



Black American Counter Hegemony in Mildred Taylor's *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976)

Heri Dwi Santoso^(✉) and Yunita Nugraheni

Universitas Muhammadiyah Semarang, Semarang, Indonesia
heridwi.santoso@unimus.ac.id

Abstract. This research is conducted to analyze the hegemonic and counter hegemonic practices in Mildred Taylor's *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976). The analysis is based on mimetic point-of-view, considering the literary work as a fictional representation of the real world within which the work was made. The aim of the research is to analyze the social aspects of the novel, including conflicts of power between white people as the dominant or the ruler race and black people as the subordinate or the ruled race in the USA - especially in southern region - and find the philosophical values inferred from the idea found in the novel that is related to the wider social realities outside the mere facts described in the literary work. The approach used is literary sociology approach, in which the research is focused on the novel's text analysis. It is also called with sociology of work. Theory of Gramscian Hegemony and concept of racism are used as the tools of analysis. The analysis on the *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* showed that there were conflicts between whites as the ruler group and some critical black folks. The conflicts were held as the consequences of the low level of hegemony and the high level of coercion in the whites' authority. It was recognized that there was a war of maneuver between the whites as the ruler group and the critical blacks who tried to create a new form of leadership called as a counter hegemony in the society, especially for the subordinate black people. Based on *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry*, there were important characteristics in black movements. There were ideas about peaceful and continual spirits in black struggles.

Keywords: hegemony · counter hegemony · racism · peaceful movement

1 Introduction

Afro-American is a term to represent a cultural category, namely as a racial identity in the United States based on a genetic identity background with the main physical characteristics of having black skin and curly hair, and having African descent blood. As a cultural identity, the African-American race has its own literary heritage which is often referred to as Afro-American Literature terminology (Black Literature).

One thing that is interesting to discuss is how the cultural identity of Afro-Americans, or also known as the black race, influences the creation of cultural products, including literary works. The question leads to a research model or mimetic literary criticism.

Abrams states that there are four models in literary criticism which are based on four points of view, namely the literary work (work), the author or artist (artist), the universe (universe), and the audience (audience).

First, expressive criticism when literary understanding is focused on the author. Second, mimetic criticism when a literary work is seen from its relationship with the real world which is the background for the birth of a literary work. Third, pragmatic criticism when a literary work is seen from its effect on the reader. Finally, objective criticism is to see literary works as autonomous works [1]. In the realm of literary criticism, mimetic criticism is said to be an approach that sees an individual work (individual work) as "reality or truth" for its representation of world realities as well as the reality of life and human character [2].

Then what exactly is the cultural reality of the African-American race itself? Afro-American literature emerged as a part of the development of the Afro-American race since it was first 'forced' to be imported by European colonialists in mainland North America. The break with their native culture in Africa created a new and distinctive identity, including in the field of literature.

Afro-American literature emerged slowly considering the unfavorable social situation and conditions of the race. Subordination by whites goes from generation to generation with the ideology of racism taking a significant role in legitimizing it. Black experiences both individually and collectively, one of which is a stimulus in the creation of works of people in the black community. The topics range from resistance, outpouring of feelings, persistence, adversity, and even lamentation [3, 4].

The discussion of major developments in African-American literature cannot be separated from the events of the Civil War between the North and the South. Historical facts show that the Southern region of the United States is the center of the dehumanization of black African diaspora, both ideologically with racist ideas, and practically either through institutional policies or actions that represent social sentiments in society. This tends to be different from the North region which guarantees more freedom in social life even though racism is still growing. According to the website www.kindredtrails.com, in 1860 alone, ninety-five percent of African-American slaves were in the South.

The post-Civil War was one of the turning points of the revival of black literature. When they got little institutional freedom, especially after the victory of the North over the South in the Civil War, the black literature treasury began to be filled with critical works that mostly brought up the topic of racism against blacks. Several critical writers were born from that period. One example is Richard Wright who appeared in the 1940s. Richard Wright wrote several novels, including *Native Son* (1940) and *Black Boy* (1945), novels that are considered the most phenomenal and controversial because of their boldness in presenting issues of racism.

Major changes in the development of the African-American race, especially among young intellectuals, were in the second half of the 20th century, especially since the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s [5]. Graham [6] states that the increase in cultural production is one product of the increasing interest in African American life and culture after the 1960s. In the context of the novel genre, Graham calls the response to this development a 'virtual explosion' in literary talent. According to Graham, the 1970s alone gave rise to more than twenty-five African-American novels, including the first by

Sharon Bell Mathis, Louise Meriweather, Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, and Al Young [6].

Another theorist, Rushdy in the same book, describes that the post-black peace movement played a major role in the perspective of society, especially among intellectuals, including literary intellectuals, in seeing the mindset and life of black people who were oppressed in the past which had an impact on change. Major in African-American literature (ibid.). According to Rushdy in Graham [6]:

When a younger generation of graduate students took to the streets during the Civil Rights and anti-war movements, they learned something new about the dynamics of social agency for change. Seeing that the relatively powerless people in these social movements could actually make history “happen from the bottom up,” historians began to re-imagine the possibility of revising their vision of the past and write history “from the bottom up.” One very positive result of the Civil Rights Movement on the American academy, then, is that it promoted this revision.

From that statement, it can be said that the reconstruction related to the identity and quality of life of Afro-Americans in the past has become a major issue in the majority of literature since that era. Furthermore, successively after 1970 many works emerged from among African-American writers. Some of these writers who are phenomenal with their works are Mildred D. Taylor with *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976) and Alice Walker with the novel *The Color Purple* (1982); both still bring the same topic, namely the domination-subordination of whites with blacks in the United States.

Viewed from the point of view of literary works as mimetic products, it can be said that almost all of their works were created as a response and reflection on the social, political, and cultural experiences of the authors in the form of social, political, and cultural conditions in the community around the author, life experiences. Family, as well as the author's own individual experience. The emergence of black writers is a separate phenomenon in the black struggle against racism which has long been the dominant ideology of various ages that has dominated the world's perspective in seeing and understanding relationships in heterogeneous societies (multi-cultural, racial, and racial). Their works are considered to be very influential in forming new perspectives, especially for the reading community of their time.

An interesting work to be discussed in this research is the work of Mildred D. Taylor. As one of the American writers of African descent who actively wrote in the post-Civil Right Movement era, Mildred D. Taylor is widely known for his phenomenal work *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976).

When compared to black writers in the previous era, Taylor can be said to be 'freer' in expressing his ideas about the subordination, alienation, and oppression of blacks in the social, political, and cultural fields. In particular, in an effort to reveal the dominance of whites and their relationship with blacks, which is a long history and a bitter experience for blacks for hundreds of years since the 'first encounter' of the two races from different parts of the world. This statement is normal considering the fact that the Civil Rights Movement has provided a positive transformation for the position and social status of blacks in relation to their rights in all areas of life.

Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry (hereinafter written ROTHMC) consists of twelve chapters [7]. In the novel, the stories of black life wrapped in a system of segregation and white power are depicted in a rural area of Mississippi in 1933. The narrative of the story contains many innocent questions by young children about the practices of white coercion in their lives. Segregation situations, idealistic statements of black parents regarding self-esteem, identity, and fears of white coercive repression are shown in the story.

There is also a story about black awareness of hierarchical class distinctions between black and white races which are practically implemented in economic, political, social, and cultural dominations. An example is the black consciousness which is constructed as the working class, workers, and proletariat over the white domination as an employer class that dominates the economy through monopolizing the means of production. The ROTHMC novel also shows an illustration of how ideological non-repressive consensuses to continue to fight for and negotiate white hegemony are carried out both through the social sphere, as well as, and education. The story in ROTHMC implies a relationship and tug of war of power, especially those represented in white domination and hegemony with black resistance, questions and anxiety as a form of resistance to the 'negotiation' of white domination and hegemony, a black counter-hegemony.

Back in the context of research, the sociology of literature approach offers a variety of categorized study models, both those that focus on the author, the reader, or a sociological approach that focuses on the work. A brief review of the content of the story in ROTHMC, as described above, gave birth to the hypothesis that behind the story in this work, there are many social problems. The author's interest in reviewing and seeking further sociological meaning for the novel ROTHMC is used as a guide for the author to choose the sociology of work as the focus of analysis.

1.1 Literary Sociology

Referring to four perspectives or points of view on literature, Abrams states that the types of traditional critical theory and applied criticism can differ in terms of their usefulness because they are all based on the way researchers explain or evaluate a literary work, whether they refer to a literary work or not. The work to the outside world, to the reader, to the author, or to treat a work as an independent entity[1].

The emphasis in this research is the analysis of literary works through a mimetic point of view, so the sociology of literature approach is chosen. Theoretically, sociology of literature is considered relevant because the main understanding in sociology of literature is that there is a close relationship between literary works and society as part of the universe or world that overshadows the birth of literary works.

Damono stated that the sociology of literature or in other terms, namely the socioliterary, sociological, or sociocultural approach to literary works is an approach to literature that considers social aspects [8]. In other words, the sociology of literature approach in literary research is an approach used in researching literary works by looking at the relationship between literary works and society.

The sociology of literature approach has a broad scope. Sociology of literature covers various kinds of problems. Wellek and Warren classify problems in the relations between literature and society into three (3), among others: a) first, sociology of authors, the

profession of authors, and literary institutions; b) second, the sociology of work which includes the content of the literary work, its objectives, and other matters implied in the literary work itself and related to social problems; and c) third, the problem of readers and the social impact of literary works.

In the research on the novel ROTHMC, the sociology of work was chosen as the basis for the study. The approach in this study is related to Damono's description which divides the study of sociology of literature into two main tendencies [8]. First, an approach based on the assumption that literature is a mere reflection of socio-economic processes. The text is not considered the main thing or the epiphenomenon (second symptom).

The second tendency is a study that prioritizes the text as a study material. This trend is considered most relevant to Wellek and Warren's concept of the sociology of work. Therefore, the application of research on ROTHMC starts from text analysis to find out its structure and then it is used to understand more deeply about social phenomena outside of literature [8].

In applying the sociological approach to literature, social theory(s) are needed as an analytical knife. In the analysis of ROTHMC, the Gramscian Hegemony theory was chosen as the social theory used to analyze the ROTHMC novel sociologically. In other words, Gramscian Hegemony theory is used to dissect the novel in terms of the social aspects described in it.

1.2 Gramscian Hegemony

Hegemony theory is considered a relevant theory to examine the problems of power, including its relationships and practices in society described in ROTHMC. Based on readings of ROTHMC, there is a picture of society consisting of various elements and social groups, both class-based groups and broader collective social groups, as reflected in ROTHMC.

Basically, the concept of hegemony has been discussed by several social theorists such as Marx, Lenin, and Althusser. However, the theory of hegemony formulated by Antonio Gramsci is considered the most adequate and complete so that it is used as a reference in this research paradigm. The theory of hegemony was born in the realm of Marxist thought which responds to the situation of class-based society [9].

According to Simon [10], the theory of hegemony developed by Gramsci is a theoretical formulation used to understand society (society) with the aim of changing it. The subject matter in the theory of hegemony is the economy, the state, and society, which form the basis for the conceptualization of hegemony that makes it different from the thoughts of other theorists [11].

Gramscian hegemony is concerned with power. Gramsci gave a new view of the understanding of power [12]. Power is obtained not only through coercive practices. On the other hand, Gramsci thinks in a dichotomous way. According to Gramsci, the supremacy of a social group or class is manifested in two ways, namely by 'domination' or coercion, and by 'moral and intellectual leadership' [13].

In other words, in Gramsci's paradigm there is an understanding that a power can be fought for, contested, achieved, or maintained in two ways, namely through hegemony and coercive domination in different proportions. Assuming that the story in ROTHMC

is closely related to the problem of power, the concepts in hegemony related to the concepts of power are used in this study.

2 Method

2.1 Kind of Research

It is descriptive qualitative research conducted on a novel entitled *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* written by Mildred D. Taylor in 1976. The primary data is the novel and the secondary data includes references taken from journal articles, books, and other sources.

2.2 Technique of Data Collection

Data is collected by close-reading and note-taking the novel as well as searching for references in books, journal articles, and other sources, including the internet.

2.3 Technique of Data Analysis

Data is analyzed by applying the theory of hegemony proposed by Antonio Gramsci.

2.4 Technique of Data Presentation

Data is presented in form of quotation taken from the novel completed with explanation of the analysis.

3 Findings and Discussion

3.1 Black Critical Consciousness Manifested in the Form of Counter-Hegemony

This study refers to the understanding that every social group that has an important role in economic production always creates one or more intellectual strata organically. Each of these intellectuals shows their homogeneity and concern for their function not only in the economic field, but also in the social and political spheres [14].

The existence of the possibility of more than one intellectual in a social force leads to a form of collectivity of will. This concept is then relevant to the emergence of intellectual figures in ROTHMC who play their function of organizing ideological leadership in black subordinate societies in the context of a boycott of Wallace's stores as a form of protest and resistance to white racist oppression.

3.1.1 The Logan Family: *Organic Intellectuals in the Representation of the Intellectuals Behind the Boycott*

The criterion of being an intellectual is assessed through the function played in organizing hegemony in society, both through ideological leadership and efforts related to meeting the needs of the masses. In the analysis of ROTHMC, there are several figures who occupy this stratum, including several adults in the Logan family, namely David Logan, Mary Logan, and Hammer Logan.

Outside the Logan family, there are figures L.T. Morrison and the white figure Wade Jamison. It could be argued that the boycott of Wallace's stores was an articulation of the complex collective will of the intellectuals who organized the boycott. These intellectuals can be categorized as collective human beings. The term collective human is used to refer to heterogeneity of interests as well as differences in class and race but have one common goal. In ROTHMC, their collective goal is to create justice and elevate black people.

As the center of the story, the Logan family plays a central role in the struggle for counter hegemony. This is represented in the effort to boycott Wallace's stores which is the main theme of the story in ROTHMC. The Logan family plays an important role in the formation of intellectuals.

The growing critical awareness of the characters in the Logan family towards the practice of white power supremacy developed into a desire to fight through efforts to create a new ideological unity in society that was separated from the hegemony of white power. The process of awakening critical awareness cannot be separated from the worldview or perspective of these figures towards the world which tends to be contradictory to the dominant ideology that functions as a value system in society.

3.1.1.1. Background to Critical Thinking in the Logan Family

From several generations, the characters in the Logan family represent a category known as the intellectual group. They each show an ideological unity based on a true sense that tends to be contradictory and critical of the dominant ideology that has existed in society. The formation of an ideological system in the characters in the Logan family which can be called good sense is rooted in the critical logics of each learned from their analysis of social situations and conditions that occur as well as from the experiences of the Logan family in society, one of which is shown in the following quote:

“Papa Luke ran away,” I reminded her, thinking of the story of how Great-Grandpa had run away three times. He had been caught and punished for his disobedience, but his owners had not tried to break him, for he had had a knowledge of herbs and cures. He had tended both the slaves and the animals of the plantation, and it was from him that Big Ma had learned medicines. Mama nodded again. “That’s right, honey. He was hiding in a cave when freedom came, so I understand....” [15]

Papa Luke is the great-grandfather of the Logan children. Papa Luke Together with his wife, Rachel, became one of the ideal figures of the Logan family. In the story told by Mary Logan, Papa Luke is a black slave who thinks critically about his subordination. This critical attitude is accompanied by courage and recklessness that exceeds the attitudes of other blacks.

The experience shown through flashbacks to the character of Papa Luke is a form of a world-view that grows through a special "scientific" analysis of the character of Papa Luke individually (esoteric "scientific" analysis). In fact, Papa Luke represented a contradiction to common sense at the time.

Papa Luke's experiences of criticism and courage were adopted as a lesson in analyzing the world, dominated by racist powers, coherently and logically for the next generation. Before arriving at David Logan's generation, there was a character Paul Edward Logan who was the father of David Logan.

Paul Edward Logan is one of the figures who became an example of the strong intellectual thinking in the Logan family. In the term "intellectual thought", it implies the existence of a rational and coherent thought that creates criticism in viewing the world. The following is an excerpt from what Caroline Logan said about Paul Edward Logan:

"... You know, I . . . I wasn't hardly eighteen when Paul Edward married me and brung me here. He was older than me by 'bout eight years and he was smart. Ow-ow, my Lord, that was one smart man! He had himself a mind like a steel trap. Anything he seen done, he could do it Didn't nothin' scare that man!" She beamed proudly...." [page 68-69] [15]

The qualities of a Paul Edward Logan and Papa Luke reflect the failure of white power for generations to create hegemony over the Logan family. The homogeneity of intellectual thought of the two figures above also shows a contradiction with the common sense that legitimizes racist ideology in white supremacy of power.

The analysis of the two figures above shows the existence of a characteristic of good sense, namely affective and emotional traits. Pride in Papa Luke and Paul Edward's critical thinking about the dominant racism in white power that influenced the critical thinking of the succeeding generations of the Logan family.

In the context of ideological leadership in civil society, the figures of Papa Luke and Paul Edward Logan are included in the category of organic intellectuals. Based on the conception that the family is also included in the category of civil society, Papa Luke and Paul Edward Logan are agents of hegemony, organic intellectuals who play moral and intellectual leadership in the family. However, when extended to the wider context of the masses, namely, racial society and state society, Papa Luke and Paul Edward Logan do not have that role.

3.1.1.2. The Intellectual Role of the Logan Family in Realizing a Counter Hegemony in Society

Moral and intellectual leadership of the figures in the Logan family began to be applied after the arson of the Berry brothers as a black family by several white people who were identified as coming from the Wallace family. This role is represented in the characters of David Logan, Mary Logan, and Hammer Logan who are seen based on their role in organizing society through hegemonic ways. The intended hegemonic methods are manifested in the ideological process, namely influencing the masses by demonstrating moralistic logics, as well as in an effort to meet the needs of the masses.

The process of spreading ideology (ideologizing) is carried out by combining feelings that are closely related to good sense, including good sense which is the cultural representation of society, with the philosophical understanding of organic intellectuals on the current situation. The arson of the Berry brothers was not the beginning of criticism from the Logan family. The foundation of good sense that is built strongly in individuals in the Logan family has become a resistant aspect of adopting common sense built by the Logan family's rulers. The suppression of Berry is the culmination point that becomes the motor for the characters in the Logan family to carry out active resistance by creating a new historical block that is free from the hegemony of white power.

3.1.2 Maneuvering War Between Counter Hegemonic Agents and White Power Holders

In the context of power, any activity that is considered as an attempt to weaken, disrupt, or overthrow power will always face obstacles from the stronghold of the owner or power holder. The obstacle is a form of social control with the aim of maintaining and strengthening the supremacy of power.

In ROTHMC, the emergence of a counter hegemony in the representation of Wallace's shop boycott is a nuisance to the ruling class, especially the white bourgeoisie. Opposition between the two will create a clash, which in the Gramscian paradigm is called a war of position or war of maneuver.

3.1.2.1. Central Leadership from David Logan

In a leadership process, intellectuals are always needed, as is what happened in the counter hegemony that was mobilized by the Logan family and their cronies. The link between the counter hegemony and organic intellectuals starts from the understanding that the counter hegemony is actually the realization of the collective will. As a form of collective will, there are intellectuals who have more insight than others who act as agents of hegemony working to create other alternatives in reducing the hegemony of existing power.

On the other hand, the level of significance of the functions played by the agents of hegemony in relation to the organic intellectual concept differs based on its role as an organizer in the mass of black society towards the creation of a counter hegemony. Based on the analysis of ROTHMC, the character of David Logan meets these criteria. David Logan is a central figure in the formation of a counter hegemony that was actualized in the Wallace store boycott movement.

Without ignoring the role of other figures in the hegemony process, the boycott of Wallace's stores, which is a central theme in the practice of hegemony, was initiated and organized through the leadership of David Logan. The patriarchal tradition which includes leadership in the family also plays a role in this categorization. The organic function of David Logan begins with leadership in the family as quoted below:

Papa sat very quietly while the Laniers and the Averys talked, studying them with serious eyes. Finally, he took the pipe from his mouth and made a statement that seemed to the boys and me to be totally disconnected with the conversation. "In this family, we don't shop at the Wallace store." [page 28-29] [15]

Leadership in the black community began with his initiation forbidding families from shopping at Wallace's farm shop. Statements made to children about the ban on shopping at Wallace's stores demonstrate his role as organizer. In this context, David Logan performs his hegemonic role through his moral and intellectual approaches in the family, especially his children.

... "In this family, we don't shop at the Wallace store."...

... "Your mama tells me that a lot of the older children been going up to that Wallace store after school to dance and buy their bootleg liquor and smoke cigarettes. Now she said she's already told y'all this, but I'm gonna tell y'all again, so listen good. We don't want y'all going to that place. Children going there are gonna get themselves in a whole lot of trouble one day. There's drinking up there and I don't like it—and I don't like them Wallaces either. If I ever find out y'all been up there, for any reason, I'm gonna wear y'all out. Y'all hear me?"... [page 30] [15]

The fundamental difference in the hegemonic character of the dominant social group holding capitalistic state power with a rival hegemony lies in the procedure for gathering support from the community. In Simon (2002:28) it is said that the task of creating a new hegemony can only be achieved by changing people's awareness, thinking patterns and understandings, their 'conceptions of the world', and their norms of moral behavior.

In his position as a worker on a railroad project in Louisiana, David Logan was part of the working class. On the other hand, in social relations in his community, David Logan is the head of a black family, a subordinate social group in power relations in Spokane County. The ideological leadership that David Logan tries to negotiate in society is more likely to seek the creation of good sense, a critical thinking that is effective in resisting the dominant ideology in the hegemony of white power based on racism.

David Logan's role as head of the family makes him play a role in implementing the rules. David Logan's ideological leadership process includes the criteria for moral and intellectual leadership to his children regarding the travel ban on Wallace's stores by explaining the bad influences that Wallace instilled in his business that can have a bad influence.

Instead of pointing out the Wallace brothers' oppression of the Berry brothers as the reason for the ban, David Logan chose the bad influence of Wallace's shop. In addition to liquor and cigarettes, David Logan also mentions the possible problems that any child will get associated with Wallace's shop. Moral transformation, as the character of hegemony that emerges from subordinate circles, tends not to show contradictions with good sense, understandings of the world that are logical and can be accepted with common sense.

The work of intellectuals in the counter hegemony is to modify self-understanding and integrate it with a world-view that is processed and developed personally by each individual who is under the leadership. This can be seen from the quote about David Logan's thoughts on liquor as the quote: "There's drinking up there and I don't like it—and I don't like them Wallaces either" (ibid.)

In the quote above, it is described that David Logan's understanding of the dangers of alcohol and knowledge of the Wallace family's bad behavior was conveyed to his children as an effective way to prevent them from visiting Wallace's shop. This is effective

because it is in harmony with the ideals in the mindset of the Logan children that have been ingrained before. The ideological leadership became the initiator of the creation of collective critical thoughts among the members of the Logan family.

David Logan's dominant role in creating a counter hegemony is shown by his intensity in negotiating historical blocs among the subordinates. It starts from his critical thoughts about oppressive practices in white power that are conveyed in the family, as well as his efforts to create a hegemonic power in society, especially in economic terms.

3.1.2.2. White Maneuvers in Relation to the Failing of Boycott Attempts

Counter hegemony has the potential to reduce white power over the social groups below it. The effectiveness of the hegemony that was articulated by the Logan family and their groups through ideological leadership and guarantees for repayment of debts from the farmers, triggered the white people in power to carry out maneuvers as a form of social control to maintain their hegemony and coercion of power against subordinate groups, especially poor farming communities dark skin.

The war of maneuvers created as a consequence of the two opposing power poles ultimately resulted in victory for one of the camps. The choice of the approach used – whether a coercive approach or an ideological leadership approach – used by white rulers or by groups that carry out counter hegemony has a big impact on the creation of social change in society.

In ROTHMC, there are weaknesses between the strategy used by the white power bloc and the strategy used by the rival hegemonic bloc which is articulated primarily by the Logan family. The very weak renegotiation of the hegemony characterizes the white power bloc in the maneuver war. As the dominant social group, the white supremacists represented by the figures in Wallace's group prefer the practice of coercion as a social control mechanism, especially in preventing the defection of black farmers from the monopoly of white financiers, namely Wallace through his farm shop business and Harlan Granger. With the dominance of land ownership.

In preventing the peasants from breaking away from Wallace's shop, the white people who contributed to Wallace's efforts, including Harlan Filmore Granger, attempted to use acts of coercion or coercion, either through intimidation or physical violence. The following is a statement from one of the tenant farmers, Silas Lanier, regarding the threats that have been conveyed by Harlan Filmore Granger.

“Mr.Granger making it hard on us, David. Said we gonna have to give him sixty percent of the cotton, 'stead of fifty . . . Now that the cotton's planted and it's too late to plant more. . . . [page 154] [15]

Harlan Filmore Granger in his efforts to stop the participation of black farmers who rented land in the boycott of Wallace's shops took an unpopular action for the farming community by giving threats that were quite mentally intimidating for the farmers. In the quote above, it is shown that one of the threats Harlan Filmore Granger poses to several farmers is the decision to increase the percentage demanded for each amount of cotton income from farmers as compensation for land rent.

Granger's greatest threat was his decision to revoke land leases to farmers who continued to join the Logan family for shopping in Vicksburg, instead of keeping in

touch with Wallace's farm shop. The Granger maneuver was supported by the Wallace brothers by threatening every farmer who owed them to take the boycott case to legal action which could potentially result in chain gang punishment for anyone who does not comply, as shown in the following quote:

"But—but that ain't all Mr. Granger said. Said, too, we don't give up this shoppin' in Vicksburg, we can jus' get off his land. Says he tired of us stirrin' up trouble 'gainst decent white folks. Then them Wallaces, they come by my place, Brother Lanier's, and everybody's on this thing that owes them money. Said we can't pay our debts, they gonna have the sheriff out to get us. . . Put us on the chain gang to work it off." [page 154] [15]

The quote above illustrates the maneuvering of white supremacist agents in an effort to maintain dominance over the subordinates. The practice that tends to be coercive is also an indication that the intellectuals in the dominant social group do not consider the hegemony of their power to be crucial, which tends to weaken.

Economic threats reinforced by physical intimidation have become a familiar method among power holders as represented in ROTHMC. The participation of the night men in the effort to thwart the boycott efforts, even though it has strengthened the aspect of coercion and weakened the power of the white race. In the end, the practice of high coercion in social control by the ruling group had a significant influence on the decisions of the black peasants.

Mr. Avery cleared his throat nervously. "It's—it's that list I come 'bout, David. . . I don't want them things no more." [page 154] [15]

The quote above shows the preferences of Joe Avery on behalf of several others. They ultimately chose to stay in their previous state by continuing to depend on the supplies provided by Wallace's shop even though it meant continuing their self-repression. This is natural because they consider the possibility of worse suffering if they fight white people in power.

The mass-raising efforts carried out by David Logan and his group through leadership strategies were hampered by financial problems caused by strategic actions taken by whites. The financial foundations that were cultivated through the assistance of Wade Jamison were basically unable to match the economic power of Granger and his friends who in fact held control over the dependence of poor farmers.

The threat of chain gang punishment or punishment in the form of forced labor with legs tied in chains conveyed by Wallace, as shown in the statements of several poor farmers above, was further exacerbated by attacks on people who were considered intellectual actors which sparked a boycott. In ROTHMC, an attack under the guise of night men is shown to a group containing David Logan, L.T. Morrison, and Stacey Logan.

The attack took place while they were shopping for orders for boycotting farmers at a farm shop in Vicksburg. As discussed earlier, some of the night men terrors were perpetrated by the Wallace brothers. The description of the attack is explained in the following quote:

“A truck come up the road and stopped behind us while we was trying to get that wheel on, but didn’t none of us hear it coming ’cause of the rain and the thunder and all, and they didn’t put their lights on till the truck stopped. Anyways, there was three men in that truck and soon as Papa seen ’em, he reached for his shotgun. That’s when they shot him and he fell back with his left leg under the wagon. The . . . Then Jack reared up, scared by the shot, and I—I couldn’t hold him . . . and . . . and the wagon rolled over Papa’s leg.” [page 162-163] [15]

The quote above is an illustration of the chronology of the attack. In the quote, it appears that the attackers consisted of three people. The perpetrators of the violence were identified as the Wallace brothers, the same people who carried out the arson murder of three members of the Berry family. The strategy of Harlan Filmore Granger, the Wallace brothers, and their group united in racist ideas succeeded in minimizing the support of farmers in the boycott effort.

In ROTHMC it was shown that in addition to intimidating the tenant farmers, Harlan Granger and his group made efforts to undermine the financial capacity of the Logan family as the main initiator of the boycott. These actions manifest in several ways.

First, Granger’s actions by arranging the bank where the Logan family owed debt, The First National Bank, to accelerate the maturity of the Logan family’s debt. The economic power of Harlan Filmore Granger is able to influence the decisions taken by the bank. Second, Granger’s intervention in the dismissal of Mary Logan on charges of destroying books and teaching the black version of history that was deemed to deviate from the white version of "historical reality" written in textbooks. Third, the attack by the Wallace brothers under the guise of night men against David Logan in Vicksburg, which successfully injured and stopped him from working in Louisiana.

Some of the strategic actions above were effective in undermining the economic foundation of the Logan family. This was the biggest factor in thwarting efforts to create a new historical bloc, a form of counter hegemony, which was trying to be formed in black peasant society through the boycott mechanism.

4 Conclusion

In the analysis of ROTHMC, a sociological approach with the application of Gramscian hegemony theory has succeeded in uncovering questions about the practice of white power and its influence on black critical consciousness described in ROTHMC. Through the hegemony theory, it was found that the power held by the white race which was maintained and applied by prioritizing coercive methods and ignoring the ways to create ideological leadership gradually shook the supremacy of power because on the one hand it increased the possibility of awakening awareness from the other side. That have been mastered, in this case the African-American race regarding the position, situation, and conditions they experience.

Through analysis with this hegemony theory, it was also found that there was an effort to create a new leadership for the black subordinate community as an alternative to reduce the hegemony of white power which was basically starting to become fragile so that it was possible to form a new historical bloc that prioritized the interests of the lower

class. The fact found in ROTHMC is that efforts to create a new bloc as an alternative to the white power bloc are hampered because they are confronted with problems of economic foundations and the coercive defense of whites as power holders.

Based on the social representations in the text, an interpretive picture is obtained of the re-representation of the social situation and condition of the people of the US South in the 1930s. In addition, an understanding can be reached of how the representation is closely related to the spirit of the post-Black Power Movement or Civil Rights Movement in the 1970s which became the era of the publication of the novel ROTHMC.

Through the analysis of ROTHMC, it can be understood that there is a spirit of continuous anti-racist struggle that is peaceful and unyielding. This formed the philosophy of skin struggles with its peak, namely the Black Power Movement in the mid-1950s to 1960s which directly impacted on the creation of great freedom and freedom for the African-American race.

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