

Racial Prejudice in *The Sun Is Also A Star*

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Abstrak

The Sun Is Also a Star menceritakan sebuah keluarga yang berasal dari Korea Selatan yang hidup miskin, Dae Hyun karakter ayah dalam novel ini mendapatkan bantuan dari sepupunya yang sudah hidup berkecukupan di New York, sepupunya berjanji akan membantunya. Dae Hyun bersama istrinya Min Soo memutuskan untuk pindah ke New York, Amerika. Karena mereka menjadi generasi imigran pertama dari Korea Selatan, membutuhkan banyak penyesuaian yang harus mereka lakukan. Seiring berjalannya waktu, kehidupan masa lalu mereka mempengaruhi bagaimana cara mereka memberikan prasangka ras kepada anak-anak mereka. Charlie anak tertua mereka dan Daniel anak bungsu keluarga ini, terpaksa merasakan akibat dari prasangka ras yang terjadi di keluarga mereka. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menampilkan prasangka ras yang terjadi di keluarga imigran Korea Selatan sebagai kambing hitam atas trauma orang tua mereka dalam *The Sun is Also A Star* karya Nicola Yoon. Metode yang digunakan adalah analisis tekstual, melalui narasi dan dialog dalam novel. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa *The Sun is Also A Star* mengungkapkan penyebab dari prasangka rasial yang dialami Charlie dan Daniel adalah sumber sosial, mempertahankan identitas sosial, dan kambing hitam.

Kata Kunci: prasangka ras, kambing hitam, sosial ekonomi

Abstract

The Sun Is Also a Star tells about the life of poor family from South Korea, Dae Hyun as character father, has cousin who already well-being in New York, promises to help him. Dae Hyun and his wife Min Soo deciding move to New York, America. Because of they are the first generation of South Korean immigrant, they need to adapt as much as they can. After moving to New York, their past-life gave them impact how they give racial prejudice to their sons'. Charlie as the eldest son and Daniel as the youngest son in this family, willy-nilly they get the impact racial prejudice from their family. The purpose of this study is depicting racial prejudice happened in Korean immigrant family as scapegoating of their trauma in Nicola Yoon's *The Sun is Also A Star*. The method using textual analysis through the narration and the dialogue inside the novel. This study showing that *The Sun is Also A Star* is revealing the causes of racial prejudice from Charlie and Daniel are societal source, maintaining societal identity, and scapegoating.

Keywords: racial prejudice, scapegoating, socio-economic

INTRODUCTION

Racial prejudice define as attitude that declare the dislike or distrust (Devine, 1989) based on fear or false information. When it happens on somebody or group, there is no objective answer towards others, because the stereotype has the big plays on this situation. The concept of racial prejudice would be affect to in-group and out-group in society. Because racial prejudice mostly give the response to out-group of race or initiate broadening reciprocating with the new interracial in the future and it also disentangle the opportunity process (Lewis, 2013).

In analyzing racial prejudice in Nicola Yoon's *The Sun is Also A Star*, the researcher applied the theory of

Prejudice proposed by Fiske and Samovar's book. According to Fiske prejudice as an affective form to predict the discrimination better than cognitive form (Fiske, 1998, p. 367). There is two factors of why prejudice happen in inter-group. The first is group threat (fraternal deprivation), the second is the direct contact (1998, p. 373). Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) suggested there is a blatant prejudice in the group thread which focus on gains welfare and jobs (Fiske, 1998, p. 373), status as the socioeconomic factors (van Dijk, 1984, p. 37). The main of the prejudice approach is, the scapegoat of the ethnic minority to release manifestation as aggression and the authoritarian theory (Fiske, 1998). The positive side of the prejudice itself to retain the self-admiration on the

social identity, because when the social identity is undesirable for people in-group, they will leave the group to find out-group that have a high self-admiration and a positive social identity (Fedor, 2014). While Samovar defined prejudice as negative feelings to particular group, including fear, anger, anxiety, and aversion. Prejudice happen as the negative side of cultural identity after individual can identify which race, ethnic, gender and so on. It causes by certain group want to maintain the dominant power (societal sources), threatens out-group members as the target of prejudice (maintaining societal identity), and avoiding responsible of dominant group over the variety of out-group (scapegoating) (Samovar et al., 2012, p. 236).

(McLemore, 1983; 2020, p. 49) explained three factors how the process of racial prejudice. First factor is cultural transmission as natural process of community learn something which formed by the community itself. The second is personal trait as someone's violent act which involving the desperate or anger feeling from someone's past trauma (African-American). Last is an identity group that adopted something standard and make it as common preference standard. Also there is another three form of discrimination; situational pressure, group gains (fear of minority taking over to provide an equal opportunity), and institutional (defense act from superior to maintain their position in society (McLemore, 1983).

According to Oskamp, he argued when organization produce norms, rules, laws to rise the societal prejudice and maintain the dominant power. It can see on the apartheid rule in South Africa that's how social structure can be used sustain prejudice (Samovar et al., 2012, p. 236). Also on the process of social perception (both person and group) can be bias (van Dijk, 1984, p. 18). Because the stereotypes make cognitive processing the complex world become efficient and easier (Wolfe & Spencer, 1996).

The writer uses three previous study that related with this study. The first previous study from Fadhilla's *Hybrid Identity Stereotyping In Novel The Sun is Also A Star* by Nicole Yoon. She reveals that Natasha got racism through the physical, such as the ability of black people that bless with athletic body and good with sport, also her physical appearance of afro hair. Not only the physical appearance, there was racism from external factor. For example, she got bad words or mocking "like booger" and "shoplifting" from Daniel's brother. Sometimes, she got racism that relate with sexual "big" (refers to afro hair and penis) also someone's nature (all good things go to white people) (2018)

The second previous study racial prejudice also reflected in *Angie Thomas' The Hate U Give*, Prihatika & Rokhman (2020) they founded racial prejudice happened

in four sectors, socio economic of creating two legal statues of African-American related with group gains by McLemore's, education of the abilities African-American of writing and reading, legal policies that can't give the guarantee to African-American life, and group-identity that ignored the failure of white people not as discrimination or racism act, but as part of duty.

The last previous study of racial prejudice that reflected in *Jumpa Lahiri's The Name Sake*, Nugroho's (2015) explained the character Gogol who doesn't like his name because not common in America. He understood about this name of his name was familiar in America. Ashoke his father explained the reason he gave his son name from his favorite author Nikolai Gogol. Ashoke didn't tell the story of his train accident and he believed his favorite author had saved his life. Gogol's rebellion changing his name into Nikhil is a big step to accept that tradition not determining his identity, His problem is as Indian in America that's totally not related with old country into new country.

From all previous study above, showed that the most of cases are interest on racism of African-American. It can't be ignoring, the cases still exist till now. But Asian-American or Asian who lived in America, they are also have the racial prejudice that also need to be facing. Through this study, the writer can give new interest that can broadening of the future study related to racial prejudice in Asian-American. The gap between previous studies before, it will help to link the writer study. The tittle choose to fill the gap and the phenomenon if Asian-American racial prejudice in Nicola Yoon's *The Sun is Also A Star*. The story behind of Dae Hyun and Min Soo of Daniel and Charlie parents' give racial prejudice to both of them.

METHOD

In this study, the writer used a textual approach to collect the data in Nicola Yoon's *The Sun is Also A Star*, that indicates racial prejudice. The data were collected through the novel narrations and dialogue (Suryabrata, 1983). The aim of textual data to analyze that related with cultural context. That can describe and interpret the answer of the specific questions.

The source of data based on Nicola Yoon's *The Sun is Also A Star*. That published in 2016, the form of the novel there was no exact chapter written but the composition like the personal diary, because of that the data collected through novel, the first step is reading comprehensive of the printed novel, next the textual approach that data taken by citing the novel, they would be not full sentences when the data with the mode of dialogue and also when data using narration, the data would be paraphrase (all the data will be include the citation of the page). The information

of text data only taken on the data that have the indications of racial prejudice, those group threat, direct contact, indirect contact, and individual hostility that used the dominant-group to keep intact the power and status by Western (America) to control the minorities in working class to minimize the competition (Schaefer, 2015). And the final step is to depict conclusion based on the data analysis.

ANALYSIS

3.1 Depiction of Racial Prejudice in *The Sun is Also A Star*

Racial Prejudice of Korean Immigrant in the New York Daily Life

Racial prejudice become the main issue of individual as in-group member and out-group to give their own perspective. The perspective can be negative and positive to certain group.

“For the most immigrant, moving to the new country is an act of faith. Even if you’ve heard stories of safety, opportunity, and prosperity, it’s still a leap to remove yourself from your own history.” (Yoon, 2016, para. 15)

“In the end, only some stories were true. Like all immigrant, Min Soo and Dae Hyun adapted as much as they were able. They avoided the people and places that didn’t want them.” (Yoon, 2016, para. 3)

The narration above from the chapter family that Daniel’s parents’ as the immigrant who came to America. The story of Daniel’s parent’s move to America because of Dae Hyun cousin already wealth in New York City and promises help him. In fact, as an immigrant to avoid the people who are not welcome with Dae Hyun and Min Soo. But there is also the positive side, Dae Hyun get opportunity from his cousin who promises help him. The opportunity of wealthy that will make Dae Hyun maintain his business not from the start. And the prosperity of Dae Hyun get from the business, he can save the money for preparing the education cost of both his son.

The negative side of Dae Hyun and Min Soo action of avoid people who not welcome, as the indication of fear of group gains by Mclemore. And the positive side of gaining opportunity and the prosperity as the indication of self-admiration on the social identity by Fedor.

Group Threats

a. Job

Job as the part of group threat that relate with the consideration of out-group perceive about in-group member who have different goals.

“In the 1960s the rise popularity of wigs made with South Korean hair in the African-American. South Korean government banned the export raw hair from its shores. At the same time the U.S. government banned the import of wigs that contained hair from China.” (Yoon, 2016, para. 145)

The narration above from the chapter hair, the story of Korean American history about the successful wigs in African American community, the reason is, the beauty standard during post-slavery based on Europe. Straight and smooth indicates as good, professional but curly, textured indicates as bad, unprofessional. From that there was found the relaxer of Afro hair. Because of that story, the popularity of wigs in African-American, indicates hairstyle as power and wealth. The fact between hair and cultural identity, makes the opportunity for South Korean business not only in wigs, but also make the chance of hair care business growth, after the U.S. government banned the import wigs from China. It can say that the demand of the wigs in African-American only made by South Korea.

The indicators of group threat specifically in job, could be seen on how the U.S. government regulation, only accept South Korean wigs and hair care industry can interfacing threat in the future that will give the impact to the social identity that explained by Fiske. But the reason of the U.S. government banned import wigs from China could be from the trauma.

b. Welfare

Welfare as part of group threat that related to gain economy issue.

“Dae Hyun had been poor all his life. He had a cousin in America who’d been doing well for himself in New York City. He promised to help.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 15)

“Dae Hyun cousins did help, and they prospered, faith rewarded.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 15)

“He opens the register and packs the large bills into deposit pouch.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 238)

The narration above from the chapter family and dae hyun bae, before Dae Hyun get welfare, he was poor. Because his cousins who promised give him loan and give advised to open hair care store. As reward Dae Hyun can open register and packs large deposit for his both sons. Also might be can paying the loan from his cousin. The welfare that he get also the positive effect from the U.S. government who only received the wigs and hair care product from South Korean.

The indicators of group threat in welfare, could be seen in economic condition of Dae Hyun that poor change into welfare. The reason is the social identity of South Korean as the dominant group in wigs and hair care business in New York also the loan from the Dae Hyun cousin. It prove the Fiske theory of group threat.

c. Status

Status as one of stereotype factor based on gaining wealth on economic problem.

“In the end, Min Soo compromised, gave her son an American name followed by a Korean personal name followed by the family.

So they would know where they were from
So they would know where they were going.” (Yoon, 2016, pp. 15–16)

The narration above from the chapter family, Min Soo think about status while naming both of her sons with whether use American name or Korean name. In Korea, the family name come first and told the entire history from ancestors, while in America family name on the last. Dae Hyun showed that Americans, individual name is important. Min Soo confusing to decide which name that she will give.

Then she compromised to use American and Korean name, can made both of their sons remember they’re from and they’re go. She named her first son Charles Jae Won Bae and her second son Daniel Jae Ho Bae. The other reason is she wouldn’t make both of her sons teachers and their classmate difficult to pronounce her sons name. Because of both of her sons born in America, her sons have new status as Korean-American, not as the Korean immigrant who lives in America.

The indicators of fear about group threat while Min Soo give both her sons name in America whiel they (Dae Hyun and Min Soo) gaining welfare in America. She made the adaptation to always remember when both of her sons parents’ come from and where they go. On the other hand the meaning of

both of her sons so powerful, but Min Soo still have a fear about circumstance of both her sons while they go to school, she mentioned that want make ease of teacher and classmate of both of her sons to pronounce her sons name. The goals of naming her sons and her fear is show the distinguish goals, it will be enough for implementation of the theory by Fiske about group threat.

Direct Contact

Direct contact as one highest factor that can give the impact on individual or group give the perspective toward physical contact.

“When Dae Hyun was thirteen lives in South Korea, his father grooming him to take over the family meager crab fishing business. He was the eldest of three sons. Family is destiny. The first time, his father had taken him out on the fishing boat. Dae Hyun hated it. Trapped in the cold mesh-metal basket.” (Yoon, 2016, pp. 238–239)

The narration above from the chapter dae hyun bae, the history of Dae Hyun got prepared to continue his small family business of fishing crab. He never expect or even think will take over that business. He knows about his position as the eldest form three sons in his family, willy-nilly he should take over to make money for his family in every seasons. His economy life was far from enough, only the small fishing crab business that he can do for living. He thought the condition of the family as the destiny that will give the impact for the child in future.

He always trying to remove the memories when he was live in South Korea after move into America, but he couldn’t remove that. He keep the secret about his past from both of his sons, he didn’t want both of his sons get the poverty because of him. In his mind the welfare of the family economy can change the family destiny.

The indicator of threat and rejection of Dae Hyun about his life in South Korea, especially when he did fishing crab and the poverty, will be enough to prove that he did racism that there was nothing can change his family economy life on there. The destiny of family can change when he decided to move into America, and welfare rewarded. It also can say that all the economy problem of Dae Hyun based on his emotional persistence against the fact of family is destiny cann change through the other family and opportunity in place where to go to gain the welfare and job, according to Pettigrew & Merteens about two crucial factors of blatant prejudice.

Indirect Contact

a. Defense of Traditional Values

Defense of traditional values as one factors of subtle prejudice that out-group member unnecessary to be success.

“Be it for cultural reason or for racial ones, this dominance in distribution makes it nearly possible for any other group to gain a foothold in the industry. South Korean distributors primarily distributes to South Korean retailers, effectively shutting everyone else out of market.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 146)

The narration above from the chapter hair, the domination of South Korean wigs and hair care product that couldn't be replace by another. The reason is the product supply only distribute to South Korean retailers and make the other retailer who is not Korean can't resist. Because the high demand of wigs and black hair care product made by South Korean popular in African-American community.

The indicator of the out-group unnecessary to be succeed of Pettigrew & Meertens about subtle prejudice can be proved by South Korean supplier only distribute the wigs and black-hair care product to South Korean retailers, based on the perspective that China didn't need to be success in America.

b. Exaggeration of Cultural Differences

Another factors based on subtle prejudice as the stereotype of inferiority from out-group that not related with cultural differences.

“In the 1960s the rise popularity of wigs made with South Korean hair in the African-American. South Korean government banned the export hair from its shore. At the same time the U.S. government banned the important of wigs that contained hair from China. The wigs business naturally evolved the general black hair care business.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 145)

The narration above from the chapter hair, the domination of wigs which made by South Korean very popular in African-American community and also the U.S. regulation of banned the import wigs from China, make South Korean business evolving so fast, And the social identity of South Korea accepted by the U.S. government.

The indicators of the exaggeration of cultural differences by Pettigrew & Meertens can be prove toward African-American community in America. It makes the U.S. government exaggerate the South Korean as the competence to dominate the business, rather than China see as incompetence because the related with cultural reason.

Individual Hostility

Individual hostility as the measurement of high scale people more prejudice, as the response of group threat and direct contact, that people perspective can't be change.

“Mom: Why you grades so bad? Why not make you stay and study more?” (Yoon, 2016, p. 2)

“Mom: Why no A yet? Aigo. It's time you get serious now. You not little boy anymore. (2016, p. 27)

“We're on track to be doctor, and there's no getting off.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 2)

The narration above from the chapter daniel, Min Soo and Dae Hyun already preparing that both they're sons should be doctor. The first born of son Charlie, study at Harvard, but he decided to off-school for two semester. Min Soo thought that Charlie got kick out from Harvard, then questioning why his school not give the chance to stay and study more. Daniel's parents' expectation to become doctor, also happen to Daniel, his mom always asking his grade of science course that will relate with become doctor.

When he got B on math, because he doesn't like that course, Min Soo questioning why he not got A. The reason is, there is no tolerance again because he got acceptance college interview with Yale alum. Also the gossiping in Charlie and Charlie's parents friends' about Korean in New York. Min Soo thought only Daniel can be doctor after Charlie disappoint and shame family. Because the burden of become perfect sons change to Daniel.

The indicator of individual hostility by Fiske, will be prove that nobody can change Min Soo perspective about Charlie who did off-school in two semesters, same as kicked out. And then Min Soo and Dae Hyun who prepared both of them sons to become doctor can't change by anyone.

3.2 Causes of Racial Prejudice in *The Sun Is Also a Star*

Societal Sources

Societal sources as one of prejudice, Oskamp, Wolfe & Spencer argued that the complex world become efficient and easy through the norms, rules, or law.

“In the 1960s the rise popularity of wigs made with South Korean hair in the African-American. South Korean government banned the export hair from its shore. At the same time the U.S. government banned the important of wigs that contained hair from China.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 145)

“Estimated South Korean business control between sixty and eighty percent of the market. For cultural reason or for racial ones, impossible for other group gain a foothold in the industry.” (2016, p. 146)

The narration above from the chapter hair, the U.S. government made the regulation to ban import wig that contained hair from China. The regulation made to control the market in the U.S. because of the popularity then make the dominant South Korean wigs and black-hair care in African-American community. The impact of that regulation, it makes other group except South Korean can't on the same level of succeed. The dominant power on the U.S. government who control the market.

The indicator societal source, it can see on the power dominant of America to other out-group through the regulation of ban China not South Korea, because it would be relate to cultural reason. And will be relate with Oskamp about societal source has the function maintain the power dominant toward the regulation, and Wolfe & Spencer argued that the stereotype of complex world become easy and efficient can be control by the regulation.

Maintaining Societal Identity

Maintaining societal identity related with personal and emotional bounding from group and culture together.

“In the 1960s the rise popularity of wigs made with South Korean hair in the African-American. South Korean government banned the export hair from its shore. At the same time the U.S. government banned the important of wigs that contained hair from China. The wig business naturally evolved the general black hair care business.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 145)

“Be it for cultural reason or for racial ones, this dominance in distribution makes it nearly possible for any other group to gain a foothold in the industry. South Korean distributors primarily distributes to South Korean retailers, effectively shutting everyone else out of market.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 146)

The narration above from the chapter hair, the U.S. government made the regulation ban import wigs that contain hair from China. Also the way of South Korean distributor only distribute to South Korean retailers, after the South Korean government ban export raw hair from South Korean shore. It make the domination South Korean business over China in America.

The indicators of maintaining social identity, it can see on how the U.S. government and the South Korea government control the business market. The reason of the U.S. government make the regulation

because the wig and black hair care business on their land, all business need to obey that rules. While the South Korea government ban export raw hair, because the wigs from South Korea only made by South Korean, and the way of South Korean retailers distributes the product only into South Korean retailers, it will be meant to maintain the social identity about the originality of the product only made from South Korea.

Scapegoating

a. Scapegoating of Blaming Dominant Group

Scapegoating of blaming minority group as scapegoat of minority group based on their fear and imagined threats on economic or certain reason.

“The dominance of South Korean in the black hair care industry did not happen by chance. It began in the 1960s with the rise in popularity of wigs made with South Korean hair in African American community. The wigs so popular that the South Korean government banned the export of raw hair from its shores. This ensured that wigs featuring South Korean hair could only be made in South Korean. At the same time, the U.S. government banned the import of wigs that contained hair from China. Those two actions effectively solidified the dominance of South Korea in the wig market.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 145)

The narration above from the chapter hair, the growth of South Korea business in America, make China see that South Korea as China economic rival. Based on the regulation of the U.S. made for China. China create the perspective that America government pro to South Korea business. The regulation that the U.S. government made based on the cultural reason of African-American about hair culture.

The indicator of scapegoating of blaming dominant group that explained by Samovar, it can see on how China made the U.S. government as scapegoat in economic rival with South Korea. This will be create the perspective as political reason. In fact that regulation made because the cultural reason of African-American beauty standard based on their hair.

b. Scapegoating of Economic Competition

Scapegoating of economic competition as form prejudice that lead to social condition (economic issues) as the scapegoat.

“Dae Hyun had been poor all his life. He had a cousin in American who'd been doing well for

himself in New York City. He promised to help.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 15)

“The dominance of South Korean business both black hair care and wigs in U.S.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 145)

“What he knows is this: America is the land of opportunity. His children will have more than he once did.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 146)

The narration above from the chapter family and hair. The history of Dae Hyun about his poverty while he live in South Korea especially on his family small business fishing crab. He thought that the economy growth in South Korea not stable on every season, he need to fight in every season but the money he got just barely. His cousins who already wealth in New York City give the promise to help him with the loan and give an advice to open the similar store with his cousin which is black care store.

Dae Hyun got perspective that America is land of opportunity, and then he and his wife (Min Soo) move to New York and start the similar business with his cousin. It makes Dae Hyun and Min Soo get welfare and never worry about their sons’ life, what they did, their son will get double in future.

The indicator of scapegoating of economic competition that explained by Allport, it can see on Dae Hyun did, it will create that the growth of economic competition in America better than South Korea from his statement of “America is land of opportunity” and “his children will have more than he once did”. The successful of South Korea business based on the cultural reason African-American community.

c. Scapegoating of Childhood Experiences

Scapegoating of childhood experiences as one of the prejudice that lead to personality factors.

“DAE HYUN OPENS AND CLOSES the cash register. Opens and closes it again. Maybe it really is his fault that his sons are the way they are. He’s told them nothing about his past. He does because he’s father who love his sons fiercely and it’s his way of protecting them he thinks of poverty as kind of contagion, and he doesn’t want them hear about it lest they catch it.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 238)

“He opens the register and packs the large bills into the deposit pouch. Charlie and Daniel think money and happiness are not related. Thirteen years old of Dae Hyun who still living in South Korea, his father began grooming him to take over the family meager crab fishing business. The business barely made any money. Every seasons was a fight for

survival. And every season they survived, but just barely.” (Yoon, 2016, p. 238)

The narration above from the chapter dae hyun. The past history of Dae Hyun that still relate with he did for both his sons. He knows what poverty is, he did as he can to make both of his sons, not have the same condition with him. Dae Hyun as the eldest of three sons should take over the family small business fishing crab, make money on every seasons but the money he gets is barely.

His cousin who already well-being in New York City, promise to help him. Then Dae Hyun and Min Soo life become welfare after move to America. They prepare much money for both of his sons become doctor. Both of them want the rise better education for their children. Dae Hyun denies that his sons asking what he did relate with his past. Also blaming himself about his sons did as his fault, who against his expectation that his sons must be doctor. He forgot that his sons born with good economy condition and make them are not worrying about their future.

The indicators that discussed by Allport about the factors which lead to prejudice about childhood experiences can be prove on how Dae Hyun denies about what he did as the impact from his past. He use his “fiercely love” as scapegoat of his childhood experience. And also the way of he “open register and open large deposit” as his scapegoat of his expectation of sons will become doctor.

d. Scapegoating of Frustration Lays

The psychological theory mentioned by Anderson and Taylor, frustration lays as the minority ethnic seek for economic and social success, as the detach of frustration lays.

“DAE HYUN OPENS AND CLOSES the cash register. Opens and closes it again. Maybe it really is his fault that his sons are the way they are. He’s told them nothing about his past. He does because he’s father who fiercely loves his sons and it’s his way of protecting them. He thinks of poverty as kind of contagion, and he doesn’t want them to hear about it lest they catch it. He opens the register and packs the large bills into deposit pouch. They don’t know that poverty is a sharp knife carving away at you. They don’t know what it does to a body.” (2016, p. 238)

“We’re on track to be doctors, and there’s no getting off.” (2016, p. 30)

“Mom: You boys have it too easy here. America make you soft.” (2016, p. 30)

“Dae Hyun’s cousin did help, and they prospered, faith rewarded.” (2016, p. 15)

The narration above from the chapter *dae hyun, daniel and family*. The way of Dae Hyun and Min Soo forcing their children to become doctor, make their sons not obeying on what they want. Dae Hyun thinks that he was already welfare and both of his sons who born in America become easy and soft. As first generation of Korean immigrant in America, no matter what their children must be doctor.

The indicator of frustration lays, as well as Andersen and Taylor mentioned, the way of Min Soo said “too easy here” and “America make you soft” will create the perception that as if what Min Soo did for so long was nothing for her sons, also both of them didn’t have ambition to become doctor. She throw her frustration with make both of her sons’ give them result of their hard work through the academic. Because the goals of Min Soo and Dae Hyun move to America for rising economy condition already succeed.

In fact Min Soo and Dae Hyun was success increase the welfare until Dae Hyun can “open register” and “packs large deposit” for preparing their sons become doctor. It can create the perspective of both of Min Soo and Dae Hyun more than enough forcing both of their sons become doctor because of they’re as first generation of Korean immigrant the indication of success is their sons become doctor (social success), as if naturally happen in Asian culture (traditional value). But they’re forgot that what they did is trying to teach their children should get better position than their parents (Min Soo and Dae Hyun).

The background reason of why Min Soo and Dae Hyun did racial prejudice to their sons, first socioeconomic reason while they get job and become success because of the cultural reason (African-American) in New York City, second dominant power of out-group (America) over minority group (South Korean) through the regulation, and last scapegoating from their past life.

CONCLUSION

Live in multicultural society give the puzzle on every individual who will be create the tool for coping several issues. It can be with the positive way and negative way. When the issues can’t deal by the individual, there are many ways for blaming their fear, anxiety, frustration to other individual and certain group. But certain group can

scapegoating to other group for the political, economic, social concern, and emotional issues.

It can looked from the analysis of chapter three how Dae Hyun and Min Soo tried their best to live in New York. The prosperous as the motivation that noted with “American as land of opportunity”. Dae Hyun not worried about his family condition, especially his children he believed that his “children will getting more than he did”. But he also prepared the large of money for Charles Jae Won Bae and Daniel Jae Ho Bae to become doctor as he expected. At least all he did, both of his sons will prosperous and will not catch the poverty like his past. The reason that can be naturally happen when as first generation Korean immigrant who stick with the tradition of the indication success of children is become doctor. The root of “become doctor” as source of racial prejudice happened to Daniel and Charlie.

From the analysis above racial prejudice can jappen on every single part of Daniel’s parents live. The first question about revealed racial prejudice can be answer through the four type of racial prejudice that happen, there is racial prejudice of Korean immigrant in the New York daily life, the negative side of racial prejudice for Daniel’s parents who starting to move New York. They may be have fear of not accepted in new society. The feeling of fear as the natural reaction of in-group about out-group. On the other hand they kept they’re self-admiration towards they’re acts. They trying as much they can adapted with new society and maintain their identity as Korean.

There is four type of racial prejudice, first is grup threat that categorized in three. First group threat in job, the U.S. government made the regulation to avoid the trauma in the future that relate with cultural reason. Second is group threat in welfare, South Korean immigrant tried to maintain the social identity as positive impact of cultural reason. Last is group thread in status, Min Soo tried to maintain the traditional values of South Korean while naming both of her sons and also avoid them form bullying while they are schooling in American circumstance.

Second, direct contact that change the statement “family is destiny” through the gaining welfare (economic). Dae Hyun can change that statement after he got loan from his cousins and welfare rewarded. Third is indirect contact, the defense of traditional values toward South Korean distributor only distribute to South Korea retailers and exaggeration of cultural differences through the U.S. regulation who seen South Korean competence in wigs and black hair care business rather than China. The last, individual hostility, the perception of individual about what it believe truth couldn’t change by anyone. As well as Min Soo perspective about Charlie did, she thought as

kicked-out from Harvard not seen as off-school. And the way of both her sons must be doctor, it can change by anyone.

The last question about the causes of racial prejudice, it could answer with three categorizes of racial prejudice. First societal sources, the domination power of America who mad regulation with purpose to disentangle the complex world between cultural reason and economy or political reason. Second is maintaining societal identity, the existence of South Korean wigs in African-American community, made South Korean distributors only distribute the product to South Korean retailers to maintain the originality of the product. And last is scapegoating that will be separated into three.

First blaming dominant group, the China see the U.S. government regulation as political reason with South Korean. Second is economic competition, that made Dae Hyun seen American is land of opportunity what he did, his children will get more than him. Last, childhood experience, Dae Hyun always denial when his past as the reason of he did to his sons become doctor. He uses fiercely love of father to protect his sons, to hide his intention.

So, it can conclude that the based reason of racial prejudice happen to Dae Hyun and Min Soo as Daniel and Charlie parents, as scapegoating was true. Because they're the first generation of Korean immigrant in multicultural country who gaining the individual goals (socioeconomic reasons), make them maintaining the social identity as South Korean (minority group) over the dominant power (the U.S.) who control the status and power. Even if there was cultural reason, the dominant group can't control by out-group. In the end Daniel and Charlie can escape from scapegoating of their parents because they're part of the dominant group.

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