

THE PORTRAIT OF POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE IN AMERICA IN 1960S AS REFLECTED IN THE NOVEL GO SET A WATCHMAN BY HARPER LEE

ABSTRACT

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There are objectives that become the purpose of this research: 1) to describe the factors cause the political discrimination against black people in America in 1960s as reflected in the novel *Go Set A Watchman* by Harper Lee and 2) to find the strategy of political discrimination against black people in America in 1960s portray in the novel *Go Set A Watchman* by Harper Lee.

The theory used in this research is the Sociology of Literature and hegemony theory by Gramsci about dominance and direction/leadership and discrimination as supporting theory. The methodology employed is qualitative research which the researcher aims to study the the issue of political discrimination and the factors cause the political discrimination.

In the process of collecting data, the researcher collected from primary and secondary data. The primary data is the story and relation issue in the novel which about the factors causing political discrimination and the strategy of political discrimination against black people in America in 1960s.

The researcher concludes that the issue reflected in the novel, there are some factors causing the political discrimination against black people, they are dominance and direction/leadership which is the phase of hegemony. The strategy of political discrimination against black people are discrimination in accepting the equality as the opportunity in part of government agency, discrimination in sharing the responsibility of citizenship and discrimination of the rights to vote. Those discrimination has the purpose to limiting black people become the participant of board council.

Keywords: The Portrait, Political Discrimination, Black People in 1960s

POTRET DISKRIMINASI POLITIK TERHADAP ORANG KULIT HITAM DI AMERIKA PADA TAHUN 1960AN SEPERTI TERCERMIN DALAM NOVEL GO SET A WATCHMAN KARYA HARPER LEE

ABSTRAK

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Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah: 1) untuk menggambarkan faktor-faktor penyebab diskriminasi politik terhadap orang kulit hitam di Amerika pada tahun 1960-an sebagaimana tercermin dalam novel *Go Set A Watchman* oleh Harper Lee dan 2) untuk mengetahui strategi dalam diskriminasi politik terhadap orang kulit hitam di Amerika pada tahun 1960an yang tergambar pada novel *Go Set A Watchman* oleh Harper Lee.

Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah Sosiologi Sastra dan teori hegemoni oleh Gramsci tentang dominasi dan arah/kepemimpinan, selain itu diskriminasi sebagai teori pendukung. Metodologi yang digunakan adalah penelitian kualitatif yang bertujuan untuk mengetahui masalah diskriminasi politik dan faktor-faktor penyebab diskriminasi politik.

Dalam proses pengumpulan data, peneliti mengumpulkan data primer dan sekunder. Data primer adalah cerita dan isu relasi dalam novel tentang faktor-faktor penyebab diskriminasi politik dan bagaimana strategi dalam diskriminasi politik terhadap orang kulit hitam di Amerika pada tahun 1960-an.

Peneliti menyimpulkan masalah yang tercermin dalam novel, bahwa ada beberapa faktor yang menyebabkan diskriminasi politik terhadap orang kulit hitam, yaitu dominasi dan arah/kepemimpinan yang merupakan maksud hegemoni sebagai strategi politik. Selain itu, mengetahui strategi diskriminasi politik terhadap orang kulit hitam yaitu diskriminasi dalam penerimaan kesempatan yang sama pada lembaga pemerintah, diskriminasi dalam pembagian tanggung jawab sebagai warganegara dan diskriminasi dalam hak untuk memilih. Diskriminasi tersebut bertujuan untuk membatasi orang kulit hitam menjadi anggota dewan pemerintahan.

Kata Kunci: Potret, Diskriminasi Politik, Orang kulit hitam pada tahun 1960an

INTRODUCTION

Human is one of exquisite God's creation. Even though human is difference to each other but those difference is their exquisite. However those difference have been created human in a group. The difference is sometimes based on their ethnicity, religion, physically or mentally disabled and social status. The group can be divided based on the characteristics of the equation and the difference due to the existence of classes in the group by itself. That difference can lead people to influence each other and even people dominate others in order to obtain the same goal.

Discrimination in this field is an capable act of causing prolonged conflict because discrimination is an injustice implanted by an individual or group to another group. According to Allport, discrimination involves denying individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish (1954, p.51). People do discrimination in order to reach their goals without considering other people goals and courtesy. Furthermore, discrimination against an individual may be based on overall assumptions about members of a disadvantaged racial group

that are assumed by applying to that individual. However discrimination may also occur as the result of institutional procedures rather than individual behaviors.

African Americans or black people have been a major part of the United State population. They accounted for nearly one-fifth of the 3.9 million Americans counted in the 1790 Census (Population Bulletin, 2007, p.3-4). Nearly all of these early blacks traced their roots to African slaves brought to the country involuntarily during the 1700s (p.4). The slave trade was illegal by 1808, ending the flow from Africa (p.4). It means, when black people enters America, they were forced to become a slave because most of them does not has capability, uneducated and trying to find their new place.

The difference treatment in every aspect among black and white people has the longest path. According to Digital History, the statistics were grim for black people in 1960 (2016, p.1). Their average life-span was seven years less than white people (Digital History, 2016, p.1). Their children had only half the chance of completing high school, half the chance of completing college, and half the chance of entering a profession when they grew up. Despite a string of court victories during the late 1950s, many black people were still second-class citizens (Digital History, 2016, p.1). Black people suffered humiliation, insult, embarrassment, and discrimination. Many neighborhoods, businesses, and unions almost totally excluded black people. Black people enters America when the time of development of cotton field own by white people increase then from that moment black people receive the inequality behavior from white people as the superior class.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research considers the literary works reflects the situation when the novel *Go Set A Watchman* was created in 1960s, although those novel printed and release in 2015. Literature is direct reflection of various facets of social structure, family relationships, class conflict and possibly divorce trends and population composition (Swingewood, 1972, p.13). The function of sociology of literature is to discover how the literary works have values to the society and literary works considers the representation of real society life with norms and values. Those reflection includes the values, norms and meanings in social world (Swingewood, 1972, p.15). In relation to this novel is how the life of African American or black society in 1960s where unfair and inequality treatment is often accepted by black people and other social issues.

1. Hegemony Gramsci

In its historic sense, hegemony refers to the political dominance of one country or state over another or group of others. Furthermore, it implies a high level of influence, authority or control over others. It is method for gaining and maintaining power. Gramsci explained that

hegemony can be elaborated on the basis of class supremacy, the supremacy of social group manifest itself in two ways, as domination and as intellectual and moral leadership (in Patria, 1976, p.57). It means that hegemony related to attitude and strategy in coordinating and gaining power. Kurniawan then said that hegemony by Gramsci, therefore, is all about convincing others that something is in their best interests, as opposed to using force or intimidation to achieve the same outcome (2010, p.253). The influence disseminated is not violently but rather instilling in the hegemony with peaceful acceptance. The domination refers to people or institution capacity for violence, which can be used against those who refuse to participate in relations of production.

Hegemony is not a dominating relationship using power, but rather a relationship of agreement using political and ideological leadership. It means either force or consensus needs to run together in order to reach the power.

1.1 Dominance

Domination is a violent leadership involving officers such as police and prosecutors. When dominance continues for considerable period of time, it becomes a structured phenomenon and forms of dominance become the social structure of society. Dominance is a concept of reality that spreads through society in an institution or an individual, giving influence that shapes morality, political principles and all social relations, especially from intellectual and morally oriented (Patria and Arief, 2015, p.121). Gramsci in this regard, supports Lenin's dictatorship because it is specifically used to refer to intellectual and moral leadership levels as well as political dominance (in Patria and Arief, 2015, p.121).

1.2 Leadership or Direction

Directing or leadership which is implanted to the public aims to provide awareness of the prevailing norms. This leadership or direction is based on mutual consent of knowledge and beliefs that will shape the conception of the worldview. Gramsci said in the first place there are the "traditional" professional intellectuals, literary, scientific and so on, whose position in the interstices of society has a certain inter-class aura about it but derives ultimately from past and present class relations and conceals an attachment to various historical class formations (1999, p.131). Secondly, there are the "organic" intellectuals, the thinking and organising element of a particular fundamental social class (1999, p.131). These intellectuals are distinguished based on their profession which may be any job characteristic in their class.

2. Political Discrimination

Negative and passive behaviours can be construed by targets as constituting discrimination and can have significant impact on the equality of their lives. The examples of negative passive behaviours are ignoring another's presence, not making eye contact with them, excluding members of certain groups from getting opportunities and so on, while examples of negative active behaviours include supporting institutional racism or voting for anti-immigration political parties (Cuddy et al., 2007, p). These examples show that discriminatory behaviours can range from the subtle to the overt, and the particular views that we have about each outgroup determines the manifestation of discrimination.

Political discrimination is one of the aspect of discrimination often practice in United State. People may not have the right to vote or may disenfranchise. Things may turn out this way because people belong to particular religion, society or culture and or if the political views do not match with the active government. Furthermore, a government may not allow people to enter politics if they have a negative image.

3. Black people in America in 1960s

According to Tyson, Black or African American criticism is both a subject matter the study and a body of literature written by a specific group of marginalized people and a theoretical framework (1950, p.394). As a subject matter, any analysis of a literary works written by an African American, regardless of the theoretical framework used, might be called African American criticism, even if no attention is paid to elements in the text that are specifically African American (Tyson, 1950, p.394). However, as a theoretical framework here African American criticism foregrounds race (racial identity, African American cultural traditions, psychology, politics, and so forth) as the object of analysis because race in America, informs our individual and cultural psychology, and therefore our literature, in profound ways (Tyson, 1950, p.394).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research method used in analyzing novel *Go Set A Watchman* is a qualitative research method. Research with qualitative is exciting and important because it engages with things that matter. According to Creswell, qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups are considering to a social or human problem (2007, p.37). Research with qualitative method produces a thing according to the human view. Therefore

qualitative research methods would be useful in cases where the researcher wishes to gather a general idea from the subjects, the goal being to explore, interpret and describe a situation.

To study this problem, the researcher use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is inductive and establishes patterns or themes (Creswell, 2007, p.37). Therefore it is necessary to read the process repeatedly on the novel since the main focus in research is the literary worker which means the novel *Go Set A Watchman*. The goal is to acquire and understand the meaning contained in the story on the novel and the theory of its approach.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Factors causing political discrimination to black people in America.

1. Dominance

Domination is the first phase in hegemony and it is also a condition which is suffered by a social group when it depends on a social relation that other social group dominates it. The acceptance of black people can be a cause of accepting and admitting the domination of white people in America. The black people are firstly given an opportunity to live like other white people. However white people cannot let black people approach or even become part of the board council or other government agency. As for the novel *Go Set A Watchman*, the hegemony is applied by white people because they need to stop black people to be part of government institution.

Excerpt 1 :

On its cover was a drawing of an anthropophagous Negro; above the drawing was printed *The Black Plague*. Its author was somebody with several academic degrees after his name. She opened the pamphlet, sat down in her father's chair, and began reading. When she had finished, she took the pamphlet by one of its corners, held it like she would hold a dead rat by the tail, and walked into the kitchen. She held the pamphlet in front of her aunt. (Lee, p.245)

As the first excerpt explains the main character, Jean Louis finds out the pamphlet which had the picture of black people in front of it and the *The Black Plague* as the title. She is upset because those specific picture and title. Jean Louis holds the pamphlet as rubbish because she could not believe it. White people at Southern America, especially Maycomb County, Alabama face the new problem about black people who

was trying to be part of the government agency. *The Black Plague* title means the invasion of black people in political area.

Related to the theory, the researcher finds that dominance is giving influence in social relation by spreads the pamphlet. The pamphlet hinted at the invitation for white people to look at black people that with all their shortcomings, black people did not deserve to be among white people in government.

Excerpt 2:

Her father leaned back in his chair. He said, “Jean Louise, you’ve been reading nothing but New York papers. I’ve no doubt all you see is wild threats and bombings and such. The Maycomb council’s not like the North Alabama and Tennessee kinds. Our council’s composed of and led by our own people. I bet you saw nearly every man in the county yesterday, and you knew nearly every man there.” (Lee, p.583)

As the second excerpt again explains the main character, Jean Louis argued with his father, Atticus Finch about the domination of white people. Jean Louis lived in New York since she grew up as adult. She was always following the news according to New Yorks newspapers. Atticus Finch assumed that Jean Louis read only the part of threat and bomb instead of the issue of black people invasion. Citizen Council in their area consisted of only white people unlike other area such as their neighbor, North Alabama. Atticus Finch somehow revealed the domination of white people at the council while there were supposed to consist of black and white people instead of only white people as Maycomb consisted of those people.

Related to the theory, the researcher finds that the power of controlling other people in order to maintain the best decision is the purpose of dominance. Therefore, the concept of giving the influence about political principles to others will be succeed. In this part, the researcher concludes that Maycomb Council was a kind of organizational and institutional discrimination which consider black people as second-class citizens, segregated them from white people, and disenfranchised them so that based on the white’s rules black people were all the time treated as savages and uncivilized creatures who did not deserve to live on welfare because they needed white people to have control over them otherwise there can be turbulence in a society.

2. Leadership or Direction

Directing black people can be seen as white people directed black people through their life. If black people ask for quality such as in education or job, white people will consider it. The purpose is to maintain the existence of black people in their place.

Excerpt 3 :

“I especially liked the part where the Negroes, bless their hearts, couldn’t help being inferior to the white race because their skulls are thicker and their brain-pans shallower—whatever that means—so we must all be very kind to them and not let them do anything to hurt themselves and keep them in their places. Good God, Aunty—” (Lee, p.248)

This excerpt explains main character argued with her aunty, Alexandra Finch about her aunty perception against black people. It explains white people had attached the nature that black people were those who had a bigger head than white people and strong but did not mean they could think or gave good ideas for the progress of a city or country. Black people had bad behavior, it means whenever black people face the problem, they intended to solve the problem used violence instead of by rules. That’s why white people needed to control black people so they could not create any chaos.

Related to the theory of hegemony, the researcher explains that black people are kind of human which cannot think of smart way and that was why black people needed to remain at their place so that they could not be part of the institution or in the other words, black people did not have the sense of responsibility. The basic perception of black people was uneducated had lead them to act before thought about the consequences and this kind of behavior was not part of the leadership. The leadership concept is about knowledge and belief so people can create the worldview.

Excerpt 4:

“I was real impressed with the parable where since the dawn of history the rulers of the world have always been white, except Genghis Khan or somebody—the author was real fair about that—and he made a killin’ point about even the Pharaohs were white and their subjects were either black or Jews—” (Lee, p.249)

This excerpt explains as the main character, Jean Louis showed that white people were always be the leader at any opportunity. White people had become the main character in every story and black people as supporting character where they did not receive good part. However at sometime, other people out of race could be the leader either.

As the subtitle, the researcher explains that the world point of view had spread that the leader of city or even country must be from white

people. Those direction has been received by white people since they are children. It does not make sense however that is the world notices now. Even though the candidates consist of black and white people however white people will be the winner and black people come as the subordinate.

Excerpt 5 :

“That NAACP’s come down here and filled ’em with poison till it runs out of their ears. It’s simply because we’ve got a strong sheriff that we haven’t had bad trouble in this county so far. You do not realize what is going on. We’ve been good to ’em, we’ve bailed ’em out of jail and out of debt since the beginning of time, we’ve made work for ’em when there was no work, we’ve encouraged ’em to better themselves, they’ve gotten civilized, but my dear—that veneer of civilization’s so thin that a bunch of uppity Yankee Negroes can shatter a hundred years’ progress in five... (Lee, p.403)

This excerpt explains the main character, Jean Louis argued with her aunty about black people. To Alexandra Finch, white people as the dominance and the owner of the Maycomb had provided black people with their need. Since the beginning of the time black people arrived in America, white people provided them with the place to stay, the education so black people learned many new things, job for the adult black people so they could make a living to their family and even helped black people when they faced a problem. Those concept has been done in order to remain black people in their place as second class of people.

The Strategy to Political Discrimination

1. Accepting Equality as the Opportunity

The opportunity should be given to all of people as long as they wish. The discrimination through negative behavior by excluding members of certain groups to receive the equal opportunity will then invite other negative behavior occurs in the society. According to the theory, the narration at below excerpt which is sounded by white people is the discrimination.

Excerpt 6:

... not the question of whether snot-nosed niggers will go to school with your children or ride the front of the bus ... it’s whether Christian civilization will continue to be or whether we will be slaves of the Communists ... nigger lawyers ... stomped on the Constitution ... our Jewish friends ... killed Jesus ... voted the nigger ... our grand daddies nigger judges and sheriffs ... separate is equal ... (Lee, p.268-269)

This excerpt explains another Mr. O’Hanlon argued that he approved the equality of the education which was allowed the black people

child to receive an education. However about black people taken over the government was impossible to him. Black people could not even thought of themselves how they thought to run the government agency instead of destroyed it. Mr. O'Hanlon had difference thought that for him, the separation was the equality not the other way around. The denial of the opportunity to other members was not only by considering negative behavior but also prove the perspective to other members when they did not realize it. It was like the invitation from white people to others to build the perspective in their mind.

The researcher explains that related to the theory of discrimination in political aspect, denial the opportunity to other member had the purpose to limit the quota. The quote above was continuing narration from Mr. O'Hanlon as he was concerning the movement of black people to take part as member of government agency.

Excerpt 7:

“Jean Louise, nobody in Maycomb goes to see Negroes any more, not after what they've been doing to us. Besides being shiftless now they look at you sometimes with open insolence, and as far as depending on them goes, why that's out. (Lee, p.403)

This excerpt explains Jean Louis argued with her aunty which was sounded more racism than her father. Alexandra Finch said white people did not want to close with black people because black people at the moment freed to stare to them. To Alexandra, black people at the moment had received the support from the government to fight back against white people about the quota of member. The way she talks means that white and black people are difference people and as white people is superior than black people cannot stare at them instead to bow their head in front of them.

Excerpt 8:

“Do right?”

“Yes sir. Give 'em a chance.”

“The Negroes? You don't think they have a chance?”

“Why, no sir.”

“What's to prevent any Negro from going where he pleases in this country and finding what he wants?” (Lee, p.593)

This excerpt explains about conversation among Jean Louis and her father about the equality of black and white people where black people could go anywhere as they want in Maycomb at the moment. The black people could go anywhere as they wish. Black people did not receive rejection to live their life as human. Black people could find anything they wants to their life. Black people had the chance to received everything they

wants to feel the experience. Black people could receive equality in education, economy and social but they did not receive it at high level or same level as white instead of at the lowest level. Black people indeed received the education however they cannot join with the same school with whites.

Excerpt 9:

“Do you want your children going to a school that’s been dragged down to accommodate Negro children?”

“The scholastic level of that school down the street, Atticus, couldn’t be any lower and you know it. They’re entitled to the same opportunities anyone else has, they’re entitled to the same chance—”(Lee, p.603)

This excerpt explains Atticus still continued to convince Jean Louis about the difference of black and white people by giving her the example. White people had to provide school for black people, and to Atticus it was the opportunity to give it to black people. However, to Jean Louis, black people had received the education at black people school where the level was the lowest. It was the worst decision done to human being as they also entitled to receive the same opportunity.

Excerpt 10:

“I don’t think you mean what you’re saying.”

“I mean every word of it.”

“Then let’s put this on a practical basis right now. Do you want Negroes by the carload in our schools and churches and theaters? Do you want them in our world?” (Lee, p.603)

Furthermore on this excerpt, it shows Atticus Finch finally opened his mind about his thought of black people when their invasion succeed. The black people would be part of the white people life. White people could meet black people everywhere as united. The public place such as school, church and theater could consist of black and white people. Atticus was trying to make Jean Louis realized those could never be exist. Black and white people were difference so they could not have the opportunity as same as white people.

2. Sharing responsibility of citizenship

Black people or African American have been part of America population. Black people supposed to receive the rights as the citizenship, however black people did not receive it at all. Furthermore, the responsibility as the citizenship was limited either.

Excerpt 11:

Her father picked up a pencil and tapped it on his desk. “Jean Louise,” he said. “Have you ever considered that you can’t have a set of

backward people living among people advanced in one kind of civilization and have a social Arcadia?" (Lee, p.593)

This excerpt explains Atticus Finch's perspective if the country have people with the poor education than those people could be ruined the country. To Atticus, white people have well education and that was why they were suitable as the leader of government institution. Atticus even said that people with well education could not be run together in develop the country with people in poor education because people with limited education only had a bad influence on the government and white people did not want it because they thought they are a superior people.

Excerpt 12:

"You realize that the vast majority of them here in the South are unable to share fully in the responsibilities of citizenship, and why?"

"Yes sir."

"But you want them to have all its privileges?" (Lee, p.594)

This excerpt explains that most of black people did not have the right to be given the rights of American citizenship even though they has been part of America since the beginning because they did not have the responsibility to use those rights wisely. Therefore, black people were not also entitled to the privilege of choosing or even being part of the government institution because it is an impossible thing for black people. Since the beginning black people had put their life in white people hand to directed them. Thus, even white people were used to managing black people's life.

Excerpt 13:

"Let's look at it this way," said her father. "You realize that our Negro population is backward, don't you? You will concede that? You realize the full implications of the word 'backward,' don't you?" (Lee, p.594)

This excerpt explains Atticus Finch convinced Jean Louis about black people in their place at the moment. Atticus Finch said black people was less in education and others. They did not follow the time to learn something new and the reason that black people could be a part of government because they could give their contribution. The people consisted of black and white people where the blacks were at small amount however could give biggest problem.

Excerpt 14:

ninety-five per cent of the tax money ... for the nigger and the old hound dog ... following the golden calf ... preach the Gospel ... old lady Roosevelt ... nigger-lover ... entertains forty-five niggers but not one fresh white Southern virgin ... Huey Long, that Christian gentleman ...

black as burnt light'ud knots ... bribed the Supreme Court ... decent white Christians ... was Jesus crucified for the nigger . . . (Lee, p.269)

This excerpt explains Mr. O'Hanlon oration about giving the rights to vote for black people. Mr. O'Hanlon realized that black people had spent their city income for people who did not deserve to spent it. The government in the side of black people because they were giving entertain to a lot of black people but did not one white people. To Mr. O'Hanlon, black people had bribed the supreme court so they could receive those privilege. The Supreme Court took sides to black people without considering white people.

Excerpt 15:

“All the Democratic Party has to do with Jefferson these days is put his picture up at banquets. Jefferson believed full citizenship was a privilege to be earned by each man, that it was not something given lightly nor to be taken lightly. A man couldn't vote simply because he was a man, in Jefferson's eyes. He had to be a responsible man. A vote was, to Jefferson, a precious privilege a man attained for himself in a— a live- and let-live economy.” (Lee, p.599)

This excerpt explains that Atticus had the attention to compare the issue with democratic. Democratic was known as the party where everyone could use their rights to vote. People could not just vote in order to live their life or take side to whenever give the advantage. Vote means the responsibility in order to receive or create the amendment and black people did not have those kinds of responsibilities. These days, those democratic could not be practice because when people just vote without considering others reasons then it can be impact to other aspects.

3. The Rights to Vote

The rights to vote in politic was the rights to all of people which is considered at their time to vote. Even though those people were different in color or had disability. The rights to vote should be given in order for people to deliver their ideas to develop their city or country.

Excerpt 16:

She heard her father's voice, a tiny voice talking in the warm comfortable past. *Gentlemen, if there's one slogan in this world I believe, it is this: equal rights for all, special privileges for none.* These top water nigger preachers ... like apes ... mouths like Number 2 cans ... twist the Gospel ... the court prefers to listen to Communists ... take 'em all out and shoot 'em for treason ...(Lee, p.265)

The excerpt explains the racism from Atticus Finch to support the oration of Mr. O'Hanlon in Maycomb Council. He describes black people

whom become the part of government agency was communist when they did not know anything about the condition in Maycomb. Atticus considers black people was the second-class people.

Related to the theory, the researcher sees the relation of the general tendency that humans had to discriminate, the minimal group paradigm studies reveal how mere categorisation as a group member could lead to ingroup, the favoring of ingroup members over outgroup members in evaluations and allocation of resources.

Excerpt 17:

“There’s no point in being profane. Think this over: Abbott County, across the river, is in bad trouble. The population is almost three-fourths Negro. The voting population is almost half-and-half now, because of that big Normal School over there. If the scales were tipped over, what would you have? The county won’t keep a full board of registrars, because if the Negro vote edged out the white you’d have Negroes in every county office —” (Lee, p.595)

The excerpt explains the example of other city around Maycomb when black people receive the equality in education, black people population grew bigger than usual through Atticus Finch perspective. Atticus Finch described the condition occurred in their neighbor area. Abbott County considers black and white people as same people that was why their school was normal without any segregation.

Excerpt 18:

“Honey,” he said. “Use your head. When they vote, they vote in blocs.”
“Atticus, you’re like that old publisher who sent out a staff artist to cover the Spanish-American War. ‘You draw the pictures. I’ll make the war.’ You’re as cynical as he was.” (Lee, p.596)

The excerpt explains Atticus argued Jean Louis the prove of black people when they were voting. Atticus seems could read what inside black people mind after they receive the opportunity to vote. Black people had the lower member at the government or even at some county black people did not receive the equality so when the receive the equality they would exploit the opportunity to vote in group.

Related to the theory, discrimination by ban other member to become part of the government agency because of those people belong to the category. The category itself means the differences. When people from the difference kind, they tend to struggle the same people to receive the equality or opportunity as them. This relation to the decision either, they can take side to their people without considering others because they feel the same purpose.

Excerpt 19:

“Yes. I’ll accept being called a snob when it comes to government. I’d like very much to be left alone to manage my own affairs in a live-and-let-live economy, I’d like for my state to be left alone to keep house without advice from the NAACP, which knows next to nothing about its business and cares less. That organization has stirred up more trouble in the past five years—” (Lee, p.600)

The excerpt explains about how Atticus was very concern about their government. It was like two side of thought, one was his concern and two was his selfish against his mindset. If he could, he would like run the government by himself and his white people because to him, some citizen council only could run well if the people were around those council without any other hand from others.

According to the novel, the situation happened after NAACP released the new rules about segregation of the equality of school which was to white people the equality indeed has been occurred at their society. Atticus Finch argued that without NAACP, black people could receive the rights to vote. Black people at their place were still far from educated people so they did not have sense of responsibility to build the government there.

Excerpt 20:

“Now think about this. What would happen if all the Negroes in the South were suddenly given full civil rights? I’ll tell you. There’d be another Reconstruction. Would you want your state governments run by people who don’t know how to run ’em? Do you want this town run by—now wait a minute—Willoughby’s a crook, we know that, but do you know of any Negro who knows as much as Willoughby? Zeebo’d probably be Mayor of Maycomb. Would you want someone of Zeebo’s capability to handle the town’s money? We’re outnumbered, you know. (Lee, p.605)

The last excerpt explains in Atticus’s opinion about black people that they did not know anything about government. White people name Willoughby is the shameful of white people because he was running the corrupt member of government. However there were a lot of black people that shameful as well as Willoughby. If white people they had one Willoughby but black people they had a lot Willoughby and that is why black people could not run the government. Zeebo has bad perspective as black people. Zeebo was famous as the man with a lot of wife and he indeed did not receive any better education.

The researcher explains that Alabama lawyers like Atticus still read the Constitution through the lens of white superiority. According to every narration and situation occurs at novel *Go Set A Watchman*, dominance

and direction become their factors of discrimination especially in political aspect. The perspective of black people, the assumption of black people had spread therefore white people had no faith in black people especially when it comes to high level authority.

CONCLUSION

The researcher concludes the study about portrait of discrimination against black people in America are because; first, the factors causing those political discrimination and the second is the strategy of those political discrimination. Discrimination against black people is just one of the discrimination against people based on the skin color. The other can be for instance, their shape of nose and eyes, their religion, their family background and other differences. However those discrimination give bad effect to those who receive the discriminate.

The researcher concludes that the factors causing political discrimination are dominance and direction or leadership from high level to the low level. The dominance factor is the first stage of hegemony which is indirectly reveal how the power of people or groups can control the second-class of people. The high level authority which usually majority's people could always control the life of minority. The minority's group did not have any power could be receive the direction without any rebellion. Leadership or direction has the purpose to reach something in their best by spread the perspective of the groups. It means based on mutual consent of knowledge and beliefs that will shape the conception of the worldview.

As for the portrait of political discrimination against black people are by strategy of white people in perform the discrimination by accepting equality as the opportunity, sharing responsibility of citizenship and the rights to vote. This opportunity is to exclude member of the certain groups to serve the government agency because of the bad perspective of black people. Then, white people try to stop their movement by sharing the responsibility as citizenship however it was not fully responsibility and the other discrimination is to limiting the rights of black people to vote. White people use the strategy in order the reach the agreement because when black people vote then they vote in blocs, it means they did not consider the capability and just vote because of their race is same, black people. Those movement from white people is considering discrimination in political aspect.

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APPENDIX

Excerpt 1:

On its cover was a drawing of an anthropophagous Negro; above the drawing was printed *The Black Plague*. Its author was somebody with several academic degrees after his name. She opened the pamphlet, sat down in her father's chair, and began reading. When she had finished, she took the pamphlet by one of its corners, held it like she would hold a dead rat by the tail, and walked into the kitchen. She held the pamphlet in front of her aunt. (Lee, p.245)

Excerpt 2:

Her father leaned back in his chair. He said, "Jean Louise, you've been reading nothing but New York papers. I've no doubt all you see is wild threats and bombings and such. The Maycomb council's not like the North Alabama and Tennessee kinds. Our council's composed of and led by our own people. I bet you saw nearly every man in the county yesterday, and you knew nearly every man there." (Lee, p.583)

Excerpt 3:

"I especially liked the part where the Negroes, bless their hearts, couldn't help being inferior to the white race because their skulls are thicker and their brain-pans shallower—whatever that means—so we must all be very kind to them and not let them do anything to hurt themselves and keep them in their places. Good God, Aunty—" (Lee, p.248)

Excerpt 4:

"I was real impressed with the parable where since the dawn of history the rulers of the world have always been white, except Genghis Khan or somebody—the author was real fair about that—and he made a killin' point about even the Pharaohs were white and their subjects were either black or Jews—" (Lee, p.249)

Excerpt 5:

"That NAACP's come down here and filled 'em with poison till it runs out of their ears. It's simply because we've got a strong sheriff that we haven't had bad trouble in this county so far. You do not realize what is going on. We've been good to 'em, we've bailed 'em out of jail and out of debt since the beginning of time, we've made work for 'em when there was no work, we've encouraged 'em

to better themselves, they've gotten civilized, but my dear—that veneer of civilization's so thin that a bunch of uppity Yankee Negroes can shatter a hundred years' progress in five... (Lee, p.403)

Excerpt 6:

... not the question of whether snot-nosed niggers will go to school with your children or ride the front of the bus ... it's whether Christian civilization will continue to be or whether we will be slaves of the Communists ... nigger lawyers ... stomped on the Constitution ... our Jewish friends ... killed Jesus ... voted the nigger ... our grand daddies nigger judges and sheriffs ... separate is equal ... (Lee, p.268-269)

Excerpt 7:

“Jean Louise, nobody in Maycomb goes to see Negroes any more, not after what they've been doing to us. Besides being shiftless now they look at you sometimes with open insolence, and as far as depending on them goes, why that's out. (Lee, p.403)

Excerpt 8:

“Do right?”

“Yes sir. Give 'em a chance.”

“The Negroes? You don't think they have a chance?”

“Why, no sir.”

“What's to prevent any Negro from going where he pleases in this country and finding what he wants?” (Lee, p.593)

Excerpt 9:

“Do you want your children going to a school that's been dragged down to accommodate Negro children?”

“The scholastic level of that school down the street, Atticus, couldn't be any lower and you know it. They're entitled to the same opportunities anyone else has, they're entitled to the same chance—”(Lee, p.603)

Excerpt 10:

“I don't think you mean what you're saying.”

“I mean every word of it.”

“Then let's put this on a practical basis right now. Do you want Negroes by the carload in our schools and churches and theaters? Do you want them in our world?” (Lee, p.603)

Excerpt 11:

Her father picked up a pencil and tapped it on his desk. “Jean Louise,” he said. “Have you ever considered that you can't have a set of backward people living among people advanced in one kind of civilization and have a social Arcadia?” (Lee, p.593)

Excerpt 12:

“You realize that the vast majority of them here in the South are unable to share fully in the responsibilities of citizenship, and why?”

“Yes sir.”

“But you want them to have all its privileges?” (Lee, p.594)

Excerpt 13:

“Let’s look at it this way,” said her father. “You realize that our Negro population is backward, don’t you? You will concede that? You realize the full implications of the word ‘backward,’ don’t you?” (Lee, p.594)

Excerpt 14:

ninety-five per cent of the tax money ... for the nigger and the old hound dog ... following the golden calf ... preach the Gospel ... old lady Roosevelt ... nigger-lover ... entertains forty-five niggers but not one fresh white Southern virgin ... Huey Long, that Christian gentleman ... black as burnt light’ud knots ... bribed the Supreme Court ... decent white Christians ... was Jesus crucified for the nigger . . . (Lee, p.269)

Excerpt 15:

“All the Democratic Party has to do with Jefferson these days is put his picture up at banquets. Jefferson believed full citizenship was a privilege to be earned by each man, that it was not something given lightly nor to be taken lightly. A man couldn’t vote simply because he was a man, in Jefferson’s eyes. He had to be a responsible man. A vote was, to Jefferson, a precious privilege a man attained for himself in a—a live- and let-live economy.” (Lee, p.599)

Excerpt 16:

She heard her father’s voice, a tiny voice talking in the warm comfortable past. *Gentlemen, if there’s one slogan in this world I believe, it is this: equal rights for all, special privileges for none.* These top water nigger preachers ... like apes ... mouths like Number 2 cans ... twist the Gospel ... the court prefers to listen to Communists ... take ’em all out and shoot ’em for treason ... (Lee, p.265)

Excerpt 17:

“There’s no point in being profane. Think this over: Abbott County, across the river, is in bad trouble. The population is almost three-fourths Negro. The voting population is almost half-and-half now, because of that big Normal School over there. If the scales were tipped over, what would you have? The county won’t keep a full board of registrars, because if the Negro vote edged out the white you’d have Negroes in every county office —” (Lee, p.595)

Excerpt 18:

“Honey,” he said. “Use your head. When they vote, they vote in blocs.”

“Atticus, you’re like that old publisher who sent out a staff artist to cover the Spanish-American War. ‘You draw the pictures. I’ll make the war.’ You’re as cynical as he was.” (Lee, p.596)

Excerpt 19:

“Yes. I’ll accept being called a snob when it comes to government. I’d like very much to be left alone to manage my own affairs in a live-and-let-live economy, I’d like for my state to be left alone to keep house without advice from the NAACP, which knows next to nothing about its business and cares less. That organization has stirred up more trouble in the past five years—” (Lee, p.600)

Excerpt 20:

“Now think about this. What would happen if all the Negroes in the South were suddenly given full civil rights? I’ll tell you. There’d be another Reconstruction. Would you want your state governments run by people who don’t know how to run ’em? Do you want this town run by—now wait a minute—Willoughby’s a crook, we know that, but do you know of any Negro who knows as much as Willoughby? Zeebo’d probably be Mayor of Maycomb. Would you want someone of Zeebo’s capability to handle the town’s money? We’re outnumbered, you know. (Lee, p.605)