

THE IMPACT OF HEGEMONY ON RACISM IN J. M. COETZEE'S *WAITING FOR THE BARBARIANS*

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini berdiskusi tentang kontribusi hegemoni dalam menyebabkan rasisme di karya J. M. Coetzee berjudul *Waiting for the Barbarians*. Teori yang digunakan dalam analisis adalah hegemoni dan rasisme. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan post-structural yang mengintegrasikan secara objektif untuk melihat textual dan merangkainya kedalam intertextual dari kasus-kasus, fakta dan masalah. Data dari tulisan ini mengambil dari kutipan yang berunsur tindakan hegemoni dan rasisme di novel. Untuk menemukan dampak dari hegemoni terhadap rasisme, seharusnya mengetahui ideology yang dianut oleh masyarakat dengan didasari oleh inisiatif masyarakat. Masalah dari hegemoni seperti kekuatan dari militarisme yang didasari oleh inisiatif masyarakat dengan mendorong terjadinya tindakan rasis yang dipicu oleh kebencian masyarakat terhadap orang-orang barbar. Kebencian itu dipengaruhi tindakan masyarakat secara sukarela yang menyebabkan tindakan *racialisation* dan *discriminasi ras*.

Kata kunci : *hegemony, militarism, racialisation, racial discrimination*

Abstract

This research discusses about contribution of hegemony to cause racism in J.M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*. The analysis uses the theory of hegemony and racism. The method of this research is post-structural, which it integrates to objective approach as it intends to see the textual and chain it in inter-textual webs of the cases, facts and problems. For the data, it is taken from the citation of the action of hegemony and racism in the novel. For finding the impact of hegemony on racism, it should see the ideology of people with based by the consent of people. The action of people will refer to the cause of their consent. The problem of hegemony, it is like power of militarism that is based by the consent of people and pushes the happening of racial action which it is trigger by the hatred of people toward barbarians. The hatred of people influences their action with consent which it causes happening *racialisation* and *racial discrimination*.

Key word : *hegemony, militarism, racialisation, racial discrimination.*

INTRODUCTION

Talking about South African in post Apartheid era, many things can be discussed with relating in history of African. The African writers try to give describing about history in African through the book. J.M Coetzee is an African Writer who writes about "political, intellectual, aesthetic and philosophical" (Eaglestone et al, 1) in his books, and it certain reveal issues in history of African. Some his books describe South African, "in J. M. Coetzee's work has been found evidence that his work relate in South African, the books are *In the Heart of the Country* (1977), *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980), and *Disgrace* (1999)" (Brink, 12). Coetzee give his contribute for South African through his books. Historical of African become main idea for African Writer write the books, which it show care of the problematic of African in history.

Waiting for the Barbarians is the second novel of J.M Coetzee, which it is published in 1983. This novel gives describing about violence in post-colonial, and it causes action of racism between group majority and minority. Barbarians are as group minority lived in Empire with getting violence in their body and physic. The different between Barbarians and ordinary people is significant. Indigenous people looks the Barbarians are bad from their body and habit. It gives occupation people give pressure and attempts to avoid them when meet. Action of indigenous people toward barbarians include in racism. The different race causes the barbarians receive racism and are avoid from them.

Aime Caisaire (1955), claimed that between colonizer and colonized there is no human contact, but relation of domination and submission which turn the colonizing man into a classroom monitor,

an army sergeant, a prison guard, a slave driver, and the indigenous man into an instrument of production (Bertens, 2001: 206).

Colonialism always relates with colonized and colonizer. People who become colonized, their life is full of violence, discrimination, and also racism. Domination from colonizer makes them give up for against their power. In the novel, the power of colonialism gives space for the people especially the soldier. They capture and enter the barbarians in jail. Barbarians get bad service during live in jail which they sleep in small room that smell and dirty.

"Like the colonial system which creates both the colonizer and the colonized as two protagonists involved in the colonial drama, torture produces the victim and the perpetrator" (Sartre, 2005). The produce of torture is in society from colonialism. Colonizer and colonized become beginning of colonialism which it gives effect in community. The effect of colonialism give colonizer showing violence with torture colonized. The victim of torture receives all actions done by colonizer. Barbarians become victim of torture which they receive it during live in jail. Jail becomes bad place for person because the place is very bad and dirty. Moreover, jail in Empire is small and also smells. The place does not suitable lived by person.

In Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* have the indication of racism experienced by minority group in Empire which the Barbarians become group minority is described by Coetzee in his novel with getting action of racism done by majority group. The racism refers to the habit of the barbarians that is different with them. The attitude of Barbarians is not acceptable by the people which it makes them expelled in the Empire. There is the action of majority group to do racism to the Barbarians. Barbarians do not have power to defend their self toward action of majority group in Empire.

Barbarians become the victim of racism in a place where their group is minority and different with another group of people. Appearing of racism's action is caused by different of group which they are more dominant with other. The dominant influences them to show their power in society. The Barbarians as minority in Empire must concede with majority group that dominant in that place. The power of barbarians is weaker than them and it is difficult to resist their action. The barbarians must obey all demands of them. Barbarians have the base position in society. It is caused by their habit that is bad in society. The people value that the barbarians have bad action

and attitude and it gives influences toward their position in society.

The majority group has the power to be dominator and the minority becomes to be follower. Barbarians gets pressure toward the action of majority group that capture every of them with the purpose to save the settlement. That action is the part of hegemony appearing to society because of the domination.

Hegemony, therefore, is more than the simple domination implied when it is equated with empire or, as in other conventional accounts, when it is seen simply as the identity of a dominant state without inquiring into the nature of that identity and how it affects that state's relationships with others. (Agnew, 2005:1)

The system of Empire in *Waiting for the Barbarians* gives occasion to people as majority group to do domination in that place with capturing barbarians as minority. Power showed by the people to lose the barbarians with pressure and close space them to against the hegemony of them. The identity of them gives effect to the barbarians to live in Empire. Relation between majority and minority become wide apart and difficult to live gathering in one place. There is the feeling for keep their place from danger in outside. Hegemony of them gives negative impact to barbarians which they must receive against from the people and get discrimination. The difficulty is to leave action discrimination especially in race, because there is the different race between barbarians and indigenous people.

This research will use theory of hegemony and racism as approach for understanding the domination of majority group and the action of racism experienced by minority group in J.M Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*. For the minority group is known as Barbarians and also as the victim of racism, for the Empire people as majority group that act as the suspect of racism. Relation of them becomes the point of this research to understanding the issue of hegemony and racism. So, this research will analyze the relationship of hegemony to contribute on racism in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*.

Research Methods

For analysis literary work, it must need method which it has technique and approach. The method uses post-structural, which it should be integrated to objective approach as it intends to see something textual and chain it in inter-textual webs of the cases, facts and problems. The technique to

analysis this data is interpretation. The data is taken based on the proposed problems. Therefore, the descriptive data to operate the analysis of this study and to connect it with the used theoretical approach can be elaborated.

Result and Discussion

Hegemony becomes part of society with having influence to change people life. Many things for talking about hegemony, it is as like domination, ideology, military, and leadership. Those of them always relate with social life in human being. Such as the novel of *Waiting for the Barbarians*, which it explain there is action of hegemony with appearing the issues of domination, ideology, military, and leadership. Giving describing of the arising of hegemony in society with some problem is explained by the Coetzee. Two topics for describing hegemony clearly with explain how to that depicted in the novel, those topics are the power of ideology and the spontaneous consent.

Power of Ideology

The novel of Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* has ideology where it is used by the government of Empire as power to arrange the society. The government tries to increase sympathy of the people with giving the state of ideology to them. Using the power of ideology is very effective to get public sympathy, because people are easier to believe it if there is incident that supports their ideology. Such as in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, Coetzee explains there is ideology that appears and influences the relationship of people with starting by incident that support the ideology. Power of ideology gives influence to society where the government is easier to arrange the people and Empire. The ideology that appears in the novel is known as militarism.

Militarism refers to use the power of military for applying the ideology in public. In Gramsci's hegemony, the power does not use the coercive to apply the ideology, but it is more focus to the consent of people. Consent of people becomes the main factor happening hegemony. In the novel, appearing ideology of militarism is begun from the action of military within keeping the nation. That action exactly is based by the consent of soldiers. It is because there is the factor that makes the consent of soldier appearing. It is the propaganda of Barbarians action as criminal. It is made by the government as ruler of the Empire. Because of the propaganda, every action of military relates with the barbarians will be more focus to the consent than the coercive. It is caused by the hatred of military toward the group of barbarians because of the appearing of propaganda.

In the novel, the ideology of militarism is applied by the government of Empire for arrange the national security. Action of military often arises and has influence in society. Some action of military that happen in the novel are capturing foreign people, clear the problem of robbery, using act of interrogation, investigation the area of the barbarians. The first is the capturing of foreign people based with incident of robbery in the town. Using power of military, the government focus to clear the crime in the town and capturing the candidate criminal become the solution to restrain the crime happing again. "One is an old man, the other a boy. "They were taken a few days ago," I say. "There was a raid not twenty miles from here. That is unusual. Normally they keep well away from the fort"(Coetzee, 6). Two people are captured by soldiers because the soldiers think that those people as criminal. Why those people are thought as criminal by military? The causing is the military think that all criminals in Empire coming from group of Barbarians. It happens because of the propaganda about barbarians that spread in military. That people have similarity toward barbarians. So the consent of soldiers has initiative to take them as prisoner. *But last year stories began to reach us from the capital of unrest among the barbarians. Traders travelling safe routes had been attacked and plundered. Stock thefts had increased in scale and audacity* (Coetzee, 13). Every case of the crime, the suspect will be given to group of barbarians. It makes the barbarians to be black coat to clear the problem of crime in Empire.

It is like the incident of robbery experienced by traders because of the group of barbarians who unrest. Actually the barbarians do not do action of robbery, but the military feel the existence of barbarians is danger for the Empire. "The barbarian tribes were arming, the rumour went; the Empire should take precautionary measures, for there would certainly be war" (Coetzee, 12). Barbarians become threat for the Empire because they can act to against the Empire. The War between Empire and Barbarians becomes the problem of the Empire, especially the government and military. The government certainly does not want their territory attacked by barbarians, and the military also as the central of nation's security of Empire must keep it from attacking enemy. With focus to clear the crime and tribe of barbarians, the government use barbarians as black coat to clear two problems. The problem of crime and tribe of barbarians will be cleared with one action. It is capturing the member of barbarians.

Face the problem of barbarians, the propaganda is made by the government useful to influence the people and military. The propaganda is used for down the barbarians with spread the rumor in society to against group of the barbarians.

Because of propaganda that is spread by government to people and military, the people feel afraid to traveling to another town and make them to use power of military as guard for their travels. "Traders who requested them were given military escorts" (Coetzee, 14). Helping people to travel in another town become one of military's duty to protect the people. Beside that it can be benefit by the military to take another barbarian in journey.

Decision to capture the barbarians who overcome town in Area of Empire with using the power of military is good ways. It is decrease the case of crime in the Empire, like two people who are captured because is suspicious as criminal. Influence of the power of military is big in society, which it can be used by people as guard. Existence of military is the most important in the Empire because the action of military purposes to security the nation. The military also has duty to against barbarians and criminals, and keep the Empire of attacking enemy.

The fact about Barbarians and criminal is different, because the barbarians have no power to against the Empire. The mass of the Empire is bigger than the barbarians. They have no knowledge to against the Empire. The life of barbarians is used for survive and keep their group from hunger. The criminal has knowledge to against the Empire, it is because they brave stolen the wealth of the people in the town. For reason that the barbarians attack the Empire is nope and the government use criminal as reason to against barbarians. So government can take criminal and barbarians.

Action of military for capture those people do not have evidence. It is only seen from the personality of the people. In additional, the power of military gets support from government with give the permission to take the barbarians. So, the soldier has right for acting as capturer toward the suspicious person with purpose increase the security of the town. For the law of the Empire, the suspect must be interrogated by the military for getting the information of the suspect. Action of interrogation is used for getting evidence from suspect before receive punishment. Interrogation becomes system in military for getting the information of the suspect. The military do not use their power to punish every people who is captured, the military also must follow the valid role.

"History shows that interrogation during a war has taken the route of torture and killings to elicit information from suspects. Currently, a number of nations still use this method to wring confessions from those unfortunate enough to be

perceived as suspects," (Zulawski and Wicklander, 2002).

Action of interrogation has some ways to get information from the suspect. For getting the information, the military use bad method as like torturing and killing the suspect. But that method is only used by the military when they are difficult to get information from prisoner.

"Father, do you see this gentleman? This gentleman is visiting us from the capital. He visits all the forts along the frontier. His work is to find out the truth. That is all he does. He finds out the truth. If you do not speak to me you will have to speak to him. Do you understand?" (Coetzee, 7).

"*This gentleman*" is as the interrogator who uses the bad method to find the truth. During the suspects speak truth to the first interrogator, they will safe from torturing. It is because the first interrogator does not use bad method to suspects. For the military, the truth of the suspect is the most important thing to be known them because they can know the next steps that is taken them to follow up the suspect. In addition, the government also needs information about incident of stock raid in the town, because the incident causes the people loss their property. If the incident is not as soon as cleared quickly, another incident will happen again. So to evade the new incident, the government must get the information about the criminal.

"Listen," I say. "They tell me you have made a confession. They say you have admitted that you and the old man and other men from your clan have stolen sheep and horses. You have said that the men of your clan are arming themselves, that in the spring you are all going to join in a great war on the Empire. Are you telling the truth? Do you understand what this confession of yours will mean? Do you understand?" (Coetzee, 16).

During interrogation section, the suspects admit their crime with taking sheep and horses in town. Because of their crime, the suspects receive punishment from the military with becoming to the prisons of the Empire. The government also gets information about the group of suspect who will join in the war against Empire in spring. That information is useful, because the government can prepare to face the war. In addition, the government uses the power of military to find the place of barbarian with interrogation before the war happen.

In the novel of Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*, ideology of Empire is militarism. The evidence of that ideology is action of military that dominant in novel. It is capturing people as like criminal and barbarians using military, using interrogation system as ways to getting the information from the prisons, using prisoner as helper to finding the more barbarians. Coetzee use investigating as the way to finding the place of barbarians. All of them are the ways done by military, and it shows that the Empire use militarism as ideology for arrange the society. Power of militarism is really be part of Empire and it influences the people and society. In additional, every action of military is based by their consent.

Spontaneous Consent

The consent of people is influenced by ideology. Its influence gives big impact in society. It is like influence the ideology of militarism in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*. Power of military is used by government to arrange the Empire, even though their power refers to help the security of nation. Power of military really is needed for run the Empire. It is because the piece of people can be achieved when the security's nation ensures their life in the country. It means that people can live freedom with high security level, and people follow the role of the country.

Propaganda gives big impact toward people. It is the people easily believe toward the issue that still is not proved the truth. It is like propaganda toward issue of barbarians. In the novel, the issue of propaganda gives bad impact toward barbarians, because their existence thought as dangerous by Empire's people. People really evade contact with barbarians.

For the military, the soldier give their consent for capturing the barbarians when do their job, it is like guard and patrol. During do their duty as guard or patrol the town, the soldier will give more focus toward group of barbarians. When see the foreign people who has similar toward barbarians, the soldier take directly and enter them in jail. So, for the case of capturing the foreign people is done by soldier actually it is their consent for save their place. Even though their job actually to keep the people, but for capturing the barbarians, the soldier is more using their consent than the coercive of the job.

Another action is the consent of soldier is when the soldiers are interrogating the prisoners. It is done in midnight and their action toward the prisoner is very bad. The soldier is to do the action of torturing for getting the information from the prisoners. But their ways is to get the truth is bad, they do torturing with voice of the prisoner heard in around jail.

"Sometimes there was screaming, I think they beat her, but I was not there. When I came off duty I would go away" (Coetzee, 51). Actually, that action is forbidden by the law of Empire. It is shown by the Magistrate that is being angry toward soldier because of the bad condition from the prisoners. *"The boy's face is puffy and bruised, one eye is swollen shut. I squat down before him and pat his cheek....." "He is pretending," says the guard. "He understands." "Who beat him?" I ask"* (Coetzee, 6). This reaction shows that the role of Empire really forbidden there is the action of torturing in Empire. But, the action of soldier is like torturing in jail to be their habit, and the victim of their action is prisoners. Even though it is forbidden, the soldiers show their consent within act of torturing the prisoner because they are the barbarians. So, action of torturing during in jail becoming habit of the soldier and exactly, it is done by them with their consent.

"But the Colonel is impatient. His plan is to launch a swift raid on the nomads and take more prisoners. He wants the boy along as a guide. He asks me to release thirty of the garrison of forty to him and to provide mounts," (Coetzee, 17).

It is the Consent of soldier to get more barbarians in expedition. Actually it is begun by the Consent of colonel for his ambition within taking the more barbarians. For this consent, Colonel acts as the leader of soldier. As the leader, the Colonel has the great ambition and it will give benefit toward Empire. Getting more barbarians and giving warning toward barbarians for avoid area of Empire. Even though the status of Colonel in novel as military guest for his professional job as interrogator. But, it changes because of his high ambition. The Colonel makes a journey to get new prisoners in around town. Because his position as Colonel is high in military, indirect, he has power to run his plan. Except of his consent, he also has power to achieve his goal within getting more barbarians. If he has no high position in military, his plan is difficult to be achieved. His power gives support to get his goal. It is the consent of Colonel within getting more barbarians.

Consent of people because influence of militarism is dislike people toward barbarians. The prejudice is made by the government to influence the thinking of Empire's people. It is barbarians as criminals, and forbidden of the barbarians live in the Empire's town. Because of it, the people do not like the barbarians. In addition, the bad condition of the barbarians gives additional impact for the people dislike the barbarians. The view of the people always thinks that the barbarians are bad.

Power of ideology gives impact toward society with give real reason toward people. The reason make people hate barbarians is successful. The

consent of people for hating barbarians is to be good condition for military. The military can do anything to against barbarians, including the barbarians live in the town. Ignorance people make power of military increase because there is no complaint of actions done by them toward barbarians.

Consent of military toward barbarians exists because of the power of military. Ignorance of people and government toward condition of barbarians make the military is has more power to oppression the barbarians. Bad action is like torture in jail toward barbarians often happen. That condition gives reason that the consent of military happen in the town. Death of barbarians is not important and thought that incident is normal in Empire.

Hegemony Causing the Racism

Issue of racism appears because there is the problem of race in society. The problem has causes to know the racism in human being, it is hegemony. Explaining about hegemony always appears the problem of power. It is the power of domination which it can relate with some another issue as like ideology, relationship, and military. Influence hegemony to relate the racism has small gaps to know the real of society. Such as in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the hegemony show impact to society with conflict is reality complicated. It is because there is the ideology that becomes the main involves to spreading the hegemony. The ideology of Empire exactly relate with defending of the territory which it refer to militarism.

Power of military gives influence toward nation, including the nation's security. People also depend on the power of military to keep them from any danger. It is the enemy and the criminal. In novel, the criminal is known as barbarians. People feel afraid for meeting barbarians. It is because the barbarians as criminal and dangerous people. Existence of military is needed by the people because the military can make them feeling of save for living in Empire.

Protect of the nation and give peace of life to people, it is the duty of military. But, there is a bit problem for the action of militarism. It is the appearing issue of racism in society. Action racism is difficult to evade because the victim actually the enemy of suspect. The suspect has bigger population with good education and social than the victim. There are great gaps to suspect and victim. For explain there is the action of the racism with power hegemony in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*. It is racialization and racial discrimination.

Racialization

Happening racialisation in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* is caused by consent of Empire's people to against barbarians. Even though the beginning of consent of people is influence from propaganda that is spread by government in public. It is bad action of barbarians such as robbery and stolen. It also makes them is known as criminals. Another side, afraid from the government within faces the problem of barbarians that does not leave the area of Empire, causes appearing propaganda to destroy their existence in Empire. Because of the propaganda, the people indirect hate barbarians and make conflict between both of them to be complicated.

The act of racialisation is begun from capturing foreign people who is known as barbarians. It is done by the soldiers as security of the Empire. This action becomes daily job for the military within against the barbarians. The power of military becomes the centre of Empire's ways within clear the problem of barbarians. For the power, the military is use coercive way to capture the barbarians. *"One is an old man, the other a boy. They were taken a few days ago," I say. There was a raid not twenty miles from here. That is unusual. Normally they keep well away from the fort"* (Coetzee, 6). So, the barbarian is forced to follow the order of military. But, that action is also based with the consent of soldiers within against barbarians. For another side, the military is to be the victim of propaganda that is made by government as politic ways. It is to clear the problem of barbarians which their existence can give influence toward government.

Another racial action done by military is violence. The victim is prisons which they are barbarians. Because of barbarians, the action violence like torturing is difficult to be evaded in jail. The jail is good place to do torturing which there is no people that disturb their action. *"The two prisoners lie bound on the floor. The smell comes from them, a smell of old urine"* (Coetzee, 6). The service of the prisoner is really bad. The prisoners are like suffer during live in jail. *"The boy's face is puffy and bruised, one eye is swollen shut"* (Coetzee, 6). The condition of the prisoner have gotten torture by the guard and get puffy, bruised, and swollen shut in one of his eye. Torture occurs to them is over action, even though it is not from action of interrogation. Although it occurs from result of interrogation, but that condition is not like that, because it is over action. Action torturing in jail is the consent of soldier that is used to release their hate toward barbarians.

Calling animal toward barbarians is another racism experienced by them in Empire. *"People will say I keep two wild animals in my rooms, a fox and a girl"* (Coetzee, 48). That girl is a human, known as the barbarian and the fox is an animal.

Both of them are different race. It is because Barbarians are a human, not an animal. Calling animal to a human becomes very bad. Human and animal have different race, there is something that make both of them is not same. It is intelligence. Human have intelligence for thinking. It makes the human is smart and think within do something, such as working, social and study. The animal does not have intelligence like human, their action only use instinct. If people are called animal, actually they become the worse of human race. The racial calling animal is not humanity and influence toward social is bigger, because most of the people think as like that. So, people use word "animal" to humiliate the barbarians and their words is done with consent.

In additional, the consent of people to calling animal refers to the bad condition of the barbarians especially their skin. *"Under the coat she wears wide linen drawers tucked into heavy-soled boots. She smells of smoke, of stale clothing, of fish. Her hands are horny"* (Coetzee, 37). The dirty skin and bad smell cause people calling animal. Their body is similar with the animal that is dirty and smell. Bad body is had by barbarians also adding criteria of the people to call them as animal. All of that are different with people who have good skin and wealth body. The different skin between people and barbarians cause the act of racialisation appearing.

The other racism is the forbidden area to be lived by barbarians. *"Do you make a living by begging?" I ask. "You know you are not supposed to be in town. We could expel you at any time and send you back to your people"* (Coetzee, 37). The forbidden area purposes to evade the contact between people and the barbarians. Because people hate them and afraid toward the bad action of barbarians, can make another problem in Empire. So, it is more effective to forbid them live in Empire. The hatred of people is influenced by propaganda that is made by government to pressure the activity of barbarians in Empire area. It is really success making the people hating them.

For the hatred of people, it makes another racial action like humiliate and ignorant toward barbarians. So, the action of humiliate toward barbarians are effect of propaganda that make people act racial with their consent. The other act is like ignorant toward barbarians, and it is more refer that their existence is not thought by Empire's people. Even though the people know that the barbarians are sick, bruised, and bad smell, they are still careless. So, action racism like humiliate and ignorant toward race of barbarians is really happening and it is done with consent.

The victim of racial action also is received by the Empire people with the condition that they have relation by the barbarians. The Main Character, Magistrate has relationship with barbarians because he has met group of barbarians in their home. The meeting is not reported to the government, that the Magistrate receives punishment because of their mistake.

"It is the same room in the barracks that they used for their interrogations last year. I stand by while the mats and rolls of the soldiers who have been sleeping here are dragged out and piled at the door" (Coetzee, 106).

The mistake as Empire people with contact the enemy secretly causes that people entering the jail. Even though that people work as Magistrate in town, he even take the responsibility. Actually the power of Magistrate is high position in town, but there are people who have higher position than him and his power is weaker than those people. Because of contact with group barbarians the Magistrate getting same action like a barbarian. So, every people who have relation in outer place with barbarians, they will get punishment like gotten by barbarians' prison in the Empire.

Action of racialisation is influenced by the propaganda that makes the Empire's people hate the barbarians. This hatred gives impact toward barbarians which the people act of racialisation with consent toward barbarians that live in Empire. It is capturing barbarians because they are thought as criminals, forbidden living for barbarians, excommunicate during live in Empire, and capturing the people who have relation with barbarians in out of Empire. All of that is the action of racialisation that happens in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*.

Racial Discrimination

This issue is similar with racialisation but it is more focus in discrimination. Action discrimination relates with race and become the problem of social life in society. In Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the issue of racial discrimination appears because there is action of discrimination toward barbarians. This issue is begun with power of ideology that gives push toward people to consent their action. It is like racialisation, the propaganda also become the first factor happening racial discrimination. Influence of propaganda gives reason for people to discriminate the barbarians that are thought as criminal. Criminal or barbarians is same people which it is believed by Empire people. In the novel, all barbarians are not criminal, because the life of barbarians live in mountain and it is relative

away from Empire. The area of barbarians is difficult to find and the seldom of barbarians contact with Empire people. Even though there are some barbarians that live in near Empire, and live as criminals. Because of that, the Empire gives warning toward their people to evade the barbarians and make the propaganda that the barbarians are as criminals.

The power of people actually is powerful to pressure the activity of barbarians and their goal to chase away them from Empire to can be achieved. But, it is more refer to indicate action of discrimination. The example of the victim of racial discrimination is the woman barbarian which is known having bad condition, but the soldier bring her as prisoner.

The next day she is not there. I speak to the gatekeeper: "There was a woman sitting over there all of yesterday, begging. Where does she come from?" The woman is blind, he replies. She is one of the barbarians the Colonel brought in. (Coetzee, 36)

The woman barbarian becomes victim of racial discriminations done by soldier because she is a barbarian. If she is not a barbarian, exactly the capturing never happens toward her. Capturing action only focus toward barbarians, even though they do not do a crime. So, during they are known as barbarians, they are captured and are entered in jail. It happens in out of town in Empire, so the soldier capture in another place like road or forest. Life of barbarians should have the freedom of problem, they must receive action like coercive.

The freedom of barbarians also is limited to live in town. They must work during living in town. It is because the role of the Empire forbidding the barbarians freedom. Barbarian must live in the town as prison and worker, but it is if there are people interesting to recruit them become worker. The work is related to be servant and sometimes the barbarians get work as slave. The bad life of barbarians in the town become their life as victim of racial discrimination, because their freedom is limited and attitude is received from the Empire people is really bad. The calling as bad people become habit and their position in social is lowest.

The victim of racial discrimination also is received by the Empire people with the condition that they have relation by the barbarians. The Main Character, Magistrate has relationship with barbarians because he has met group of barbarians in their home. The meeting is not reported to the government, that the Magistrate receives punishment because of their mistake.

It is the same room in the barracks that they used for their interrogations last year. I stand by while the mats and rolls of the soldiers who have been sleeping here are dragged out and piled at the door" (Coetzee. 106).

The mistake as Empire people with contact the enemy secretly causes that people entering the jail. Even though that people work as Magistrate in town, he even take the responsibility. Actually the power of Magistrate is high position in town, but there are people who have higher position than him and his power is weaker than those people. Because of contact with group barbarians the Magistrate getting same action like a barbarian. So, every people who have relation in outer place with barbarians, they will get punishment like gotten by barbarians' prison in the Empire.

The other racism is the forbidden area to be lived by barbarians. *"Do you make a living by begging?" I ask. "You know you are not supposed to be in town. We could expel you at any time and send you back to your people" (Coetzee, 37).* The forbidden area purposes to evade the contact between people and the barbarians. Because people hate them and afraid toward the bad action of barbarians, can make another problem in Empire. So, it is more effective to forbid them live in Empire. The hatred of people is influenced by propaganda that is made by government to pressure the activity of barbarians in Empire area. It is really success making the people hating them.

Action of racial discrimination is influenced by the propaganda that makes the Empire's people hate the barbarians. This hatred gives impact toward barbarians which the people act discrimination with consent toward barbarians that live in Empire. It is capturing barbarians even though they are women, forbidden living for barbarians, excommunicate during live in Empire, and capturing the people who have relation with barbarians in out of Empire. All of that is the action of racial discrimination that happens in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*.

Conclusion

Issue hegemony really appears in the novel Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*. It is looked from action of people especially Empire's people. Ideology of militarism becomes the main factor within shape hegemony in the novel. Using military within arrange society especially nation's security is to be power to clear the problem of security. Power of military gives influence toward society. It is capturing the criminal that disturb life of the people. People can save toward action of

criminals that make them loss out because of lost of their wealth.

Action of military gives positive impact to society, but it gives negative impact toward group of barbarians. Because of the crime, the Empire accuses all actions it is done by barbarians. The barbarians become the criminals in view of Empire's people. Capturing the criminal, the military also take group of barbarians, even though they do not do anything in Empire. Power of militarism make the group of barbarians cannot deny or refuse within capturing done by the military. It is caused by the position of barbarians is weak in Empire. Capturing of barbarians is also done with order of investigation, military can search place of barbarians in out of town. The military also use interrogating system for getting the real information from the prisoners. Prisoners in Empire are the group of Barbarians that is captured by military, it include the barbarians that is taken from journey of investigation. All action of military in Empire prove that the Empire using power of militarism within arrange the country and society.

Spontaneous consent also happens in the novel. It is caused by the hatred of people that is indicated to group of barbarians. Hatred of people is begun from the propaganda that is made by government to pressure the act of barbarians with helping the people and military. Especially military give helping with capturing the barbarians, interrogate them for getting information, and save the nation of criminals. Because of the action of military that uses the interrogation system to get change torturing the prison. For torturing prison, the soldier uses their consent to release their hatred to them. So, every action of soldier especially has relation with barbarians, they exactly use their consent to act.

Another issue happen in novel is racism. That is issue really happen in Empire. The racism also happens because there is the propaganda that supports the people and military within action of racialisation and discrimination. Action of racialisation in the novel is like the argument of people that say the barbarians as animal, action of Empire people do not care toward the group of barbarians, even though they know the condition of barbarians is very bad. It happens because consent of soldier is to do action of torturing toward them.

Problem of racism in Empire give bad impact toward barbarians. Their existence becomes threat for Empire and action of military that capturing every barbarian that is saw by them. It makes issue of racism really happen in the novel. Like action discrimination that make barbarians become

prisoners in the empire and it is caused by action of crime that is done by criminal. But the Empire thinks that it is done by group of barbarian. So, effect of it, the barbarians becomes enemy of the Empire and excommunicate in Empire. The role of the Empire also forbid the barbarians live in town, they must live as prisoner or work as slave and weathers in there. Life of barbarians is full of racism from action of military and people. Action of racism is really happen between barbarians as victim and military and people as suspect. All of the actions are done by the consent of them.

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