

The Hegemony of Male Power over Women: The Novel Perempuan Batih by A. R. Rizal in The Review of Antonio Gramsci's Hegemony



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ABSTRACT: The background of this article is the disclosure of the problem of hegemony in literary works that reflect the various forms of male power hegemony over women in the Minangkabau ethnic group. Based on the background of the problem, the purpose of this article is to describe the form of male power hegemony over women in the Minangkabau ethnic community from the perspective of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony theory. The source of the research data is a novel entitled *Perempuan Batih* by A. R. Rizal. The research data is the primary text sourced from the novel *Perempuan Batih* which was collected using the library method. The results of the study show that the hegemony of male power over women in the Minangkabau ethnic community is manifested through a) moral and social control, such as the prohibition of women by men to work freely in public spaces, the regulation of the selection of prospective husbands according to eligibility standards by brothers; b) regulation of the right to speak in gender relations between husband and wife in marriage; c) the imposition of ideal masculine ideology on women in terms of regulating financial matters, social and economic welfare in the household; and d) emotional manipulation as a way to disguise hegemony in unequal gender relations. The results of this study have implications for efforts to re-examine the importance of the involvement of literary works as references in the formulation of various socio-cultural policies in the midst of society that must care about the feminine gender.

KEYWORDS : Hegemony, ideology, power, moral control, men, women

INTRODUCTION

Can gender relations in the family be a tool for men to create covert hegemony? How can men who are husbands and brothers in the mother's family perpetuate their power through hegemonic practices that use ideological weapons and cultural devices? These two questions are interesting to discuss, especially when related to the social life conditions of a society with a certain cultural background. An example is the Minangkabau ethnic community with a Minangkabau cultural background. An interesting fact about this ethnic community is that the matrilineal kinship that they practice causes women in this tribe to receive higher rights and roles than men [1]. These rights are as recipients of inheritance from the mother's family, while their role is as the successor to the clan lineage and the regulator of various aspects of life within the family [2]. The customary rules that are considered to strengthen the above provisions are the role of men from the biological mother's side who are called *mamak* (uncle) and the role of men as husbands (*urang semenda*).

In practice, *mamak* (uncle) and *semenda* (husband) have different roles. *Mamak* plays the role of controller of the life of the nephew (child of the sister) and decision maker in the inheritance system of ancestral land. Minangkabau men with the position of *mamak* are responsible for educating, supervising, protecting, and determining the decision of inheritance of ancestral property to the nephew (nephew) [3]. In this arrangement, the wisdom of Minangkabau men who have the position of *mamak* can be assessed; whether they are able to make the right decision to place the position of the nephew (nephew; child of his sister) as the heir of the family's lineage and inheritance or not [4].

Furthermore, Minangkabau men who have the position of husband (*semenda*) play the role of biological partner for the wife, play a role in directing the wife and children in religious, moral, and cultural education, fulfilling some of the economic needs of their family [5]. It is said to have an obligation to fulfill some of the economic needs of their family because women who have the position of wife can also utilize the results of processing the inheritance of their mother's family as a source of family economy. Despite having such a role, men who are husbands in Minangkabau matrilineal families cannot merge into the tribe (clan) of their wife's family, cannot participate in managing and taking advantage of the inheritance of their wife's family heirlooms [6]. The limitations

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of this role show that according to the ideal Minangkabau customary rules, men play a more active role in making decisions for their mother's family. However, in the current reality in the lives of the Minangkabau ethnic community, various changes have been found in the roles and positions of men, both in their capacity as *mamak* (uncle) and as *semenda* (husband). Among these changes is that the *mamak* is no longer fully responsible for the various needs of his nephews (nieces) and no longer fully supervises their education. Likewise, in his capacity as *semenda* (husband), his role is no longer limited to that of a biological father, but also as a social father—fully responsible for the leadership of his wife and children, the fulfillment of economic needs, as well as education and supervision morally and socially [7]. Even in a broader scope, the changes have shown the occurrence of a pattern of hegemonic leadership and power of men over Minangkabau women in various aspects of life. This change is reinforced by the shift in the leadership model in marriage from a traditional family to a nuclear family. The pattern of traditional family life is a family that lives together in one large house consisting of a father, mother, children, grandmother, grandfather, and other siblings who still adhere to traditional customary values. Meanwhile, the nuclear family or core family is a family that lives in one house, it could be a house occupied outside the woman's family inheritance land, consisting of a father, mother, and unmarried children only [8]. This change also slowly causes the pattern of leadership, parenting, education, and fulfillment of economic needs in the family to shift completely into the hands of men as husbands [9]. These changes are seen as crucial causes of the pattern of leadership and power in Minangkabau ethnic families into the hands of men as a hegemony. As a hegemonic leadership pattern, the tool used by men in Minangkabau ethnic families is their masculine power as husbands and *mamak* (uncles). The real form of this includes the regulation or restriction of the rights to freedom to practice life principles for nieces, sales or forced transfer of inherited land rights, as well as full regulation of decision-making authority for life with wife and children. Factually, in various Minangkabau areas there are cases of *mamak* selling family inherited land for personal interests or reasons of modernization demands, even though customary provisions state that the inherited land is inherited to nephews [10]. In these hegemonic practices, it can be understood that the mindset, character, strength and ideology of the ruling group are configured to achieve a superior position and place women in an inferior or possibly marginal position. In the context of matrilineal culture in Minangkabau, this is very contrary to customary provisions where women are the heirs of descendants and owners of power. In practice, hegemony through the ideology of intellectual leadership can not only occur in state politics, but also in masculine and feminine gender relations, oppressive, both individually and between groups. The facts of changes in male leadership in the Minangkabau matrilineal society that have been explained do not only appear in real life. In modern Indonesian literary works, the local color of Minangkabau can also be reflected, such as in the novel *Perempuan Batih* by A.R. Rizal. The depiction is done by the author through the story theme, plot, conflict, social and cultural background, characterization, and character of the characters. Through these elements, it can be seen that the values of matrilineal culture in social life and masculine characters formed through gender construction are the background to the occurrence of this practice. Through these story elements, it can also be seen that changes in the way Minangkabau society views the application of cultural values and the role of men in modern families have a great influence on the formation of the concept of hegemonic power. The concept of hegemony was first developed by Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist thinker (1891-1937). Gramsci put forward the theory of hegemony to describe how the power and dominance of a group or social class is not only realized through direct violence or coercion, but also through control over ideology, values, and culture in society [11]. Basically, the theory of hegemony has been put forward by other experts before Gramsci put forward this idea in a book he wrote while in prison. However, there are several concepts that distinguish Gramsci's hegemony from previous ideas. First, Gramsci applies the concept of hegemony more broadly to the supremacy of one or more groups over others in every social relationship, whereas previous uses of the term only referred to in the relationship between the proletariat and other groups. Second, Gramsci also characterized hegemony in terms of cultural influence, not just political leadership in an alliance system as understood by previous generations of Marxists [12].

Through the concept of hegemony, Gramsci argued that power in order to be eternal and sustainable requires at least two working devices. First, is a working device that is capable of carrying out coercive violence. This first working device is usually carried out by state institutions through institutions such as law, military, police and even prisons. Second, is a working device that is capable of persuading society and its institutions to obey those in power through religious life, education, art and even family. This working device is usually carried out by civil society institutions through institutions such as NGOs, social and religious organizations, associations and interest groups.

According to Gramsci, if power is only achieved by relying on coercive power, then the result is called domination. Furthermore, if the domination is carried out slowly with the second working device, the final result is better known as "hegemony". The supremacy of the group (ruler) or social class appears in two ways, namely domination or oppression and intellectual and moral leadership. This last type of leadership is hegemony. Thus, hegemonic power is more power through "agreement" (consensus), which includes some type of intellectual or emotional acceptance of the existing socio-political order [13]. In practice, according to Gramsci, there are several main elements of hegemony. First, cultural domination related to control over cultural and ideological aspects. The dominant group (such as the ruling class) succeeds in forming and spreading an ideology that is accepted as truth or normality in society. For example, through media that supports the interests of the ruling class is taught and accepted by society at

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large [14]. Second, social consensus, namely hegemony with the ability to direct the views and thoughts of society to support the existing system [15]. Third, power in ideology, namely a set of values and world views that are used as the basis for social action. Fourth, class struggle, namely the difference in status that forms social classes in society which results in competition and social struggle. The ruling class seeks to maintain their hegemony, while the oppressed class can seek to replace the dominant ideology with an alternative ideology that is more in favor of social justice [16]. Fifth, intellectuals consisting of traditional intellectual groups who tend to support the status quo and work for the ruling class, while organic intellectuals are groups that emerge from the oppressed class and seek to change the existing ideology, as well as fight for the interests of their class [17].

The practice of hegemony according to Antonio Gramsci's theory can be linked to gender relations between men and women in the context of how dominant ideologies and socio-cultural structures shape and maintain gender inequality in society. Hegemony, in this case, works in a very similar way: not only through political or economic control, but also through control over cultural and social values that shape society's perspective on gender. The practice of hegemony and the issue of gender inequality can be seen as two related things due to several things. First, cultural dominance in gender roles: Hegemony plays an important role in shaping norms and values related to gender. In many societies, patriarchal hegemony—where men are considered to be the primary power holders—is reflected through various social institutions such as the family, media, education, and religion. Through control of these institutions, patriarchal values are built and maintained, leading to the formation of highly structured gender roles, such as women being seen as the homemakers and men as the breadwinners or leaders. Second, social consensus in the absorption of gender roles. Patriarchal hegemony functions by forming a consensus in society, where the traditional roles of men and women are widely accepted. Gramsci called this a passive consensus, where society accepts gender inequality without open resistance, because they have been shaped to see it as something natural or normal. Third, organic intellectuals in gender roles. In Gramsci's theory, organic intellectuals are individuals or groups who emerge to represent the interests of the oppressed class, seeking to change the cultural consensus and existing ideologies. In the context of gender, this can be seen in the role of feminist intellectuals and activists who try to formulate alternative theories and narratives about the roles of women and men in society. Thus, the practice of hegemony can be used to analyze how gender relations are formed and maintained through cultural and ideological control. Studies on hegemonic power patterns and involving men as regulators of gender relations, especially in the field of literature, have been widely conducted by other researchers. Some relevant literature such as the research results of a) Behzad Barekat and Nesar Naghsbandi (Behzadbarekat, 2016); b) Angelina Subrayan (2015). The two studies examine the problem of hegemonic masculinity reflected by authors in novels from various time periods, different writers, and various social and cultural backgrounds. From the two research results, a synthesis can be drawn; the description of the problem of hegemonic masculinity found by researchers is identical to the case of oppression of women in the social structure of patrilineal society. Furthermore, the synthesis that can be put forward is that these practices also often occur because they are approved by the feminine gender for fear of resisting. Based on the two studies, the researcher believes that it is important to study the same problem, but in novels with different socio-cultural backgrounds. The assumption is that in a matrilineal society there are similar patterns of masculine action. In terms of research innovation, this research idea is new, because the tendency of previous studies has always highlighted the problem of hegemony of masculinity in novels with a patrilineal cultural background. Therefore, research on the hegemony of masculinity of mamak leadership over nephews in a matrilineal society is considered important based on the following thoughts, a) the existence of several Minangkabau matrilineal cultural values that are still dominated by masculine ideas; b) the strength of masculine ideas in Minangkabau matrilineal culture has an impact on social practices that support hegemony. Based on the description of the background of the problem, it can be concluded that the purpose of this study is to analyze and describe the hegemony of Minangkabau male power over women in terms of cultural and ideological backgrounds.

RESEARCH METHODS

This article is the result of qualitative research using a content analysis approach. The source of research data is a novel entitled *Perempuan Batih* by A.R. Rizal. The novel was chosen as a source of research data because it represents society with a cultural and social background in the modern Minangkabau era and its representation of the problem of hegemony. This study aims to describe, analyze, and reinterpret the problem of the hegemony of Minangkabau male power over women as seen from a cultural and ideological background. The research data is the text in the novel consisting of words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs containing information related to the problem of the hegemony of Minangkabau male power over women as seen from a cultural and ideological background. The research data was collected through the stages of a) reading; and b) recording. The stages of data recording include unitizing, which is an effort to collect data that is appropriate and in accordance with needs by marking each data unit in the form of texts in the novel, according to the needs of answering the research problem. The next stage is data recording to limit each data unit that has been previously marked, according to the needs of answering the research problem. The data that has been collected is checked for its degree of credibility with technical triangulation and theory triangulation. To obtain analysis and interpretation of research problems, the data were analyzed based on the opinions of Creswell (2015: 254), and Miles & Huberman [18][19]. The

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stages of analysis include data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification. Data interpretation uses the theory of hegemony proposed by Antonio Gramsci.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The hegemony of men over women is very dominantly depicted in various events in the novel *Perempuan Batih* by A.R Rizal. This is depicted in various events involving the central characters, namely Gadis, Zainun, and Darso. As depicted in the incident when Zainun met Gadis and forbade the woman from working in a restaurant. This is depicted in the following data excerpt.

Gadis tak habis pikir dengan tingkah saudara laki-laki ibunya yang cepat berubah itu. ia tak begitu megenal Zainun. Laki-laki itu hanya sesekali mengunjunginya di kampung.

“Di kampung tak ada yang bisa aku kerjakan. Lebih baik di sini. Setidaknya aku punya penghasilan sendiri,”

“Ada tanah lapang di belakang rumah. Kalau diolah bisa menghasilkan banyak uang.”

“Mana bisa aku berladang.”

“Aku sudah carikan orang yang akan mengolah tanah itu untukmu.”

Maksud Zainun jelaslah sudah. Ia telah mencarikan laki-laki sebagai pendamping hidup untuk Gadis. Perempuan itu tak terkejut. Sebagai saudara laki-laki ibunya, memang begitulah tanggung jawab Zainun [20].

This data excerpt shows the problem of male power hegemony over women in the context of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony theory. From the description of the incident, three things can be analyzed. First, control over life choices. Zainun's statement, "I've found someone who will cultivate the land for you." illustrates a form of male power over women who try to control and influence life choices, even though the women themselves do not seem to fully agree with the arrangement. Second, paternalism and hidden power. Although Zainun may have good intentions by giving advice on farming and finding a life partner for Gadis, this action also shows aspects of paternalism - namely the assumption that men know what is best for women. In this case, Gadis is positioned in a situation that depends on male decisions, both in terms of economics (by Zainun who offers farming) and in terms of personal relationships (by finding a life partner). Through this second analysis, it can be understood how the hegemony of male power over women works through ideological, economic, and social control. Zainun, although he may have good intentions, plays a role in maintaining the patriarchal structure that regulates Gadis' life. Men's efforts to dominate women in the novel *Perempuan Batih* are not only depicted through how they find a mate. This developed into a practice that increasingly touched other aspects. For example, Zainun also criticized Girl's decision to let her daughter work in the city. Zainun's criticism is reflected in the following text quote. “Kau membiarkan anak perempuanmu tinggal di kota?” Zainun datang mengunjungi Gadis. Laki-laki itu sudah tahu kalau Siti bekerja di rumah makan milik Nilam. Zainun tak senang, tapi ia tak berani marah kepada Gadis.

“Tak ada ibu yang mau berpisah dengan anaknya. Tapi aku bisa apa?” Gadis menumpahkan kekecewaannya kepada Zainun. Ia melakukannya dengan cara menyalahkan jodoh. Darso yang tak bertanggung jawab. Zainun sadar sedang disudutkan.

“Itu bagus untuknya. Tapi, kau mesti memastikan anak perempuanmu itu tak bekerja terlalu keras.” [20].

In this novel text excerpt, there are several elements that reflect the problem of male hegemony over women. First, hegemony in gender relations. Zainun's attitude in questioning Gadis' decision to let her daughter work in the city reflects patriarchal values that assume that men should have a voice or authority in making decisions about women, even if it concerns a mother's personal life. Second, male social control over women. Zainun's criticism of Gadis' decision is a representative of the traditional voice that assumes that women should be treated in a certain way. Hegemony in this case can be seen in the influence that Zainun has, although he does not directly regulate decisions, he still tries to uphold values related to the role of women in society. Third, economic and social hegemony. This is reflected in the social and economic helplessness experienced by Gadis who may be trapped in a social system that limits women's mobility and opportunities to develop.

Zainun is Gadis' mother's biological brother. In the context of the life of the Minangkabau ethnic community, it is emphasized that the brother from the mother's side is the mamak (uncle) who has the authority to regulate the life of his niece (daughter of the sister's biological sister). But the brotherhood relationship made Zainun control Gadis' space beyond normal good behavior. This is illustrated in the following quote.

“Jadi perempuan pasar kau sekarang?” Zainun berkunjung lagi. Namun, laki-laki itu tak membawa peralatan sekolah untuk anak-anaknya. Kedatangannya hanya untuk melampiaskan kerumuk di dadanya.

Gadis merasa geram mendengar kata-kata sinis Zainun. “Pastilah. Tiap hari aku ke pasar,”

Zainun menggerutu. Gadis tahu persis maksud hati saudara laki-laki ibunya itu. Perempuan itu hanya berpura-pura tak mengerti perkataannya. “Bagimu biasa, tapi bagiku seperti getah yang dilempar kewajah,”

Zainun tak sanggup menambah pemberiannya untuk anak-anak Gadis. Laki-laki hanya bisa bermohon nama baiknya dijaga. “Kau kan bisa menunggu saja orang-orang yang datang membeli hasil ladangmu. Tak usah susah-susah. Itu baik pula untuk anak-anakmu.” Zainun tahu, Gadis pastilah takkan menerima permintaannya [20].

From this data quote, we can analyze things related to the hegemony of male power over women. which reflects the dynamics of power in gender relations in a patriarchal society. First, male hegemony in the selection of women's jobs. This is shown

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by Zainun's cynical attitude in commenting on Gadis's job, calling her a "market woman". With these words, Zainun shows the dominance of patriarchal culture which views that women should not be involved in work that is considered rough or related to the public world. Second, the limited role of men in the family economy. In the conversation between Zainun and Gadis, it is depicted that the man did not contribute to meeting the economic needs of Gadis's family. Zainun could only "beg for his good name to be maintained", which indicates that he could not provide financial or practical assistance to Gadis, but still felt he had the right to comment on and regulate the woman's life. This illustrates the hegemony of male power in the form of moral and social control over women, even though in reality the man did not make a concrete contribution to Gadis's family life. Although Zainun tried to show social control over Gadis' life, when Gadis married off her daughter, Zainun did not provide much assistance. Gadis' difficulty in meeting the costs of her child's marriage was actually helped by her mother's sister. This is illustrated in the following quote.

"Uni Nilam menanggung makanan. Itu sudah lebih dari cukup," Gadistak ingin Cakni membantu pernikahan anaknya yang terakhir. Ia sudah cukup merepotkan perempuan itu. Namun, Cakni tetap meminta kepada Nilam. Gadis tak bisa menyembunyikan apa pun dari Cakni. Cakni tahu persis, Gadis mesti menanggung semuanya seorang diri. Zainun bisa membantu sedikit. Selebihnya, Gadis yang mesti mencarikan. Entah bagaimana perempuan itu bernafas keluar badan. "Aku punya kalung beberapa buah. Hanya emas bercampur loyang. Setidaknya bisa membantu meringankan bebanmu," [20].

In this data excerpt, the problem of male power hegemony over women is clearly visible, which is reflected through the unbalanced social and economic relations between the female character (Gadis) and the male (Zainun). This imbalance shows the hegemony in gender role stereotypes. Gadis' role as a mother is burdened with great responsibility, while the role of men, despite having more ability in terms of material and influence, remains limited to moral and social control. This shows that men still hold dominance in regulating the division of tasks, although they are often not active in providing real contributions in the form of finances or practical support. Gadis is married to a man named Darso. Darso is the man Zainun is looking for to be the ideal husband for Gadis. At the beginning of her marriage to Darso, Gadis is very sure that Darso is an intelligent and hard-working man. Gadis' assumption is reflected in the following data excerpt.

Laki-laki itu bernama Darso. Tak sia-sia Zainun mencarikan jodoh terbaik untuknya. Laki-laki dari tanah seberang terkenal tak memantang dalam urusan pekerjaan. Mereka suka berperas keringat. Gadis bisa mengandalkannya untuk menggarap tanah lapang di belakang rumah. Hasilnya akan berlimpah ruah. Ia tak perlu khawatir anak-anaknya kelak kekurangan makan. "Aku akan menanam kulit manis. Harganya sangat bagus sekarang."

Darso ternyata juga cerdas. Gadis setuju dengan rencananya bertanam cabai di sela-sela kulit manis. Ia juga akan membuat bandar kecil di antara rumpun cabai. Di sana ia memelihara ikan mas. Kalau semuanya menjadi, Gadis seperti mendapat durian jatuh dari langit [20].

In this quote, the problem of male power hegemony over women can be analyzed through the lens of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony theory. According to Gramsci's concept of hegemony, hegemony is depicted from the tacit agreement and consensus offered by Darso to Gadis. Gadis agrees with Darso's plan to plant cinnamon and chilies and raise goldfish. Gadis not only accepts Darso's decision, but also agrees with it with the belief that the results of the effort will make her life better. Within the framework of Gramsci's hegemony theory, Gadis' agreement to this plan can be seen as the result of a larger consensus in society that considers men to be the authority in economic matters and family decisions. After Gadis' marriage to Darso had been going on for a long time, Darso decided to go to the city to look for work. Darso took this decision precisely when they already had four children. Gadis did not agree with Darso's plan, as depicted in the following data quote,

Gadis tak setuju dengan rencana Darso. Gadis tidak melarang laki-laki itu berjuang mengubah nasib tapi ia takut dengan nasibnya sendiri. "Tega Abang meninggalkanku dengan empat anak yang masih kecil?" Baru kali ini Gadis memelas kepada Darso. "Justru karena sayangku kepadamu dan anak-anak. Kalau berhasil. Aku akan membawamu hidup senang di rantau." Gadis tak berharap uang. Mendengar Darso memberi kabar saja, itu sudah berlebih untuknya. Beberapa bulan ini, laki-laki itu semakin jarang memberi kabar. Yang terakhir, setelah tiga bulan tak memberi kabar. Kalau beruntung, Gadis akan mendapatkan kabar enam bulan lagi. Tidak. Sudah setahun lebih Darso seperti lenyap ditelan bumi [20].

This data excerpt illustrates several issues related to male hegemony over women. First, the alienation of women in unequal relationships. This can be seen from Darso's actions after leaving and not giving any news for months. Gadis felt increasingly alienated and had no control over the situation that occurred. Male hegemony in this case is increasingly apparent in how women are positioned to accept uncertainty and inequality in relationships. This illustrates how women, in many contexts, are often trapped in unequal relationships, where they must accept ambiguity or even neglect from men, which in this case is a symbol of greater social dominance. Second, the role of women in a passive hegemonic system. This is illustrated by Gadis' powerlessness to prohibit Darso's decision to go abroad. This shows how women, despite having doubts or disagreements, still accept male dominance in important decisions. In the context of hegemony, this shows how women are trapped in a social structure that places them in a position where they must submit and accept men's decisions, even though they feel uncomfortable and afraid. This imaginary reality is a manifestation of male hegemony, where women (despite their disagreement) must still submit to the dominance of men who control important decisions. After deciding to go to the city to find work, Darso actually leaves Gadis for years. This causes Gadis

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to assume that she has divorced Darso. But after many years later, Darso suddenly comes back to meet Gadis. This incident is depicted in the following quote.

“Kau seperti angin. Datang dan pergi, sama saja. Hanya rasa yang tertinggalkan.” Gadis menyapa laki-laki itu seperti tamu. Tamu yang tak biasa. Datang di malam-malam buta. Kalau Gadis tak bersama cucu kembarnya, pastilah laki-laki itu sejak tadi diusir.

“Aku dari seberang. Langsung ke sini. “Kau tampak semakin tua,”

“Tentu saja. Waktu membuat orang berubah,” Gadis menghela nafas. “Berubah. Aku tak yakin,” Ia memandang Darso dengan tatapan sinis [20].

In this quote, the problem of male power hegemony over women can be analyzed using the perspective of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony theory. First, the limitations of women's autonomy and coercion in relationships. Gadis' statement calling Darso like "the wind", which comes and goes without a trace, can be analyzed as a symbol of the instability of the relationship between Gadis and Darso. Darso has the freedom to come and go as he pleases, indicating inequality in the relationship between them. Meanwhile, Gadis, as a woman, is in a more passive position, accepting Darso's arrival even with displeasure. In the context of Gramsci's hegemony, this relationship illustrates how women are often positioned in situations that force them to accept inequality in relationships. Second, the presence of men as a form of inequality in social relations. The data quote showing Darso's arrival in the dead of night basically highlights the irregularity and his unwanted presence by Gadis. Gadis only accepts Darso's presence as an "unusual guest" who comes without notice or clear intention. This shows male hegemony in relationships with women where men are present in women's lives without respect for women's time, privacy, or even emotional needs. Through the lens of Gramsci's hegemony, this situation reflects male dominance in social interactions that should be a private space for women. Gadis cannot refuse Darso's arrival because of social norms that require women to accept men without resistance. This male hegemony regulates how women should accept the presence of men in their lives, even in uncomfortable situations. After his return, Darso tries to persuade Gadis to accept him back as her husband. Darso conveys this persuasion in various ways. Darso even states that Gadis is old so she needs a life partner. Darso's persuasions are illustrated in the following data excerpt.

Darso tak lagi datang sebagai laki-laki yang hebat. Ia mengubah caranya kepada Gadis. Di ujung sore, laki-laki itu datang dengan keluh kesah.

Huk, huk, huk! Seperti biasa, Darso terbatuk beberapa kali. Ia tidaksedang memegang batang rokok di tangannya. Laki-laki itu hendak menunjukkan betapa rapuh tubuhnya.

“Bukan waktu, tapi tentang kau, Gadis,” Darso mulai tak tahan dengan perasaannya. “Tak ada apa-apa denganku. Aku baik-baik saja. Bahkan jauh lebih baik.”

“Lihatlah, Gadis. Kau dan aku sudah sama-sama tua. Tubuhku tak lagi kuat. Takkan bertahan lama. Paling sebentar saja,” “Yang kupikirkan kau, Gadis. Bagaimana kau di hari tuamu?”

In this quote, it can be analyzed that the problem of male hegemony over women includes two things. First, the emotional manipulation tactics of men over women. The emotional manipulation is shown by Darso by stating his weakness using emotional strategies to influence Gadis. Darso uses emotional strategies by stating his concerns about Gadis in her old age. The manipulation carried out by Darso reflects inequality in relationships, where men are often placed as the more dominant party with the hope that women will always be there to meet their needs. Second, the change in the role of men as a form of social domination. At first, Darso came as a great man, full of strength and hope. However, in this quote, Darso shows his fragile side by saying that his body is starting to get weak. He describes himself as a figure who is approaching death, taking advantage of his declining physical condition to get attention and sympathy from Gadis. In the context of Gramsci's hegemony, this shows how men (Darso) try to change their position and role in relations with women based on the personal needs of men. This strategy is often considered a tactic in patriarchal relationships to get attention or control from women. In addition to Darso in the novel *Perempuan Batih* by A. R. Rizal, there is another male character who also always tries to control women in his power. The character is named Zaki. Zaki is a madrasah teacher who is married to Kirai, Gadis' youngest child. Zaki does not like living in the same house as his mother-in-law, Gadis. After taking Kirai out of her mother's house, Zaki continues to control Kirai's freedom to use money. This is illustrated in the following quote.

Kirai membawa makanan yang dibungkuskan Gadis seperti perempuan yang baru pulang dari pasar. Ia berjalan dengan lagak, berharap Zaki tak melihatnya dengan kepura-puraan. Di pintu depanrumah, laki-laki itu ternyata sudah menyambut dengan tatapan penuh curiga.

“Kau belanja lagi?” Kirai tak terlalu menghiraukan kecurigaan Zaki. “Aku membeli dengan uangku sendiri,” Raut muka Zaki semakin tak senang. “uangmu? Itu uangku malah.” Zaki tak percaya dengan perkataan Kirai. “Aku melihatmu ke rumah Ibu. Pasti kau memberinya uang.” Rupanya Zaki memata-matai langkahnya. Kirai tak bisa menyanggah lagi. “Memang benar. Apakah aku salah?” “Kau harus pastikan uang itu harganya setimpal.” [20].

In this quote, the problem of male power hegemony over women can be analyzed through three things. First, economic control. Zaki's probing questions to his wife regarding the use of money illustrate how Zaki, as a man, claims authority over finances in their household. In the context of Gramsci's hegemony, Zaki's claim over Kirai's money reflects a patriarchal social structure that

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requires women to depend on men in economic aspects. This also shows how the widely accepted patriarchal ideology assumes that men have the right to control economic resources, including money that should be owned separately by women. Second, the legitimacy of power by men over women. An analysis of this problem is illustrated by Zaki's statement about the origin of the ownership of the money spent by Kirai. Zaki ordered Kirai to ensure that the money given to his mother was valued properly. This statement illustrates how Zaki feels he has the authority to regulate and control Kirai's actions, even in matters involving the woman's family. In Gramsci's hegemony framework, this is a form of strengthening male authority in domestic relations which operates through legitimization and justification of men's role as rulers and controllers in the household. Third, the power of influence of male ideology. In the context of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, the control exercised by Zaki over Kirai is not only based on physical power, but also on ideology and social norms that have been accepted in society. Zaki's attitude reflects men's hegemony over women which operates through ideological influence that justifies and maintains men's dominance in the family and society, including in terms of managing money, monitoring women's behavior, and determining the values accepted in domestic life.

The peak of Zaki's efforts to demonstrate his hegemony over his wife and in-laws was when he planned to redeem his in-laws' house and land which had been mortgaged. Zaki did not convey this effort directly to his in-laws, but rather through Kirai's conversation with the girl. This is illustrated in the following data excerpt.

“Uda Zaki berencana menebus kembali rumah dan tanahpekarangan yang tergadai. Ibu tak perlu lagi risau.” Gadis tak senang dengan rencana Zaki yang disampaikan Kirai. Tiba-tiba air mata mengalir dari mata tua perempuan itu. “Kini, akumumpang di rumah dan di atas tanahku sendiri.” Kirai mendengar perkataan Gadis sayup-sayup. Ia tak memahami persismaksud perkataan itu [20].

In this quote, we can analyze the problem of male hegemony over women in the context of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony. First, the social structure that encourages women's dependence on men. This problem is illustrated by the girl's dependence on Zaki's help to resolve financial problems related to her property. Even though he is the owner of the land and house, he feels forced to rely on Zaki's decisions and actions to improve his family's financial situation. In a patriarchal society, women's dependence on men in economic matters like this is a very strong form of hegemony, where women are considered to have no capacity or right to manage and make decisions regarding their own property without involving men. Second, control over assets and economic decisions. In this quote, it is shown that Zaki has a plan to redeem his father-in-law's house and yard which had been mortgaged. This plan reflects a form of male control over economic and property aspects. Even though the land and house belonged to the girl, Zaki as a man took over important decisions about what to do with the property. This shows the dominance of men in very important economic decisions in the family, even though the property nominally belongs to the woman (Girl). Third, the powerlessness of women in the patriarchal economic structure. Even though the Girl has property, the woman feels like she is living as a guest at home. her son-in-law's property. Gadis experienced this feeling after Zaki helped finance the organization of a religious study event for the death of her son. Gadis' feelings show the feeling of powerlessness of women in an environment dominated by men. In the context of Gramsci's hegemony, this feeling is the result of the social structure which regulates how women are placed in subordinate positions, even in matters that they legally own. Male power here is not only in the form of direct control, but also through cultural norms that require women to depend on men in making economic decisions. and social, although in such situations, women are technically entitled to the property.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings, analysis results, and interpretations, it can be seen that the problem of the hegemony of masculinity of the leadership pattern of the *mamak* over the niece in the novel *Perempuan Batih* by A.R. Rizal is a reflection of the deviation of male power patterns in Minangkabau society in the modern era. This deviation stems from a mistake in understanding the essential values of traditional matrilineal culture which should still be preserved today. In addition, this mistake is also caused by several customary provisions that predominantly contain masculine ideas. The impact of these things is the occurrence of hegemonic practices between the *mamak* (uncle) and the niece (nephew) using a legitimation tool, namely the structure of masculine gender power and authority. In short, the hegemony practiced in the power of men over women is, a) moral and social control, such as the prohibition of women by men to work freely in public spaces, the regulation of the selection of prospective husbands according to eligibility standards by brothers; b) regulation of the right to speak in gender relations between husband and wife in marriage; c) the imposition of ideal masculine ideology on women in terms of regulating financial matters, social and economic welfare in the household; and d) emotional manipulation as a way to disguise hegemony in unequal gender relations.

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