

Resistance to Abuse of Power in The Novel *Tanah Para Bandit* by Tere Liye

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ABSTRACT: This study analyzes the representation of resistance to the abuse of power in the novel *Tanah Para Bandit* by Tere Liye through Antonio Gramsci's hegemony theory framework. The novel depicts complex social dynamics, where economic, political and legal power is used by the ruling elite to perpetuate their domination over the small community. The abuse of power is seen through legal manipulation, control over natural resources, and exploitation of the state apparatus. In response, the subordinate group led by Padma performs strategic resistance involving survival skills, technology, and physical action. In this analysis, resistance is not only defined as direct confrontation but also as an effort to build critical awareness of the hegemonic system. This research shows that through counter-hegemonic narratives, *Tanah Para Bandit* functions as a social critique that exposes systemic injustice, while offering a model of resistance to corrupt power. This conclusion reinforces the relevance of Gramsci's theory in understanding the relationship between power, ideology and resistance in the Indonesian social and cultural context.

KEYWORDS: Resistance, Abuse of Power, Ruler, Hegemony, Antonio Gramsci.

I. INTRODUCTION

Literature is a form of cultural expression that is not only a medium of entertainment, but also has social, political, and educational functions. As a reflection of reality, literary works often reflect various social dynamics, including power imbalances and the struggles of oppressed communities (Wellek & Warren through Febriani, 2024). Literature is able to reveal issues rooted in social and cultural structures through narratives and characters created by authors. Apart from being entertainment, literary works play an important role in inviting readers to think more critically about the social and political conditions around them. Literary works not only describe the existing world, but also offer criticism of the existing system. In many cases, literature serves as a tool to explore social injustice and inequality, and to voice resistance to oppressive power. Literature provides a space to depict human life in all its complexity, exposing tensions between dominant and marginalized groups, and showing how these conflicts affect individuals and groups in society. As such, literature functions as a tool for understanding the world and as a means for social change (Abrams, 2012).

The concept of literature and its function in society has evolved throughout history. As a powerful medium, literature not only serves to document life, but also has the power to influence the way readers view and understand social issues. The social function of literature is reflected in its ability to speak out against injustice and give voice to the marginalized. In many literary traditions, great works are often written as a form of protest against injustice or as a means to raise people's awareness about social conditions that require change. This is also seen in Indonesian literature, where many writers use their work as a means of critiquing the existing system, whether in a social, political or economic context. In Indonesia, many writers use literature to criticize unjust social systems. Through symbolism, characters, and meaningful narratives, literature is able to dismantle dominant ideologies that are often passively accepted by society. Literature serves to show how dominant ideologies-whether political, economic, or cultural-can shape the way people think and organize existing power relations. Literature thus becomes a vehicle to voice resistance and invite readers to reflect on their social circumstances.

For example, Tere Liye in his novel *Tanah Para Bandit* (2016) clearly illustrates how social injustice and power domination are reflected in the existing social structure. The novel is about inequality of power and natural resources, where a few people or groups control and exploit nature and society. In *Tanah Para Bandit*, Liye illustrates how the hegemonic system works in everyday life, namely how the ruling group not only controls physical power, but also influences people's thoughts and beliefs to accept the injustice as natural. In this novel, the ideology used by the ruling group to maintain their dominance is also the main focus, where subordinate groups often do not realize that they live in a system that oppresses them.

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Through the use of symbolism and characters depicting various social strata, Tere Liye manages to expose structured social injustice and highlight how this system is maintained through ideologies that are accepted without question by many. *Tanah Para Bandit* serves not only as an entertaining work of literature, but also as a critique of an unjust system and as a reflection on the way power works in shaping people's worldviews. As such, literary works like this show that literature has a much greater function than mere entertainment; it is a tool to reveal often hidden social realities and to give voice to the voices of the oppressed. In addition, theories related to the analysis of power and ideology, such as Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, can also be used to understand how literature such as *Tanah Para Bandit* depicts the relationship between the powerful and the subordinate. Gramsci through Dani (2023) explains that hegemony is not only produced through physical force or violence, but also through control over the ideologies accepted by society. In this context, literature serves to reveal how dominant ideologies are maintained and reinforced, and how people can develop awareness to fight injustice through the process of resistance or counter-hegemony.

Thus, literature, as a form of cultural expression, has great potential to play an important role in shaping social and political consciousness. Through narratives that expose injustice and voice resistance to domination, literature can be a means to change the way people view the world, and encourage more just and equitable social change. As a work that serves not only to entertain but also to educate and criticize, literature has the capacity to inspire readers to become more aware of the injustices around them, and to take part in resistance against oppressive systems. Antonio Gramsci through Dani (2023) developed the concept of hegemony as a more complex form of domination that does not rely solely on physical force or coercion. In his view, hegemony refers to the way ruling groups maintain their control over society by shaping and controlling widely accepted ideologies. For Gramsci, hegemony does not only mean political or military domination, but also domination in the cultural and ideological realms, which makes subordinate societies voluntarily accept the existing social order as natural and unchangeable.

Gramsci emphasized that hegemony involves a consensus formed by the dominant group through deep social and cultural processes. Weaker, or subordinate, groups accept the ideology and values inculcated by the ruling group without question or resistance. This consensus is formed through the influence of social institutions that play a major role in people's lives, such as the family, schools, media and religious institutions. These institutions play a crucial role in maintaining and propagating values that support the dominance of the ruling group. In this way, the dominant ideology is effectively maintained in society and regarded as unchangeable, despite the fact that it often benefits the ruling party and harms subordinate groups (Febriani, 2024). However, in Gramsci's view, domination or hegemony is never completely stable. Although the ruling group may succeed in controlling the ideology of society for a while, there is always the potential for resistance from subordinate groups who begin to realize the injustice in the existing system. This resistance is not only limited to physical conflict or revolution, but also includes ideological resistance that aims to replace the dominant ideology with a more just and equal alternative ideology. Gramsci called this process "counter-hegemony," in which subordinate groups begin to build a critical awareness of the system that oppresses them and seek ways to change the unjust social order. This ideological resistance is an important part of a broader process of social transformation, where critical consciousness becomes a major force in overthrowing the existing order (Mouffe, 2018).

One important aspect of Gramsci's theory of hegemony is his understanding of the important role of intellectuals in creating and spreading alternative ideologies. Gramsci considers that intellectuals, whether from dominant or subordinate groups, have an important role in shaping social consensus. Intellectuals from subordinate groups, which he refers to as "organic intellectuals," play a central role in shaping collective consciousness and developing ideologies that are more critical of the status quo. In this way, organic intellectuals can serve as agents of change who introduce alternative ideologies that favor social justice and liberation from domination (Dani, 2023). In practice, Gramsci's theory of hegemony provides important insights for understanding power dynamics in modern society. In various contexts, this theory can be used to analyze how power and ideology work in society, as well as how subordinate groups can develop critical consciousness to challenge the existing system. It is also highly relevant in analyzing how literature and popular culture can play a role in creating or changing existing ideologies. For example, literary works can be a means of introducing alternative ideologies that criticize power and injustice, as well as raising social consciousness that is essential for more just social change.

Gramsci's theory of hegemony also provides a useful perspective in analyzing existing social structures in society. Through the analysis of dominating ideologies, we can see how the values, norms and worldviews accepted by society often reflect the interests of dominant groups. By understanding the mechanisms of hegemony, we can delve deeper into how power is established and maintained, and how marginalized or oppressed groups can struggle to create change through critical consciousness and alternative ideologies. In Indonesia, for example, hegemony theory is very relevant to understand how political, economic and cultural power works in shaping people's worldviews. In this context, literary works such as Tere Liye's *Tanah Para Bandit* can be analyzed through the lens of Gramsci's hegemony theory, where we can see how the ruling group in the story controls not only political and economic power, but also the ideology of society, by making social injustice accepted as normal. The process of

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resistance, which occurs in the story, reflects how a critical awareness of injustice can develop and replace the dominant ideology with a more just alternative ideology.

Abuse of power is a form of domination that undermines social structures, often rooted in the injustices that occur in society. Foucault through Irwan (2023) explains that power does not only operate through physical coercion, but also through knowledge production and ideological control. In the Indonesian context, the phenomenon of power abuse is often related to a non-transparent system and a culture of corruption. Elites use their power to maintain their personal interests, while marginalized groups remain in a cycle of injustice (Hadiz, 2017). This is evident in Tere Liye's *Tanah Para Bandit*, where powerful characters exploit natural resources, especially land, for their personal interests, while marginalized small communities struggle to survive. The concept of hegemony proposed by Antonio Gramsci through Febriani (2024) also provides important insights to understand how domination occurs. Gramsci emphasized that the domination of the ruling group does not only take place through physical force, but also through ideological control that is passively accepted by society.

This process occurs through various social institutions, such as the family, education and the media, which shape people's thinking to accept the existing social order as natural and unchangeable (Febriani, 2024). In addition, the abuse of power can also be exacerbated by structural injustices that occur in natural resource management, further deepening social and economic inequality. Klein (2022) in *On Fire* states that the exploitation of natural resources in the context of social injustice worsens the condition of already marginalized communities, and this is very relevant to the situation depicted in the novel *Tanah Para Bandit*. As such, literary works such as *Tanah Para Bandit* can serve as a medium to understand and critique oppressive power structures and provide insight into the potential for resistance emerging from subordinate groups. Along with that, Laclau and Mouffe (2020) suggest that hegemony always has an opening for ideological resistance that can bring about changes in a more just and equal social structure.

Resistance as counter-hegemony is one of the important aspects in Gramsci's theory of hegemony. Gramsci emphasized that resistance to the ideological dominance of the ruler does not occur spontaneously, but through a long process and involves the critical consciousness of the subordinate group. In Gramsci's view, this resistance aims to replace the dominant ideology with an alternative ideology that is more just and equitable. This resistance process begins with an awareness of the injustices experienced, which then develops into collective action to challenge the existing social order. In *Tanah Para Bandit*, this is reflected when the characters in the novel begin to realize that the system they have been living in is unfair and oppresses them. This realization becomes the starting point of a counter-hegemonic process that then gives birth to resistance to the dominant power. Resistance in this novel is not only described as a physical struggle, but also as an ideological struggle. This is in line with Simon's through Kamumu (2022) view that ideological resistance is an integral part of social change. This resistance involves the creation of solidarity among subordinate groups, which then produces an alternative discourse capable of challenging the dominant ideology. This process can be seen as an attempt to form a critical consciousness that makes people aware that the existing social order does not have to be taken for granted, and that change is possible through organized ideological resistance.

In addition, Laclau and Mouffe (2020) in their new hegemony theory explain that hegemony is not a static system. Hegemony always has a gap for resistance, and ideological resistance is a way to challenge and replace the existing social order. In the context of *Tanah Para Bandit*, resistance to the injustices depicted does not only take place at the individual level, but also involves the formation of a collective consciousness among the oppressed community. Through this resistance, people begin to explore alternative ideologies that are more inclusive and just, and in doing so, they seek to change the existing power structure. The resistance in this novel also reflects the social dynamics that occur in the wider society. In the Indonesian context, resistance to hegemony can be seen in various social movements that aim to change social and economic inequality. As Klein (2022) writes, in an unjust society, resistance often emerges from previously oppressed groups, and these movements create alternative narratives that challenge the existing hegemony. Therefore, *Tanah Para Bandit* functions not only as a critique of social injustice, but also as a representation of a long process of ideological resistance that has the potential to change social structures in a more just and equitable manner. Thus, resistance as counter-hegemony in *Tanah Para Bandit* reflects the essence of Gramsci's ideological resistance that involves critical consciousness, solidarity, and the creation of alternative discourses to challenge the dominance of the authorities. In this context, the novel functions not only as a literary work, but also as a means to inspire critical thinking and encourage social change towards greater justice.

The study of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony theory has provided an important perspective in understanding the dynamics of power and resistance revealed in literary works. Previous research, such as "Ideological Hegemony in Leila S. Chudori's Novel *Laut Bercerita*" (2024), shows how the ruling group utilizes ideological hegemony to maintain dominance, while the characters in the novel build critical consciousness to fight against an unjust system. This research illustrates how hegemony can be challenged through counter-hegemonic narratives integrated in the storyline and character development. In addition, "Hegemony in Ahmad Tohari's Novel *Kubah*" (2023) discusses the practice of cultural hegemony applied through economic and religious control in rural

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communities. This study reflects how dominant forces use social institutions to perpetuate power, which is relevant to the theme of abuse of power raised in the novel *Tanah Para Bandit*. This approach helps strengthen the analysis of how structures of domination are built through ideological cooperation and material control. Furthermore, the study "Resistance Through Organic Intellectuals in Okky Madasari's *Entrok* Novel" (2022) provides an understanding of the role of organic intellectuals in building a narrative of resistance to hegemonic power. In this study, the characters who act as agents of counter-hegemony reflect an ideological struggle to overcome a corrupt and unjust system. This approach is very relevant to enrich the analysis of how Padma's character in *Tanah Para Bandit* leads the resistance through physical, intellectual and moral strategies. This article aims to analyze how the novel *Tanah Para Bandit* represents the dynamics between domination and resistance within the framework of Gramsci's theory of hegemony. The focus of this analysis includes the way the ruler uses ideology to maintain power, the mechanisms of power abuse that occur, and the process of resistance that develops among subordinate groups. By understanding how hegemony works in this novel, we can see the relevance of Gramsci's theory in understanding the dynamics of power and resistance in real life. Through this approach, it is hoped that it can provide a deeper insight into how literary works not only reflect social reality, but also function as a tool to criticize and challenge existing power structures.

II. METHOD

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach to analyze resistance to the abuse of power in the novel *Tanah Para Bandit* by Tere Liye. The descriptive qualitative approach was chosen because it allows researchers to explore in depth and detail how resistance to the domination of power and dominant ideology is reflected in the novel's narrative. The main focus of this research is to analyze how the abuse of power is depicted in the novel and how the characters respond to the injustice. This analysis will be conducted using Antonio Gramsci's theoretical framework of hegemony, which helps explain how ideological domination works in maintaining the status quo in a society and how resistance to this dominant ideology emerges. The data collection method used in this research is reading and note-taking, which is the main technique in qualitative research. This technique involves in-depth reading of the novel *Tanah Para Bandit* to identify and record relevant quotations relating to the themes of abuse of power and resistance to ideological domination. The reading process is done by focusing on the parts of the story that depict social injustice, abused power, and how the characters in the novel respond to these situations. The researcher will record quotations that highlight the repressive power structure and the resistance strategies used by the characters. By using reading and note-taking techniques, researchers can obtain accurate and relevant data, which will then be analyzed further.

After the data is collected, the next stage is data analysis, which will be conducted by referring to the qualitative data analysis model described by Mils, Huberman, and Saldana (2014). This analysis process consists of several stages, namely: The first stage in the analysis is data reduction, which is the process of filtering and simplifying the data obtained. The data that has been recorded will be selected based on relevance to the research theme, namely resistance to abuse of power. Researchers will select quotes that illustrate the oppressive power structure and how the characters in the novel fight back. This data reduction aims to reduce irrelevant or insignificant data, so that the research focus is maintained on resistance to power and dominant ideology. After the data has been reduced, the next step is data presentation. At this stage, researchers will organize the selected data in the form of descriptive narratives that describe the main themes in the novel. The data will be arranged to show how power and its abuse are manifested in the discourse in the story, as well as how the main character, such as Padma, plays a role in resisting this power. The presentation of the data is done by linking the excerpts in the novel with Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, which explains how the dominance of dominant ideologies and discourses regulates unjust social structures. In this case, the presentation of data will reveal how the existing social structure in the novel illustrates the injustice produced by ideological domination.

The final stage is conclusion drawing, which aims to identify the main findings of this research. At this stage, the researcher will integrate the results of data analysis to answer the research question, namely how resistance to the abuse of power is depicted in the novel *Tanah Para Bandit*. This conclusion will be drawn by referring to Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, which states that the dominant ideology governs the way people think and act. It will also show how the characters in the novel attempt to create an alternative narrative that challenges the oppressive dominant ideology. It will not only focus on the physical aspect of resistance, but also on the ideological dimension, where subordinate groups attempt to change the worldview accepted by society. To ensure the validity of the data and the results of the analysis, this research will use triangulation techniques. Triangulation is a technique used to verify the accuracy and consistency of findings by comparing the results of the novel analysis with theories of hegemony and other critical studies. The researcher will compare the findings obtained from the novel with Gramsci's theory and other studies related to hegemony and ideological resistance, to ensure that the results of the analysis reflect a valid and relevant interpretation. In addition, triangulation can also be done by confirming the findings through opinions from experts in literary studies or social theory, to ensure the validity and reliability of the data.

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This research aims to provide a deeper insight into how the novel *Tanah Para Bandit* depicts resistance to the abuse of power and ideological domination. Through the use of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, this research will analyze how the dominant ideology plays a role in maintaining an unjust social structure, as well as how the characters in the novel create a counter-ideology that challenges that power. This research is expected to enrich critical literary studies with a hegemony theory approach, as well as provide a better understanding of how literature can be used to analyze the dynamics of power and resistance in society.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Forms of Abuse of Power

In the novel *Tanah Para Bandit*, Tere Liye describes how the abuse of power is done through the control of resources by a handful of elites, who seek to maintain their dominance over society. This abuse is reflected in the practice of land tenure and resource exploitation, which not only impacts on economic aspects but also creates structural injustice. The ruling group in the novel uses various mechanisms to legitimize their domination, such as control over the legal system and the discourse of morality. In Gramsci's view, this is a form of hegemony, where the dominant group uses ideology to maintain power, so that injustice appears as something natural to the subordinate society. The legal system in Tere Liye's *Tanah Para Bandit* is used as a tool to perpetuate injustice, where the law favors the ruling group with economic and political power. The law, which is supposed to be a protection mechanism for the weak, becomes a shield for those in power. This is clearly illustrated through the following quote.

"We can organize many things, control all parties. The government, law enforcement officials, and so on. As long as there is money, things go smoothly" (p. 293).

This quote explicitly shows how the legal system and government can be manipulated by the power of money. In the context of the novel, this statement comes from figures who have great power, both economically and politically, who openly admit their ability to control legal and government institutions for personal interests. This illustrates how fragile the existing legal system is, where the power of money can pervert justice and create structural inequalities. Such manipulation reveals that the law no longer functions as a tool to uphold justice, but rather an instrument for dominant groups to strengthen their position. The statement "as long as there is money, things go smoothly" confirms that the law has lost its integrity because it is controlled by the economic interests of elite groups. In Gramsci's view, this is a form of "hegemony through enforced consensus," where the law, which is supposed to be neutral, is integrated into a tool of domination of the ruling ideology.

According to Gramsci, domination does not only take place through physical or military force, but also through institutions that build consensus, such as law, education, and the media. This quote reflects how law is used as a hegemonic tool to establish false legitimacy. By providing the illusion of justice, corrupt laws make ordinary people believe that the system is the only way, despite the fact that they are forced to submit to an unjust power structure. In *Land of the Bandits*, powerful characters, including law enforcement officers, blatantly abuse their position to secure personal gain and perpetuate social inequality. The use of the law to protect illegal businesses such as the marijuana trade shows that law enforcement officers, who are supposed to protect the community, are instead the main actors in maintaining the status quo. This leaves small communities with no power to fight back as the system has been designed to favor the elite.

This quote is also a criticism of the corrupt legal system in modern society. It reflects the fact that the power of money often dictates how laws are applied, not based on the principles of justice, but based on the interests of those who have access to economic and political power. This situation is similar to many real-life cases where corruption in legal and government institutions creates systemic inequality. Thus, this excerpt not only illustrates the dynamics of power abuse in the story, but also provides a deep reflection on how the law can be utilized to maintain elite power, while also illustrating how difficult it is for subordinate groups to fight against the established system. The novel, through its critique of legal manipulation, illustrates the importance of collective consciousness and solidarity as the first step to challenging structures of domination. The control of resources, such as land and natural products, by a handful of elites illustrates how economic power is used to oppress small communities. The rulers in this novel use economic control to strengthen their position and oppress anyone who tries to resist as in the following quote.

"Most of it is taken by them, the Police Commissioner who organizes it, the cost for business protection and security" (p. 231).

This quote illustrates how economic power is used by elites to perpetuate control over resources, such as land and natural products. The Police Commissioner in the novel is a representation of an elite actor who not only utilizes his position in the security system, but also controls the running of an illegal economy, such as the cannabis trade. Kombes Polisi ensures that the profits from the business mostly go to his side, while the small communities involved only receive crumbs from the fruits of their labor. This "protection and security" fee is a way to force people to remain subject to a system dominated by the rulers. In Gramsci's perspective, this economic control is a form of ideological domination, where the elite group uses control over the economy to ensure that the small community has no other choice but to accept the existing conditions. Economic control also creates

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structural dependency, where people have no alternative but to continue working within a system that exploits them. In such a situation, economic control serves not only as a tool to gain wealth, but also as a means to strengthen ideological domination.

Gramsci explains that economic power is a key element in establishing hegemony. In a hegemonic system, the dominant group uses the economy as one of the instruments to ensure that the social structure remains in their favor. Control over resources ensures that subordinate groups cannot organize effective resistance because they depend on the established system to survive. In *Tanah Para Bandit*, the control of resources by the Police Commissioner and his power network reflects how the illegal economy becomes a tool to extend their dominance. Small communities who should benefit from the crops are instead forced to pay "tribute" to the rulers, which directly harms them. This dependency makes it difficult for people to break free from the oppressive structure.

The novel provides a sharp critique of the unequal economic structure, where power over resources is always in the hands of a few elites. This reflects the reality that also occurs in society, where the control of resources by the elite is often accompanied by the exploitation of small communities. By depicting this situation, the novel *Tanah Para Bandit* not only shows the dynamics of the abuse of economic power, but also criticizes the structural injustices rooted in the social system. As such, it highlights the importance of understanding how economic power is not only a tool of exploitation, but also a means of creating and maintaining the ideological dominance of the ruling group. The novel, through its critique of the abuse of economic power, encourages readers to question the existing social structure and how it can be changed to create greater justice. Local officials in the novel are portrayed as actors who oppress small communities by utilizing their power for personal gain. They not only partake of the fruits of people's labor but also intimidate those who try to resist as in the following quote.

"Reporting the three corrupt policemen is useless. The system is too corrupt, those who dare to resist will be silenced" (p. 155).

This quote clearly shows how local officials, especially law enforcement officers, utilize their position to oppress the small community. They not only take personal advantage of their positions, but also create fear among the people so that no one dares to resist. The phrase "the system is too broken" reflects how corruption has become such an integral part of the government system that reporting on corrupt officials is considered futile. In this case, the exploitation of power is not only done through repressive actions but also through manipulation of systems designed to benefit the ruler.

Antonio Gramsci emphasized that domination is not only maintained through physical force, but also through ideological control that creates a false consensus in society. In this case, exploitation by local officials created the illusion that the legal system and government were inviolable. By instilling fear through intimidation, the rulers managed to ensure that the small communities remained submissive and accepted injustice as part of their lives. In Gramsci's view, this is a way to maintain the stability of hegemony, where subordinate groups are forced to accept existing structures without having the opportunity to resist. This exploitation shows how local officials who are supposed to protect the community are actually the source of injustice themselves. Through intimidation, they ensure that resistance does not emerge from the small communities. The novel emphatically shows that those who try to resist this system, like the protagonist Padma, often face serious threats. In this context, the exploitation of power by local officials involves not only direct repressive measures, but also the creation of a social environment that makes resistance almost impossible.

This exploitation shows how local officials, who are supposed to protect the community, become the source of injustice themselves. Through intimidation, they ensure that resistance does not emerge from the small communities. The novel emphatically shows that those who try to resist this system, like the protagonist Padma, often face serious threats. In this context, the exploitation of power by local officials involves not only direct repressive measures, but also the creation of a social environment that makes resistance almost impossible. The exploitation of power by local officials, as depicted in the novel, is a powerful illustration of how ideological domination works within a hegemonic system. By creating fear through intimidation and repression, they secure a false consensus in which small communities feel they have no choice but to submit to oppressive structures. The novel not only criticizes the exploitation of power but also shows the importance of building critical consciousness as a first step to fight against a corrupt system.

B. State Apparatus Involvement

Based on an understanding of the novel *Tanah Para Bandit* by Tere Liye, the involvement of the state apparatus in this novel is very strong in several aspects. State officials from the police, prosecutors, to other high-ranking officials are directly involved in a system that oppresses small communities, either directly or through the omission of injustice practices.

"It is precisely your country that is corrupt, law enforcement is poor, business practices justify all means. It is your government elite who may enjoy. Protecting the tycoons who are the source of their political funds." (p. 276).

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This quote blatantly reveals that the state and law enforcement officials are not functioning properly, and even play a role in protecting the interests of the economic elite, especially the tycoons who have great influence in the world of business and politics. "It is your state that is corrupt, law enforcement is bad," suggests that trust in state institutions has been damaged, as government elites, including law enforcement, engage in activities that are unfair and detrimental to society. The inability of the state to enforce the law, in fact, paves the way for government and business elites to protect each other in corruption and manipulation of power. In Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, ideological and political domination is not only achieved through physical or military force, but also through control over state institutions and the economic system. Gramsci argued that the dominant class (the ruling elite) does not only rely on physical force to maintain its power, but also creates a social consensus that allows them to control public discourse and social structures. In this case, the ruling elite uses its position in government to protect the interests of the tycoons, who in turn support them in the form of political and financial support.

Rulers and tycoons form a mutually beneficial relationship. The tycoons get legal protection and favorable policies, while the rulers receive financial support to maintain their position in the political arena. This is a form of economic and political hegemony, where these two parties create a system that benefits them and dominates the existing social structure, while the subordinate or lower classes remain marginalized and have no access to true power. In Gramsci's theory, this illustrates how hegemony operates through institutional control, specifically in this case, the supposedly independent legal institutions. Gramsci emphasizes that rulers not only use physical force to maintain their dominance, but also control institutions such as law, education, and media to build a social consensus that supports the status quo. In the context of this novel, the legal apparatus no longer functions to uphold justice, but to strengthen the power of the elites involved in the black economic system.

"You are still so innocent in this dark world. Bad cops, prosecutors who can be bribed, judges who can be bought, they are not the only problems in the world. Out there, every day there are big battles that are invisible to the general population. The families rule the shadow economy." (p. 299).

This quote shows that the legal system in *The Land of the Bandits* is mired in deep corruption. Police, prosecutors and judges as law enforcement officers are portrayed as parties that can be bought and bribed to protect the interests of dominant groups. In this context, the legal system, which is supposed to be the guardian of justice, has instead become a tool for the rulers to maintain the status quo and defend their interests. This non-neutral legal system creates structural injustice, where only those with economic and political power can control the outcomes of the legal system, while weaker communities remain marginalized. The part of the quote that mentions "the big fight invisible to the masses" refers to the shadow economy, which can be interpreted as the dark economy run by the ruling families. This "shadow economy" refers to economic activities that take place outside of state control, such as drug trafficking, bribery, or smuggling of goods, which allows the rulers to maintain their wealth and power without transparency or justice.

With the functioning of the shadow economy and the involvement of the state apparatus in protecting these illegal practices, the public becomes victims of a system controlled by elite power. In Gramsci's view, this is a form of cultural domination, where poorer, politically powerless subordinate communities are forced to accept injustice as part of the existing social order. People feel unable to resist or change the system because of the immense power hidden behind the black economy and corrupt state institutions. This quote clearly illustrates how state apparatus, including police, prosecutors and judges, no longer function to uphold justice, but become part of a larger system to perpetuate elite power. In the perspective of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, this shows how dominant groups control not only the legitimate economy, but also the shadow economy, to ensure that they remain in power. Rulers use state institutions, which are supposed to be independent, to protect their interests and create a false consensus that makes subordinate societies accept an unjust system. This domination is reinforced through control over social and economic discourse, which creates ongoing structural injustice.

"We can organize many things, control all parties. The government, law enforcement officials, and so on. As long as there is money, things go smoothly. The police, prosecutors, judges, local officials, including the army, they can be controlled." (p. 293).

This quote shows that, in the world depicted in the novel, the dominant group can organize and control almost all aspects of government and law enforcement, provided they have enough economic power (money). Economic power serves as the main tool to influence political, legal and security decisions. This shows how economic hegemony plays a role in ensuring that state policies and actions favor the interests of the ruling group, rather than the protection of the wider society. In Gramsci's theory, state institutions, such as law enforcement and the military, are often used as a means to maintain political domination and dominant ideologies. In this quote, it is clear that the rulers can control almost all state institutions whether they are directly related to law enforcement, security, or local government to maintain their power. This creates a false consensus where subordinate groups or weaker communities have no choice but to submit to the existing power structure. The state, which is supposed to be the enforcer of justice and unifier, instead becomes part of a system that oppresses society.

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This quote clearly illustrates how the ruler controls the state and its apparatus through the power of money. Law enforcement officers, government officials and the military no longer work to uphold the law and serve the community, but instead to protect and strengthen the interests of the ruling group. In Gramsci's view, this is an example of a very strong political hegemony, where the ruling group controls almost all aspects of state life and ensures that the status quo is maintained. Laws and state institutions work to maintain the rulers' dominance and silence attempts at resistance from the weaker sections of society. Through its depiction of the involvement of the state apparatus, *Tanah Para Bandit* criticizes a system that allows corruption and injustice to pervade all elements of government. The state, which is supposed to be the protector of society, has instead become a tool that perpetuates elite power. From the perspective of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, the novel shows how political and economic domination is maintained through control of state institutions, creating a social structure that marginalizes small communities and strengthens the position of the rulers. The novel is not only a critique of the broken system but also a call to build critical consciousness to fight the hegemony.

C. Ideology in the Hegemony of Power

In Antonio Gramsci's theory, ideology is an important element in maintaining hegemony as it helps create a social consensus that supports the dominance of a particular group. The quotes taken from *Land of the Bandits* illustrate how ideology is used as a tool to establish, maintain, and resist hegemonic power.

"You have been activated, Padma." Abu Shik spoke seriously, looking at me, "The organization has given you your first mission. They gave the order when I went to the district town a few days ago. They prepared this old jeep, gave me the location of the target." (Pg. 57).

This quote shows how an ideology becomes the main basis for mobilizing individuals in a movement. In this context, the organization that gives Padma the mission acts as an agent to spread an alternative ideology that aims to fight the dominant power. The organization represented by Abu Syik operates based on a system of values and goals that contradict the ideology of the dominant power. By giving Padma a mission, they not only direct practical actions, but also instill the values of resistance to injustice and elite domination. In Antonio Gramsci's view, ideology is an important tool for creating social consciousness capable of challenging hegemonic systems. In this case, the organization's ideology aims to build a critical understanding of existing power structures and mobilize individuals to act against injustice.

The context of "mission" in this quote reflects how ideology is used to mobilize individuals like Padma. Organizational ideology creates a sense of responsibility and moral attachment to the collective cause. The orders given to Padma create an ideological compliance that makes her feel that her actions are part of a larger struggle against the status quo. In Gramsci's theory, this is an example of how counter-hegemonic groups build an "organic consciousness", where individuals realize their role in the larger system and are motivated to act on the basis of those ideological beliefs. This quote also shows how ideology is used as a tool to challenge the hegemony of dominant power. The organization aims to challenge the ruling ideology that has created inequality and injustice. In Gramsci's theory, hegemony is not only maintained through physical force, but also through control over institutions and ideologies that are accepted by society voluntarily. The organization creates an alternative ideology that serves as a basis for resistance. By "activating" Padma, they build a new narrative that aims to replace the dominant ideology with a more just ideology of resistance. This action is a concrete form of counter-hegemony, where alternative ideologies are used to undermine the dominance of hegemonic power.

This quote illustrates the central role of ideology in building critical consciousness and mobilizing individuals to resist hegemonic power. In Gramsci's theory, ideology is the main element used both by the rulers to maintain dominance, and by counter-hegemonic groups to create resistance. The organization in this excerpt shows how ideology can be used to build a narrative of resistance, create social awareness, and challenge an unjust status quo. By giving Padma a mission, the organization asserts that ideology is not only an idea, but also a force capable of driving social change. In the context of Gramsci's theory, ideology is used to create collective consciousness among the members of the organization. Direct actions, such as destroying crops, not only serve a practical purpose, but also convey an ideological message that they do not accept a system ruled by corrupt elites who utilize the illegal economy to strengthen their position. This mission is a strategic move to challenge the hegemonic structure that supports the power of the ruling group.

"The organization is late in getting information." Abu Shik replied after looking back at me for a moment, "We're not going to attack the marijuana field, because it was harvested a few days ago. Today they are secretly taking it to a small harbor to be transferred to a ship, to be taken elsewhere. The mission is simple, intercept the marijuana. Destroy it all." (Pg. 101).

This quote reflects how organizational ideology is used to fight the illegal economic system managed by the dominant power. In this case, illegal economic activities such as the cannabis trade become a symbol of the economic exploitation carried out by the ruling elite. The mission of destroying the cannabis harvest not only aims to deter illicit economic activity, but also becomes a

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symbolic act that challenges the dominant power that controls the system. By destroying the harvest, the organization directly attacks the economic resources that sustain elite power. In the context of Gramsci's theory, this is a form of counter-hegemony, where subordinate groups act to undermine the economic structures that sustain the rulers' dominance. The mission designed by the organization shows how ideology is used to mobilize structured collective action. In this context, missions are not just logistical operations, but also a form of ideological struggle against the injustices perpetrated by the rulers. According to Gramsci, resistance to hegemony requires collective action based on ideological awareness. The organization in this excerpt not only acts as a rebel group, but as an agent of spreading alternative ideologies that mobilize their members to fight economic exploitation in a planned and purposeful manner. This quote illustrates the important role of ideology in mobilizing organized acts of resistance against an illegal economic system that is part of the domination of power. In the perspective of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, the act of destroying cannabis is a counter-hegemonic strategy, in which subordinate groups use ideology and direct action to challenge the legitimacy of dominant power. The organization not only acts to fight the illicit economic system, but also to create a broader social awareness of the injustice and corruption that the rulers are involved in.

"Good idea. Find a room full of computer CPUs, Alfa One. That factory must have a local server. That's where they keep their data...." You open an internet browser, log in to my email, Nina sends 'something' via email, a 'magic package'. I clicked on it. Just as the magic package clicked, working on the factory's CPU, Nina was able to open the door." (Pg. 190-191).

This quote shows how technology is used as a strategic tool by counter-hegemonic groups to counter dominant power. In this context, technology does not only function as a means of communication or information gathering, but also as the main instrument to challenge the control held by the authorities. In Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, control over information and means of production are important elements in maintaining power. Ruling groups use information to maintain the stability of their power by controlling narratives, data and access to information resources. However, the counter-hegemonic group in this excerpt turns the tables by using technology to undermine that dominance. They attack the ruler's information system, access critical data, and use it as a tool to undermine the existing hegemonic structure. The control of information from the local server symbolizes resistance to the structure of domination controlled by the elite. The local server in this story is a data repository that reflects the ruler's power over information and operational systems. By accessing this server, the counter-hegemonic organization seeks to expose or undermine the system that sustains the ruling power. According to Gramsci, dominant ideologies are often maintained through control over media, technology and means of information production. In this context, counter-hegemonic groups use attacks on data systems to undermine the ruler's ideological control. This action is not only technical but also ideological, as it creates space for subordinate groups to resist and overthrow unjust structures.

This quote shows how technology and information have become a new terrain in modern struggles of ideology and hegemony. In the context of Gramsci's theory, control over information is an important element in maintaining or resisting hegemonic power. Counter-hegemonic groups use technology to attack the ruler's information system, undermine power structures, and create space for resistance. Through the use of technology, the organization in *Tanah Para Bandit* illustrates that resistance to domination requires not only courage, but also innovative strategies and the use of modern technology as a tool to challenge the status quo. Technology, in this case, becomes a powerful symbol of ideological resistance to dominant power.

D. Resistance by the Conta Hegemony Group

In Tere Liye's *Tanah Para Bandit*, the resistance of the counter-hegemonic group is highlighted through physical training, the use of weapons, and survival skills. This resistance is not only done through physical combat, but also through the mastery of skills that can challenge the dominance of the existing power.

"An hour later, I learned about all the plants in the 'small garden' in the middle of the dense jungle of Bukit Barisan. Besides explaining many things, the characteristics, types of poison, how to distinguish them, Abu Syik also told me to start picking some flowers and fruits." (p. 48).

This quote shows that resistance to the dominant power in *Tanah Para Bandit* is not only done through physical combat or direct confrontation. Instead, the resistance is also carried out through practical knowledge and survival skills provided by Abu Syik to Padma. This process involves mastering skills that can help subordinate groups, such as Padma, to survive and resist more powerful rulers in a world filled with injustice and exploitation.

Abu Syik teaches Padma to recognize the various plants around Bukit Barisan, including their toxic characteristics and how to distinguish them. This is not just simple learning about nature, but a deeper and more symbolic survival strategy. In Gramsci's context, ideological resistance to dominant power is not only done by fighting the system directly, but also by developing self-reliance that allows subordinate individuals or groups to rely on themselves without depending on the ruling power. In this case, knowledge about plants and ways of survival is a form of practical resistance that serves to reduce dependence on the system

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controlled by the ruling elite. It is a step that directly reduces the influence of the dominance of elite power that controls economic and social resources.

In Gramsci's theory, control over resources be it economic, political or knowledge is the main tool in maintaining hegemony. In this novel, the rulers who control land and natural resources utilize their power to oppress subordinate communities. However, by teaching Padma the skills to recognize and utilize nature, Abu Syik indirectly teaches resistance to exploitation by the rulers. By introducing Padma to available natural resources, Abu Syik gives Padma access to the power that has been controlled by the elite, and turns it into a tool to strengthen the position of subordinate groups.

"BUK! Punched her in the jaw. Paralyzed him, and BUK! Her colleague who also turned to me collapsed. Within two minutes, the four policemen standing guard in front of the house were taken down." (p. 197).

This quote illustrates the direct physical resistance carried out by Padma against the state apparatus that maintains the existing system. In the context of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, this is an example of counter-hegemony, where a subordinate group uses physical skills to resist and overcome the greater power that maintains the structure of domination. Padma uses the fighting skills she has learned to immobilize the state apparatus on guard. The police, who are supposed to serve as guardians of law and justice, actually serve as tools to maintain unjust structures of domination. Padma fights them to destroy the physical barriers created by the authorities to maintain the status quo.

According to Gramsci, dominant power is not only maintained through ideology and social control, but also through the use of physical force. The police, in this case, act as agents of domination who work to protect and maintain a system that benefits the ruling elite. Padma resists by using physical force as a way to challenge this domination directly. This is an act of direct resistance, where Padma not only relies on ideological critique, but also overcomes the physical barriers erected by the state apparatus.

The police, who are expected to be the guardians of law and order, turn out to be tools of injustice enforcement used by the rulers to maintain unjust structures. Padma's action against them is a form of resistance to a corrupt system manipulated by the ruling elite. In this case, Padma fights back by perceiving the police not as protectors of the law, but as an extension of the system of domination that perpetuates social injustice.

"I can get you into the police headquarters without being recognized by anyone." (p. 365).

This quote shows that technology can be a tool to infiltrate spaces that are usually heavily guarded by the authorities, such as police headquarters. In this case, technology allows counter-hegemonic groups to access information that is usually difficult for subordinate groups to obtain, and penetrate the boundaries set by the ruling system. Technology becomes a means to expose the lies and manipulations maintained by the rulers through existing legal structures and state institutions. In Gramsci's theory, control over information is one of the main tools in maintaining hegemony. Rulers use their institutions and systems to maintain control over information and shape narratives that support their interests. However, by utilizing technology, subordinate groups can begin to access hidden spaces and information, undermining the ideological structures of domination built by the rulers.

In the modern world, technology has become one of the most important tools in political and social resistance. The use of technology to infiltrate ruler-controlled systems illustrates how modern-day resistance utilizes digital innovation to challenge power. Technology gives subordinate groups new capabilities to resist the authorities without having to rely on direct physical force or violence. In this case, technology becomes a very effective tool to challenge unjust power structures, as it provides access to information that was previously closed to those outside the system of domination. This quote also shows that resistance to the authorities does not always have to involve direct violence. By using technology to access closed spaces, counter-hegemonic groups can operate non-violently, but still be effective in bringing down structures of domination. This is a more modern and subtle form of resistance, which relies on strategies of data collection and information manipulation to challenge power without the need for dangerous physical confrontation.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This research analyzes the resistance to the abuse of power by counter-hegemonic groups in Tere Liye's *Tanah Para Bandit* using Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony. In this novel, the subordinate group represented by the character Padma and the organization that accompanies her shows various forms of resistance to the oppressive power structure. The abuse of power by the rulers, which includes economic, political, and legal domination, is the foundation of the injustice they face. Resistance to this abuse of power is not only done through physical confrontation, but also through practical strategies, knowledge, and the use of technology aimed at challenging the existing system. The counter-hegemonic group in this novel starts the resistance by developing practical skills, such as the knowledge of nature and fighting skills given to Padma by Abu Shik. Survival skills in nature, knowing poisonous plants, and utilizing nature for profit become part of the strategy to reduce dependence on the system controlled by the ruler. In Gramsci's view, this resistance creates critical consciousness among subordinate groups, who realize

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that they do not need to rely on existing structures, but can find alternative ways to survive without involving themselves in the corrupt system. In addition, the use of traditional weapons such as the *rencong* given to Padma also symbolizes physical resistance to the authorities. This weapon has historical and ideological value that connects Padma to the struggle against colonialism, which shows that resistance to the abuse of power is not new, but rather part of a long history of resistance to oppression. In this sense, the weapons and fighting skills Padma acquires serve to counter the state apparatus that is often used to enforce the power of unjust rulers.

At a more advanced level, resistance is also carried out through the use of technology. The quote describing the use of technological access to infiltrate the police headquarters shows that counter-hegemonic groups utilize technological advances as a tool to expose lies and penetrate the dominance of information maintained by the authorities. Technology becomes a tool not only for physical infiltration, but also as an ideological strategy to challenge the structure of domination based on information controlled by the ruling elite. By using technology, subordinate groups can obtain the information they need to expose and counter the lies maintained by existing legal structures. Through all these forms of resistance, whether physical, practical or technological, the counter-hegemonic groups in '*Tanah Para Bandit*' seek to destroy the symbols of domination used by the rulers to perpetuate their power. They not only oppose the existing system through direct physical combat, but also in a more strategic, organized way, and based on critical awareness of oppressive social structures. In Gramsci's context, this is a form of counter-hegemony, where subordinate groups seek to build alternative ideologies that challenge the ruling power and challenge the legitimacy of existing structures. Thus, the resistance to the abuse of power in '*Tanah Para Bandit*' shows that the struggle against injustice involves not only physical strength, but also practical skills and the utilization of technology that has become a modern tool of resistance. The counter-hegemonic groups in this novel show that to fight against entrenched structures of domination, it takes organized collective action, critical consciousness, and the utilization of all available resources - be it knowledge, skills, or technology - to challenge and change the unjust system.

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