

GRAMSCI'S CONCEPT OF HEGEMONY IN LEILA S. CHUDORI'S NOVEL *PULANG*

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Abstract

This research is motivated by the situation during the New Order era, when the government restricted freedom and suppressed people associated with the events of 1965. This article aims to analyze Leila S. Chudori's novel *Pulang* through the lens of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony. Gramsci's hegemony explains the subjugation of one party to another, meaning that the higher class can dominate the lower class so that hegemony is consciously exercised by an individual or group over another group. In this context, Gramsci's theory of hegemony occurs between the New Order government and the group of former political prisoners, exiles, and their relatives. The research was conducted using a qualitative descriptive research method, which involves collecting, processing, analyzing, and presenting data objectively. The results of the discussion led to that the novel *Pulang* was subject to hegemony by the New Order regime through propaganda, repression, surveillance, and control of historical narratives. Furthermore, counter-hegemony occurs through critical awareness, solidarity between communities, and the transmission of memories between generations of political exiles. The findings in this study not only describe the New Order regime's domination over political exiles, but also reveal resistance to the ideology that was imposed.

Keywords: Gramsci's hegemony, New order, Socio-politics, Ideological hegemony



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INTRODUCTION

According to Nurgiyantoro (1998:2), fictional literary works are imaginary stories or fantasies formed from the author's imagination. Literary works are the author's thoughts, understanding, and experiences of everyday reality expressed in written form, such as short stories, novels, prose, and so on. In particular, historical literary works are closely related to the political life of the local community. Political turmoil between community groups causes hegemony between the dominant group and other groups.

Hegemony is not only the control of one group over another. Rather, hegemony is a way for a particular social group to gain influence by persuading other groups to agree with it, so that minority groups feel intimidated by the ruling group. Hegemony occurs not only in physical forms, such as control over a territory, but more in terms of cultural, economic, or political control. The concept of hegemony was popularized by an Italian politician and sociologist named Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci was a follower of Karl Marx's ideology, known as Marxism. Gramsci's theory emerged as a result of the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. According to Munir (2023:12), Gramsci's theory of hegemony is the subjugation of one party by another, so that the higher class can dominate the lower class. Hegemony is consciously exercised by one person or group over another. Quoted from Munir in Antonio Gramsci & Hegemony by Nezar Patria and Andi Arief (2023:12), the supremacy of a group manifests itself in two ways: as domination and as intellectual and moral leadership. This means that a social group dominates certain opposition groups in order to destroy or subjugate them, even by using armed force.

Gramsci's theory of hegemony is in line with the social conflict that occurs in Leila S. Chudori's novel *Pulang*. *Pulang* tells the story of an exile who is trapped in Paris because he is banned from returning to Indonesia. The main character, Dimas Suryo, is a journalist whose boss and friend are leftists. However, this does not mean that Dimas Suryo is influenced to adopt the same ideology; in fact, Dimas Suryo is not interested in Karl Marx's ideas. However, the New Order government had a policy of "cleansing the environment," which required that members, families, and friends of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) be arrested and executed. In fact, the New Order government instilled false history into the education curriculum that was far from the historical facts. This was done by the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) on the orders of the president to gain support from the people so that his administration would become absolute and permanent. Without considering the impact on the victims and their families, the government succeeded in destroying and subjugating the ex-political prisoners. According to Ahmad (2013: 418), the lives of ex-political prisoners during this period were like living in a social prison. This story is what is referred to as an understanding of Gramsci's theory of hegemony. The New Order ruled over the suffering of former political prisoners, who were considered to have no support or voice. Not only that, ideological hegemony continued by silencing the mass media, spying on the families of former political prisoners, and detaining and kidnapping activists who stood in its way.

According to Nurfitriani (2017: 99), one novel that contains social reality is *Pulang* by Leila S. Chudori. *Pulang* was chosen as the subject of this study. First, this novel contains social reality. One form of social reality that occurs in *Pulang* by Leila S. Chudori concerns the lives of Indonesian political prisoners who had to suffer throughout their lives because they were considered to be members of communist organizations. Second, this novel has historical themes, namely the history of Indonesia in September 1965, France in 1968, and Indonesia in May 1998. Third, *Pulang* can raise readers' awareness of the historical realities that occurred in Indonesian society. The study uses structural analysis, in which the author focuses more on the relationship between the government and marginalized groups. What distinguishes this study from the previous one is the analytical concept used, namely Gramsci's theory. The researcher focuses not only on the oppression that occurs in the story, but also on the underlying factors that cause hegemony to occur.

The hegemony between the New Order government and political prisoners influenced the intellectual and cultural ideology of society at that time. According to Marx in (Harjito, 2019), ideology is any large system that provides orientation to humans. Harjito (2019) concludes that ideology is a doctrine that explains a situation, especially the structure of power, so that people consider it legitimate. Indonesian society seemed to be forced to be indoctrinated to stay away from, hate, and isolate former family members and even friends of PKI members in order to ensure their own safety. This kind of ideology and culture clearly disrupted the social and political life of the local community. The Indonesian people became deaf and apathetic to what was actually happening in their country. Based on the issues described above, this article aims to analyze and examine the hegemony that occurs in the novel *Pulang*, analyze the hegemony between characters in the novel, analyze the hegemony in the space and time of an event, create an actant schema, analyze the hegemony of power and ideology, and examine the relationship between Gramsci's hegemony and the ideology used. The novelty of this article lies in its use of Gramsci's theory of hegemony combined with both structural and contextual literary analysis. Unlike previous studies, which focused only on the interpretation of themes or ideologies, this study focuses more on structural and contextual analysis models, using an actantial schema, and is presented in a comprehensive manner so that it can be easily understood from all angles.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative research method (e.g., Creswell & Poth, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), which is to describe the facts in the novel *Pulang* by Leila S. Chudori based on the formulation of the problem, followed by an explanation based on the objectives of this research. The approach used in this research is Gramsci's theory of hegemony with a sociological study of literature that analyzes literary works based on structural and contextual approaches, (Bates, T. R., 1975). The data collection technique used is the read and note technique. This reading and note-taking technique is relevant to study because hegemony in literary works is often implied in the narrative, interactions between characters, and ideological representations. Through in-depth reading and systematic writing, it is easier for researchers to interpret the forms of domination, consent, repression, and resistance that describe Gramsci's hegemony in novels.

The data analysis techniques in this study include identification, classification, analysis, and description. In the identification stage, data in the form of quotations, narrative units, and dialogues that show hegemonic practices, such as domination, ideological control, consent, repression, and resistance, are presented. Each is coded as H-D for Hegemony Domination, H-I for ideological control, H-C for consent, H-R for Hegemony Repression, and finally R-H for resistance. Next, the coded data is grouped into several categories of analysis, namely inter-character hegemony, space and time hegemony, ideological hegemony, and social class relations. This analyzed data is interpreted by linking textual findings with Gramsci's hegemony theory framework and the socio-historical context of the New Order era. Finally, the description stage, which is to present the analysis results systematically and coherently.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Hegemony of Power Reflected in Leila S. Chudori's Novel *Pulang*

There are three points of view written by the author in the novel *Pulang*, namely Dimas Suryo, Lintang Utara, and Segara Alam. Hegemony occurs between the rulers in this case, (1) the right wing and the left wing (President Soekarno), (2) the New Order government and former political prisoners (the left wing). The story focuses on the character Dimas Suryo, who

was exiled even though he was not directly involved with the PKI. His relationship with Hananto, a leftist figure, caused Dimas to become a target of the government, even though he had different ideological views.

The Nusantara News Agency, located on Jalan Asem Lama, seemed to draw a line of demarcation between us: those who collaborated with the PKI, those who sympathized with the PKI, those who were active with Lekra artists, or those who simply enjoyed chatting with Lekra artists. At the other end of the spectrum were those who were uncomfortable with what was often discussed by Pak Natsir's group, such as Bang Amir. I was one of the reckless ones. I was fascinated by everything Karl Marx aspired to. I read all of Mas Hananto's books with wisdom. I diligently listened to Mas Hananto's discussions with his friends in the editorial room on Jalan Asem Lama, or often we would drink coffee at Kadir's shop in Pasar Senen. However, I also enjoyed chatting with Bang Amir about religion from a spiritualistic perspective (H-I & H-C, page: 28—29).

There is ideological hegemony in the story excerpt, namely between the left and right wings. This division indirectly “forces” individuals to belong to one side or the other. Dimas Suryo enjoys discussing with left-wing figures, but he is also comfortable discussing religion and spiritualism. This attitude places him under the influence of hegemony, allowing him to thrive in his work environment both socially and professionally. This means that the hegemony in the excerpt is not enforced through violence, but through the influence of ideas and social interactions. A particular ideology becomes dominant because it shapes the mindset of each character, making differences in ideas a sensitive factor in determining one's position in society.

If Mas Hananto and Mas Nug believe that there is still something virtuous in socialism, I find many weaknesses in every theory. I told Mas Hananto that there are indeed things that the government must take care of, such as health or public services. But there are some things that I trust more to be handled by the private sector (H-I & R-H, page: 29).

In the excerpt, ideological hegemony occurs when Mas Hananto and Mas Nug consider their ideological choices to be the best and must be followed by everyone in the editorial office. Furthermore, hegemony of resistance occurs when Dimas Suryo does not fully accept this ideology. He acknowledges the role of the state in public affairs, but rejects the idea that all state affairs must be managed by the government. This attitude shows a rejection of the socialist ideology espoused by the characters who are trying to dominate.

For me, literary works are ultimately a matter of inner light. The light of a work does not come from its theme or from stories of the suffering of workers or farmers. That light comes from the work's ability to touch the hearts of its readers (H-I & R-H, hal 29).

On this matter, I strongly disagree with Mas Hananto (R-H, page: 29).

The above quote shows the existence of ideological hegemony in the field of literature. Mas Hananto was influenced by leftist or Marxist ideology, which states that literature must highlight the suffering of farmers and workers as a form of social struggle. Dimas Suryo rejects this dominant view. He states that the main value in literary works does not lie in ideological themes, but in their ability to touch the reader's feelings. His disagreement shows resistance to the dominance of socialist ideology in the world of literature, or counter-hegemony.

Oh, the term "social realism" is currently in vogue. Anyone who wants to suck up to the editor-in-chief, who is very close to the Indonesian Communist Party leadership, just has to mention social realism or quote a few sentences from Maxim Gorky's novel *The Mother* and pretend to have read the whole thing, and they will surely be accepted into the circle of the powerful (H-D & H-R, page 30).

That is why, even though there was a demarcation between PKI admirers or followers and

non-followers, I, who was more like a Swiss neutral zone, also discussed with Bang Amir and his friends. Bang Amir, a reporter at the Nusantara News Agency, was very critical of Bung Karno—critical because our president was too close to the PKI leadership, and also because M. Natsir was imprisoned (R-H, page 31).

This quote once again shows the hegemony of leftist ideology in the workplace and the literary world. Anyone who quotes works of literature in the realist, socialist, or Marxist tradition will be more readily accepted by editors. This shows that certain ideologies are used as tools to gain protection, approval, and a secure position, rather than because of one's worldview. On the other hand, Dimas Suryo's neutrality shows a critical distance from the dominant ideology. He continues to interact well with both Bang Amir and his superiors. It is understandable that in the story, there is a counter-hegemony.

My position often made me uncomfortable with the struggle between the two groups in the office, especially because the Editor-in-Chief was Mas Hananto and Mas Nug, who were considered leftists (H-I & H-D, page 32).

The above quote shows the existence of ideological hegemony in the workplace. The editor-in-chief has dominant power over leftist ideology in the office environment, thereby influencing the work atmosphere. Dimas Suryo is in a stressful position because he has to work under a leader who has certain ideological views. Thus, structural power can control the public sphere to adhere to a certain ideology. This is referred to as hegemonic domination.

Based on the above quotations, it can be concluded that hegemony operates in the workplace, literary circles, and social circles. This is a result of structural hegemony, from the government to its people. Hegemony is found in the novel *Pulang* by Leila, S. Chudori, namely ideological hegemony (H-I), hegemonic domination (H-D), hegemonic consent (H-C), repressive hegemony (H-R), and resistant hegemony (R-H).

2. Hegemony of Power in the Characterization of Leila S.'s Novel *Pulang* Chudori

a. The Ruling Social Class

The ruling social class is a social class that consciously controls and dominates the lower social classes to do what it wants in order to realize its desires. The ruling social class in this novel is the old order government (1964- 1967) and the New Order government (1967-1998). Hegemony occurs between the government and the people, who had different ideologies and were divided into two groups, the right and the left.

1) The Old Order Government

Bang Amir, a journalist at the Nusantara News Agency, was very critical of Bung Karno - critical because our president was too close to the PKI leadership, and also because M. Natsir was imprisoned (Chudori, 2024: 31).

The Old Order government refers to the period of leadership under Ir. Soekarno. In the novel *Pulang*, Soekarno is portrayed as being close to the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which led to political conflict between the left and right wings. The Old Order government tended to side with the left wing and suppress the right wing, one example being the imprisonment of M. Natsir. In 1964, the government succeeded in dominating society through its political power and influence over the media and institutions, thereby controlling minority groups.

2) The New Order

The hegemony that occurred during the New Order era was state hegemony through political power and anti-communist ideology. The president used state power to instill anti-communist ideology. Arrests, torture, exile, and executions were carried out against individuals or groups involved with the PKI, demonstrating the existence of repressive hegemony (pressure). The state not only used physical force, but also psychological and mental coercion.

When I left the house to knock on the wire, I heard that there was a coordinated arrest of a PKI official who was said to be hiding in Sidorejo in the Sambeng area. I myself am not clear about the story. I heard this news from Pakde No (Chudori, 2024: 239).

Since they detained Hananto last April, none of us had heard from him directly. He disappeared in October 1965, and I only heard how he moved like a shadow in the mist. From village to village, city to city. I only heard whispers about him. And the rest: silence (Chudori, 2023: 243).

Exactly one month ago, we were all asked to gather at the Salemba Detention Center to see Father one last time. We were only given two hours to talk before Father was executed. But what could we say in two hours with Father's shadow in front of a line of men with guns pointed at him? (Chudori, 2024: 246).

I was so disgusted that I refused to continue answering his questions. But calmly, he asked about Kenanga's age and whether she had started her period. Dimas, that was the worst mental terror I had ever experienced (Chudori, 2024: 244).

In these excerpts from Leila S. Chudori's novel *Pulang*, we see how much the Hananto family suffered as a result of the government's clean environment policy at that time. This policy reflected the highly repressive political and social situation under the ruling government, with the TNI and POLRI as the main tools for enforcing the government's hegemony.

The *first excerpt* describes the coordinated arrest of a high-ranking PKI official, illustrating the extent of the government's operations in hunting down those considered enemies of the state. *The second excerpt* explains how Hananto, who was involved in political movements, disappeared, moving from place to place to avoid arrest. *The third excerpt* refers to the tragic moment when Hananto's family was given only two hours to meet him before the execution was carried out. *The fourth excerpt* reveals the mental pressure experienced by Hananto's family, especially his wife, who was abused during interrogation. Thus, it is clear that the government used its power to subdue and control those it considered a threat, with the help of the TNI and POLRI.

b. Social Class Under Hegemony (Former Political Prisoners, Relatives, and Friends of Former Political Prisoners)

1) The Hananto Family

The hegemony referred to in the quotation is state hegemony through repression and social stigma during the New Order era. The New Order government used political power and security forces to control the Hananto family, even though they were not directly involved in political activities. Through its clean environment policy, the state instilled the stigma that families of former political prisoners were dangerous. Constant surveillance and inhumane treatment made the community accept this situation as normal.

It was not uncommon for them to be shouted at with the same questions over and over again, like listening to a scratched vinyl record... (Chudori, 2024: 244).

One of the interrogators, politely, told them they wanted Kenanga to clean one of the rooms in

the building. I just agreed, although later I found out that Kenanga's task was to mop up dried blood stains on the floor of the torture room. He even found a stingray whip covered in dried blood (Chudori, 2024: 245).

A few days ago, Kenanga saw a man staggering, his body covered in blood, walking in line to move rooms (Chudori, 2024: 245).

In the last 30 minutes, Father approached me alone. He knelt down and held my hand. "Kenanga, you are the tree that protects the entire family. You are the lifeblood of us all..." (Chudori, 2024: 247).

These quotes sufficiently explain the actual conditions inside the detention center. The context of these quotes is a letter sent by Surti to Dimas in 1968. This was followed by the moments leading up to Hananto's execution, which shook Kenanga and Surti psychologically in 1970. Kenanga, who was still very young, had to witness her father being sentenced to death, regardless of what crime he had committed. Truly, how cruel was the hegemony of power exercised by the New Order government. Let's say Hananto was guilty, but why did children have to be victims? Why were other people also hunted down? It is no secret that the continuous massacres were a form of affirmation of eternal power.

2) The Dimas Suryo

The New Order government not only restricted Dimas Suryo's physical freedom by preventing him from returning to Indonesia, but also conducted strict surveillance through the Indonesian Embassy. This surveillance created constant psychological pressure, causing Dimas to suffer psychological distress and an identity crisis.

From a Gramscian perspective, this is a form of hegemony that works through state control and subtle repression, where power is not always exercised through direct violence, but through the restriction of rights, surveillance, and the creation of fear. As a result, individuals remain under the control of the state even when they are outside Indonesian territory.

I have long realized that the differences in our family go beyond a simple interracial marriage. My father's background is full of political drama that exceeds the absurdity of political intrigue in Russian novels. In 1965, a bloody tragedy occurred. My father recounted events in his homeland sporadically. The older I got, the more stories I heard about that distant land, which in documentaries had blue seas and coconut trees calling out. However, I never got a complete, comprehensive, and in-depth story (Chudori, 2024: 144).

Starting from his relationship with Vivienne, which was always monitored by Indonesian government intelligence, to his restaurant business, which was constantly terrorized by government officials, making him look like a fugitive. Until the time came when Dimas Suryo's mother passed away, Dimas could do nothing but cry and regret. The mental torture continued to haunt Dimas Suryo until the end of his life, and he could never return to Indonesia.

My father came from Indonesia, a land so far away, which I did not know and could not touch (at least as long as the country was still ruled by the same government after I left as a teenager, I slowly understood: I would never be able to visit Indonesia with my father (Chudori, 2024: 144).

In this excerpt, the power of the New Order state not only affected Dimas Suryo as a political exile, but also influenced the life of his son. Restrictions and the political situation prevented father and son from visiting Indonesia together. The state, through its political policies, indirectly severed family ties and the national identity of the next generation. According to Gramsci's perspective, this is a form of ideological and political hegemony that works subtly but profoundly. The state succeeded in creating conditions in which prohibitions and injustices were accepted as "inevitable." The son of this figure realized from his teenage

years that access to his father's homeland was closed off by political power.

3) The Nugroho Family

Since Mas Nug was left by the orchid flower Rukmini, who decided to marry Lieutenant Colonel Prakosa—we gave her the freedom to act like a leader (Chudori, 2024).

Rukmini refused to follow me to Europe. And she did not explain why (Chudori: 2024).

In this excerpt, the government did not directly use physical violence against Nugroho, but used exile and severing of family ties as a means of oppression. Distance, isolation, and loss of protection destroyed Nugroho's family, while emotional suffering was the main impact felt. From Gramsci's perspective, this condition reflects repressive hegemony, namely state power that remains effective even without physical execution. The state creates a situation that forces individuals to accept suffering as a consequence of their political position.

A house filled with anxiety and tension (Chudori, 2024: 309).

I was no longer interested in returning. But in this house, there was my mother, who was still faithfully staying here with the soldier (Chudori, 2024: 309).

Mr. Prakosa was so disappointed that he stubbed his cigarette on my arm and thigh repeatedly. This punishment of stubbing cigarettes seemed to become Mr. Prakosa's hobby whenever he was annoyed by something wrong with me (Chudori, 2024: 311).

The home, which should be a safe space, is instead depicted as a place full of anxiety and tension. The presence of soldiers in the home shows how state power enters private spaces and controls family life. The mother who stays with the soldiers reflects a form of forced obedience due to the pressure of power. Pak Prakosa's act of burning his child's arms and thighs with a cigarette is a form of direct physical violence carried out in the name of discipline and truth. This violence does not stand alone, but is an extension of state ideology and power. From a Gramscian perspective, this demonstrates hegemony accompanied by repression, where power is maintained through fear and punishment.

4) Aji's Family

Aji and his family became victims of persecution by the authorities even though they had no direct connection to the PKI. Constant surveillance by intelligence agents destroyed the family's harmony and caused severe social repercussions. Rama, Aji's eldest son, experienced stigma and discrimination because of Dimas Suryo's status as an exile, forcing him to hide his identity, fail to marry, and vent his anger at Dimas. This conflict shows how political stigma causes trauma and division within families.

Aji sighed and looked back at the television. "It's been almost four years since he stopped communicating with us. In the past year, he hasn't come at all, hasn't called. Even during Eid, he just came and went like a ghost." Aji turned off the television. His face looked hurt and offended. "Does he still consider us his parents? It's simple, he's ashamed of us. He's ashamed of himself." (Chudori, 2024: 329).

Rama's distancing himself from his parents reflects the lasting impact of the political stigma imposed by the state. Labeled as a family associated with the PKI, Rama chose to sever emotional ties in order to protect himself. This situation shows that state hegemony not only

works through officials and policies, but also changes the way individuals view their families and their own identities. From a Gramscian perspective, this is a form of ideological and social hegemony, in which the stigma created by the state is accepted and internalized by society, triggering alienation, shame, and the breakdown of family relationships. The state has succeeded in instilling such deep fear that the victims end up distancing themselves from one another.

The Plot Scheme in Leila S. Chudori's Novel *Pulang*

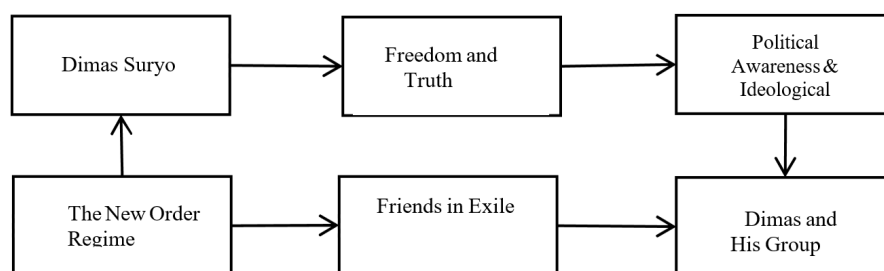


Figure 1. The Actant Scheme in the Novel "Home" by Leila S. Chudori

The analysis of Leila S. Chudori's *Pulang* uses an actant schema to facilitate understanding of the plot. An actant schema is a narrative analysis model used to analyze the structure of a story and the relationships between characters in a narrative. In the actant schema, there are six main functions, namely *sender*, *receiver*, *subject*, *object*, *helper*, and *opponent*.

In this scheme, the sender in Leila S. Chudori's novel *Pulang* is Dimas Suryo. Dimas Suryo becomes the driving force to fight against the hegemony of the New Order and tries to defend his identity and historical truth, which contradicts the official government narrative. Furthermore, the objects in this novel are freedom and truth. Dimas wants freedom from political repression and strives to spread the truth about Indonesian history, which has been obscured by the New Order regime. The recipients here are Dimas Suryo and his friends. Dimas and his group, as well as the next generation, need to know the historical truth and free themselves from the hegemonic influence of the New Order. His comrades-in-arms, such as Nugroho, Risjaf, and Tjhai, as well as the literature and collective memory they preserve, help Dimas in defending their ideology and identity. These elements function as *helpers*. Of course, the antagonist in this novel is the New Order regime. The New Order government used various forms of repression and cultural hegemony to control the historical narrative and suppress its political opponents.

Power Hegemony in Space and Time in Leila S. Chudori's Novel *Pulang*

Table 1. Power Hegemony in the Novel "Pulang" by Leila S. Chudori

Spatial Hegemony		Description
Physical Space	Indonesia: Surveillance and Repression	1. In Indonesia, physical space, such as campuses, homes, or workplaces in various locations, was strictly controlled by the New Order government.
		2. Those suspected of involvement with the PKI were arrested and detained without trial. This created a climate of fear in both public and private spaces.

	Paris: Space of Exile	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Paris was a place of exile and escape for Dimas Suryo and his friends. Their arrival in Paris was a result of the New Order's ideological hegemony over former political prisoners. 2. Paris was also a place to build a new life, even though they were still connected to issues in their homeland.
Symbolic Space	Media and Literature	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The government uses media and literature as tools to spread ideology and official policies. Newspapers, books, and television programs in Indonesia are filled with propaganda that supports the regime. 2. Former political prisoners in France used writing, such as letters, to publish their version of the truth.

Table 2. Hegemony of Power in Leila S. Chudori's Novel "Pulang"

Hegemony of Time		Description
	Before 1965	The ideological hegemony of the old order government over right-wing faction and imprisoned him without a trial.
Historical Period	After 1965 and after	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The events of September 30, 1965 became a turning point which used by the government to consolidate power. 2. Hegemony continues continue until the influencing how history is taught and remembered.
	The the exile and temporal	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hegemony has long-term effects until the children of former political prisoners. 2. When reforms began, there were changes temporal, namely control began to weaken and there was freedom for the people. However, the effects Hegemony is still felt in the memories of some groups and the trauma they experienced.
	Continuity and resistance	Resistance continues to occur, both from former political prisoners activists. Resistance is carried out in order to defend the rights of each group and to oppose ideological and power domination.

Description of Social Class Ideology Presented in the Novel *Pulang*

1. The Ideology of the Ruling Social Class

a. Use of Propaganda

An event erased from Indonesian history books. (Chudori, 2024: 139)

The letters that were received, official documentaries, and films made by several Australian and BBC documentary filmmakers, this is the bloodiest history in Indonesia that has been buried deep. (Chudori, 2024: 254)

Propaganda is an important tool in the ideology of the ruling class. The mass media is controlled by the government and used to spread messages that support stability and prosperity under the New Order regime. This includes negative portrayals of those who are exiled or accused of being communists. Propaganda is carried out by erasing historical facts and replacing them with the New Order version of history. The New Order version of history regarding the crackdown The PKI was played repeatedly and was even mandatory for school children from elementary to high school, even until they started their own families.

b. Repression and Surveillance

I didn't even want to ask what the Indonesian Embassy staff and diplomats, who were generally not very friendly to my father and his friends, were like (Chudori, 2024: 149).

Three media outlets in Indonesia were shut down by the government last month, angering the press, students, and activists (Chudori, 2024: 240).

When we went out to find a vehicle, Alam suddenly hugged my shoulder and whispered for me to hurry up. I immediately rushed as if chasing something, even though I didn't understand what was happening. I glanced left and right. Near the cigarette stall, I saw two people, dressed in civilian clothes and with short hair, sitting down (Chudori, 2024: 397).

I didn't know what was being searched, who was searching, why they were searching, or why Alam had called me so early. I was picked up by Gilang's jeep, which Alam had borrowed the night before to take me there (Chudori, 2024: 400).

The above excerpts show that surveillance of political prisoners continued for years. The president carried out surveillance through state officials, such as the Indonesian Embassy, the Indonesian National Armed Forces, the Indonesian National Police, and intelligence agencies. Those in Paris and Indonesia were like living in prison. They could not live like other members of society. This kind of hegemony interfered with people's personal lives. The government appeared to be anti-criticism and arbitrary.

c. Control of Historical Narrative

The author conveys the New Order's control of history in the chapter "A Diorama of Segara Alam's Point of View" in the novel *Pulang*. The following is an excerpt.

The small statues seem to be acting out a play behind glass. Some are shot in a living room. Some are tortured on a chair. These various atrocities are formed into a long diorama that has become the official history of this country for 28 years. (Chudori, 2024: 285)

This is history. They blew up stories that made my childhood messy, dirty, and noisy. This diorama may have a more powerful effect than a film that looks very theatrical, because this form allows for more vivid imagination. Who created the diorama? Was it originally made for information, education, propaganda, or entertainment? Or all of the above? Did its creator know that the diorama could be used effectively as a fairy tale for school children, about how this country was formed into a land full of wounds and paranoia? (Chudori, 2024: 86).

Alam, the son of former political prisoner Hananto, revealed that the dioramas at the Lubang Buaya Museum do not tell the true story of history. According to him, some are factual, while others were created solely for informational, educational, propaganda, and entertainment purposes. In other words, from the perspective of the family of former political prisoners, the riots were deliberately created for the purpose of politicization to become an absolute ruler.

2. Social Class Ideology that is Controlled

a. Critical Awareness and Education

Critical awareness and education carried out by the exiles were done through educational reading and viewing. They held discussions, wrote books, and created works of art to convey their views.

Don't you want to revisit your origins? Don't you want to know what brought your father and his friends to fly here, to a country that has almost no historical connection with Indonesia? (Chudori, 2024: 135).

The above quote explains that Prof. Dupont, as an academic at the Sorbonne University in France, showed his sympathy for the political turmoil in Indonesia. He deliberately rejected Lintang's proposal regarding Middle Eastern society and told him to focus on events in Indonesia during the New Order. Prof. Dupont did this to reveal the events of 1965 as material for real historical discussion without any influence from the government.

I never tried to find out why I felt more at home rolling around in Nara's home library than in my father's apartment. In fact, my father's book collection was much more interesting and extensive. I knew that I enjoyed spending hours talking with Nara because we were both fond of literature and philosophy books (Chudori, 2024: 148).

This excerpt shows that Lintang, Nara, and Dimaa Suryo all enjoy reading books, both literature and philosophy. They also discuss the contents of books with each other. Lintang often discusses books with his father, and then he also discusses them with Nara. They also criticize events in books and use their knowledge to criticize the New Order government.

b. Solidarity and Community

Solidarity and community were formed among fellow exiles. They helped each other. Eventually, *Restauran Tanah Air* was established as a place and headquarters for exiles to discuss and exchange information. Solidarity also formed among family members and friends in Indonesia. Exiles and their relatives in Indonesia always exchanged information via letters or cell phones about political developments in Indonesia. They also helped each other with money, food, and education. This solidarity became the basis for their resistance against the government's hegemony.

Table 3. The Ideology of the Dominant Social Class

Quote	Description
<p>We clinked three glasses of wine and one glass of ginger tea. Tanah Air. That name immediately captured my heart (Chudori, 2024: 104).</p>	<p>The establishment of the Tanah Air.</p>
<p>Uncle Aji Suryo and Aunt Retno were a big umbrella that sheltered us from rain, storms, and the scorching sun. As far as I can remember, Uncle Aji and Aunt Retno diligently came to our house to visit us: bringing baked macaroni or Bulan's favorite soy sauce fried chicken; fiction books by Soekanto S.A., Djokolelono, Mark Twain, or used magazines that Uncle Aji had brought: Si Kuntjung and Kawanku. At the end of the visit, I glanced out of the corner of my eye to see how Uncle Aji slipped an envelope into my mother's hand, who, along with her two assistants, worked receiving sewing orders (Chudori, 2024: 291).</p>	<p>The Uncle Aji, who always helped and protect the Hananto family.</p>
<p>No one in the world knew about my suffering at school except Alam. Maybe Andini knew too. Maybe Yu Kenanga, Yu Bulan, and Aunt Surti also knew because Alam was often punished because of me. The fact that Aunt Surti often offered for me to stay overnight at their house was also an indication that she knew about my relationship with Mr. Prakosa, who sour treatment (Chudori, 2024: 311).</p>	<p>Alam's family who helped Bimo when didn't get treatment kind from his stepfather.</p>

The Connection Between Power Hegemony and Ideology in Leila S. Chudori's Novel *Pulang*

Power hegemony is closely related to the ideology embraced by figures representing certain social classes. The New Order government, as the ruling class, exercised hegemony over exiles from lower classes because of its ideology, namely propaganda, repression and surveillance, and control of historical narratives in the education curriculum. This proves that the New Order placed power above all else, justified all means, and built power and glory through cooperation.

Hegemony was achieved through violence, oppression, and invasion to attain the desired power. However, the ideology held by the lower social classes put pressure on the New Order government. Solidarity among families, relatives, and friends culminated in resistance. The pent-up anger from 1967-1998 among political exiles and students peaked, destroying the New Order's dominance and leading to Suharto's downfall.

Thus, the existence of hegemony did not intimidate the Indonesian people. The ideology of solidarity that was held strong would help the community destroy the ideology that had long been built by the New Order. The people could choose to be a hegemonic society or be free from the shackles of hegemony.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of Leila S. Chudori's novel *Pulang* based on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony shows that the practice of state hegemony during the Old Order and New Order periods was complex and multi-layered. Ideological hegemony was evident through the instilling of dominant political views, while hegemony of consent emerged when individuals conformed to this ideology for the sake of security and survival. In addition, the state also exercised repressive hegemony through arrests, exile, and physical violence, which was reinforced by psychological and social hegemony in the form of stigma, trauma, and family breakdown. Cultural hegemony also worked through control of literary discourse, education, and historical narratives.

Nevertheless, the novel *Pulang* also represents counter-hegemony in the form of critical awareness, resistance to ideological domination, solidarity among exile communities, and the intergenerational transmission of historical memory. Thus, this novel not only records the domination of state power but also affirms the existence of ideological and cultural resistance amid the pressure of hegemony.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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