

Fizzy Sentiments: Coca-Cola and the Global Culture Industry

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Abstract:

This paper explores how the global culture industry shapes human conduct and values in the context of one of the world's biggest brands: Coca-Cola. It is organized to answer the following questions: what is Coca-Cola's public image? Who or what is creating the significance reflected in the product? To what extent is Coca-Cola a cultural sign in the global culture industry? Commodity fetishism allows Coca-Cola to be valued beyond its high-fructose content, and for its intrinsic ideologies. The central argument is that the company's success is embedded in its manipulation of human needs. The Coca-Cola Company is a successful actor involved in the distribution and intensification of the global culture industry because it is a substitute religion that promotes fetishes, which satisfy worldview mythical values such as inclusiveness and peace. Through a structuralist theoretical framework, this study concludes that Coca-Cola's consumption involves the absorption of symbols, mythologies, and fetishes fixated in the brand's image for universality, which ultimately harbour sentiments that are easily worshipped like many religions are in the world.

Résumé :

Cet essai explore comment l'industrie de la culture globale façonne la conduite et les valeurs humaines dans le contexte d'une des plus grandes marques mondiales : Coca-Cola. Il répond aux questions suivantes : Quelle est l'image publique de Coca-Cola ? Qui ou quoi crée l'importance reflétée dans ce produit ? Dans quelle mesure est-ce que Coca-Cola est un signe culturel dans l'industrie de la culture globale ? Le fétichisme de la marchandise permet à Coca-Cola d'être valorisé au-delà de sa teneur en fructose et de ses idéologies intrinsèques. L'argument principal est que le succès de la compagnie est intégré dans leur manipulation des besoins humains. La compagnie Coca-Cola est un acteur accompli, impliqué dans la distribution et l'intensification de l'industrie de la culture globale parce que c'est une substitution de religion qui fait promotion des fétiches, qui donnent satisfaction aux valeurs mythologiques mondiales telles que

l'inclusion et la paix. Au moyen d'un cadre théorique structuraliste, cette étude conclut que la consommation de Coca-Cola entraîne l'absorption de symboles, mythologies et fétiches fixés à même l'image de la marque d'universalité, ce qui, ultimement, entretient des sentiments qui sont facilement vénérés comme plusieurs religions le sont autour du monde.

Introduction

Being one of the most recognized brands in the world, it is crucial to ask what kind of reality Coca-Cola is establishing for us? One does not need to drink it to be influenced by the meanings the brand projects today. How did Coca-Cola get involved in the global culture industry and why is it so successful? Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer conceptualized the term "culture industry," arguing that cultural ideals are mass-produced in advanced capitalist nations in order to create a passive society that is easy for the elite class to manipulate.¹ The Culture Industry commodifies cultural goods and ideologies, which sustain a status quo and reduces the threat of rebellion. Shane Gunster, associate professor of the School of Communication at Simon Fraser University suggests that culture is embodied in objects in an omnipresent form in daily life.²

Coca-Cola's success is ultimately embedded in its manipulation of human needs. This paper follows a structuralist theoretical framework in order to answer the primary research question: how does Coca-Cola manipulate our current reality? The paper will be organized based on the following case studies: the sanctity of Coca-Cola, myth-making, and Coca-Cola's global materialization as a cultural sign. The structuralist argument is supported by Barthes' theory on mythologies, defining myth as "a type of speech" that has a hidden set of rules, codes, and conventions which are distinguished to a specific

¹ Scott Lash and Celia Lury, *Global Culture Industry* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

² Shane Gunster, "Global Culture Industry: The Mediation of Things by Scott Lash; Celia Lury," in Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol 41, No.3 (2008):791-792.

social group and become universalized, or "given" for the whole of society;³ Chidester's focus on religious fetishism, defined as abstract concepts worshipped for the potency of their meanings:⁴ and Foster's notion of materialism, "the sensual or sinful enjoyment of material things" maximized through antisocial selfishness or unchecked greed.⁵ The Coca-Cola Company is a successful actor involved in the distribution and intensification of the global culture industry because it is a substitute religion, which promotes fetishes that satisfy worldview mythical values such as inclusiveness and peace.

The Sanctity of Coca-Cola

Universality is an ideology that validates an individual's sense of belonging in society. It is the process of making the ruling ideas of a few the ideas of all.⁶ These meanings do not start at the point of production.⁷ Coca-Cola is successful because its fetishes confirm society's preexisting ideas of peace and love, which most religions try to impose. Mark Pendergrast is a freelance journalist with numerous publications focusing on the relationship between social phenomena and subcultures created by various global and local socioeconomic structures. He describes Coca-Cola as the "Great American Soft Drink". The Coca-Cola Company grew after the Civil War as industrialization, and a revolution in transportation offered better access to the national market. The consumer base also grew with an influx of immigrants coming into the US. Soda water was

³ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies: The Complete Edition, In a New Translation* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012), 147.

⁴ David Chidester, "Religion and American Popular Culture," Journal of the American Academy of Religion, Vol. 64, No. 4 (1996).

⁵ Robert J. Foster, *Coca-Globalization: Following Soft Drinks from New York to New Guinea* (New York: Palsgrave Macmillan, 2008), 4.

⁶ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies: The Complete Edition, In a New Translation* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012). ⁷ Lash and Lury, *Global Culture Industry* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 135-152.

distinctly known as an "American drink". It became a national drink that represented the idea of American democracy and western civilization because it was accessible to all "…the millionaire may drink champagne while the poor man drinks beer, but they both drink soda-water".⁸ Coca-Cola had been a product easily influenced by world events, as well as an influential force itself. The company is durable because it self-corrects as time progresses while global values change. Mark Pendergrast insists that Coca-Cola symbolizes the essence of capitalism because the mythology it supports has no real moral basis, and the commandments are unnatural and created for the sake of gaining profit.⁹

Pendergast suggests that Coca-Cola's "sacred" image is traced back to its invention when the drink maintained an "aura from cocaine" which remained in the formula from 1886 to 1902.¹⁰ In that time frame, cocaine was considered as "nature's (god's) best gift in medicine".¹¹ Pendergrast explains that Coca-Cola substitutes modern religion because it promotes worldviews more appealing than existing religions, such as the general myth of love, happiness, peace, and universal friendship.¹² These are positive moods that have "worshipful" elements to them. With Barthes' contribution in mind, this sentiment also implies that Coca-Cola's widespread drug-like consumption is necessary to harmonize society because humans are discontent "beset by psychological and physical troubles, by boredom and spiritual ambitions".¹³ Coca-Cola exploits basic human desires to the point where people are consuming the interpretation of the product rather than the actual liquid. Barber also suggests that this psychological effect Coca-

⁸ Mark Pendergrast, For God, Country & Coca-Cola: The Definitive History of the Great American Soft Drink and the Company That Makes It: Third Edition Revised and Expanded (Basic Books, eBook, 2013), 32.

⁹ Ibid., 688.

¹⁰ Chidester, "Religion and American Popular Culture," 749.

¹¹ Pendergrast, For God, Country & Coca-Cola, 44.

¹² Chidester, "Religion and American Popular Culture," 744.

¹³ Pendergrast, For God, Country & Coca-Cola, 674.

Cola has persuades people into thinking they need these products in their lives which "wins the war" as opposed to simply "occupying a town".¹⁴

David Chidester, professor in the field of Comparative Religion at the University of Cape Town observed that religion was a "system of symbols" rather than a specific institution in America.¹⁵ Drawing from Pendergrast's work, Chidester notes, "Coca-Cola has become a fetish at the center of a popular American system of religious symbolism".¹⁶ He insists,

the institutional formation of the church, the powerful but artificial making of the fetish, and the non-productive expenditure of the potlatch, for our understanding of the character of religion; and the ways in which the very term 'religion' including its definition, application, and extension, does not, in fact belong solely to the academy but is constantly at stake in the interchanges of cultural discourse and practices.¹⁷

A fetish is also conceptualized as an abstract construction "beyond rational comprehension or economic evaluation."¹⁸ Scholars such as Marx and Freud agree that fetishes are human constructions of a desired object that contributes to the "making of modern subjectivities and social relations".¹⁹ "State Fetishism" is also crucial in "masking the rationality and terror of the modern political order".²⁰ Chidester concludes that "advertising- as-religion has transformed the 'fetishism of commodities" where capitalist societies become symbolic with its commodities becoming fetish objects.²¹ Marx and Freud suggest that fetishes are something "we" make as a reflection of a

- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 684.

¹⁵ Pendergrast, For God, Country & Coca-Cola, 744.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 745.

¹⁸ Ibid., 752.

²¹ Ibid., 751.

desired object, or the objectification of a desire.²² The fetish has indeterminate meanings and represents "an unstable center for a shifting constellation of religious symbols".²³

Coca-Cola's myth contains a contradiction: it is perceived as modern despite the fact that it has been present for several generations.²⁴ The fact that this company has been around for decades and still manages to maintain a nostalgic, traditional image of modernity on an intergenerational basis demonstrates the myth of Coca-Cola having a supernatural, immortal presence. This contributes to its sacred image, materialized to unify communities through intergenerational nostalgia. Fetishes are often rooted in the belief in supernatural beings, the distinction between sacred and profane.²⁵ Coca-Cola's global marketing of such myths "ensures a sense of continuity" in their fetishization despite globalization altering the traditions, heritage, and collective memories of people in diverse societies.²⁶ This continuity across time and space demonstrates the notion that Coca-Cola is here to stay. Coca-Cola "institutionalizes a sacred memory of the past that informs the present," and represents the sacred space of home by also producing a ritualized space that domesticates and gives the fetishes a home.²⁷

Myth-Making

Barthes emphasizes that rituals of contemporary societies are subject to a systematic

²² Ibid., 752.

²³ Pendergrast, *For God, Country & Coca-Cola*, 752.

²⁴ Daniel Miller. *Material cultures: Why some things matter* (London: University College London Press, 1998).

²⁵ David Chidester, "Religion and American Popular Culture," Journal of the American Academy of Religion, Vol. 64, No. 4 (1996), 759.

²⁶ Ibid., 745. ²⁷ Ibid.

distortion at risk of being dehistoricized, "naturalized", and converted to a myth.²⁸ Myths are rooted in what society perceives as "common sense" or "moral codes" which conceal ulterior motives. Ideologies embedded in myths often thrive beneath consciousness.²⁹ According to Barthes, myths embody a message which is not necessarily an object, concept, or idea, but a "mode of signification" or form.³⁰ Coca-Cola markets a decorated, adaptable message to a certain type of consumption "laden with literary self-indulgence, revolt, images, in short with a type of social usage which is added to pure matter".³¹ Drawing from Hebdige and Barthes' discussions, meanings are given through a framework that is created artificially in itself. Barthes insists that these frameworks are arbitrary mythologies that are given values through revealing a hidden desire. This hidden desire must be repressed. Coca-Cola's myth is a way of masking humanity's consciousness of their deeper, darker desires of incest and murder.³² Myths allow humans to escape this reality, but this reality is based on ideologies of humanity to protect itself from the ugly truth.

Like wine in France or milk for the Dutch, Coca-Cola was initially perceived as a national totem drink. In Barthes' view, a totem "supports a varied mythology which is not embarrassed by contradictions", while "thirst serves as an initial alibi for its consumption".³³ As a totem, Coca-Cola also serves "as an alibi for dreams" and reality, depending on the consumer.³⁴ Coca-Cola's consumption makes one feel included, but also unique. Consuming Coca-Cola in a normalized setting such as a social gathering

²⁸ Barthes, *Mythologies: The Complete Edition*, 146.

²⁹ Ibid,. 148.

³⁰ Ibid., 215.

³¹ Ibid., 218.

³² Erich Fromm, *The Nature of Man: Readings Selected*, (New York: Macmillan, 1968).

³³ Ibid., 79.

³⁴ Ibid., 80.

allows one to feel part of a collectivity. Consuming it outside its naturalized setting also expresses novelty. Coca-Cola provides a collective morality where excess, disasters, and crimes are possible with its consumption and materialization, "but not wickedness, perfidy, or ugliness; the evil it can engender is in the nature of fate and therefore escapes penalization, it is a theatrical evil, not a temperamental one".³⁵

Coca-Cola is socialized for its decorative and moral value. It can "embellish" ceremonial occasions from simple snacking, to an occasional feast.³⁶ It adapts to every kind of atmosphere, covering all of a consumer's spaces and times. A detailed awareness of everyday life draws out the Raison d'etat or exoticization of it in a world where Coca-Cola is materialized. Besides the fizzy brown drink, the Coca-Cola Company owns other products such as Dasani bottled water, Bacardi mixers and Minute Maid fruit juice. If one does not drink anything owned by Coca-Cola, they will attend an institution that receives funds from the company such as a school who agreed to place Coca-Cola vending machines, or a football game with Coca-Cola recycling bins. "There is no situation of physical constraint" which does not inspire dreams of Coca-Cola.³⁷ In other words, individuals may prevent themselves from drinking Coca-Cola through rationalization, but they will always be physically drawn to something owned by the Coca-Cola brand like water. Coca-Cola's consumption is promoted in all climates and seasons even though it is a cold beverage. An example would be its advertising in the winter with images of Santa Clause or polar bears.

Coca-Cola's success in the global culture industry is also owed to the contemporary sociopolitical conditions of our time. "Particular sets of social relations,

³⁵ Fromm, *The Nature of Man*, 81.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

particular ways of organizing the world appear to us as if they were universal and timeless".³⁸ Coca-Cola's worshipful myths are products of contemporary processes of technological globalization where the world became unipolar after the Cold War, and the proliferation of American "democratic" values are implicitly dominating the global culture industry aided by the Internet. ³⁹ Human history shapes reality into speech.⁴⁰ "The meaning of the myth has its own value, it belongs to history".⁴¹ One does not need to drink Coca-Cola to know what it stands for because of its timeless materialization.

The idea of "Sharing a Coke" began as an implicit foreign policy objective of the US to promote "democracy" and "freedom" in Cold War politics. Coca-Cola distorts its myths to make them seem apolitical, transmitting messages of "universal sharing" and "universal values". The company has a system of "connected capitalism" where it maintains a relationship between governments, non-profit organizations, and multinational corporations to fight against global issues (climate change) and boost private sector profits through a gold triangle of business, government, and civil society interactions.⁴² It maintains a relationship with governments to allow its product to thrive in international markets. The company engages in the politics of its consumer nations. One example was when Roberto Goizueta, CEO of Coca-Cola from 1980 to 1997 attempted to persuade George H.W Bush to withdraw China's status as a Most Favored Nation.⁴³ The company also supported Nelson Mandela during the Apartheid.⁴⁴

³⁸ Ibid., 149.

³⁹ Mark Pendergrast, For God, Country & Coca-Cola: The Definitive History of the Great American Soft Drink and the Company That Makes It: Third Edition Revised and Expanded (Basic Books, eBook, 2013); Robert J. Foster, Coca-Globalization: Following Soft Drinks from New York to New Guinea (New York: Palsgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁴⁰ Ibid., 218.

⁴¹ Ibid., 226.

⁴² Pendergrast, For God, Country & Coca-Cola, 689.

⁴³ Ibid., 687.

What is invested in the myths and fetishes of Coca-Cola is "less reality than a certain knowledge of reality; in passing from meaning to form, the image loses some knowledge".⁴⁵ The concepts in the messages are not all abstract, or a purified essence, rather its "coherence are above all due to its function".⁴⁶ Coca-Cola's messages represent themselves in the convenience of time and space. They do not introduce new myths and fetishes; just reproduce the ways in which they are materialized. Barthes states that quantitavely, the concept is much poorer than the signifier because it often does nothing but re-present itself.⁴⁷ Myths do not hide anything, but "their function is to distort, not to make disappear".⁴⁸ The creation of a myth is ultimately constituted by its demands.⁴⁹

The myths endorsed by Coca-Cola are values with no guaranteed truth, but nothing prevents it from being a "perpetual alibi". ⁵⁰ Intentions of the myths are naturalized in order for it to be perceived as actualized system instead of a semiological one. ⁵¹ Coca-Cola's myths are never "out of date" because they contemporize through the Internet, and patterns of commercialization in events and quotidian activities (sports tournaments or a booth at a local mall). Myths give in return a natural image of reality. Unknown are only the natural unconscious instincts of humankind, which these images conceal and distort.

- ⁴⁶ Ibid., 229.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., 231.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., 233.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., 242.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 688.

⁴⁵ Barthes, *Mythologies: The Complete Edition*, 228.

Global Materialization

Barthes argues that the reader determines the meaning of a commodity despite the producer's intentions. His "death of the author" theory insists that the consumer determines the relevance of a brand, rather than the brand itself.⁵² Coca-Cola manipulates human fetishes because it is the best way for us to like their product, and the most effective way to reap profits quickly. The company is not necessarily telling the consumer what to like, just gives us what we do like in the form of a drink. Foster explains that the consequence of investing Coca-Cola's messages with qualities of ubiquity and universality "was to render the absence of Coca-Cola as symbolic of radical different and invidious distinction". ⁵³ Coca-Cola's success is owed to the adaptability of its image. While the product is American, the message can be understood internationally because the product adjusts to the local context.⁵⁴

Coca-Cola's slogan, "Have a Coke" or "Share a Coke" could be translated into multiple languages, creating an "arbitrary system of nomenclature applied to an independently (and universally) apprehended reality."⁵⁵ While drinking Coca-Cola might be a way of making friends in the US, friendship is not exclusively American; hence Coca-Cola is able to insert itself into social contexts almost everywhere.⁵⁶ The semiotic qualification of Coca-Cola is "double-sided". While it reminds people of home, such as American soldiers deployed overseas, its global distribution also implies that "its

⁵² Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author", *Image/Music/Text*. Trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977).

⁵³ Foster, *Coca-Globalization*, 43.

⁵⁴ Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, *Between Marx and Coca-Cola* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 96.

⁵⁵ Foster, *Coca-Globalization*, 42.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

availability outside [the US] bespoke its appeal to universal tastes and values".⁵⁷ Coca-Cola's materialized myths also demonstrate the power of multi-locality, "a diversity of local places and customs organized within a common framework of agreed upon values".⁵⁸ Coca-Cola's advertisements across the globe visualize the consumption of the product within local contexts. For example, advertisements depict individuals clad in their traditional cultural clothes holding a bottle of Coca-Cola, the brand is written in the native language, or has national flags and symbols on it.

Coca-Cola's myth manipulates the concept of organized diversity; instead it really constitutes homogeneity.⁵⁹ While their advertisements promote differences, this notion of diversity is a standardized set of vocabulary and content that becomes commodified. "The celebration of particular kinds of (usually commodified) difference-say in food, dress, or music- entails the suppression of other kinds, in moral and political values or concepts of personhood.⁶⁰ "Cultural particularities are often articulated in universal forms," transforming them into myths and fetishes like morals.⁶¹ This is also related to Marx's paradoxical commodity form that emphasizes an "exchange value" and "use value" double-sided existence.⁶² National cultures become commercial cultures where "consumption is thus linked with citizenship and endorsed as a form of practical patriotism"⁶³

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 43.

⁵⁹ Foster, *Coca-Globalization*, 36.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 105.

Miller states that Coca-Cola objectifies globality that also retains a localized image "within a large frame of spatialized identity".⁶⁴ The image of what is global is not necessarily a universal image, but determined by a local setting. Coca-Cola is a "meta-commodity" with meanings filled with "almost anything those who wish to either embody or critique a form of symbolic domination might ascribe it".⁶⁵ Coca-Cola's advertisements are localized regionally to the extent that Coca-Cola does not initially project anything itself, but reflects at first glance.

Another way Coca-Cola enforces values is by attaching the alienated product to the personality of the consumer.⁶⁶ This constitutes Coca-Cola's myths, and adheres to the fetish of inclusiveness. A prime example is the trend of having one's name printed on the side of a Coca-Cola can or bottle, personalizing the alienated product. This also perpetuates a gift-giving process, where consumers are able to personalize their drinks by printing a significant others' name beside the given phrase, "Share a Coke with..."⁶⁷ In order to steer away from accusations of 'Americanization', Coca-Cola invests in products which personifies its consumption beyond its affiliation to an institution, but an individual's personhood. In this way, "the person of consumers enhance the value of brands".⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Daniel Miller. *Material cultures: Why some things matter* (London: University College London Press, 1998), 260.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 246.

⁶⁶ Foster, Coca-Globalization, 29.

⁶⁷ Lash and Lury, *Global Culture Industry*, 135-152.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Conclusion

This analysis is crucial in International Studies to demonstrate how a physical object absorbs and exudes identity politics in an international context. This study emphasizes that the object's identity is a critical marker in conducting politics in a global setting because politics is ultimately a game of power in which identity is key in defining social hierarchies and the distribution of resources. Marx would argue that Coca-Cola does not strike as foreign, and conceals social relations acting at a distance.⁶⁹ Coca-Cola is a symbol of consumer culture that understands the real threat of consumerism. The company must materialize myths and fetishes to exist.⁷⁰ Coca-Cola's impact in the global culture industry must be further studied by a semiotic analysis of the language, experience, and reality of its materialization. Semiology or semiotics studies how meaning is created through signs, symbols, and their interpretation.

Fetishized objects are always under the risk of being exposed as something artificial, so there must be more focus on studying the ways in which such "artificial" religious constructions generate moods and produce real-life effects in the world. Barthes concludes by emphasizing that it is crucial to study myths to clarify the nature of our reality through facts. There must be reconciliation between humankind and reality, description and explanation, and object and knowledge in order to intellectually liberate ourselves from a materialized and penetrated object.⁷¹

Coca-Cola's omnipresence in the global culture industry is both a result of coercion and consent. From an economic standpoint, the company is involved in a grand scheme of perpetuating a capitalist system, while manipulating human emotions to hide

⁶⁹ Ibid., 18.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 72.

⁷¹ Barthes, *Mythologies: The Complete Edition*, 274.

the environmental and social destruction it is partaking in. The company's success is owed to its strategy of corporate citizenship.⁷² Its material production depends on their public image of companionship in order to access local natural resources such as water, sugar, and a willing labor force. The product's consumption and production encourages municipalities to run programs to accommodate the company, such as recycling programs to prevent the widespread littering of aluminum cans. There are many movements trying to ban or control the company's access to domestic markets such as health movements trying to reduce its consumption because of the high sugar content. Coca-Cola sponsors programs to promote exercise and healthy living as a way to control the progress of the health movement. When Barack Obama was giving a speech in the Pepsi Center in 2008, Coca-Cola placed waste bins outside the property to prove its "benevolent" omnipresence.

No matter what position Coca-Cola has in one's life, it is materialized and consumed in one way or another. The Company's active role in people's daily lives is coercive, slowly limiting the choices people have in the goods and services being bought and sold. The problem is that it deceives one into thinking they have a multitude of options. Coca-Cola's myths adhere to human fetishes that prevent individuals from realizing their darker subconscious desires. Its materialization prevents humans from realizing such desires, but is also part of the grand scheme of inhibiting the human's potential for rationalization and thinking critically. In the mentality of its consumption, "it is just a drink". This myth alone is very powerful in the sense that Coca-Cola is able to

⁷² Constance L.Hays, *The Real Thing: Truth and Power at the Coca-Cola Company* (New York: Random House, 2004).

outlive political and intellectual revolutions throughout time because its larger role in myth-making and religious fetishism is not so apparent for the consumer.

Coca-Cola absorbs pre-existing ideologies, transforming them into myths with fetishes that are invisible to the average consumer. Coca-Cola adapts, and reinvents itself in the consumer's reality where it is able to ingrain its myth deeper into the human's understanding of their materialized world. As a business, the significance Coca-Cola embodies and projects is sustained through a reciprocal relationship with the consumer. The company knows what the consumer wants and gives it to them, but in order for the business to survive, the company sustains these desires through further manipulation and coercion. The myths and fetishes Coca-Cola materializes are perceived as objective to reality in order to hide the true reality that there is no humanity, only malice. Of course Coca-Cola's primary goal is to gain profit, but in the larger structure of society, the Coca-Cola myth is necessary for maintaining a certain level of peace and harmony in a persisting capitalist world.

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