



**NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY**  
**INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE**

**CLASS, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS**  
**IN LEE DANIEL'S THE BUTLER**

**MASTER THESIS**

**Muna ALMARAITA**

**Nicosia**  
**June, 2022**

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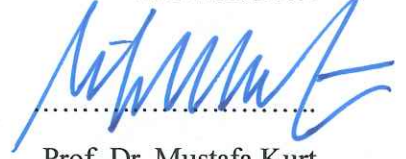
**June, 2022**

### Approval

We certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Muna Almaraita titled “**Class, Economic and Social Questions in Lee Daniel's The Butler.**” And that in our combined opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of English Language and Literature.

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\* Tez savunması çevrimiçi yapılmıştır. Jüri üyeleri onaylarını sözlü olarak vermişlerdir. Tüm süreç kaydedilmiştir.

## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that all information, documents, analysis and results in this thesis have been collected and presented according to the academic rules and ethical guidelines of Institute of Graduate Studies, Near East University. I also declare that as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced information and data that are not original to this study.

Muna Almaraita

June /9/2022

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## Abstract

### Class, Economic and Social questions in Daniel Lee's "The Butler."

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This study focuses on exploring class, economic and social questions in Lee Daniel's *The Butler*. It is an American historical drama film that demonstrates how racism is a social construction and not a biological phenomenon. It all began with slavery and its trade when black people were kidnapped and forced into slavery by African traders' allies to work in (cotton and sugar) plantations without payment. They were treated harshly through persecution, violence, lynching, and prison. As a result, this practice increases the wealth of the plantation owner and boosts which led to the emergence of the superstructure (the wealthy in the society). In contrast, the black laborers who generate the income on the plantation are the poorest in society. The qualitative thematic analysis was used in the research. Also, the researcher used the transcript of the film, books, journals, screenshots, videos, and popular and academic internet websites to collect the data. This thesis aims to explore the ways in which the economy, class, and social questions are tools used for sustaining racism in America. And to explain how the (ISA) and the (RSA) are ideologies that aid racism in America and how the (CRT) faced them. Consequently, in order to achieve these goals, the researcher used scientific theories such as the Critical Race Theory and Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus Theory. In addition to Gramsci's theory, the organic intellectual and traditional intellectual. Therefore, the significant of this thesis shows not just the issue of racism which other researchers have shown, but also logically analyzes the cause, genesis, and brain behind the subject matter of racism by focusing on the ideas that sustain racism, which are consent and coercion in *Lee Daniel's The Butler* that is conceders as a significant of the study. The overall findings of this study reveal: 1. Lack of social class 2. Low-income earnings 3. Segregation and abuses such as police brutality and annihilation; infringement of freedom and the right of association. In the end, the main reason for all these injustice practices toward African Americans was the emergence of the upper class by subjecting the poorer class to work and production, where black worked in the plantation owners' favor which resulted in a large profit for them. In

contrast, led to the class and economic deprivation of African American horizons, which clearly emerged in *The Butler* film.

**Keywords:** Supremacy, Segregation, Forced Labors, Ideology, Social Structure.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

**ISA: Ideological State Apparatus**

**RSA: Repressive State Apparatus**

**CRT: Critical Race Theory**

**KKK: Ku Klux Klan**

**IMF: International Monetary Fund**

## CHAPTER I

### Introduction

This chapter will present the background of the study including the summary of *Lee Daniel's The Butler* movie and the African trade history. Furthermore, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, definitions of some key terms, limitations, and the organization of the study.

#### **Background of the Study**

This thesis under the name of the class, economic, and social questions is based on *Lee Daniel's 'The Butler* film. It tells the story of a man named Cecil who has worked for three decades in the service of the white community without any increase or premium in his salary. Furthermore, the film highlights the black individuals and how they are subjected to physical and psychological violence by white individuals without taking any opposite reaction. Thus, this thesis will focus on the contrast of ideology between the protagonist Cecil and his son Louis where they represent the old and new generations and the main reason behind their behavior. In addition, the issue of racism is an outcome of the ideology practiced by the majority against the minority. Therefore, it leads to the class, economic and social deprivation of African American horizons.

These issues have clearly emerged in *The Butler* film and causes conflict between the majority and minority communities as a result of the (ISA) that affects their thought from childhood such as families, religion, educational systems, law, and politics. As well as the (RSA) which is used against anyone that doesn't submit to the government and its organs laws such as the force of armed, police, jail, etc. (Felluga, 2011).

Consequently, it leads the white people in America to practice their superiority and privilege against African Americans by considering them as properties, not as human beings. This enhances them to reject equality with black due to the (ISA) that shapes their thoughts. As a result, white people use brutal violence against anyone who objects or does not comply with the laws where it represents the (RSA) (Felluga, 2011). Accordingly, black people consent to unfair treatment. Although, white people treated them more like farm animals than human beings. Therefore, blacks worked with less amount of money without objection (Bay, 2000). Thus, The Critical Race Theory plays an essential role in explaining

the fundamental idea that racism is entrenched in the United States' history and legal systems (Bell, 1980). This issue appears in *The Butler* film by showing the long-term effects of slavery and segregation in America and how institutionalized racism continues an inherently unequal caste structure.

The issue of racism towards blacks by white people starts with slavery and its trade. Where the issue of the African Americans relating to race disputes, class imbalance, economic, and social inequality can be traced back to the triangular slave trade. It began in the sixteenth century when black people were bought and sold like animals where their owners dehumanized them to a status nearly akin to livestock (Roberts, 2016). In addition, they were denied from learning and school. Moreover, they were maltreated by their owners since they were viewed as worthless things (Span et al., 2019).

Dr. Morgan (2017) clarifies that the African people's journey starts when a huge number of black Africans were abducted and forced into slavery by African traders' allies. Then, they were sold to Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and French traders, who carried them to European territories by the Atlantic Ocean. A large number of them were brought from West Africa because they have strong physical strength and are considered skilled iron workers. Thus, they made tools that helps in their agricultural work. In addition, they were assigned to occupations that white people refused, such as working for long hours with low-paying, etc. Although, the state did not pay for their upbringing, education, or housing, where the state and the masters profited from them (Barnes, 1997).

Moreover, On the West African coast, Europeans established permanent commercial stations. Slaves were collected and sold to passing ships where this coast was dubbed slave factories. While Some Africans from the slave trade historically did play a major role in the harsh, humiliating, and unusual commerce that forever transformed the perception of black people in the minds of white people. This act is considered a crucial aspect of contemporary European expansion. Through the slave trade and this expansion, racism towards black began (Kaba, 2001)

Kaba (2001) indicates that Africans perpetrated a Holocaust-like act by selling other blacks to whites.

Furthermore, 12, 520,000 slaves were sold by European traders in North and South America. 388,000 black went to North America and were sold to white colonists to work in agricultural fields (Harasymiw, 2021). Equiano (1789) mentioned it in his autobiography

'The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano' describing the process of transferring ships that carried slaves as regarded as a dreadful experience. Equiano indicates that enslaved Africans were separated from their families by force before they get into the ships. The women and their children were housed in different rooms, enabling crewmen unfettered access to the women and raping them, which is known as one of the trade system's benefits.

Large numbers of African men were arrested and taken by force to the ship's hold. They did not have any space to move. Additionally, the lack of food and drink caused black people to have malnutrition and dehydration. As a result, the illness swiftly spread and some estimates claim that over 1 million people passed away on board a ship bound to the Americas. The survivors decided to revolt in response to the awful and harsh conditions, they were living in onboard the ships, but their attempts were unsuccessful due to the crew's size being too much in comparison to their numbers. Additionally, the crew members instilled dread and terror in the slaves' hearts through violence and harsh punishments, leading to the slaves' forced labor to adjust to the new way of life that had been thrust upon them (Liverpool, 2015).

The survivors were transported to the Americas, where slavery had a tremendous influence on the culture and economics of the Southern colonies, where it relied on slaves for a variety of reasons, including the economy, society, and personal necessities. As a result, the wealthy farmers' owners took advantage of the slaves by giving them low wages, and sometimes they didn't give them anything in exchange for vast quantities of crops they could produce which resulted in a large profit for them (Bmozingo, 2013). Therefore, slavery worked in the plantation owners' favor. Consequently, the number of slaves was quickly rising because of the growth of Cotton in the lower south, the upper south focused on the tobacco kingdom. But it was failing with the tobacco kingdom owing to high demand in the lower south which leads to the emergence of the slave trade (Bmozingo, 2013).

In spite of the fact that the twenty-first century has seen several attempts at social transformation, resulting in numerous laws and memos prohibiting discrimination in its various manifestations. However, the number of killings of blacks is increasing. For instance, Gorge Florid has killed in May 2020 when a policeman put his foot on his neck for nine minutes, which led to his death, although he did not show any resistance against

the policeman (Denkman & Leibovitz, 2022). In addition, the child Temila Rice who was armed with a toy gun, and the white policeman called Loehmann shot him nearly as soon as he arrived on the scene (Stone & Socia, 2019). As well as the huge numbers of movies such as "Rosewood" film that based on real events of the 1923 Rosewood slaughter in Florida, which was perpetrated by the white community against African-Americans (Neuberger, 2018). In addition to the "Nation Birth" and many other films that are still produced till this time.

The whole of those facts gives the people a clear image of how racism against black people by white Americans continues till now. According to Tobing (2013):

In Australia and Britain, Canada and the US, racism continues to leave black people more likely to be unemployed and for longer, earning less money in lower-status jobs, living in worse housing and more liable to physical attack. And in Europe the terms of the discussion have shifted from immigration control (keeping black people out) to repatriation (getting rid of those already there).

The reason is that a whole system of beliefs is based on the assumption that black people are not smart, uneducated and their preference for manual work. As a result, white people believe that black people are not equivalent to them, which makes them practice superiority over them (Clark, 1975).

It appears that the major cause of these difficulties is segregation towards African Americans that resulted from the Jim Crow laws which led to hinder African Americans' capacity to prosper. Kahlenberg and Quick (2019) clarify that the segregation between black and white individuals in the USA is the product of purposeful state policies intended to oppress black and promote white sovereignty. As a result, this leads to the emergence of the issue of class, economic and social questions in America, while the majority of the wealthiest are white, in contrast, about 30% percent of the black community continues to live below the line of poverty.

All of these factors of slavery against African-Americans in the USA that the researcher has mentioned in the background appear clearly in the huge numbers of Hollywood films. One of these movies that the researcher has picked is *Lee Daniel's The Butler*. Thus, this thesis will look at the film differently through the use of scientific theories such as Critical Race Theory and Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus which

cover two mechanisms, The Repressive State Apparatus, and The Ideological State Apparatus, in addition to the Gramsci theory that talk about the organic and traditional intellectual in order to present a new perspective. Furthermore, the film has been divided into seven events to make any researcher understand the movie in a smooth and simplified way in case he does not watch it.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The fundamental rights should be available for all human beings irrespective of race, tribe, color, or social class which includes the right to liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, voting, work with equal pay, and education. However, human rights and equality seem to be a big issue in America whereby an individual's race is a determiner of his or her fundamental human rights, social class, and economy.

Slavery of Africans resulted from the huge number of able-bodied men and women who were forcibly transferred from Africa to the West, particularly America, which led to forced labor, no payment, lack of social status, low financial earnings, and prejudice. Accordingly, after slavery has vanished, these issues that were practiced against African people led to:

1. Lack of social class
2. Low-income earnings
3. Segregation and abuses such as police brutality and annihilation; infringement of freedom and the right of association.

Several researchers have caught the subject of racism in America through films, plays, novels, poetry, and articles, some of these researchers are Wiraatmaja (2018) who clarifies that *The Butler* major theme is racism, followed by prejudice and discrimination "unfair treatment" against black Americans. In addition to Choudhury (2014) indicates that the butler's movie as a whole around racial profiling, discrimination, and massive inequities in education and housing for colored people, as well as racial segregation imposed by law and violence, to be unfair, immoral, and unconstitutional. Furthermore, Smith (2015) stands that discrimination and racism are the main themes of *Lee Daniel's The Butler*.

Overall, the mentioned researchers have focused on one theme which is racism without explaining the reason behind it or exploring what is the relationship between racism and social structure. However, this thesis is distinguish because it claims that racism



is an outcome of social structure, and not a biological phenomenon as the researchers addressed above.

### **Purpose of the Study**

This thesis intends to explore the class, economic and social questions in *Lee Daniel's The Butler* film to show how racism is an outcome of ideology. This ideology is a social structure that is meant to favor the majority (White) and subjugate the minority (Black) in America. Therefore, this study is a call for equity and fairness among all irrespective of race, tribe, or color. In nutshell, it propagates national unity, without sentiment, societal growth without bias, and a peaceful environment for all to live without segregation.

### ***The Objective of the Study***

The following are the research objective:

1. To explore how the economic situation of America was used to sustain racism.
2. To explore how the class and social questions affect the oppression of Blacks in America.
3. To examine how the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) is practiced as a tool to ensure racism.
4. To examine how the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) is used to make Black consent to the act of subjugation and intimidation.

### **Research Questions**

The following are the research questions:

1. How does the economic situation use as a means to sustain racism in America?
2. How do the class and social questions affect the oppression of Blacks in America?
3. How is the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) practiced as a tool to ensure racism?
4. How is the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) used to make Black consent to the act of subjugation and intimidation?

## **Significance of the Study**

Overall, all of those researchers are focusing on one theme which is racism. On the other hand, this thesis captures the subject matter of the film, racism which is an outcome of ideology in order to explore and understand the main reason behind it. Therefore, this thesis shows not just the issue of racism which other researchers have shown, but also logically analyzes the cause, genesis, and brain behind the subject matter of racism by focusing on the ideas that sustain racism, which is consent and coercion in Lee Daniel's *The Butler*. Thus, the researcher uses framework theories such as Critical Race Theory and Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus which other researchers haven't talked about before while evaluating the concept of racism in America, particularly in *The Butler* film.

The researcher selected *The Butler* film because during the master's period 2020, when the pandemic was at its peak, there was a worldwide protest that shook the world, which is the death of Gorge Floyd. Then, the researcher observe the high level of injustice caused by race. Not only in America but in the whole world at large. Since literature reflects what happens in society, the researcher decided to write about it using *The Butler* as a case study. The researcher looked at the film from a broader perspective by comparing the old generation represented by the protagonist Cecil and the new generation reprinted by his son, Louis. As a result, the researcher intended to create awareness that race or color is a social norm instituted by humans (those in authority) to create division and not a biological or natural factor.

## **Limitations**

The first limitation is that the study is limited to class, economy, and social questions, which is shown through the two main characters in the film, the protagonist Cecil and his son Louis as well as the two communities where they represent the majority and minority in the society; it also demonstrates some relevant events and how racism is a concept of ideology. In addition, this study shall not dive into the issue of human rights and their fundamentals. Furthermore, most of the studies are focusing on comparing the film itself and the article 'A butler well served by this election' in contrast, this study will ignore this part and focus on the film only in order to make a new perspective to avoid repetition.

## **Definition of Terms**

**Ideology:** It depicts individuals' imagined relationships to their actual circumstances of existence, with ideology's primary goal being to constitute concrete persons as subjects. As a result, it looks to people as real. Furthermore, the ideology has a material entity since it is constantly present in the apparatuses and its practice. Additionally, ideas or beliefs aren't static; they alter and adjust, where the new ideologies form and spread across communities (Felluga, 2011). It is a social convention; the way society shapes individual thoughts and methods of behavior. This could be either through consent or coercion which Althusser (1971) refers to as (ISA) and (RSA). Moreover, Ideology itself is a motivating, yet action-neutral term because it is considered group of interconnected thoughts and ideas in their most fundamental form. Specific goals, whether political, economic, or religious, can be accomplished by employing these attributes in discourse (Dumoulin, 2021)

**Repressive States Apparatus (RSA):** Louis Althusser (1970) write an essay 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,' which became one of his most significant works where he emphasized that Repressive States Apparatuses (RSA) is a type of authority that operates largely by mental and physical coercion and severe violence, such as the army, police, judiciary, law, and jail system (Felluga, 2011).

**The Ideological State Apparatus: (ISA)** as defined by Althusser is a 'soft power' notion such as society, religion, family, schools, and institutions are operating through ideology in which ideology is deployed by the state and private institutions to ensure the power and control of dominant groups. It also preserves the ruling class's power by defining and regulating people's ideas, values, and beliefs. Furthermore, the Educational ISA National curriculum and textbooks have a significant role in forming children's identities and value systems (Felluga, 2011).

**Racism:** a political or social system built on racism that aimed to carry out rules; where its concept is founded on the race is a determinant of the fundamental rights of individuals and their abilities and that racial disparities result in a race's inherent supremacy (Newman, 2019). It relates to racial stereotypes and prejudice based on world views, attitudes, and common-sense concepts. The fact that large number of individuals in American culture, regardless of race, feel that white individuals are more educated, clever, and superior in comparison to colored people (Cole, 2019). Which asserts that one ethnic group or race has a higher sense of superiority than other ethnic groups or races, where

People who are classed above the human line are socially accepted as human beings (Cole, 2019).

### **The Organization of the Study**

This thesis includes the five chapters where the researcher writes with the following systematic writing in order to acquire a thorough and systematic discussion. Chapter one represents the introduction which contains the background of the study, problem statement, significance of the study, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, limitations, and terms of detention as well as the organization of the study. In addition, in the second chapter, the literature review covers a theoretical framework as well as previous studies which contains a quick overview of certain studies in the *film Lee Daniel's The Butler*. Moreover, in chapter three, the methodology contains all of these subjects such as research design, data collection procedures, data collection tools, and qualitative data analysis plane.

Additionally, chapter four, discussion and findings present the structure of the film which is divided into seven events. In addition, it represents the findings of the study and the discussion of scientific theories such as CRT, ISA, and RSA. Furthermore, chapter five presents the summary for the whole thesis as well as recommendations for the findings of the study and for future research.

## CHAPTER II

### Literature Review

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework of the study. It illustrates how theories can be used to answer the research questions mentioned in the introduction chapter. In addition, this chapter presents the previous studies which contain an overview of certain studies that have been done in *Lee Daniel's The Butler* Film.

#### Theoretical Framework

This study adopts The Critical Race Theory and Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus theory by Louis Althusser in analyzing the act of racism which is an outcome of ideology in *Lee Daniel's The Butler* movie and how it affects the economy and class of both the black and white communities.

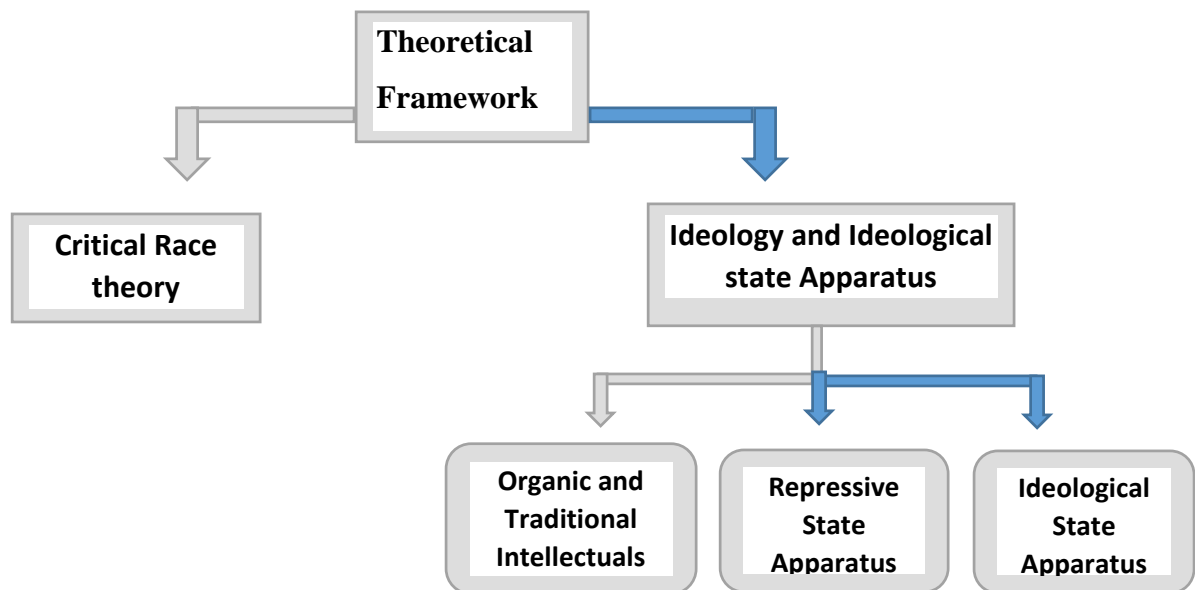


Figure1. Graph of all theories of the study.

#### ***Critical Race Theory (CRT)***

Critical Race Theory is a movement that began in the 1980s at Harvard University by Professor Derrick Bell. It is an academic concept that tries to explore and oppose societal racial injustice (Rollock & Gillborn, 2011). Critical race theory is an essential part of legal scholarship that examines how racism is rooted in laws and legal systems. Bell dedicated himself to exposing racism during his five-decade career (Bell, 2011). As a

result, the main claim for the (CRT) is that race and racism are not a result of human racist beliefs, it is structural as well as systemic. In addition, it is deep-seated in the legal system, institutions, and free-enterprise system of America. It founds 'whiteness' as a community rule where the system of capitalism maintains white privilege and sovereignty (Bell, 1980). Furthermore, the (CRT) presents the events of *The Butler* film and clarified how Jim Crow laws marginalized the rights of Africans, causing the emergence of white privilege and the interest convergence.

### ***Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus Theory***

Louis Althusser has written an essay that talked about the connection between the states (government) and their subjects (poor people). In which he asks questions about why subjects are submissive to the rules, and why these people don't have a reaction against capitalism and its exploitation (Mambrol, 2016). Althusser reaffirms the Marxist theory which claims that for a social formation to exist, it is essential to reproduce the productive forces (labor force and means of production). Althusser discusses the circumstances and the connections of production, in addition to the reproduction for both (Yousefian, 2016). Furthermore, Althusser created the term 'interpellation' in order to explain the ideology that formed people as subjects by analyzing the required relations between state and subject to make a particular economic production pattern continue. This concept of subjectivity is fundamental to his writings. As Althusser indicates that all ideology interpolates concrete individuals as concrete subjects and emphasizes that ideology acts or functions in such a way that it transforms the individual into subjects (Althusser, 1971). Althusser clarifies that the obviousness to which individuals (you and I) are subject is an impact of ideology, unspecific and unconscious manner (Althusser, 1971)

To further discuss the issue of ideology as an impact on subjectification, Althusser claims that states can keep maintaining their dominance by reproducing subjects who think that their situations in the social structure are normal by using two mechanisms, the (ISA) and (RSA), to ensure that the people inside a state follow the regulations set out by the state allowing the ruling class to dominate the working class (Yousefian, 2016).

**The Repressive State Apparatus (RSA).** It is used by the state to oppress the people who reject to follow the laws. It operates primarily through repression (including

physical and verbal repression), and it is wholly inside the public domain, such as the government, police, armed forces, and imprisons (Pensee, 1970).

**The Ideological State Apparatus (ISA).** Such as the family, church, legal system, educational system, and media. All of these institutions are dominated by ideology (which is not immediately obvious) and it completely belongs to the private domain (Pensee, 1970).

According to Yousefian (2016) “Althusser defines the ideology as a depiction of people's imagined relationships to their true conditions of existence.” Furthermore, Althusser confirms that the ideology cannot represent the actual world, but it means individuals' relations with this world. Indeed, people do not have a personal experience of the actual world. Thus, what people see is a picture of that world or their relationship to it. As a result, their interactions with it and the ideological representations they make of it form the actual world. In addition, the ideas and imagination that people tell themselves about what is real become real. As a result, ideology is the fake version of our interaction with the real world for the stories that they tell themselves (Yousefian, 2016).

As a result, the meaning of ideology will be assorted since ideology is considered as a structure. It might be filled with whatever you want. Furthermore, the ideology operates ‘subconsciously’ exactly like language. Consequently, ideology is a structure that people live with but it makes them live in the illusion that they are in command, and they freely choose the substance of what they believe. Where they can discover an excess of justifications for their beliefs. As Althusser observes the people in the capitalist community became ideological subjected. Althusser claims that because people live in ideology, nothing happens outside of it, and it is impossible to understand themselves without it (Mumby, 1989).

Althusser explains the conditions of production and the relations of production that lead to invariably class and economic deprivation for the peasants. Thus, the capitalist system ensures the reproduction of productive labor by paying workers a little amount of money, and sometimes they do not pay anything. Thus, they were forced to work for long hours every day which constrained their improvement. As a result, the (ISA) is employed in the reproduction of production relations and circumstances of production. Althusser's project is strongly based on explaining the reproduction of dominance and its mechanisms.

Where the class can't exercise state power for an extended length of time without also exercising dominance over the intellectual domain 'ideological sphere'. Althusser claims that the state fulfills this obligation through the (ISA) (Yousefian, 2016).

Ideology belongs to the domain of superstructures, which are based on the material conditions of production. As Althusser explains, the social formation can be modeled in a binary of infrastructure and superstructure. The superstructure is based on the essential infrastructure (the economic basis) and it is divided into two levels: the law/state (politico-legal level) and ideology. The explanations of the two levels are below.

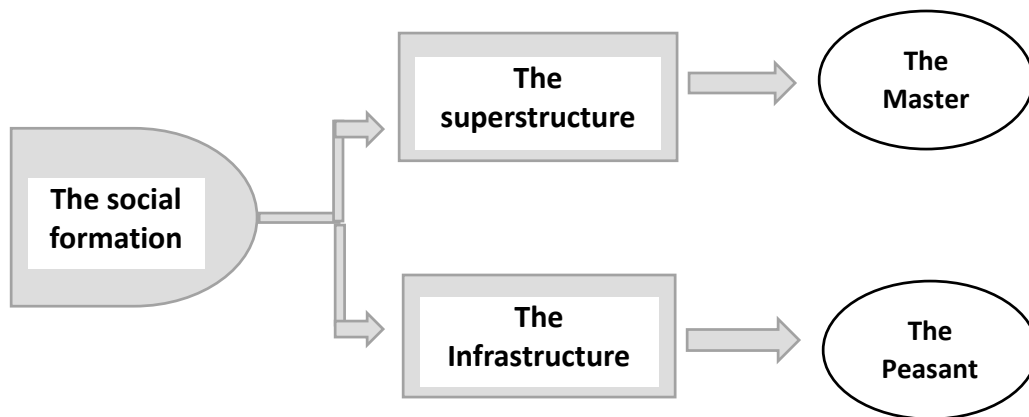


Figure 2. The formation of social construction

The substructure is made up of:

1- The forces included both the labor and the technical skills (training and expertise) that are required to complete the job. 2- The means are tools of manufacturing (the raw materials) such as tools, and machinery are all included in this category. 3- Workers' and owners' relationships are reflected in the production relations (Yousefian, 2016)

Where it is obvious that the superstructure emerges from the infrastructure and is made up of culture (laws, politics, and so on) and ideology (the world views, values, and beliefs). As a result, Althusser argues that the capitalist class will vanish without important aspects such as the sociological and ideological circumstances of the labor force (Yousefian, 2016)

Althusser mentions two major mechanisms that assist the dominant class maintains power over people inside a state by ensuring that they obey and follow the regulations set out by that state. Although, it does not serve their interests in terms of their class positions. These mechanisms are the (RSA) and the (ISA). Consequently, the (RSA) can impose performance directly such as the forces and the criminal fairness system. The government



has the authority to use these apparatuses to physically force people to perform in a way that serves the state. According to Althusser, the primary function of the (RSA) is to act forcefully in the interests of society's ruling class (Felluga, 2011). On another hand, the (ISA) is the institutions that produce systems of ideas and values such as the educational system, churches, families, judicial systems, and sports (Felluga, 2011).

Althusser argued that schools are particularly important for inculcating the dominant ideology. Consequently, Althusser prioritizes the education system because it is one of the main and effective mechanisms of the (ISA) that implants and develops various systems linked with ideas and values in the curriculum. Where children learn at school is 'know-how' wrapped in the ruling ideology of the ruling class which is seen as a substantial effective instrument in forming children's identities (Cole, 2008). According to Felluga (2011) Althusser noted that what the bourgeoisie has installed as its number-one, i.e. as its dominant ideological State apparatus, is the educational apparatus, which has replaced in its functions the previously dominant Ideological State apparatus, the Church.

Moreover, Althusser emphasize how the (RSA) and the (ISA) are overlapping apparatuses. Althusser indicates that 'there is no such thing as a purely ideological apparatus' because both apparatuses function together side by side in collaboration. The (RSA) is based on suppression and violence that includes both physical and verbal oppression and it works secondary as ideology. Similarly, the (ISA) works essentially by ideology, but it also functions indirectly by suppression (Felluga, 2011).

To put it in another way, the ruling class's economic dominance is maintained by coercion. The police, the laws, and the army are all used to force the working class to do certain things. On the other hand, the (ISA) functions through an ideological system in which the family, church, and education institutions force individuals to obey laws, patterns of life, and thoughts created by the ruling class to maintain their control over them. Despite the reality that the (ISA) Institutions participants seem to be very different, their common purpose of acting by the dominant class's ideology keeps them together. Retribution, expulsion, selection, and other types of "discipline." For example, they are used by educational institutions and churches to refine their protesters and individuals. The same for the family and law through censorship and so on (Yousefian, 2016).

**Organic and Traditional Intellectuals According to Gramsci.** Gramsci had a point of view that was substantially identical to what Althusser explained, as seen by his use of the coercion and consent concepts that Althusser defined as the (ISA) and the (RSA).

According to Gramsci, Intellectuals are alienated into two types. Firstly, the traditional intellectuals are the defenders and the supporters of social and cultural institutions, such as the educational system, religious sects, companies, etc. They have a tendency to feel that they are free and independent from the control of society's social group, which is not the reality. Secondly, the organic intellectuals create new values and social class. They help individuals who keep silent by acting as a leader for them, as well as encouraging the individuals to strive and fight for something worthwhile to fight for. In addition, organic intellectuals emerge from participation in social groupings (or classes) that are hostile to the dominance of existing institutions. The organic intellectual does not just repeat pre-existing group views or demands like a parrot, but elevates what has not been formally acknowledged to the level of public discourse (Pillai, 2021).

Gramsci noted that all of these actions can be expressed by 'coercion' and 'consent' which the term consent related to the 'traditional intellectual' when the individual consents to social 'norms' whereas the physical and verbal violence "Coercion" will be used against anyone do not obey the rules. In contrast, the organic intellectual refers to the person who is questioning the system and doesn't follow the rules (Gramsci, 1971).

A strong association between the (ISA), (RSA), and (CRT) were have been observed in this framework after it is exposed during the analysis in *Lee Daniel's The Butler*. As the researcher previously stated, the upper-class ideology is adopted by the entire society through coercion and consent until it becomes the official ideology. People accept and obey instructions and regulations without objection. Consequently, racism which is an outcome of ideology is the major topic of discussion in this thesis in order to explore the main reason behind it. In addition, the issue of race, tribe, or color as a major determiner of how a person or group of people is being treated could be perceived to be either willful consent of the victim or force which Althusser referred to the (ISA) and the (RSA)

### ***Critical Race Theory***

In this part, the researcher offers a general concept of the main aspects of the (CRT) as well as offers general information about the concepts, aspects, and agents in the (CRT). In addition, it provides the major elements on which CRT is founded because the issue of race is the subject of the infinite conflict between racial and ethnic groups instead of the cooperation between them and getting benefits. Accordingly, this issue clearly emerged in *The Butler* film through the race and racism issues represented by the white privilege and superiority against the African American people.

Critical Race Theory is an academic concept grounded in radical action that tries to explore and oppose societal racial injustice. It looks at how racism and race have influenced social and municipal institutions in the United States. It is based on the premise of the idea that race is an outcome of social cognition and power. The (CRT) theorists strive to uncover the ways that sustained the racial inequality through the performance and operation of institutions that are seemingly ordinary (Rollock & Gillborn, 2011).

Critical race theory (CRT) emerged from a clash between white male-dominated critical legal studies researchers and a big group of legal scholars who decided to take the race to the core of racism. Where racism was explored in America through the country's slave history and the Civil Rights Movement. The Critical Race Theory was founded in the mid-1970s by professors including Derrick Bell, in response to the fact that the civil rights in the 1960s were progressing slowly and they wanted to do something about it (Brizee et al., 2015).

Attention has been drawn to the issue of critical race when Bell (a Harvard law professor) left and the school's management refused to appoint another professor of color to teach the race and constitutional law subjects. Many students began to question the hiring procedures. The debate prompted young researchers and law professors to hold a summer conference in Madison, in 1989. And they start creating assumptions, arguments, and research goals about critical race theory. Additionally, Bell was the main figure in the development of critical race theory, a corpus of legal scholarship that examines how racism is rooted in laws and legal systems. Bell also aims to expose the persistence of racism during the course of his five-decade career (Bell, 1980).

Multiple notions are assumed by the (CRT):

Racism is ingrained in American society. Furthermore, white supremacy over black individuals includes material social relations and has a significant ideological presence in the community in which people are limited in their free capacity. They are contained in their own social class, which is referred to as a 'social construct.' Furthermore, the legal acts as a force legitimize the order of racial, economic, and gender disparities (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997). Moreover, the interest convergence; racism promotes the interests of the majority of white society, regardless of their social, economic, and financial standing, which causes a lack of motivation to change things. Additionally, there is differentiated racism, in which the white society gives privilege to "white only" which leads the white majority to discriminate racially against black individuals depending on economic and political tendencies (Simba, 2021).

The (CRT) confirms racism has grown in ordinary life and is accepted and taken for granted as 'normal'. The behavior and acceptance generate situations for individuals, whether white or colored unconsciously making exact decisions to enhance racism. As Taylor (1998) indicates that racism is established completely in American culture where it is considered ordinary. It allows white supremacy beliefs to pervade the government and its agency systems. Thus, racism is a state of mind that is firmly rooted in society, psyches, systems, and organizations as well as its biases into individuals' attitudes and acts. (Lynchaugust, 2021). Additionally, racism is also a creation of capitalism, it arose from the early usage of slaves for plantations that were rich in southern, and it was cemented to legitimize western and white dominance over the world (Lynchaugust, 2021).

Furthermore, it is a form of oppression. It gives the majority the right to discriminate against minorities based on a hereditary trait. For instance, they consider black people inferior. Consequently, racism has existed in America since the beginning of the slave trade. It is viewed as a historical and material phenomenon that leads the white individuals to have an irrational reaction to any difference. As a result, they have an aggressive attitude toward black people in which they practiced violent and inhuman behavior actions (Steven, 2006).



Figure 3. Capitalist exploitation.

Accordingly, racism is a social construction in which race is a consequence of social thoughts. It emphasizes that race is a social creation rather than a consequence of biology or genetics (Brizee et al., 2015). This has been proven by Professor Philip Kitcher who illustrates biological variations between races. Race is not biologically real. Thus, race is a concept of a social construct with scientific levers, it's a classification system planned by individuals. It was formed to differentiate physical distinctions between individuals by dividing people into racial groups (Kitcher, 2017).

The racial divisions led to the emergence of many of the issues covered during the film's events which fall under the Critical Race theory as shown in the chart below.

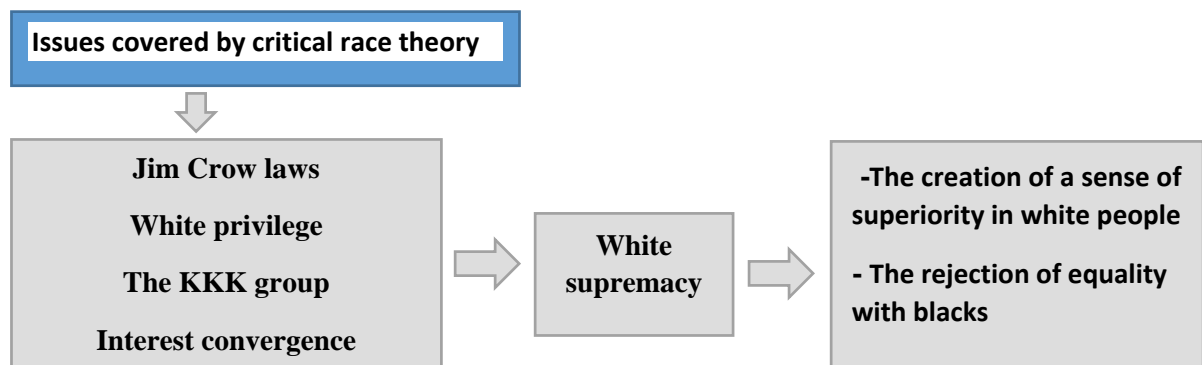


Figure 4. Issues covered by critical race theory

Blacks have been suppressed in an inhuman and bloody way by white haters, the Klan group, and the government's agency. The lynching spread against any black who does not obey the law imposed on them to marginalize them and make them under the control of the ruling class (Feldman, 1999). These laws were 'called Jim' Crow (Was the name of the racial segregation system) which operated mostly in southern and Border States, between 1877 and the mid-1960s. Jim Crow was more than a series of strict anti-black laws. It was a way of life. Under Jim Crow, African Americans were given the status of second-class

citizens. Jim Crow helped to make anti-black racism appear right. Additionally, many scientists and teachers at every educational level supported the belief that blacks were intellectually and culturally inferior to whites (Pilgrim, 2000).

Consequently, it formed a formal, distinct system of racial segregation in the USA that was dominated for three decades. Furthermore, it was supported by local government and terror attacks. As a result, the rules-imposed segregation in educational institutions, libraries, cinemas, restaurants, and other public facilities. Signs like 'whites only' and 'colored' acted as constant reminders of the existing racial order. The principle of the law states that white and blacks were given separate but equal treatment but in reality, black received unequal treatment. Their public facilities were inferior to those of whites. Additionally, black people were systemically (Wright, 2005).

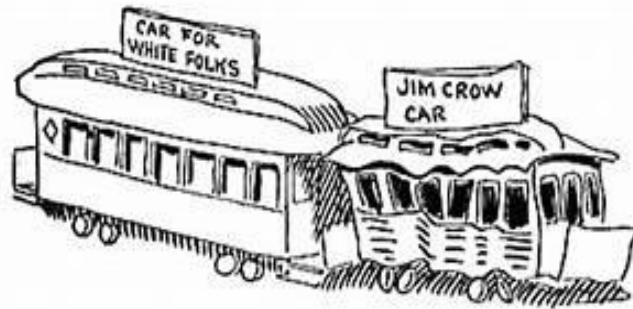


Figure 5. Screenshot of the segregation.

Crow (n.d.) convey to us what the journalist Diane Nash says in the Freedom party interview: Traveling in the South was humiliating for black individuals; the fact that there were segregated facilities meant that the black was racially inferior 'subhuman' and that we could not even use the same public facilities with white people.

The Jim Crow laws, as well as the government and its agencies, provide white people with "a privilege." It relates to the multiple legal, social, and economic benefits that white people have over black individuals. The concept of white privilege as a notion in regard to The CRT researchers presents a framework to explore how the controlling culture mainstreams the white individuals' experiences while neglecting colored experiences. Consequently, to understand how racism impacts the majority groups. Thus, the CRT has expressly concentrated on white privilege (Brizee et al., 2015).

This privilege is formed through white supremacy, resulting in making them deal with black as inferior. Walton (2020) claims:

White supremacy in everyday parlance is associated with the material violence of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the British National Party. According to Critical Race Theorist, the notion of white supremacy within Critical Race Theory offers an all-pervading notion of how white racism infuses, directs, situates, and positions white people at the expense of their constituent and constructed black other.

This concept captures the idea that racism is a universal phenomenon seen in a variety of aspects of social life, rather than a historical phase left behind by societal development. Thus, based on what has been mentioned, the main argument of The CRT is that white supremacy is maintained through an interconnected system of institutions. For instance, schools or the criminal justice system whether purposefully or accidentally. It enacts social practices and government policies that reduce the relative attitude and well-being of race and ethnic minorities. Many academics claim that white supremacy and privilege grew out through customs and personal interactions that try to put minorities in a position of inferiority (Walton, 2020). White color is also seen as a "thing" that is used to gain social position and power by critical race theory. In conversation, whites may ignore topics of racism by insisting that they don't notice the color or they challenge minorities through 'microaggressions'. Critical race theorists view themselves as offering an interpretation of society that sheds attention on racial repressive systems and the advantages derived from that system (Walton, 2020).

The KKK system maintained white supremacy in Southern America by preventing blacks from achieving civil rights through intimidation, violence, and lynching (Feldman, 1999). Where all of these acts appear clearly in *The Butler* film.



Figure 6. The domestic terrorist organization in America.

The KKK is an American organization terrorist group that seeks to roll back the clock to a time before black people were given the chance to vote and to access their civil rights. It leads to forming the infrastructure class, educational institutions, and republican and democratic parties. They are eager to go back much further to the time when blacks were submissive, working as farm workers. Where the KKK objectives reflect this in all areas (Foner, 2015).

The only way blacks were allowed to share rights with whites was when there is a convergence of interests. Thus, Bell creates the notion of "interest convergence" (which is crucial to comprehending critical race theory), in which he said, "Black progress is only allowed when the interests of whites align with those of blacks. When that does not occur, Black progress is impossible" (Bell, 1980).



Figure 7. The interest convergence.

According to Bell, African Americans' aspirations for racial equality will only be realized if Whites feel it would benefit them as well, and the legal system will not redress injustices if doing so will threaten the standards of both middle and upper-class white. Consequently, a lot of critical race theorists are suspicious of racial progress narratives for this and other reasons rather than perceiving racial advancement as a tough but constant process. They perceive it as an illusion if it happens at all. Progress occurs only when it is convenient for Whites. In certain ways, White supremacy is a perpetual threat according to Critical Race Theory (Bell, 1980).

Critical race theory played an important role in standing up to racism and its factors through the use of 'counter-storytelling.' It is used as a technique for elevating the voices, opinions, and experiences of minorities. Minority narratives can spring up and challenge the established narratives that create our society using this strategy. Thus, "counter-storytelling" has a major impact on members of society where it empowers the voice and



narrative that each individual owns which leads to an increase in the individual's awareness (Bahadoosingh, 2021)

Overall, it is clear that the most significant aspect of the (CRT) is considered a comprehensive set of definitions, concepts, and analyses that argue race and racism are ingrained in our communities. As a result, it indicates that a comprehensive reform of our communities has to take into consideration all of the institutions like the legal system, economics, education, and the social welfare system (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997). The researcher nevertheless has chosen to examine the applications of a relative theory, namely Critical Race Theory (CRT), as a frame for understanding how racism based on ideology is embedded during the movie events in *Lee Daniela's The Butler* to explore the major theme behind it.

### **Previous Studies**

This film has been studied by critics from academic and popular perspectives.

#### ***Academic Perspective***

The issue that *The Butler* has discussed is class discrimination and racism matter, several academic research has investigated these issues. Pegoda (2013) indicates that the movie reveals the difference between the old generation who work hard and are obedient to the white society and the young generation who are willing to fight for their civil rights. However, Pegoda argues that *The Butler* is historically inaccurate. He points out that the film shows rapes and lynchings without providing any comment on them. In addition, *The Butler* is misleading historically and it is mainly fantasy because if it is really true then the butler will be fired from his work because his son comes against the white community. Similarly, Nelson (2014) considers some parts of the film misleading. For example, it shows that Cecil's rise in society doesn't necessarily remove the negative stigma of being a black American. In addition, the actors who played the Presidents characters appear excessive and positioned merely as a way to depict a timeline of Cecil's historical role in his years of serving. Some parts of the presidential scenes appear to be unnecessary, lacking political or historical relevance pertinence.

In the same view, Shockley (2016) argues that *The Butler* is historically inaccurate because of the timeline and the representation of some of the facts by changing the events

to make it correct. For instance, the film depicts Louis with another man and two women as one of the first four to join in the lunch counter sit-in. Additionally, Machan (2013) presents how Daniel's treatment of US presidents during the movie reduces the film's power by focusing on the upper class. Machan talks about the override the White House's formality and power. In contrast to the terror, brutality, and challenges that occur as a result of Cecil's family's many civil rights violations. Turan (2013) agrees with them and states *The Butler* abandons fact to construct hybrid fictitious characters that merge decades of history to blend into the turbulent story of one family. Which leads to weakening the content of the film.

From a paradoxical perspective, according to Roberts (2017) a professor at New York University, the film has some strong moments (both in terms of the intellectual depth of the father and his son and the strong performances of the actors). However, the narrative of the film does transformation into a cliché. For instance, the film's passionate correlation with melodramatic background music affects the authenticity of many major scenes. Additionally, the movie's costuming selection occasionally indicates the farcical. Although the film has many drawbacks in directorial and screenwriting. Roberts claims that *The Butler* is historically accurate and politically astute.

While Joseph (2013) clarifies that *The Butler* has a subtle narration of the courageous period of the civil rights movement, particularly the action of the Freedom Rides group in the restaurant. The film provides a strong cinematic corrective to some scenes. It presents a strong association of America's racial history in many ways. In return, Grant (2013) claims that Lee Daniel's *The Butler* is based on a true story where the film is reflected on Allen's character "A Butler Well Served by This Election." In addition, Daniel selects the important characters in the film with care. For example, Daniel gives Forest Whitaker the major role with Oprah Winfrey. Furthermore, Daniels' goal was to portray the disturbances of times reflected in the personal life of the butler. The life of two brothers, Louis and Charlie is neither realistic nor reasonable. Finally, the movie itself is being promoted as a historical drama with an all-star ensemble. However, Whitaker emphasizes that *The Butler* also talks about how the events of the day affected one family.

Furthermore, Mu'min (2013) points out that *The Butler* is partially based on Eugene Allen's life. Cecil's character who is modeled after him becomes an eyewitness to significant proceedings in American history. In addition, the writer compares the life of her

grandmother to Cecil's life where both have a similar life in North and South America. Mu'min says that she is not a great admirer of Lee Daniel previous work. So, this is not an endorsement for him but *The Butler* movie deserves praise for the editing and the content. It makes anyone witness the various ways that black people rejected white supremacy through their familial ties, whether it was through everyday subversion of racism or immediate resistance to those institutions. Additionally, it shows how black people have been living a double life in order to stay alive. Furthermore, during the film, it appears that the white community is conceded as a secondary to the black community life. Moreover, Oprah Winfrey has a strong performance while she tries to keep her family together.

Moreover, Kutsenko (2017) clarifies that when you first see *The Butler*, it's hard to believe Cecil Gaines' character was already there since his narrative was edited and adapted for the big screen. Kutsenko says that the film is a controversial and certainly important film 'Let's just say it's a crowded scene.' Thus, it won't suit you if you are looking for scenes to make you laugh. Furthermore, the film boasts an excellent and sometimes excessive staff and a human aspect that should not be underestimated. Lee Daniels said he chose to include as many celebrities as possible in the film for marketing purposes.

### ***Popular Perspective***

From a popular perspective, many internet reviewers have also discussed these issues. Rooby (2013) claims that *The Butler* is based on the real story of Eugene Allen's character which represents Cecil's character in the film. However, the entire group of stars brings a lot of skill to film story that deserves a lot. Furthermore, despite the fact that every president's character appeared on screen for a short time, it seems as if they are filming presidential caricatures. Additionally, makeup was often inappropriate and distorted. On the other hand, Rooby likes how they were able to incorporate real footage of the demonstrations, attacks, imprisonment and physical abuse faced by the freedom ride group of during the civil rights movement era in the film. It was a strict reminder of how Louis and his colleagues had put their lives on the line and faced risks for the opportunity to have equality with white residents in America. Moreover, the film is neither as excellent nor as horrible. Despite the altruistic intentions of the performers and directors involved, the film ends with a faded autobiography and part of misleading historical symbolic story.

While LaSalle (2013) claims that *The Butler* has mostly stupid scenarios and ridiculous images imaginable because LaSalle thinks that making the movie about a negative character is exaggerated. And this view supports what Schaefera (2013) believes that *The Butler* is misleading and repetitive as a result of Daniel's struggles to make it as well-paced organized story which reaches the point of exaggeration. In addition, *The butler* is historically inaccurate and the end outcome is a faded biography.

From this standpoint, Bennett (2014) points out that Lee Daniel's *The Butler* has include an excellent staff of the film, particularly the political leaders. On the other hand, Cecil's character might be the film's major flaw. Cecil is a black man who has no opinion and he spend his time expecting white people desires. He appears to be a shadow standing unnoticed until he was called in to the serve during the film. Although he has insight into American history makers, his emotionless behavior suits him well in his work at the White House work. On the other hand, *Lee Daniels' The Butler* should inspire more emotion than it does because it has good staff, settings and editing. The quick pace of the film may be some of the most troubled moments in the film due to the cramming the film in a period of two hours.

From another standpoint, Spross (2013) clarifies that *The Butler* which is based on a true story is essentially a well-executed Life time TV movie. It intermingled with short real flashes of brilliance and genius. Furthermore, the film is purely historical on the colored American experience in the second part of the twentieth century. At least, *The Butler* should serve as a wake-up call for anyone who believes the widespread emotional outflow that followed Obama's victory was politically suspicious or scandalous.

Additionally, Weinstein (2015) claims that the film tracks the shifting of American politics and race relations. It indicates that Cecil witnesses the consequences of incidents like the murders of Kennedy and Martin Luther, etc. Cecil's experience exemplifies how each generation tries to define the American dream. Consequently, Nashawaty (2013) clarifies that *The Butler* is a large-scale period drama. It is founded on the actual life of a black man who served eight presidents during three decades. *The Butler* is worth watching; it is definitely efficient and forceful. However, it could have used more subtlety as the scenes lack adequate authenticity, as well as the distracting show of famous actors in the film.

Accordingly, Simek (2013) points out that *The Butler* film has true feelings and reactions since it was inspired by true events. It restates the civil rights events from both a personal and political standpoint. But the clarity with which this contradiction between the personal and the historical perspective shown on screen is unconvincing and historically inaccurate. In addition to his lack of accuracy in the film. The ensuing drama provides insight into African Americans' feelings about civil rights across generations. Louis plays an important role in every moment instant of the civil rights movement. It allows Daniel to hit the crucial core in his historical recounting, but as a narrative mechanism, it looks forcible and tense. Nevertheless, the candid home scenes depicting Cecil, Gloria, and their circle of friends are more satisfying. However, comedy and passion are real and effective. In the end, *The Butler* highlights the fact that while most black Americans have not been on the history lines throughout this pivotal period in American history, they continue to experience the difficulties and perseverance that ultimately led to victory.

In conclusion, Vejvoda (2013) clarifies that *The Butler* is founded on the life of Eugene Allen and contains Gaines' experiences. It includes all of the main political and cultural themes in African-American history in the 20th century. In addition, the Presidents' characters are poorly chosen, whereas the presidential representation of the presidents is only marginally effective. Although the assassination of John Kennedy, who is convicted of failure. It contains the necessary scene for Cecil crying while the reaction to his president's death was more dramatic. In contrast, Winfrey plays a strong role, despite the restricted dimensions of her part 'I wouldn't be astonished if she garnered an Oscar nomination for best supporting Actress, if not won the prize outright.' Furthermore, Vejvoda worries that the life events that appear in the film, as well as the overall style of the film, will lead younger audiences to believe that there is no longer hard work to be done because of the sacrifices of their ancestors. Finally, *The Butler* is a well-made movie about an African-American experiencing historical events from the inside. Additionally, it has strong performances.

In contrast to all of these perspectives, which focus on racism and class discrimination during the film's events without explaining the main reason behind it. The researcher explains how racism is an outcome of ideology, it is a social constructor as a result of manufactured consent (represented by the ideological differences between Cecil and his son Louis, as well as the contrast in ideology between the black and white

communities) by using some scientific theories such as The critical Race Theory and Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus by Althusser and how The (ISA) and The (RSA) are used as a tool to sustaining racism in America and how the (CRT) faced them.

## CHAPTER III

### Methodology

To clarify the thesis's objective, this study aims to explore the economy, class, and social questions that are used for sustaining racism in America in order to determine the contrast in ideology between the two communities. This is done by using the (ISA) and the (RSA) where both these mechanisms played an important role to support racism in America. Accordingly, this chapter explains the research methodology that the researcher used to support the study, where it covers all of these aspects: research design, data collection procedures, data collection tools, and qualitative data analysis plane. Consequently, this chapter emphasizes how the selected methodology supports the research problem and achieves its objectives.

#### Research design

Research design is an essential term in the methodology section, where its purpose is to guarantee that the evidence you gather allows you to properly address the research issues in a logical and unambiguous manner. According to Friedman (2015), Trochim (2006) defines the research design as the overarching strategy that the researcher is used to bring together the components of the study in a consistent an

d logical manner, ensuring that the research concerns are effectively addressed; it is a stage process to data collection, measurement, and analysis. In addition, Kumar (2009) described research design as a procedure followed by the researcher in order to objectively and properly answer a question's validity.

This research used a descriptive qualitative method based on the statement of the problem, research question, and the objectives of the research that are mentioned in chapter one.

According to Lambert (2012) where he says:

Qualitative-descriptive research should be considered a categorical rather than a non-categorical research alternative; it is less interpretive than an 'interpretive descriptive' approach because it does not require the researcher to go as far away from or into the data, in comparison to other qualitative

designs, it does not need a conceptual or particularly abstract account of the data (p. 1).

Thus, the qualitative approach is used to explore and describe how racism that based on ideology appears in the movie whereby an individual's race is a determiner to his or her fundamental human rights which leads to the class and economic deprivation of African American community.

The reason the researcher used these theories is that their use supports the idea of the movie. In addition, these theories answer the research questions that mentioned in the first chapter. Furthermore, there is a similarity between the content of the theories and the content of the idea put forward in the movie. Therefore, the film is considered a case study of these theories and at the same time, the theories are considered a supportive or theoretical example for the film.

### **Data Collection Procedures**

To conduct such a study, the researcher collects the data by following several steps. In the beginning, the researcher watches *Lee Denel's The Butler* film on Netflix, produced on August 19, 2013, directed and co-produced by Lee Daniels, containing the major figures of Hollywood stars. After watching the film, the researcher searches for the root of slavery, the main reason behind racism, and if it is a biological or social constructor. Furthermore, the researcher reads vast numbers of articles, journals, and books as well as YouTube that talk about *The Butler* movie. In addition, the researcher read the recent studies and whole the film reviews on *The Butler* film and discovers that no one talked about the new idea that will be used in this research.

The researcher has a deep reading and decides to focus on two scientific theories such as Critical Race Theory and Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus. Then, the researcher watches the film again and takes important notes during the movie as well as snaps some screenshots that support the scenes in the analysis. After that, the researcher downloads the transcript of the film and makes a comparison between the movie's transcripts with the film itself. Accordingly, the researcher takes the quotations and uses them in the analysis chapter.

The researcher determines the theoretical framework for the study in order to support the assertion of the research perspective by providing proof of what the researcher



argues. Accordingly, the researcher collects the primary and secondary sources to support the theories through the internet website, articles as well as YouTube videos, thesis, film's transcript, the movie itself, and the observations, explanations, and recordings that the researcher took through the master's lectures that contain explaining for these theories. Additionally, the researcher makes a structure of the film where it is divided into seven events, to make the readers understand the content of the movie if they haven't watched it before, and also to make the analysis easy and smooth.

### **Data collection tools**

Collecting data is an essential part of scientific research methodologies, as its importance lies to allow researchers to obtain, collect and measure data on variables of interest in a methodical way which permits them to research questions, test hypotheses, and evaluate results (Polkinghorne, 2005). Consequently, to realize the objects of this research, the data is collected depending on its themes in relation to revealing the main reason behind racist practices that are an outcome of the ideology to which blacks are exposed, especially in America, and how it affects the class and economy and social question in African American society, where the researcher uses scientific theories such as the Critical Race Theory and the Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus.

The research of this study is focused on economic, class, and social questions in *Lee Daniel's The Butler* movie through which it would be collected and explored on thematic analysis. According to Maguire & Delahunt (2017) "thematic analysis is the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data where it provides core skills that will be useful for conducting many other kinds of analysis" (p. 2). Where the relevance of thematic analysis may be shown in its ability to detect themes, the significant or intriguing patterns in the data, and use these themes to address the study or make a point about a problem (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). Furthermore, to gather the data, the researcher uses primary data (the original user) where it uses the film itself by analyzing some aspects of the movie. Additionally, secondary data is gathered by someone who is not the original user such as the use of internet websites, books, articles, videos, articles, and the film's transcript to collect quotations. Accordingly, these collection data help the researcher of proving the perspective that worked with and presenting theories to support the argument.

**Qualitative data analysis plan**

After collecting the data, the researcher began to do several steps to analyze the data in this study. First, the researcher collects the scenes under the structure of the film which is divided into seven events. Then the researcher identified the racism which is an outcome of ideology on the issues that appears in the film as well as some screenshots and connected them with a theoretical framework that works with it as evidence to support the arguments. In addition, the researcher analyzed the actors who represented the elements of racism in the movie and analyzed the main reason behind it. Thus, the data was handled carefully and accurately.

## CHAPTER IV

### Findings and Discussion

This chapter is divided into two sections: The first part shows the seven events of the movie. This is the total structure of the movie that gives a detailed summary under the title 'structure of the film'. The second part analysis these seven events in the movie according to the four research questions on which the analysis is based. And they are:

1. What are the ways the economic situation of America was used as a means to sustain racism?
2. How do the class and social questions affect the oppression of Blacks in America?
3. How the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) is practiced as a tool to ensure racism?
4. How the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) is used to make Black consent to the act of subjugation and intimidation?

#### **Structure of the Film**

*The Butler* has many flashbacks and changes of the scene but in general, it's mostly structured around seven events.

[Event One] the film begins with an image of two bodies of black men hanging: the ropes holding them go up off the screen. So, it is not clear if they are hanging from a building structure or a tree and behind them in the top there is an America's flag. The image then changes, and goes straight to a cotton farm in Macon, Georgia, owned by a white man. Where the main character Cecil, his parents, and a lot of black farmers work as slaves. As the scene develops, the viewer sees how Cecil's mother is raped and his father is murdered by the farm owner who directly takes Cecil and trains him as a house servant Niger.

[Event Two] there are several scenes after this, which show Cecil running away at the age of eighteen. He breaks into the dessert shop where his journey starts by meeting the elderly master-servant who's called Mr. Maynard. At that moment, Cecil starts working as a servant with this man. After a period of time, Mr. Maynard offers a job opportunity to Cecil in Washington, D.C. Hotel. He meets Gloria and marries her and has two sons, the oldest son Louis who comes against the white community and feels frustrated from his father's work and his blind obedience. In contrast, Charlie, the youngest son who feels loyal

to the white community and feels proud of his father and his work in the White House. Louis enrolls at Fisk University, where he joins the Freedom Group, becomes a member of it, and begins his ambition by asking of his civil rights and the equality as an American citizen. Which leads him to face a lot of persecution by the government and society. In this case, he is arrested many times over roll, which increases his determination to persevere and not give up. His behavior makes his father who works as a servant in the White House feel disappointed and angry of what his son does.

[Event Three] the event begins when the Freedom Party breaks Jim Crow laws that were imposed against them and seats in the white area in the restaurant resulting of making white people angering and violently attacking them. In addition to Cecil and the black crew prepare the state dining room and after they finish they celebrate the elite of their country's service. Then, the scene transmits the freedom bus carrying Louis, his colleagues and southern journalist in Birmingham, where they are attacked by the Klan group. They wear white robes, as they throw fire on the bus, which leads to its explosion and harms the blacks in an inhuman way. At the end of the scene, the police arrest Louis and his colleagues for three months and they do not take any action against the (Ku Klux Klan). Which put a smile on the faces of the white group. After that, Louis and his colleagues are participating in the Birmingham Children's Crusade where the police used hot water cannons and police dogs to scare and deter them in a harsh way. Which led President Kennedy to deliver a speech stating that all Americans have the equality of the civil rights and before his speech finishes, he was assassinated by three gunshots.

[Event Four] the event begins with the participation of Louis and his colleagues in the voting rights movement in Selma. Which resulting them being so badly hurt by the government to the extent that the press called it 'Bloody Sunday'. Where the president asks Cecil about his son's condition, Cecil replies, feeling disappointed with his son, and expresses to him that he might be in Selma now. Cecil articulates to him that they live in two different worlds. The image changes to the scene of the Vietnam War and demonstrations by angry people carrying banners 'How many children did you kill, Johnson'. Then, the image moves to the White House, where Cecil is talking to Mr. Warner, expressing to him that he has been working for a long time without a salary increase or promotion. Where Cecil express to Mr.warner that he has the right to be equal with the white servants, but Mr. Warner refuses his requests.

[Event Five] after a five-year absence, Louis comes to his parent's house with his girlfriend Carol. During dinner time, they talk about the Black Panther party they belong to. Gloria begins to talk about Sidney Poitier "In the Heat of the Night" that he reminds her of Louis, but he doesn't like him and talks about him sarcastically. Which makes Cecil defend of his hero, throw Louis and his girlfriend out of the house. After a short period of time, the two brothers meet where Charlie tells him that he is going to join the Vietnam War. Because he wants to fight for his country which makes Louis angry "I'm not going to your funeral". After that, the scene moves in president Nixon's administration where the teacher is shown talking to the Black Panther Party that it's time to stand up against injustice "if they kill one of us, we kill two of them". Which anger Louis and his withdrawal from the party.

[Event Six] Charlie joins the Vietnam War, where Cecil is proud of him. The scene of Gloria wears half-white and half-black clothes, as she celebrates Cecil's birthday. The door knocks, and are informed of the death of their son in the war. At the ceremony, the coffin is covered with an American flag, where Louis says, "Vietnam took my boy. And I didn't understand why we were there in the first place" (The Butler, 2013, 1:34:38).

[Event Seven] in the second period of President Nixon's rule, Louis comes to his father's workplace to meet him, where he talks to Uncle Carter and tells him that he has a master's degree in politics. Then, Cecil rejects to talk with Louis and asks him to leave. Louis leaves, and Carter tells him that it is wrong to deal with your son in this way which makes Cecil says he should be hurting Carter, he does not even go to his own brother's funeral. He's full of shit is what he is. He never does anything right. The image goes directly to the cemetery where Charlie buries. The rule of President Nixon ends and the reign of President Reagan begins, where Cecil goes to Mr. Warner again and asks for a promotion [Event Four]. But this time is different than before, where Cecil appears as a master, demanding his right strongly, not as a humiliating servant. He goes out of the room where President Reagan's wife sees Cecil and invites him and Gloria as a guest to the state dinner. A week later, Cecil and his wife attend the royal dinner party, where Gloria wears a black-and-white dress which indicates that she is happy. In contrast, Cecil changes completely after this dinner and becomes a lost person. After that, Cecil takes his wife to the countryside in the south, where his father's grave is located and resigns from his work in the white house.

The scene moves to Louis as he performs a demonstration to free Mandela in front of the African embassy. Cecil appears and meets his oldest son, and hugs him for the first time. Then, Cecil organizes protests with Louis, where the police arrest them and put them in prison. The image moves to the scene of a black man competing for the presidency of the United States of America, where Cecil and Gloria support him and wear black clothes with a white line 'Obama'. After that Gloria passes away and Obama wins the election and nominates as President of America.

The film begins with an important element of the (CRT) which is a counter-storytelling. Where the protagonist Cecil plays a role as the storyteller by highlighting the spot-on issues and how they deeply affect the African American community by sharing his personal experiences. As a result, the reader can gain insight into Cecil's and his community's realities by knowing the main reason for the formation of racism toward African Americans. Furthermore, the counter-storytelling provides many benefits where it has a great impact on the challenge of racism and discrimination on the basis of color and class work for social justice. It is used to empower the voices of people in order to show their voices and experiences. In addition, it introduces people to their civil rights which leads to increased awareness, knowledge, and wisdom for them.



Figure 1. The counter-storytelling is used by Cecil (00.1.26).

### **Using Economic Situation to Sustain Racism**

This chapter through research question one shows how the Blacks are paid little or no wage for their labor. It also shows how the economy favors the white through the system of capitalism. And lastly, it shows that black is the major people from which the country generate its income and boosts the economy of America. This is illustrated in the analysis below.

The film begins with Cecil sitting at the White House as a storyteller to tell us the details of his life from childhood until his present time, where the camera moves to the image of two black men hanging at the top and behind them an American flag. After that, the image moves to a cotton farm where Cecil, his parents, and other black laborers work in this farm, in Macon, Georgia, where he says:

The only thing I created was the collection of cotton. It was hard work, but I didn't object to fatigue because I was spending the whole day working with my parents (The Butler, 2013, 00.1.28).



Figure 2. Earl's family on the cotton plantation (00.1.28).

This scene [event one] shows Cecil, his parents, and other black workers working on the cotton plantation without payment (free labor) where the system of forced labor was practiced against them. In addition, after killing Earl from the owner of the farmer, Cecil starts working as a house nigger for Thomas's family where they teach him how to serve without giving him a salary. Furthermore, it appears in [Event three] when Louis and his colleagues go to the restaurant and break the Jim Crow laws by sitting in the white area. This act makes the white people feel threatened because their superiority refuses equality with blacks. Thus, they use coercion against them because if black get what they want, they will no longer be subject to the government and will not serve the white community. Consequently, the superstructure will vanish because it derives its strength and influence from the working class which will lead to the collapse of the economy. That's why the government confronted them and put them in jail.

Additionally, when Louis, his colleagues, and the journalists join the civil rights movement and ride a public bus. The Klan group intercepted the freedom riders' bus and use coercion against them to prevent them from voting, holding office, or getting equal rights. Because they do not want to be treated as equal to black since they consider themselves from the majority. Additionally, the police and prison are used against the

freedom group by the government to preserve state power and keep maintain the superstructure. Moreover, the fourth event shows how Cecil worked for three decades without increasing his salary or getting a promotion to the engineering office. Accordingly, it indicates that cheap labor is a means that favors the white and boost the American economic situation.

The researcher was able to answer the first question 1) What are the ways the economic situation of America was used as a means to sustain racism? One of the ways shown through this scene is the plantation or farm owners. The economic modes of production in a capitalist community operate by reproducing the skills and structure of the labor force. And also by the submission of subjection to the dominant ideology that creates the necessary conditions for the exploitation and oppression of laborers. Consequently, ideology belongs to the domain of superstructures which are based on the material conditions of production. It derives its power and influence from the infrastructure (the working class) by getting the African people to work with a little amount of money and sometimes they do not get anything (free labor) to ensure that they remain under state control. They produce crops in large quantities, leading to a large profit and wealth for their masters while putting these workers below the poverty line. As a result, the conditions of production and the relations of production lead to economic deprivation for the peasants and thrive of racism.

### **The Effect of Social Class on the Oppression of Black Americans**

Ryan (1921) says: “a social question denotes a problem or difficulty which demands a solution. A social question is one that concerns the society or social group. The social question means certain evils and grievances affecting the wage-earning classes and calling for removal or remedy (p. 747). This section shows the issue of social class which is seen as a means of oppression and deprivation through lack of promotion, denial, and disenfranchisement, underemployed and underpaid. All of these are seen in research question two.

It begins when Cecil goes to Mr. Warner to talk to him about his salary and promotion. “Cecil: Since the colored...the black staff...does just as much work as the white staff, I believe that our salaries should reflect our service, sir” (The Butler, 2013, 1:16:40). Where Cecil expresses to him that the black crew should be paid equal to the white crew and many of them have been working for ages without getting promoted in the engineering



office until now. Mr. Warner replies “You’re very well-liked here, Cecil, but if you’re unhappy with your salary or position, then I suggest you seek employment elsewhere” (The Butler, 2013, 1:17:41).



Figure 3. Cecil asks Mr. Warner about promotion and salary (1:16:40).

The manufactured consent appears clearly between the two characters, Mr. Warner refuses to give a promotion to Cecil because he believes that the black must treat as inferior to white people. Therefore, they are paid a little amount of money. Although their services are equivalent to those of the white crew as a result of the (ISA) that is built in his mind from family, society, school, law, and religion which causes his ideological beliefs to reject Cecil's request. Though Cecil explains to him that the black staff work for ages and they serve and work exactly like the white crew. This is where the issue of social questions comes in. This is where the issue of social class comes in.

It comes in to oppose such practices that affect the wages and earnings of a worker irrespective of black or white. So, the issues of social question fight for all. As a way of connecting this to the issue of class to the social question, if a worker earns well and adequately, it will reduce class distinction in the social. Cecil will be more respected, and the blacks and underprivileged will be respected more if a means like a social question is effective. So, the social questions come against the likes of Mr. Warner and his ideology. In addition, it comes to the help of those like Cecil. The illustration below vividly evaluated the issue to the latter.

Mr. Warner’s brain rejects it because his belief in white privilege makes him stick to his opinion. In addition to protecting the superstructure which derives its existence by subjecting blacks to work with a small wage to ensure their work and submission to the state. Accordingly, Cecil remains silent and subject to what Mr. Warner said without any objection and back to his work without getting an increase in his salary or getting a promotion to the engineering office. Although, he has a right to ask for the promotion because he serves for three decades.

Additionally, the other scene that approved how social class affects the oppression of Blacks in America is when Louis and his colleagues are attacked by the government while they are participating in the voting rights movement in Selma. The reason behind the government's behavior of not being allowed the freedom group to participate in the voting rights movement as it wouldn't be in the government's favor. Because there's no convergence of interests. Thus, it is impossible for Louis and his colleagues to achieve what they are looking for. In addition, the state does not allow them to have their fundamental rights to make them submissive because the state derives its power and influence through them. Consequently, they attacked the freedom party to prevent them from participating so they could stay under control and dedicate their lives to serving the white class. This oppression against African Americans affects their Social Class negatively by limiting their anchored movement.

The sixth event explains the idea of the convergence of interests by allowing Charlie to participate in the war against Vietnam. In addition, the two military armies, one black, and the other white come to tell Charlie's parents that their son passed away. Although, state and local laws enforced racial segregation to suppress and marginalize black individuals by keeping them apart from white people by erasing the achievements they had gained during reconstruction. Where Jim Crow laws practice against black individuals by preventing them to use the same public facilities, transportation, school, or residing with white people, and interracial marriage is prohibited. The acceptance of Charlie to participate in war though he is black returns to the convergence of interests. It indicates that only when white and colored interests combine, colored individuals will be able to obtain their civil rights. Accordingly, allowing Charlie and other black people to participate in America's war against Vietnam represents an interest for America.

The researcher was able to answer the second question 2. How do the class and social questions affect the oppression of Blacks in America? It shows through the oppression of the African American laborers which lead to affect their social class purposefully positioned to keep them poor and support bigotry. Even though Cecil and other black crews have an indispensable job in the White House and their skills are essential but their position does not accurately represent their financial situation. Thus, the ridicule system was practiced against them. Additionally, depriving them of their civil rights by making them work with fewer wages to ensure that they remain under the control

of the state. Because when they are deprived of their basic rights, they will make them dependent, subject to the state and they will keep working without objection. Thus, it will lead to affect their social class negatively. In addition, the wealth of the superstructure owners made the autocratic see themselves as lords and treat the blacks as slaves exactly as what happened with Cecil when he expressed to Mr. Warner that he worked for three decades without increasing his salary or promotion. Mr. Warner rejected and dealt with him in a humiliating way. As a result, the oppression that Cecil and other black crews faced affected their social class negatively by making them work daily for long hours with fewer wages. Which led to limiting their vertical movement.

The same in [Event four] when the government's agency practices oppression against Cecil and his colleagues by preventing them from participating in the voting rights movement in Selma. Because there is no convergence of interest. In addition to making them submissive because the state derives its power and influence through them. This act affects them negatively by limiting their vertical movement. Furthermore, it indicates that only when white and colored interests combine, colored individuals will be able to obtain their civil rights. Accordingly, allowing Charlie and other black people to participate in America's war against Vietnam represents an interest for America [Event six]. In conclusion, these kinds of oppression that are practiced towards minority people include the persistent maltreatment, exploitation, and abuse of black people resulting in them having fewer rights, less access to resources, less political influence, less economic potential, worse health, and fewer opportunities in life generally. Which led to class and social deprivation for the African people.

### **Practicing Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) as a Tool to Ensure Racism.**

The issue of racism is rooted in American culture where the (RSA) is practiced against any black who does not comply with the laws that are imposed against them to maintain the superstructure. For instance, the (RSA) was used against the freedom party when they break the Jim Crow laws. In addition to the rape of Cecil's mother and the killing of his father. Furthermore, the lynching and the KKK group behavior. Moreover the brutal reaction of the government against the freedom party. All of these acts can be seen in question four.

The first time this becomes obvious is at the beginning of the film [Event one] when Thomas (a sharp and stern white man who sits with his grandmother Annabeth) sees the Earl family gathering together and smiling to take a family picture. This makes him feel angry and asks Cecil's mother, Hattie to assist him in the corral "Thomas: Hattie, come on. Come on! Hattie Pearl reluctantly follows Thomas to the shed" (The Butler, 2013, 00.02.26)



Figure 4. The moment Thomas took Hattie to the corral (00.02.28).

After a few minutes, the white man rapes her where the sound of her screams appears but none of the black farmers or Earl can rescue her or do anything but silence and subservience. After the rape scene of Cecil's mother, Thomas ends up coming out where Earl looks straight at him and said only one word "Hey" (The Butler, 2013, 00:03:46). But in the transcript, it appears something different that Earl doesn't say "Hey! Don't you ever do that to my wife?" Then "Thomas pulls his revolver out. Cecil looks terrified, as everyone watches in silence. Then Thomas shoots Earl in the eye" (The Butler, 2013, 00:03:49).

Here a screenshot from the film is used as an evidence.



Figure 5. The owner of the farmer killed Earl (00:03:46).

The kill of Earl that appears in the screenshot reflects both the (ISA), (RSA), (and CRT) theories. This indicates the scene that can be seen in terms of how the (ISA) is built through the agent of family, community, school, and law as identified by Althusser. Where

it is affected Thomas's brain (the owner of the farmer) from childhood in a way that makes him use coercion (RSA) against Earl and causes his killers. Because he believes that black it's his property and he can practice his supremacy over them. Furthermore, the behavior of the owner of the farmer reflects the racism issue that is an outcome of ideology which indicate clearly how racism is a permanent feature ingrained in the American community that is taken for granted and seen as normal.

The other scene in [Event one] that practices against African American people appear when the film begins when Cecil runs away from the farm, walks on the dark empty road where it's raining heavily, and the sound of the wind seems angry. He is starving and hopeless and while he is walking, Cecil sees two bodies of black men hanging: the ropes holding them go up off the screen, and behind them in the top is an American flag (the first screenshot of the film's opening). This makes him feel horrible and says: "Any white man could kill any of us at any time and not be punished for it. The law wasn't on our side. The law was against us" (The Butler, 3013, 00:1:09).

The dialogue above shows how racism is an outcome of ideology a social constructor and how it is deeply rooted in American society. In addition to the agent of law that is practiced against the black individuals in order to maintain the superstructure, where the (RSA) is practiced as a tool against them to ensure racism which leads to the weakening of black society to ensure that they remained under the control of the ruling class.



Figure 6. The lynching of two black men (00:1:01).

This scene reflects the (RSA) at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan (an original American terrorist organization). It illustrates themes that have resurfaced throughout the history of lynching in South America such as the difference, hate, and brutality. It appears that the KKK group has been affected by the (ISA) by the agent of society, family, laws, and religion which leads them to believe that black is slaves and it's impossible to be equal with them. Thus, they used the (RSA) against any black who does not comply with the

orders imposed on him. Consequently, what gives them the right to act is the set of privileges that are granted only to members of the white community and denied the color people from it in the same social, political, and economic spaces. Which gives them the right to obtain civil rights, and denied others which result in feeling superior and dealing with other as inferior by using violence and intimidation to keep them subject to the government and its law.

Accordingly, this terrorist organization called KKK justifies the brutal acts in which its victims are treated, especially the lynching as it appears in the screenshot of two black men. It tries to restore order and get rid of African American people. As a result, this makes ideology a double thing, while the suppose lower class feels inferior and acts by the law, the claimed higher class is meant to feel superior and believe to be above the law. The reason behind it is because the so-called law is made by them, and they set their agents to enforce it directly or indirectly on the poor. This eventually leads to the concept of ideology being an instrument of class and economy that will be later discussed as the study progresses.

In the lunch counter-1960, the scene explains how the RSA is practiced as a tool to ensure racism. It starts when Louis and his colleagues go to the restaurant and sit in the white area. The scene interferes with Louis as he asks for food but the employee refuses to serve them and asks them to go and sit in the place designated for blacks. But they do not respond to her, which leads to the anger of the whites in the restaurant as a result of the (ISA) that affects them by such as society, family, laws, and schools that control their belief. Therefore, the educational system is considered to be at the forefront because of its great influence on domination as explained in the [Second Event].

Consequently, the white people feel threatened when Louis and his colleagues insist to keep sitting in the white area. Because they have been educated that black cannot use the white facilities due to the Jim Crow Legislation (a series of new laws designed to practice and enforce racial segregation against black individuals). Thus, white people feel frustrated because their supremacy does not accept sharing the same facilities with the minority group. Consequently, this gives a chance for the white group to use the (RSA) against blacks in an inhuman way to force them to stop and stay obedient to them. Because their ideological beliefs of superiority manage the majority and lead them to use coercion toward the colored people. The aggressive behavior of white individuals can be explained as a

result of the ideas that formed them through childhood. It controls them unconsciously and makes them stick to their opinion that black must not treat as equal to them as shown in the overlapping dialogues:

A group of angry white Teenagers walks towards the sit-in. They enter the lunch counter area and begin to brutally yell at the students. They spit on them, throw food on them until it turns into an all-out beating!” (The Butler, 2013, 00:39:13).

White student dumps ketchup on a black girl’s head. The black students stare forward calmly. A white girl spits on Carol. A white teenager throws coffee at Louis’ face. He Screams! (The Butler, 2013, 00:39:51).

The dialog above shows that the white privileged citizens acted on behalf of the law enforcement agencies by carrying out the duty of police as they resort to coercion when ideology fails. This also shows that the white privilege in the movie works in tandem with the government and its agencies to carry out the ideology stipulated on societal construction to subjugate, malign, and stereotype the black community as inferior and lower class.



Figure 7. The Freedom Group is brutally beaten in the restaurant (00:39:52).

In this screenshot, the image of Louis shows when the hot water is thrown in his face because he rejects to obey the unjust law that was imposed against the African American society. Louis's behavior can be explained by the (ISA) that educated him through the educational system at his university [Event Two]. As Louis and his group break the law, the white people at the restaurant use the (RSA) against them. This scene reflects how racism which is an outcome of ideology is a social construct and not a biological phenomenon. It was practiced against African American people through the white community to ensure and thrive racism.

After that, the government's organs use the (RSA) through the police and arrest the freedom-ride group and put them in prison for a period of thirty days in the county jail. It implies in this scene the government used to control the society through the (RSA) by using coercion on anyone who comes against its system in order to force them to behave in a way that the government wants. In case of non-compliance and obedience, they will be imprisoned exactly as what happens with Louis and his party group. Then, Cecil sees Louis and his group are arrested on the breaking news on the television shows, where Louis and his colleagues are beaten by the police with the voices “They have nothing to do here. It is better for them to be in their schools than to go to white schools” (The Butler, 2013, 00:43:10).

It indicates that the speakers are affected by the way society shapes them and how racism based on ideology plays a basic role in America. Accordingly, this proves and clarifies the beatings, insults, brutal repression, and spitting suffered by Louis and his colleagues. In addition to the government's reaction, where it dealt with them by coercion and imprisoned them because if they get what they want, they will no longer be subject to the government and its rules. As a result, the RSA plays an important role to ensure and thrive racism by suppressing them to being submissive to the unjust laws that are imposed against them.

However, this scene is inextricably linked with the third scene, which takes place when Louis, his colleagues, and the journalists who join the civil rights movement ride a public bus (which belongs to the public facility). While they relax, suddenly their bus come under attack and is ambushed by men holding torches in particular white suits which look like Ku Klux Klan. They stop the freedom ride bus and use coercion toward all the people who are inside the bus. They use a torch (which is simply indicating that there will be no peace with the black), and a wooden stick against the freedom ride (a black civil rights movement that insists on asking for equality in public transportation). They break the windows of the bus and throw fire at their bus which causes its explosion and keeps offended and using violence toward them in an inhuman way. In contrast, Louis and his friends fight them in love without making any movement.

It is revealed in the following dialogues how the RSA is practiced by the KKK group and the government's organs to ensure racism.

Louis, what is that?



A beam of light floods through the bus. Everyone looks out front and sees a car with a KLAN CROSS formed by bright lights. The car is coming straight for them!

Louis: Drive, turn the bus

The bus turns onto a bridge to avoid the collision. All of a sudden, lights are turned on by cars blocking the other side of the bridge. Men with torches in Klan dress and a burning cross approach the bus. They start SMASHING the bus windows with bats and chains! The Freedom Riders drop to the center aisle of the bus. Glass shards fall on top of them. The white men's smiling face appears as he takes off his Klan hood.



Figure 8. The attack on the Freedom Bus by the KKK group (00:52:20).

From a broader perspective, wearing such clothes by a white group reveals a clear image that highly upholds white supremacy's ideology. Because they affect by The Ideological States Apparatus (ISA) from the ideas that shaped them through their family, society, law, and school in a way that the government and its organs are looking for. This causes white to believe that they are superior to black people by dealing with them as inferior because of the ideological beliefs that affect them and makes them reject equality with black. The superiority feeling in the whole scene above implies that the white individuals do not want to be treated as equal to black since they consider themselves from the majority. Hence, they use coercion against black to prevent them from voting, holding office, or getting equal rights.

In the end, the government uses the (RSA) against Louis, his colleagues, and white northern journalists and arrest them and throw them in prison for three months in Mississippi. On the other hand, they do not take any action toward the Ku Klux Klan group. Consequently, it presents a clear image that directed by the KKK group against white

republicans or the southern that descend and become the victims of this terrorist group. The whole white individuals must unite and the white individuals that stand with the republicans are traitors and they will be victims of oppression. This reflects the violent behavior of the KKK against white journalists because they are considered traitors.

Here the event is inextricably linked with the [Forth Event] where Louis and his colleagues participate in the voting rights movement in Selma. They are attacked by the government when they move within small peaceful groups in the city of Selma. The government used coercion against them and beat them violently worse than the previous times they were subjected to by the government and its organs. The press called it 'Bloody Sunday' as a result of not being submissive to the government and its organs. Accordingly, to stop them to do a revolution again and to conserve state power, the (RSA) uses against them to control the rebellious group to behave in a way that the government wants which leads to thrive the racism.



Figures 9 & 10. The repression is used by the government against protesters (00:57:15).

The researcher was able to answer research question 4. How the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) is practiced as a tool to ensure racism? The (RSA) is used by the state to oppress the people who reject to follow the laws. Because the superstructure derives its influence and power through the working class. This proves and clarifies the beatings, insults, brutal repression, and spitting suffered by Louis and his colleagues. And the lynching and the attack by the KKK group. In addition to the government's reaction, where it dealt with them by coercion and imprisoned them to deter them and make them subject to its rules. Because if they get what they want, they will no longer be subject to the government and its rules and the superstructure will vanish. As a result, the RSA plays an important role to ensure and thrive racism by suppressing them to being submissive to the unjust laws that are imposed against them.

## Using Ideological State Apparatus to Make Black Consent to the Act of Subjugation and Intimidation

The issue of consent affected black individuals by making them unconsciously believe the ideas that society and family filled in their brains which formed them in a way that serve the state and its power to maintain the superstructure. They consent to the injustice laws that practices against them without objection. Although, their country treats them as inferior. This is illustrated in the analysis below to answer question four.

The Ideological State Apparatus can be seen acting in numerous ways in *Lee Daniel's The Butler*. For instance, in [Event one] when the owner of the farmer asks Hattie to assist him in the corral “Thomas: Hattie, come on. Come on! Hattie Pearl reluctantly follows Thomas to the shed” (*The Butler*, 2013, 00.02.26). After a few minutes, he rapes her where the sound of her screams appears but none of the black farmers or Earl can rescue her or do anything but silence and subservience. As a result, the (ISA) controls their behavior and makes them believe that this world is not their world and it belongs to man and they live in man's world. The dialogue takes place between Earl and his son during the first event on the cotton farms.

Cecil: (Yelling) Mamma!

Earl: Look at me boy. Don't lose your temper with that man. This is his world. We just be living in it. You hear me? Now get on back to work! (*The Butler*, 2013, 00:02:46).



Figure 11. Earl forced his son to keep silent in front of his master (00.02.46).

The subservience appears clearly in Earl's character when he forces his son, Cecil to keep silent. Because The Ideological State Apparatus 'manufactured consent' affects him in a way that educates and shapes him to agree that the world belongs to the man due to the ideas that grow in his mind since childhood through his family, society, and law. Which makes him believe that they are property without having any rights and this world does not

belong to them, it belongs to the white people. The dialogue takes place between Earl and his son during the first event on the cotton farms.

Additionally, the behavior of the owner of the farmer by raping Hattie and killing Earl reflects the racism issue that it is an outcome of ideology which indicate clearly how racism is a permanent feature ingrained in the American society that is taken for granted and seen as normal. “The workers on the field freeze. Thomas: What are you looking at?! Huh? Who wants to go next? You get back to work!” (The Butler, 2013, 00:03:51).

The dialogue above shows the reaction of the black laborers which is full of dread, grief, and obedience when Tomas uses violence against Earl and murders him in front of their eyes. They remain silent. No one dared to raise his eyes to his master or show any reaction as a result of the ideas instilled in their heads by agents of society, family, religion, and laws that shaped them by the ruling class in order to maintain the superstructure. Where it proves through Earl's character that they live in the man's world and this world does not belong to them and the law was not with them, it practices against them. Thus, they have to obey the law or they will be killed as what happened with Earl.

After that, Cecil starts working as a house nigger for Thomas’s family where they teach him how to serve. “Annabeth: Quiet when you’re serving. I don’t even want to hear you breathe” (The Butler, 2013, 00:04:21).



Figure 12. Cecil works as a house nigger for Thomas’s family (00.4.21).

What Earl and Annabeth say effect strongly Cecil's character and makes him consent to the act of subjugation and intimidation without objection as it will be explained in the next events.

Furthermore, in [Event three] Cecil and his colleagues enter the dining room and equip it with luxurious tools make of gold and catering to the aristocracy class.



Figure 13. The state dining room (00:39:17).

The candle-lit tables are covered in the finest china, flatware, and crystal. A vision of pure opulence. The butlers seat the President and first lady” (The Butler, 2013, 00:39:17).

After serving the aristocratic white people Cecil and his black crew colleagues are celebrating “On the elite of our country's service” (The Butler, 2013, 00:43:12). Here in this scene, the manufactured consent which represents the (ISA) appears clearly for Cecil and for the whole black servant crew. They celebrate and drink on the elite of their service to their country and how proud they are of it. Although, their country treats them like properties without giving them their civil rights, promoting them, or even increasing their salaries even though their service is equal to the white servants' staff. They think that their situation is normal as the result of the (ISA) from families and society that built in their brains without knowing that the government controls them and leads them to behave in a way that it wants. In another word, if brainwashing works, people who have been brainwashed do not realize it and they believe that everything that happens is from their own decision.

The time while they are celebrating and watching the TV, Cecil sees his son being arrested by the constabulary where the government's organs use coercion to force them to be obedient to its rules. Hence, Cecil comes out and meets him in a dark place where there are two sinks, one for whites and the other for colored people. Cecil washes his face and used the sink that is dedicated to blacks. Where the following dialogue takes place between them, which shows the substantial ideological difference between them. Cecil gets angry with his son and says:

Cecil: What are you doing with my money, kid?

Louis: I am trying to change the way Negroes are

Cecil: You broke the law and you're probably going to be killed (The Butler, 2013, 00:44:47).



Figure 14. A crucial conversation between the father and his son (00.44.47).

The way that Cecil speaks with his son as well as using the sink that is offered for colored people indicates how much Cecil unconsciously is subject to the rules of the state system. As a result of the (ISA) by the agent of the law that affects Cecil's personality. In contrast, Louis who breaks the Jim Crow Laws, which provide for apartheid, sits in the white section and rejects following the government and its rules. This is shown clearly through the following dialogue that takes place between them, which shows the substantial ideological difference between them.

Cecil: What's so special about another colored man in jail? What are you doing with my hard-earned money Pops? Are you even in school?

Louis: I'm trying to change the way Negroes are perceived—

Cecil: (interrupting) you're breaking the law. That judge just sentenced you to 30 days in the County Work House. You're fixin' to get killed.

Louis: If I can't sit at any lunch counter I want then I might as well be dead. We're fighting for our rights. We're going to change the nation's consciousness toward the American Negro.

Cecil: Rights? Boy, what are you talking about? And them postcards you been sending me? You're a damn liar. Cecil grabs Louis by the throat. He slams him against the concrete wall.

Cecil: (seething) who do you think you're talking to? I brought you into this world and I'll take you out of it

Referring to the (ISA) which indicates how Cecil is very influenced by the ideas and beliefs that have been planted in his mind since his childhood by his father. It has been explained in [first event] that black people don't have their own world and they just live in a world that belongs to the majority community. In addition, the society that formed his thoughts to be obedient to the white community, whether in the farmhouse where he grows

up as a servant or the man he meets in North Carolinian (The man that offers him a job at the Excelsior Hotel in Washington). He gives Cecil a lesson “We have two faces, our face and the other for the whites, and in order to advance the world, you have to make them feel unthreatened.” Moreover, Mr. Falloz addresses Cecil when he first begins working at the White House “Don't listen or interact with any conversation, the room should be empty when you are in it. You don't hear or say anything; you only serve.”

In consequence, it implies that those who taught Cecil how to deal with the white society are also affected by the (ISA) through the family, society, law, and school. Which causes them to act in a way that the ruling class wants. At the same time makes Cecil a blind, obedient, and submissive person to the white community as a result of what he encountered in childhood by his father Earl and during his work in the farmhouse as a house nigger at the age of seventh.

In addition to the journey of his work in Washington as a butler. Hence, the entire scene between him and his son appears a substantial ideological difference between them. Louis fights for his civil rights and asks for equality as an American citizen because he is affected by the (ISA) through the educational system [Event Two]. Which teaches him how to face the white community and never be submitted to them in order to make positive social change in African American society. In contrast, Cecil comes against his son's willingness and does his best to change his beliefs but he fails which makes him feel frustrated from him.

Moreover, The (ISA) appears in [Event four] when Cecil goes to Mr. Warner's office to asks him about salary and promotion. He expresses to Mr. Warner that the black crew should be paid equal to the white crew and many of them have been working for ages without getting promoted in the engineering office until now. Mr. Warner replies “You’re very well-liked here, Cecil, but if you’re unhappy with your salary or position, then I suggest you seek employment elsewhere” (The Butler, 2013, 1:17:41).



Figure 15. Cecil consent to what Mr. Warner says (1:16:40).

Cecil remains silent and subject to what Mr. Warner said without any objection. He walks out of the room humiliated and continues his work without getting an increase in his salary or a promotion to the engineering office. Although, he has the right to ask for his fundamental rights because he served several presidents for three decades. It seems that Cecil agrees with what Mr. Warner says because the (ISA) Who built ideas in his mind from his father that this world is for white and black just living in it [Event one], and the lessons that he learns from childhood during his work's journey as a Nigger servant make Cecil already consent to the act of subjugation and intimidation.

Furthermore, in [Event five] the dialogue between Cecil and his son Louis about Sidney Poitier shows clearly how both of them have different beliefs. Additionally, Charlie has similar beliefs to what his father believes in due to The Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) that shaped their thinking through the agent of family and society. Cecil and Gloria were proud of Charlie's decision for participates in the Vietnam War to save their country. Although America deals with them as animals by dehumanizing them to a status nearly akin to livestock and depriving them of their rights.

This is illustrated in the analysis below.

The scene begins when Louis comes to his parent's house with his girlfriend Carol after a five-year absence. They talk about the Black Panther party that they belong to during dinner time which makes Cecil looks confused for Louis and asks about this party. Carol answers “We provide free breakfast for children, free medical clinics, free clothing, and self-defense classes” (The Butler, 2013, 1:22:14). This leads Gloria and Cecil not to feel comfortable about the implications. Then, Gloria begins to talk about Sidney Poitier ‘In the Heat of the Night’ that he reminds her of Louis, but it seems that Louis doesn't like him and talks about him sarcastically “Sidney Poitier is the white man’s fantasy of what he wants us



to be” (The Butler, 2013, 1:22:58). This makes Cecil feels angry about what Louis says and keeps defend on his hero as it appears in the dialogue:

Cecil: But his movies have him fighting for equal rights. Louis: Only in a way that is acceptable to the white status quo.

Cecil looks upset at his son. Mocking one of his heroes.

Cecil: What are you talking about? He just won the Academy Award... he’s breaking down barriers for all of us.

Louis: By being white, by acting white. Sidney Poitier is nothing but a rich Uncle Tom.

Cecil stares at him for a beat then makes a decision, you need to go. Yeah,

Louis, I need you to get out of my house. Get the hell out of my house!

Louis looks stunned. I'm sorry Mr. Butler! I didn't mean to make fun of your hero!

Charlie: I like Sydney Poitier, daddy (The Butler, 2013, 1:22:59).



Figures 16. Portrait of African actor Sidney Poitier.

Sidney Poitier was the initial black American actor who win the Academy Award. Furthermore, Poitier was considered a major star from the Golden Age of Hollywood cinema. He left for New York when he was young. Then, he participated in the American Niggard Theatre, where he achieved an outstanding role in the cinema when he was a student. He was elegant and self-possessed. In addition, he had a pleasant voice, as a result of his childhood spent in the Bahamas. He was contending to improve his voice where he studied the voices of the melodic white radio announcers and achieved the required level (Garrett, 2022).

The scene takes place when Louis and his girlfriend Carol are returned to his family home after a five-year absence. While they are sitting down for dinner, Gloria says that Louis reminds her of Sydney Poitier. Which makes Louis talk about him provocatively by saying that Sidney Poitier is a white man's fantasy of who he wants the black to be to fit

into the status quo of the West. Louis thinks that his father's hero is not a true advocate of the black community in America, therefore, to him he is not a hero to the black community but to himself. In other words, he is a tool of ideology used by the white to appease the black. In addition, he is not well at acting. Cecil feels angry and asks him 'what are you talking about, he can't act and he just won the award for best actor?' Cecil claims that his hero's movies fight for equal rights too. Louis's reply was Sidney Poitier is a racial man who is used against his people. Consequently, what Louis says gets his father upset which leads him to get Louis and his girlfriend out of his home.



Figure 17. Dinner time in Cecil's house -1970 (1:22:58).

In this scene, it appears clearly the different beliefs of ideology between the father and his son as a result of the (ISA) that Cecil is exposed to from childhood through his father, church, and society. It affects Cecil's personality and makes him think that what he says is true by strengthening his support of the original stance by rejecting what Louis says about his hero (Sidney Poitier) that contradicts his beliefs. Which leads him to expel Louis and his girlfriend out of the house. Additionally, thinking of what Gloria says reveals a number of comparisons between her son Louis and Sidney Poitier, both are black activists, Sidney is an actor in the movie, while Louis is a radical activist and a politician in the interim. In addition, Louis's system or method is repressive, (Black Panther Movement) while Sidney's method is an ideology (movies). Furthermore, Louis claims his method, (radical) is what would bring the real change in the fate of black in America and sees Sidney's method (liberal) as a white sponsor activity. Hence, he was given an award as mentioned by Cecil. In conclusion, Sidney is loved by both white and black, and Louis is unloved even by his family. That's why his father asks him to leave when he speaks that about his hero Sidney.

After a short period of time, the two brothers meet, where Charlie tells him that he is going to join the Vietnam War because he wants to fight for his country which makes

Louis angry “Don’t do this. This country treats us like dogs” (The Butler, 2013, 1:26:47). Charlie doesn't show any interest in what his brother says “You fight your country, I want to fight for my country” (The Butler, 2013, 1:26:51). This leads Louis to feel frustrated with what Charlie says “I won’t go to your funeral” (The Butler, 2013, 1:26:56).

This scene indicates that Charlie has similar beliefs to what his father believes in due to The Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) that shaped his thinking through the agent of family and society. Where the family considers the first institution of brainwashing because the parents teach their children what to do and how to behave which shapes their children's identity in the way that society is looking for. And this is what happens with Charlie and makes him participate in the Vietnam War to fight for his country. Although his country deals with him as inferior because of his color and at the same time makes both Gloria and Cecil feel proud of Charlie's decision. They do not come against his will as they do with Louis because his willing will serve the society in the way of government and its rules are looking for.

During the movie events, the Television shows news that includes the brutal repression in which opponents of state law are subjected to bloody violence and murder. Because TV is considered an effective Ideological State Apparatus, where it binds the community to sovereign authority by choice rather than pressure. The subjects accept these texts without inquiry because hegemonic discourse treats them as approved and desired. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that subjects agree voluntarily.

This appears clearly in [Event six] when the government killed 4 members of the Black Panther Party under the name of terrorists. The (ISA) makes the civilian people accept what happens without demonstrations. They believe that this party is a terrorist because the ideas that have been formed in them since childhood by society, family, religion, law, and politics completely contradict the ideas of the panther group party's participants who demand equality between them and whites. Accordingly, the civilians in the society strongly reject them. The civilians' reaction reflects Cecil's personality when his son asks about his civil rights, he feels disappointed and comes against Louis's will.

Additionally, in [Event six] Cecil and Gloria receive the death of their youngest son while he participates in the Vietnam War. The (ISA) plays an important role in Cecil's character by making him blind to see the truth. He sees Vietnam as the cause of his son

Charlie's death. Despite the fact that America is the reason for his son's death and make the blame on Vietnam rather than his country. This is illustrated in the analysis below.

The scene begins when Gloria wearing a black-and-white dress and dancing to loud music. She asks Cecil to wear similar clothes to celebrate his birthday together. At that moment, the door knocks on by two military officers, one white and the other black. The features of sadness and sorrow have emerged on their faces and eyes which makes Cecil directly recognize that his son died in the Vietnam War “You got the wrong house... It’s the wrong house” (The Butler, 2013, 1:34:38).



Figure 18. Receiving the news of Charlie's death in the Vietnam War (1:34:36).

Cecil and Gloria feel very sad and their faces are filled with pure devastation about their son. Then, the image moves to Charlie's ceremony where the black crew that working with Cecil and family friends come to console Cecil and Gloria except Louis. Cecil looks at his son's shroud which is covered in an American flag and says “Vietnam took my boy. And I didn’t understand why we were there in the first place” (The Butler, 2013, 1:35:45).



Figure 19. Charlie's shroud while it covers by the American flag (1:35:45).

The dialogue above shows Cecil sees Vietnam as the cause of his son Charlie's death. He doesn't know that America is the reason for his son's death and make the blame on Vietnam rather than his country. By referring to Althusser, the ideas that have been instilled in Cecil's mind from his family and society shaped him to follow the rules in a way that

will serve his country 'America.' Which makes him blind to seeing truth as the result of the (ISA) that affects him and makes him believe that his country is innocent and Vietnam is the reason for what happened to his son.

The researcher was able to answer the research question that says: How is the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) used to make Black consent to the act of subjugation and intimidation? It is traditionally understood that ideology is the way society shapes an individual's thoughts and methods of behavior. One way of approaching this is through the concept of consent 'brainwashing'. The ISA includes family, community, church, school, and other institutions to teach people how to act from a young age. By controlling and shaping their thoughts in ways that make them consent to the subjugation and intimidation in their life without having any action toward the injustice laws that are practiced against them. Thus, Earl filled his child's brains with the idea that they are subjects and they live in man's world which effects strongly Cecil's character and makes him consent to the act of subjugation and intimidation. In addition, the reaction of the black laborers toward the unjust laws that were practiced against them. And how Cecil and the black crews celebrate the elite of their country's service. Additionally, Charlie's parents feel proud of their son for participating in the Vietnam War. Although, their country treats them as inferior like animals by dehumanizing them to a status nearly akin to livestock because of their color. All of these scenes approve how the ideology works subconsciously in a way that the state wants by making the black consent to injustice laws that are imposed against them to maintain the superstructure.

***Intellectualism as a means of the social question.***

Regarding the whole scene during the film, Louis's character and his colleagues reject the submissive to the state. They consider organic intellectuals because they do not repeat pre-existing group views or demands like a parrot, but elevate what has not been formally acknowledged to the level of public discourse. In addition, they reject to be part of an elite belonging. They inspire people to fight for equality with white society. They use their platform to raise awareness of a variety of social class issues. These scenes strongly support the second and seven events which explain the sup- theories of the traditional intellectual and organic intellectual.

For instance, in [Event two] the (ISA) which represents the educational system is clearly visible in this event. It plays an important role in a school setting where it is taught by a teacher who gives lessons that bring the students together as one hand, opposing racial segregation and seeking equality like Gandhi by using his strategies. This is illustrated in the analysis below.

The scene starts when Louis goes to the Fisk University in the southern and opposes his father's desire to go to the University of Tennessee. Whereas Cecil does the impossible to stop him from going south because he knows that place will be not safe for him, but he fails. After that, Louis meets a girl named Carol and joins the Freedom-ride Group. They receive lessons at the workshop (Lawson's love school) from a teacher (Lawson, 29, a black priest with glasses) who teaches them how to confront the white society away from violence. Where their weapon is love, at the same time not to submissiveness to the major community. "Lawson: someone like Gandhi. He points to a picture on the wall of Mahatma Gandhi. Together we are going to study and examine Gandhi's techniques" (The butler, 2013. 00:38:03).



Figures 20. To counter racism, Gandhi's techniques are used (00:37:50).

The teacher tells them that they will use Gandhi's methods, which have shown to be incredibly beneficial for his people and others in South Africa and India. Gandhi proved to us that people with brown skin in his homeland or in any country where injustice prevails can get themselves out of racial discrimination with patience, perseverance, intelligence, thinking with politeness, and a little sense of humor.

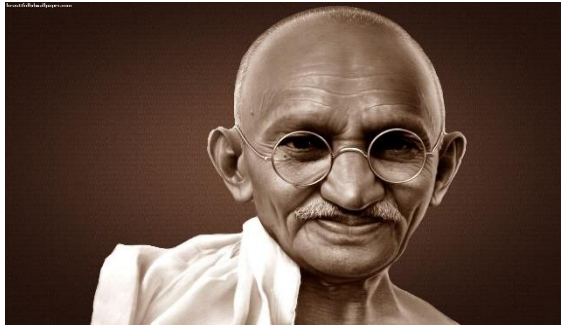


Figure 21. Personal photo of Gandhi.

Additionally, In [Event seven] Cecil breaks free from the ideology that formed him from his father and society. It appears clearly when he goes to Mr. Warner again and asks about salary and promotion as a master, not as a humiliating submissive person as before [Event four]. In addition, he resigns from his work in the white house and joins the demonstration that held in front of the African embassy for free Mandela led by his son Louis. All of these scenes indicate that Cecil changes from a traditional intellectual to an organic intellectual. This will be explained in the analysis below.

The role of President Nixon ends and the reign of President Reagan begins, where Cecil goes to Mr. Warner again and asks him to sit but Mr. Warner refuses and makes Cecil speak while he is standing.

Cecil: I've been here for almost thirty years now, and for all that time, the black help has been paid a smaller salary than the white help. And I just don't think it is right. There are black housemen who should be engineers by now, they should've been promoted years ago. I'm gonna have to be paid the same as the white help or I have to move on.

Mr. Warner: I guess you'll be moving on then.

Cecil: I told the President that you'd say that. He told me to tell you to take this up with him personally (The Butler, 2013. 1:43:16).

The dialogue above indicates that it is the first time Cecil speaks as a master and asks for his right firmly, not as a humiliating servant as before. Mr. Warner is livid because Cecil comes against him his will to be obedient to what he wants. As explained before, Mr. Warner affects by the (ISA) where he believes that black people must not treat equally with white staff because this world belongs to the man, and black live inside it which reflect his white supremacy. Consequently, Cecil must show his submissive to the majority community, but it appears that Cecil does not keep silent about his civil rights. It seems that

Cecil breaks from the ideology that formed him from his father and society. This causes him to process new knowledge logically rather than responding intuitively, making him see the truth and ask for a promotion to the engineering office. After that, Cecil leaves the room where President Reagan's wife sees Cecil and invites him and Gloria as a guest to the state dinner, not as a butler. A week later, they attend the royal dinner party, Gloria wears a black-and-white dress which indicates that she is happy especially when she shares the same table with the aristocratic guests. In contrast, Cecil, who changes completely after this dinner, becomes a lost person and looks uncomfortable with his situation, where he says:

It was different sitting at the table instead of serving it. Real different. I could see the two faces the butlers wore to survive and I knew I lived my life with those same two faces. Gloria looked so happy, but I didn't feel the same way. I guess I wished we were there for real instead of show (The Butler, 2013, 1:47:11).



Figure 22. Cecil and Gloria in the state dinner (1:47:13).

After that, the image moves to Cecil where he feels bothered by the state dinner and the words of president Ronnie and he goes directly and opens the box where all Louis's stuff in. He notices a civil rights book: 'Race, Reform' in which he says "Louis was never a criminal, he was a hero. Fighting to save the soul of our country" (The Butler, 2013, 1:50:19). Cecil looks irritated, tired, and angry while he works in the white house for the first time "I had always loved serving. But it just felt different now. I didn't know that an old man could feel. But that's how I felt...That's how I felt" (The Butler, 2013, 1:51:11). Then, Cecil goes by his car to the Southern rural where the sun shining for the first time in the movie, and the green spaces are covered whole the place and bring Gloria to the place where he raises in. Then, he talks to President Ronnie about his resigns from his work in the white house and leaves quietly.



Then, Cecil sees Louis talking to the crowd in front of the African Embassy and performing a demonstration to free Mandela where Louis says:

Twenty years ago we marched in this country for our rights, today we march to free the people of South Africa. Ronald Reagan has attacked or dismantled every civil rights program that has ever been put in to place. Aiding the oppression of black South Africans is absolutely consistent with his policies on race issues. Am I right? Am I right? Am I right? (The Butler, 2013, 1:54:40).



Figure 23. Louis talks to the crowd in front of the African Embassy (1:54:40).

Then, Louis sees his father, both of them are looking at each other after these years and hug each other for the first time. Cecil expresses to him “I’m here to protest with you” (The Butler, 2013, 1:55:14). After that, the police arrested Cecil, Louis, and 20 other protestors, where Cecil and Louis are sitting together in the same holding cell (The Butler, 2013, 1:56:08).



Figure 24. The moment Cecil met Louis (1:54:40).

Cecil's changing beliefs can be expressed when he starts to talk like a master with Mr. Warner, not as a humiliated obedience man as before by asking about his equal payment as well as promotion and he gets what he forcibly wants from Mr. Warner. In addition, he changes his belief about his son and considers him as his hero rather than Poitier “Louis was never a criminal, he was a hero. Fighting to save the soul of our

country.” Furthermore, he resigns from his job and participates in the demonstration led by Louis. Accordingly, Changes in Cecil's belief mark his break free from The (ISA) as explained by Althusser because he now sees clearly what it means to be served because he hasn't been served before in his entire life, rather he has been the one serving (subject). Hence, he broke free from this ideology, and he re-consigned with his son, which indicates that Cecil breaks free from the family agent expressed by the (ISA).

As Gramsci clarifies, all of these actions can be expressed the ‘coercion’ and ‘consent’. For instance, Cecil first consents to conform to the expectations of whites, which he has internalized in his own mind so that he sees himself as passive and obedient. He is consenting to social ‘norms’ which have been manufactured by the coercive racist perspectives of the society around him, and which represent the established ‘traditional’ system. The racist perspectives are ‘coercive’ because there are visible, physical punishments for opposing them. Then, the son functions as an ‘organic intellectual’ questioning the system, and the father begins to consent to his son's ideology under his influence. Which is opposed to the traditional ideology. So, the father changes because he starts thinking ‘organically’.

It appears that there is a shift where the father, Cecil moved from traditional intellectual to organic intellectual. Hence, he started going against the government which he has worked for his whole life. It's the beginning of his rebirth to the left-wing or leftist. Thus, he joins the demonstration led by his son Louis by changing his ideological belief of being obedient and joining a new ideology that makes him feel like a master rather than a servant. The joining and participation with the other African protesters make the group united. As a result, their union makes the government and its organs (the traditional intellectuals) frustrated since the (ISA) could not hold them back. Consequently, the (RSA) is used against them to dismantle them where Cecil, his son, and other supporters are arrested and thrown in jail.

At the end of the film, the image moves to the scene of a black man competing for the presidency of the United States of America. Cecil and Gloria support him and wear black clothes with a white line 'Obama' “I’d never imagined I’d see a black man be a real contender for the President of the United States” (The Butler, 2013, 1:56:34). After that, Gloria passes away and Obama wins the election and selects as president of America. In the

end, Cecil wears a suit and heads to the White House to meet President Obama, where the photo of Cecil is taken sitting in a chair-throwing the end of his life story.

### **Summary**

In conclusion, what occurs in *The Butler* is not an accident: it reflects both the intended and unintended consequences of U.S. policies that have shaped where people live and the opportunities people have in those communities. From a broader perspective, the film shows many huge social inequalities, and inadequate social security in employment, where African Americans suffer from low inequality. Earlier IMF work showed that income inequality is important for growth and sustainability for the ruling class. In addition to the criminal justice system that appeared in the movie, and is based on racial discrimination against black individuals which still exists until this moment, where it became routine and indispensable. Additionally, this thesis presents the evidence from the film that shows how these theories exist in the film, where and how they perform the whole image of the injustice practices against African American individuals. Which lead to the findings of this study: 1. Lack of social class 2. Low-income earnings 3. Segregation and abuses such as police brutality and annihilation; infringement of freedom and the right of association.

## CHAPTER V

### Conclusion

After analyzing the film, finding the results, and achieving the objectives of the study which are 1. Explore how the economic situation of America was used to sustain racism. 2. Explore how the class and social questions affect the oppression of Blacks in America. 3. Examine how the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) is used to make Black consent to the act of subjugation and intimidation. 4. Examine how the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) is practiced as a tool to ensure racism. This chapter will present the conclusion of the study. Furthermore, the recommendations according to findings and future studies.

### Conclusion

The study explains how the slave trade began with a large number of able workers from men and women who were forcefully kidnaped from Africa by African traders' allies (the Western world). They were forcefully taken to several cities in North and South America to work in (cotton and sugar) plantations. As the plantation business grows, the demand for slaves increased which leads to the slavery of the Africans. Because they worked daily in harsh conditions with long hours on plantations. In addition, they receive a few wages that are hardly enough to cover their basic needs, and most of the time they did not get paid (free labor). Consequently, the researcher shows how racism is an outcome of ideology, which is a social structure, not a biological phenomenon. It was practiced against African American individuals.

After that, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the civil rights movement has a dispute about social fairness for black individuals to obtain equivalent rights in the law in the USA. Where the slavery is ended after the Civil War but discrimination against black still exists; they have suffered the severe effects of racism, particularly in the South. In twenty-century the black individuals in America have faced all of the partiality and violence, resulting in a lack of social class, low-wage work, segregation, and abuses.

Accordingly, the study captures the subject matter of the film which is racism and shows how it permeates American society to the preservation of the sovereignty and privilege of whites in American society. The critical race theorists point out that White individuals are born with privileges that others do not have. This leads to creating a

'whiteness premium' that prohibits white and colored working classes from partnering to improve the economic system. In addition to the Jim Crow Laws that keep marginalizing African people. As well as the Klan and its actions against black, which form of bloody violence or extrajudicial execution in an inhuman manner as a reason of their supremacy.

It clears that the main reason for rejecting the progress of blacks and making them equal in civil rights is because of what Althusser reflects in his argument, the term 'interpellation'. He claims that systems or governments can keep control and their power by reproducing subjects who feel their status is normal within the social structure. Althusser links the relationship between the government and the subject in which a given economic mode of production might subsist. Thus, Althusser clarifies the conditions of production and the relations of production consequences that lead to invariably class and economic deprivation for the peasants. By the capitalist class pays a minimum salary to the workers in order to protect the class, keep them as low-level laborers. So, they will always be dependent on the state and be loyal to it as well as thereby limiting their vertical mobility.

As a result, this leads the American community to have two layers, the superstructure, and the foundational infrastructure. The superstructure derives its presence through infrastructure and if the infrastructure stops working, the superstructure will be vanished. Thus, to conserve state power, the ruling class keep controlling the Africans through the two mechanisms the (ISA) and the (RSA).

The (ISA) such as school, family, religion, society, law, and TV are influenced the two communities through teach them how to behave from childhood by controlling and shaping their thoughts in ways that make them compliant with the government and its organs. In addition, the use of the (RSA) such as the army, police harassment, and jail where are used violence against any African who does not comply with the laws that impose on them which causes the emergence of a subservient society. In contrast, the reinforcement of sovereignty for the white led to the support of white privilege resulting in them refusing equality with Africans American people. Consequently, the two mechanisms played an important role of sustain racism against African American people to preserve state power and keep maintain the superstructure. Consequently, this thesis shows how racism is a social structure, not a biological phenomenon practiced against African black individuals which leads to the findings of this study: 1. Lack of social class 2. Low-income

earnings 3. Segregation and abuses such as police brutality and annihilation; infringement of freedom and the right of association.

### **Recommendations**

This section focuses on some recommendations according to the findings of the study and future research, which can be helpful for researchers who are interested in conducting a study on a similar topic or approach.

The findings revolve around describing and exploring how these theories analyze the movie's events and characters through how racism is practiced by the majority against the minority where it leads to: 1. Lack of social class 2. Low-income earnings 3. Segregation and abuses such as police brutality and annihilation; infringement of freedom and the right of association. Accordingly, the state control leads to submissions the people in the society because of the ideas they inherited from the education system, family, laws, and religion caused to the emergence of the bourgeoisie and the poor classes. Thus, the resolved to this issue is that the workers must refuse to work except for fair wages. This generates a way to change their beliefs and influence international labor organizations (Founded in 1919 and based in Geneva, Switzerland, a United Nations institution tasked with promoting social and economic fairness by developing worldwide labor standards) through awareness campaigns and protests represented by peaceful demonstrations. In addition to the media because of its importance in putting the unjust class under pressure and solving the problems it entails. Therefore, it will not be a class disparity because the superstructure derives its forces through infrastructure.

### ***Recommendation for Future Research:***

This study explains and explores the issues and challenges that the African American society faced in Lee Daniel's *The Butler* film. Thus, this study targeted the main reason for racism against blacks, which still exist until the time being by the collaboration with the (ISA) and the (RSA) that affected black individuals by ideas that are inherited from school, family, etc. This causes to create a submission society that shows dependency on other members of society. Consequently, the researcher suggests several things:

1- the resolved for this issue is individuals have to be free from their ideas through awareness campaigns and the International Organization Against Slavery that always seeks

to get rid of unjust laws that make people work long hours for a small wage hardly enough to survive (a London-based international non-governmental charitable organization started in 1839, which is considered as the oldest human rights institution and the only charity in the United Kingdom that works completely against slavery and what Connected to it). Which leads to ensuring access to productive and sustainable work throughout the world under circumstances of liberty, equity, safety, and self-respect.

2- The cooperation of individuals among them leads to the emergence of political figures in society that will influence unfair laws and enact laws that guarantee the freedom of individuals to enjoy civil rights guaranteed by the Charter of Human Rights.

3- Awareness and education can be increased among future youth, especially through the educational field. Thus, schools and colleges should pay attention to these issues through activities that introduce them to the most important civil rights that any individual must have. In addition to introducing them to the laws of work and the wages in a simplified way that increases their knowledge and self-confidence.

For this to succeed, caution must be taken as a result of these things.

- A- First and foremost, the teachers have to be aware of these issues, and the subject (books, stories, movies, publications) should pick carefully to teach to pupils. In addition, the teachers should always be cheerful and strive to keep the classroom far away from boring while they are doing the process of teaching by using a lighthearted manner, attracts students to love learning.
- B- Educational institutions should introduce race-related topics into the curriculum to ensure that students are conscious of these issues and how they should act if they are exposed to such challenges.

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## Appendix A

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## CV



## MUNA MUFEEED ALMARAITA

### Professional Title

"I am a committed and hardworking individual who enjoys a challenge. In addition to strong communication skills, I am able to work effectively in a team. I can also demonstrate advanced problem solving skills and thrive under pressure".

munamufeed@yahoo.com



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### SKILLS

Communication

Ability to Work under Pressure

Decision Making

Time Management

Self-motivation

Conflict Resolution  
Leadership

Adaptability

Adaptability

Skill

### LANGUAGES

Arabic language  
Native or Bilingual Proficiency  
English Language Advanced  
level

### INTEREST

Poems Analysis, Reading Books, and watching Movies.

### Education

Master degree in English Language and Literature (ELL) from Near East University, North Cyprus. 2019-2022 (3.43/ 4).

Bachelor degree in English Language and Literature (ELL) from Al-Balqa Applied University, Jordan Amman. (2017-2019).

English Language and Literature from Islamic Community College, Jordan –Zarqa. (2011-2013).

Anisa Bent Kaab Secondary School (2010-2011).

### CERTIFICATES

\* CERTIFICATES FROM INTERNATIONAL VIRTUAL CONFERENCE ON INTERDISCIPLINARY EDUCATIONAL REFLECTIONS (ICIER) ORGANIZED BY NEU BETWEEN THE DATES OF 19 AND 20 JUNE, 2020.

\* CERTIFICATE OF LEARNING ENGLISH FROM THE INSTITUTE "TO Change", 2013-2015.

\* CERTIFICATE OF EFFECTIVE TEACHING METHODS FROM "CISA", May- 2021

### EXPERIENCE

I worked as a translator of Islamic videos from Arabic to English Language (online) for one year

I worked as a private English teacher in Cyprus from Oct -2019 to Sep -2020

I taught English private lessons in Jordan from Apr-2014 to May-2017

I worked in Al-Bagas Company for Natural Herbs Production in a quality and supervision section for 2 years and 4 months.

