SYMBOIC FUNCTIONS OF FOOD
IN SELECTED INDONESIAN CHILDREN’S WRITINGS KKPK SERIES

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Abstract
Food is one of the elements that can reveal the society’s dynamics, beliefs, ideologies, and values. The relation between food and literature is inevitable as food is part of culture; then the relations of characters in a work of literature may involve food. This paper is intended to investigate the symbolic functions of food in some Indonesian children’s writings Kecil-Kecil Punya Karya (KKPK) series, namely Izzati’s Let’s Bake Cookies, Alifia’s Egg Ice Cream, and Haura’s Resep Baru (New Recipe). The umbrella of the theory is Roland Barthes’ food as signifying a system and it is applied in the context of children’s literature. In addition, to scrutinize the cultural-social and production of the work, Bourdieu’s field of cultural production theory is applied. Close-reading is used to collect data in the three writings. The data are tabulated and then analyzed through sociological approach and using descriptive analysis methods. The results show that in, literary works, food functions as: 1) arena for socialization and solidarity; 2) identity marker, both for social and self identity; 3) social class marker; and in socio-cultural production it becomes 4) arena for negotiation for global and local culture.

Keywords: food, symbolic function, children’s writing

METAFORA MAKANAN
DALAM SASTRA ANAK INDONESIA SERI KKPK

Abstrak
INTRODUCTION

The studies on Indonesian children’s literature are still rare, and the issues on it are not often discussed. On the other hand, one of the nation’s characters can be seen through the quality of literary works for children. Cherland (2006) states that children’s literature holds important roles in shaping children’s characters since children learn the values and cultures through the stories, tales, and other readings they read. Gooden and Gooden (2001) assert that children’s books are effective tools to transmit the beliefs and values which later will influence the children’s mind.

Scholars agree that literature for children must be ‘child-centered’. Nurgiyantoro (2004:110) asserts that a good book for children “… must depart from the children’s point of view...and it must be in the children’s understanding.” It becomes an issue and a requisite that children possess the rights for understanding the reading and comprehending the world and the life they are passing through. Sarumpaet (2010) puts it that in reading children’s literature readers must bring all of the elements in the context of children. Children’s literature should reflect the children’s world, read by children, and under adult’s guidance.

Furthermore, Nurgiyantoro (2004) explains that children’s literature may expose anything on life, not only restricted to the children’s world. It may step further than literature for adult, such as the description of animal world, witches magic, and others. It may not be ended in happy ending only, but it may stop in sad ending to bring the realistic picture. Children may be able to conversely identify themselves to the world; however, it must be through the children’s point of view, and then it must be under the children’s comprehension. Huck (1964) states that children literature has to bear some requirements, such as natural plot, worthy contents and themes for the ages of the targeted children, strong persuasion, and also natural life-like characterization. In addition, it needs “happening” in the story.

The development of children’s literature in Indonesia is still underway. Christantiowati (Sarumpaet, 2010) finds that in 1800s there were some reading books dedicated for children in local languages, such as Javanese, Sundanese, Malay, Madurese, and others. Even, the translation version of Sinbad, Robinson Crusoe, 1001 Nights, and Around the World in 80 Days were available. Therefore, it can be drawn that the development of Indonesian children literature was in line with the development of children literature in Europe and America. After Indonesian independence in 1945, children’s books were still rare and they were usually included in the schoolbooks for the sake of school learning. In 1970 Indonesian
government supported Presidential Instruction (Inpres) to develop book publishing, especially children books, even though there was no information whether the project was successful in developing Indonesian children's characters.

Partiningsih (2016) in her research “New Order Era’s Development Ideology in Balai Pustaka’s Children’s Literature” finds that Balai Pustaka’s works of literature became a means to indoctrinate New Order’s ideology to the children’s mind. New Order’s hegemony created a structured literary concept to prevent the development of other concepts, such as socialism or Islamism. A study by Sarumpaet (2001) over 40 realism books published in 1991-1993 finds that all books “use single plot, realistic setting, themes to educate readers, analytic characterization, and didactic style to enforce message. Characters were flat and undeveloped.” Sarumpaet (2002) who worked on her research on children books in 1998 finds that the New Order’s hegemony can still be seen through its programs, such as Indonesian Presidential Aids (Banpres), Foster Parents National Movement (GNOTA), National Discipline Movement (GDN), Compulsory Learning (Wajib Belajar), Pancasila Education (P4), and others. Adult are always right, while children are often considered wrong. Children are still positioned as the objects rather than subjects.

In literature, food is important as food is essential for human’s civilization. Keeling & Pollard (2009: 6) points out that “food is also essential to the cultural imagination, or the imagination period. Thus food proliferates as the product of imagination”.

As food studies today is an important part of literary analysis, it is also indispensable in the field of children's literature. Keeling & Pollard (2009) argue that a child has experienced with food since their early age of living. Hence, the works of literature with food matters are considered familiar for children as food has occurred in the works in many ways.

Lan Dong in her article Eating Different, Looking Different: Food in Asian American Childhood writes the connection of food with identity and how food becomes a means of remembrance of childhood memories. Dong, working on the Jade Snow Wong’s Fifth Chinese Daughter (1950) and Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D Houston’s Farewell to Mazamar: A True Story of Japanese, finds how the characters always attempt to reveal their Asian-American identity through their childhood experiences in food. Blackford (2009) in Recipe for Reciprocity and Repression: The Politics of Cooking and Consumption in Girls’ Coming-of-Age Literature observes the relations of food and gender. Blackford scrutinizes the mythic and how the role of women in eating may bring nervousness in girls’ imagination.

KKPK is today a leading Indonesian literary work written by Indonesian children aged 7-14 years old and published by DAR! Mizan. The emergence of KKPK as media for children writers in Indonesia is interesting, as formerly, the Indonesian children writing has been dominated by adult writers. Therefore, the existence of KKPK is considered as one movement of the children writer’s awakening. Some positive responses arrive, since
besides stimulating children to write, the media can also reflect the children's mind as they are written by children.

The previous study on KKPK has been conducted by Soelistyarini (2013) on her works Gender Representation Tales Indonesian Child Works Author Series KKPK through its editions during 2010 until 2012. She finds that although the writers are children of 21st century, they are still captured in the perception of traditional gender roles, which promote the idea that man is superior to woman. Moreover, she mentions that socializing agents, such as parents, society, and media, have strong influence to the children's perception. Then KKPK to some points contributes to reproduce and legitimize traditional values on gender. Therefore, there are some rooms for researching on the food functions on the writings.

Based on the above consideration, this writing is intended to explore the symbolic functions of food in the works of Indonesian children's writings, Kecil-Kecil Punya Karya (KKPK) series on the editions of Izzati’s Let’s Bake Cookies, Alifia’s Egg Ice Cream, and Haura’s Resep Baru (New Recipe). This is based on the reality that some KKPK writings contain food and food ways which are assumed to have the symbolic meaning behind.

METHOD

Literature may be scrutinized through the aspects of the text inside and the aspects of social, cultural, and production of the works. This paper uses this two kinds of analyses. The first, through the textual context, as the umbrella, the theory used is that of Roland Barthes (1967) stating that food is a signifying system paralleled with language, garment, car, furniture, and other system. This means that there are meanings, ideologies, beliefs, and values that contain in food. Food may reveal the occurrence of history behind its physical appearance. Since the writings are children's literature, the children development theories are also used to support the analysis. Therefore, some studies on children's development stages, children's identity formation, children’s self-concept and the like are used. Then, the sociological approach is applied in the context of children's literature.

The second theory that is used regarding the social, cultural, and production aspects is that of Pierre Bourdieu’s the field of cultural production. In scrutinizing the works of arts, including that of literature, Bourdieu (1993) stressed on the political or sociological that influence them rather than the context inside. Every single work is then socially constructed. This second theory is used to analyze how the factors outside may influence the production of the three writings, focusing on food.

This research consists of several steps. The first step is collecting data through close-reading to the above-mentioned writings. The close-reading-and even repeating-is essential to gain comprehensive understanding about the objects. Not only on the objects, the reading objects also include other supporting data, such as the biography of the authors and some related studies. Second, the data needed are then recorded based on the aims of the research. Third, the data are then classified by doing tabulation on the
symbolic functions and the food that contain. Fourth, the data are analysed based on the theories and its approach, and then compared with other relevant researches on the same topic. Qualitative and descriptive analysis are applied during this stage. Finally, the conclusion is drawn based on the analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

After doing close-reading and recording the data based on the need, the tabulating process is conducted. The tabulating data below is based on the symbolic functions, the works of literature, and the food that signifies. The symbolic functions on the three children’s writing can be elaborated at table 1.

From table 1 it can be seen that the functions of the food in three works of KKPK series include socialization and solidarity, identity marker, social class marker, and a tool for negotiation for global and local culture. The theory of Roland Barthes is used to analyze point 1, 2, and 3, where the works of literature are scrutinized through the context. Meanwhile, the Bourdieu’s theory is used to investigate point 4, which is emphasized on the cultural, socio-production of the literary works.

It also shows that only does *Let’s Bake Cookies* occupy the all functions—socialization and solidarity, identity

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<th>Food</th>
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<td>1.</td>
<td>Socialization and solidarity</td>
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<td><em>Resep Baru (New Recipe)</em></td>
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<td>Identity marker</td>
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<td>Social class marker</td>
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marker, social class marker, and negotiation for global and local culture—among others. Most authors use cake in *Let’s Bake Cookies* and *Resep Baru (New Recipe)* as the food that dominates in the writings as it occupies all the functions.

**Discussion**  
**Food as Arena for Socialization and Solidarity**

Six until twelve-year-old children perceive development tasks, one of which is the maturity in social relation, called as social development. Santrock (2011) asserts that social development can be defined as learning process to adapt to the group’s norms, morals, and traditions; thus, it interacts to be a unity to communicate and cooperate. Social relation, as it is usually called as socialization, starts from the simplest way and then develops into a more complex one along with the child’s age.

In *Let’s Bake Cookies*, *Egg Ice Cream*, and *Resep Baru (New Recipe)* food and food culture frame all of the aspects of the stories. *Let’s Bake Cookies* describes the friendship of Mariello (Marie), Amie, Lizabeth, Lynn, and Stevan. Having a bakery shop, Amie is described as very keen in cooking. Socialization is shown when their close friends visit Amie’s shop to learn how to make an *apple banana crunch pie* (Izzati, 2017: 19-21). The important elements of food and food culture are the processes that include preparation and consumption. The preparation of food reflects the socialization process, where the food becomes the artifact that binds the socialization process among the characters. *Apple banana crunch pie*—temporarily—unites the children by diminishing the social gaps among the children to gain the ultimate goal: producing the finest pie for their peers.

Beside pie, cake is also symbol of socialization that ties the relation not only among children but also the children and adults. When Amie is sick, then Marie cooks *waldorf red cake* to bring despite the difficulties in cooking (Izzati, 2017: 46-50). Marie and friends’ act to make cookies for their teacher when the teacher is sick is also part of bringing solidarity into different position. These acts strengthen food function in widening solidarity and at the same time narrowing the status disparity among people.

This is in line with the research by Toussaint-Samat (2008). Citing the example of the fairy tale *Little Red Riding Hood*, Toussaint-Samat asserts that cake becomes symbol of respect and love to the older people. Moreover, children also learn the process of socialization through the presence of food. The study conducted by Carolyn Daniel (2006) mentions that the significance of feasting time in the works of children literature is an important means for socialization:

> The feasting fantasy in children’s literature is a particularly good vehicle for carrying culture’s socializing messages; it acts to seduce readers; through mimesis it naturalizes” the lesson being taught; and through the visceral pleasures (sometimes even jouissance) it produces, it “sweetens” the discourse and encourages unreflexive acceptance of the moral thus delivered (Daniel, 2006: 4)
In addition, Keeling and Pollard (2018) in their research on Laura Ingall Wilder’s Little House in the Big Woods assert that the family member’s participation, including children, in food production and preparation shows social cooperation. This cooperation shows partnership and installs the stark division between the spouse, where father is responsible for raw material production, while mother holds responsibility for food preparation (2018: 206). Besides, they also explain how food becomes disseminator of Anglo-American values during the nineteenth century of the American’s westward.

Moreover, solidarity then exists in the socialization process. In the context of sociology, solidarity occurs when community members occupy the common values (Scott, 2006:170). Since children share the same goal to create a tasty food and make customers happy, solidarity is formed. Like socialization, solidarity can narrow the status disparity and enhance the individuals’ tolerance. Sharing food in school is also common activity that can create closeness to others and help children tolerate each other as shown in Let’s Bake Cookies and Resep Baru (New Recipe). Toussaint-Samat (2008:208) mentions that literally bread is associated with ‘companies’, which is com, ‘together’ and panis, ‘bread’. It is based on the old community habit of sharing bread since the bread emergence which is continued until today. Like bread, cake also has the functions for sharing in some rites of passage, such as in a child’s communion and funeral.

**Food as Identity Marker**

Sarumpaet’s research in 2001 about characterization in Indonesian’s children literature 1991-1993 finds that mostly the main characters are undeveloped. The central character is usually father, while mother and children are only complementary. Children are passive and disassociated from their right to express their will. Children are put as object that should listen to the adult’s opinion and should be educated to be “a good, polite, and creative people” (Sarumpaet, 2010:77).

Today’s young writers intend to bring children become the party that can empower themselves through their own works. Different from children literature in 1980s and 1990s, these writings are more encouraging children to act as subject and putting responsibility towards their own decision. The older people, such as parents and teachers, act only as the complement, giving some advices yet not dominant.

In the three selected KKPK works, children may have their own decision in arranging menus, creating new recipes, and taking initiatives to practice it to bring to the sick friends, and even to compete with other bake shop. Thus, the acts of cooking can be meant as the establishment of identity in children. In Resep Baru (New Recipe), Haura, the writer, lets the main character, Gaby, explore the food by combining the various kinds of food into a new recipe although it is not a common combination. However, the character shows her responsibility and may take the risk of trying the unusual menu although the result sometimes is unsatisfactory.
Tischler (2011:81) defines a social identity as “...the total of all statuses that define an individual.” Individual may develop his or her social identity through some roles such as a child, student, and others. In *Let’s Bake Cookies*, among Marie, Lizabeth, Lynn, and Stevan, Amie is the best student to cook. Her ability in creating menu of cakes, opening bake shop, and teaching friends to cook becomes some evidences that distinguish her from her peers. The positive image of Amie as outstanding cook then forms her social identity.

Amie, my friend having bakeshop, everyday she always brings many kinds of cakes. She shares to me, Lizabeth, Lynn, and Stevan in our breaktime. If I go to Amie’s house, I will be taught how to make a cake (9)...I like to go to Amie’s, Lizabeth also loves it, so that Lynn and Stevan....she makes various kinds of cakes (Izzati, 2017: 11)

Every individual perceives separate personal identity detached from his/her social identity. Scholar calls it as self, which can be defined as “...the changing yet enduring personal identity...” (Tischler, 2007: 81). Tischler mentions that “the self develops when the individual becomes aware of his or her feelings, thoughts, and behaviors as separate and distinct from those of other people” (81). This stage begins when an individual is on the child age and he/she notices his/her characteristics and he/she may think how the characteristics are presented among others. The self is completed fully during adulthood. One of the concepts of self is the knowledge of the individual’s needs and skills. This concept also develops on how an individual has ability to organize his/her knowledge and beliefs. Amie recognizes herself that she is the expert of cooking among her peers and she uses this to commit influence to others. Not only good at cooking, Amie also teaches her friends how to cook, to create new recipes, and to eat a new menu (Izzati, 2017: 32-33). Amie shares her knowledge to friends and this strengthens the concept of Amie’s self as an outstanding cook.

In the children’s self happens what is called as process of self-identity forming. Erikson (Hurlock, 2014) explains that self identity is how individual attempts to explain him/herself and the role he/she plays in social environment. Marcia & Watterman (2010) assert that self-identity is important in individual. The better self-understanding develops, the more individual's consciousness on his/her strengths and weaknesses develops. Children learn to comprehend their uniqueness, similarities and differences with others.

This concept also runs into the character in *Egg Ice Cream*, Milly. Getting used to involve in experiments with ice cream since childhood, Milly loves in science and helps her parents running their ice cream shop, Sweety Ice Cream. When one time Sweety Ice Cream’s numbers of customers decrease since the customers’ move to the other ice cream shop, Milly moves to create new menu of ice cream, egg ice cream, which is still regarded as unique and attractive. Milly creates identity for herself as the person who is responsible for the continuation of the bakeshop. Hence, food also acts as the medium for children to show their
ability and maturity. Beside involving in food production, Milly also involves in human resources development. She plays music and tells some humorous stories to encourage the chefs and cooks finding attractive new recipes (Alifia, 2017: 31). A research by Ballar (2009) in scrutinizing some Latino American children's stories shows that food marks the changing responsibility and cultural identity of a girl into adulthood. The maturity of a girl is then recognized through the production of food. In difficult situation, the characters of girls in KKPK and Latino American children's writing show that food and its production accelerate a girls' maturation, even supersede the adult's role. Like Ballar's research, the girl's main character in Egg Ice Cream also becomes a bridge between a girl's status into an adult.

In other hands, food also becomes a negative identity marker when Kimberly, who is beautiful, and good at Science, English, and Math, is not able to cook. As the concept of social identity is socially constructed, then society regards her as the person who cannot cook and has no sense of cooking nor creating menus. Society builds negative images about Kimberly's inability in cooking so that it rather frustrates her. In the point of view of the narrator (Marie) and Ms. Catherina, the teacher, Kimberly is potentially creating trouble during cooking, so that she usually receives complaints from Ms. Catherina (Izzati, 2017:61).

Kimberly's concept of identity first has been constructed through her within. She realizes that she is not good at cooking and this self identity has embedded in her mind. This leads into the awkwardness in Kimberley's attitude in dealing with food so that she believes that she will not finish her cooking work. “Hiks....I can't be able to win!” Kimberly cries, “look....look at my cake.” Kimberly is completed her work, but her cake is rather in a mess (Izzati, 2017: 59). Social support, particularly from her peers, is then essential for Kimberly to diminish her awkwardness.

**Food as Social Class Marker**

The class distinction works in individual's life, not only in adult but also in children's community. Class, usually related to income and wealth, automatically forms social status. People with certain occupations and income will occupy certain social status and it determines some accesses to some facilities. People with higher income will be regarded as having higher status and then enable to access more beneficial facilities. People's social class will determine their goods' ownership, including food. The inability of Mariello to buy some luxurious cake becomes a matter that differentiates them with Lynn's and it indicates in what level Mariello's class compared with Lynn's.

“Really?! The cake... the two storey-cake ...can you buy it? My mother would be grumping if I bought the modest one as we don’t have enough money.

“Because your family is rustic,” answered Lynn,“I don’t insult you, but you are really rustic. My mother can afford anything with high quality. She always has money. So does my father” (Izzati, 2017:35).
Children adopt values built by families and imitate the patterns, and build personality through their interaction with others. Thus, family is the first arena for children to identify themselves as social human beings. Children also receive perception of social class and social status from their environment. Lynn, who comes from high economic class family, receiving assumption that she has higher position than her peers, leaves perception that she may do anything, including breaking Mariello's cake that she regards as rustic so it does not match with her social class.

"Thanks’, Mariello. But, I don't want rustic cake from you,” mocked Lynn. Lynn sat on the table crossing her legs. I felt something bad would happen.

“I have special attitude when having food which is not suitable with me. At home, all people receive my reason. Everywhere. I will do.... like this!” Lynn run to me, shaking her arms and throwing the cake down forcefully! “I do it as I am a respected people here. I call school as my home. Nothing is wrong. You know, I don't like cake made by rustic people!” (Izzati, 2017: 82)

Certain food is then identified with certain class through some markers. First, although not specifically mentioned the ingredients, food with low prices is regarded as rustic. Second, food made by people from low economic class is also considered as in low level. Therefore, children from the upper level will not eat the ‘lower-level food’ as they think that it will degrade their position in society. Community will regard children not as separate, independent element, but as a complete entity in a family context. In social relation, community will think about the norm applied in the children’s family. Children from upper level will ‘keep prevent’ their family's social status, so that sometimes they put themselves in a different social relation. The way home enviroment treat will also influence how children identify themselves.

However, the social class is then narrowed through food when Lynn, after completing her school punishment, meets Marie and brings some cake that she made. Food, therefore, becomes the binding tool to keep the friendship and then erase the differences.

**Food and Globalization**

As one artefact of culture, food is inevitably connected with globalization. Kellner’ (1998) mentions that globalization can be meant into two different poles: the positive and negative sides. The advocates of globalization agree that globalization may bring benefits, putting wider chances in economy, politics, cultural diversity, and others. Meanwhile, the critics argue that globalization may be damaging, spreading domination of the first-world countries over the third-world countries in various aspects. It may lead into “undermining of democracy, a cultural homogenization, and increased destruction of natural species and the environment.” Moreover, globalization can result in “eroding local cultures and traditions through a global culture...,” which means that the local tradition is erased, superseded with the global tradition.
When Indonesian children writings in New Order regime mostly used Indonesian setting, today’s Indonesian children writings are more open to the western tradition. The western food usage is one of the evidences of the openness. Moreover, having evening tea and cake tradition reflect that the writer accepts the western culture, and it has no relation with the writer's background. The KKPK writers are born and raised in Indonesia with muslim tradition, writes their literary works in the setting of western culture, something that is rare to find in the literary works of 1970s until 1990s. Izzati, and some KKPK writers who also embrace western values on their works, are building the new image of Indonesian children literature that elements from the west are possible to explore.

Udasmoro (2018) in her research on the self’s narration of teen in Indonesian literature asserts that the use of English in KKPK is one strategy of the authors -which are teens- “...to show and promote their identity” (2018:57). Most authors intend to show their social class-which are mostly middle and upper class-through the use of English. Therefore, English is used to construct the authors’ middle and upper class identity, which simultaneously require the same social class readers. Moreover, Udasmoro adds that the publisher, DAR!Mizan, that hold Islamic ideology, targets the middle and upper-class readers, proven by the high price of the books for lower-class consumers.

In accordance with Udasmoro’s research, the use of English then can also be paralleled with the using of food names. In Let’s Bake Cookies, fudge nougats, pinwheel butterflies, butternut balls, caramel crisp, apple cake, waldorf red cake, banana crunch pie, and fudge pie can be regarded as the tools for establishing identity. In Indonesian context, the use of English names-like Mariello, Lynn, Amie, Kimberly, and Stevan- and English food names is correlated with the high status. Hence, the western food names and also the procedures how to eat the food, which is somehow rather unusual for Indonesian children, are shown to emphasize the identity: Islam, western, middle and upper class society.

Rather different from Let’s Bake Cookies, Egg Ice Cream offers more negotiation between the western and eastern culture. When all of the settings in the first work are about the west, those in the later work are combination of western and Indonesian ones, such as the names of the characters and the names and ingredients of food. The same formation can also be found in Resep Baru (New Recipe), where the writer chooses to negotiate between the local and global food through the food choices, such as nugget, bread, milk, and noodle. Although the food is not originating from Indonesia, but Indonesian children have been familiar enough with the mentioned food. In one hand the writers choose to stay in their origins; on the other hand they would compromise to the existence of western food. They would establish the concept that though they have the ‘duties’ to maintain Indonesian food, they can still adapt to the western food.

The negotiation process may have advantage. It leads the readers to get closer to the writers, as the readers will feel the spirit offered by the writers. The
readers do not feel the distance with the writers through the setting. Moreover, it also leads the readers to wander around the imagination that reflects the ideas of children.

Despite the westernization that emerges in the three writings, a research by Suyatno (2014) on eleven (11) Indonesian children novels written by children-seven (7) of the eleven (11) children writings are published by DAR!Mizan-shows that Indonesian children have strong Indonesian values in their within. The narration of Indonesian identity is reflected in theme, setting, plot, and characterization, while the nationhood is shown through the use of the terms of Pancasila identity, Indonesian language, Indonesian flag, Indonesian cities and others. Therefore, the anxiety about losing the national identity should be diminished as among the westernization, there is still the maintenance of Indonesian identity through the children's writings.

CONCLUSIONS

Food is inseparable from literary works, including those for children. In children writings, food narrates its functions as the arena for socialization and solidarity, the identity marker, social class marker, and the arena for negotiation between the global and local culture. Moreover, food also becomes the tool for children to reveal ability and maturity in dealing with various situation.

Comparing with children literature in 1990s, today's children acquire more opportunities in expressing their ideas and imagination. The breaking down of New Order hegemony enables children writers to bring new opinion about what they see, hear, and learn from social environment without fearing of tresspassing 'the rules'. Therefore, further research is needed, especially through the writers’ perspective about what actually they would like to present, and what they expect from their writings.

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