



Stereotypes in Rebecca Hall's Movie *Passing*

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ABSTRACT

The objectives of this study were 1) to investigate the pattern of stereotype analysis appeared in *Passing* movie, 2) to describe characters response the stereotypes that is aimed at them in the movie *Passing*, 3) to explain the reason characters in *Passing* movie confront stereotypes instead of conforming. The data in this study are taken from sentences in dialog and scripts contained in the film *Passing*. 1) There were three types of stereotype patterns according to Brand and Reyna's (2011) theory depicted in the movie *Passing*. The three types are: Internal/controllable/stable (63.20%) followed by, Internal/uncontrollable/stable (25.50%), and External/uncontrollable/stable (11.3%).

2) The types of resistance reflected in the movie *Passing* based on King's (2010) theory are Acquiescence (35.71%) followed by Violence (35.71%), and Non-Violence (28.57%). 3) There were three reasons why Black individuals accept stereotypes instead of conforming, based on King's (2010) theory. The first reason is the fear of retaliation, which can lead to conflict. The second reason is a lack of educational awareness, which suggests that white individuals tend to have a broader perspective compared to black people. The third reason is the lack of resources in terms of legal support and financial stability.

Keywords:

Stereotypes, Resistance, Film.

INTRODUCTION

Literature is one of the sources or references used in education. (Meyer, 2018) said as cited in Sopiansyah & Inayah, 2021 literature is a term used to describe written texts characterized by careful use of language, including features such as creative metaphors, beautiful phrase, elegant syntax, rhymes, and aesthetic alliterations. Literary works can be divided into two parts, namely fiction, and non-fiction. Fictional forms can usually be seen in prose, poetry, films, and plays. Meanwhile, non-fiction forms can be seen in

biographies, autobiographies, essays, and others. The meanings and messages contained in literary works such as prose and poetry can also be depicted in the form of movie.

The movie is a visual audio communication medium to convey a message to a group of people who gather in a certain place. Movie is an art form that becomes a phenomenon and has its own charm for society. Movie can be a means of conveying messages which of course have a big impact on society. Cloete, 2017 movie combines of three powerful elements, namely image, story and sound to give context and meaning to the story being told. In conveying messages to the audience, movie is an appropriate tool with these three elements. It will be very easy for a story in the movie to describe whether the movie depicts love, peace, violence, death and others. Movie can also describe events/ phenomena that often occur. Social phenomena that occur in society such as forms of violence or discrimination such as stereotype.

Stereotypes is a prejudice that arises based on someone's judgment or other people's assumptions based on the characteristics of their behavior. David Marx and Sei Jin Ko (2019) said stereotypes are widely held generalized beliefs about the behaviors and attributes possessed by individuals from certain social groups (ex, race/ethnicity, sex, age, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation). Stereotypes are usually as justification for a prejudice which is usually negative, that is owned by each individual or a group. Usually, this can happen to individuals with individuals, individuals with groups, or groups with groups or cultures that are different from those of the group itself. This can be caused by the many kinds of problems that exist in society, giving rise to perspectives that include both positive and negative things.

The purposes of this research were out of pattern stereotype analysis appeared in Passing movie. First, to investigate pattern stereotype analysis appeared in Passing movie second, to describe how characters response the stereotypes that is aimed at them in the movie Passing and third, to explain the reasons characters in the movie Passing movie conform to stereotypes. In this research, the writer limited the analysis and focused on the stereotypes that existed in the movie "Passing." In this movie, there were two main characters who had very different lives. Within this difference, stereotypes emerged that gave rise to racism, as portrayed in Rebecca Hall's "Passing. The reason why this research was carried out because the writer feels interested in researching and showing stereotype depictions in the movie, so that the writer can

categorize them based on theory. This movie was chosen as a data for research because there is language that contains stereotypes and some discriminatory acts that occur in it. For example in the words Very white, very religious in data which illustrate that the white group looks cleaner and more religious. Although not necessarily everything will be the same as that. This is interesting to study so that things about stereotypes can be accepted and studied so that readers also know the forms of these stereotypes.

From the various studies conducted, this study examines the study of issues that are similar to the issue of discriminant. In this study, there are two focuses in solving the problem. The first is to discuss things that indicate the existence of stereotypical patterns, (Brand and Reyna, 2011) seen in this study, namely internal/ controllable/ stable, internal/ uncontrollable/ stable, and external/ uncontrollable/ stable. Brand and Reyna explain that this model will clarify the role of stereotypes as explanatory agents and rationalization and the impact of stereotypes in the Passing movie. The second is to focus on the form of resistance carried out in the film. According to King 2010, there are three forms of resistance, namely acquiescence, violence and non-violence.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Stereotyping is also different to everyday cognitive processes because, in striving to make what stereotypes depict seem integral to members of a specific group or category, the member support existing relations and structures of power and advantage, and in many cases endorse existing patterns of discrimination or inequality (Michael Pickering 2015). People stereotype, usually those in positions of power and higher status than those who are stereotyped. Stereotypes are closely related to prejudice, where prejudice is defined as a negative attitude towards another person or group and comparison with one's own group. Stereotype is an unbalanced assessment of a group of people. That judgment occurs because of the tendency to generalize without differentiation. Barker defined stereotypes as overt but simplistic representations that reduce people to a set of exaggerated, and usually negative, character traits. A representation interprets other people through the operation of power. According to (Brandt and Reyna, 2011) there are several pattern in analyzing stereotypes.

a. Internal/Controllable/Stable

Internal/Controlled Stereotypes, is one of the stereotype models that patterns of behaviour that are internal and chronic, but these patterns are under the control of individual stereotypes.

b. Internal/Uncontrollable/Stable

Internal/Uncontrollable Stereotypes (I/UC). The stereotypes “Women are illogical,” “Black people are genetically less intelligent,” and “White people can't jump” are all examples of stereotypes that are internal and often uncontrollable. I/UC stereotypes imply a biological origin of a trait or behaviour, which can have various consequences, depending on the implications of the trait. In more adversarial intergroup contexts, such as race relations, traits that are considered innate or organic can be used to justify group exclusion and marginalization.

c. External/Uncontrollable/Stable

External/Uncontrollable is a stereotype that also shows that generalizations about external causes that cannot be controlled can form stereotypes, such as a form of discrimination. Brand and Reyna said in the case of negative outcomes such as poverty, underachievement, and incarceration, stereotypes that imply external causes, such as misfortune, oppression, or exploitation, can serve to absolve the group from responsibility.

According to (Scott, 1993) Resistance is a form of protest carried out by the weak against the ruling people with the aim of reducing or rejecting all demands that harm the weak or asking for the rights they should get. It can be interpreted that the weaker people tend to get the oppression of the high people. So that resistance is carried out to get back the rights that everyone should have.

Martin Luther King Jr. was an activist leader of the civil movement, who wrote an article about "Three Ways of Meeting Oppression" in 1958. In his writing, he emphasized the best method to response oppression. According to him, there is a whole spectrum that ranges from violence to non-violence action in which the views are placed and illustrated strategically how oppressed people response the oppression, which are acquisition, violence, and non-violence resistance (King, 2010).

a. Acquiescence

Acquiescence is a form of dealing with oppression. In this way, people tacitly adapt to oppression. Conforming to oppression means giving authority to the oppressor and

allowing that treatment to be morally right. Some people grow weary of the forms of oppression they experience.

b. Violence

Violence is the second way of dealing with oppression. Violence is a form of resistance to achieve justice for the oppressed but also creates hatred at the same time. Violent means cannot completely solve the problem. This method is sometimes used by oppressed people by using physical violence and bringing temporary results. Violence as a way of oppression can be seen positively and negatively.

c. Non-Violence

Non-violence is a third way of dealing with bullying. This method is more supported as the best way to overcome bullying. In King's article, the principle of non-violent resistance is trying to reconcile the truth of two contradictory things, acquiescence and violence. With non-violence, the results obtained will be better because no individual or group is subject to any mistakes, and there is no need to use violence to correct mistakes.

METHOD

The research method used in this research is content analysis. This study uses this method because it wants to analyze a phenomenon that occurs in the *Passing* movie by collecting data that will be analyzed to solve the problems in this study so that a conclusion can be drawn from this research. Ahmad, 2019 said that using the content analysis method must observe communication phenomena, by formulating exactly what is being studied and actions must be based on this goal. Using this method, the researcher will give meaning to the data obtained from the movie. In order to create systematic references and inferences to the meanings, contexts, and objectives contained within texts, messages, and other forms of communications, content analysis can be thought of as a scientific exploration of content. This allows for valid and repeatable results for future research (Prasad, 2008). The aim of the writer to use this research method is to describe attitudes and behavior responses to communication based on the movie. Max Weber explained that textual analysis is a research method using a set of procedures to make valid inferences from texts.

For qualitative research, sources of information can be written materials, oral histories, observations, audiovisual recordings, and physical artefacts (Creswell, 2012). The data in this study comes from movies. The author of this study used the Rebecca Hall movie *Passing* as the data source. The main information used in this research was taken from the script and dialogue in scenes from the movie *Passing*, which makes it easier for the writer to gather information.

In this study, the data was analyzed according to the problem of study, and this research can answer and solve the problem contained in this study. After careful reading and studying, the next step for qualitative researchers was to conduct data reduction, which was done by abstraction (Ghony & Almanshur, 2012:245). In this study, the data was analyzed in several steps (1) Selecting the data from movies and dialogs, then set them down in several notes to facilitate research. (2) Identifying the data obtained from the movie, then take some relevant scenes according to the question contained in the problem formulation. (3) Categorizing and classifying the selected data based on theory and convey stereotypes using theory, and (4) Describing and verifying conclusion based on data analysis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This study identified and analyzed data in the form of stereotypes used by the characters in the *Passing* movie. The data were collected by watching and reading the script as the source of data and matching the data to the theory used. The collected data were analyzed to answer research questions about stereotypes used in the *Passing* movie, what stereotypes pattern can be found, how the characters response the stereotypes, and why the characters in the movie *Passing* resist stereotypes.

1. A Stereotypes Pattern in The Movie *Passing*

After analyzing *Passing* movie, the data is obtained in the form of stereotype patterns in the movie. This pattern was identified based on using Brand & Reyna's theory. The types of patterns found are Internal/Controllable/Stable, Internal/Uncontrollable/Stable, and External/Uncontrollable/Stable, which were classified with different percentage proportions. This can be seen in the table below.

No	Stereotype Pattern	Frequency	Percentage
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1.	Internal/ Controllable/ Stable	11	63,20
2.	Internal/ Uncontrollable/ Stable	6	25,50
3.	External/ Uncontrollable/ Stable	2	11,3
	TOTAL	19	100

Table 4. 1 The Percentages of Stereotypes Pattern

- Internal/Controllable/Stable

Irene: What have you told him... about your family?

Clare: You know, I haven't had to worry about it as much as you'd think. There were my Aunts you see, who took me in after father died and gave me a home of sorts. **Very white. Very respectable. Very religious.** I met John not long after and as soon as I turned eighteen and legal we got married and well... went off and left for good.

Irene: And, you're happy?

Clare: Of course 'Rene. As you say, I have everything I ever wanted.

The first meeting between Clare and Irene in a restaurant in Manhattan made them feel curious about their respective lives. This is conveyed by Clare as a white person to explain how noble it is to be a white person and she gets whatever she wants. That is what makes Clare the courage to enter the white community even though she was scared in her statement. This dialogue contains stereotypes, especially in the sentence "Very white. Very respectable. Very religious." this sentence was conveyed by the character, to describe how the characteristics of white people.

The statement above reflects the characteristic of white people that they look very clean, and very religious. According to theory Brand and Reyna, 2011 the sentence falls into the Internal/Controllable/Stable stereotype model. Because this pattern is under the control of the will of the individual who is stereotyped. This statement is included in a model that leads to stereotypes of traits that describe white people. The statement shows that the stereotype in the above conversation explains the traits that describe

white people. This is a characteristic of the internal controllable stereotype pattern that judges a person by their traits.

- Internal/Uncontrollable/Stable

Hugh: Have I laid eyes on her tonight except in spots here and there being twirled about by some 'Ethiopian'? I have not.

Irene: Well sir, you've got to admit **the average colored man is a better dancer than the average white.** That is if the celebrities who find their way up here are fair specimens of your sort.

Hugh: Having not tripped the light fantastic with any of the males I am hardly in a position to argue the point.

Black people are doing an event, namely a dance event. In the event Irene became one of the committees who participated to enliven the event. In this event not only attended by black people, but some white people like Hugh also attended the party. This is only done by a few people who want to mingle with white people. From the dialogue, a stereotype is formed, especially in the sentence "the average colored man is a better dancer than the average white." From the conversation above, the statement that dark-skinned men are better at dancing than white men. In this conversation, the statement is approved by Hugh as a white man. This can be seen during the dance event, the black people are very agile in their movements while the white people can only watch.

Based on the theory of stereotype patterns by Brand and Reyna 2011, In this case, the statement delivered by Irene is Internal/Uncontrollable, as the phrase highlights a trait derived from their racial origin. This is included in the pattern because the stereotype given is based on heredity. In Irene's words, it means that a person born as a black person will be better at dancing than a person born as a white person.

- External/Uncontrollable/Stable

Ted: Excuse me.

Brian: I'm sorry. I told Junior Clare would be here.

Irene: What's that about?

Brian: **Someone called him a dirty you know what today.**

When Brian, Ted, and Junior came home from school, it was obvious that Ted was in a bad mood. The feeling was seen when he just passed his mother with a flat face. It was not noticed by his mother. But when he entered his room, he slammed the door hard. That caught Irene's attention, and asked Brian what was wrong. Brian explained Ted's situation and told him what happened when he was at school. Brian said that Ted was insulted by one of the black people. From the dialog, a stereotype is formed, especially in the sentence "Someone called him a dirty you know what today" this sentence is delivered by the character in the film to explain the situation experienced by his child, Ted.

In this situation, based on the theory of Brand and Reyna 2011, the stereotype pattern formed in the dialog is External/Uncontrollable/Stable. This is included in the pattern because the situation above illustrates the discriminatory attitude towards black people. In the explanation of the External/Uncontrollable/Stable pattern, discriminatory attitudes or behaviors are the characteristics of the pattern.

2. The characters response the Stereotypes

This section explains the findings of how the characters in Passing response the stereotype.

No	Types of Resistance	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Acquiescence	3	18,30
2.	Violence	1	8,10
3.	Non-Violence	10	73,60
	TOTAL	14	100

Table 4. 2 The characters response the Stereotype

The table below illustrates the percentage of types of resistance found in the movie Passing.

- Acquiescence

John: it's silly really... but when we were first married, this woman was white – white as a lily! But as the years go by she seems to be getting darker and darker – So I told her if you don't look out, you'll

wake up one morning and find you've turned into a nigger! She's been 'Nig' ever since.

Irene: (shock and laugh) **That's... That's good.**

The meeting between Irene and John made them talk about many things about race. In the dialog above, there is a sentence from John that seems to mock black people. He said this when he saw his wife, Clare, who looked darker. He told Irene about it because he thought it was funny. Irene who heard the story felt offended and tried not to look offended by John. Finally, to cover her feelings, she laughed quite loudly and let John's story pass. Based on King's 2010 theory, this is one form of Irene's actions responding to John's ridicule and trying to make peace with John's ridicule. Irene's actions are included in the form of Acquiescence, because this causes Irene's attitude to fall into an attitude of condoning, because she chooses to let it pass. This is included in the nature or characteristics of Acquiescence.

- Violence

John: I've been to the Redfield's and I know she is with them.

Dave: Now, maybe you ought to calm down and we –

John: If you're finished, get out of my way.

Brian: I'm Redfield. What the devil's the matter with you?

John: You don't get to tell me what to do! Any of you people!

John sees Clare standing at the window, composed, ready and seemingly unaware of danger.

John: You Liar! - damned dirty liar!

John breaks out from behind Felise, pushes her out the way, and lunges violently towards Clare.

Clare's lies were finally discovered by John. John found out that his wife Clare was of black racial descent and had been hidden by Clare. In fact, John really hated black people. This caused John to be very angry, and dared enough to disrupt the party that result in a commotion. The form of resistance above, seen from the actions and actions taken by John at the party. The statement above is a form of violent resistance by John against his wife, Clare.

Resistance in this way is a way that does not get good results. The result of this violence does not create justice and even the problem is not resolved. Based on King's 2010 theory, this form of violent resistance is very fatal and acts to create peace, even the problem is not resolved properly. The data above is John's treatment of wanting to take his wife by force, resulting in Clare falling from a tall building and causing her to die. This makes the problem they face not resolved properly and further complicates the problem.

- Non-Violence

Brian: What the devil's the matter with you?

John: You don't get to tell me what to do! Any of you people!

John: You liar!

Felise: Careful. You're the only white man here...

John: A damned dirty liar -!

On the night of the blacks' drinking, there was a commotion from one of the white men. It was only then that Clare was discovered by her husband to be of black descent. At that time the black people were holding a drinking event in a building. John came to the place and wanted to find his wife. When he saw Clare, he said that Clare was a disgusting liar. The dialog above is a form of resistance, especially in the sentence "Careful. You're the only white man here" which is done by black people but not with violence. This is done by black people, when a white man comes to get angry and ruin their tea. Based on King 2010's theory, this is one form of resistance that leads to Non-Violence. The way of resistance conveyed by Felise was non-violent resistance, by demanding an action that the man could not do anything at that time. This resistance was conveyed by Felise with a good settlement and no violence occurred at that time.

3. The Reason for the Characters in the Movie Passing Conform to Stereotypes

The stereotypes depicted in the film "Passing" were an essential part of the social and cultural context portrayed in the movie. This can be observed from the film's central theme, which suggests that Black individuals with lighter skin can be perceived as White. It is also evident in the beliefs held by White people who consider themselves superior to Black people. With such beliefs, prejudices arise, stating that Black people are not

worthy of being like them. This results in a glaring inequality in terms of race within the film.

Conforming to these stereotypes is akin to accepting the prejudices imposed on the community. According to King, conformity refers to passively accepting or submitting to something without protest or resistance. As discussed in Chapter Two, acquiescence is considered a cowardly choice because it involves choosing not to do anything. This film highlights the impact of stereotypes on the lives of its characters and the society they inhabit. Characters facing oppression in the film may choose to accept and conform to these stereotypes for various reasons, and these reasons can be quite complex and diverse. The decision to respond to stereotypes can be influenced by personal circumstances and beliefs, or it may involve silent protest.

After analyzing King's 2010 concept of resistance, this section identified why Black individuals chose to confront stereotypes by conforming. It turns out there are several factors that lead Black individuals to conform to stereotypes. Factors that made Black individuals conform to stereotypes included:

(1) Fear of retaliation: In systems of oppression, people often rely on power, violence, or other forms of punishment. Those who are oppressed may fear retaliation, either for their own safety or for the safety of their loved ones, or they may fear losing their livelihood if they speak out against oppression. This fear can be a strong barrier to resistance. Characters in the film conform to the stereotypes given to them because they fear retaliation, which could endanger themselves or their community. This can be seen in John's actions when he goes to a gathering of Black people, wanting to strike and push one of them who tries to prevent him from entering the room.

(2) Lack of awareness or education. Some individuals may not fully understand the nature and extent of the oppression they face or may be unaware of their rights and the available means of resistance. Education and awareness can empower individuals to take action. As conveyed in this film, when Clare mentions that her white-skinned husband will send their child to a boarding school in Switzerland, "He'll get a good education, not like us," she tells Irene. On the other hand, Irene wants to move her child to a better school in Brazil. However, Brian disagrees, considering it excessive and fearing that it would make their child spoiled. This can be seen as a comparison that

illustrates the vastly different levels of awareness between the two communities. Clare's daughter, Margery, who is white, receives a better education, while Irene's son, Ted, who is Black, remains where he is. This comparison is, of course, vastly different, and from a broader perspective, Margery will likely have more opportunities for personal growth compared to Ted. With such limited thinking, there won't be any impactful change within their own communities. If Ted could attend school in Brazil, his perspective might broaden, and he could potentially bring about change within his community, proving to White people that Black people deserve to do anything without being judged by others.

(3) Lack of resources. Communities facing oppression may lack resources such as legal support, education, or financial stability, which are necessary for effective resistance. This can make it challenging for them to resist oppressive systems. In the film, it is evident that white people only view Black individuals as servants. At the beginning of the film, one white individual says, "She never even met a colored that didn't work for us," and another expresses gratitude for that fact. Irene overhears their conversation and feels somewhat disturbed because she is one of the Black people.

These three things were the reasons why the characters in this film fight stereotypes instead of conforming. The third thing that can be seen in the film is that white people stereotype black people. This happens because white people are seen to have much more extensive education, much more financial stability so that white people have more legal support. That is why dark skinned people can only remain silent and accept every action and behavior given to black people. This may focus on their needs such as food, shelter, and security which leaves little energy and time for them to put up a fight. In this case, Black People is more conforming to the stereotypes given. This can be seen in Irene's character who more often lets and adapts to the stereotypes given.

This research was conducted based on three research questions. After analyzing the stereotypes in the *Passing* movie using the theory of Brandt and Reyna (2010) and King (2010) it can be concluded that: Stereotypes arise as a result of general thoughts or beliefs attached to a group. Very often stereotypes are inaccurate and unfair, so they can lead to discrimination and prejudice.

The results of the first research show that stereotype patterns based on Brandt and Reyna's (2011) theory can be realized in the *Passing* movie. From the research findings,

there were 19 data findings from stereotype patterns. There were 11 findings regarding Internal controllable stable, 6 data findings from Internal uncontrollable stable stereotype patterns, and 2 data findings from External uncontrollable stable stereotype patterns. The Internal/Controllable/Stable stereotype pattern was found to be the dominant type in passing films. The External/Uncontrollable/Stable stereotype pattern was one type that refers to a lower position. Internal control itself was a form of stereotype that is given directly about themselves, so this can cause a loss of self-confidence.

Second, the results of the research are the forms of resistance carried out in the film *Passing*, using King's (2010) theory. There were 18 data findings in the passing film. Among this data, there were 3 data that lead to Acquiescence resistance, 1 data that leads to Violence resistance, and there were 14 data that lead to Non-violence resistance. Based on this data, Non-violence resistance was the data that is most often found, and Violence racism was the data that is less often found in the film *Passing*. Non-violence resistance itself was resistance that is carried out without violence and results in justice for both parties. This has been implemented in the film *Passing*, and the average character in the film is able to carry out resistance to defend themselves, defend their race and maintain their identity.

Third, based on King's (2010) theory, there was Acquiescence resistance whose type was only accepting and adapting to the stereotypes given. In this case, there were three reasons why these people are willing to accept and adapt to stereotypes and other forms of discrimination. These three reasons can be seen in the level of socialization and actions taken by these people in accepting oppression in the *Passing* movie. The first reason that causes them to accept stereotypes was fear of retribution, they were afraid of violence for themselves and the people they love. Second, the reason that causes them to accept stereotypes was a lack of awareness and education. It can be seen that the education of white people is more advanced than that of black people. So they want to demean and consider black people only as servants. The third reason that causes them to accept stereotypes is the lack of financial stability and legal support, so they are unable to fight back. It can be concluded that this resistance was able to bring about bad changes for black people. These people can only remain silent and do nothing. One way for them to

get justice is by improving education for children so that for the next generation they are not easily ridiculed and are able to issue statements defending their own people.

CONCLUSION

Based on the data analyzing of Passing movie by Rebecca Hall, the conclusion can be drawn as follows: The three patterns of stereotype were analyzed using Brand and Reyna (2011) were describing in Passing Movie by Rebecca Hall. For the pattern of stereotypes, the sum total of data findings was 19 data in the form of sentence and statement that have displayed in Appendix A. The total of the data finding percentages were (63, 20%) of Internal/Controllable/Stable, Internal/Uncontrollable/Stable (25,50%), and of External/Uncontrollable/Stable (11, 30%).

From the analysis of the forms of resistance depicted in the film, there were three main forms of resistance which are researched based on King's theory (2010). Acquiescence there are (18.30%) data that several characters in the film accept and adapt to stereotypes. There were violence resistance (8.10%) and non-violent resistance (73.60%), which aim to achieve justice for these people.

There were three reasons why black people are willing to accept and adapt to stereotypes based on King's (2010) theory. The first thing that makes them accept is the fear of retaliation which results in violence that will happen to themselves and those closest to them if they resist. Lack of awareness and education, Gaps in education and awareness between racial groups contribute to the acceptance of stereotypes. Financial instability and lack of legal support to defend and support themselves financially or access legal aid is limiting. The analysis of "Passing" shows that there are patterns that form stereotypes and resistance to stereotypes. The form of resistance in this film was to achieve justice. However, these discussions also demonstrate the difficulties faced by those who experience them and that systemic changes, such as education, are needed to effectively address and combat stereotypes.

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