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Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	i
“Postcolonial Translation Studies: Foreignization and Domestication of Culture-Specific Items in <i>Of Mice and Men</i>’s Indonesian Translated Version”	
Hafizha Fitriyantisyam & Aris Munandar.....	1
“Netflix: Cultural Diversity or Cultural Imperialism?”	
Khansa Salsabila	15
“The Portrayal of a Korean Adoptee’s Experience in Nicole Chung’s <i>All You Can Ever Know: A Memoir of Adoption</i>”	
Rizqia Nur Maziyya	28
“Boaz Hagin’s Philosophy of Death as Reflected in <i>The Hunger Games</i> Trilogy Films”	
Hidayatul Nurjanah	38
“Audience Perspective on Todd Phillips’s <i>Joker</i> (2019): A Lacanian Psychoanalysis”	
Alfiadita Nindyarini Wirawan.....	50
“Disney Princess Sequels in the Perspective of Second Wave Feminism in America”	
Astrinda N. Iswalono & Listiyanti Jaya Arum	62

**POSTCOLONIAL TRANSLATION STUDIES: FOREIGNIZATION AND
DOMESTICATION OF CULTURE-SPECIFIC ITEMS IN *OF MICE AND MEN'S*
INDONESIAN TRANSLATED VERSIONS**

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ABSTRACT

Resistance to Western Culture can be seen through translator's strategy of translating novels. This research aims to analyze the translation of culture-specific items in Indonesian translated versions of *Of Mice and Men*, originally written by John Steinbeck. The selected translated versions belong to the work of Pramoedya Ananta Toer (2003) and Ariyantri E. Tarman (2017). The translations of culture-specific items are analyzed under Transnational American Studies paradigm to find out the dominant translation principle applied in both translated versions and the results are discussed from the perspective of postcolonial translation studies. From the data, it is found out that the domestication principle is more dominant than foreignization strategy. Analyzed from postcolonial translation studies, the tendency to use the domestication principle in translated novels show the efforts of the target culture to fight against Western culture as the source culture. Although both Indonesian versions of *Of Mice and Men* mostly apply the domestication principle, the recent translated version (T2) shows an increase in the use of foreignization principle in which English loanwords are frequently used. From a postcolonial translation studies' perspective, it can be concluded that target culture is against Western culture; however, the signs of cultural imperialism, especially linguistic imperialism, have grown in the recent years.

Keywords: *culture-specific items; domestication; foreignization; postcolonialism; translation strategies*

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INTRODUCTION

Translation is understood as the act of transferring meanings and culture from the source text to the target text (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1998). It means that a translator carries a responsibility to transfer a source text into a target text as precisely as possible. Translating a text is inseparable from translating a culture because culture is contained within a language and when a language is translated, the culture might be presented in the translated version depending on the translator's choice. The evidence that culture is also translated alongside the text can be seen from the way a translator translates the source text's culture-specific items. Baker (1992) defines culture-specific items as objects that are culturally tied to a certain culture, which can appear as abstract or concrete concepts, religious beliefs, social customs, and types of food. Culture-specific items have a wide range of categorizations, including ecology, material culture, social culture, organizations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts, gestures and habits, and slang (Newmark, 1988; Espindola & Vasconcellos, 2006; Chung-ling, 2010).

Translating culture-specific items can be a challenging task for the translator. One reason is caused by the unavailability of equivalents in the target culture. Another reason is caused by the status of language that is held by the source and the target language. The statuses can be divided into a dominant language and a dominated language. A language is dominant if it is learned; spoken; and used internationally. English is one of the dominant languages. Otherwise, a language that is less known internationally is considered as a dominated language. Translation plays an important role in bridging the dominant and

dominated language. For instance, the shortage of literary works in South Africa in the 1950s led the African translators to translate English literary works to improve their literature (Mlonyeni & Naudé, 2004). One can see the positive side of translation from the previous case. However, postcolonial scholars have cautioned regarding the negative side of translation that may harm the dominated culture. According to Bassnett (1996), postcolonial theorists acknowledge the exploration of power within the translation. There is power inequality between the source text and the target text because of the status of the language.

Researches that combine translation studies and postcolonialism are not new. Several previous studies had observed this topic and object. For instance, Čerče (2017) conducted research that analyzes the translation process of working-class language in *Of Mice and Men*. The working-class language refers to the vernacular English that was spoken by poorly educated characters in the novel. The results show that the vernacular English was changed into formal vocabularies in the Slovene language. Čerče (2017) suggested translators should stick to linguistic and cultural nuances of the original text to preserve the characters' traits and allow the target readers to get a sense of the vernacular language of the original text. Another research was conducted by Hu and Shi (2015) who explored the translation of Chinese literary work into English by Buck and Saphiro and how their translations were seen from a postcolonial perspective. From the postcolonial point of view, Buck's translation is an example of resistance over cultural imperialism since he faithfully followed the

original text. On the other hand, Saphiro's translation tended to blend the Chinese and English languages without ditching the meanings of original texts. It can be concluded that Saphiro did not only 'copy' the original text, but he also recreated new texts through translation (Hu & Shi, 2015). Thus, the recent research attempts to fill in the gaps in which the translation of culture-specific items in Indonesian versions of *Of Mice and Men* from a postcolonial perspective has yet to be explored.

This research aims to analyze the power inequality in translation, as seen from a postcolonial translation studies. The material objects are American novel *Of Mice and Men* by John Steinbeck and its Indonesian translations. This novel has been translated into several Indonesian versions and this research uses the first version by Toer (T1) and the most recent version by Tarman (T2). The first version was published in 2003 by Lentera Dipantara publisher; meanwhile, the recent version was published in 2017 by Gramedia Pustaka Utama. The consideration of choosing these two versions is based on their publication years. Both versions were published fourteen years apart. Since language is dynamic and develops over time (Harya, 2016), the patterns of language development can be observed and it helps discover the trends of the language used in a literary work.

This research is under the Transnational American Studies paradigm that observes the effects of American culture on a nation beyond the western hemisphere. According to Kim and Robinson (2017), the application of the Transnational American Studies paradigm is commonly applied to studies with themes related to colonial, imperial, and postcolonial; which are relevant from the slavery era to the

modern era. In this research, the focus is set on the postcolonial perspective that explores the power relation between the United States and Indonesia through translation works.

This research uses the theory of translation principles by Venuti. Venuti (2001) divides translation principles into two types: foreignization and domestication. According to Venuti (1995), applying foreignization sends the reader abroad, and this principle values the linguistic and cultural differences that appear in the foreign texts. In short, this principle allows the target readers to be acquainted with the source culture. On the other hand, there is the domestication principle that is the otherwise of foreignization principle. According to Yang (2010), domestication adopts fluent style translation that minimizes the strangeness of foreign terms that makes domestication is more reader-oriented than foreignization. The focus of the domestication principle is to make the translation reader-friendly and natural. However, the downside of the domestication principle is the translated version might appear unnatural if the translator does not select the equivalent wisely. Besides foreignization and domestication, there is an additional principle named mixed strategies (Judickaitė, 2009). This principle serves two or more translation strategies in translating one term. The mixture can take place between the foreignization-foreignization continuum and the opposite foreignization-domestication continuum.

The translation strategies in this research follow the classification of translation strategies by Judickaitė (2009) described as follows:

Foreignization Principle

- Preservation strategy: the original terms are preserved without any changes because of unavailability of equivalents.
- Addition: the translator puts additional information related to the translated items within the text or in the footnotes.
- Naturalization: the items or terms experience changes morphologically or phonologically that follow the pronunciation in the target culture.
- Literal translation: the items or terms are translated in literal ways, which is highly likely to be translated word-by-word.

Domestication Principle

- Cultural equivalent: a translation strategy that alters the source language's terms to suit the culture of the target readers.
- Omission: this translation strategy omits a source culture's term in the translated version.
- Globalization: the translated version uses a more general term to translate the source text's culture-specific item.
- Translation by a more concrete word: it is also called localization in which the source culture's item is translated into something specific in the target culture's language.
- Creation: it is similar to free translation in which the translator has the freedom to translate a term that might not directly relate to the original text.
- Equivalent: this translation strategy is applied when both source text and target text have similar equivalents.

In general, the foci of postcolonial critics are to promote and celebrate diversity while shielding themselves from the influence of Western culture (Barry, 2002). From a postcolonial perspective, translation can be

seen as a double-edged sword that can promote the dominated culture or promote imperialism. Tymoczko (2014) mentions this issue in her book, "...Conversely, when the translation is done by the colonized subjects themselves, the possibility of gathering and creating information can be turned to powerful ends, including counterespionage, conspiracy, and mutiny, leading to self-definition and self-determination..." (Tymoczko, 2014, p. 294). In other words, the status of language that becomes the source text and which translation principle frequently applied by the translators should be taken into consideration before concluding whether the translation is used to promote imperialism or to challenge it.

Linguistic imperialism is one of the elements of cultural imperialism that may result in the dominating force of English to other languages (Khodadady & Shayesteh, 2016). Linguistic imperialism itself can be a danger that has the potentials to threaten the dominated cultures' social, religious, and cultural values (El-qassaby, 2015). By applying the domestication principle, the danger of linguistic imperialism can be minimized. It is the translator's decisions and efforts to make Western culture appear less noticeable in his/her translation. These views are in line with Tymoczko's views towards translation as a medium to express the dominated culture's self-determination and self-definition (2014) and Wang's argument (2009) in which the legacy of colonialism can be challenged and decolonized through translation.

In summary, the postcolonial translation studies focuses on power inequality that is contained in the source text and the target text. Translation can be regarded as a means of colonization or a means to resist colonization

(Tymoczko, 2014). The view can differ based on which culture is the source text. Jacquemond (1992, as cited in Naudé, 2005) hypothesizes that a translation activity from the dominant culture to a dominated culture is more likely to apply the domestication principle over the foreignization principle. Related to this hypothesis, postcolonial theorists also consider translation as a tool to decolonize colonialism and strengthen the position of the dominated culture (Wang, 2009).

This research employs the descriptive qualitative method. Qualitative research allows the researcher to explore, identify, and interpret the recurring patterns that are found in the collection of data (Nassaji, 2015). Hence, the qualitative method is suitable for the research that concentrates on the patterns of culture-specific items translation in the research's objects. However, this research still applies to numbers in the process of collecting data as supplementary supports for the data analysis. The data of this research are taken from primary sources and secondary sources.

The primary sources of this research are taken from an American novel, *Of Mice and Men* – originally written by John Steinbeck, which are translated into the Indonesian language by two Indonesian

translators: Pramoedya Ananta Toer (T1) and Ariyanti E. Tarman (T2). The T1's version was published in 2003 by Lentera Dipantara publisher and the T2's version was published in 2017 by Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

The secondary sources consist of dictionaries, scientific journal articles, online news, and web articles that can support the process of classifying the translation strategies. Both English and Indonesian dictionaries are used in this research. For the English dictionary, the Merriam-Webster online dictionary is used to look up the English definitions of culture-specific items. For the Indonesian dictionaries, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (online) and *Kamus Kata-Kata Serapan Asing dalam Bahasa Indonesia. Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* is used to find out the variety of meanings that are available in Indonesian terms. On the other hand, *Kamus Kata-Kata Serapan Asing dalam Bahasa Indonesia* is used to identify the origin of loan words in the Indonesian language that are not shown in *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*.

DISCUSSION

Based on the data, the total of culture-specific items found in the source text is 153 items. The detailed result can be seen in the following table.

No	Categories	Numbers of Data	Percentage
1	Ecology	19	12.4%
2	Material Culture	60	39.2%
3	Social Culture	27	17.7%
4	Organizations, Customs, Activities, Procedures, and Concepts	4	2.6%
5	Gestures and Habits	6	3.9%
6	Slangs and Idioms	37	24.2%
Total		153	100%

Table 1. The classification of culture-specific items

The data use the classification of culture-specific items by Newmark (1988) and its developments by Espindola and Vasconcellos (2006), and Chung-ling (2010). The culture-specific items are dominated by material cultured, followed by slang and idioms, social culture, ecology, gestures and habits, and

organizations, customs, activities, procedures, and concepts. These culture-specific items are analyzed by Judickaitė (2009) translation strategies. The comparisons of translation strategies applied by T1 and T2 can be seen as follows:

No	Translation Strategies	Numbers of Data		Percentage	
		T1	T2	T1	T2
Foreignization					
1	Preservation	8	16	5.2%	10.5%
2	Addition	9	1	5.9%	0.7%
3	Naturalization	7	18	4.6%	11.7
4	Literal Translation	20	8	13.1%	5.2%
Total		44	43	28.8%	28.1%
Domestication					
5	Cultural Equivalent	12	11	7.8%	7.2%
6	Omission	9	3	5.9%	1.9%
7	Globalization	27	23	17.6%	15%
8	Translation by a More Concrete Word	9	11	5.9%	7.2%
9	Creation	13	6	8.5%	4%
10	Equivalent	31	47	20.3%	30.7%
Total		101	101	66%	66%
Mixed Strategies					
11	Preservation – Equivalent	4	6	2.6%	4%
13	Addition - Equivalent	1	1	0.7%	0.7%
14	Addition – Cultural Equivalent	2	2	1.2%	1.2%
15	Naturalization - Equivalent	1	0	0.7%	0%
Total		8	9	5.2%	5.9%

Table 2. Overall translation strategies

Based on the data, the dominant translation principle applied by both translators is the domestication principle. It means the translators change the source text's culture-specific items into objects that are more familiar to the target readers. According to Yang (2010), the presence of foreignness is minimized in the domestication principle to make the translation reader-friendly. It is reflected in the word choices in the domestication principle. For instance, T1 translates the sheriff into *kepala polisi*. This occupation, which is in the social culture category, is translated by the cultural

equivalent strategy. A sheriff is one of the law enforcement agencies in the United States that is in charge of securing territory from criminalities. According to the International Association of Chiefs of Police (2018), the law enforcement agencies in the United States consist of local police, state police, special jurisdiction police, and deputy sheriff. In the target language, law enforcement is performed under a single main agency, which is the Indonesia National Police. Since the occupation as a sheriff does not exist in the target language, it is replaced by *polisi* that has

similar responsibilities and job desks to a sheriff.

The foreignization principle is in the second place after the domestication principle. This principle attempts to introduce the foreign culture into its target readers. Even though both translators almost score the same number in foreignization, the translators favor different translation strategies. T1 prefers using literal translation; on the other hand, T2 prefers using naturalization strategy. The example of T1 using literal translation can be seen from the way he translates food, for instance, *hot cake* is translated into *kue hangat*. Hot cake refers to the United States' cuisine that resembles modern pancakes. According to Goldstein (2015), the term hot cake was first mentioned by Pennsylvania governor's letter, which referred to a cuisine of Native Americans. The generalized concept of a hot cake as a pancake begun in the mid-nineteenth century in which commercial baking powder became available in the market and thick-layered pancakes started becoming American's favorite (Goldstein, 2015). Therefore, a hot cake has its history in American culture. Indonesian readers in the 1950s might not be familiar with this food. To overcome the translation difficulty, the literal translation is applied in this part. *Kue hangat*, in this context, can be perceived as traditional snacks in the Indonesian language. On the other hand, T2 favors the naturalization strategy, which means it is more likely to find loanwords in her translation work. Some loanwords that she chooses have equivalents in the Indonesian language; however, the equivalent is not as popular as the loanword. For instance, T2 translates *cream* into *krim*. The Indonesian language has the equivalent of *cream*, which is *kepala susu* as in how T1 translates cream. However, the term *kepala susu* might appear

unfamiliar to the young readers since the term *krim* is more frequently used in daily conversation in the present day.

The principle that gets the least total is mixed strategies. According to Judickaitė (2009), mixed strategies are a combination of two or more translation strategies. For instance, the terms that are translated by preservation – equivalent strategy usually preserve the proper noun and translate the noun, for instance, Stetson (proper noun) and hat (noun) are translated into *topi* (noun) Stetson (proper noun). Another example is addition – equivalent that inserts additional information besides using its equivalent. It can be found in the translation of a horseshoe game in which the first translator inserts external addition in the footnote meanwhile the second translator includes the verb *lempar* (throw) within the text that describes the way the game is played.

Postcolonial Translation Studies: Looking Beyond Translation Principles

The results show that 66% of culture-specific items in the original novel are domesticated, followed by the application of foreignization principle 28.8% (T1) and 28.1% (T2), and mixed strategies 5.2% (T1) and 5.9% (T2). Such wide gaps in the application of translation principles are examined from the postcolonial perspective that concerns the power relation between dominant and dominated culture. The findings show correlations to Tymoczko's views (2014) in which translation is done by the dominated culture can appear as a powerful mutiny toward Western domination and it leads to the target culture's self-definition and self-determination. The dominant use of domestication principle in this research reveals

that the translators attempt to preserve their target culture's norms, which is in line with Tymoczko's argument (2010) in which domestication can induce equality in cultural exchange between a dominant and dominated culture. Nevertheless, the results gained from both versions show that linguistic imperialism makes some progress in penetrating the target language in the recent version, which is indicated by the second translator's choice to use preservation and naturalization strategy for terms that have equivalents in the target language.

Bringing a Sense of Familiarity to the Target Readers

One of the translators' attempts to bring a sense of familiarity is by localizing the source text's culture-specific items. It can be seen in the cultural equivalent strategy in which the source text's culture-specific items are replaced by terms that are well known by the target readers. For instance, the alterations of ecology category mostly apply the cultural equivalent strategy. It is known that some plants and animals are culturally bound to a certain culture, which means the same species can be rarely found in another culture. Both translators solve this translation difficulty by referring to the closest family of plants and animals that can be found in the target text. For instance, a coyote is translated into *serigala* (wolf) by the first translator; deer is translated into *kijang* (antelope) by the second translator. Considering coyote is native to North America, the same species might not be known by the target readers. The animal similar to a coyote in terms of its characteristics is represented by a wolf in the target language since the wolf is more recognizable among the target readers.

The same case appears in the translation of deer into *kijang* in which *kijang* is one of the native species of deer in Indonesia. The decision to find animals that share similarities to the source text's culture-specific items can ease the target readers' reading experience. Another example is the alteration of measuring systems. The second translator changes all the United States' measurement systems into Indonesian's measurement systems. Mile, pound, and acre are transformed into *kilometer*, *kilogram*, and *hektar*. The second translator not only translates the units, but she also converts the units. For instance, a quarter-mile is translated into *500 meter*. It is a careful consideration to change the foreign measurement units to the target readers' customary.

Resisting the West's Ideology and Challenging Imperialism

Based on the findings, the domestication principle resists orientalism, which is commonly found in the first translator's work. The resistance towards orientalism is reflected through the way the first translator changes the religious terms in his translation. The religion-related item is presented as follows:

ST: "Jesus Christ, you're a crazy bastard!" (Steinbeck, 1994, p. 12)

TT: "**Ya, Rasul.** Betul-betul haram jadah kau ini!?" (Steinbeck, 1994/2003, p. 10)

The first translator domesticates the source text by applying an equivalent strategy in which the term *Jesus Christ* is translated into *Rasul* (prophet). The example of Jesus Christ in this context does not refer to the actual Jesus; the example above is counted as an interjection that expresses disappointment. However, the expression itself is closely related to Christianity. The first translator decides to change it into *Rasul*, which is closer

to the Islamic term in the target culture's customary. The second translator also domesticates the religion-related term, even though she applies a different translation strategy. The example can be seen as follows:

ST: "Jesus Christ, you're a crazy bastard!" (Steinbeck, 1994, p. 12)

TT: "**Ya Tuhan**, kau keparat sinting!" (Steinbeck, 1994/2017, p. 11)

The second translator's word choice is more general since she applies the globalization strategy. Jesus is acknowledged as the Son of God by Christians and the target culture only has one closest expression, in the general sense, which has a similar effect to Jesus Christ that is *Ya Tuhan*. The word choices that are picked by both translators might be influenced by the fact that Islam is the largest religion in Indonesia, which means the chance their translation works being read by Muslims, is big as well. The translators either choose to change the term by using an appropriate term used by the majority religion or making Christianity less noticeable by generalizing the term in the target text. Thus, the translators cover the sense of Christianity in the original novel by applying the domestication strategy. They incline to maintain the ideology that is followed by the majority in the target culture. In this research, Christianity, which is shown in an expression form, is rejected by changing it into Islamic and general form.

Protecting the Target Culture's Norms

Taboo slangs do not belong only to Western societies. Indonesia also has taboo slang that is used on informal and limited occasions. The problem arises when the taboo slangs make an appearance in published books that are bought and read by the community. The translators have to decide whether they should include the Western's taboo slangs or omit them in the books by taking into account the opposite norms and values that both cultures hold. In this research, the translators decide to minimize the apparent appearance of the Western's taboo slangs in their works. For instance, the translators rely on a creation strategy that enables them to cover up the true meanings of the source text's slang. Both translators apply the creation strategy to translate the term *flop* that refers to sexual intercourse. T1 translates it into *bersenang-senang yang lebih tinggi* and T2 translates it into *main-main*. Both translators avoid choosing the equivalent of a *flop* in the target text. Such activity is considered indecent from the perspective of the target culture. Then, the translators create new phrases that can lead the target readers' interpretation of *flop* to its intended meaning yet the translators make it less obvious.

Foreignization Principle as Threats to Linguistic Imperialism

The data show that the numbers of preservation and naturalization strategy in the 2017 version (T2) are doubled compared to the 2003 version (T1). The comparison of naturalization strategy can be seen as follows:

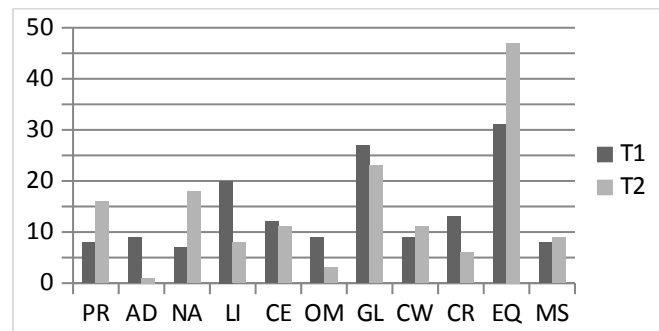


Figure 1. The application of translation strategies in *Of Mice and Men*'s culture-specific items

Based on the graphic above, some translation strategies applied in both translated novels experience drastic changes over time, for instance, preservation strategy, addition, naturalization, literal translation, omission, creation, and equivalent strategy. It is noteworthy that the year when the novels were translated affects the trends of choosing translation strategies. For instance, when alfalfa had not yet developed in Indonesia, the first translator who worked on the translation in the 1950s applies the omission strategy.

In the comparison of preservation strategy, the preferences of both translators are obvious. The first translator chooses to localize the culture-specific items; however, the second translator preserves the source text's culture-specific items. It can be assumed that the second translator is adopting some parts of American culture in her translation, for instance, the preservation of *sir*, *mister*, and *ma'am* in which these terms have equivalents in the target text, as presented in the first translator's work. The second translator also tends to naturalize English items that have equivalents in the target language, for instance, *cream* and *circus*. The first translator chooses the items' equivalents that are included in *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, which are *kepala susu* for *cream* and *kumidi* for *circus*; though it has to be admitted the equivalents are rarely used

nowadays. On the other hand, the second translator chooses popular terms that fit into the present day's preference, which are mostly naturalized from the source language.

The application of naturalization in the most recent novel indicates that many English words have been naturalized into the Indonesian language and the words are used widely in Indonesian conversation. According to Judickaitė (2009), this translation strategy does bring the target readers closer to the source culture since the original culture-specific items have been modified morphologically and phonologically. By analyzing the comparison between T1 and T2 in terms of the application of the foreignization principle, it can be concluded that the foreign items within the original text are more preserved in the recent novel.

Another pattern that can be found from the data is the second translator also applies a naturalization strategy to translate items that are culturally bound to American cultures, such as *'coon*, *jeans*, *boots*, and *solitaire*. On the other hand, the T1 prefers generalizing the items in the target text. These findings indicate that Indonesians, as the target readers, have grown to be more accustomed to American culture compared to fourteen years ago when the first translation of *Of Mice and Men* was published. The familiarity with American

culture can result from the intensity of cultural contacts between Indonesia and America through the massive globalization wave in the recent years. Thus, the more familiar the target readers with American culture, the more they become familiar with its language. The strong force of English to the Indonesian language in this case can be considered as a part of linguistic imperialism as mentioned by Khodadady and Shayesteh (2016). The linguistic imperialism is unavoidable to grow in a globalizing era, which is proven by the more frequent applications of preservation and naturalization strategy in the recent translation. The growing number in the application of loan words can indicate the familiarity of the target readers toward the source culture has also increased; meaning the exposure of American culture in the target culture is strong. Thus, it can be assumed that English linguistic imperialism makes its progress to invade the target culture in incremental but yielding steady progress.

Historically speaking, the encounter of Indonesians and English language was traced back in 1914 when English was first taught in junior high schools (Lauder, 2008). During the colonization era, only Dutch children and the privileged class of Indonesians had an access to education. Thus, English was used in a limited setting and it was not considered as a medium of communication in Indonesia. Based on this history, it is arguable why T1, who started working on the translation of *Of Mice and Men* in 1950, was inclined to domesticate culture-specific items that were culturally bound to American culture, for instance *bar*, *raccoon*, and *sheriff*. Instead of preserving the items in their original form, T1 avoided the appearance of foreign items that might cause confusion to the target readers whose familiarity with English were deficient.

In this case, it can be concluded that the power of English was not strong at the time the T1 translated the novel since the majority of Indonesian readers were still unfamiliar with English language and American culture.

The improvement of English's power in Indonesia was influenced by the emergence of America as the world economic superpower in the beginning of 20th century (Lauder, 2008). Since gaining its new status, the intensity of learning and speaking English has been increasing globally, including in Indonesia. This also strengthens the position of English as a dominant language. One of potentials of English that is acknowledged by Indonesian scholars is its function as a source of vocabulary for development and modernization of Indonesian language (Lauder, 2008). It can be seen from T2's translation in which loanwords from English are often used in her translation, for instance *phonograph* – *fonograf* and *jeans* – *jins*. Compared to the first translator's case, the use of English in Indonesia has become more common at the time T2 worked on the translation of *Of Mice and Men*. The power of English in Indonesia has also become stronger.

The constant exposure of Western culture through language has become a concern among Indonesian scholars. According to Alwasilah (1997), the Western culture, which is liberal, may bring bad influences or bad examples on Indonesian culture. The novel used in this research is an American product that contains cultural objects as reflected from the idiom and slangs in the dialogue, material objects, and social life. The characters are portrayed as uneducated people and they talk in offensive language. Their conversations are most likely related to sensitive issues such as prostitution and illegal activities. This is one of

the portrayals of American culture during the Great Depression era. When this product is translated for the consumption of Indonesian readers, the translators act as the filters that select which items that need to be adjusted to suit the norms and values prevailing in Indonesia. Their efforts are seen from the way they neutralize the translation of terms related to prostitution or derogatory terms. From postcolonial perspective, it can be seen as an attempt to prevent the entry of Western culture that is incompatible with Indonesian culture.

CONCLUSION

Translation studies and postcolonial studies are proven to go hand-in-hand in this research. These fields are interconnected and give insight that colonialism does not end at the time the physical wars ended. A similar invasion process coming from a dominant culture is wrapped in a new different layer called postcolonialism.

The translation principle that stands out based on the findings is the domestication principle, which is target reader-oriented. The result is in line with the hypothesis of Jacquemond's argument (1992, as cited in Naudé, 2005) in which the translator who comes from a dominated culture tends to bring the foreign text closer to the target readers' familiarity. Even though the domestication principle is the most dominant, all translation strategies by Judickaité (2009) within the foreignization, domestication, and mixed continuum are found in both translation works.

In postcolonial translation studies, the dominated culture that translates the dominant culture's literary work tends to domesticate the source text's culture-specific items as a mechanism to resist the domination of Western power. Related to this research, American

culture that is reflected from *Of Mice and Men* is adjusted by Indonesian translators in their translation works. The adjustments can be seen from the translation strategies that the translators applied to culture-specific items related to sensitive issues in the target text, such as the practice of sexual activity and jobs related to it. By analyzing two translation works that are originated from the same novel, the changes in preferred translation strategies could be seen. Even though both translators apply equivalent strategy the most, it is found out that the recent translated version of *Of Mice and Men* applies more preservation and naturalization strategy than the oldest translation work does. In other words, the presence of American culture is a bit stronger in the recent translated version compared to the first translated version. The use of loan words from English in the recent translated version shows the progress of linguistic imperialism in the target culture.

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NETFLIX: CULTURAL DIVERSITY OR CULTURAL IMPERIALISM?

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ABSTRACT

The global rise of Netflix as subscription video-on-demand (SVOD) has emerged along with its capitalization of film, television, and technology industry for the audience's convenience. It replaces the interest of local television with its claim of 'a global TV network' with cultural diversity in its contents. However, the term cultural diversity itself should be questioned whether it means to leave the American cultural power or it is only to claim themselves as a global company where global identity is represented in their identity to attract a wider audience. By using transnational approach, this study finds the use of cultural diversity merely to fulfill the demand of the American audience, with several globalization consequences in Netflix Original series, especially in non-American series. Those consequences are the homogenization in European-made Netflix series, where they appear to be fully Americanized with American lifestyle or American perspective, and heterogenization in Asian-made Netflix series with its collaboration of Asian culture and American popular culture. The claim of a 'global TV network' itself does not leave the American cultural power. Instead, they are taking advantage of the cultural power to retain the existing audiences and to fascinate more audiences. Therefore, the dependency of non-American producers in relying on Netflix platform as a way to reach global audience, even the use of Americanization to their works for global audience's satisfaction, confirms the cultural power of America in its ability to bring economic advancement to other countries.

Keywords: *cultural imperialism; globalization; heterogenization; homogenization; Netflix*

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INTRODUCTION

The twenty-first century has been marked for its fast-growing technology for the

convenient way of life to many people, creating the concept of globalization as the wide interconnectedness of the human's

contemporary social life based on the domination of power in reaching different types of societies (Rossi, 2007). This is unexceptionally for movies as the cultural product being accessed through the internet. The development of movies has been growing rapidly in which subscription video-on-demand (SVOD) emerged to fulfill people's need to unlimitedly watch ad-free movies anytime and everywhere during their free times only with a monthly charge, and this makes use of technology that has been developed earlier – phones, laptops, tablets, smart TV, along with the internet connection. In the last decade, there have been many in SVOD replacing the role of national television for its convenience and more options with freedom in watching their choice of movies. Many brands of this service have been known, such as Amazon Prime Video, Disney+, and Netflix. For several recent years, Netflix itself has positioned itself with its worldwide popularity and reputation as the largest SVOD provider who constantly offers the users high-quality movies and series through their very own production of Netflix Originals. Netflix was, at first, an online DVD-rental service company founded in 1998, but it was not until 2012 when it started to release its own in-house production of Netflix Original, such as *House of Cards* (2013-2015), *Orange is the New Black* (2013-2019), taking a prominent powerful role to re-define the term "television" while it was unconnected with large corporations that are dominating the global media, and indeed, this step challenges those corporations as they are able to quickly expand themselves to the global market (Jenner, 2018). With its sudden expansion to 130 countries at once in 2016 and currently is available for 190 countries all across the globe, Netflix has led the capitalization of the film,

television, and technology industry with its innovative development and it has been praised as the future of television, while sometimes is also seen as a threat to the previous industry (Buck, & Plothe, 2019).

Despite its capitalization to 190 countries, it has operated under different circumstances in each country (Jenner, 2018). The content Netflix provides in EU policies requires 30% percent of its content to be European, while Poland itself requires 20% of Netflix content broadcasted in the country to be Polish, forcing the company to adopt the local culture and content while it is also an alternative way to avert cultural homogenization (Jenner, 2018). Indeed, the existence of Netflix as an online SVOD may replace the audience's interest in local national television, but it actually also tries to merge itself with the national television of many different countries to provide the local content and introduce them to its worldwide users, in other words, glocalization is being practiced in this matter. There have been many non-English movies or series produced and broadcasted by Netflix, such as *La Casa de Papel* or *Money Heist* (2017-) and *Elite* (2018-) from Spain, *Kingdom* (2019-) from South Korea, *The Rain* (2018-2020) from Denmark, *Dark* (2017-2020) from Germany. In the simplest way, it can be assumed that Netflix, despite its American-based company, does not put the American culture as the "main ingredient" for its products. However, such assumptions should be investigated further; while the company is under American neoliberalism and its *laissez-faire*, it cannot be denied that the American popular movies have been long globally consumed before Netflix gets in the game. Thus, the question comes up as if Netflix does produce its non-English product with local content to show the cultural

diversity and to engage a wider cultural community as its audience, yet, because it is an American owned company, is there a way that with globalization, they are practicing the cultural imperialism, and perhaps, the Americanization of the local content? As quoted by *CBS News*, the CEO of Netflix, Reed Hasting announced, "*You are witnessing the birth of a global TV network.*" Nevertheless, how do they employ the Americanization to claim themselves as a global company where global citizens are represented in their identity? What are their strategies to attract a more diverse audience from all cultural groups across the globe? This study investigated how cultural power has worked beneath the consciousness of the Netflix audience.

In seeing this phenomenon, this study will be conducted qualitatively and put the writer as the interpreter of Netflix Originals series. Articles and previous research regarding Netflix will also be used to support the analysis of the study. The collected data for this article will be limited to the popular series produced and provided by Netflix Original. Interpretation of Netflix Original series will be conducted by understanding the series and relating it to the cultural context within the approach. Hence, to have a deeper understanding, transnational approach to globalization will also be appropriately used in this study. This approach enables globalization theories concerning the cultural homogenization and heterogenization of Netflix Original. This includes putting more attention on the capitalist global system and the incomplete project of capitalist globalization (Sklair, 2007). The approach also focuses on a large scope of economy, politics, and culture-ideology that shape their characteristics as a dominant global system.

The transnational approach used in this study will focus more on the cultural-ideological sphere and try to put this study on the globalization debates over several categories which Sklair has listed; capitalism as the central issue of globalization, capitalist globalization that operates within the cultural imperialism of Westernization or Americanization, globalization that proposes homogenization and hybridization, and consumerism as the culture ideology. It also observes the tensed relationship of local and global in which cultural homogenization and heterogenization are the main issues, and thus hoped to acknowledge the differences of national culture in relation to power (Laemmerhirt, 2014). As it focuses on culture and is operated by the dominant power, the globalization theory on culture will be used to see and argue about the cultural imperialism produced by Netflix as an American company. It is also to provide a deeper understanding of the existence of local content produced within the activities of Netflix as the global dominant of SVOD service, as well as to trace the reason behind it.

In the context of culture ideology embedded in Netflix Originals series, the subchapter in this study will be divided into three subchapters in which it categorizes the series based on geographical and cultural division; America, Europe, and Asia. Netflix Originals series are analyzed by seeing the origin country and connecting it to the target audience in the global market using the transnational approach that previously has been explained. Such significant differences found in the three subchapters provide an answer to the idea of Americanization and cultural imperialism as asked previously.

DISCUSSION

Cultural Diversity for Culturally Diverse Society

The internet allows the flow of globalization by the existence of digitalized cultural products such as books, music, pictures, news, movies, and many more to be shared and downloaded from all around the world (Ritzer, 2011). Nonetheless, it does not mean that culture flows easily and is accepted easily because of multiculturalism. In fact, there is also cultural differentialism in the process of globalization, along with cultural hybridization and cultural convergence. Cultural differentialism, as Ritzer explained, is the barrier that blocks the flow of homogenization of culture; it makes culture different from each other despite the rapid increase of technology to share cultural products.

America's multicultural society has struggled with its cultural differentiation in this global world. Netflix's attempt to neglect the typical American concept exemplifies how it makes use of the concept of cultural differentiation with *Orange is the New Black* (2013-2019) (Plothe & Buck, 2019). This series breaks the typical American concept in which WASP characteristics are often employed as important roles. This evokes the increased participation of African-American actors, writers, directors, and producers to create a more diverse content that previously does not get more opportunity in other platforms in Hollywood. Hence, it is also attracting more people to watch and appreciate Netflix. Netflix Original has grown after the release of *Orange is the New Black*, which exclusively portrays the diversity that is often considered as 'other' (Jenner, 2018), as well as

portraying a feminist perspective of women in prison. Netflix further portrays other minority groups in America with various ideologies and beliefs, such as *Unorthodox* (2020) with its portrayal of ultra-orthodox Hasidic Jewish community in America, and *13 Reasons Why* (2017-2020) that tells the heavy subject of suicide and self-harm as the effect of bullying and sexual abuse. Filling in the gap of minority representation, it can be seen how Netflix did make use of the cultural differentiation to portray and attract more audiences. Rather than creating such homogenization and following existing archetypes, it provides a wider variety of content for different identities to invite the feel of representation to the community. This also means that it targets and markets the community to other communities.

As explained by Plothe & Buck (2019), Netflix is indeed intended to create diverse content as the top priority of their goal. It stresses what Viruet said, "the specificities, cultures, and lived experiences of marginalized groups that don't often get to tell their stories – or have them told at all" (as cited in Plothe & Buck, 2019). They target a larger audience, taking advantage of the gap within the production of mainstream American popular products to which they focus on the minorities that are often hidden behind it. This relates to the characteristics of transnational capitalists that identify themselves as citizens of the world merely for profit and the enhancement of the profit (Sklair, 2007). However, this characteristic only aims to create the culture-ideology of consumerism to the audience to make their system fully operate without the boundary of region, country, city, society, or community, but connecting them in a complex global relation (Sklair, 2007).

Consumer culture in Netflix is promoted by their campaign of "binge-watching." Netflix is widely known for its simultaneous release of all episodes of an entire season only in one time and thus makes the audience to marathon-watch the whole season. The addiction to binge-watch the entire season continuously is not merely an addiction and the consumer culture toward movies, but also a sense of connection to a community or to what is being represented in it (Matrix, 2014). This idea of "binge-watching" is indeed a discerning step to promote more addictive behavior to its consumers along with their attempt to bring the representation of the cultural diversity; further, it also helps to maintain the capital profit to the transnational landscape.

The concept of a diverse culture is being put as the 'main ingredient' of Netflix Originals, therefore, successfully attracts the audience to have their community or identities represented. Thus, they have a connection as the reason for their addiction which appeals to the consumerism the company aims to get as a transnational company. However, this should be acknowledged that the diverse content may be targeted to the United States of America as most of the users are Americans with the amount over 61 million users out of 139 million users as per December 2019 (Moody, 2019). It indicates that the culturally diverse content is still in the American context, carrying the idea that American society is the 'diverse' community. Netflix Originals remains targeting the American society with its American culture, including its lifestyles, values, and point of view as its 'main ingredient.'

Netflix has shown the importance of English, especially to American consumers,

with its exclusive stipulation of English dubbing. Netflix fulfills the demand of American consumers who appear to be 'unfamiliar' to non-English movies. While it may be optional, it seems that Netflix is aware of English language as the main concern to American consumers before watching a movie or a series. According to Goldsmith (2019), 85% of American consumers to Netflix prefers dubbed voice instead of using subtitles to watch *The Rain* (2018-2020), 78% to watch *Dark* (2017-2020), and 72% to watch *Money Heist* (2017-) due to their incapability to multitask – to watch and to read subtitles at once. Relating to this, a Korean movie director Bong Joon-Ho once said during his Golden Globe Award 2020 winning speech, "*Once you overcome the one inch tall barrier of subtitles, you will be introduced to so many more amazing films.*". Bong Joon-Ho's winning speech is directed to the language barrier of English consumers in general, in which they will instantly lose interest in many high quality films simply because of the non-English language spoken in the movie. While Bong Jon-Ho does not speak directly to Netflix users, he represents the concern of non-English producers to reduce the cultural barriers for the 'global audience' to gain more recognition, putting aside the creative flow of the work as a priority.

The dominant power of English language gives the portrayal of the consequences of globalization. From this, the spread of the English product to other countries has two impacts; first, English language with its power symbolizes higher status and higher economic advancement in which producers should concern to; second, the American life carried by English language is becoming more accepted as the global culture, which later leads to more profit to American corporations

as well. The commodification of American life that leads to consumerism was developed by multinational corporations supported by an imperialist power and engaged in a more complex relationship with the economical, political, and military matter (Rowe, 2010). With the twenty-first century technology, the internet is expected to be the gate to a new cultural movement with unlimited space of communication and exchanges and Rowe saw it as an opportunity for new politics, diminishing hierarchies in modern society, and new cultural practices. Netflix, nevertheless, offers itself as the media for the dominant culture to define its consumers' demands to be the standard of global consumerism, illustrating the importance of English language to be the main requirement as a successful commodity.

Moreover, the consumption of a commodity, as Appadurai (1986) argued, is social, relational, and active, rather than private, atomic, and passive. He further explained that it is largely shaped by the social and economic forces while manipulating the social and economic forces as well. In following Netflix's demand, the local production houses often rely on the hegemonic power of American culture, which is often driven by the strong economic and political power of the United States. The manipulation of the social and economic forces is noticed by the claim of cultural diversity, focusing on the idea of multiculturalism to emphasize, and thus to be consequently demanded. From this perspective, it seems understandable that Netflix's claim as a 'global TV network' is highly welcomed by many communities across the globe, especially the local producers as they get to promote their work globally. Nevertheless, while Netflix itself welcomes the non-American or non-English series, the

local production houses must be able to compose their works into certain literary formulas or genres in which the American audiences are familiar in order to be successful and popular.

“Commodities are neither passive nor politically innocent; they are perpetually active in the specific kinds of desires they produce in consumers, and work by means of the social psychologies of commodity fetishism analyzed by Marx in *Capital* and reification elaborated by Lukács in *History and Class Consciousness*” (Rowe, 2010)

While it does not fit Rowe's expectation to the new hope of the internet and while Netflix may open the gate for the non-American and non-English series, American still holds power in making meaning and defining meaning – including the power in deciding what is meant to be popular. The previously mentioned case of English dubbing shows the continuing cultural power that the American consumers have tried to impose as they are unwilling to hear the original voice spoken in a non-English language. It is an indication of unintentionally understanding the 'Other.' This also gives an interpretation to non-English production houses that English language or American culture involvement is a crucial element in appealing to a global audience. Hence, while the existence of English dubbing gives advantages to Netflix in reaching a wider English speaking audience to consume non-English movies, on the other hand, cultural hegemony of English language is being continued and being maintained into both the non-English speaking audiences and producers. This means that while providing heterogeneity through its content, with its claim of 'cultural diversity' in its series, Netflix also opens a way for the homogenization of language, to which English is highly

maintained by the demand of its consumers. Of course, it should not be neglected to the fact that Netflix itself helps non-American, even non-Western movies, to reach more audiences. Yet, with the English dubbing replacing the original language, whether the content still appears with their own cultural instruments should be concerned.

Americanizing Europe

Relating to the previous discussion, it should be acknowledged whether the cultural diversity in Netflix Originals produced in non-American or non-English countries is applied outside the American context. It should be noted that before Netflix, the local television in America has brought the Americans away from foreign cultures. Every non-foreign TV show imported to the American local television is mostly being Americanized. For example, the Japanese cartoon, *Pokémon*, in American national television has been localized or Americanized to hide its Japaneseness to be widely acceptable to the American audience as the main reason (Iwabuchi, 2002). The success of *Pokémon* and other non-foreign movies in America, thus, cannot be done without the Americanization of the product.

In this matter, the practice of Americanization is unexceptional to Netflix. Although Aguiar & Waldfogel (2017) has provided the distribution data showing that Netflix in America does not have the global hegemony to provide 'one-size-fits-all' shows to all destinations, it should be noted that the research only relies on the number. In other words, a straightforward conclusion on the absence of Americanization in Netflix Originals should not be concluded. In fact, as the majority of Netflix users are Americans,

and it cannot be denied that Netflix may still play the role of the national or American television, where Americans are their main target and Americanization may be heavily practiced.

This is seen with several non-American shows produced by Netflix. For example, *Sex Education* (2019-) is produced in UK and casted by British actors and actresses. Yet, McCracken (2020) also saw that there is also a mix of American culture in the characters in which the show looks like an American show spoken with a British accent by British casts. This also goes the same with the Spanish shows *Elite* (2018-) that many feel like it is set in the United States as well as the characters that live in an American lifestyle. Yet, the creator of *Elite*, Carlos Montero, stated that the Americanization of the setting and story is unintended. In fact, it is already becoming the Spanish way of life as they are already exposed to that lifestyle from the American shows they have watched long before the production of *Elite* (Patton, 2019). Both series are produced outside America, casted by non-Americans, and the original language spoken is non-English as for *Elite*, yet, the presence of American culture in the works is well acknowledged. It is what makes them more appealing and popular to American audiences or even global audiences.

The difference between both series is that how the Americanization is being put. Americanization in *Sex Education* functions to make it more appealing to a wider audience, while *Elite* is not Americanized because the Spanish lifestyle itself is already Americanized in the daily life and thus, Americanization will be included unconsciously. From this, Montero's statement that "we also wanted the themes to be universal and understood in every

culture" (Weiss, 2019) should be more concerned that the terms "universal" and "understood in every culture" have always been represented by the American culture.

This idea of homogenization is well acknowledged through the Americanization of Netflix Original, which in this discussion can be identified from the European made series; *Elite* and *Sex Education*. This may be in line if related to the history of European immigration to America in the previous centuries with their hopes and dreams upon America.

Bourne saw America as "the intellectual background" of a worldwide struggle over the hegemonic nature and prerogatives of the modern European State. Transnationalism for him then describes the process by which an imagined America would ideally provide a national political framework for a culture of international identities. (Mihăilă, 2011)

The offer to an escapism of European chaos became a big advantage for America to value personal freedom, to make a great distinction from European countries and culture. As the idea of 'imagined America' is to pursue personal freedom and a better life, international identities were identified based on those hopes from the immigrants coming to America. This is where international identity, in this cultural context, is identified as American identity to represent the whole world and consider it as 'universal' and 'understandable in every culture.' Hence, Netflix's claim as a 'global TV network' took its place to represent the world as well as to control the world in how to see and how to be seen through its consumers' demand. In this matter, the contemporary hegemonic power does not lie in the European countries anymore but in America itself.

It must be quite odd to consider Americanization in Europe as a form of cultural imperialism due to the colonization and imperialism predominantly done by the European itself. However, with the previous discussion, such cultural imperialism to Europe does exist with its resistance and rejection as well. The Americanization found its way to Europe after World War II through advertisements of American mass culture, including Hollywood movies. It caused critical debates on whether Europe should reject the American culture or adapt it. The American advertisement glorifying the fantasy of American life consists of the unbounded space, the freedom from European limits, the personal success, and even erotic gratification through culture industry of Hollywood (Stephan, 2006; Holton, 2000). The idea of American individual freedom and American dream, later, affected the contemporary European culture to be as open as America. Therefore, looking back to *Elite* and *Sex Education*, it is reasonable to see the European-made Netflix Originals that do not have significant differences if compared to the American ones. As much as homogenization becomes the cultural consequence of the worldwide spread of multinational companies in the global market (Holton, 2000), Netflix Original series produced by European production houses appears to be another cultural result of Americanization despite the previous European imperial power.

In one unique case, this is also seen in another Netflix series entitled *Bridgerton* (2020), with its historical setting that took place in the 19th century of England. With the claim of cultural diversity of Netflix, the series portrays people of color as a member of a respectful family during Queen Charlotte regency, which may be historically impossible.

The portrayal of diversity in *Bridgerton* purely to maintain the cultural diversity image Netflix has, as a market and a trend to the 21st century demand. Beers Betsy, the producers of the series itself is American; with her consciousness to produce the England historical series, she said, "*We try to imagine history and the world in the way we wanted to see it.*" (Lenker, 2020). This, once again, offers an escapism from the European world in which it tries to satisfy the modern audience, predominantly the culturally diverse Americans. From this, it is also concerning that such portrayal of 19th century England itself may be shifted through the influence of American perspective rather than the European themselves – confirming the American cultural power in shaping knowledge. This is where cultural imperialism in the form of Americanization needs to be taken seriously as it is able to modify and fantasize about other cultures, creating such different meanings without any consent from related countries.

This pretty much explains how Netflix, as the global company is also an American transnational capitalist. The Americanization found in Netflix Originals is heavily influenced by the American industry that has previously introduced the American culture to the global society even before Netflix does. Thus it only depends on the consumerism of the audience to demand their specific preference of a story concept to binge-watch. From that, it can be concluded that the Americanization has been dominating the European producers and Netflix only continues the legacy in spreading more Americanization to the global audience. Therefore, Aguiar & Waldfogel's (2017) statement can be agreed as well that Netflix's goal to produce and distribute the US programs as the global strategy for its global expansion

will bring bad news to the local producers whose works have not been Americanized yet.

Americanization in Asia

The discourse of transnationalism, as Mihăilă (2011) further explained, does not put its emphasis on the homogenization of American culture as international culture but also on the interaction between local and global culture which later produces heterogeneity. Borrowing the term of polarization, we may come to the categories of Western and non-Western as Edward Said has introduced through his influential work, *Orientalism*. Polarization, as Holton (2000) explained, concerns the global cultures divided into two powerful categories, in which it is connected through history and power. The category of Western and non-Western (the West and the East) may be identified by distinguishing its cultural portrayal. It is quite apparent to acknowledge how the production of Netflix and the cultural division of Netflix series are more visible for Asia, taking an example of Netflix series categorization for specific countries such as Chinese, Korean, and Southeast Asian. At the same time, Europe only has British – putting other European series mixed with American series.

This is where heterogenization of Netflix is most likely to occur under the two divisions of polarization. While Americanization successfully 'colonize' the European production houses, the Asian production houses managed to be different from the Western production by maintaining their local culture. From this, Netflix Originals produced by Asian production houses appear to be culturally distinct from the European production. Aside from the significantly different language and place setting, portrayal

such as food, cultural behavior and manner, and fundamentally cultural values employed by Asian communities are very much apparent in the movies or series. In this context, the term 'local' for Asian culture is exposed by Netflix to the global audience and the form of interaction between local and global seems to be more obvious than the European products. Indeed, this argument may be obvious as Asian cultures themselves is more diverse than the European cultures and that historical European movies or series are as interesting as historical Asian ones. However, knowing that the Asian produced content needs a very strong interaction with the global culture in order to be attractive in the eyes of the global consumers – the Westerners and the Americans – and to exist in the global market, it should not be blatantly ignored that there is an effort of Asian production houses in collaborating the local culture and global culture at once.

The global culture appearing in Asian products may be easily identified through the rapid increase of Korean drama on Netflix. Ju (2019) has conducted a research on American viewer's reception of K-drama on Netflix. While the viewers may have a sense of connection and representation to Asian culture, predominantly the Asian-American audience, there is also the conventional archetype employed by the drama, which is romance. Ju saw the use of Western romance archetype of 'a rich man loving poor woman' to help to gain wider audience and bigger success among the transnational fans. Taking the example of rising popularity for romance K-drama, it may be true that other Western literary archetypes are also employed by the Asian producers to be accepted and easily consumed by the consumers. However, there are also several things that may be different from the Western

archetype, such as the portrayal of male characters to be more femininely and gently handsome instead of using Western's physically strong and powerful figure of a man.

The popularity of Korean drama is rapidly growing from year to year to the global consumers, including before Netflix provides the drama on their platform. There is, in fact, a reasonable cause to the popularity of Korean drama to the global consumers, where Americanization is deeply embedded in contemporary South Korean life due to the close relationship between the United States and South Korea after World War II and after the Korean Financial Crisis in 1997. Both globalization and Americanization has affected many South Korean's life, such as emphasizing the importance of English in education. English is becoming important to seek the economic advancement to which many transnational companies in South Korea require them to be able to speak English. This is where the English learning also means to the understanding of American cultural values (Park, 2009). The American values, therefore, are deeply embedded in the lifestyle of the South Koreans, especially to the youths on which it often focuses to. This also means that the wide popularity of K-drama itself is elevated by the existence of American values, or even American lifestyle to be the 'foundation' of the drama, which global consumers can easily enjoy.

This application of Americanization shows the best form of cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism done by Netflix is identified by the unequal flow of culture from the dominant culture to the dominated, in which this American culture is strongly associated with the economic and political

hegemony to spread the American consumerist ideology (Iwabuchi, 2002). This also shows the unequal relationship of America as the West and the others, where cultural domination of America and the exploitation of local culture by Americans happen. In the perspective of transnational culture, as Iwabuchi (2002) further explained about what Stuart Hall has termed as 'global mass culture' to characterize the global spread of culture, it seems that the global capitalist does want to absorb the cultural differences from all cultures within the concept of American to operate and dominate the world. This concept of hybridity of the local culture to the dominating culture implies how the local culture cannot be fully recognized or gain an influencing power without the help of Americanization. This is also in line with what Sklair has listed in the discussion of transnational company in the globalization, homogenization, and hybridization which is produced by globalization through transnational company is oriented on the capitalism merely for profit, while at the same time may destroy or sustain a certain culture as the 'side effect.' Thus, the participation of Netflix as the 'global TV network' itself fully plays the role of cultural imperialism; they control over the foreign market, foreign investment, and foreign participation as the main resource to the company, as well as creating a new market for them (Ritzer, 2011). What is being stressed in the controlling of the foreign culture's participation in the Netflix products is that the use of Americanization gives the producers more options, whether to put the foreign culture in the product or to modify the foreign culture to make it more appealing to the audiences.

Rather than imposing a totally foreign cultural product, they demonstrate intent in satisfying audiences with products

adapted to their needs and demands. Rather than classic imperialism, we find asymmetrical interdependence. Within a world capitalist system, we find national and regional media firms gaining considerable market power against the giant global firms that entered the local markets via satellite and cable television technologies. (Straubhaar & Duarte, 2005)

Lastly, looking back to the local television within globalization, they still had the power to attract local audiences with local content in the previous decades. In such cases, local production houses focus on understanding the deep cultural demands of their local audience and making global television to be 'unsuccessful' in several places. However, as much as Straubhaar & Duarte saw this phenomenon before the rise of SVOD in the global market, there seems to be a change in the interest of local production houses that they do not entirely target local audiences any longer. The availability of locally produced series in Netflix will increase their work to be visible, and thus, to be more profitable. This causes local producers to turn their face to the global audience rather than the local audience, collaborating with the American archetype in favor of the global audience's demand. Again, Aguiar & Waldfogel's (2017) fear of Netflix's power over the local producers that have not been Americanized yet seems to realize as technology advancement grows along with Netflix as a 'global TV network.'

CONCLUSION

As it has been long discussed, the questions proposed in the introduction are answered in a more complex way. Netflix, as a global company as well as a transnational capitalist, successfully put the cultural diversity as their top priority of their products. However, the portrayal of cultural diversity

emphasizes American multiculturalism and highlights the inauthenticity of the non-American culture. The Americanization of non-American series indicates cultural power domination. Americanization takes place because of two factors. First, it is targeted to the American audience as the largest group of Netflix customers. Second, it makes the content to be 'universally' accepted worldwide as the world is already more familiar with the American culture than with any other culture. With that said, cultural diversity, as Netflix shows, is a practice of cultural imperialism as it is in favor of the American audience in its attempts to attract more cultural groups from all over the world for profit. The claim of a 'global TV network' itself does not leave the American cultural power; instead, they are taking advantage of the cultural power to retain the existing audiences and fascinate more audiences.

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THE PORTRAYAL OF A KOREAN ADOPTEE'S EXPERIENCE IN NICOLE CHUNG'S
ALL YOU CAN EVER KNOW: A MEMOIR OF ADOPTION

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ABSTRACT

Transnational adoption has become one of the factors of transnational migration to Western countries, including America. Transnational adoption can be viewed from at least two perspectives, South Korea as the origin country and America as the targeted country. From the birth country, transnational adoption becomes a way to help the children from poverty, have a better future, and contribute to the birth country when they return. From the adoption-targeted country, this adoption is a humanitarian way to save the children from poverty, primitive way of life, and God's blessing. One of the countries which regularly "send" the children to Western countries is South Korea. The children become Korean adoptees and mostly living in white American neighborhoods. Living with white Americans has shaped the Korean adoptees' behavior and way of thinking same as Americans. Korean adoptees face various problems, starting from adjusting themselves in new environment, finding their cultural roots and identity, and struggling to find their biological parents. This study employed Phinnes' ethnic identity development to make sense of the experience of a Korean adoptee called Nicole Chung in her memoir, *All You Can Ever Know: A Memoir of Adoption*. Through the discussion, it can be understood how transnational adoption programs become national agenda and big business field since it is not expensive to have children from other countries. There is also an assumption that the children will have better and happier life when they are taken to America and other western countries. However, throughout their life as adopted children in America, the children also find difficulties, especially in finding their identity.

Keywords: *America; identity; Korean adoptee; transnational adoption*

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INTRODUCTION

Transnational adoption is a term that describes the phenomenon of the adoption process across national borders. This

phenomenon creates a significant social dynamic between two or more nation-states. The adoption process started in the 1950s through the 1970s. It established substantial political and social relationships between the

United States in America (Kim, 2007). The relation after between the U.S. and Korea are unequal because of U.S military power occupied Korea. America made a narrative that the orphan children, who were left by their parents in Korea, as “rejected” and “improper.” Thus, America rescued Korean children under adoption programs and let them stay with American families to make them have a better life. Since 1953, about 150.000 Korean children have been adopted to 15 Western countries and pointed as the most significant international worldwide. International adoption of Korea is acknowledged as legal as supported by the legal constitution (Kim, 2007). The recent international adaptation refers to the movement of non-white children from developing countries to dominantly white countries after the Korean War is continuing with Korea. The host countries develop what has been seen as the symbol of Western dependency.

This paper focuses on the U.S as one of the host countries for adoptees from Korea and several developing countries such as Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, Colombia, Chile, and Guatemala. Korean adoptees are portrayed in Korean local media as an orphan who was abandoned by their birth family and nation. Such portrayals remind South Korean people of a third-world country in the past (Hübinette, 2004). According to Volkman (in Kim, 2007), transnational adoption is not a one-way journey but an ongoing, unfolding process, crisscrossing flows in multiple directions, both in real and virtual space. Dashesky (in Hübinette, 2004) argues that for Korean adoptees, they live with two main elements in their life, being Korean by race and Western by culture. Most Korean adoptees fall into the “Victim Diaspora”, which means an

involuntary displacement caused by catastrophic and traumatic events. Hübinette also added that Korean adoptees are communities that transcend race, citizenship, language, religion, and culture. The adopted children will assimilate with their host families, learn the new language, values, religion, and culture. Each of them shares one similarity, which is born in Korea and grows in Western countries. When describing Korean adoptee identity, Kim (2007) states that it is a sense of collective identity and relationship beyond the biological or adoptive family. Each adoptee has their own life stories, history, and kinship between their individual and collective identities as Korean adoptees. The kinship is not naturally existing, but it is a result of social practice and cultural representation. The adoptees try to fit in in their new environment and even face suppression because of their racial differences within their new family and community.

As Kim (2007) explains, the official institution refers to the adoptees as cultural ambassadors from their country. The adoptees function as a bridge between Korea and Western countries. From the Western perspective, international adaptation is seen as a form of a humanitarian act that aims to help the orphan of war or abandonment. From a Korean perspective, the children become their asset for the future when they return to Korea. For the adoptee transferred host countries, especially the United States, there are some processes that must be followed. Before the adaptation, the children must have “orphan status” as a prerequisite in adopting based on American immigration law. The children are eligible to adopt if they are left by parents because of the death or the departure of them or through legal relinquishment by at least one parent. The children become exceptional

migrants who get a new family and “reunited” with them in the U.S and they do not have any legal kinship with other people. (Kim, 2007). The birth mother of the soon-to-be adopted children has no legal rights. Once the children are transferred to the adoption agency, the birth mothers lose custody and rights over the children. Their trace will be legally erased. It is an essential requirement for the children to make them considered adoptable by prospective adoptive parents. The previous information is sealed when the children have a new birth certificate. The life of transnational adoptees is often archived in writing, especially memoir. Autobiographical writing gives enough space to deliver both fact and fiction by understanding the story told by the protagonist. The purpose of narrating “I” in autobiographical writing is to design who the agent of the story (Kim, 2007).

A memoir written by Nicole Chung entitled *All You Can Ever Know: A Memoir of Adoption* (2018) is chosen to see how the identity of Korean adoptees is formed in the United States. Nicole Chung was born to Korean parents and given up for adoption at birth, raised by White families. In this memoir, Nicole Chung examined the effect of transnational adoption and growing up as the lone Asian face in her host countries. The exploration to find her true ethnic identity from her childhood until she becomes an adult gives her a new perspective. Transnational adaptation makes the Korean adoptee struggle to accept the value that their host family gives without knowing their root culture. Struggling with the rejection, they get a new neighborhood which not showing the same physical characteristic as they have. The narration of “saving the children,” as stated before, is not entirely true because they feel loss and grief since their identity is taken.

The focus of this paper is to answer how a Korean adoptee's identity and experience portrayed in Chung's *All You Can Ever Know: A Memoir of Adoption*. The transnationalism perspective and transnational immigration theory will be used to answer the research question. To support the analysis, ethnic identity development is used to see how America's environment forms the identity of Nicole Chung as Korean adoptee who spent her entire life in America.

Transnational perspectives provide a deeper understanding of a number of globally contingent social, economic, and political processes, including social movements, governance and politics, terrorism, political violence, and organized crime among others. Transnational migration becomes one of the main topics in this study. Research in this area looks at issues such as the salient interaction with the receiving society's institutions, the migration policies of states, the role of discrimination in limiting access to the institutions of the receiving society's civil society, access to computers within the home and receiving societies, and the costs and other hardships that affect groups of migrants (Kivisto in Levit, 2004). According to Vertovec (in Tedeschi, 2020), transnational is defined as dispositions and practices which have a substantial impact on individual and family life, individual's sense of self and collecting belonging, personal and group memories, the pattern of consumption, collective sociocultural practice, approaches to childrearing and other modes of cultural reproduction. Vertovec also uses a term called “bifocality” to describe how the immigrant maintain their “dual frame of reference” when they compare their situation between their “home” society and their “host” countries. It will result in the feeling of being “here” and

"there," which develops in maintaining themselves when participating in transnational field and conception of self. The immigrants need to maintain their transnational relationship and activities, or they will no longer as "immigrants." Transnational migration defines as process of movement and settlement across international borders where individuals maintain or build networks to their origin country while at the same time keep settling in a new country. The most important point from this definition that the immigrants and their family continue to have relationship with their home countries even they have settled in another country. Transnational migration called the people who made a movement as "transmigrants" which defines the individual who lives their lives simultaneously crossing national borders physically, socially, or politically.

Korean adoptee's identity can be examined through ethnic identity development theory proposed by Phinnes (1989). Ethnic Identity Development focuses on young children when identity development occurs. The young children are still in their early phase in their life and their early stage of socialization and realization. Beyond childhood, the concern of ethnicity shifts from learning a particular ethnic label to understand the significance of a group's membership. After the childhood phase, they will be in the adolescence phase, where they are faced with great changes, such as improved cognitive abilities, having more interaction outside their own community, and more concern about appearance and social life. These factors involve their exploration in finding their ethnic identity development.

There are four main stages of ethnic identity development as follows: The first

phase is called *diffuse*. The individual has little or no exploration of one's ethnicity and doesn't have a clear understanding of the matter. The individual has taken the values without questioning. The individuals in this phase do not have a clear perspective on which one is positive or negative with what they have got. Many adolescences might not have faced the issue of ethnicity in their own lives and may assume that is an unnecessary matter to think of. Individuals in this phase have not engaged in the exploration of their identity. Usually, they live on the basis of their parental value which is made without exploration. The second phase is called *foreclosed* when the individual still little information about one ethnicity, but there is clarity about it. The feeling about particular ethnicity, either positive or negative, depends on the individual's socialization experience. The third phase is called the *moratorium*. In this phase, the individual has evidence of exploration, accompanied by some confusion about the meaning of a particular identity. For the minority adolescent, the search for true identity is showed by making an attempt to clarify their identity. This attempt derived from the feeling to have a better understanding about themselves and people who share the same values with them. This period of exploration of particular ethnic is central to ethnic identity development.

Cross (in Phinnes, 1989) argues that it is derived from a shocking personal or social event that pulls someone from his previous worldview. This event is called an encounter. The exploration can be resulted by growing awareness on the part of minorities of the conflict between the values and attitude of the majority society. The fourth phase is called *Achieved* when the individual has got clear evidence of exploration, secure understanding,

and acceptance of particular ethnicity. The individual feels positive and comfortable with both parts of themselves (being Korean and American). The individual has got clear and confident acceptance as a member of a minority group and replace the negative self-image which obtained in the past. In their journey to find their identity, it is related to their ethnic identity development. According to Phinnes (in Lee, et al., 2010) is the aspect of one's self-concept, which is perceived from awareness and knowledge of membership in an ethnic group. It covers the role of ethnicity in someone's identity and the feeling of group belonging and pride by belonged into a particular ethnic group. When an individual has found their ethnicity, they will perceive certain values and beliefs, behavior engagement related with the tradition with the ethnic group.

Ethnic identity development begins in an individual's early life through socialization and practicing the custom. The development reaches its peak when adolescence when the children start to develop their personal and social identities separate from their parents and family members. The development continues and brings new experience and perspective, also get new roles and responsibilities in their life. Lee also added that the ethnic identity development that occurred in Korean adoptee children becomes complicated because they are confronted with the reality that they are grown in a White family and treated the same as White. Meanwhile, outside their family and community, they will be treated as a minority because physically, they are different. The Korean adoptee often perceived a sense of belonging and rejection in their life journey, and this conflict makes them not want to explore their ethnic root. The adopted parents have a significant role in this phase to help the

children overcome the use in their earlier life (Lee et al., 2010).

Korean adoptees may identify themselves with more than one cultural identity, which is influenced by the socialization process through family, community, and different groups. They struggle to understand themselves and their surroundings. Some will not feel comfortable because of the racial identity and it will bring self-destructive behavior (Baden & Wiley in Fry, 2015). For them, ethnic identity development can become a complicated and emotional journey because they have no contact with their birth parent or their heritage. Even many adoptive parents try their best to educate their adopted children about their root culture, but the children still face the challenge of development (Brodzinky in Hoffman and Pena, 2013). Brodzinky suggests that the adoptee should find a "biological mirror" to ensure the adoptee does not force themselves to feel similar to their adoptive parents. Racial identity development occurs primarily in the family and school experience of children and teenagers phase. Palmae (in Huffman and Pena, 2013) explains that Korean adoptees do not match any of the established racial identity models because they have the unique experience of being people of color growing up in a White household.

Korean adoptees must face the loss and the realization they are given away by their birth parents. Those can trigger anger, aggression, depression, self-image problem, which can affect their identity development. The lost feeling led the adoptees to find their true identity and get rid of their problems. However, some adoptive parents tend to say that their heritage is gone and they will accept the children as the way they are and not encourage them to find their true identity. If

the adoptive parents behave as the substitute of their birth parents, it may cause the vanishing of ethnic identity and heritage and force the adoptee to depend on them for the sake of the family (Bronzinky in Huffman and Pena, 2013). The Korean adoptees, they are not feeling “Asian or Korean enough”. It is influenced by their growing phase in the White community and raised by White parents. They have rare interactions and opportunities about their heritage unless other Korean adoptees introduce and encourage them to explore it.

DISCUSSION

Identity Development

Ethnic identity development occurs in the adolescence phase and is developed through customs, tradition, language, religious practice, and cultural values. Phinnes' stage of ethnic identity development doesn't directly relate to specific ages, but it can occur during the early to late adolescence phase. The first phase of ethnic identity development is called *diffused*; during this stage, the adolescent doesn't understand the sense of ethnic identity. They don't have any clear perspective about their cultural root since they have been living as a member of the dominant culture. In Chung's *All You Can Ever Know*, Nicole (the narrator and main character) has struggled to discover her true identity since her childhood when her surroundings keep asking why she has different features from her white parents. Her parents never tell her about the truth and keep encouraging her as a special child in the family. She got bullied by her classmates, asking her to go back to China, feel unseen and uncomfortable, and no one in her surrounding gives support for her, except her adoptive parents. Korean adoptees often face discrimination when entering their new

neighborhood, trying to do their first socialization. Since they have different features, not resembles s or White, they are placed in.

My classmates, arranged in a semicircle on the woven rug, naturally wanted to know why all of my pictures showed me flanked by my redheaded, freckled white mom and early-graving white dad, though that wasn't what they said—what they said was, “Are those your parents? How come you don't look like them?” (Chung, 2018, p. 15)

Korean adoptees often endure several forms of racism, especially caused by their looks. Their experience facing racism still continues today. They have shared similarities to other Asian ethnic groups because of their shared physical characteristics and not because of their ethnic group membership (Yoo in Kyeong et al., 2017). The second phase is called *foreclosed*. In this phase, Nicole has perceived her identity, but just on a superficial level. She acknowledges her identity as a Korean after told by her adoptive parents and having different features than her peers. However, she tries to be humble and accept those facts.

I feel strangely proud of my heritage. I'd made friends in middle school and high school who liked and accepted me even though I was one of the few Asian kids they knew. Then I had gone off to college and found myself living among huge numbers of fellow Asians; on campus, which soon felt more like home than the town where I had lived all my life, I finally learned how it felt to exist in a space, walk into a classroom, and not be stared at. I loved being just one Asian girl among thousands. Every day, I felt relieved to have found a life where I was no longer surrounded by white people who had no idea what to make of me (Chung, 2018, p. 20).

Nicole learns how to live as a Korean adoptee who lives in America. She needs to embrace her identity without being ashamed of it. On the other side, she needs to adapt to how her surroundings and society works. Showing her existence without fear and ready to have a better life and mingle in broader American society. The third phase is called *moratorium*, when an individual finds evidence of the identity and willing to explore them. In the process of moratorium, an individual often faces confusion when exploring the identity since it is different from what they learn. As an adoptee, Nicole needs extra effort to explore her identity as Korean and often gets cultural confusion compared with her recent way of life.

Why hadn't my parents raised me in a place like *this*? When I asked if we could move back here, I'm sure they thought I was kidding, but I wasn't. The seed of an idea, strange and hopeful, had been planted in my mind: there were real places, not far off in Korea, but here in my own country, where I could be just another face in the crowd (Chung, 2018, p. 36).

As a Korean, Nicole wished to live in a Korean neighborhood, even in America. She thought if she had lived there, she would have had a better understanding of her Korean root and not had a worry when mingling in her surroundings because everyone would have recognized her as Korean American without judging her. With her condition, Nicole is just a different person in a strange place.

The fourth phase is called achieved when an individual has a clear finding of identity and self-acceptance. Nicole's journey to accept her identity as a Korean adoptee was perceived together with her journey finding her Korean birth parents. Meeting her birth father is a

blessing for her; even though she does not understand a whole Korean language, her birth family still supports her and recognizes her as their child.

My Korean family spoke a language I couldn't and shared a history of which I had never been a part, but here, surrounded by signs and symbols of my adopted faith, I was the one who felt most at home. Everyone watched me light a candle, one among rows flickering votives, each one representing a prayer. As I recited a silent Hail Mary, I thought about two healthy babies, their names and their lives still unknown, part of the nineteenth generation since their oldest ancestor (Chung, 2018, p. 161).

As stated by Nelson (in Lee, 2010), racial isolation might prevent the identification of the adoptee. The barrier is made by the closest person, the adoptive family, which organizes the adoptee to adapt to a new environment rather than introduce their real heritage, such as went to public school and go to the white-dominant church. The adoptees do not have many choices other than following what the adoptive parents ask them to do and being "White." In fact, when trying to do socialization in a new neighborhood, they are placed as a minority by society. It can be seen from Nicole's perspective on how her adoptive parents treat her as a precious daughter, as a gift in their life:

I was uncertain who I was supposed to be, even as I resisted some of my adoptive relatives' interpretations—both *you're our Asian Princess!* and *of course we don't think of you as Asian*. I believe my adoptive family, for the most part, wanted to ignore the fact that I was the product of people from the other side of the world, unknown foreigners turned Americans. To them, I was not the daughter of these immigrants at all: by adopting me, my parents had made me one of them. My

parents and I almost never talked about race. We didn’t real acknowledge that it mattered. I never called anyone in my family out about their racism (Chung, 2018, p. 17).

Young Koran adoptees who are raised in White Families are often perceived and treated as a member of majority community and culture, by family members, friends, and themselves. They feel comfortable adopting the majority culture and apply it on their daily basis. On the other side, their racial and ethnic minorities still make them the target of racism (Tuan in Kyeong, 2017). According to Phinnes (1989), the family does not give enough encouragement to the adoptees to develop their identity. By placing them in white-dominant families and neighborhoods, they wish they can shape their adoptive children to have a better life. It is called identity foreclosure when parents have made enough effort to help children to overcome this identity crisis in the early stage of their life. Most families choose to deny the race and ethnicity being told in their family, or they just talk about it in superficial way in front of their adoptive child (Berquist in Kyeong, 2017).

Even now, when there is more awareness, more “celebration” of adopted children’s cultures, many parents are not provided with the guidance or resources they need to bring up children of color in white families, white communities, a white supremacist society. To fault only my white parents for not fully understanding the things they were shielded from—first by professionals and later by me—is to miss the larger point: we were and are representative of so many and transcultural adoptions from that era (Chung, 2018, p. 20).

Based on the narration above, the identity which develops by Nicole is an ethnic identity. As Tuan (in Lee, et al., 2010), adopted

individual has problem when they are confronting themselves with the paradox of growing up in White family and community. Getting treated in a white family, make the adoptees as an honorary White, since they have been shaped by the new environment, leaving the past identity behind. Following Nicole’s narration, her journey to find the identity continues to the adolescence phase when she finally realized that there is someone who has similar features to her face. She is aware of her differences between her and her parents and began questioning who she is and why she is different. She begins to believe what her friends said to her is a truth that she does not belong to her recent family and assumes there is a big change in her life.

When I was young I certainly, felt more like a white girl than an Asian one, and sometimes it was shocking to catch a glimpse of my face in the mirror and be forced to catalog the hated differences; to encounter tormentors and former friends and know that what they saw was so at odds with the person I believed I was. Why did I have to look the way I did—like a foreigner; like my birth parents, two people I would never even meet? Why hadn’t my adoption transformed me into the person I felt I was? (Chung, 2018, p. 21)

Adoption Process

As explained by Kim (2007), the adoption process requires orphans who have been left by the parents, either because of death or leaving the household. In fact, the orphans were not necessarily parentless children. The children who are available to adopt can have at least one living parent. Nicole points out in her memoir that her adoption is closed adoption, which no information with the birth parents, contact and completely cut the ties, and the

adoptive parents agree to not have contact with the birth parents.

All parties agreed to a closed adoption, with no information exchanged and no further contact planned. *Boilerplate*, the lawyer would later call it. With no outlandish requests on either side, paperwork moved along at an impressive clip. Officially it was deemed a “special-needs adoption,” and no one wanted to force a vulnerable child to spend weeks or months in temporary care. By law, the placement could not be finalized for a full six months, but the adoptive parents could get custody upon the child’s release from the hospital (Chung, 2018, p. 150).

In order to have an adopted child, the applicant (future adoptive parents) is required to have enough money to finish the adaptation process. According to New Beginning (2020), an international adoption agency, the cost to adopt children from South Korea is about \$42,545 to \$45,845. For Nicole's cases, her adoption is not held by a big agency. However, her adoption process is quite personal, just through a facilitator named Liz and an attorney named Katty. It is shown that Nicole's adoptive parent just asked for a small amount of money compare to recent adoption fees, as stated in the quotation below:

The birth parents had asked if the new parents could cover some of the girl’s medical bills. The requested portion amounted to less than three thousand dollars. Compared to most infant adoptions, it was a real bargain (Chung, 2018, p. 58).

Nicole’s birth parents are coming from Korea who settled in America and attempted to open a small business. They haven't made much money and got the news that their third baby, Nicole, is not in good condition. Nicole's birth parents finally decided to let the baby be adopted by another family as long as they can

take care of her. Since it is a closed adoption, not much information was gathered by them. The attorney has agreed not to tell the detail to Nicole's adoptive parents since they do not have the intention to share their confidential information. It is shown on Nicole's narration when telling about her adoptive family's story:

The social worker didn’t call the birth parents by their names, first or last, when referring to them—“The family name is unpronounceable!” she insisted—and made no effort to hide how confused she was. The birth parents were married; they had a stable, if not enormously profitable family business (Chung, 2018, p. 60).

Based on South Korean adoptive laws, South Korean parents who wanted to give up their children were obliged to give adoption agencies written consent. However, there were circumstances where either false information was given or no records were provided. There are circumstances applied in this process. Their previous information and data will be kept by the adoption agency, and their relation with the birth parents will be vanished legally since the birth parents lose the right of the children. The birth parents' information also will be kept and will be available if the children are willing to “meet” their parents one day (Burwell, 2018).

CONCLUSION

Transnational adoption has impacted American Society since its first initiated in 1950s until today. By bring humanitarian act, United States become the savior for the children who left behind because of war, poor, or losing their parents. Taking the children to America and other western countries believed that the children would have better and happier life than their home country. South Korea becomes one of the sources of transnational adoptee which provides children to be adopted

by a family who has a good intention in caring for children. Transnational adoption can be a solution for a family to have a child and become a new home for future adoptees. In fact, transnational adoption programs have become national agenda and big business field since it is not expensive to have a child from other countries. Nicole Chung, in her memoir, “*All You Can Ever Know*,” gives a perspective on how a Korean Adoptee faces identity development, discrimination and find out how the adoption process occurred. Korean adoptee has been part of American society and they have right to embrace their heritage as part of their identity. The identity process is examined through Phinnes’ ethnic identity development theory. Nicole Chung’s identity development could be traced from her adolescence period. As a Korean adoptee who lived in White surrounding since an infant, Nicole Chung struggles to understand about the reason beyond her adoption and the Korean heritage. Through four stages of development (diffused, foreclosed, moratorium, and achieved), Nicole Chung perceives herself and identity acceptance while knowing the truth about her adoption.

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BOAZ HAGIN'S PHILOSOPHY OF DEATH AS REFLECTED IN *THE HUNGER GAMES* TRILOGY FILMS

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ABSTRACT

The Hunger Games is one of Hollywood films that contains deaths and deadly scenes throughout its trilogy. There are plenteous meanings of deaths that can be analyzed from the films, which will develop new meanings and definitions of deaths as an interesting topic to discuss. The researcher employed Boaz Hagin's framework of death because Hagin provides a framework about deaths and how deaths can be meaningful. In his book, he writes a broader range of philosophical description about deaths in *Classical Hollywood Cinema* which explores the morality and ethical values of mainstream films that portrays death as a meaningful part of life. The research problem is what is the meaning of deaths found in *Hunger Games* using Hagin's framework of deaths. This research was conducted using a descriptive qualitative approach aiming at describing the phenomenon and characteristics. The data collected qualitatively by examining them throughout to get relevant issues and ideas and classify them. The findings show that death can bring meanings to characters in the films, such as a death in line where death means as a savior for their beloved ones, death as politic seen from the characters' past life that brings hope for the future, death as the Access, Authority, and Test, can be seen from how the characters use their talent to survive.

Keywords: *Boaz Hagin; death; death films; philosophy of death; The Hunger Games trilogy films*

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INTRODUCTION

Death is mysterious, and that is why death is interesting to discuss. Death itself is something inevitable that happens to every living creature, including human beings. Death itself, unlike many philosophical and religious ideas, affects each other as the encounter of the death of the loved ones, the famous ones, or those the hated ones. In broadest terms, a person is likely to first encounter death as the death of others, for example, the death of a neighbor, which bring little impacts, or the death of family or idol, which creates serious impacts and a high degree of emotion over the death (Davis, 2005, p. 15-16).

The attitudes towards death have also been discussed by many researchers for years. As Kubler-Ross mention in her book, people’s attitude toward death is influenced by who died, the causes of the death, and how he dying people faced their death (2009: 25). According to Adkins, there are many phenomena that drive death, such as diseases, accidents, natural disasters, wars, medicines, technologies, and even suicides. The terrifying death, such as the loss of a beloved person because of wars or murders, leads to mourning and melancholic situation that cannot be accepted by the lost person or family (2007, p. 1-3). Whatever the cause, every living creature will face death. Some may live longer than others, and some may live shorter than others. All living creature will maintain their lives, try to elude themselves from death, or keep at the distance from death even though it is an assured thing that death is without doubt and unstoppable.

Furthermore, according to sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, death is seen as the most

trustworthy experience in human life; death remains inexplicable and unknown. People, therefore, need to encounter the death experience in other ways, such as by watching and following the death of others, as well as with the help of fiction, imagining how it will feel (Bauman, 1992). The German philosopher and literary critic Walter Benjamin was another scholar who claimed that what we seek in fiction is the knowledge of death that is denied to us in real life. Literature can provide us with ways of approaching death and imagining it from different perspectives. Some literary genres (elegies, lamentations) are intentionally written as reactions to the loss of a loved object or a person, and literature can act as consolation to those who are suffering (Hakola and Sari Kivistö, 2014, p. 10).

Interestingly, the attitudes in giving meaning towards death have been changing from time to time. As Aries (1976) mentioned in his book that people have dynamic changing in interpreting and giving meaning to death. Started from the oldest and the longest, people were aware of death; everybody shall all die. Death was desirable, people dead in bed and surrounded by the family, and they brought children to the death chamber to say farewell to the dying person. In the twelfth century, people gave the meaning of death in one's death; death had become a more important event; more thought was given to it. In the 1800s, a new definition was given to death in western societies; death was no longer desirable, everybody was less concerned about their death or even other people's death. In the nineteenth century, death was accepted in greater difficulty than in the past; it was also known as the mourning era (1976, p. 55-58).

One of the American authors who write a story that contains numerous meanings of death and also the assorted drives to death is Suzanne Collins. She is well-known for her trilogy novel entitled *The Hunger Games*, *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*, *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay*. These novels have been adapted into films which reached huge enthusiasm from many audiences all over the world. The first sequel was the third-largest of any movie in North America after *Avatar*, which is in the first place (Whited, 2012, p. 329). In the films, we can analyze more about how death can be meaningful or even meaningless seen from its storylines and scenes.

The story of *The Hunger Games* trilogy tells about the dystopian nation called Panem, which consists of wealthy people, glamorous capitol, and ruled by an evil regime President Snow who rules for twelve more impoverished districts. He enforces a game as the punishment for all districts for a past rebellion and as a way to quell social disturbance by commanding each district to provide two tributes, one boy and one girl between the ages of 12 and 18 selected by lottery (the reaping) every year as the representation from the districts to compete in the television on blood sport; they must fight to the death in a vast arena, with the sole survivor rewarded with fame and wealth.

In the game, there are many death pictures, starting from the most terrible death until the glorious death. Each of the tributes must survive themselves to stay alive in the game by murdering other tributes until she or he becomes the last person standing in an atomic plane and go back to Capitol. The bloodshed happens every time and everywhere, cheating, disaster, and much

violence filling the game. The last sequel still provides much violence with bloodshed everywhere. Basically, the main theme of death in the films is still dominant, and what are the drives toward death are also depicted in the films continuously. The deaths in the film have many meanings that we can analyze. For example, the death itself in the film represents capitalism tendency; superpower rules the subordinate where the president Snow forces each district to send two "tributes" to the game, where specifically, it is just a game for rich people to entertain them by playing death.

Based on the starting point above, here, the writer wants to analyze the death in *The Hunger Games* trilogy films to find the meaning of death reflected in the films. Here, in keeping away from broad discussion, this research is limited to make more profound research and more comprehensive analysis. Based on the reasons above, the researcher deals with the research question of what is the meaning of death in *The Hunger Games* trilogy film; *The Hunger Games*, *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*, *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* using Boaz Hagin's framework on death in Classical Hollywood Cinema. The objective of the research is to find the meaning of death reflected in *The Hunger Games* trilogy film. The significance of the research is to give knowledge and information for academic students to find the meaning of death using Hagin's framework of death in *Classical Hollywood Cinema*.

The descriptive qualitative approach was used in writing and gathering the information and (Creswell, 2009: 186). In collecting the data, three steps were taken; watching the movie several times, then taking notes during the watching and interpreting or analyzing. In the writing process, the library research method was

used to collect the data and information about the topic of the analysis (Krippendorf, 1981, p. 21).

Using Hagin's framework of death in *Classical Hollywood Cinema* book, this discussion will analyze the meaning of death started from the death on the line, a rehearsal death, access, authority, and test, the killability test, sublating death, obstacles and goals, desiring death, and retaining the death and how each of the death is explained thought out the deaths in *The Hunger Game* trilogy films.

Boaz Hagin is a senior lecturer at the Department of Film and Television, Tel Aviv University, and was visiting scholar at NYU. He writes a book entitled *Death in Classical Hollywood Cinema* (2010). In his book, he writes a broader range of philosophical description about death in *Classical Hollywood Cinema* which explores the morality and ethical values of mainstream films that portrays death as a meaningful part of life. He provides challenges and constraints for making death meaningful characterized by a causal, linear, individual-driven narrative and excessive melodramatic spectacles (Sterritt, 2011, p. 78-79). In his book, Hagin describes many frameworks of death that can be used to analyze the meaning of death in films. For example, Death on the Line underlines how death can be meaningful in philosophy by making a connection between morality and time.

He provides some films as an example in order to construct the various concepts or ways of thinking about death as meaning in Classical Hollywood Cinema (Amstrong, 2011, p. 126). In Hollywood narrative, which centered on causality, consequence, psychological motivations, and the drive toward overcoming obstacles and achieving

goals, Hagin gives an explanation on how death can be meaningfully in functions in relation to events that come before or after it in a personal linear causal storyline.

This research employs Hagin's framework of deaths because Hagin uses films, especially Hollywood films, as examples for his theory. Hagin found death meaning patterns in Hollywood film production which have similar meanings both towards the characters or stories projected in the films. The films can also be animation films and cartoons. Therefore, as one of the popular or mainstream films in Hollywood which projects deaths and deadly scenes throughout the entire story, *Hunger Games* films, this research applying Hagin's framework of deaths to analyze the meaning of deaths in *Hunger Games* trilogy films.

DISCUSSION

The researcher found numerous scenes in *The Hunger Games* trilogy films that reflect how death can be meaningful using Hagin's framework of death in *Classical Hollywood Cinema*. He provides some films as an example in order to construct the various concepts or ways of thinking about death as meaning in Classical Hollywood Cinema (Amstrong, 2011, p. 126). In his book, he writes a broader range of philosophical description about death which explores the morality and ethical values of mainstream films that portrays death as a meaningful part of life. He also provides challenges and constraints for making death meaningful characterized by a causal, linear, individual-driven narrative and excessive melodramatic spectacles (Sterritt, 2011, p. 78-79).

Death on the Line

In this discussion, the researcher analyzed how death can be meaningful in philosophy by making a connection between mortality and time started from Death on the Line. Here, Death on the Line can be found in *The Hunger Games* scene where Katniss Everdeen has to deal with the games to protect her district, district twelve, from destruction. The past rebellion by all districts, including Katniss district, caused many dead people to encourage Katniss to win the game and save the district from Panem's punishment instead of saving her own family, Prim and her mother. Here, what Hagin tries to say by coining death on the Line is that the connection between death and time creates new meaning on death which is the eagerness to stay alive and motivate the characters, especially the protagonist ones. As Hagin mentioned in his book that death in line could be meaningful because it functions in relation to events that come before and after it in a personal linear causal storyline (2010, p. 04-05).

The morality value here lies in how the death from the past can save the death of the living people in the future. The next scene in *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire* where a great number of people from all districts gather to unite a rebellion by exploding the main bridge of the Capitol, which contains the main electricity supplies to paralyze the system of Panem can help the rescuer armies entering the main building to evacuate Peeta and other tributes. Here, even though the rebellions died for the explosion, yet their death can open huge change for revolution and freedom for everybody in the districts. The psychological motivation by Katniss in remembering his father's death also leads her

to start acting as Mockingjay as the symbol of rebellion to destroy the Capitol and start a new life with the new Panem. Here, Hagin also stated that death needs to be meaningful not only by being a cause and or effect within a linear or individual-driven storyline. It also needs to be justified (p. 06-07).

In the *Politics of Death*, we can see through the general view of the films how death can be meaningful in relation to the political interest seen from Katniss and all the members of the new district thirteen to start a new revolution by destroying President Snow's reign and creating new Panem. In the *Politics of Death*, Hagin writes how death can be meaningful in relation to the political interest provided in the films. Death can reveal a hidden truth; for example, the death of one person reveals the truth about the justice that does not appear before it (2010, p. 08). Interestingly, at the end of the trilogy film, there was a scene where Katniss, as the main character who was supposed to kill Snow for his demonic crimes, actually shot President Alma Coin to death because Katniss found the truth that the new president would bring their life into the worst disaster.

Moreover, the death of numerous people in almost all districts triggers the rebellious capitol to take revenge on the Capitol. Meanwhile, the political interest provided in the film can be seen through the initials of *The Hunger Games* itself, where the game has a purpose for the enemy, which is the Capitol, to take control of the twelve districts to comply with the Capitol's system. *The Hunger Games* itself created as punishment for the uprising from the twelve districts in the past, each of the twelve districts must provide one girl and one boy, called tributes, to participate. For several weeks, the competitors must fight to

the death. The last tribute standing wins. The death from the lost tribute is aimed as the symbol of the Capitol for their power and dominance. This reason behind the game created by the Capitol itself is already a political symbol from the superpower Capitol to all colonized districts and acts as means of power control. Therefore, deaths, as resulted during this game, can also be categorized as politics of death.

A Rehearsal of Death

This death is meaningful not by changing what has already happened but by revealing it. Death can be the key to gain knowledge (2010: 12-13). Hagin provides the example where the death of someone can reveal knowledge about medical education, especially surgery. It can help in developing technologies for the sake of humanity. In the film, the characters of Beetee Latier and Wiress have made many attempts to prove their theory that the arena was built by man, not the real world. Even though their hypothesis took many deaths of their friends, they managed to find the technology behind the game arena and together fought with the main character by the end of the story. This proves that death can reveal technology and hidden truth for the sake of humanity.

Another definition of death as the rehearsal of death can be seen when the main characters decided to end their lives than killing each other to decide the winner. The decision by both characters to eat poisonous berries can be symbolized as the way to reach freedom, both died, or the way to trick the Capitol to reveal what stages the characters would face next. In response, rather than being humiliated in front of the districts, the Capitol allows the couple to win together. The other

districts watching the Games have now witnessed an act of rebellion, a new hope for freedom and peace. This rehearsal of death, by simply definition, is death that gives freedom from what entangled them in order to be free; in other words, death a pleasure and sincere act of killing themselves.

The rehearsal death also can be seen in the third sequel, *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1*, which depicts Katniss revolution against the Capitol and President Snow. The insurgents by district 13 pointed to Katniss as the symbol of their rebellion. *The Hunger Games* turns into an act of rebellion where many people died both from the insurgents and the Capitol. Here, there was a scene where Peeta was forced to make an interview aired lively to stop Katniss rebellion. Peeta, with his chance aired on TV, foisted information pointed to Katniss that the Capitol has the plan to destroy district 13 and have known their coordinate. By airing this information, Peeta was ready for his death and punishment from the Capitol. But, for this braveness, all the people in district 13 were saved and could escape from the massive and explosive attack.

Access, Authority, and Test

Hagin mentioned that death could bring about a shift from ignorance to knowledge. It can be a discovery of new information or the disclosure of a secret (2010, p. 13). How the death can be meaningful in the shifting from ignorance to knowledge and also as a test can be found in *The Hunger Games* scene where Peeta was hunting meals alone for his living and Katniss. He found berries called Nightlock, and he was not aware of that poisoned berries which can drive anyone to death in a minute from eating it until Katniss

came shouting at him to do not eat the berries and show the dead body of the girl from district nine. Katniss showed him the girl's mouth, surrounded by berries, and Peeta later knows that his life was just saved by Katniss' outstanding knowledge. The death of the other tribute caused by poisoned berries gained Peeta's knowledge in differentiating the food which can and cannot be consumed. In this case, Peeta was saved from death by Katniss for her knowledge. In some cases, death can simply be a fatal result of acting in a way that enables one to gain knowledge.

As the result of a test, death is meant to measure the correct or incorrect hypothesis. The researcher found the scene in *The Hunger Game* where Katniss and Peeta were informed by their mentor, Haymitch, to do not to set the fire in the arena. Haymitch did not explain why setting a fire is not allowed during the game in any situation until Katniss found herself seeing fire smoke from the top of the tree and heard a girl's screaming; presumably, she was killed by other tributes. Here, the death of the lost tribute can measure the hypothesis of whether Haymitch's suggestion was correct or not if setting a fire can cause deadly consequences for the tributes. Katniss learned the result of the test and the death of the lost tribute could save her life.

Hagin also mentioned that some forms of knowledge could be discovered through practices, even, or especially, if that might have deadly consequences. This can be seen almost through all the entire actions while playing the game in the arena. It can be said that only the one(s) who have knowledge or at least have the intention to learn is the one(s) who will stay alive and escape from death.

The Killability Test

Hagin portrays how death can bring enlightenment; from ignorance to knowledge. Death can also be the fatal result of acting in a way that enables people to gain knowledge. Death is used as a result of a test (2010, p. 12-13). The scene where the tributes arrived for the first time in the arena in *The Hunger Games* shows the meaning of death as the killability test. There were thirteen tributes died for their killability because they cannot defend themselves from other tributes' attack; the lost tributes from districts three, four, seven, eight, and nine cannot maintain or survive with the condition and situation; they cannot help themselves and perish for their weaknesses. In the next scene from *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*, the Killability test also showed when Katniss's opposite allies attack and destroy Katniss' grandstand. They were finally killed by Katniss's allies. The opposite allies cannot cooperate and incapable of changing to form a rebellion and escape from the bloody game; thus, they deserve to get punishment.

During almost all the scenes in the movies performed death as means of killability test. This killability test also shows how people cannot maintain or survive with the condition and situation; they cannot help themselves and perish for their weaknesses. This is to test that they have already proven that they are incapable of changing (2010, p. 26-27).

In the killability test, death is meaningful in relation to the past by killing or destroying someone who could not be stopped and deserves to get punished. This death is intended for people who refuse to leave their evil ways, as seen from the character of President Snow. He becomes the target of the

protagonist to kill. The death of this evil character reflects how death can be meaningful by relating the past tragic experience to pursue freedom. Although this seems ironic, hence this definition of death cannot be put aside from the reality in the movies.

The death of President Snow at the end in the scene *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay* as the killability test is strongly influenced by the character by him who was someone who cannot be stopped for his brutality, cruelty, and malignancy. He caused many people to die in *The Hunger Games*, killed innocent people in a great number; children and women, young and old, and destroyed the districts into ashes mercilessly. In fact, the killability is not only for President Snow but also for all the people in Capitol who support his ruthlessness are worthy of being killed. Here, death is meaningful in relation to the past is shown by the death of people who could not be stopped, refuse to leave the evil ways, cannot maintain or survived with the condition and situation, and are incapable of changing; thus, they deserve to be punished.

Subletting Death

Hagin mentioned that mostly Hollywood cinemas are based on causality through the actions of individuals; losing a character mid-story can put a terrible burden on the narrative and incur difficulties, challenges, and strains to the individual-driven storyline. Moreover, in fact, the living character is also affected by death (2010, p. 45). The death of Rue from district eleven in the scene of *The Hunger Games* brings impact to Tresh as her partner from the same district kills Cato's girl for murdering Rue. Later, the death of Tresh and Rue brings impact to the living characters

such as Katniss and all the people in district eleven to form disobedience to the Capitol. For Katniss herself, she was motivated to take revenge on the tributes that killed Rue sadistically. On the other hand, the narration of Katniss' father's death also keeps being mentioned from the first film until the last one. The death of Katniss's father brings an impact to her to stay alive, which later makes great differences and chances for many people in the future.

Death can be the issue or reason for someone to stay alive and discuss the bonds that entangle living characters in the death of others and thus enable death to be meaningful in relation to the future as what has been done by the major character in the film, Katniss Everdeen. She is a very strong girl who fights for her family's living, replacing his father's duty that died because of a mining explosion. She volunteers herself to replace her younger sister Prim to involve in the game with Peeta Mellark and enter Capitol to meet the other tributes and gain sponsors in the debut. The subletting death here means that the death of Katniss's father leaves something behind in a way that allows Katniss to continue her progress to the next stages.

The scene in *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire* where Katniss shows the video which is aimed to be aired lively to the remaining districts about the dead people from all over districts and also from a hospital that the Capitol burned into ashes trigger all people in the entire districts to take revenge to the Capitol. The death of numerous people in the past motivates the survival districts to form rebellion and revolution to form new hope; a new Panem where people can live peacefully. Moreover, the death from the people in the past from all districts was still be projecting

until the end of the film as the reminder of President Snow's evil reign, from the Capitol, and from the inhuman Panem. This shows a collective memory which refers to the joint memories held by a community about the past (Hunt, 2010: 97). The relationship between memory with history can bring all the districts to remember what the capitol has done to them. The death of the tributes and all the victims can affect the uprising in the future to get freedom.

Obstacles and Goals

Death is meaningful in relation to the future is shown in *The Hunger Games* when the girl from district one and boy from district ten died for Trackjackers' poison. It happened when Katniss was trapped on top of the tree while Cato's allies were waiting for her down the tree to kill her. Katniss could not escape from them until Rue from district eleven suggested she cut down the Trackjackers on the branch of a tree and attacked Cato's allies down the tree. The Trackjackers are lethal animal which are genetically engineered wasps, whose venom cause severe pain, powerful hallucination and in extreme cause death. Two of them remove the poison. The death of the two tributes remove Katniss's obstacle; therefore, she could continue her struggle to win the game, or to be precise, stay alive. Death in here is centered on causality, consequence, psychological motivations, and the drive toward overcoming obstacles and achieving goals; Hagin gives an explanation on how death can be meaningfully in functions in relation to events that come before or after it in a personal linear causal storyline.

In the scene of *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*, death can be meaningful in

relation to the future in giving advantages to the living people, is proven by the death of Mags for killing herself by confronting the poison fog to remove the obstacle for another living tributes such as Katniss, Peeta, and Finnick. Mags did not want to be a burden to Finnick and friends because she knew that she was too old to stay alive in the game, and killing herself will make Finnick and friends staying alive. Furthermore, the death of Morphlings' bother removed the obstacle for Peeta to stay alive from the deadly monkeys.

In setting a goal, death can be meaningful in relation to the future is shown in the scene of *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay I*, where the death from the entire people in district twelve make a demand on the living, create a new goal for Katniss. Here, Katniss' anger in seeing her people in her hometown died into ashes from the Capitol bombing triggered her to take revenge to the Capitol by agreeing to be Mockingjay as a symbol of rebellion and revolution to destroy the Capitol. This can be seen from Katniss' narration:

“My name is Katniss Everdeen. I am seventeen years old. My home is District 12. There is no District 12. I am the Mockingjay. I brought down the Capitol. President Snow hates me. He killed my sister. Now I will kill him. And then The Hunger Games will be over....”.

Moreover, the death of the refugees in the hospital who were also burned into ashes by the Capitol led her and also all the survival districts to really rethink the existence of President Snow, who has inhuman morality. Katniss and all the survival districts had a new goal which was to destroy President Snow and his Capitol. This is strengthened by Katniss's narration, "Fire is catching! And if we burn, you burn with us!" Furthermore, by the end of the struggle in *The Hunger Games:*

Mockingjay I, the death of the people in the past created a new goal to set a new Panem which can be their new place of hope for a better life in the future. Death as Obstacles and Goals can be meaningful in relation to the future is by giving advantages to the living people by killing the Capitol army, which creates a goal for their freedom. The death of someone removes obstacles to the living person, and the death itself also can help the living person setting or reaching his or her goals (2010, p. 46-47).

Desiring Death

Death can be a desire to reach a goal, and death itself can actually be the goal. The desiring death is when the goal or desire of the living are contradictory or not fully known to them, or in other words, death can be desirable by creating a lack that needs to be filled (2010, p. 53-54). This meaning of death can be found in the scene *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire* when Finnick was already desperate to win the game from many obstacles in the arena such as flash floods, dehydration, poison fog, infection, dangerous animals, and all terrible situations in the arena. Finnick was also desperate to face other tribute's threats for hunting him continuously. But his desperation from all the obstacles led him to always come back to win the game because he wanted to find his girlfriend. He set all the deaths in the area as a goal to be a winner. This meaning of death as a desire to stay alive is strongly influenced by the lack of his life without his loved one.

In another scene, the death of the tributes becomes the goal for Katniss to continue the uprising towards the Capitol and end the game. The desire and goal from her later bring all the death scenes into freedom eventually.

This desire for death is also can be created intentionally by the superpower or the Capitol. They deliberately created the game to create a gap within everyone's heart in the districts to be submissive to them and follow their order. The gap itself was created to form rule and act as the law that needs to be obeyed. Once it is broken, the deaths from the districts cannot be avoided as Hagin stated that in the films, the end must reply to the beginning; the last scene frequently recalls the first and constitutes its resolution (2010, p. 57).

Retaining the Death

In *Retaining the Dead*, Hagin mentions that death needs to bring interest not only for the dead but also for the living in order to be meaningful in relation to the future in a personal causal storyline. A cult or a collectivity is needed for the dead to be retained, to escape their death (2010, p. 66). Here the scene in *The Hunger Games*, Katniss held a simple burial for Rue's dead body because she was still in the game and cannot arrange a deserve burial. Katniss could not bring Rue's dead body to the district but leaving in the arena by putting flowers around Rue's body, and when she left, she pointed tree fingers as a note, the symbol of rebellion, to the aired camera to show how she hated the game and cursed it to everyone outside the arena. The portrait of honoring the dead body in a simple yet beautiful burial shows the bonds that entangle living characters in the death of others. This shows that the social group related to the dead is necessary for death in relation to the future.

A cult or a collectivity is needed for the dead to be retained, to escape their death. Hagin showed this death definition by giving an example in the film *The Grapes of Wrath*

where one member of the family died during the travel; the family seems to be disintegrating and unable to serve its members, as do many other social institutions, the living family still conduct a simple burial for the dead grandfather to honor the dead and leave a note behind (2010, p. 67). This also happened in *The Hunger Game* when Katniss' conducted a speech during the tour to district eleven to show her compassion to the family of the lost tributes "I didn't know Thresh. I only spoke to him once. He could have killed me, but instead, he showed me mercy. That's a debt I'll never be able to repay. I did know Rue. She wasn't just my ally, she was my friend. I see her in the flowers that grow in the meadow by my house. I hear her in a Mockingjay song. I see her in my sister, Prim. She was too young, too gentle. And I couldn't save her. I'm sorry". This beautiful narration shows how she was sorry for cannot save Rue's life and could only arrange a simple burial for her. The simple cult can be memorable to Katniss and to Rue's family to honor Rue's struggle in the *Hunger Game*. This death gives meaning to all the living that deaths can bring hope and a better future for not only all the living but also for the dead soldiers who sacrificed their lives in the arena. As the retaining the death, the death burial by the tribute Rue gives meaning to the death; that there is a cult to retain your memory and a collective who will make the death be remembered as beautiful death.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and discussions in the analysis above, some conclusions can be drawn related to the research questions and objectives of the research, as stated in the introduction part. The researcher found the meaning of death in *The Hunger Games*

trilogy films using Hagin's framework of Death in *Classical Hollywood Cinema*. Started with *Death in Line*, how death can be meaningful in philosophy by making a connection between morality and time can be seen in the scene of *The Hunger Games* when the death from people in district twelve in the past encourages Katniss to struggle to win the game to protect her district from destruction. The morality value lies in how the death from the past can save the death of the living people in the future. For the Politic of Death, we can see how the death of people in the past can trigger the survival people to start a rebellion against the Capitol reign to build a new Capitol.

As the Access, Authority, and Test, death is meaningful in the shifting from ignorance to knowledge and also as a test can be seen in how Katniss and Peeta really understand how to survive in the game using their knowledge that they got from seeing the death of other tributes for eating poison berries and also setting a fire in the arena. The killability test can be seen in the general goal for Katniss. Other people in districts to kill President Snow and all people who support his reign because they could not be stopped, refuse to leave the evil ways, cannot maintain or survived with the condition and situation, and are incapable of changing; therefore, they deserve to get punished, to be killed.

The subletting death can be seen in the scene in *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*, where the death of numerous people in the past motivates the survival districts to form rebellion and revolution to the Capitol. The removing obstacles can be found in the death of Mags to save Finnick and friend in setting their goal to win the game. In the scene of *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay I*, the death of the

entire people in district twelve make a demand on the living, create a new goal for Katniss to agree to be Mockingjay as a symbol of rebellion. The next meaning of death, the Desiring Death, can be found in *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire* scene when Finnick wants to die as the goal of the game. The death itself is the goal of Finnick in the game. In Retaining the Death, Katniss held a simple burial for Rue's dead body because she was still in the game and cannot arrange a deserve burial. Katniss could not bring Rue's dead body to the district but leaving in the arena by putting flowers around Rue's body; death can be meaningful in relation to the future by retaining the death of Rue's body. Overall, the discussion above shows the meaning of death in *The Hunger Games* trilogy films using Hagin's framework of Death in Classical Hollywood Cinema.

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AUDIENCE PERSPECTIVE ON TODD PHILLIPS'S *JOKER* (2019): A LACANIAN PSYCHOANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

The occurrence of American movies which raise psychological issues as part of the main theme often triggers audiences in producing various interpretations. In this respect, the writer chose one of the most popular American movies entitled *Joker* (2019), directed by Todd Phillips. The movie highlights not only social issues but also psychological issues that engage audiences to produce diverse interpretations, including misinterpretations toward the stereotype of people who suffer mental illness. Therefore, the writer aims to analyze further how the audience perceives and evaluates *Joker* (2019). Data collected through audiences' statements in IMDb as an online database of information of films and critical reviews. Psychoanalysis Lacanian: the real, the imaginary, and the symbolic, is applied to comprehending the American audiences response and their interpretations towards *Joker* (2019) movie. The result of study reveals that audiences' diverse life experience and background is actually giving major influence towards their interest, response, and interpretations to *Joker* (2019) movie.

Keywords: *Audience analysis; Jacques Lacan's Psychoanalysis; Joker; psychological issues*

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INTRODUCTION

The interesting part of a movie is allowing the audience to witness the variety of social and cultural phenomena happening in society, including psychological issues. Greenstein (2017) explained that it is becoming increasingly more common for Hollywood to highlight mental health conditions in films. The reason is that mental illness affects

millions of Americans; it is an extremely relatable theme. Thus, it is unsurprising to find the creation of American movies often focused on creating characters who suffer psychological disorders or mental illness. By comprehending the condition of the main character, the audience could perceive the portrayal of an individual's life experience in dealing with diverse psychological issues.

In this respect, the writer chose *Joker* (2019) movie directed by Todd Phillips, as one of the most popular American movies that contained social and psychological issues, which puts the emphasis on psychological phenomenon through the main character's characterization. Furthermore, the emergence of *Joker* (2019) movie is highly attracting many audiences, particularly American society, who could relate the story with their own life experience, which triggers them to acknowledge and interpret mental health issues portrayed within the movie. Travis Langley (2019) states, in his book *The Joker Psychology: Evil Clowns and the Women Who Love Them*, that one of the particular aspects which attract American society to watch the movie is because it is so easy for the audience to project anything onto that adaptable character (p. 27). Henceforth, it seems like the audience has particular diverse perspectives in perceiving the movie, especially in interpreting the story. Thus, it is quite common to find various interpretations produced by audiences, including misinterpretation of the mental illness, which often becomes associated with violence. In this respect, Ken Severson as a writer of an article entitled “*Is ‘Joker’ Dangerous? The Joker Movie Controversy Explained,*” clarified that despite many thematically disturbing elements, the movie itself did not inspire violence, but it is quite the opposite where actually the director Todd Phillips and Scott Silver as the writer trying to convey a message and a depiction of how the setting, the story, and the character within the movie depict a symbol of political violence, injustice, and discrimination overpower domination by the rich people in Gotham city where it is truly happening in today’s context of the society in America. Therefore, the analysis of the audience's misinterpretation is

truly significant because it requires further investigation in acknowledging why and how the text or the movie could direct the audience's consciousness in producing diverse interpretations based on their understanding. According to Vodicka (in Striedter's, 2013: 121) stated that “we always keep in mind not only its existence but also its reception: we must take into account how it is esthetically perceived, interpreted, and evaluated by the reading public. Only if read does the work achieve its esthetic realization, only in this way does it become an esthetic object in the reader's consciousness”. In this respect, in order to comprehend the reader's consciousness in producing diverse interpretations after perceiving the movie or the text, it acquires a theory that is capable of explaining the reader's psychological stages. By implementing the concept of Lacanian psychoanalysis, it can help the process of comprehending the readers' psychological stages, which is concerning their production of diverse interpretations, including their misunderstanding of mental illness within the movie.

Furthermore, in order to reveal how the audience perceives *Joker* (2019) movie and how the movie could affect them in creating a particular interpretation, the writer needs to acquire a proper way of elaborating the main discussion through applying suitable perspective and approach. Thus, this paper is a form of impact/effect study to see how such interrelationship between the audience and the movie is capable of producing the influences toward each other by comprehending the audience interest toward the movie and how the audience produce diverse interpretations could create such a popular image over the creation of *Joker* (2019) movie as part of American popular culture. In this respect, the

writer chooses to perform Cawelti's impact/effect study because it is intended to perceive how the creation of *Joker* (2019) is able to direct the audience to produce various interpretations and how the audience's construction of various interpretations, argument, and discussion affects the popularity of the movie itself. The implication of psychoanalysis by Jacques Lacan is also chosen by the writer as an approach to perceive and understand further related to why American audiences seem to be so interested in *Joker* (2019) movie until it could influence them to produce or construct diverse interpretations.

Moreover, in order to construct relevant arguments, it is very necessary to involve the audience's perspective to perceive and process *Joker* (2019) movie as an object of analysis which sees the audience as an important role in producing interpretation and giving influence over the movie itself. Therefore, quotations from IMDb, which is basically an online database of information related to films, television programs, home videos, video games, and streaming content online – including cast, production crew, and personal biographies, plot summaries, trivia, ratings, and fan, and critical reviews are selected as the primary data of this research. Indeed, to support the argument, the writer applied library research to obtain the acquired data for the paper. According to George (2008, 6), "library research involves identifying and locating sources that provide factual information, personal or expert opinion on a research question; a necessary component of every other research method at some point." Briefly, in the following discussion, the writer is focusing on revealing the facts regarding the reason the audience can show significant interest in the movie and how the movie is

seen by the audience from various perspectives by considering their distinguished circumstances or comprehension toward the story of the movie itself. In order to accomplish the main objective of the paper, the further explanation is elaborated through three stages of Lacan's psychoanalysis which are, *The Real*, *The Imaginary*, and *The Symbolic*.

DISCUSSION

The emergence of *Joker* (2019) movie within society across the globe, especially in the United States of America, affects many audiences in diverse ways. It could be seen through how significant is the construction and production of interpretations by American society in perceiving *Joker* (2019) movie from its released date until now. Based on Wilkinson's survey of the audience's response over the premiere of *Joker* (2019) movie, 64 percent of American society seemed mostly interested in contextually correlating the movie based on their convention, particularly in discussing mental health issues depicted within the movie. Accordingly, there must be a relevant explanation to explain why American audiences show significant interest in the *Joker* (2019) movie and capable of engaging them in producing or constructing diverse interpretations of the movie itself. Surely, psychoanalytic explanations could relate and elaborate the condition of American society as part of the audience in producing interpretations.

Based on Jacques Lacan regarding his thought of psychoanalysis is basically about how the development of a human's psychological state is explained into three stages which are, *The Real*, *The Imaginary*, and *The Symbolic*. By perceiving how

American society eventually likes to watch *Joker* (2019) movie and produce their own interpretations could be understood by correlating their psychological state through elaborating it into three stages of psychoanalysis by Jacques Lacan.

The First Stage of Lacan's Psychoanalysis: *The Real*

Basically, *the real* is explained by Lacan as a primary stage or the natural state of an individual who is going through a phase of fullness or completeness where it focuses only on fulfilling the "needs" of humans. Within this phase, the individual is still unable to recognize themselves as a specific individual with their own identity, and hard to feel loss, emptiness, or lackness during this stage since there is no clear language constructed into their mind. Thus, within this stage, an individual only considers their fulfillment of basic "needs" and is not quite attentive in acknowledging or recognizing everything that happens around them. Their focus only ensures that they will always feel fulfilled and complete physically as a human beings. Accordingly, it is relevant to perceive how American society is also ever going through the stage of only concerning on fulfillment and completeness as natural as it is, even though they are known as an individualistic citizen but their sense of need to be fulfilled is actually a natural phenomenon or process based on Lacan's thought. Moreover, it also makes them experience the phase of eagerness. An individual only wants to do anything that regards their fulfillment, just like in the case of why American society wants to watch *Joker* (2019) movie because it is part of basic fulfillment, particularly a need for entertainment. The following quotation will prove how the audiences of *Joker* (2019)

movie got difficulty coping with the essence of the story but remain capable of enjoying it as an interesting entertainment.

Do not really understand all the tens here. Sure, a good movie, good acting, nice shooting. But the plot is not so intriguing. At times it is really long and somewhat boring. I needed to double-check the genre to see if this is a drama or what. Crime, drama, thriller it said. I would put it maybe 90% in the drama and rest in thriller (Harkap, 9 January 2020).

Based on the statement, it could be perceived how the audience seems to be getting difficulty comprehending the story deeply because when they watch *Joker* (2019) movie, they are not directly aware of what is actually being delivered within the movie, but they remain to enjoy it as entertainment. They are only capable of producing surface or spontaneous interpretation. Thus, the moment when the audience perceives *Joker* (2019), they are hardly capable of producing any coherent interpretations since not all of the audiences could directly understand the implicit messages delivered within the movie, which raises the theme of psychological issues. It is because based on *Harvard Medical School Affiliate's* article related to barriers of mental health among the American community is showing the fact that Americans' awareness toward the urgency of giving more space for mental health discussions openly among the community is quite low. Although, the truth exposes many of the society is actually going through a diverse psychological issue or suffers mental illness unnoticed by the majority of Americans.

Therefore, within this stage of *Real*, the audience is only capable of fulfilling their needs of entertainment through watching *Joker* (2019) movie. The main reason why several

audiences, like the previous example unable to acknowledge “the sense of lack ness” in interpreting the movie is because they merely make the interpretations based on their basic or common insight related to mental illness without having further knowledge about the issue. Moreover, the following statement also proves how the audience could misinterpret the movie because they only can enjoy the movie as entertainment and are considered unnecessarily to be understood deeply. Indeed, it makes the movie seem to finish so early because they are incapable of sensing the atmosphere and excitement transferred from the movie.

While I enjoyed the film, it felt pretty short. When "The End" appeared on the screen I couldn't help but think - "That's it?"

Joaquin Phoenix was fantastic with his new take on the Joker, and it's mesmerizing to see his facial expressions keep changing. And his Joker laugh is unique - sinister and full of Joker's madness (Danteshamest, 3 October 2019).

Through perceiving the statement above, it could be inferred to how within the stage of ‘real’ an individual still only concerns about completing the needs. In this case, it is represented by the audience of *Joker* (2019), who merely concentrates on the need to be entertained by watching the movie. Furthermore, based on the audience's statement above, there is a crucial aspect that needs to be taken into consideration in understanding why Americans unable to interpret *Joker* (2019) movie coherently. They seem to be only capable of enjoying the cinematic features of good performance from the movie or merely feel satisfied with the performance of the actor/actress. One of the main aspects is because, within this stage, they

do not possess enough language or awareness toward mental health issues.

Apparently, not every American is quite knowledgeable and well informed about the discussion of psychological issues, often among their community. Surely, it makes people who do not have the experience or exposure to this kind of issue will possibly find it challenging to be aware of the important messages within the story and what is actually the grand purpose by watching *Joker* (2019) movie toward the audience's life. So, for the audience who only consider *Joker* (2019) movie as an interesting entertainment is truly missing the whole idea, since they are incapable of sensing the atmosphere of solid energy within the story where it lays a strong reminder for everyone, especially the audience to keep their sense of humanity and morality within their lives. The following statement from the audience of *Joker* (2019) is giving an example of how the audience seems to be difficult to comprehend regarding how the occurrence of the movie itself could create such a sensation toward the movie industry and the reason many people put such high appreciation over the movie itself.

I thought this film was good but I just don't get the hype personally. The acting was amazing and the film was good overall but I think 'masterpiece' and 'film of the year' are a bit overused throughout the reviews. In no way did I dislike this film, I thought it was really good, just overhyped. I feel as though a lot of the 10/10 reviews are purely based on the fact that it already has amazing reviews and so people want to carry the praise further and that it is about the Joker (Romanwatson, 6 October 2019).

Based on the statement above, the audience is actually enjoying the movie and feels satisfied too over the movie with the

performance of the acting as well as other elements within the movie, which signaled that the movie is evaluated as an attractive entertainment. However, the audience still wonders why the occurrence of *Joker* (2019) movie is overhyped by other audiences and considers the labeling of the movie as a 'masterpiece' is too much. Basically, this kind of thought could occur among the audience because those who are not quite familiar with or feel related to the movie will perceive the movie from a different perspective. They will only evaluate the movie from the cinematic elements and focus on whether the actors could perform their roles goodly or badly. Henceforth, their distinct concern makes them incapable of producing similar hype with other audiences that have a different focus, particularly in acknowledging the implicit values conveyed within the movie, which is considered as something relatable toward their life experience or their circumstances. On the bottom line, regardless of the audience differences regarding their perspective in evaluating the movie, they are still an audience who perceive the movie as a fulfillment of their need over entertainment. In this case, *Joker* (2019) movie is mostly considered successful enough for most of the audience in entertaining them.

The Second Stage of Lacan's Psychoanalysis: *The Imaginary*

Furthermore, based on Lacan regarded to *the imaginary stage* is where it called a "mirror stage" when an individual started to acknowledge his existence and identify his "I" or self-knowledge through his reflection in the "mirror" that means the interpretation of self-identity is based on the self-imaginary form where its originality of identification is very doubtful because the "mirror" reflecting

distorted image. It makes unreliable identification of self-hood. In this case, by perceiving how the audience is capable of producing a variety of interpretations toward the emergence of *Joker* (2019) movie could be understood that the audience only interprets the movie based on what they see within the movie literally without having supporting insight which supposed to help them to comprehend the movie deeply. Henceforth, for the audience who produce misinterpretation over mental health issues carried out by the main character's behaviors that often perform violence in several scenes makes them construct their own perspective related to how mental illness is always associated with violence.

Conversely, not every category of mental illness is associated with people who tend to commit violence because it requires deeper understanding related to every characteristic and symptom of diverse mental illness to enable us in identifying someone who possibly suffers any particular mental illness. This is the stage where the audience is in *the imaginary stage* when they attempt to interpret *Joker* (2019) movie as a phenomenon of an individual who faces a psychological issue that finds pleasure in committing violence into their basis or personal insight in identifying people who suffer mental illness in reality context. So, when they see the movie, it affects them in the most constructive form of evaluating mental health issues. Even though their interpretations are unable to be accountable fully and probably still considered as "imaginary" perception, but at least that is what they perceived from the movie. Thus, based on the *Guardian Weekly* article written by Anna Driscoll and Mina Husain on October 21st, 2019, explained that portrayals of mental

illness in the film could perpetuate unfounded stereotypes and spread misinformation.

Clearly, the situation of the audience performs misinterpretation too toward the movie, proven by the research done by Damian from the University of Otago in Reynold's article about how films like '*Joker*' could shape attitudes towards mental illness. The results of the research concluded that watching the film did increase negative perceptions of mental illness where the participants start to receive several thoughts in the form of stereotypes over people who suffer a mental illness which tends to perform misperception toward these people. This kind of misperception produced by the audience seems to be influenced by the situation of America as well, where people possess negative stigma over mental illness. According to Parcesepe and Cabassa (2013) stated that the existence of public stigma becomes a pervasive barrier that caused many individuals in the U.S. to receive negative treatment from the public and afraid of having mental health care, where this kind of stigma is associated with a lack of engagement in mental health care and worse treatment outcomes. Therefore, it explained the phenomenon of misinterpretation toward the movie because not only the audience is relying on their own convention in interpreting the movie but also the influence of public stigma toward mental illness. It led them to construct unclear or unreliable interpretations where it happens during the imaginary stage. In addition, this stage is also explained why such diversity of interpretations could occur because there is a "demand" that expects them to be more engaged and active in producing diverse interpretations. In the following statement, it is about one of the audience's perspective toward *Joker* (2019) movie that apparently shows the

audience's incapability to discover the true point of the movie and comprehend the whole idea of the story including the character coherently.

I was expecting a masterpiece and oscar worthy film from all the hype. I actually didn't enjoy watching this movie. There was no message, it was slow and the Joker turned out just to be the son of a schizophrenic and went crazy over a slight amount of bullying. I don't see how anyone could relate to this character and the laughing is lame acting way overdone (Jabberwacky-01459, 17 October 2019).

Based on the statement above, it could be seen how the audience tries to fulfill the '*demand*' by evaluating the movie, but it is not quite deep, which only gives surface evaluation. Clearly, the audience does not have adequate information regarding mental illness. It seems to be unfamiliar with the experience of psychological issues, which led the audience to draw an unfit conclusion about the main character's life. Moreover, the audience had a thought of why the main character should behave overreacting toward the incident of bullying received by him is indeed giving a crucial explanation of how the audience does not comprehend the seriousness of mistreatment from society toward an individual psychologically. Surely, it explains the fact that the barriers of the American community over a discussion of psychological issues are tremendous, which explains why Americans are unaware or insensitive toward this issue. In this case, the audience is merely producing the evaluation toward *Joker* (2019) by relying on personal thought of a general experience that causes them incapable of delivering constructive comment or review over the movie itself. Furthermore, the following statement is also showing almost

similar feedback from the audience regarding the story, especially the main character's condition.

Joaquín Phoenix's unconvincing laughing, and looking like a beaten dog had brutally annoyed me after 5 minutes. The world is mean and bad, and you can only be bad and hit back. Chaos, anarchy, whatever .. inspires by a clown who killed 3 bullies. More of this stupid excess of brutality in the name of... what? Yes. It is the same director as in the hangover 3. I don't want to be a part of this. Brutal and boring. (Pedrovelazquezdiaz, 5 November 2019).

Based on the audience's statement above, it could be understood that how the audience apprehends the movie as an uninteresting story that merely contains too much emphasis on brutality features. The idea of this thought can possibly appear on the audience's mind is because they are still getting in a difficult time to actually figure out the essence of the movie itself, particularly the core value which was tried to be delivered by the director of the movie through the actions of the main character. The audience only can see the movie as a dull storyline because the audience is not putting their deep attention toward the whole idea of the story; they only see the main character's miserable life. In fact, the story is actually much more complex, which covers many relatable situations within the real context of American life. Thus, the portrayal of chaotic situations where there is chaos and anarchy going on in Gotham City as the setting of the movie is actually called a reflection of how several parts of the state in America also experiencing this kind of situation. Clearly, the earlier example where the audience delivered his opinion about the movie is showing how he evaluates the main character's behavior based on his experience living in society's life where it is full of mean and bad things which can

only be encountered by doing the same thing. This is a form of 'imaginary' stage where the audience perceives and evaluates the main character by relying on his capability in reflecting his behavior and even the society over the main character's behavior. Furthermore, the phenomenon of how the audience seems to be missing the whole point of the movie still exists, like the following statement of the audience's opinion about *Joker* (2019).

Somehow the darkest and most serious movies get the highest ratings. People say that this movie is so thrilling and that Joaquin Phoenix deserves an Oscar, but at the end of the day, it wasn't entertainment. There were so many evil moments and dark scenes but what's so good about that? This movie was almost like instructions on how to be a psycho. They flipped the usual idea and boundaries of good and evil for the audience to feel sorry for the bad guy. People seem to think this is a good thing. It's bad! (Paullevantis, 19 October 2019)

The statement of the audience above could be inferred that how the audience reflecting the movie is quite far away from the great concept of *Joker* (2019), which actually conveyed or tried to reflect the glance of the real world where many Americans are struggling to face the harsh and difficult condition within the society. The emergence of people that unfortunately suffer psychological issues is something that they actually do not want to experience it as well within their life. Still, they are stuck in that kind of difficult situation where many people also rarely show positive support or treatment over their condition. In the case of *Joker* (2019) movie, for the audience who thought the movie is dark or nothing but giving bad influence toward the society, particularly promoting the idea of becoming cruel and psycho is showing that the

audience reflecting the movie only what was displayed within the movie literally without having deeper comprehension regarded to how such a movie is created that way or why most of the people assume that the movie deserves to be awarded Oscar. Clearly, the audience is just intended to be part of the movie by constructing their own perspective based on their own reflection or interpretation to fulfill the “demand.” Apparently, not all of the audience could participate coherently in giving the interpretation, since many of them produce misinterpretations over the movie as well by relying on their "reflection" between their personal context or life experience and the context of the movie.

The Third Stage of Lacan’s Psychoanalysis: *The Symbolic*

Clearly, on the stage of *symbolic* based on Lacan’s explanation is actually a phase where an individual starts to enter a language region or refers to social order, values, norms, and other structural aspects that are introduced to people. In addition, within this stage, an individual will be more exposed to logical thoughts and differentiation, which makes them have a desire to be proposed to reality. Within this stage, it explained the reason why the audience of *Joker* (2019) movie could produce an interpretation of misconception toward the phenomenon of mental illness, which is assumed to be associated with violence because they interpret the movie based on what they know and familiar within society. By perceiving the fact that the society is also aware of the existing public stigma over the mental illness, which indirectly makes the perception over individuals who suffer psychological issues commonly remain perceived negatively for a long time.

Thus, the misinterpretation produced by the audience actually conveys an unfulfilled or unachieved “desire” where they expect the emergence of *Joker* (2019) movie could clarify the irrelevant of public stigma toward mental illness in the American community. By examining the misperception over *Joker* (2019), the movie phenomenon is actually perceived as momentum for several audiences to raise awareness of having a friendly discussion toward the phenomenon of a psychological issue in America. Clearly, it could be seen through the following statement that the audience's misperception over *Joker* (2019) movie in interpreting the phenomenon of the psychological issue is implicitly containing the hopes or “desire” of people who are aware of this issue to elevate people's awareness of having better understanding toward a psychological issue that is happening in American society.

This is a movie that only those who have felt alone and isolated can truly relate to it. You understand the motive, and you feel sorry for the character. A lot of people will see this movie and think that it encourages violence. But truly, this movie should encourage each and every one of us to become a better person, treat everyone with respect and make each other feel like they belong in this world, instead of making them feel isolated (Lesterarnoldpinto, 7 October 2019).

Based on the statement, it could be seen how the audience's misperception is actually could be fixed by the chance of making them be more aware and courageous in order to understand as well as be more sensitive toward the situation of American society who mostly face psychological issues in diverse complexity. Thus, the movie itself is not only producing a variety of misinterpretations but also produces hopes or dreams of Americans

concerning the enhancement toward the awareness of people in comprehending mental illness. The following statement will also confirm the idea of how actually the emergence of misinterpretation could be used as a chance to explain what is actually being delivered within the movie.

This movie causes the audience to consider many topics on morality, particularly the poor choices made by the Joker. The Joker is more relatable in this movie than antagonists usually are. I think this gives a more realistic view of "bad" people, who are not usually 100% bad in all ways as society often judges. It is important to know when to sympathize with the Joker (towards the beginning of the movie), and when he needs to be identified as a threat (when he begins making certain bad choices). This movie is only suitable for adults who are willing to pick it apart and think critically about it (Davestroud-76036, 4 October 2019).

Based on the statement above, the movie itself actually carries out positive messages where the creation of the main character can raise the discussion of morality. It makes the production of misinterpretation of *Joker* (2019) movie could be revised by raising awareness of mental illness issue and arousing the sense of morality among Americans community to be more practiced daily. Hopefully, the emergence of misperception toward mental illness and its public stigma could be changed properly through comprehending the creation of *the Joker* (2019) movie as the first attempt to start a positive action. Besides, the following statement of the audience's opinion about *Joker* (2019) movie is showing a perspective of how an individual perceives the movie as a story that has relevance regarding the existing social order or condition in reality.

The music. The intense. The realism. The performance. The story. Such a perfect combination of everything. I never felt that a character like Joker could be real until I saw this. Phoenix shows us what a joker is in our society and shows us how power can be obtained. Philips on the other hand had the perfect choice of music, camera angles, lighting and every important factor. Overall, I did not expect the story to be this perfect. Too many shocking turns happened and it really does represent today's society. If I was in the first screening, I would have applauded for 80 min not 8 (Ahakimshashaa, 3 October 2019).

By perceiving the way the audience delivers the opinion regarded to how the director could direct such an amazing and touching story is showing the audience's awareness toward social values and society's realm depicted within the story. The reason why the movie itself is called a representation of today's society is that the creation of *Joker* (2019) movie provides the audience a depiction of society's realm where it is full of manipulation of power and includes a portrayal of an individual who could obtain the power through a variety of alternatives and motives. Moreover, the success of the movie in carrying out the profound messages is through the performance of the main actor who could play his role beautifully. Henceforth, for the audience who can deliver an opinion about how relatable it is the movie with the society means that the audience could see underneath the performance of the main actors, which turns out to be a form of expression where an individual had to struggle for their life include struggling from society's pressure that causes distortion over their mental health. The following statement also shows how the creation of *Joker* (2019) as the main character of the movie could make the

audience realize a huge fact that there is always a certain power that owns a tremendous influence within the society's realm, it is money.

The pool does not need the money. They need dignity and respect, coz that is what it takes to be a human. If you don't have that, money will only be a reminder of them being a "good boy." Like some politicians, they feel so frustrated when people from the lower class does not accept their funding champions. In this movie, through Joker's life, I begin to get it (Diorboeyoung, 4 October 2019).

Based on the statement above, it could be inferred that the performance of the main character within the movie is capable of arousing the audience's awareness regarding serious facts which always happened and remain practiced among society. In this respect, watching the movie and performing such evaluation by the audience is actually an attempt to be able to understand the movie as a whole; even there are several misinterpretations over the movie itself by the audience, but it still can be considered as an attempt as well. Basically, by considering the process of Lacan's psychoanalysis of the human's mind, particularly within the stage of 'symbolic' is concerning on how an individual performs his/her capability in comprehending and adjusting their condition with the social order and norms as well as in the case of the audience in evaluating *Joker* (2019) movie. Their evaluation is a form of comprehending the condition of the movie with the social order and norms within a real society's context. Thus, there are some insightful interpretations, and the others are interpretations that are full of judgment. Despite the occurrence of misinterpretation, the audience is basically showing their "desire" or "hope" regarding their society. In the following statement, there

is an audience's perspective related to the movie and delivers crucial messages for the others as well.

This movie is so strong and Mr. Phoenix so impressive that I can nothing but pray to god and say thank you for the creation of those emotions I got watching this movie. It is the most brutal story about (lack of) love I have ever seen. Brutally human, political and mind blowing especially in regards to the deep connection you get to a person in our society that is in so deep need of just human warmth. The movie is a piece of art and I have rarely felt such emotions watching violent scenes. Must see and "must discuss" (Alexandermaximilian-55256, 25 August 2020).

By analyzing the statement above, it can be understood that the audience is going through the stage of 'symbolic' where the audience could contextualize the existing phenomenon within the movie with the real context of society comprehensively. It could be seen as well through how the audience gave his highlight of giving more opportunities for every American society to have a wider and deeper discussion regarding social issues, including mental health. This is completely showing a form of 'hope' delivered through the movie's evaluation or interpretation.

CONCLUSION

Clearly, *Joker* (2019) movie affected the audience in constructing the misperception toward mental illness based on their personal interpretation of psychological issues portrayed within the main character's performance. Henceforth, applying the three stages of human development by Jacques Lacan, which are *The Real*, *The Imaginary*, and *The Symbolic*, could reveal the reasons how such misinterpretations over *Joker* (2019)

movie is produced by American audiences. Considering their lack of awareness to be more open and humble in having wider discussion of mental health issues among the American community and the existence of negative public stigma regarding mental illness influences them to interpret the movie in such a way. Most importantly, the misinterpretation of *Joker* (2019) movie produced by the audience is implicitly raising hopes or American society's dreams to gain more attention in handling psychological or mental illness issues openly and seriously.

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DISNEY PRINCESS SEQUELS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF SECOND WAVE FEMINISM IN AMERICA

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ABSTRACT

Disney Animation Production, one of the media manifesting American sociology phenomena, discovered a breakthrough by depicting Princess movies. Starting with the appearance of *Snow White* (1937), followed by *Cinderella* (1950) and other sequels of Princess movies, Disney reflected one important progress of American history. The development of the sequels was estimated to be under the appeal of the Second Wave Feminism movement. Hypothesizing the change was within American society, a gender study by Nancy Hewitt would direct the observation of the study. The First Period Princesses (1937-1959) reflected the idea of the American Golden Age, also where the recognition of the role of women in wider society began. Meanwhile, the Second Period (1989-2009) claimed the social acceptance of public access by glorifying unique characters from women. The Princesses in the Third Period (2009-2014) were able to attest their own power in order to broaden the horizon of gender equality and equity.

Keywords: *America; Disney princesses; second wave Feminism; women's power; women's right and choice*

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INTRODUCTION

Since the booming year of Mickey Mouse in 1928, Disney has released animations that were not human beings-based characters in order to follow the success of the first-two-feet-with-a-red-pants mouse. They are Donald Duck, Daisy Duck, Minnie Mouse, Goofy, Scrooge McDuck, Beagle Boys, Gyro

Gearloose, Magica De Spell, Jose Carioca, Felix the Cat, and Winnie the Pooh. The animations of non-human characters also massively produced until recent days, known as *Bambi*, *Dumbo*, *Lady and the Tramp*, *101 Dalmatian*, *Robin Hood*, *Brother Bear*, *The Aristocats*, *The Fox and The Hound*, *Toys Story*, *A Bug's Life*, *Finding Nemo*, *Lion King*,

Zootopia, and *Chicken Little*. In 1937, the animation production began the princess series, Disney started to create human-based characters. The beautiful characters, the magic wand, the outrageous palaces, the music and the dances, the colorful dresses, the sparkling pumpkin, the befriend with animals, the happy ending life, and the evil will be defeated are the features that seem shaped within the children's world. Drier, via Azmi et al. (2018), states that "Disney princesses are popular among the children because the children, especially young girls, constantly and repeatedly watch the movies for entertainment" (p. 687). Disney extended its popularity by opening the Disney World in 1971 on Bay Lake and Lake Buena Vista, Florida. Creating living several major icons, cosplays, entertainers, and merchandises, including the princess series, to be the symbol of Disney itself. Disney World and its massive marketing enchant a wider and ageless 'fans' of the princess series and other characters. Guizerix (2013) points out that the biggest achievement as a marketing franchise is achieved by Disney and making the animation company the largest franchise in the world in 2011 through the massive production of its icon characters as merchandise, like clothing, water bottles, dolls, and backpacks (p. 1). The beautiful princesses figure as the main characters also develop into the fashion industry. Vogue, according to Giroux via King (2010), borrows the iconic Disney princesses and the evil women as the version of the fashionable trend in the editorial office (p. 96).

Compared to the other well-known animation industries located in America, such as DreamWorks, Warner Bros, Cartoon Network Studios, Nickelodeon, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Disney wins the percentage of human characters based movies with 72%

(total movies until 2009 are 320 productions, human characters consist of 233, animal characters 87 movies). The other animation industries rarely make massive human films. The numbers of human character-based movies still do not match or unequal quantity compared to what Disney has made. For example, DreamWorks Animation or DWA, that according to Lake House Media LLC (2020, paras. 1-4), is ranked number 3 in 2020 under Pixar and Walt Disney. The movie production has 37 well-known animation movies since the 1998 (started with *The Prince of Egypt* and *Antz*) until 2019 (*How to Train Your Dragon: The Hidden World* and *Abominable*) and only creates nine animation movies based on human characters and 'non-humanization' animal or alien characters, such as *Sinbad: Legend of the Seven Seas* (2003), *The Road to El Dorado* (2000), *The Croods* (2013), *Captain Underpants* (2017), and the trilogy of *How to Train Your Dragon* (2010-2019); the combination movies between human and 'humanization' animal or alien characters consist of 10 movies titled *Home* (2015), the trilogy of *Shrek* (2001-2010), *Megamind* (2010), *Monsters vs. Aliens* (2009), and *The Rise of Guardians* (2012); the common production of DWA are 18 movies the humanization animal and alien characters, like the trilogy of *Madagascar* (2005-2012), *Penguins of Madagascar* (2014), *Puss in Boots* (2011), *Trolls* (2016), and the trilogy of *Kung Fu Panda* (2008-2016) (Rotten Tomatoes, 2020, paras. 5-43). DWA has only 24% of human-based animation movies. As the research purposely conducts the direct study of human character with the reason of straightforwardness, the best option to look after the data is provided by Walt Disney animation studio.

The influence of Disney, through the movies and the symbol of the major characters, gives social scientists purposes to start with. Animating Difference conducts a study of animation industries in the belief that animated movies are not just as simply entertainment, yet it somehow recycles certain social phenomena with selling stories and selling merchandise (King, 2010, p. 6). Lueke (2014) strengthens the idea of popularity of the Disney princesses by saying, “the Disney princess films are some of the most popular in the world today as they have been translated into several different languages with a fan base sprawling across the globe” (p. 1). Consumerism among Disney princesses lies in the different narration of the princesses' life, which seems to glorify the idea of the main character. Disney produces numbers of princess series with only an emphasis on narrating a female dominant life. Therefore, since the 19th century, the love story of the princesses and princes is generally titled with the name of the princesses.

Nancy Hewitt, a Professor Emeritus at Rutgers University, clarifies the brief history of First Wave Feminism and how the movement leads to upraise of the Second Wave Feminism in her editorial book titled *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism* most likely accounts on the development of princesses' spectrum estimates the influence of the Second Wave of Feminism in America as Knellwolf (2001) mentions, “the most important objective of second-wave feminism was a detailed analysis of ‘difference’ in its daily guise in the public and private spheres” (p. 196). *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism* begins with how Second Wave Feminism happened as the aftermath of the legitimation of women's suffrage in 1920. The previous

movement, or the First Movement, has been fought for the right since the Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention in 1848. After their voice has been protected by law, the accentuation of understanding women's rights broadens onto equality and equity gender awareness. Nancy Hewitt (2010, p. 21) brings back the true history of Seneca Falls Convention, which demands:

also circumscribes the geographical scope of the early movement. By widening our lens, we can highlight the political claims that women from diverse racial, national, class, and regional backgrounds brought to the U.S. women's rights movement.

Under the 28th President Woodrow Wilson, the pleads of Seneca Falls were approved by the Senate. However, the First Wave agenda has not been completely fulfilled as mentioned by Hewitt, for the rest of the order paper is relied on the next generation of feminist who begins to widening their movement by rivaling patriarchal cultural hierarchy through spreading awareness in society.

Women began to be acknowledged in the 19th century in a limited spatial of acceptance. By penis and vagina, society composes gender structure for both in dichotomy degree of characters, colors of choice, hobbies, norms, jobs, and rights. Judith Butler sees that socio construction gender is problematic because genital cannot be the parameter of one's identity; it has its own spectrum on the reason that the identity of someone is unstable and keeps developing (Butler, 1998, p. 58). Sex biologists should be separated to its expression and construction on the reason that penis and vagina is just a clarification of the sex biologist, not the gender, while gender is a construction belonging to a society that leads to certain expressions (masculinity or femininity). Acknowledgment from society

not only for women's choice but as well as women's body autonomous right is the prior purpose for the Second Wave's agenda. The Hegemonic Feminism, as Sandoval's term, has an aim to strive for equality and equity gender on the matter of chances, recognition, and women in colors, "treats sexism as the ultimate oppression. ... ignores a class and race analysis, generally sees equality with men as the goal of feminism, and has individual rights-based rather than justice-based vision for social change" (Thompson, 2010, p. 39).

Concerning the thick description written in this paper, this study used the qualitative research methodology. The main instrument deals with content analysis to develop meaning and interpretation toward the data gained from the determining crucial texts from the movies, which are supposed to justify the development of the Second Wave movement. Klaus Krippendorff (2004) wrote that "content analysis has evolved into a repertoire of methods of research that promise to yield inferences from all kinds of verbal, pictorial, symbolic, and communication data" (p. 17). The researcher collects data from the beginning of Disney's princess sequel movies in 1937 until 2014 that suspect represents three major historical fluorescence of women narration in America under the scope of Second Wave Feminism. The data is gathered through observing patriarchal antithesis represented in the Princesses' characteristics by then the three sections of historical maps are divided into: the First Period Princesses that symbolize the early 20th century women, the Second Period Princesses that represent the middle of 20th century until the early of 21st century women, and the Third Period Princesses that epitomize the post-early 21st women in America. The collection of resistances will be decided through what

Second Wave Feminists in every attempt to fight for: (1) the domestic place and public place acceptance; (2) characteristic of being aggressive or submissive; and the last is (3) trait of being independent and dependent.

This research proposes one objective on how the Second Wave Feminism's spirit directs the progress of the Disney Princesses delivering. Background of the study shows that the development cannot be easily spread amid American society at once because of the patriarchal system that has been rooted since the Age of Puritan. Thereby, presenting the data of Disney Princess movies from 1937 until the early of the 21st century will be considered that the sequels are a few years later than the feminists battle in the reality of gender inequality.

DISCUSSION

The Representation of the Personality Traits of Women in Disney's Princesses Sequels

The most popular Princess movie by Disney started in 1937 with a beautiful young lady who curses to sleep like dead because of a poisonous apple she had eaten.

Queen : "Slave in the magic mirror, come from the farthest space, through wind and darkness. I summon thee, speak! Let me see thy face!"

Magic Mirror : "What wouldst thou know, my Queen?"

Queen : "Magic mirror on the wall, who is the fairest one of all?"

Magic Mirror : "Famed is thy beauty, Majesty. But hold... A lovely maid I see. Rags cannot hide her gentle

grace, alas, she is more fair than thee.”

Queen : “Alas for her! Reveal her name!”

Magic Mirror : “Lips red is as the rose; hair black as ebony; skin white as snow.”

Queen : “*Snow White!*”

The princess is portrayed to have black short hair, red blossom lips, and skin that is soft and white as snow. She is also narrated in the movie since she is still a child and until she is married to whom has saved her from the cursed apple, her Prince Charming. *Snow White*'s story ends with the goal of marriage; and to get married she has to wait for her prince to come and, more importantly, to save her.

The story for the Princesses has a different journey when *The Little Mermaid* was released in the late 20th century. Started with Princess Ariel, the mermaid princess is narrated to consider her own choice on deciding what kind of journey she wants to live. She also has the characteristic of loving exploring public space in the ocean and obviously dreaming of going to the land, the only place mermaids avoid. Her father, King Triton, the Mermaid King of the Sea, has not allowed her to swim around as she likes in the ocean, especially in the shallow water, because he is afraid of the human existence that believed will harm their kind. Still, Ariel always ignores the warning; she will go quietly and collect the human's possession that drowns in the sea. One of the most famous songs in *The Little Mermaid* entitled “Part of Your World” tells how much she desires to walk around on the land.

Ariel (sings) : “Betcha on land they understand, that they don't reprimand their daughters.

Bright young women, sick of swimming, ready to stand. And ready to know what people know. Ask them my questions and get some answers. What's a fire, and why does it? What's the word, “burn”. When's it my turn? Wouldn't I love? Love to explore that shore up above. Out of the sea, wish I could be, part of that world.”

When her father knows about her dream and her collection, he grounds her, but she is smart enough to get away from the castle. From there she decides to meet Ursula, the sea witch. She is willing to make an agreement with the octopus witch to hand over her voice as the payment for her feet. Ariel has full freedom of her choice, and she is part of her chosen life because she is the one who understands happiness for herself. This capability of choosing and considering is also developing in the story of *The Swan Princess* where Odette asks Prince Derek when he proposes to her.

Derek : “Arrange the marriage!”

Odette : “Wait!”

Derek : “What? You are all I ever wanted. You are beautiful.”

Odette : “Thank you. But what else?”

Derek : “What else?”

Odette : “Is beauty is all ever matter to you?”

Derek : “What else is there?”

(Odette goes home, refuses the proposal)

Through the excerpts above, it is essential to analyze the Disney Princesses in the view of historical analysis because it will connect the past and present within a specific context. As Pickering (2008) stated, “for historical analysis is inevitably informed by contemporary assumptions and prejudices, values and beliefs, but analysis is weak when it fails to challenge its own starting points and initiating means of approach, and arrive at a different place from where it began” (p. 202). Thus, the historical analysis offers a way to see how the

original Disney Princesses from *Snow White* (1937) to *Maleficent* (2014) are made in this contemporary society and see what factors changed and are changed by the development. A further suggestion from Pickering (2008) regarding historical analysis is,

The principle underlying this is that these forms of analysis are not necessarily at cross purposes but can be made to complement each other even if, and perhaps especially if, they challenge each other and make us rethink what the evidence can tell us and how we can understand it on the one hand, and on the other how our concepts and theories are relative and have limits in how they can be applied or what they can explain (p. 202).

Based on the personality below, the First Period of Princesses will be defined by Snow White in *Snow White* (1937), Cinderella in *Cinderella* (1950), and Aurora in *Sleeping Beauty* (1959). The Second Period of Princesses will be examined through Ariel in *The Little Mermaid* (1989), Belle in *The Beauty and The Beast* (1991), Jasmine in *Aladdin* (1992), Odette in *The Swan Princess* (1994), Pocahontas in *Pocahontas* (1995), Esmeralda in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1996), Megara in *Hercules* (1997), Anastasia in *Anastasia* (1997), Mulan in *Mulan* (1998), Jane in *Tarzan* (1999), and Tiana in *The Princess and The Frog* (2009). The Third Period of Princess will be represented by Elsa and Anna in *Frozen* (2013) and *Maleficent* in *Maleficent* (2014).

Period	Movie	Year	Princess	Personality Trait					
				Public Place	Domestic Place	Aggressive	Submissive	Independent	Dependent
I	<i>Snow White</i>	1937	<i>Snow White</i>	-	v	-	v	-	v
	<i>Cinderella</i>	1950	<i>Cinderella</i>	-	v	-	v	-	v
	<i>Sleeping Beauty</i>	1959	Aurora	-	v	-	v	-	v
II	<i>Little Mermaid</i>	1989	Ariel	v	v	v	v	v	v
	<i>Beauty and The Beast</i>	1991	Belle	v	v	v	v	v	v
	<i>Aladdin</i>	1992	Jasmine	v	v	v	v	v	v
	<i>The Swan Princess</i>	1994	Odette	v	v	v	v	v	v
	<i>Pocahontas</i>	1995	Pocahontas	v	v	v	v	v	v
	<i>The Hunchback of Notre Dame</i>	1996	Esmeralda	v	-	v	v	v	v
	<i>Hercules</i>	1997	Megara	v	-	v	v	v	v
	<i>Mulan</i>	1998	Mulan	v	v	v	v	v	v
	<i>Tarzan</i>	1999	Jane	v	-	v	v	v	v

	<i>The Princess and The Frog</i>	2009	Tiana	v	v	v	v	v	v
III	<i>Frozen</i>	2013	Elsa	v	-	v	-	v	-
			Anna	v	-	v	-	v	-
	<i>Maleficent</i>	2014	Maleficent	v	-	v	-	v	-

First Period Princesses: American Women in 19th Century

The characteristics of women in the 1800s performed on Snow White, Cinderella, and Aurora are identified as well as in what Lanser via Udasmoro (2017) theorizes “they (women) have been limited to the domestic sphere, their voices muffled in public discourse despite public space offering them the greatest potential to narrate and express themselves” (p. 182). The focus in this part of discussion will examine more on what context of social construction in the 19th century in America which happened very late in 1937 (*Snow White*), 1950 (*Cinderella*), and 1959 (*Sleeping Beauty*). In the late 19th century until the early 20th century, women in America started to gather their voice to protest, demanding equal acknowledgment from the enforcement of the laws. The major problem in America was women were considered as inferior, or in some extreme perspectives Bednoweski (1999) narrates, "I begin with stories of alienation. This is often where women themselves begin: with their discovery of how they are perceived as "other" in their traditions" (p. 20). Certain grant issues were high-lighted by Gilman and Schereiner via Knellwolf (2001) on the point of: 1) a married women’s property will be owned by the husband; 2) rape and physical abuse are legal within marriage; 3) proposing divorce is acceptable for men, but unacceptable for women; 4) women only have the role as a mother and wife; therefore,

women are prohibited from going to the public sphere; 5) considering as intellectually incompetence thus women cannot pursue study in school; 6) considering to have physically weak and full of emotion also irrational, and 7) do not have the right to suffrage (p. 194).

On the very first move, these women secretly imposed their demand for equality through literary works. From the beginning of the 19th century until the late of the era, some of the American women writers who wanted to publish their works must not show their name or even must have a pseudonym, "Apart from seven pages on Charlotte Bronte's *Villette*, women authors are barely mentioned and, where they are, it is usually in a footnote" (Eagleton, 2007, p. 106). It is such a disgrace for women to enter men's fields such as writing. A disgrace is not just labeled to them, but as well as for the whole family. In the excerpt of this era is the Bronte Sisters. Consisted of Charlotte, Emily, and Anne, they wrote and published under men pseudonyms, Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell. Emily Dickinson, who is an extraordinary women writer in the late 19th decided to publish her works without any names. In the period of Kate Chopin, around the late 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century, female writers started to be accepted in order to examine women's point of view through their own mind, eyes, and experiences. The main character of her phenomenal novel *The Awakening*, Edna Pontellier, brings shock to

the world on her struggle against the orthodox view of patriarchy and the social force of gender roles. She is depicted as a woman who stands on her feet alone to fight prejudice with her femininity and independence.

In the America Roaring Twenties, 1920s, the era was changing drastically for women's life. Encouraged by the theory of Freud's psychoanalysis and the Gilded Age after winning the Second World War, people begin to celebrate their individual rights because of the flows of money that seem accessible from anywhere. The psychoanalysis point of view also considers the importance of freeing the sex derive in order to prevent mental health. Thus it means women can now express their right in public, to smoke in public, to dance in public, to drink in public, to show their sexual desire without feeling ashamed, and finally was granted the right to vote in 1918. This drastic development for women has started, even though it is still not wholly accepted, to explore the other world or public sphere and not just stay at home and do the domestic jobs. *Snow White* is the representation of The Flapper, an iconic women group in the 20s. Park (2014) mentions, "The rise of the flapper generation is one of the key evidences of the changing status of women in the American society, who came to assume leadership as a new cultural force" (p. 2). The group enjoys dancing with a skirt that flaps when they are dancing; that is why they are called The Flappers. Another identical feature that The Flapper always has is short hair, "Short hair, which was called "the bob style of the flappers," was one of the most prominent features of the 1920s fashion" (Park, 2014, p. 25). *Snow White* is indeed represented with short hair. Unfortunately, the era of the Roaring Twenties occurs in just a short period of time because in 1929 America underwent

The Great Depression. Thus, after *Snow White*, a short hair woman is no longer in style. Although The Flapper has its end, women still have recognition under the law and public sphere. Manifested to all the princesses in the First Period, *Snow White*, *Cinderella*, and *Aurora*, they still have access to the other world, or outside their main domestic place, although it is still because of the helps of other people, such as *Snow White* in order not to be killed by her stepmother she is 'dragged' by the Huntsman to go to the jungle, *Cinderella* in order to go to the ball she has to get a magic aid from the fairy God-Mother, and *Aurora* in order to be safe from the curse she is helped via the fairies by her father's command to be hidden in the forest until her 16th birthday is passed. They are also depicted to freely dance and sing in the story, like what women in the Roaring Twenties enjoy doing. All of the princesses' last scenes in the First Period are the same; they are (or they have to be) kissed by the Prince Charming. Kissing is no longer a taboo to be presented in public areas in the Roaring Twenties era because, like what has been mentioned above, sexual desire no longer becomes a taboo topic for people as Freud says via Milner (1992), that as is a scientist, he will claim any scientific result, he will disclose the truth which is hiding under the bias of the moral prejudice (p. 109).

The development of women in certain areas, which suit Disney's movies Period I, proves a dynamic significant equality change for women in the beginning of the 20th century. The inferiority starts to incline, even though not drastically. The women in America 20s are still shown to have a huge dependency on the men; they are depicted as powerless gender who have to rely on their happiness to men, especially the rich ones, and therefore the princess will be married to a prince whose

wealth will not be a question. *Great Gatsby* by Fitzgerald manifests epically the phenomena of Roaring Twenties' people. Daisy Buchanan, the dominant woman role in the story, is told to fall in love with the main character, Jay Gatsby, but Gatsby is a poor boy from Minnesota, therefore to avoid being poor, she chooses her final life by marrying Tom Buchanan, a rich upper class guy who inherits his parent wealth. Although she knows that Tom always cheats on her and she doesn't love him as she loves Gatsby, she keeps on continuing her life and marriage with Tom. Daisy needs to be saved by the money and position that Tom has, as well as our princesses from the First Period. Snow White has to be saved by her Prince Charming to be 'alive' again; Cinderella has to be saved by her Princes Charming through marriage to secure her position from her stepmother and stepsisters; and as well as Aurora who has to 'be saved' by her Prince Charming first before she can extend her wealth by unifying her kingdom with her Prince Charming's kingdom.

Second Period Princesses: American Women in 20th - early 21st Century

Embracing women's freedom with not only about living in her domestic places but more importantly, the legitimate acknowledgment of the freedom and choice upon her own body, or the body autonomous right, is hers and hers only, is the fundamental following appeal of Feminism movement. Inspired by Rosie the Riveter, a cultural figure with a mechanical cloth and a pose showing off her arms bicep in pamphlets with the iconic sentence "we can do it!", women were encouraged to reconstruct society's cultural stereotype of gender by performing the act that was supposed to be handled by men, such as being strong, doing a harsh job, and being the

backbone of the family. Rosie, with her iconic pose, becomes the legend of women's history in America period 1939-1945, "during World war two women in United States turned manpower into woman power as housewives across the nation took manufacturing jobs building boomers, ships, tanks, and the munitions they would fire. These women did so bravely and patriotically," (Kimble and Olson, 2006, p. 534). After WWII ends, under President Roosevelt legislative, America was drastically returning women to their "place." For women who have understood the insignia of Rosie's poster, this policy is considered one-sided and acknowledged discrimination towards women after 6 years of dedication proving their working capability during WWII. Thus, after WWII ends, it becomes a great issue for women to voice out; they are as capable as men, and it is not anyone's authority to say they are not. It is not stopping on the matter of jobs probability, but the body autonomous acknowledgment cases spread in every field of women's life. For instance, it also appears in the religion area around the mid-20th century. Bednarowski (1999) argues that women inhale contradiction and exhale ambivalence (p. 18). Women consider to have important roles in every church in America; they consider to have more faith, more congregations, and more helpful to the church compared to men (Wiggins, 2005, p. 25). Unfortunately, because they are women, they just do not have, or cannot have to be more precise, the church's recognition of important position just because they will undergo the "unholy time" at least once in every month (menstruation); therefore, women exhale ambivalence, as Bednarowski is stated above.

The majority of the princesses in the second period perform the definition of what

Rosie is glorifying, about their body autonomous and the independence struggle in life. Bringing out the narration of Ariel, she decides that she wants to be a human instead of a mermaid. She wants to change her tail to a foot, although none supports her, especially her father, The King of Titan, to be a human on the reason of the inheriting throne, Ariel still comes to Ursula, asks the witch to change her. For Ariel, being human is what her heart desires to choose. This example of body autonomous right has its places in America when women started to inquiry the contraception policy and followed by the debate upon the pro-choice and pro-life groups in the 1970s-1980s. Thompson (2010) claims the uprising began around the 1960s, invoking the Second Wave movement upon women's body autonomous right for deciding their pregnancy (p. 40). The pro-choice group rivals the old generation, the pro-life, on taking their future life as they concern them to be. The group doesn't merely choose the abortion option to avoid motherhood, but this is part of the campaign on providing and giving understanding for women that they absolutely have options for their own body and what life they want to achieve. Based on sociologist Kristin Luker's research, Allitt (2003) affirms, "motherhood was simply one of the roles they might fulfill, ... The pro-choice women were more affluent and much more likely to have careers" (p. 162).

The demand for women's autonomous choice upon her body changes the society, especially the patriarchal, not only in cultural perspective but also in capital perspective. Since the era of Rosie has been provisioned by the nation to embrace women's power and competence about the idea of workmanship and hard work, women start to have the obligation to become more intelligent and

responsible for any work that they feel capable of. Lamb (2012) affirms that,

The major work and decisions of society were taking place outside the home and women felt the need, and fought for the right to participate in this work. If women had gone to use their newly-own education and find new identities and expectations, perhaps housewifery, motherhood, sexual love, and family life would have taken simple supplementary places in their lives (p. 38).

Around 1950s, the Parkinson's Law was implemented in America with the subjects of "Housewifery Expands to Fill the Time Available" or "Motherhood Expands to Fill the Time Available," or even "Sex Expands to Fill the Time Available" successfully opened so much job vacancy to women in any position without considering the gender but the capability. Looking back to the characteristics of our Disney princesses Period 2, Belle, Esmeralda, Mulan, and Tiana are the representative of the capital feminist or known as the Marxist feminism in America around 1950s. Marxist feminist has almost had the same determination with the radical feminist to articulate women access's mode production as well as the equivalent payment with men, they are just different on the seeing the reason behind (Plain and Sellers, 2007, p. 283). Although Mulan does not perform the men's workmanship and hard work to earn money, she undertakes them to achieve the honor for the family (King, 2010, p. 101-102), like what Parkinson's Law guarantees upon women's dignity with embracing their intelligence and skills.

Marxist feminist narration is also applicable to Princess Tiana, especially since she is the first African-American in the sequel. She was born in a suburban area. Wishing to grant her passed away father's dignity comes

true to open a restaurant, she pulls off the workmanship and hard work from early morning until night time in different places a day. Some women in America around that time also do the hard work because it has meant to one's worth and her family. Oprah Winfrey, for instance, was born with the burden of slavery descendant, lived shuttle from her mother's apartment in Wisconsin and her maternal grandmother's farm in Mississippi. Nevertheless, Oprah does not take her biography as a shameful history, she feels it as a power. Then she began to raise her, her family, even African-American women, worth, with being her true self and bringing up the story of her fighting the "world" in her own program *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. Illouz (2003) study found on the following:

Suffering and self-change, the two meanings performed by The Oprah Winfrey Show, offer two starting points for deciphering Oprah's vast cultural and textual enterprise. They are able to account simultaneously for the structure of the show, the intentions of its author, the probable motivations of its participants (p. 178).

Women in this era are meant to be "known" by their characteristics, excerpt their independence, intelligence, resilience because they commit such an awareness to embrace their values of capability. Women struggle in this era changes the social perception of women by not just valuing only from their handsome face or her family's name, but our princesses named Belle, Jasmine, Odette, Pocahontas, Megara, and Jane are told to firmly refuse somebody who wants to propose them without any reason except their beauty or their wealth. Instead, they embrace their right to choose to be with the one who can understand their strength as a woman.

Third Period Princesses: American Women in post-early 21st Century

Maleficent, Elsa, and Anna have deconstructed the prior version of the Disney Princesses story that only shows the minority of the women before men. As Tyson (2015) argued, in contemporary feminist literary works, there are many versions of deconstructing classic fairy tales, which brings new insights upon the characterization of a lead woman character (p. 89). Each woman character in the third period has developed a breakthrough history and literary tradition concerning women characters in a story, especially fairy tales, in which women are not only portrayed as weak and dependent protagonists. Resembling the world of human reality, each princess in this era is able to prove their own power in many dimensions to solve a problem and to dismantle the reason behind an incident. Princesses' third period breakthrough reveals a broader perspective to society on understanding the real narration of women's world, rather than delineate women's goal of life is only waiting for a man to save them: to make them princess.

Through the story plot, when Maleficent had lost her wings because of Stefan, it is a serious consideration to observe that the belief in patriarchy is a protracted standard in a society. The patriarchal idea which focuses on man's leadership in Maleficent's saga is no longer relevant. The first differentiator from the former period communicates when the man is under qualification and incapable of being a leader, a woman who has it all can be. On the additional reason that a disqualified man will become a tyrant for the people, thus *Maleficent* is produced by disclosing the irony about patriarchal values, which was portrayed in many classic fairy tales; that the glorification

of patriarchal society can not always be the ideal standard of a society. Many women are more capable in leadership than men, but unfortunately, the image and stereotype of women's incapability have penetrated into the mind of the society for a long time. We can see it through the political phenomena which occur in many parts of the world. In the United States, before Kamala Harris was elected as Joe Biden's vice president, many congresswomen had the opportunity to sit in the executive position, namely Hillary Clinton in 2016, Sarah Palin in 2008, and Geraldine Ferraro in 1984, but they did not succeed. The same thing happened to the other congresswomen that they did not get wide support ("Women Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates: A Selected List," 2021, paras. 1-2). When a woman has succeeded in being in a high political position, then the man behind her is to be praised instead of focusing her capability in doing political strategy. To be more precise, when the ministers of a presidency cabinet have more women members, it is the male president who should be thanked as the one who let the women be in the hot seat. This irony also happened in Indonesia during the presidential era of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla in 2014 when there were eight women to become the ministers. However, the media reported it as a history made by Joko Widodo instead of showing the competencies of those women. (Auliani, 2014, para. 1).

Emphasizing family bonding, *Frozen* is narrated uniquely from any other Disney Princesses movies. Centered differently, the Arendelle's Princesses trust the family member instead of someone else to find the truth of happiness. The story upon the Princesses-Happy-Ending for Elsa and Anna does not depend on a goal of marriage but is

when two witty sisters with brilliant ideas and a strong will unite as one (Kapadia and Thornton, 2020, para. 37). Another appealing yet alien narration about *Frozen* is that this movie presents a disabled Princess. This is quite intriguing from the sequels' pattern on displaying the Princess weakness. Taking note of Ariel's story, for example, the pattern of her 'disability' to live on earth is not her weakness. It happens to be a problem because of the separate world between her and Prince Eric; for Elsa's story, her disability is the one that is causing her problem. Even though Elsa looks normal and as beautiful as how Disney portrays its princesses, Elsa is an exception because whenever she could not control herself, she could turn everything into ice. She has a cursed yet magical power that made her fear of herself. As in classic Disney Princess movies, being harassed by someone else or by the society means a justification to seek revenge, such as the witch in *Sleeping Beauty* or *Snow White*, but in *Frozen* "Disney refuses the familiar stereotype of disability as monstrous or villainous, and retains the audience's empathy for Elsa, by following her journey up the mountain rather than remaining with the villagers down below" (Serene, 2017, para.20). Through her isolation and the wake of Anna, Elsa transformed herself into a heroine by being able to control her own fear as well as her magical power and willing to take the chance to rule Arendelle.

Additionally, the following princesses, such as Merida, Moana, and Elsa, are also influenced by the feminism values held in which they have more power over themselves in which romantic scenes are not the focus of each film. The latest princesses who have various shapes of body and ability may sign an important message that "Moana and all the Disney princesses that have come before her

reflect changing attitudes in the US towards race, gender and the treatment of minorities” (Brook, 2016, para. 23). Ladda Tammy Duckworth comes from Asian-American background, which is considered a minority race in America. Impressively, notwithstanding disability of both amputated legs, because of the military service in Iraq in 2004, it did not stop her from achieving a governmental position as the senator of Illinois (“Tammy Duckworth Biography,” 2020, para. 6). The fact how Duckworth has been chosen, despite her minority status and physical condition, no other reason than she has the competence to prove and as well as to break the double discrimination with her true power as a leader and representative.

Stating the first princess of each period, *Snow White*, *The Little Mermaid*, and *Maleficent* clearly presumes that three of the princesses have relation to the development of Feminism Second Wave in America. *Snow White* is suspected of representing a scale within society on the point of being acknowledged and accepted, while Ariel proposes public freedom for women, and *Maleficent* promotes women leadership and women power.

CONCLUSION

Animating Difference enlightens the development of Disney Princess series through the Second Wave Feminism point of view. It begins with the narration of *Snow White* in 1937, the first acceptance of women figures in American society flourishes. The acknowledgment is based on the reason that the biggest animation production had seen the demand from American people to put women in a major role, therefore as one of the agents of children's educational platforms, Disney

introduces a Flapper woman as a symbol of America's first breakthrough for women equality by the Suffragette winning. This is the stepping stone of the revolutions for women in America as the animating movie production is willing to familiarize the audiences with narrating women's life in her everyday world. Inspired more by the Gilded Age, with the phenomenal application of Freud's sex desire theory, women began to have access to the public, but just to dance, sing, and party. Those aspects are the major scenes in the princesses' First Period. However, the lack of equal access to public places and the depiction of being highly dependent on men's guardian and help are still considered as the intriguing spectrum that lies in the story of *Snow White*, *Cinderella*, and *Sleeping Beauty* which also manifests women's life in the early 20th century.

Moving to the next evolution of the Second Wave of Feminism on the Second Princess sequels, where women began to vocalize the equality to public access and chance. *The Little Mermaid* provides the story of women's struggle outside her domestic place. She bravely breaks the conservative prohibited rule to follow her dream that makes her the happiest woman, although none seems to get it at first how a woman can choose and decide her own happiness. This freedom is continued in *Beauty and the Beast* and *Tarzan* as well. The access to public places was finally also gotten by the women in America by World War II was exploding. Rossie became the symbol in this era to trigger women to “come out” from their domestic business to do business in public. “We can do it!” was the most zeal on the Rossie's pamphlets for women in this period in America. They believed despite their gender, they could have access to the public place, do the job that is

supposed to be done by men, and have the strength to do it. Thereby the demand for equality becomes higher and higher as women in WWII can prove to the nation that they have the capability as the men as long as they are given the admission to prove it. Furthermore, not to leave out the struggle of the marginalized races, which leads by the movies of *Aladdin*, *Pocahontas*, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, *Hercules*, *Mulan*, and *The Princess and the Frog*.

The stigma of women being weak and dependent (thus, they cannot have public access) is just starting to count as a myth. *Maleficent* brings forth the next battle of gender equality. It is no longer equality of public access, or women choose to live their best happy life. Still, *Maleficent* wonderfully promulgates that leadership is appropriate to be handed over for those women who have the power of competence and ability to become one. Furthermore, the Third Period rebuts the classical history of women's relationship realm, like what has been narrated in *Frozen*. It is no longer centering on the love and romantic stories of women and their men. The Third Period of Princesses redefines the meaning of love. Dismantling the truest love and romantic realm in the women's world, which has never been narrated in the prior sequels, is redefined and attested by the Third Period of our Princesses: that women can be stronger by support, companionship, caring, guarding, and uniting with other women.

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GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

The editor of Rubikon Journal welcomes article submissions in accordance with the following guidelines:

1. Articles have not been published or accepted for publication, or are being considered for publication elsewhere. In addition to the manuscript, a written statement should be attached which clarifies that the article is original and does not contain any elements of plagiarism.
2. Types of article suitable for publication include the following; research report (laboratory, field, archives), conceptual ideas, studies, theory applications.
3. Articles are written in Indonesian or English (preferable) using academic language along with standard academic writing structure and composition. Manuscripts are typed 1,15 spaced in a quarto paper size (A4), between 6000-7000 words in length including references, pictures, and tables.
4. Article should be in essay form which includes:
 - a. title (15-20 words),
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 - c. abstract in English (150-200 words for each) which includes research problem, methods and result,
 - d. keyword in English (5-7 words),
 - e. author's personal information and e-mail address,
 - f. introduction (without subsection, 2-3 pages) which includes background, objectives, methods, and literature reviews/theoretical construct (if needed) of research. The introduction section ends with an emphasis on items to be discussed,
 - g. discussion,
 - h. conclusion, and
 - i. references.
5. Another suitable type of article is book review. Please note the following requirements for submitting book reviews:
 - a. book being reviewed should be newly published (within the last one year for books in Indonesian and two years for books in other foreign languages),
 - b. book reviews should be typed between 2000-4000 words in length including references, pictures, etc., and
 - c. a copy/scan of the book cover should be attached.
6. Reference list format is based **APA (American Psychological Association) style 7th edition**. Reference list should appear at the end of the article and includes only literatures actually cited in the manuscripts. References are ordered alphabetically and chronologically. We strongly recommend authors to use reference tools, such as Mendeley, Zotero, Endnote, etc. When writing a **reference list**, please use the following conventions:

Azhar & Matsumura, K. (2010). A study of 'Kenry' in Japanese and 'Hak' in Indonesian. *Jurnal Humaniora*, 22, 22-30.

Nur, T. (2008). *Verba dalam Bahasa Arab dan Bahasa Indonesia: Studi Gramatika Konstasif*. (Unpublished Dissertation). Universitas Gadjah Mada. Yogyakarta

Reid, A. (2011). *Menuju sejarah Sumatra: Antara Indonesia dan dunia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.

Zachareck, S. (2008). *Natural women*. The New York Times. <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/27/books/review/Zachareck>

When writing an **in-text citation**, please use the following conventions:

As Rowe (2014) asserts, "'Transnationalism' also refers to American Studies done by international scholars outside the U.S. especially scholarship that emphasizes the influence of the U.S. abroad" (p. 1)

This research assigns the researcher to be the key instrument in his or her own research (Creswell, 2009, p. 211).

The New York Times (2020) interviewed their gay readers to reveal about the dynamics of gay relationship:

I am in a same-sex relationship, and we are regularly flummoxed by how our heterosexual parent friends don't split nighttime child care and sleep loss...In our house, parents are parents. There is no artificial distinction like fathers do this and mothers do that.

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