by the majority of Sunni Muslims. Regardless of the victims of the attack, Kissinger claims that it is “assignment” and not “the act of terror” by the US, although many civilians, who innocence, become suffered victims of the attack; some were injured, disabled, and some others were dead. Even the suffered people were could be more than those of the victims of September 11. Implicitly, Kissinger tries to build a discourse that marginalize Muslims, especially Sunni Muslims, by labeling them with “terrorists” who has become a threat and enemy of the current dominant order under the superpower, the United States. Kissinger says that Sunni Muslims are terrorists and they are dangerous, especially in Iraq, that they could be more destructive when they are in power. In order to save the world, he proposes democracy should

replace the dominant power of Sunni Muslims, because he thinks that “the basic adversary is the radical fundamentalist militant fringe of Islam, which aim to overthrow both moderate Islamic societies and all others, it perceive as standing in the way of restoring an Islamic caliphate. ...If radical government emerges at Baghdad – because the United is defeated ... even more if Iraqi falls into terrorist chaos – the entire Islamic world will find itself in turmoil” (Kissinger, 2004, p.31). Consequently, the insurgency in the Sunni region is not only a national struggle against America, it is a means to restore political dominance in Iraq. Kissinger marginalizes Islam by labeling caliphate system as a terrorist system that would always discriminate non-Muslims. It is not universal system, he thinks, that does not emulate to “Federalist structures and the assurance that free speech of conscience, and due process of law are constitutionally beyond the reach of any majority might provide some guarantee for the concerns of the various groups and a safety net...” (Kissinger, 2004, p.32). In other words, he says that “Islam is terror and fierce, but democracy is safety and universal world order”.

In brief, the ideology behind this text is to have world people brainwashed with the notion that American’s attack to Iraq

represents “the act of the trustee global stability” (Kissinger, 2004, p.31) against terrorists, especially terrorists sanctuaries in Iraq. The US is the world leader of internationalization – where, Kissinger calls it, *America’s Assignment*. This ideology is also a dominant latent meaning of the text that tends to marginalize Islam. It also means that Newsweek has the same ideology as the US government, especially for international terrorism that is always referred to Muslims. Meanwhile terrorism is actually a phenomenon, which has not only happened and conducted by Muslims, but also some other groups all over the world. In brief, the ideology behind this text is to have world people brainwashed with the notion that American’s attack to Iraq represents “the act of the trustee global stability” (Kissinger, 2004, p.31) against terrorists, especially terrorists sanctuaries in Iraq. The US is the world leader of internationalization – where, Kissinger calls it, *America’s Assignment*. This ideology is also a dominant latent meaning of the text that tends to marginalize Islam. It also means that Newsweek has the same ideology as the US government, especially for international terrorism that is always referred to Muslims. Meanwhile terrorism is actually a phenomenon, which has not only happened and conducted by Muslims, but also some other groups all over the world. Politically and

sociologically those who have conducted the acts of terror, were the product of injustice gap, which is as a result of what Kissinger calls the world order that is being tried to be built by the US.

#### **e. American Foreign Policy**

American foreign policy comprises the goals that the nation’s officials seek to attain abroad, the values that give rise to those objectives, and the means or instruments through which they are pursued. American foreign policy is in terms of persistent goals and somewhat more variable tactics (Kegley, Jr., 1982, p.3-4). American foreign policy has shown a capacity for adaptation in pursuit of established objectives. It can be seen in the foreign policy of some early American Presidents.

Realism and idealism are both continuous traditions in American diplomatic history. They compete to each other as conceptions of how the US ought to define its foreign policy objectives, even while they coexist with one another. While one tradition may predominate over the other at any single point in time, neither has managed to obliterate the influence of the other (Kegley, Jr., 1982, p.80). Then the duality they endanger accounts for the

willingness of the US at times to sacrifice its cherished ideals for an expedient action, even while reaffirming its ideals and promoting their maintenance. Moral idealism assumes that politics is affected by the fact that human beings are essentially “good” and capable of altruism and cooperation; bad or wicked behavior is the result, not of bad people, but of bad institution which breed such behavior (Kegley, Jr. 1982, p.77).

#### **f. The United States and the World of Islam after the Collapse of Soviet Union**

Some say that after the fall of Soviet Union, America needed a new enemy in order to get a new challenge as the counter-balance power. It is because international relations among world countries is an anarchic environment in which each countries seeks to struggle for power and the world has no single authority that can rule and govern world countries into harmonious relations. Then some views emerge in dealing with the future of American foreign policy after the end of the Cold War. The most dominant discourse of international relations after the end of Cold War has been represented on the contrasting global political vision of the Huntington’s thesis of “Clash of Civilization” against Fukuyama’s thesis of “The End of History”. On the one hand, Huntington’s paradigm organized the world into conflicting

zones with the culture replacing ideology. Francis Fukuyama's "The End of History" posited that the world would see a growing zone of stable liberal democracy and integrating market capitalism – called as globalization. Then, the backlash against globalization and against American hegemony has become one of the defining characteristics of the present world on the other.

Huntington has warned that the West and the US should keep their eyes on the growth and development of Islam. He thinks that the growth and development of Muslim will cause instability in both Muslim society and the West or the US. The great number of young Muslim with higher education will strengthen the revival of Islam, its militancy, its militarism, and immigration to the West. In this early century, the revival of Islamic force and culture has appeared and caused a clash with the West. Recently, some groups of militant Muslims have become the primary threat or enemy to the West and have replaced the role of the Soviet Union as the counter-balance power of the US. This "new war" between militant Islam and America has many similarities to the Cold War.

#### **g. Terrorism and the United States of America in Post-Cold War**

The end of the Cold War left the United States as the only great superpower. Some authors like Samuel Huntington stressed the importance of the US unique role, with its "primacy". In the international relations, primacy is acquired when a particular state has the capacity to shape decisions that affect the world. In Huntington's argument, only the United States possesses the power and the necessary values to support a prosperous, increasingly democratic, and stable international order (Contreras, 2003: 7). It was the end of everything; the end of communism, of socialism, of the Cold War, of the European wars. But the end of everything was also a beginning. On December 26th, 1991, the Soviet Union died and something new was born, that is a unipolar world dominated by a single superpower unchecked by any rival and with decisive reach in every corner of the globe (Krauthammer, 2004, p.1).

After the event of 9/11, United States foreign policy has become so activist and controversial. Terms used to describe it have become more varied and flamboyant. American policy abroad is now routinely characterized as not only unilateralist and arrogant, but also hegemonic, militaristic, exploitative, provocative of terrorism, and destructive of international order.

Every nation/people really hope to have peace and safety in the world. Unfortunately, each nation/people has its own interest and power so that the conflict among nations could be avoided. The tendency to have war against each other is also unavoidable or inevitable. The most possible thing to do is to prevent nations or countries of the world from war. In case a war happens, the right thing to do is to manage to end the war, to have peace agreement for the countries involved in the war, to have justice and truth that can be approved, and to have no war victims anymore.

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## **ANIMAL TALES IN CHEROKEE AND SUMBAWA TRADITION: A STUDY ON CHEROKEE AND SUMBAWANESE VALUES REFLECTED IN THREE PAIRS OF STORIES**

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### **Abstract**

The purpose of this article is to observe a comparative study of animal tales of Cherokee, one of Native American tribes and Sumbawa, an Indonesia tribe, especially to describe the similarities and the differences in delivering moral values between the three pairs of tales, to explore the cultural values in Cherokee and Sumbawa animal folktales, and to elucidate the representation of the characters in those animal folktales. The animal tales of Cherokee are *How the Terrapin Beat the Rabbit*, *The Rabbit and The Possum Seek a Wife*, and *How the Deer Got His Horns*. While, the animal tales of Sumbawa are: *The Tales of The Monkey*, *The Turtle and The Snail*, *The Tales of The Monkey And The Flamingo* and *The Cocky Monkey (Sruduk Team)*. The animal characters in these tales are to represent human being, their characteristics, moral and cultural values. Their main characters in most of animal tales are different; Cherokee is represented by the character of Rabbit, whereas Sumbawa is represented by the character of Monkey. The animal tales of Cherokee and Sumbawa is very much alive and imbued with power to create identity and community.

**Key words:** Comparative study, Folklore, Folktales, Animal tales, Moral values, Cultural values.

### **INTRODUCTION**

United States is a nation that consists of many peoples and various ethnic groups whose origin came from many different parts of the world. They migrated from their homeland to America bringing their traditional cultures, ideas, ways of life and thinking, habits, myth and legends. Their folklore enriches and contributes the American experience.

In terms of its culture, United States of America is extremely diverse. The people who came from many different parts of the world lived in the dream land, intermingling with the indigenous people of the land, usually called Native Americans. The latter has long been living in their own local wisdoms, even before the ‘new comers’ had not yet arrived in the big land. Ever since the Native Americans were forced to accept white European culture, they have been straddled in two worlds. They have

been holding on membership in tribal groups, some of them with the status of separate nations and simultaneously being American citizens. Indonesia is also a nation composed of many peoples and various ethnic groups whose origins are from the islands of what is called *Nusantara* archipelago. Those ethnic groups are united into a nation called Indonesia based on shared historical background. Although living together in one geographical space, each ethnic group has its own way of life without ‘a melting pot’ process taking place. In reference to those two different nations, this article attempts to compare Cherokees of Native Americans and the Sumbawanese of Indonesia by focusing on the oral tradition in folklore, and taking animal tales (fables) as the subject matter of the study. Folklore itself according to Allan Dundes, refers to “Folk” or a group of people who has a same physical characteristic, social, and culture, thus can be divided into social and cultural groups (Danandjaja, 1984, p.1). In the context of animal tales *How the Terrapin Beat the Rabbit*, *The Rabbit and The Possum Seek A Wife*, *How The Deer Got His Horns* and *The Tale of The Monkey*, *The Turtle and The Snail*, *The Tale of The Flamingo and The Monkey*, *The Sruduk Team*, it is proven that at some extent, the Cherokee Native American Folk and Sumbawanese Indonesian Folk have a similarity in their view although they have

different social and cultural background. While, the term “lore” is a part of culture, inherited from generations to generations orally or through an example with sign or mnemonic device (Danandjaja 2-1). The “lore” studied in this research is limited on the form of animal tales.

The types of folklore is based on three modes of existence: verbal, nonverbal and partially-verbal (Brunvand 3-2). Partially-verbal folklore includes popular belief and superstition, folk games, folk drama, folk custom, folk festival, and folk dances. Non Verbal folklore includes both traditional materials of folk architecture, arts, crafts, costumes, and food. Verbal folklore includes folk speech, proverb and proverbial saying, while traditional questions are folk riddles. Next are folk rhymes and other traditional poetry, then folk narrative of all kind, and folk song.

Folktales are the short stories of oral literature and it is a part of verbal folklore. Folktales are traditional prose narratives that are strictly fictional and told primarily for entertainment, although they may also illustrate a truth or point of moral (Brunvand, 1968, p.103). Those are stories of magical events and fantastic wonders that is transmitted orally for

entertainment and illustrate truth or moral values.

Fables and animal tales are vast body of folktales, both in America and around the world. Generally speaking, fables are animal stories of a very particular sort: They are narratives pointing a moral for audience members (Watts, 2007, p.133). Those are stories in which animals serve as the characters, representing human being, symbolizing certain meanings, and conveying certain set of moral and cultural messages.

Comparative study of folklore is the study in comparing two, or more, objects of folklore. This thesis is going to examine—compare and contrast— three pairs of animal tales of different cultural, historical and geographical back-grounds. The sampled tales are the Cherokees' animal tales *How the Terrapin Beat the Rabbit*, *The Rabbit and The Possum Seek A Wife*, and *How The Deer Got His Horns* and the Sumbawanese's *The Tale of The Mouse-deer and The Snail*, *The Tale of The Monkey and The Terrapin*, and *The Sruduk Team*. Those three pairs of animal tales are chosen as the representation of Western and Eastern tales to demonstrate the variety of world folklore.

The Sumbawanese animal tales, *The Tale of the Mouse-deer and The Snail*, *The Tale of The Monkey and The Terrapin*, and *The Sruduk Team* taught a very basic lesson of life. Indonesian fables usually teaches moral values for children and those moral values derives from the initial cultural background of Indonesia as a nation once consist of kingdoms. In the case of oral tradition, Indonesians, especially the Sumbawanese, have a powerful oral tradition, just as powerful as is the Native Americans'.

Sumbawanese oral tradition goes back to perhaps hundreds of years ago. The storytelling activity in folk life is called "batutir", and the oral tradition of the Sumbawanese is called *Tutir Samawa* (Sumbawanese folktale). In such a storytelling activity, stories or tales are used to deliver moral values, educate and entertain other people, but particularly to educate the next generation. The stories are packed with implicit moral and cultural values and presented in funny and enjoyable ways, so that the people's younger generation can easily enjoy the activity and understand the implied values. The words of oral stories are not to be taken for granted; they must be taken seriously, and they must be remembered. N. Scott Momaday stated that:

Words are rare and therefore dear. They are jealously preserved in the ear and in the mind. Words are spoken with great care, and they are heard. They matter, and they must not be taken for granted; they must be taken seriously, and they must be remembered (Elliott, 1988, p.7)

Words are spoken in the oral storytelling are varied that caused varied versions of a story. Linda J. Meyers said that:

“The oral storytelling differs greatly from written literature because stories are slightly varied with each telling and this is reasonable. Each storyteller tells story to the audience in their own style and words. The transmitting process may be similar; transmit orally but the way of they tells the story, the expression or mimicking their face, the words they choose and use is different.” (Barrett & Markowitz, 2004, p.512)

Moreover, Dundes stated that folklore is “something alive and dynamic” rather than “dead and static”. It is not something relegated to primitive others—historically and socially—but rather a behavioral pattern that everyone exhibits (Bronner, 2007, p.1). Apart from the differences in cultural and geographical backgrounds of the tales, this article attempts

to look in American and Indonesian animal folktales for answering to the following questions: what is beyond those folktales; what is the function of fables in its society; and are those animal tales still exist in the daily life of both tribal groups?

As afore-mentioned, the Cherokees of Native Americans and the Sumbawanese of Indonesian are presumed to have some similarities in their views of life, albeit the differences in their social, historical and cultural backgrounds. From this point of view, it explores the sampled

Cherokees’ and Sumbawanese animal tales, looking for similarities and differences, by means of a comparative analysis. Hence, the problems come out as follows: How the Cherokee and Sumbawanese convey their cultural values in their folktales? What are the characters represented in those different animal tales? How is it represented? What are the differences and similarities of the animal tales in delivering moral values?

To answer those problems, it employs library research method in order to collect the appropriate data needed in analyzing the topic. The data are collected from various sources, written materials, on-line articles, and websites. The primary sources are the three

pairs of Sumbawanese and Cherokee animal tales which are selected based on the available written version. These written tales are collected from the storytellers then printed in books form. Second, the data is analyzed individually by using the theories of American Studies and folklore to understand the significance of the animal tales that represent its cultures.

## **DISCUSSION**

In working on the comparative analysis, a micro-to-macro approach is adopted. This approach was proposed by Leo Marx, who convinced that to understand a culture one can start “from a small object or artefact to grasp the big picture (Marx 31). The ‘micro’, the cultural product(s) or work(s) is the representation of the ‘macro’, the universe. In this perspective, this study sees cultural products (microcosm) –folktales, in this case—as a reflection of the empirical life (realities) of the society that gives birth to it (macrocosm). The reflection is represented by the animal characters in delivering moral values in the folk’s life. The micro-to-macro approach, thus, necessitates that the samples of the study are studied first as objects or artefacts to grasp the bigger picture, the

meaning of the reality of folk life, which constitutes the macro.

In this structural mode of analysis, the animal tales of the two groups of people, the Cherokees and the Sumbawanese, are brought first under study as the objects or artifacts to understand the reality of their life in their separated and different settings. This mode of analysis is modelled after what Alan Dundes has worked on in analyzing lore, by which he unified Vladimir Propp’s “syntagmatic” method and Claude Levi-Strauss’s “paradigmatic” one. In using Vladimir Propp’s syntagm, Dundes seeks the relations of a sequential pattern of plot functions; and by Claude Levi-Strauss’ paradigm he seeks a thematic set of contrasting relations, looking for similarities and differences, to reveal the mental processes underlying the structural patterns of fantastical expressions. These analytical steps are thus applied in this study of folklore, by which the plot functions and the structural patterns of the sampled animal tales are explored and identified and then interpreted before coming to the macrocosm, the underlying values of those tales, which are the significance to both cultures.

Native Americans believe in the Great Spirit who has power over all including animals, trees, stones, and clouds. This Great Spirit

controls animals and other elements of the universe. Animals are also important in the life and beliefs of Native Americans. They generally do not consider themselves superior to animals, but believe in animals' role in the world as a resource for people— meat, skins, or bone for tools. In fact, in Native Americans' 'religion, animals play an important part in the creation of people, and usually have human traits such as speech, or virtues such as bravery or generosity (Garrett and Garrett, 2003, p.14). Whatever the belief system the individual tribe may have, it is deeply rooted in the natural world. Animals, plants, rivers, lakes, mountains, and springs are all incorporated into a system of belief that can be called Sacred Geography.

Next, characters may be represented as human. Carole A. Barret states that:

“Human creation myths seek to answer mysteries about the human condition. Human are generally created from supernatural beings, from natural elements, or from animals. In most tales, animals and plants precede the creation of humans.”

(Markowitz & Barrett, 2004, p.516)

As afore-mentioned, in most tales, animals and plants are considered even more important than human. In the Cherokees' animal tales, the characters are represented as animals. Human generally created from animals as Barret said. The animal characters are used to personify human being in a story. The characters that represent human being are usually the important animals in the Cherokees' belief system.

On the other hand, the Sumbawaneses also use animal characters to personify human being in a story and it is quite similar to the Cherokees. The difference is that the Cherokees believes that human are generally created from supernatural beings, from natural elements, or from animals, whereas the Sumbawaneses convince that human is God's creature, created from natural elements of soil, not from animals.

The use of animal characters in storytelling is to make it simpler and easier for people in transmitting and understanding the stories. A certain animal represents a certain symbol; different symbols represent different purposes in the stories. Ernest Jones via Dundes states that: “.....symbol always represents a concrete idea, never a general or abstract one.” (Dundes, 1965, , p.96)

Character, is one of the important elements in the story. The use of different characters in these tales is related to the cultural values in each society where the tales came from. The characters has a special meaning in cultural and moral values of its society. In those animal tales, all of characters are animals representing human beings and the underlying moral and cultural values. An animal character may have similar or different representations in various area or tribes, depending on the values of its society it represents or symbolizes.

Finally, animals function as symbols throughout American culture, from the patriotic image of the bald eagle to the animals employed as mascots for sport teams. Whether used as symbols of human characters or for their own attributes, animals also appear throughout American folk narratives (Watts, 2007, p.17). In representing human beings, animals are needed as the media in spite of human. Animals have many characteristics and qualities that are similar to those in human beings, make them fit for use as media of representing humans.

Every story—every myth—has ‘a pragmatic characters’. Every myth serves some purpose or end” (Weaver, 2001, p.17). For the Cherokees, the pragmatic character or the

main characters in their animal tales is Rabbit, whereas for the Sumbawanese, the pragmatic character in their animal tales is Monkey. The supporting characters in the Cherokee and Sumbawanese animal tales are Turtle (Terrapin), Snail, Pig, Fly, Flamingo, Mouse-deer (and Deer of the Cherokees), Crocodile, and Fox.

One of the functions of folklore is to convey values. The Cherokees and the Sumbawanese convey their cultural values in their animal tales that are easily learned, remembered and understood. As a part of folklore, animal tales’ functions are as follows: animal tales as a matter for education and animal tales as a matter for entertainment.

The moral values in the three pairs of animal tales of both cultures are varied; some are similar to one another, and some are different from each other. Each pair of animal tales delivers special moral and cultural values implied in the tales. Those are competition, the oppressed defeats the oppressor, the smart defeat the arrogant, every action determines the future and dualistic character of human beings.

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In conclusion, referring to the previous discussion, both the Cherokees’ and the Sumbawanese animal tales are laden with moral and cultural values. These values are implied in the dialogues and the deeds of the animal characters, thus the representations serve a didactic purpose as well, not only that of entertainment. By means of these animal tales, moral and cultural messages are delivered in a very subtle yet enjoyable way, from one generation to the next, thus preserving the traditions, cultures, histories, and all other relevant values from by generations.



## CONCLUSION

The comparative analysis in this research leads to some conclusion, which includes some similarities, it can be concluded that folktales in either tribe's traditions employ animal characters to represent humans and in delivering the relevant moral and cultural messages. Animals are represented as having human attributes and qualities, and they function as symbols, serving certain purpose(s) in the tales and representing a certain meaning, especially human nature.

Both the Cherokees and the Sumbawanese convey their moral and cultural values by means of their animal tales. The tales are enjoyable as a kind of entertainment, and their messages are easily learned, remembered and understood. When their people see the animals, or hear about them in the tales, they will easily recall the underlying moral and cultural values of the stories. Moreover, they will be more closely connected to the nature, not only to the animals but also to the settings of the stories.

In terms of moral and cultural values, both the Cherokees and the Sumbawanese believe that, in real life, competition and dualism in human

character do exists everywhere whether they like it or not. How they react to such competitions and how they manage the inherent dualism of human character will determine their fate in the future. People need to be honest, humble, patient, as well as smart in dealing with their life, and they must not do any harm to their natural, cultural, and social environments, but, on the other hand, there is no such things as 'pure character'; e.i. no people is totally good and no people is totally evil; both are present simultaneously in every human being. These two themes are shared cultural and moral values of both tribes discussed.

In dealing with the theme of animal/human natures, there is yet a difference between the Cherokees and the Sumbawanese in representing and defining certain characters. For an example, the Cherokees use rabbit in symbolizing smartness, brilliancy, agileness, and also cunningness. On the other hand, the Sumbawaneses use monkey to symbolize the same psychological traits, even if it is also as cunning as the rabbit of the Cherokees. In the Cherokees animal tales, the bad characters receive punishment for his mistakes, even if the good characters never punish them or take revenge on them. On the other side of the issue, in the Sumbawanese animal tales, bad characters always receive a fair, or even

worse, punishment for what they have done to others. They get their punishment from their victims, the friend(s) of the victim(s) or by other character.

The last conclusion is that the animal tales in both the Cherokees and the Sumbawanese cultures are very much alive and imbued with power to create identity and the culture of the

community. The identity of either the Cherokees or the Sumbawanese is more or less shaped by the elders' thoughts through their oral tradition. The oral tradition of either culture is expected to keep alive and always memorable in the collective mind of its people, so the animal tales will be alive forever in the minds and hearts of the Cherokees and the Sumbawanese.

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## LOTTERY GAMBLING TRADITION IN AMERICA AS PORTRAYED IN SHIRLEY JACKSON'S *THE LOTTERY* AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE LOTTERY DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA

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### Abstract

Discussing about gambling practiced in western culture has always been a controversial phenomenon for there are abundant of both positive and negative effects. This phenomenon is portrayed in one of Shirley Jackson's works which is interesting to notice that she who is known for her mysticism in most of her works put lottery gambling tradition into her iconic short story entitled "The Lottery". However, although Jackson's idea about performing lottery is quite different from American society in general, she tries to depict the value of lottery itself as one of the preserved traditions in the United States. The great development of lottery gambling in America assuredly contributes to the growth of this gambling around the world. It does not only give impacts on the life of American people, but also on the life of people of other countries, especially Indonesia.

**Keywords:** lottery, tradition, controversy, value, development, impact.

### INTRODUCTION

Discussing about gambling practiced in western culture has always been a controversial phenomenon. Many countries ceaselessly debate about the legality of this event, and even not least of them prohibit its existence. There is also no guarantee that gambling has more benefit or gives little loss to either individual or society. The existence of gambling has been known even before Christ, however in various forms, rules and packages. People from the past played gambling by holding animal races, such as dog race or horse race. Even in 1174 Henry II of

England established weekly horse races at country fairgrounds.

Gambling began to grow in America in 1620 where twenty mares were shipped from England to Virginia Colony, and horse racing with private wagering became a regular activity for the settlers (Thompson, 2001, p.ix). McDowell states that "many social scientists accept both past and present and the others are moving in the same direction" (McDowell, 1948, p.7). It is a common thought that now America has become the leading country for gambling tradition. This idea is based on one of the cities in United States that holds this event massively. People

around the world will go to Las Vegas to play casino, poker, or other gambling games. The games held in this city are quite different from the games people played in the past times.

Although the basic rules are mostly the same, the technologies used are very much different. Nowadays, people tend to create modern and sophisticated devices of gambling games to get more benefit from it. The tradition of playing gamble has deeply rooted in American society. “From the first European venture to the New World up to the exodus to the West coast, games of chance have been a significant part in the American experience and have never ceased to inspire the American imagination” (Muhni, 2010, p.29).

The form of gambling has changed over time, from the conventional way up to the modern way by using machine. There are, nowadays, many online gambling provided by some sites, for example [www.americancasinoguide.org](http://www.americancasinoguide.org); [www.americangaming.org](http://www.americangaming.org); or [www.us.casino-city.com](http://www.us.casino-city.com). They also provide organization if people want to do charity while gambling. Moreover, the practice of this tradition is also supported by the government of the United States of America by conducting the US Green Card in the lottery. The advertisement states, “Immigrate easily to

America with the chance of winning in the USA Green Card Lottery. Now you also can live, work and study in United States of America and win in the Green Card Lottery” and also “Every year the US government makes available 50,000!!!! Green Cards through the Green Card Diversity Immigration Visa Program. The Green Card lottery is open to everyone, and YOU can apply and win US green card in the lottery” (Green Card Lottery, 2011).

Based on the gambling tradition occurring in the fact of America, many American writers depict this phenomenon into their works. They “often depict one or another aspect of the ambivalent attitude of the American society toward gambling” (Muhni, 2010, p.30). One of those authors is Shirley Jackson with her well-known “*The Lottery*”. As born and grown up in United States, Jackson must have been very familiar with the game of gambling. However, her point of view in telling the story is quite opposite to the American people in general. This paper attempts to explore the lottery gambling as preserved tradition in the United States of America and its impacts toward other countries’ lottery development, especially Indonesia. This paper tries to be objective, thus in this analysis, there will be both positive and negative response toward, as well as the benefit and loss of the existence of

lottery gambling tradition in "The Lottery" as the portrayal of the culture in American society. In the following discussion, the quotation of the short story is taken from <www.d.umn.edu>.

### **SHIRLEY JACKSON AND "THE LOTTERY"**

Shirley Jackson began to write "The Lottery" after reading a book shown by her husband which tells about ancient rites of human sacrifice. She was "certainly aspired to be more than an entertainer; her concern with sorceries, ancient and modern, was authentic and even pragmatic"

(Bloom, 2001, p.10), It is quite interesting that the process of human sacrifice depicted in this story is performed through some sort of a "ritual" the villagers have to carry out every single year on June 27<sup>th</sup>. The ritual is done by drawing a lottery by each of the villagers including children. The lottery in this short story is a regular event that happens every year, where one unfortunate person becomes "the excluded one".

There is no specific purpose directly told in this story of the reason in holding lottery event. However the villagers believe that by

holding this ritual, their village will continue to prosper.

Old Man Warner snorted. "Pack of crazy fools," he said. "Listening to the young folks, nothing's good enough for them. Next thing you know, they'll be wanting to go back to living in caves, nobody work any more, live that way for a while. Used to be a saying about 'Lottery in June, corn be heavy soon.' First thing you know, we'd all be eating stewed chickweed and acorns. There's always been a lottery," he added petulantly. (lines 128-132)

Jackson's idea has been influenced by her way of living that she grew up in the West and ended up moving to Northeast. The human sacrifice as one of the elements in the story, somehow, reminds people of Salem witch trials. But, in the short story, Jackson mixed the human sacrifice with drawing lottery. The person who draws the slip of paper having a black spot in it is chosen to be stoned to death.

Bill Hutchinson went over to his wife and forced the slip of paper out of her hand. It had a black spot on it, the black spot Mr. Summers had made the night before with the heavy pencil in the coal company office. Bill Hutchinson held it

up, and there was a stir in the crowd.  
(lines 205-207)

Tessie Hutchinson was in the center of a cleared space by now, and she held her hands out desperately as the villagers moved in on her. "It isn't fair," she said. A stone hit her on the side of the head.  
(lines 216-217)

Two momentous events pointed in the story, which are lottery gambling and human sacrifice, are two traditions practiced by American people in the past. Although human sacrifice has no longer exists nowadays, it still can be circumstantially experienced in the process of playing gamble.

"*The Lottery*" is different from the common American gambling in the aspect of purpose. A lottery is a form of gambling which involves the drawing of lots for a prize. But, in the short story, the person gets the lottery is thrown stones to death instead of gaining a prize. However, the form of this tradition is the same. This implies that gambling is either good or bad thing to do. In doing gambling, people tend to make themselves as the survivors for the purpose of life. In the story, no one looks brave to draw the lottery out of the black-box because they know if they win, they will die. In common gambling in

American society, people are in competition to win the prize which is usually in the form of money.

In this short story, "*The Lottery*", the villagers are described as friendly people and the neighborhood lives in a livable life. But when the time coming for drawing the lottery, their human characteristic emerges which is a will to live. They even sacrifice their own neighbors to save their own leaves. This characteristic can also be noticed in the practice of gambling found in American social life.

#### **THE BENEFIT AND THE LOSS OF LOTTERY GAMBLING**

There have been many reasons that lottery became famous in the era of colonies and vice versa. The establishment of lotteries had a purpose to raise revenue. It "helped establish some of the nation's earliest and most prestigious universities -- Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Dartmouth, Princeton, and William and Mary and also was used to build churches and libraries" (Dunstan, 1997, p.17). In line with the success of establishing lottery, a problem emerged. It "became an issue in the drive for independence of the colonies that they protested the crown's rules for holding lotteries. In 1769, the crown tried to prevent



lotteries from occurring without its permission” (Dunstan, 1997, p.17).

The villagers in “*The Lottery*” keeps on practicing their ritual for the reason that it is believed to be in good stead for their village, like the words said by one of the characters, Old Man Warner: “Lottery in June, corn be heavy soon” (line 130). The other point that shows the advantage of holding the lottery event is all the villagers are able to gather in the square and greet one another just like celebration. It looks like a cheerful moment in the outside, but each of the villagers actually feels nervous.

The morning of June 27th was clear and sunny, with the fresh warmth of a full-summer day; the flowers were blossoming profusely and the grass was richly green. The people of the village began to gather in the square, between the post office and the bank, around ten o'clock... (lines 1-3)

The lottery was conducted--as were the square dances, the teen club, the Halloween program-- (line 22)

Soon the men began to gather. Surveying their own children, speaking of planting and rain, tractors and taxes.

They stood together, away from the pile of stones in the corner, and their jokes were quiet and they smiled rather than laughed. (lines 15-17)

The lottery tradition held in the village definitely gives a big fear for the villagers. They have to nervously prepare themselves every year just in case they are selected as the victim. They even want or try to suggest to quit doing the lottery.

“They do say,” Mr. Adams said to Old Man Warner, who stood next to him, “that over in the north village they’re talking of giving up the lottery.” (lines 126-127)

“Some places have already quit lotteries.”

Mrs. Adams said. (line 133)

It seems to suggest that the lottery practiced in that village is a brutal event that causes death to someone and brings fear on others. This practice is, of course, much more dangerous that can give a death blow for its performers. In American society, from past to present “Lotteries have traditionally been viewed as ‘soft’ forms of gambling which are assumed to have few negative effects” (Griffiths and

Wood, p.2). However, there are still negative points as well as the positive ones that can be investigated in American society nowadays whether it may lead to more beneficial effects or vice versa.

The first thing concerning playing gamble nowadays is money. "Gambling is heavily regulated because of concerns about criminal involvement. Because of the large amount of cash involved, gambling is an attractive target for criminals" (Dunstan, 1997, p.2). People may spend all their money to purchase lottery tickets, pari-mutuel bets, playing casino table games or slot machines and they suddenly become either super poor or super rich. "Those who buy tickets want to get more than their money's worth. Some of them, if not all, are believers in their own good luck, and expect to get more than they pay for" (Proctor, 1887, p.63). "Some also criticize lotteries as inappropriate enterprises that redistribute income by taking money from the poor and making millionaires, suggesting that some of these new millionaires are unprepared for their wealth and do not use it responsibly" (Thompson, 2001, p.231). The demand of earning a mint of money may trigger someone to do crimes. The forms of the criminal actions may be various that people commit crimes by cheating or even robbing and killing. "Suicides, duels, and murders have

frequently resulted from gambling here as elsewhere. Many of the duels in dark rooms originate in disputes at the gaming table. The combatants rush from play to an upper or adjoining room, and settle their difference with revolver-shots, often fatal to both" (Steinmetz, 1870, p.5).

In the social life, American people have two opposite views toward gambling. "Gambling is regarded by some as a vice, a sinful activity which corrupts society. Others view gambling simply as a harmless form of entertainment" (Dunstan, 1997, p.1). As there are negative effects caused by playing gamble in the present days, it is necessary to view the positive effects as well. In playing gambling, most people tend to do it in leisure time. They search for enjoyment by spending their money in casino table or slot machine. This behavior is actually the same with the enjoyment of shopping for some women or playing video games for some children. The enjoyment the need is for releasing their stress or tiredness by having some fun. "In 1995, gambling in the United States grossed over \$40 billion in revenues. Gambling is clearly a major form of entertainment" (Dunstan, 1997, p.2). It suggests that the form of having fun in the United States is playing gamble. Moreover, this event has been legally approved by the government in most of the states. This implies

that American people are able to play gamble anywhere and anytime without being afraid to be arrested.

## **AMERICAN SOCIETY'S VALUE TOWARD GAMBLING**

The American gambling tradition has occurred in American society since 17<sup>th</sup> century in which an English lottery was held to help establish settlers in the first permanent English colony at Jamestown, Virginia. "For many Americans, games of chance or gambling, provide the means to realize their dreams and ambition for better living" (Muhni, 2010, p.1). It is the primary reason that society in the publication time of "*The Lottery*" gave hateful feedback. "In a generic sense, the word *lottery* can cover almost any form of gambling. The word has been applied to any game that offers prizes on the basis of an element of luck or chance in exchange for consideration, that is, something of value" (Thompson, 2001, p.229). The prize and the chance are two words that give hope for some American people to change their life into better one, though it is not always succeeded. "During the later 1940s many city councils across America sponsored weekly cash-prize lotteries that would draw people together in rural communities and were meant to spark

commerce for the local merchants" (*American Literature*, 2011, p.26). The ending scene described where the "winner" of the lottery is stoned to death is the second reason. Readers interpreted the story as an attack on the values of small towns America. By the time it was published, America began to heal from the shock after World War II. The brutality shown in the story is far from the expression needed by American society to make recovery.

## **IMPACT OF AMERICAN LOTTERIES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOTTERIES AROUND THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY IN INDONESIA**

Gambling is a worldwide interest. This view is based on facts that many forms of gambling are flourished, they are slot machines, lottery, scratchcards, poker, blackjack, roulette, bingo, sports betting and racing, and online gambling. Gamblers have their own reasons for gambling. One reason is to relieve boredom and give a buzz. The other one is to enjoy the challenge or competition. Whatever the reasons, gambling can be really addictive (BigDeal, 2013). There are some examples that gambling occurs around the world as translated from *Perpustakaan Online Menara Pengawal* (2002):

John, growing up in Scotland, has a dream to win a lottery. "I buy a lottery ticket every week," he says. "The price is not expensive, but this ticket gives me hope to get everything I want."

- b. Kazushige, living in Japan, is addicted to horse racing. "Gambling at the racetrack together with my friends is extremely fun, and sometimes I won a large sum of money" he recalls.
- c. "Bingo is my favorite game," says Linda, who lives in Australia. "This habit makes me spend about 30 dollars a week, but once I win, it feels good."

They are a few examples of hundreds millions of people around the world who are addicted to gambling. This phenomenon occurs as the society allows it to occur. It is also inseparable from the role of a certain government that provides gambling facilities and makes this activity flourishing and growing even larger. As mentioned previously that United States of America has Las Vegas where people around the world can play gambling freely. "The destination resort casino industry in Las Vegas is the largest and most dynamic of any casino industry in the world" (Eadington, n.d, p.3). This place has become interesting for visitors around the world to enjoy the entertainment

facilities provided. "Las Vegas—which in 1997 attracted over 30 million visitors per year to its 105,000 hotel rooms and myriad casino and entertainment facilities—had become an ideal tourism destination resort, centered around casinos. Inspired by the phenomenal growth and economic success of Las Vegas, many other jurisdictions have authorized numerous forms of legal gambling—including casinos—for various reasons, including tourism development" (Eadington, n.d, p.1-2). In Europe, there is Switzerland which "has the highest density of casinos within Europe. There are 19 casinos within Switzerland, offering a total of 243 tables et 3,245 slot machines" (Centre du Jeu Excessif, 2011). South Africa has Sun City as its luxury casino and resort, and China has Macao which territory's economy is heavily dependent on gambling and tourism. In Southeast Asia, there is Singapore in which to boost its tourism industry, in 2005 the government legalized gambling and developed two casino resorts in Marina Bayfront and Sentosa which is called Integrated Resorts (Loong, 2005). Another casino resort which is the only legal land-based casino in Malaysia is called Genting Highlands which is also known as the 'Fun City above the Cloud'.

Following the widespread increasingly widespread and growing gambling resorts in

other countries, Indonesia is without a doubt affected. It is also exacerbated by the development of casino resorts in two countries very close to Indonesia, which are Singapore and Malaysia. Not a few of Indonesian people are flocking to the resorts to gambling or just travelling. The result is that Indonesian government revenue is affected because of the great amount of money flowing out of the country as a result of the proliferation of gambling in those two countries. To deal with it, Indonesian government issued policies under the pretext of raising funds for social purposes. These are policies which have been issued by Indonesia government concerning gambling, rewritten and translated from Indra Fibiona (2013), are:

a. Indonesian government managed '*Dana Harapan*' lottery which also known as

'Undian Harapan' in 1978 which was run by

'*Yayasan Rehabilitasi Sosial*'. The lottery draw result was used to coping social problems, but then it was closed after its inability to meet the required funds and being protested by the society.

b. Indonesian government made a new policy by releasing '*Sumbangan Sosial*

*Berhadiah*' (SSB) which was suspected as disguised gambling. It used coupon which was printed for about 4 million pieces and then drawn once every two weeks. The funds which were successfully obtained until 1985 from these coupons were distributed for social and humanity purposes.

c. Indonesian government expanded to sport in 1986 by issuing '*Pekan Olah Raga dan Ketangkasan*' or 'Porkas' originated from the word 'Forecast' which was a means to raise funds for sport. Many people denied that 'Porkas' was not a form of gambling, but many also found otherwise. Lottery 'Porkas' was actually almost similar to the lottery or toto in Spain in 1985 in which to guess the outcome of football matches over 14 professional clubs in the top division of that country. The chance to win 'Porkas' was

1:10 millions, which meant someone should to buy 10 million coupons and filled in 10 million chances to get the main prize.

By releasing these policies, Indonesian government has managed to suppress the flow of funds out of the country by gaining hundreds of billions rupiahs from those practices. Those policies are proofs that even

though Indonesia is a religious country, both government and society are trying to preserve the practice of gambling.

### **INDONESIAN PEOPLE VIEWS TOWARD LOTTERY GAMBLING IN THEIR COUNTRY**

It seems a common thing nowadays that gambling can be found anywhere and anytime in Indonesia. Although this activity is illegal and is incompatible with values and norms of Indonesian society, people still do it as a form of lifestyle. The government attempted to make positive results from issuing the mentioned policies. However, the negative impacts of these policies occurred around the country. As has been insinuated in the form of caricatures in the *'Berita Nasional Yogyakarta'*, farmers became lazy and unproductive. Every day they just filled in 'Porkas' code to try their luck winning lottery prizes (Fibiona, 2013, p.23). Middle class society and poor society were carried away by the lure to make them rich instantly. Those people did not calculate their daily needs but spent most of their money into lottery coupons. This resulted in the decreasing of merchants' income ahead of the coupon drawing. Not only that, education and health issues are also affected which might lead to

worse situation for young generations. This lottery practice was not only influenced the society financially, but also socially. Crime was increasing and became a major issue, especially fraud. With many people protested this form of lottery practice, the government eventually erased it in 1993. However, another problem arose for illegal gambling was growing, such as *'Toto Gelap'* or known as *'Togel'* and also Singapore Lottery. This illegal gambling emerged as a result of addiction and assumption that lotteries served as the solution of financial problems.

### **CONCLUSION**

As gambling has been occurred in American society since 17<sup>th</sup> century, this practice has become a tradition which can be found in American social life. As tradition, gambling practice has developed from time to time. People played gambling in the past conventionally. It is developed, then, that people build a machine to help them play gambling, as well as to make gambling more interesting. Nowadays, people even gamble creatively by using internet. They make online gambling so that all people in the world can participate, even though their home, without going into certain places which provide this

game. "The Lottery" by Shirley Jackson portrays this tradition keeps being preserved by American people in line with both its negative and positive effects. This preservation leads United States of America financially from tourism sector which is influenced by the development of Las Vegas as casino resort.

Inspired by the success of United States of America, other countries around the world compete each other to develop similar casino resorts. With the fast growing and widespread of these kind of resorts, Indonesian government struggled to suppress funds people spent for gambling or just travelling to those resorts by making policies which was claimed not as a form of gambling, but the process was similar to lotteries by drawing coupons. These policies also have positive and negative impacts for Indonesian people. However, as this lottery demanded a lot of money to buy coupons, people began addicted. Most of their monthly or daily income was used to buy coupons causing inability to fulfill their proper daily needs. It resulted in high level of crime, especially fraud and illegal lottery gambling.

Lottery gambling is a game, which for some people it is considered as a means to enjoy their lives and for some other people it is

belief to be the solution of their financial problems. The forms, the ways and the intentions of people around the world do lottery gambling are similar. After all, lottery gambling makes people addicted.

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