

GLOCALIZATION OF SMOKING CULTURE IN INDONESIA

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A B S T R A C T

Smoking culture in Indonesia has gone through a lot of changes. From betel to kretek to filter kretek. Filter kretek is considered to be a product of glocalization as it is combining modern technology with local taste. Filter kretek is made by a modern machinery in tobacco companies, especially big one. This notion of using the latest technology in producing local product has proven itself that kretek filter is heavily influenced by global culture. This article will discuss how the glocalization is being presented by local brand in their marketing tools especially in television commercial. Focusing on Djarum Black, one of the brand produced by PT. Djarum, during a decade between 2000 and 2010. By using theoretical background of glocalization by Kraidy and Barthes semiotic method, this article reveals the symbolical expression in the television commercial created by a local brand being attached to global culture while maintaining a great deal of local content, which what the spirit of glocalization is all about.

KEYWORDS : glocalization, smoking culture, Indonesia.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Background

Colonial economic expansion contributed to smoking culture in Indonesia, a dynamic which resonates with the globalisation of contemporary Indonesia. The European influence first came to the coast of Indonesia at the beginning of seventeenth century (Hanusz, 2000, p. 10) via the Portuguese on their spice expeditions. According to Raffles (a British Colonial Official appointed

Lieutenant-Governor in Indonesia), the tobacco trade was established in Java since the early seventeenth century (Budiman & Onghokham, 1987, pp. 81-82). Tobacco farming was urged by colonialists to meet the demands for the commodity at that time in Western Europe and in other European colonies.

Even so, tobacco did not immediately become a part of Indonesian culture. Only gradually through time did it become part of the everyday habits of Indonesians. Before the colonial time, people regularly chewed betel for relaxation. Betel chewing came from the Hindu culture in India which Indonesians took over as early as the first and second century using local betel and areca plants. Proof of these early practices are found in relief sculptures in Borobudur temple (a 9th century Mahayana Buddhist Temple built during Sailendra Dynasty) and in stone inscriptions (Budiman & Onghokham, 1987, p. 75). Betel chewing is culturally important as this has been a relaxing habit for centuries, especially in Indonesia. With the arrival of tobacco, people started to mix tobacco with betel to add extra flavour to their chewing.

Smoking tobacco and related products in Indonesia began as a replacement to traditional betel chewing. This change was caused by Dutch Colonial policy which sought to modernise and educate their Indonesian colonies (Arnez, 2009, p. 50). During the late 19th and early 20th century, more Indonesians received school education partly because of the changes of colonial policy introduced by the Dutch. The exploitation of Indonesia by the Dutch was gradually displaced by concern for the welfare of Indonesia. This new approach was called “ethical policy” and is said to have improved the Dutch colony significantly, especially in the linked domains of economic development and educational achievement (Ricklefs, 1993, pp. 151-152). The higher levels of education received by Indonesians, especially men, led to the replacement of betel chewing with smoking which was considered to be a symbol of Western standards of development (Arnez, 2009, p. 51). Chewing betel was considered to be a disgusting, old fashioned and signified the inferiority of the Indonesian in the eyes of Dutch colonial rulers (Arnez, 2009, p. 50). Reflecting on these changes, Reid noted that the shift from betel to tobacco smoking had effects on society and the economy:

The shift from betel to tobacco has important social implications. Whereas betel-chewing pre-eminently symbolized the union of male and female, cigarette-smoking has become one of the most important symbols of the expanding modern sector of economy which is dominated by men, in contrast to an older agricultural market economy in which women were prominent.
(Reid, 1985)

Betel-chewing was a tradition that had begun hundreds of years ago, long before tobacco smoking developed and eventually displaced it. This tradition was widespread in South-East Asia and Melanesia (Arnez, 2009, p. 50). In some regions, the tradition of mixing the seed or 'nut' from areca palm and the fresh leaf of the betel vine still exists today, but only in small numbers and mostly in remote areas. Betel-chewing had an important role in social situations, especially in relation to courtship and marriage rituals (Hanusz, 2000, p. 156), although the offering and accepting of betel was more significant in the initiation of everyday social interaction. Smoking tobacco or kretek has displaced betel chewing and also become important in everyday social interaction.

Tobacco also plays a part in the rituals inherited by ancestors from centuries ago. While most Indonesians are Muslim, some Hindu rituals are still carried out by Muslim communities, especially in rural areas. Offerings (sajen), a suitable gift for the Gods, usually consist of flower blossom and rice, arak and betel. Kretek became an addition to these traditional offerings (Hanusz, 2000, p. 161). The smoking of tobacco itself can be thought of as a ritual escape from the realities of everyday life where people can imagine whatever they like in their dreams. Smoking is considered to be a social exchange and is common at cultural gatherings of men and social occasions such as weddings, funerals, religious ceremonies and community meetings. On these occasions, it is appropriate to distribute cigarettes among the attendees (Nichter et al., 2008).

The founding of tobacco companies in Indonesia also has a link with myth and dreams, much like smoking of tobacco itself. A tobacco company founder is said to have visited a grave in the mountain called Gunung Kawi to pray at the grave of Mbah Djugo in the hope of prosperity and good fortune. He actually spent the night there waiting for a sign that his wish will be granted. He succeeded in developing the company afterwards (Hanusz, 2000, p. 168). This myth shows the close relationship between smoking and the dream/imagination/fantasy, which can be freely interpreted as imagining what the future holds.

Smoking tobacco, in this case kretek, is also a symbol of pride and national identity. As the story goes, Haji Agus Salim, the Republic of Indonesia's first ambassador to the United Kingdom, was smoking kretek at a diplomatic reception in London in the 1950s. When asked by one gentleman about what he was smoking, he answered "that, your Excellency, is the reason for [which] the west conquered the world" (Hanusz, 2000, p. 3). Salim's act of smoking was intentionally used to make a point about western colonization and also to make it clear that the newly independent Republic of Indonesia was as independent as Mr. Agus Salim who was smoking kretek at the reception.

The kretek industry has also always been highly creative. Evidence for such creativity can be found in the design of cigarette packages and the

brand naming of cigarettes. Hanusz has noted that the juxtaposition of brand name and product frequently has a surreal quality (Hanusz, 2000, p. 173). An example is the brand “Kulkas” (translated in English: Refrigerator), an odd association for a cigarette and a brand name, and therefore not easily forgotten by customers. Even today, in the era of the prohibition of cigarette smoking on health grounds, the tobacco industry tries to creatively get around the rules that restrict how they may sell their products. Advertisements, public events, and community social responsibility activities, along with other public relations tools, are often used to sustain brand recognition, with the overall aim being to sell cigarettes.

The first recorded tobacco consumption in Indonesian history was written in the *Kartasura*, an eighteenth-century chronicle describing King Amangkurat the first of Mataram Kingdom: “[he] ventured forth from his palace, he was accompanied by thirty female servants, one of whom carried his pipe on the platter and another the fire to light it. A third woman carried his betel-chewing set.” (Hanusz, 2000, p. 23). This chronicle emphasised how tobacco was only used by the royal family or high ranking officials as this strata of society was the one that could afford to fume through a pipe. Hence betel chewing was more popular than tobacco smoking. Until 1760 most Javanese people who smoked used a pipe. It has been recorded in 1658, that an indigenous form of cigarette appeared in form of *Bungkus* (Reid, 1985). *Bungkus* was composed of shredded tobacco wrapped in a dried leaf of maize or banana leaf, similar to *klobot*, which is composed of shredded tobacco leaf in a cornhusk wrap, which was popular in the early 1900s. There was another form of cigarette called *roko* or *rokok*, which was wrapped in a nipah palm leaf, popular in Sumatera and Malaya in 18th century (Reid, 1985). The term *rokok* is still used in the Indonesian language as a term for cigarette. *Bungkus*, *klobot* and *roko* were cheaper forms of cigarette which smokers in that era could afford. These smoking methods were the forebears of the modern *kretek* cigarette.

Having started as a culture of royalty and nobility, smoking eventually spread to all people in society and every class, even the poor. In the note by Dewi Sartika (a pioneer in women’s education in Indonesia) in the early 1930s the habit of smoking, especially by a guest, was considered to be one of the things that a cultured woman of the house should pay attention to by providing the necessary items for it (Sartika, 1933).

The smoking habit was both supported and followed by the rise of tobacco companies which started as small operations at the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century. From then on, tobacco companies formed into large companies, building the smoking empire of Indonesia. This rapid growth created the big tobacco corporations of today, including *Djarum*, *Sampoerna*, *Gudang Garam*, and *Bentoel*. These companies focus on the production and marketing of *kretek* cigarettes, where each company has a different set of brands for different types of consumers.

The tobacco industry's output in Indonesia consists of mainly two products, white cigarettes, which at the end of 19th century were considered a high-class product, and kretek, the older, traditional clove cigarette of Indonesia, which at that time was considered to be the poor people's cigarette. I will focus on kretek, as it is a cigarette product that has struggled to be accepted among the higher classes of Indonesian society. Furthermore, as Tarmadi (1996) has noted, kretek production has developed from a traditional small-scale industry to become an important sector of the Indonesian economy in terms of employment and Government revenue.

A kretek cigarette is different from conventional cigarettes such as cigars and cheroots. It is different because of the ingredients comprising not only tobacco and clove but also other ingredients, as described below. Kretek is relatively unknown outside Indonesia but most smokers in Indonesia smoke it. The word kretek refers to the crackling sound that cloves make when burned—keretek-keretek (Hanusz, 2000, p. 3). The word kretek therefore indicates the imaginative qualities of the naming and branding of cigarettes.

Kretek is said to have been created in the central Javanese city of Kudus, in the late 19th century by a man called H. Djamahri (or, Djamhari, in some spellings). The cigarettes were originally used for sore throats and asthma. Jamhari produced and sold the kretek from his own house, marking the beginnings of the home-industry origins of the tobacco in Indonesia. At this time, cigarettes could only be bought either as home-made cigarettes or from pharmacies where they were sold as a cure for asthma (Budiman & Onghokham, 1987, pp. 105-106).

Kretek ingredients consist of tobacco and two other products—cloves and 'sauce', unlike other cigarettes, which typically consist of tobacco only. 'Sauce' is the term that the Indonesian cigarette industry uses to refer to the additional flavours put into the clove cigarette. Sauce is made from a selection of natural tobacco, fruit and herb extracts, combined with various artificial flavourings and added to the tobacco and clove mixture in order to enhance the flavour of tobacco and give it body and aroma (Hanusz, 2000, p. 90). One single brand of kretek may include over thirty different tobacco varieties while employing more than one hundred different flavours in its sauce (Hanusz, 2000, p. 8). The inclusion of sauce bears the cultural influence of the Javanese people who add spices to everything that they eat. PT. Djarum, one of the biggest tobacco companies in Indonesia, claims that its sauce is also added to augment the flavour and enhance the taste of kretek itself (PT. Djarum, 2009-2011). Sauce is also said to be important to the production of the clove cigarette. Because cured tobacco leaves have high alcohol content and therefore not immediately suitable for consumption, sauce is used to make the tobacco less harsh, stable and consistent in taste. Sauce is not the only factor which differentiates kretek from other kinds of cigarettes: the other ingredient in kretek is cloves. This gives the cigarette a definitive

characteristic, distinctive taste and fragrance. Cloves are the unopened flower buds of *Syzygium aromaticum* which had been dried in the sun to seal in their rich flavours (Hanusz, 2000, p. 5).

Kretek has evolved from a home industry into a large industry, which contributes a significant amount of money to the Government's revenues in the form of excise and tobacco taxation. The tax revenue from tobacco products was 90.6% of total excise tax revenue in 2002 (the remaining 10% was derived from ethyl alcohol and other alcoholic beverages), equivalent to 21,150.8 billion Rupiah (about AU\$ 2.1 Billion). This revenue increased dramatically in the next decade. It increased to 57,000 billion Rupiahs (AU\$ 5.7 Billion) in 2008 and reached 62,759 billion Rupiahs (AU\$ 6.2 billion) in 2011. (Ministry of Health Republic of Indonesia, 2004, p. 66; Daeng, Hadi, Suryono, Siregar, & Septianti, 2011; Basjir, Salim, Hendrocahyono, & Setiawan, 2010, pp. 1,2).

The symbolism of kretek as an Indonesian traditional value that is being kept alive while modernization

impacts on the industry in the form of the hybrid cigarette, very much illustrates how Indonesia has coped with processes of globalization. The hybrid cigarette is one of the indicators of the blending of modern and traditional, local and global. Kretek as one local cultural product is now affected by global influence in the form of the filtered kretek. Their notable features represent the mixture of local culture and the global effect of modernization.

Globalisation is the phenomenon of modern society where there is almost no distance between people in the world. People on every side of the earth can now easily find out what is going on the other side of the planet. This occurrence has influenced how people identify themselves in society. International brands have penetrated local markets which influence how people in Indonesia are culturally shifting into a hybrid culture or, in other words, glocalization. This is a term introduced by Kraidy (1999, p. 472) which is "obtained by telescoping 'globalization' and 'localization' [as] a more heuristic concept that takes into account the local, national, regional, and global contexts of intercultural communicative process".

Methodology

The methodology in this article focuses on concept of glocalization and its representation in cigarette advertisements. Glocalization in the cigarette advertisements, especially Djarum Black, one of the notable filtered kretek.

This article is using concept of semiotic from Barthes. Roland Barthes explored the imaginative effects of signs, elaborated on Saussure's semiotics and addressed the notion of myth, a concept which also has salience for cigarette advertising. Barthes explained that:

In myth, [...there is] the tri-dimensional pattern [...]: the signifier, the signified and the sign. But myth is a peculiar system, in that it is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it: it is a second-order semiological system. (Barthes, 1972, p. 113)

The term myth is used to clarify that there is more than just signifier and signified as Saussure described. Barthes' approach is also more down to earth than that of Baudrillard and Mulvey. Barthes suggests that the system of signifier and signified does not fully account for meaning and that each has a role to play in a second layer of meaning systems. Barthes divides the myth system into meaning-form-concept-signification; the signification being the myth itself (Barthes, 1972, p. 120). Barthes modified Saussure's terms and re-defined 'signifier' and 'signified' to become 'meaning' and 'form', respectively. As noted, Barthes proposed that the term 'concept' be used to combine the 'signifier' and 'signified' into one, while the term 'signification' is applied for the last stage of the system. In the case of the Marlboro cigarette campaign, the Marlboro world becomes the myth that is signified by macho cowboys and the 'wild west'. The myth can be said to be the drawn out meaning which considers all the factors in the structure. Barthes concludes that "there are two semiological systems, a linguistic system (language-object) and myth (metalanguage)" (Barthes, 1972, p. 113), in which the term metalanguage refers to the united meaning from the layers of the system. This semiotic concept of Barthes will be applied in this article to examine the glocalization being represented in Djarum Black TV Commercial in 2002, the beginning of the brand rejuvenating.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Today, advertising plays a distinctive role in promoting smoking as a culture in Indonesia. Gilman and Xun provide a description about how "The brands provide a means by which images are used to define not the tobacco product but the very act of smoking itself" (Gilman & Xun, 2004, p. 21). As part of identity, tobacco advertising creatively connects the individual to social values. Nichter et al. (2008, pp. 98-107) in the research on tobacco advertisements in Indonesia, found out that the themes of tobacco advertisements relating to the personal and the individual are control of emotions or balance, masculinity, adventure, friendship, enjoyment or pleasure, and being modern. Furthermore, Pennock explains that in creating cigarette advertisements, agencies and companies use lifestyle attributes: "Through abundant use of lifestyle symbols, advertisers focus on selling not merely the product, but a total lifestyle that promises pleasure, sexual attractiveness, adventure, and sophistication, among other desirable attributes" (Pennock, 2007, p. 9). Here Pennock sees that agencies, in selling

the cigarette brand, create themes/attributes/social values and generate a particular identity merged with the brand itself.

This article will discuss TV commercial from Djarum Black, one of the brands from PT. Djarum that has a unique packaging, which is also different from other contemporary cigarettes because of its black cigarette wrapping. Djarum Black production uses very modern machinery and 'modern' is a key aspect of the Djarum Black brand characterization. The reason for selecting the Djarum Black advertisement is because it uses novel marketing campaign strategies and is adopted by non-smokers, along with smokers, indicating that the brand has value in the eyes of consumers over and above its connection with cigarettes. Djarum Black is bigger as a brand than as a product. Djarum Black brand advertisements are handled by an advertising agency called MACS909.

Djarum Black advertisements have been handled by MACS909 advertising agency since 2002, since the time the brand emerged in Indonesia. Djarum Black initially only sold to overseas markets notably United States, starting in 1996 (PT. Djarum, 2011). MACS909 has done a very good job in promoting the brand as it is a new brand for the Indonesian market and the agency proved to be a good partner for PT.Djarum. This cooperation has probably lasted because of the nature of the relationship between the advertising agency and PT. Djarum as a cigarette manufacturer has been both successful and harmonious. The agency strives to be aware of what the client wants so that, when creative ideas are generated, the CD (creative director) and AE (Account Executive) can match them with what they expect will be accepted by the client, at times sacrificing their own preferences and creative ideals.

The role of MACS909 is to manage the Djarum Black brand so that it promotes audience attachment to the product. The first step taken by Djarum Black when it started the campaign was to introduce the brand to audiences, creating a buzz about the differentiation and to make sure the audiences knew that PT. Djarum, an established tobacco company, was behind the brand. PT. Djarum is one of the big five locally owned tobacco companies in Indonesia. The observations undertaken reveal a complicated procedure being carried out on a daily basis, with demanding deadlines. It is usual to have a brainstorming session as part of this procedure. It is basically collecting ideas from each member of the group in the creative department to meet the client's demand. At MACS909, even staff members from outside of creative department can give their insight as sometimes ideas can come from anywhere.

During the fieldwork undertaken at MACS909, the observations uncovered the difficulty of creating a single advertisement not to mention a whole campaign. The relationship between the client, product, and advertising agencies is tough to maintain in a positive direction. On the one side, there is demand from the client; on the other, there is an attempt to juggle between

idealism and providing what the client wants. The two sides sometimes have to give up some of their ideals in order to create a decent product/brand advertisement. A presentation of one advertisement requires at least 20+ ideas that have to be seen by the client. The ideas presented to the client are chosen from about 60 ideas which are discussed in sessions of brainstorming. Out of those 20 ideas presented to clients, usually there is only one or two ideas which will get approval from the client, and even the one which is approved at this stage may potentially be dropped from the campaign. This may happen when the story board created by the creative department of the advertising agency is not appealing enough to the client. The long process of creating one regular advertisement is hard work. Creating an advertisement for a cigarette or tobacco product is much harder because of the restrictions on tobacco advertising in Indonesia. The point in creating an effective advertisement—the collaboration between the advertising agency and the company (in this case tobacco company)—is to create a suitable character into the brand, which later on generates a brand identity. Thus it can be said that both organizations in a way are creating identity for the brand and its user.

According to Asep Herna, the Creative Director who handles this account from the very beginning, there are four stages that MACS909 has undertaken to promote the brand. As Asep said in the interview (translated to English):

- C : Since when were you handling Djarum Black?
- Asep : Djarum Black came to MACS around 2002, when the name of Djarum Black itself was born. We have been handling the brand since the brand was born until now, for almost eight years ...It was an immediate success, the trial product targets for six months can be reached in three months...(Interview #2 at Pasaraya Food Court, Asep Herna, Creative Director at MACS909, 18 March 2011)
- C : What is the function of MACS909 itself for Djarum Black?
- Asep : We have been handling this account from 2002 so the positioning of the brand can be pictured here ... Our first job was to have a new positioning for the brand among the competitor's brand in a mild cigarette category, and introduce it to audience... the next level was to have consumer loyalty...and after the brand has established, it became a superior brand... Djarum Black positioning now is at a cult brand level where everybody from any social strata and economy feel that Djarum Black brand become their pride... (Interview #1 at Brewww Café, Asep Herna, Creative Director at MACS909, 16 September 2010)

As we can be seen from the above, Asep tries to break the level or states of the brand into four terms. These terms are suggested by Asep as his approach in upgrading the brand from the beginning. Firstly, the agency introduces the brand and places it in a mild kretek cigarette—a lighter kind of kretek with a white cigarettes look—market positioning; at this level the slogan introduced was “Full of Imagination”. Secondly, after the brand established itself, the next job is to create consumer loyalty. Thirdly, the brand profile and consumer loyalty needs to be established—this is the stage where brand is considered to be superior. Fourth, the established brand becomes the identity of the target audiences or, in Asep’s words, a “Cult Brand”. By this stage, the brand becomes a source of pride and is bonded emotionally with the target audience, regardless of their economic and social strata or even their everyday cigarette use. The brand tries for wide brand recognition and appeal to a much more specific group of product consumers. Asep emphasises the importance of the brand itself rather than the sales of the product: with the brand having achieved its profile, the sales eventually will follow.

A brand achieves cult status when people from any social strata such as truck drivers, motor bike riders, car drivers (from a cheap car to an expensive one) are all using Black as their identity. The identity is represented by the consumer’s use of stickers and any other media with a Djarum Black logo attached to their vehicles, clothing, or helmet. These stickers and media, some of them are not officially created by the company but are of a “Do It Yourself” form created by people outside the official Djarum Black community, can be found in many areas of Indonesian cities, especially big cities. The quality of merchandise created by the outsider is certainly lower than the official one. The official Djarum Black communities are actively encouraged in every city. Some of them are called black car communities, or motoblack (motorcycle) communities. The same characteristic for these communities is that the members have black vehicles with modification parts applied to them and most of the vehicles look ‘cool’. These communities create a new kind of buzz around people in towns, declaring in a sense that the Djarum Black identity of coolness and modernity can be achieved without the requirement for those members of the community to smoke Djarum Black cigarettes. Another event that has created a big buzz is Black Innovation Awards (BIA) that brings together new inventors to present their ideas of innovation for mostly everyday life equipment. The finalists are financially supported by Djarum to build a mock-up of their invention and put it on a display in an exhibition which combines with live music from a well-known performer. Black Innovation Awards can be looked at from a cultural point of view as promotion practices beyond the cigarette brand itself. It does not promote cigarette smoking per se but rather the brand image and eventually the company’s image as modern, creative and contemporary.

As noted by Nichter et al. (2008) in their research on reading culture from tobacco advertisements in Indonesia, the Djarum Black themes of advertising are modernity and control of emotions/balance. The control of emotion/balance is very important for Indonesian culture as it is considered unsuitable and rude to show anger, sadness and other emotions, especially if you are a man (Nichter et al. 2008). Djarum Black, therefore, is a product that keeps emotions hidden. The details of Djarum Black's advertisements, below, will provide an answer as to whether the themes attached to the ad are the same as suggested by previous research or whether this is more to it.

The still photo and visual of Djarum Black advertisements, appearing as part of television commercials, are taken from material given by MACS909 in the period of undertaking the field work in MACS909 in 2010-2011. These advertisements will show the first stage of brand activation created by MACS909 applied. Even though there are four stages spanning from as early as 2002 until now. These advertisements are only a few examples of the first period/stage for Djarum Black.

First Stage
Slogan: Full of Imagination

Shower

Figure 1 Djarum Black Print Ad (MACS909)



Figure 2 Djarum Black TVC Capture (MACS909)

This advertisement is one of the first that introduced the Djarum Black brand to the public in 2002, with the campaign including TVC (television commercial) and print ad from the same storyboard. This TVC started focusing on the young beautiful girl surfacing from the water and surprising a man on the beach because the girl is covered by a hatched black marker. The girl continues her walk to a shower nearby and the hatch dropped reveal a red swimsuit that the girl wears. The sun on the background appears to be a symbol of the glorious success that is shining on the girl. The girl here represents Djarum Black. The actual Djarum Black product is covered by black packaging but the inside still has the well-known Djarum taste. The red swimsuit represents the company, Djarum that has red as their company's colour. The black marker hatch is also representing the product's uniqueness; the cigarettes for Djarum Black are all wrapped using black paper as the result of the ideas and imagination of the company. The fact that the product has its own distinctive style helps give the message to the audience that by using this brand the consumer will have a distinctive style and the imagination created by using the product will be far beyond expectation. The look from the man at the girl creates an assumption of a desire towards the girl, which represents the brand's desirable look and feel. Sexual desire shown by the man is analogised with the smoking desire that the consumer has and Djarum Black offers itself as the answer to that desire. This technique of using sexual imagery has been utilized in marketing for a long time. It was used by Edward Bernays and George Washington Hill in the 1920s and 1930s in the United States. Their campaign was based on psychology to shape mass behaviour and values. They put photos and news articles linking cigarettes, women, beauty and a range of smoking accessories (Brandt, 2007, pp. 80-83).

A man pictured here represents the target consumer who is already in awe looking at the product. The black marker hatch is there to make the consumer curious as to what is inside and the red swimsuit is the answer to the question of quality, because Djarum is already an established tobacco company. The print ad has a similar style along with the TVC (television commercial) using the beach with the waves under the heat of the sun as the symbol of freshness for the brand as the girl signifies it. Depicting beach culture in the advertisement has significance in Indonesia. Indonesians do not have a western-style beach culture, such as using bikinis or doing sun bathing as the characters in the TVC do. The advertisement, therefore, locates the brand in a global, western context, desirable, but not readily accessible to most Indonesians. The advertisement gives the viewer access to a mode of consumption – western beach culture – that they may not be able to experience in other ways.

The girl's and the man's age represent the age of the target audience for Djarum Black, namely, the early 20s. Djarum Black as a new brand has tried to establish the character that will be the backbone of the future advertisement campaign.

This ad tries to mirror contemporary young Indonesian identity, still at the beginning of their matureness and still having a flare of sexual drive that acts as an aspiration to Indonesian audiences. The opposite attraction here as suggested by the ad creates an impression of hormonal urge which is common in the targeted audience. Djarum Black as a product creates a layer of identity that is attached to the user as a youthful, modern, creative and attractive character. This attached identity acts as a ‘myth’, as suggested by Barthes (1972). As Barthes said, ‘myth’ is not defined by the object of its message but rather by the way in which it utters its messages (Barthes, 1972, p. 107). Both characters here seem to like each other, or at least that is the impression that Djarum Black is trying to communicate to the audience. The identity of a young Indonesian is more likely to be “converted” into a western-like identity but still with some hints of traditional culture. After-work hours in Jakarta can be a good example for this. Hanging out at the coffee shop is a cultural tradition among Indonesians but the modern coffee shop today, like the global brand Starbucks, is the destination for young Jakartans after work. The example suggests, again, the hybridization of the culture as hanging out and having a chat after work while drinking coffee and smoking cigarettes is the old tradition but nowadays they are doing it in a global franchise brand such as Starbucks. Even the local café has the same global touch.

The other important thing is that the cast are deliberately chosen to create a global image. The features of these two characters have more western-like characteristics, or at least have the mixture of Indonesian and Western descendants. There is even a term for a person who has this mixed blood of westerner and Indonesian; the term is Indo. Indo is the term used by Indonesian to describe “persons of mixed Indonesian-foreign (usually western) heritage. It’s not quite as the same as *bule*, the term used to describe white westerners” (Kebon, 2011). This term can easily be applied as the hybridization of the product itself, a *kretek* with a modern production line, the fusion of traditional ingredients and the taste of global world.

Bicycle



Figure 3 Djarum Black Print Ad (MACS909)



Figure 4 Djarum Black TVC Capture (MACS909)

The second version of the advertisement, launched in 2002, has almost the same characteristics as the previous one, but instead of using a girl as an object, this time the man is used as an object representing Djarum Black. The focus starts with the man riding a bicycle with his top off and only a black marker hatch covering his private parts. A girl, who is playing Frisbee with her dog, watches in awe as the man passes by, and accidentally throws the Frisbee onto his head and brings him to the ground. In this process the black marker hatch stays on the bike seat and reveals the red pants that the man wears. Again the same symbolism is used in this television commercial, but the sexual desire has shifted from the man to the woman. This creates a significant message for the target consumer that Djarum Black is not only for men but also for women in their early 20s, as suggested by the women's appearance. It can also be said that it represents the male desire to be seen as attractive, and vice versa.

The television commercial shows how the female character is eager to see what's behind the hatch and again this sexual drive is being compared to smoking desire. Mulvey suggest that this is called 'scopophilia', meaning "taking other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze." (Mulvey, 2009, p. 17). The female character is taking the man as their object of desire that in a way controls them, and vice versa. From the two examples of the ads that are being used, it can be seen that this technique delivers the implicit message to the audience of how smoking desire is equated with sexual desire, with both being in need of being satisfied. The campaign appears to address the heterosexual desires of both sexes since both men and women are depicted as the object choice in the MACS909 campaign materials. According to Asep, however, the TVCs were made to raise curiosity among

the audience rather than targeting a particular gender market, as most cigarette smokers are men.

At this stage of the campaign, Djarum Black tries to create a character for the audience and creates a theme that introduces the brand as a form of enjoyment rather than as a symbol of modernity or the control of emotions, as suggested by Nichter et al. (2008) earlier. Although the modernity theme is shown as part of the advertisement, the image of a woman wearing a swimsuit or a man riding a bike with his top off are not regular things that you can see in contemporary Indonesia. Most Indonesian people traditionally (especially conservative Muslims) consider showing their skin as taboo. The man and the woman here reveal themselves as a modern, western-like, more global character that the brand is trying to attach to. Unlike other ads that reflect the realities of the social life of the viewer, Djarum Black ads create a new kind of world that the viewer cannot find in their normal everyday activities. This can only mean one thing: the brand is trying to say that the product itself can move you to another reality where modern, youthful people with more Western-like lifestyles predominate and where beauty and pleasure are in abundance. As previously stated, the identity of Indonesians here is in the hybridization status and easily can be found anywhere in Indonesia especially in urban areas where a western-like lifestyle is followed.

These examples of television commercials at this early stage of the campaign shows that Djarum Black brand as an identity still operates on the exploitation of the product. Brand character at this phase is still eager to reach more general audiences and the use of humour and voyeurism are truly for the purpose of attaching the brand to the target audience's mind because both themes are the easiest way of making the brand remain in the viewer's head. Asep explains in the email interview about this:

Asep : There is no mandatory requirement by Black to display sexual desire in the ads. Even if there is a kind of sexual desire shown it is more designed to express the right way of showing people's curiosity and wild imagination when people associate themselves to the Black colour. (Email Interview, Asep Herna, Creative Director at MACS909, 30 October 2011)

As Asep said, the main aim of every Djarum Black ad is to use creativity to arouse curiosity and wild imagination, but in the final analysis the ad illustrates how sexual desire is still a perfect tool in a marketing campaign. While curiosity and wild imagination culturally in Indonesia are taboo, this ad at the first stage of the brand's life tries to break this taboo by using an unorthodox (in the Indonesian context) method of exploiting sexual desire. The next stage of the brand campaign uses a different approach that gives

another perspective about the brand. Nevertheless, creativity is still the main engine to reach the objective of selling the brand.

CONCLUSION

Djarum Black is the product of Glocalization, which is combining the local cultural background along with global influence. Djarum Black is filtered kretek, combination of filter cigarettes, which represents global influence and kretek an indigenous product. The advertisement itself is actually representing this hybrid culture by using foreigner as talent in the advertisement while promoting a local product from a local brand. This brand is also creating the myth as suggested by Barthes by creating the next layer of meaning in symbolical expression in the advertisements, which represents the glocalization of this particular type of cigarette.

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