Cultural Hegemony at Novel Merpati Kembar di Lombok (Twin Pigeons in Lombok) by Nuriadi: Hegemony Analysis of Antonio Gramsci

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Abstract
The recent research is related to the cultural hegemony which is contained within the novel Merpati Kembar di Lombok written by Nuriadi. The problems to be studied are the form of cultural hegemony which is contained within the novel Merpati Kembar di Lombok written by Nuriadi. Then the objectives of this research are describing the form of cultural hegemony. This is a descriptive qualitative research. Documentary method and note-taking technique are applied during data collection. Meanwhile, data analysis is conducted by applying the theory of hegemony proposed by Antonio Gramsci with several steps to follow such as data identification, data reduction, data analysis, data presentation and conclusion drawing. Then, the results of data analysis are: the form of cultural hegemony committed by the noble group/society within the novel Merpati Kembar di Lombok is categorized into two levels namely declining hegemony and minimum hegemony.

Keywords:
Twin Pigeons; Hegemony Analysis; Cultural Hegemony; Novel Merpati Kembar;

1. Introduction
As the result of human creation, literary works certainly has a purpose with many of values such as; education, moral, religious and cultural value containing in it. The main criterion introduced in the literary works is the depiction or anything the author wishes to portray in his work. Through this description, the readers can capture the author's image of the world around them. Literature can be viewed as a social phenomenon. Literary work is also a mirror of social life. It is crystallizing the values and life experiences. Literature is displaying a picture of life including human relationships. Thus, inter-community is an event that occurs within the human mind. Some of these basic things then underlie the study of the sociology of literature, for example, literature is not born from a cultural vacuum, because culture will always be the inheritance of the society.

This is shown by Nuriadi at novel Merpati Kembar in Lombok which was published in 2010 for the second edition that reflects the reality or circumstances and turmoil that occurred in current Sasak society (reform era).
This novel depicts the socio-cultural problem of Sasak community, which in general concerning on the hegemony power of the noble people domination to the non-nobility in various aspects of life. The characters contained in this novel generally can be categorized into two main groups namely; the noble class, or commonly called the frightening class and non-noble class or known as the coral reef community.

The nobility level and social status of a person can be identified by looking at his/her own nobility title. The title of raden is used to the male and for Sasak community as a mark that a person still inherits king’s blood. The title of lalu is also for male nobles, but the degree is under raden. According to Supatmiwati (2011: 23), lalu is a noble descent from the "helpers" of kings or ancient kingdoms such as senopati, duke, patih, and so on. This means a person who is titled lalu is not a pure descendant of the king and has lower degrees of raden. Meanwhile, according to Lukman (2007: 99) in his book Pulau Lombok dalam Sejarah suggests that a lalu is a royalty of the king or raden who "rebelled" or violate customary norms so that their raden title lowered become lalu. As it is known that in the noble environment there are so many customary norms that bind the nobility class itself in which it is also applied to the non-noble class. For example, a raden must marry a royal lady or a raden as well, when this customary rule is violated then the concerned will be subjected to various customary sanctions in which one of them is the decline of the title. Meanwhile, lale and baq are titles for noble women. Nuriadi in his novel argues that the title lale and baq have the same degree, which distinguishes it only the value of a diction where lale designations with higher value and this is considered more prestigious than baq. Meanwhile, non-noble class which is more known as the coral reef community is a descendant of ordinary people or kawule and has no title. Synonyms or other names that lead to this class is the community feathers such as ketujur, kawule bale, and amaq amaq community.

These nobility titles and social stratification are the result of Balinese kingdom imperialism to the Lombok kingdom hierarchy. In this case, social stratification according to Sorikin (in Basriadi, 2015: 299) is defined as population distinction or society into classes in a hierarchical manner. Further, it is explained that the Balinese kingdom embraced the social strata system nuanced patronage which embodies the grouping of society into the higher and lower classes, it is also applied in the existing kingdoms in Lombok so that it causes the formation of a coating society or social strata where noble or as an elite class and coral reef community as a lower class society (grassroot).

In the correlation among social interactions, both inter-class social and inter-class social interactions clearly have visible gaps or differences in principles, attitudes, and characters, especially in inter-class social interactions. Nuriadi in his novel depicts raden as superior person and always dominant over other classes, high fanaticism towards his nobility, exaggeration and proud of power and possessions, likes to be praised, to be respected and obeyed, not to be denied, possessed property and kris like a king with all attributes of his greatness. While jajar karang are described as oppressed people, marginalized, have no right to speak and argue, must be obedient to the rules and customs that apply. Among the customary rules or norms that are still valid today and as the main consideration of Nuriadi in his novel is the marriage rule (merariq), i.e. a nobleman may marry other social classes including coral row ladies, while coral beams may not marry a noble woman. When a coral beam merariq (escaping a woman to marry) with frightening woman, then the conflict is inevitable. The woman's parents will reclaim their child in various ways and bloodshed cannot be avoided. If the marriage is still held, it is certain that the customary process of marriage aji krama like besejati process (notification to the village apparatus where the woman lives), nyelabar (the process of negotiation guardian, mahr and pisuke), pisuke (amount of money requested by female parents for customary settlement) and other custom processions will be complicated by the woman's parents.

Another consequence is that the noblewoman’s title will be discarded (te teteh) by her parents, sometimes she will not be considered a child anymore even in some cases the woman is not entitled to the inheritance of his parents. Furthermore, Lombok society in case of lineage adheres to the patrilineal principle, in which the lineage is derived from their father. Consequently, if a noble daughter marries a jajar karang, her children will not get a noble title.

Other customary rules that have also been "entrenched" in the Sasak community and cementing the noble hegemony and marginalizing of jajar karang can be seen from their attitude and communication. A jajar karang should be kokong (acts of appreciation or excessive respect by bowing or half prostrate, reverence) when dealing or speaking with a frightening. An amaq must use Sasak alus (tiang-enggih) when talking to lalu, while a lalu use common Sasak language (aoq-ape) to respond. The limitation of jajar karang right to speak and argue, etc. can be ignored because violations of the rule can also lead to the creation serious conflicts between nobles and non-nobles. This rule was also a legacy of the past when Sasak people still use the kingdom system and colonized by...
two kingdoms, Majapahit Kingdom and Karang Asem in Bali. It also proves and establishes the hegemony as well as noble class domination (menak) and marginalizing of non-noble classes (jajar karang).

Nuriadi (2010) packed this novel very nicely so that the form of cultural hegemony is described explicitly and implicitly. The portrayal of cultural hegemony manifests itself explicitly through the expression or direct speech of the characters in the novel. On the other hand, the image of cultural hegemony is manifested through indirect or implicit speech. It is worthy to add that the hegemony in this novel is actually historical, which describes the social stratification that has long been rooted in the Sasak society. Nuriadi is one of the local writers who managed to uncover the hegemony in the midst of Sasak society condition where the social change has happened. It must be admitted that there are quite a number of local writers who pen or tell the social life of the Sasak people, but those writers are generally interested in discussing the other side of the life of the Sasak tribe.

This gives its own color for novel Merpati Kembar in Lombok by Nuriadi that specifically described the cultural hegemony in the social life of Sasak community. The complex situations and problems of cultural hegemony in the form of dominance of the marches and the coral reefs and the various conflicts occurring within Sasak community as described above are depicted in depth by Nuriadi in his novel Merpati Kembar in Lombok. Therefore, the researcher is very interested to study this novel because of the reflection of Sasak reality, it is also nuanced controversial social criticism that cause pros and cons among academics and humanists. This novel is also loaded with the feel of local culture that flavored romance and marriage of different classes with a little dynamics and conflicts in it, so it has aesthetic value and high catharsis.

Theoretical framework

Antonio Gramsci’s Hegemony Theory is an idea coming from the Selection from Prison Notebooks between 1929-1935. This hegemonic theory analyzes various power relations and oppression in society. This theory was developed an early definition to refer to the social class domination toward other social classes in society through cultural hegemony.

Barker (2004: 62) states that hegemony can be understood in the context of strategy whereby the world view and the power of social group role models (whether they are classes, sex, ethnicity or nationality) are preserved. Ratna (2007: 175) reveals the term of hegemony derived from word 'hegeisthai' in Greek which means 'lead' or 'leadership', powers that exceed other powers. So lexicographically hegemony means ‘leadership’. But in everyday life, the term is usually associated with domination.

Meanwhile, Harry (in Kusumawati, 2011: 27) states the concept of hegemony was widely used by sociologists to explain the phenomenon of occurrence efforts to maintain power by the authorities. The rule, in this case, has a broad meaning, not just limited to the state of the government authorities, but also hegemony can be defined as domination by one group to another, with or without the threat of violence, so that the ideas dictated by the dominant group to the dominated group are accepted as something reasonable. In line with that statement, Karsono (2011: 2) states hegemony is defined as domination by one group against another, with or without the threat of violence, so that ideas dictated by the dominant group to the dominated/control group are accepted as the fair and unbalanced mind. This is because the success of the dominant in installing the ideology of the group.

The concept of hegemony is also according to Gramscian termed as a binder of society without using force (Ratna, 2007: 178).

Bennet (in Ratna, 2015: 183-184) according to Gramsci states there are three ways to form ideas or ideology namely: language, general opinion (common sense), and folklore. Language is the primary means and thus a great influence on the dissemination of certain world concepts. The general view is collective. Although it is not systematic, it has fairly strong pervasive properties. According to Gramsci, popular opinion and pop culture became important areas in the ideological struggle. Public opinion is the place where ideology is built, which also serves against ideology. Folklore, which generally includes the belief system, opinion, superstition also plays a role in sustaining hegemony, a force that serves to bind a non-violent society.

Hendarto (in Patriyah & Arief, 2015: 128) Gramsci differentiates hegemony into three levels: total hegemony, decadent hegemony, and minimum hegemony. The three levels of Gramsci’s hegemony are expressed as follows.

The total hegemony is characterized by mass affiliations approaching totality. Society shows a strong level of moral and intellectual unity. This is apparent in the organic relationship between government and the one governed, the relationship is not covered by contradictions and antagonisms either socially or ethically. Gramsci gives an example of the hegemony that occurred in France after the revolution. Then, the degenerate hegemony is characterized by the potential for disintegration. In modern capitalist society, the dominance of the bourgeois economy faces severe challenges, he points to the potential disintegration which appears in conflicts hidden.
beneath the surface of social reality. This means that even if the existing system has reached its needs or targets, but the mass mentality is not really in harmony with the dominant thinking of the subject of hegemony. Therefore, cultural and political integration is easy to collapse. Such a situation is called decadent hegemony. Meanwhile, minimum hegemony is characterized by relying on the ideological unity between the economic, political, and intellectual elites that go hand in hand with the aversion to any interference of the masses in the life of the state. Thus, hegemonic groups do not want to adjust their interests and aspirations to other classes in society. They instead maintain the rule through the transformation of the integration of cultural, political, social, and economic leaders potentially in opposition to the "new state" aspired to by the hegemonic group. This is the situation that happened in Italy from the unification period until Mid-century. This form of hegemony is the lowest of the two forms of hegemony above (Hendarto 1993: 82-83).

Gramsci reveals that when a social group has become dominant and defends with persistent power in its grasp, it must continue to lead. Hegemony can never be obtained simply, but it must strive continuously.

2. Research Methods
2.1 Approach (Type of Research)

The approach of this research is descriptive qualitative by analyzing the data in the form of narrative expression of text (words, phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraph), in Nuriadi's novel *Merpati Kembar in Lombok*. In this research, a variety of hegemonic forms of culture that occur in the social image of Sasak tribe society contained in the novel are described.

2.2 Data and Data Sources

a) Data

Data is the study object which is related to where the research is conducted. Here, the object of the research is the text of novel *Merpati Kembar in Lombok* by Nuriadi. The form of data is a narrative expression in form of words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs.

b) Data sources

The source of data in this study is called as primary and secondary data sources. The primary data source is Nuriadi's novel *Merpati Kembar in Lombok*. The novel was published by Arga Puji Press Lombok on July 2010 as the second edition. The novel consists of 25 mosaics (a term used by Nuriadi in all his novels to refer to subtitles or chapters) that cover 270 pages. Meanwhile, secondary data sources in this study are some research results that become references, whether in the form of books, journals, thesis and other research reports that have relation with this research.

2.3 The Methods and Techniques of Data Collection

The method and technique for collecting the data are by using literature study, note-taking technique, and need to be emphasized that the data sources in this study are primary data and secondary data.

a) Method of Literature

The primary data was collected by using library method. The novel as a written document was read carefully. Similarly, with some research results that become references, either in the form of books, journals, theses and other research results. The data collected is related to the cultural hegemony which is found in the novel *Merpati Kembar in Lombok* by Nuriadi.

b) Recording Technique

The note-taking technique was used as an effort to observe the data used to answer the problems in this research (Mahsun, 2014). This technique is chosen because all the data sources are written form.

2.4 Data Analysis Techniques

The technique of data analysis used in this study refers to the theory that was presented by Miles and Huberman (in Yuliadi, 2015: 73-74) that the analysis is done simultaneously. Furthermore, there are four activities namely data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions. The analysis of such data is named with the analysis of the data flow model. Thus work of the analysis performed as follows:

a) Data were collected through repeated readings of the novel, identified in relation to the form of cultural hegemony contained in Nuriadi's novel "Merpati Kembar di Lombok".
b) The data in the form of words, phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraphs in the novel that have been identified then organized by means of reductions according to the needs of the study.

c) The data in the form of cultural hegemony, the form of resistance of the characters, as well as the factors causing the character's resistance to the reduced cultural hegemony, were then spelled out into units to be analyzed using the hegemonic theory of Antonio Gramsci.

d) Data in the form of cultural hegemony that had been thoroughly analyzed were described in the presentation of data analysis results according to the formulation of research problems.

e) The conclusion of the results of the analysis was created.

3. Results and Analysis

Gramsci categorized the hegemony into three levels: total hegemony (integral hegemony), decadent hegemony and minimal hegemony (minimal hegemony). Related to the novel "Merpati Kembar in Lombok", the hegemonic practice contained in this novel is only at two levels: minimum hegemony and degenerate hegemony. The following section will describe the hegemony.

3.1 Minimum Hegemony

Minimum hegemony that occurs in this novel reflected the attitude and behavior shown by Mamiq Marhaban and his wife as intellectual figures of descendants of nobility people who hold tightly the rule of their nobility by trying to defend the ideology of their group, for the sake of the interests and adhere to customs that have been agreed together. Lale Erna and Lale Erni who become victims of their parents' hegemonic practices should try to escape from the rule because of their love for men who become their idolized hearts.

The marriage process between noble women and Jajar karang man was a disgrace to the noble class. Therefore, the figures, such as mamiq Marhaban and his wife want their daughters to marry a young man from nobility people. They prohibit their daughters to marry a non-nobility man. Therefore, they still maintain the ideology they hold and do not want to unite aspirations with other groups including the lower class (Jajar karang). It was seen when Mamiq Marhaban strongly disagreed with the marriage of his daughter Lale Erni with a young man of the usual class who is Javanese descent. This is evident from the following quotation.

"anak tak tahu diri, Erni, Erni. Untang, tolong cari tahu tentang siapa itu hartono purnomo? Ko brani-braninya dia culik anakku yang masih sekolah. Apa dia tidak tahu, aku ini orang bangsawan (MKL: 42)"

"Stupid child, Erni, Erni. Untang, please find out who is hartono purnomo? He is a dare man kidnapping my daughter who is still in school. Does he not know, I am a noble (MKL: 42)."

Lale Erni's desire to marry a man who did not belong the nobility status because the rules of custom and tradition much binding the nobility, especially noble women, causing displeasure with the title that he Nevertheless, Mamiq Marhaban who is viewing like nobleman who holds a customary tradition will certainly not approve what his son's choice, and soon Mamiq Marhaban also seek to know about the origin of youth who took his son away. This is confirmed in the following quotation.

"Remember if Hartono was a real Mataram man, and not like me, take my daugther home." Mamiq Marhaban said firmly, blushingly, with anger (MKL: 43).

Mamiq Marhaban's view is representing the general opinion and attitude of nobility people in general. They would not agree on the marriage between noble women and the Jajar karang men. The quotation above illustrates how Mamiq Marhaban is fanatic and proud of his nobility title and thought that non-noble people are in a lower class than him. Mamik Marhaban is very adhering to the nobility rule and does not want to unite aspirations with other social classes, he still wants to maintain the rules and norms that have been existing. The nobility fanaticism was again demonstrated by Mamiq Marhaban when Lale Erna as Lale Erni's twin sister, loved a young Jajar karang man of Sasak community that is named Suparman. Mamik Marhaban strongly forbids such relationships because Suparman comes from the common background (jajar karang). He firmly conveyed his rejection to the youth. This is illustrated in the following quotation.

"Kamu yang berna Suparman? Tanya Mamiq yang duduk di atas sofa itu.
"nggih Mamiq, tiang yang bernama Suparman." Jawab pemuda itu dengan manggut-manggut.
“kamu ada apa dengan Lale Erna? Ada urusan apa?” Tanya orang tua itu, kali ini dengan gaya tangan berkacak pinggang.
Saya hanya mau membicarakan urusan sekolah, Mamiq. Ampure.”
Mamiq lalu berbicara kepada Suparman:

"Are you Suparman? Asked Mamiq sitting on the sofa.
"yes sir, I am Suparman." The boy replied with nods.
"What is your relationship with Lale Erna? What's the matter? "Asked the old man, this time with a handy hand on his hip.
"I just want to talk about school, sir, Apologize."
Mamiq then spoke to Suparman:
"No. No. I know you do not mean that. You lie. You see. Oo you young man, Erna does not match you, she is not equal with you! So do not bother her. Especially having a relationship with her. That is all. So, now you go home "(MKL: 148).

Furthermore, Mamiq Marhaban showed his high fanatism towards his nobility rule when Lale Erna and Suparman eloped because of Mamiq Marhaban's disagreement of their relationship and then decided to elope because they love each other. Mamiq Marhaban is still with his disagreement on the marriage between nobility people and non-nobility classes. It was apparent when Mamiq Marhaban expelled the customary envoys from Suparman party who wanted to do the bucking of empucuk (an early indigenous procession in a marriage process of Sasak people) which is illustrated in the following quotation.

Mamiq langsung berteriak lantang dengan gaya persis seperti memanggil anjing dari dalam pagar rumahnya. Pengemban adat yang terdiri dari enam orang ini hanya tertunduk diam, malu dan jengah bercampur baur melihat perlakuan dan kata-kata kasar sang tokoh itu.

"Her mother, do not accept or welcome if there are people who perebak epucuk, nyelabar, or madame, in this place. Understand?!!" an assertive command of mamiq. Ten minutes passed after he spoke that thing, six men by using complete customary clothes: wearing sapuq, selewoq, keris, songket, with dagger at their waist, coming near the crowded people in the outside of the mamiq's Gate. He immediately shouted like calling a dog from inside of his house fence. The pengemban adat who are consisting of six people just bowed silently and embarrassed by seeing the situation and harsh words.
"My daughter is not deserved to be married with kaule bale (non-noble people), go home. Wait us to take my daughter ... !!” mamiq shouted expelling the customary bearer (MKL: 180-181).

It illustrates and explains how Mamiq Marhaban is strongly adamant to his group's ideology and does not wish to unite aspirations with other groups or classes.

3.2 Hegemony degenerates
This hegemony was characterized with disintegration potential in modern capitalist societies and usually happen in the dominant group. At novel "Merpati Kembar di Lombok" the disintegration between Mamiq Marhaban with his daughters. Lale Erna and Lale Erni do not really align themselves with their father orthodox of thinking. The girls prefer to oppose her father idea and then to bring up a concealed conflict to the social life. The courage of Lale Erna and Lale Erni to revolt her parents came with the coming of the man who then made
one of them fall in love. Lale Erna and Lale Erni love the men who are descendants of ordinary people. Therefore, Lale Erna and Lale Erni could no longer indulge their Mamiq who wanted Lale Erna and Lale Erni to marry men of noble descent.

For example, in novel *Merpati Kembar di Lombok*, the disintegration between nobility groups are done by lale Erna and her father. She is deeply regretted her father’s attitude as an arrogant nobleman and did not reflect his nobility status. The disintegration between Lale Erna and his father stems from Lale Erna’s denial of her noble tittle, she feels absolutely no desire for it. What does a noble title mean if their attitudes and behaviors are shown not reflecting their nobility? She even assumes that the title is just a name inherent in their name and has no meaning whatsoever.


“I do not care about that. I also never ask to be born like this. For me, the tittle *baiq* or *Lale* in my name is only part of my full name that I do not know the origin. God likes me if I can be pious, not for others” (MKL: 132).

The statement was a form of denial done by Lale Erna on her nobility title. Her view on the nobility title is different from her father. She is a noblewoman who does not care about her nobility at all. Unlike the case with her father and mother who are fanatic people with their own title. They assumed that the title had clearly indicated that they are in nobility level who had more power over other classes.

Lale Erna’s mutual understanding with her father was increasingly higher and growing when between them there is an agreement on the choice of life that Lale Erna wanted to take. She wants to marry her beloved young man (Suparman) form *jajar karang*, but her father strongly disagrees and prohibits it.

Therefore, Lale Erna prefers to elope rather than obey his father disagreement with their relationship. However, this was strongly opposed by his father and disagreed with the marriage. It was also shown by Marhaban’s action expelled the customary messengers from Suparman who want to do the initial procession of marriage custom in Sasak in the form of bamboo shoots. Here is the illustration.


It is a proved form of Mamiq Marhaban's *ketitak setujuan* for what his daughter desires who wants to get married with *jajar karang* young man.

4. Conclusion

Based on the discussion, it can be concluded that Gramsci’s view distinguishes hegemony into three levels: total hegemony, decadent hegemony and minimum hegemony. In in relation to the research was conducted on the novel "Merpati Kembar in Lombok", it is seen that the hegemonic practices are contained in this novel can be categorized into two levels of degenerate hegemony which is illustrated by contradictions or disintegrations that
happen between Lale Erna and Lale Erni who is not in tune in favor by following their father desire, the minimum hegemony is reflected in the attitude and behavior shown by Mamiq Marhaban and his wife who are the intellectuals of the noble descendants group who hold tightly their noble norm by trying to defend their group ideology, in the interest of and obey the customary rules that have been agreed together.

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