

**HEGEMONY ON REPUBLICANS IN RUTA SEPETY'S *THE  
FOUNTAINS OF SILENCE* (ANTONIO GRAMSCI THEORY)**

**THESIS**

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE**

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

**UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK**

**IBRAHIM MALANG**

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FOUNTAINS OF SILENCE* (ANTONIO GRAMSCI THEORY)**

**THESIS**

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**2021**

## STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled “**Hegemony on Republicans in Ruta Sepetys’s *The Fountains of Silence (Antonio Gramsci Theory)***” is my original work. I did not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography, Hereby, if there is **any** objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, July 2021

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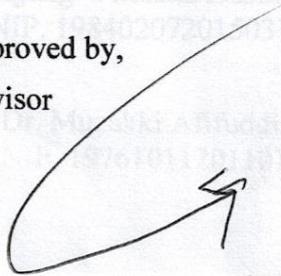
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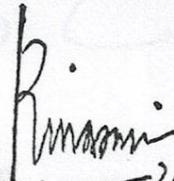
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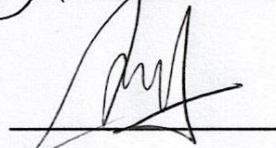
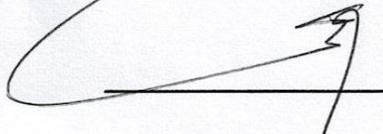


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## **MOTTO**

“A woman is said to be tough when she remains patient even though she feels  
burdened”

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents and sister,

I am so grateful to be your child,

All my families because you are the biggest motivation and power of my life.

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Praise the researcher to Allah SWT for His mercy and blessing, so that the researcher can complete a thesis entitled Hegemony on Republicans in Ruta Sepetys *The Fountains of Silence* (Antonio Gramsci Theory) well. The purpose of doing this thesis is as a condition for obtaining a Bachelor's degree in the Department of English Literature.

In completing this thesis, the researcher certainly gets help from various parties. For that reason, researcherz would like to thank all of the parties that helped complete the study, including:

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## ABSTRACT

Afkarina, Dela (2021). Hegemony on Republicans in Ruta Sepetys *The Fountains of Silence* (Antonio Gramsci Theory). Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Supervisor: Dr. Muzakki Afifuddin, M.Pd.

Keywords: Sociology of Literature, Hegemony, Social Class

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This study aims to analyze the hegemony of the Republicans in the novel *The Fountains of Silence* by Ruta Sepetys. The researcher observes that there are many problems about social inequalities in society. One of them is hegemony. Hegemony is one of the social gaps in the form of domination between the upper social class and the lower social class. Hegemony makes the lower social class people can only accept this bitter situation. Therefore, researcher are interested in bringing this topic into this research. In this study, there are two research questions; 1. How is the background the background of the occurrence of hegemony in Ruta Sepertys' novel *The Fountains of Silence*? 2. How does nationalists disseminate their hegemony after the civil war in Ruta Sepety's novel *The Fountains of Silence*?. In this study, the researcher uses a socialism approach. The researcher uses Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony.

This theory to help researcher to understand the situation and social inequality in the novel. The data from this research are in the form of words, phrases, clauses, sentences, or statements related to the problem. Futhermore, the data source is taken from the novel *The Fountains of Silence* by Ruta Sepetys. The steps in data collection are reading carefully and repeatedly, and marking data related to the topic. Then, the researcher analyzes the data with the appropriate topic. In this research, the researcher finds there are problem that happened behind the hegemony on republicans in the novel *The Fountains of Silence*.

The background of hegemony is Franco who did not agree with the old Spanish republican system until the civil war occurred in Spain. There was a civil war between the nationalists and the republicans. In this incident, Franco won the civil war and he conquered Spain. The researcher also finds several data as evidences of hegemony on Republicans as a subordinate class society. In maintaining his power, Franco spread hegemony through the nationalists against the republicans. The spread of hegemony through coercion (coercion on economics and coercion on political). The researcher also provides suggestions for further researcher to find out more about the social situation in the novel *The Fountains of Silence*. In addition, the researcher analyzes the novel by using different theories and approaches.

## ABSTRAK

Afkarina, Dela (2021). Hegemoni terhadap kaum Republikan dalam Ruta Sepetys *The Fountains of Silence* (Teori Antonio Gramsci). Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Dr. Muzakki Afifuddin, M.Pd.

Kata Kunci: Sosiologi Sastra, Hegemoni, Kelas Sosial

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Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis hegemoni kaum Republikan dalam novel *The Fountains of Silence* karya Ruta Sepetys. Peneliti mengamati bahwa ada banyak masalah tentang kesenjangan sosial di masyarakat. Salah satunya adalah hegemoni. Hegemoni merupakan salah satu kesenjangan sosial berupa dominasi antara kelas sosial atas dan kelas sosial bawah. Hegemoni membuat masyarakat kelas sosial bawah hanya bisa menerima situasi pahit ini. Oleh karena itu, peneliti tertarik untuk mengangkat topik tersebut ke dalam penelitian ini. Dalam penelitian ini, ada dua pertanyaan penelitian; 1. Bagaimana latar belakang terjadinya hegemoni dalam novel *The Fountains of Silence* karya Ruta Sepetys? 2. Bagaimana kaum nasionalis menyebarkan hegemoni mereka setelah perang saudara dalam *The Fountains of Silence* karya Ruta Sepetys?. Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti menggunakan pendekatan sosialisme. Peneliti menggunakan teori hegemoni Antonio Gramsci.

Teori ini membantu peneliti untuk memahami situasi dan ketimpangan sosial dalam novel. Data dari penelitian ini berupa kata, frasa, klausa, kalimat, atau pernyataan yang berkaitan dengan masalah. Selanjutnya sumber data diambil dari novel *The Fountains of Silence* karya Ruta Sepetys. Langkah-langkah dalam pengumpulan data adalah membaca dengan teliti dan berulang-ulang, serta menandai data yang berkaitan dengan topik. Kemudian, peneliti menganalisis data dengan topik yang sesuai.

Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti menemukan permasalahan yang melatarbelakangi hegemoni kaum republikan dalam novel *The Fountains of Silence*. Latar belakang hegemoni adalah franco yang tidak setuju dengan sistem republikan lama spanyol hingga terjadinya perang saudara yang terjadi di Spanyol. Perang saudara terjadi antara kaum nasionalist dan kaum republikan. Dalam kejadian tersebut, franco menang dalam perang saudara dan menguasai spanyol. Peneliti juga menemukan beberapa data sebagai bukti hegemoni yang terjadi terhadap kaum republikan sebagai masyarakat kelas bawah. Dalam mempertahankan kekuasaannya, Franco menyebarkan Hegemoni melalui kaum nasionalist terhadap kaum republikan. Penyebaran hegemoni tersebut melalui cara koersion (pemaksaan dalam bidang ekonomi dan pemaksaan dalam bidang politik). Peneliti juga memberikan saran bagi peneliti selanjutnya untuk mengetahui lebih jauh tentang situasi sosial dalam novel *The Fountains of Silence*. Selain itu, peneliti menganalisis novel dengan menggunakan teori dan pendekatan yang berbeda.

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, the researcher will explain the background of the study, the problem of study, objectives of the study, the significance of the study, scope and limitation, the definition of key terms, and the research method related to the topic to be discussed. The researcher also give a previous study related to the researcher in this chapter. This chapter aims to be an introduction by readers to know which direction this research is going.

#### **A. Background of Study**

Hegemony is one of the social conflicts that often occur in social life. Hegemony is also one of the topics that we can find in a literary work. Literary works as a reflection of society can describe the social conditions of particular communities. The problem of hegemony over an object in literary works is a study that connects literary works with society. One of the crucial figures who criticized the hegemony with the dominant was Gramsci.

Gramsci's thought has separated from classical Marxist studies. The initial concept of Gramsci's theory is about hegemony. In Gramsci's thought that a ruling class exercises leadership using violence and consent. Gramsci understands the concept of an economy built on a moral basis and agreement by instilling ideologies and ideas that can be accepted without rejection. Several studies use the hegemony theory of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony. The first research is *the Hegemony of Power of the Mining Kabau Indigenous Stakeholders in Hamka's Sinking of the Ship Van Der Wijck Novel: The Study of Gramsci's Hegemony*. This researcher of this research is Nita Kartika Sari in 2017. This

research focuses on hegemony and domination. The result of this research is that there is a hegemony of power, namely a conscious hegemony of power and an unconscious hegemony of power. Another result of this research is the factor that causes hegemony, namely the existence of matrilineal culture. the researcher chooses this study because this study discusses hegemony. In this study, the researcher discusses hegemony and domination that focuses on the power of hegemony. With this research, the researcher can increase knowledge about hegemony, especially on the power of hegemony (Sari, 2017).

The other research that uses Gramsci's theory is a study entitled *The hegemony of power in the novel Ini Kali Tak Ada Searching for Love by Sergius Susanto (Antonio Gramsci's Approach)*. The rearcher of this research is Irnawati in 2019. This study aims to describe the hegemony of power and the elements that influence the achievement of the hegemony of power contained in the novel *Ini Kali Tak Ada Yang Seeking Love*. The result of this study is that the hegemony of power describes the hegemony of the Dutch East Indies government against indigenous peoples who use educational institutions and publishing institutions as a means of authoritarian hegemony of power applied to indigenous people. The second result is the elements that influence the hegemony of power, namely romantic elements, intellectual elements, and state elements. The researcher chose this study because this study discusses hegemony. In this study, the researcher discusses hegemony and domination by focusing on the elements of the influence of the power of hegemony. In this research, the researcher can increase knowledge about hegemony, especially on elements that influence power (Irnawati, 2019).

Based on the above background, the researcher is very interested in analyzing this novel using Antonio Gramsci's theory. The thing that makes this research different from previous research is that the object used in this study is different from the previous object. Ruta Sepetys is one of the most recognized fiction writers internationally and has been published in more than sixty countries and forty languages. Ruta Sepetys is known as the author of history books who represent those who experienced it. The first novel he wrote was *Between Shades of Gray*, which tells of the genocide of the Baltic people after the Soviet occupation in 1941. She also has several awards. Among them are the cross of the knight of the order, the Bellagio center resistance of the Rockefeller, Carnegie medal candidates, and others. Shee is also a bestselling finalist and the New York Times Carnegie Medal.

### **B. Problem of Study**

1. How is the background of the occurrence of hegemony in Ruta Sepertys' novel *The Fountains of Silence*?
2. How does nationalists disseminate their hegemony after the civil war in Ruta Sepety's novel *The Fountains of Silence*?

### **C. Objectives of Study**

Based on the problem of the study explained above, the objectives are formulated as follows:

1. This study aims at explaining the background of the occurrence of hegemony in the novel Ruta Sepetys's *The Fountains of Silence*.

2. This study aims to explain how does nationalists disseminate their hegemony in the novel Ruta Sepetys's *The Fountains of Silence*.

#### **D. Significance of Study**

Every study has a purpose. The researcher has two objectives, theoretically and practically. Theoretically, this study aims to expand knowledge about literary criticism, especially about hegemony by Gramsci. In practice, the researcher hopes that the written research can become a helpful reference. In general, for them, they have a connection to the literary world, especially in the novel *The Fountains of Silence*, written by Ruta Sepetys. Hopefully, this research becomes research that can contribute to further researcher and be continued in-depth, especially for English literature students.

#### **E. Scope and Limitation**

In analyzing literary works, researcher have comprehensive aspects. Although there are many aspects in analyzing this novel with various views and theories, the analysis in this novel is limited to aspects of hegemony by Gramsci. This novel also has several stories that tell about the dominance of the Republican group. However, this study focuses on hegemony in social class. This research only focuses on how hegemony in the novel *The Fountains of Silence*.

#### **F. Definition of Keyterm**

Sociology of Literature : Sociology of literature is a branch of the discipline of sociology and literature that is well-formed and identified between art or literature and the public relations in it.

Hegemony : Hegemony is the political, economic, or military predominance or control of one state over others. Hegemony denoted politico-military dominance over other city-states.

Social class : Social class or social class refers to the hierarchical differences (or stratification) between human beings or groups of people in society or culture.

Sociology of literature: An approach to literature that considers these social aspects by some writers is referred to as the sociology of literature.

### **G. Previous Studies**

Several studies have discussed hegemony. One of them is a study entitled *Hegemony in the Novel Angel Lereng Tidar by Remy Sylado: Sociological Studies of Literature*. The researcher of this research is Ahmad Nada. The results of this study are that there are two forms of hegemony in the novel Angel Lereng Tidar by Remy Salado. They are total hegemony and declining hegemony. The two forms of hegemony can be seen from the sub-sections in the novel.

The cause of the hegemony that occurred in Jaz's life began with Jaz's dream of becoming a masseuse, which was initially triggered by his love for Naomi. Not only that, but this study also discusses the impact of hegemony that occurs in the novel. The impact is a loss of trust after hegemony occurs. The second research is entitled *Ideological Hegemony in the novel Ayat-Ayat Cinta by Habiburrahman El Shirazy (Gramsci Hegemony Study)*. The researcher of this research is Fajrul Falah. The purpose of this study is to reveal the ideological

hegemony that occurs in the novel. The results of this study are the main character Fahri who is constructed as a character with positive attributes attached to him. This makes the female characters in the novel interested in the main character. So that Fahri is called the dominant class (hegemonic) The researcher choses this research as the previous study because the researcher finds hegemony which was analyzed against the main character. This study is interesting for researcher because this study can help researcher to increase knowledge about hegemony.

Based on this research, hegemony can be analyzed on the main character that dominates with its positive attributes on his self. (Falah, 2018). The other studies that use Gramsci's theory are the research entitled *The Influence of Hegemony Toward's Animals life of Reflected in Animal Farm novel by George Orwell*. The purpose of this study is to describe how the hegemony of power operates in the novel, to find the negative impact of the hegemony of power on the lives of other animals in the novel.

The results of this study are that the researcher finds that there is a power that operates to create an integral. Then, the second result is that the author identifies three negative impacts of the hegemony of power. Among them are the loss of personal rights, working harder, reducing food rations, and killing fellow animals. The researcher choses this research as the previous study because the researcher finds hegemony which is analyzed against animals. This study also provides additional knowledge to researcher that the hegemony that occurs harms life (Zamzami, 2019). The following studies are entitled *The Crisis in Islamic Reason (Perspective of Hegemony Theory of Antonio Gramsci)*. The author of this

research is Muh Afid Homsani. This study is the Islamic crisis against hegemonic practices that change ideology into the culture in Islamic society. This study describes the deconstruction and reconstruction of Islamic buildings to eliminate the crisis of Islamic reasoning. The researcher chooses this research as previous studies because the researcher finds the analyzed hegemony of Islamic buildings. This study can help the researcher to understand more deeply the impact of hegemony that can change an ideology into a culture (Khomasani, 2018). The other research is entitled *The Portrayal of Hegemonic Power in George Orwell's Novel*. The author of this research is Rahmat Efendi. In this research this research aims to see how Winston got hegemony from Big Brother, the ruler. With state power, Big Brother created several ministries to hegemony the people. This research helps the researcher provides a better understanding of how hegemony occurs in a literary work. (Efendi, 2018).

## **H. Research Method**

### **1. Design of Study**

This research is literary research. The researcher analyzes the hegemony in the novel using Antonio Gramsci's theory. One of the research designs is literary criticism. Literary criticism is one of the objects of literary study (branch of literature) that conducts analysis, interpretation, and assessment of literary texts. Therefore, a critic must clarify the problems that exist in literary works by providing explanations. The researcher chooses the theory of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci's perspective in analyzing the main character in a novel.

### **2. Data and Data Source**

In this study, researcher uses data sources from the British novel entitled *The Fountains of Silence*. This novel is one of the literary works written by Ruta Sepetys. The novel was published in 2019 and published by Penguin UK. Furthermore, this novel consists of 62 chapters and 512 pages.

### **3. Data Collection**

In this study, researcher collects data from Ruta Sepetys's *The Fountains of Silence* as an object of study in several ways and stages. The first way, the researcher reads more profoundly and understands the contents of the novel. In the second stage, after understanding the novel's contents, the researcher finds and collects data from the novel related to the formulation of the problem. Data can be found and collected from several chapters in the novel. After collecting data from the novel, the researcher evaluates the appropriateness of the data. Then, the last stage is that the researcher rechecks each paragraph, phrase, and sentence from the data and is analyzed based on the theory and approach used in the study.

### **4. Data Analysis**

After the data has been collected, the analysis explains the data based on the problem formulation. In explaining the data, the researcher categorizes the data regarding the relationship between feminism and the main character in the novel. Then, the researcher analyzes the data referring to the researcher's point of view and theory. After that, the researcher made conclusions following the previous chapters, which provided a detailed description of the perspective of Antonio Gramsci. A more important step is that the researcher tries to provide a

brief explanation for each datum. Therefore, researcher must provide precise and clear explanations of the data related to the topic. The final step is to conclude.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW RELATED LITERATURE**

This chapter describes several theories related to research topics, sociology of literature, literary criticism of hegemony, domination, social class, and Gramsci's theory. This research uses the theory of Antonio Gramsci's about hegemony to analyze the hegemony and social class in the novel Ruta Sepetys's *The Fountains of Silence*.

#### **A. Sociology of literature**

Sociology of literature is an interdisciplinary science between sociology and literature. Along with the changing times that are increasingly globalized, the sociology of literature can be considered to help and understand the social situation of humans. Literature as the work of humans can be a description of social conditions in society. As explained by Ian Watt (as cited(Wiyatmi, 2013)) that literature is a reflection of society. This case shows that literary works can describe the social conditions of a particular society. Sociology of literature can also be referred to as a bridge. Humans as social beings can be understood through sociology and literature. Sociology tends to the actual social conditions of society. In comparison, literature is imagination and interpretation of human life.

According to Ian Watt (Darmono, 1997), there are three reciprocal things in the sociology of literature. First is author's social context. This has something to do with the writer's social position in society and its relation to civil society. The most important thing to research is: (a) how the author gets his education; does he receive help from the patron (patron), or from the community directly, or from double work, (b) professionalism in authorship; how far is the author

consider their work as a profession, and (c) society : what the author is aiming for; the relationship between the author and society in this case is very important. because it is often found that the type of community that is targeted determines the form and content of the work literature.

Second, literature as a mirror of society. It can be considered as a reflection of the state of society. The definition of "mirror" here is very vague, and therefore a lot misinterpreted and abused. Especially got concerns are: (a) literature may not be said reflects the society at the time it was written, because many characteristics. The society that is represented in the literary work is no longer available applies again when it is written. (b) The character "different from others". The author often influences the selection and presentation of social facts in his work. (c) The literary genre is often an attitude. social attitudes of a particular group, and not the social attitudes of the whole public. (d) literary tries to present the situation society as carefully as possible can not be trusted as a mirror of society. Then vice versa, the same work in no way intended to describe society completely carefully maybe can still be used as raw material know the state of society. The author's social view should be taken into account when we judge literary works as a mirror public.

Third is the social function of literature. In this connection, there are three things that must be note: (a) The extreme point of view of the Romantics, for example, consider that literature is of the same degree as the work of a priest or prophet. This assumption also includes the position that literature should be functioned as reformers and explorers, (b) From another angle, it is said that

literature serves as a mere entertainer; in terms of In this case, the idea of "art for art" is no different from practice. List the merchandise to reach the best seller. (c) sort of compromise can be achieved by borrowing a classic slogan: literature should teach something in an entertaining way.

According to Domino 2002 (as cited in (Suwardi, 2011), sociology is an objective study of human beings' lives about social institutions and processes. Sociology tries to find out how society can be made possible. By studying social, economic, political, and other problems, it is a social structure. People can find out how humans adapt to their environment. According to Wiyatmi (Wiyatmi, 2013), sociology and literature are vehicles for understanding human understanding. Sociology and literature are things that have a standard view of humans. Sociology is the theory that studies about social structure. Among them, economics, politics, institutions, religion, and others. Literature also explores and describes the extraordinary life of an imaginative human being.

Another opinion about the definition of sociology of literature is by Swingewood (1972) (as cited in ((Wiyatmi, 2013)). According to Swingewood, there are two types of sociological investigation that use literary data. The first is an investigation. This investigation looks at the social factors that produce literary works at a particular time and in society. Second, an analysis that relates the structure of literary works to specific genres and societies. This second method is called literary of sociology.

Wolff expresses another opinion about the sociology of literature. Wolf argues that the definition of sociology of literature is a branch of the discipline of

sociology and literature that is well-formed and identified between art or literature and the public relations in it (Suwardi, 2011). Furthermore, Wellek and Austin revealed that the relationship between sociology and literature is descriptive (Qushoy, 2010):

1. The sociology of the author.
2. The content of literary works.
3. The problem and the impact on the reader.

Sociology of literature is an approach that considers social aspects, both in social change, social institutions, etc. So that literary works can be judged to be able to be maintained. Like sociology, literature deals with humans in terms of society: human efforts to adapt and their business to change that society. In terms of content, it is actually sociological and literature share the same problem. Thus novels, genres scholars of literature in this industrial era, it can be considered as a business to recreate this social: human relations with family, environment, politics, state. etc. In understanding of the documentary, it is clear that the novel deals with social texture of economy, and politic which is also a matter of sociology. The difference that exists between the two is that social perform objective scientific analysis, while the novel infiltrates penetrate the surface of social life and show ways manllsia live the society with his feelings. Although literature and sociology are not the same field completely different claim. They can even be said to be complementary.

The researcher applies the sociology of literature approach to find out how the social context in literature is. In analyzing the novel *The Fountains of Silence*,

the researcher focuses on the social context in the novel. The sociology of literature approach can also help researchers to know more deeply about the relationship between sociology and literature. The researcher finds some evidence and interesting things in the novel to be analyzed by using a sociology of literature approach.

## **B. Hegemony**

According to the Cambridge Dictionary (*Cambridge Dictionary Online*, 2008), hegemony is the position of being stronger and most powerful and therefore able to control others. Also, hegemony is the influence of leadership, domination, power in one country over other countries. It means that hegemony can be used to describe domination by one party over another. Although it can describe domination, hegemony is carried out without violence in the general public. The complex form is domination between governments in a country, which can occur through economic, political, or cultural negotiations. Many views that hegemony has various meanings covering social and cultural fields in various aspects of people's lives. Hegemony is seen as a temporary determination of meaning in favor of the ruling class.

Hegemony emphasizes the form of expression, the way of application, the mechanism that is carried out to maintain and develop themselves through the victims so that the effort is successful and influences and shapes their minds. Through hegemony, the dominant group's ideology can be propagated, values and beliefs can be exchanged. However, in contrast to manipulation or indoctrination, hegemony looks natural. People accept it as natural and voluntary. One of the

strengths of hegemony is how it creates a certain dominant way of thinking or discourse, which is considered correct, while other discourses are considered wrong. The media here are considered inadvertently to be a tool for how values or discourses that are seen as dominant are disseminated and permeated in the audience's minds so that they become a common consensus. In contrast, other values or discourses are seen as deviant. For example, in reporting on labor demonstrations, the developed discourse often requires the workers to consult and cooperate with the company. The dominance of this kind of discourse causes workers to hold demonstrations that are always seen as untrue. The hegemony can be seen from the form, function of hegemony, and the factors of hegemony.

Regarding hegemony, it is not just about social power, but also how to use it to gain and maintain power. The theory of hegemony of Antonio Gramsci coined is a view of life. A dominant way of thinking, in which a concept of reality is disseminated in society both institutionally and individually, (ideology) dictates all tastes, moral habits, religious and political principles, and social relations, especially in the intellectual and moral sense.

Three main terms identify different fields but are interconnected in a social formation that forms the basis for the conceptualization of hegemony. The three terms are economy, state, and civil society. For Gramsci, the reason for the emergence of hegemony is that the fulfillment of access to material space and channels of opinion for the proletarian class argues why the class revolution that Marx wanted was not achieved. The dominant group has succeeded in making an economic offer to the dominant group, in this case, is the working class, by

substituting more working time with added value in the form of intensive bonuses and safety guarantees. On the political side, the dominant class provides a broader space for freedom of expression and more free time for the association. In the above sense, hegemony appears and can be seen if there are material gaps desired by the dominated society so that the dominating class takes advantage of it. The dominated class also wants material needs that must be met, and the dominant class can provide them. The dominated class sees that the dominating class has the income channels needed to meet its needs, so the dominated class is submissive and willing to obey the will of the dominating class.

Hegemony is a form of domination and subordination in a structural relationship based on power. However, in hegemony, which strengthens the social condition itself, hegemony is a strategy to gain and maintain power. This hegemony theory emerged from criticizing the thinking of Karl Marx. Gramsci criticizes the thinking based on Karl Marx that a means of production will determine the characteristics of society. According to Karl Marx, society is divided into two groups. The bourgeoisie is the owner of capital, and the planetary is the workers. There are essential things in the thinking of Karl Marx, namely the base and superstructure. The base includes factories, capital, land, and so on (*Marxism and Class Theory\_DQwsoe*, n.d.).

In contrast, the superstructure includes ideology, beliefs, understanding, and others. The elite class of society is not only in power to control assets, capital, and other modes of production. Nevertheless, it is also based on a belief and ideology of citizens. Karl Marx stated that the superstructure will always follow

the base. Therefore, the working class must make a change, namely, seizing the base so that the working class can carry out a revolution. The above conditions, according to James Lull in his article, have become increasingly complex along with technological developments in the 20th century, especially with the presence of the mass media, which has become a tool for the elite to perpetuate power, glory, and status by popularizing the thoughts, culture, and values they have (Umanilo, 1986). Hegemony is carried out through mass media by framing reality using the ideological point of view of the dominant class. This ideology is reproduced in the activities we do in our family life, friendship, work environment, and our daily life. Thus, it can be said that Gramsci's theory of hegemony relates ideological representation to culture, whose effectiveness can be seen from how subordinate groups accept the dominant ideology as a normal reality or something that usually happens in everyday experience and awareness. In the context of the increasingly rapid development of information technology and has been integrated into the realities of everyday life in modern society, the social influence of the mass media is often not realized, discussed, let alone criticized (Stoddart, 2007) .

Thus, hegemony has a national-populist dimension, in addition to a class dimension (because the national-populist movement departs from various class movements). Hegemony requires the unification of the different social forces into a broad alliance that expresses the collective will of all peoples. Each of these forces can maintain its autonomy and contribute to the progress towards socialism. Gramsci makes a clear distinction between the strategies adopted by the

capitalists and those of the working class. The strategy of the bourgeoisie has a particular characteristic called passive revolution. Passive revolution comes from the elite movement, an agent of the state, such as the security apparatus. Passive revolution arises because there is a change in the structure of the state. This revolution certainly benefits the bourgeoisie. Therefore the workers' socialist movement must be the anti-passive revolution. Gramsci explains that passive revolution by making a distinction between the French Revolution and the Italian Risorgimento Revolution. In the French revolution, the Jacobins were able to mobilize the people for a revolutionary struggle by supporting the peasants' demands and building alliances with them.

On the other hand, the unification of Italy and the rise of the Italian bourgeoisie to Power in the Risorgimento were carried out by Cavour and the Moderate Party in a very different way, namely by excluding the people; their principal means is the country of Piedmont with its Army, Kingdom, and Bureaucracy. The Action Party is the opposition of the Moderate Party. According to Gramsci, the Action Party lost because they failed to develop an agenda that reflected the general public's main demands, especially the demands of the peasants. Apart from being successful in gaining power, the Moderate Party has also succeeded in instilling ideological values into the Action Party's individuals, marked by many crossing over to moderate groups. Because of such a revolutionary model, Gramsci's Italian Risorgimento Revolution was called the Passive Revolution. Passive revolution is not the quality of the people's national struggle. Therefore, Gramsci stated that "The leaders of the Italian Risorgimento

intended to create a modern state in Italy and in fact gave birth to an illegitimate child." Gramsci's theory of hegemony is built on recognizing that the democratic struggles of the people, and the parliamentary institutions they have formed, need not have a class character. On the contrary, institutions become the path for the political struggle between the two main classes: the working class and the capitalist class.

Forms of Hegemony of Power Hegemony is a concept used to describe a worldview that aims to freeze the domination of one economic class over another. In Gramsci's idea of the context of hegemony, power has a considerable influence. Gramsci identified the absolute dominance of capitalism as a social system in society that fails to address fundamental problems in terms of political, economic, and social imbalances. Hegemony is not far from just social power and is a means used to obtain and maintain power. In other words, hegemony emphasizes the ideology itself, the form of expression, the way of application, and the mechanisms used to survive and develop themselves through the obedience of their victims. In Gramsci's concept of hegemony, the ideology instilled by the dominant group into the proletariat is naturally accepted so that it spreads and is then practiced. In further developments, the notion of hegemony is limited to the leadership of a city-state and the leadership of a specific country against other countries that are tightly or loosely linked into unity with the leading state.

Hegemony is now also developing in the cultural world of social classes, namely, a class is said to have succeeded if it has influenced other classes of society to accept moral, political, and cultural values. The forms of community

agreement on the dominant society's values are carried out by mastering the bases of thought, critical abilities, and affective abilities of the community through consensus, which leads public awareness of social problems into a framework pattern determined by the bureaucracy (dominant society) (El & Yechouti, 2017). The way to exercise power over the classes below is in two ways: persuasion and repression. Persuasion is a way to hegemony domination by persuading someone by persuading, arranging strategies to get rid of opponents gently, arranging ways to maintain power, plotting to defeat the authorities. While hegemony through repression is a way to hegemony domination using violence, giving threats to subordinates, getting rid of it by force. Gramsci also concludes that several problems exist in hegemony, namely the ruling class against the controlled class, so as to create a scope of power. According to Frech and Reven (Ambur, 2000) the forms of power are divided into five. The forms of power are:

#### 1) Coercive Power

This form is the ability to give punishment to subordinates who do not follow their leader. From the side of the person, he has mastery, the ability to punish or treat someone who does not do it, and other people have a fear of that person. The reason is to obey coercive power in the form of fear, both physically, such as being beaten, arrested, imprisoned or killed, non-physical fear, for example, losing their job, being ostracized and being intimidated.

#### 2) Reward power (incentive power)

Compliance is achieved based on the ability to share rewards seen by others as valuable. A reward is something that increases the frequency of an

employee's activities. Something is called a reward or not, depending on the overall effect on employee behavior. If an employee's performance is followed by something and performance occurs more often after something, then something is rewarded. Rewards in work allow performance to be repeated in the future. The type of power that is granted to someone who has power. The achievement of an act of loyalty that is considered very valuable in life. In the view of others, reward is a valuable thing about actions performed on the concept of performance performed on someone. Thus the concept of reward is directed to someone who has a good performance thinking, and expects a blessing in life for the performance done. Workers in carrying out a job that is done always think positively solely because of the blessing of the power. Thus a person can or get a reward also with a sense of service to superiors by feeling a blessing in life.

### 3) Legitimate Power

The Power that a person inherits because of authority, usually includes coercive power. Efforts to distinguish between justifiable and unjustified ways, no interference from others and giving by someone. Legitimate power is possessed by a leader who has a certain ability to influence. This ability initially affects one's belief in the ability of the leader. Thus, power is valid when the leader has the ability to regulate and influence someone or subordinates to follow or not follow as he wishes. Legitimate power is what a person has when that person has a legal position with an ability. Thus, abilities with higher positions will have an effect on leadership. In this case, a bigger leader can be influential in terms of how things

work and the rules that are made. In this case a leadership based on legitimate power will affect a course of performance in the rules that are led.

#### 4) Expert power

Power based on special skills. A person who is widely recognized as a reliable source of technique or expertise to judge or decide appropriately, fairly, or wisely and is believed to be delegating authority and status by peers or the public. an expert by training, education, profession, publication or experience who is believed to have more specialized knowledge of a subject than the average person.

Expert Power is Power that is considered to have the ability to lead. Thus, expert power can be said to be an expertise possessed by having the ability to lead. Expert Power can be seen based on the ability to think or ideas in leading and the skills possessed. So, expert power is a power that shows an ability and expertise possessed by action to lead. Expert Power exists because of the expertise and ability possessed by someone to become a reliable leader. Thus, an expert power exists because of a broad thought and idea and has expertise as a leader.

#### 5) Referent power (referent power)

Influence based on ownership of resources or personal characteristics desired by a person. Referent power is power that arises because of charisma, individual characteristics, exemplary or attractive personality. Referent power is a power that is owned by a person with positive attitudes and behavior that is charismatic in an action. Thus the referent power is assessed in speech acts and polite attitudes that make a person a referent. In this case, the leader who has authority and intelligence in thinking will make the ruler a referent. Referent

power is a power possessed by the leader in which there is something interesting and charismatic in every action taken by the leader. Thus, thus making an inspiration for subordinates from positive things from a leader (Ambur, 2000).

#### **a. Functions of Hegemony**

The function of hegemony is used to indicate the existence of a dominant class that directs "not only regulates" society through imposing moral and intellectual leadership (Sunnercrantz, 2017) . Hegemony is governed by moral and intellectual figures who dominantly determine the direction of conflicts, politics, and discourses that develop in society. They work to maintain power over a weak group.

The dominance of "organic intellectuals" is realized through the engineering of language as a power. Through various language media, the presence of power and the arrangement of hegemony is shown. Various state policies, for example, delivered in the language "for the benefit of the nation in the future" or "for the sake of the independence of the nation" have hegemonized the community to always accept various state decisions, even if they are detrimental. For example, the hegemony of political language is used by politicians to help how language is used in matters of who wants to be in power, who wants to exercise and maintain power.

Here it is seen that there is an attempt to naturalize a form and meaning of the ruling group. Such a theory is found in Gramsci's general ideological or cultural theory which is then applied in literature. According to him, the world of ideas, culture, superstructure, is not only a reflection or expression of a material

economic structure or infrastructure, but also as a material force itself (Sullivan, 1957). The relationship between the ideal and the material does not go hand in hand, but is interdependent and interactive. Material strength is the content, while ideologies are the form. Material power will not be understood historically without form and ideologies will become mere individual fantasies without material power.

### **C. Antonio Gramsci's Theory**

Antonio Gramsci is a great thinker after Karl Marx. Antonio Gramsci was a great intellectual among the left. Gramsci's thoughts are contained in his books, including *Prison Notebook*, *The Modern Prince and Other Political Writing*, *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*, *Letters from Prison*, and so on. Gramsci was an intellectual who gave birth to theories based on experiences, observations, and interpretations of socio-political life and the phenomena of social conditions that took place in his life. In conducting his studies in Turin. Gramsci saw an unequal socio-political condition between the working class in the city and in the village. Gramsci's experiences of his childhood with poverty and injustice shaped his revolutionary life. In 1919 Gramsci and other youths in Turin founded L'Ordine Nuovo. They produced a weekly newspaper shown to proletariat. Gramsci thought that a business containing his political ideas could encourage a militant workers' revolt in Northern Italy. Gramsci also believed that capitalism had matured so that a transition to communism could occur (Siswati, 2018).

Gramsci is one of the socialist figures, Gramsci's thinking is influenced by Marx and Engels. Thus, Gramsci was interested in political institutions. Gramsci believes that it is this view of economism that can hinder the understanding of capitalist domination and the strategies needed to end domination and lead to socialism. Gramsci considers economism as a mechanical determinism that gives birth to passivity. The belief that contradictions in capitalism will develop and revolutionary movements will emerge naturally leads to socialism. This causes the workers to just wait for the collapse of the capitalist economy and not be ready for political initiatives. Political history in Italy can influence Gramsci's thinking and give birth to Gramsci's theory of hegemony (Siswati, 2018). According to Gramsci, hegemony also includes the role of the capital class and its members. Gramsci also argues that a class cannot achieve national leadership if it is only concerned with its own interests, so it must pay attention to the demands of a society that does not have a pure class character.. Thus hegemony has two dimensions. Namely the class dimension and the national dimension of the people. Marx and Gramsci both emphasized the material and practical side of human projects.

Gramsci criticized an Italian philosopher named Croce. Gramsci concluded that society can control history through political action to achieve the desired change. In addition, Gramsci stated that people need to know the economic and military situation. So, the struggle was not in vain. Gramsci's initial concept of hegemony was that a class and its members exercise power over the class below it by force. According to Gramsci (Sullivan, 1957), hegemony is not

only about hegemony by using power, but agreement and using political leadership. So that according to Gramsci, hegemony is a consensus organization where submission is obtained through the power of ideology and the hegemonic class.

Gramsci also adheres to the thought of Classical Marxism. Among the marxists, The positivistic trend is the view of the social formation of society. They believe that society can develop and change linearly. Gramsci pointed out that the capitalistic and exploitative social formations and politics of Mussolini's fascist regime did not automatically bring about social change, but also can lead to "depletoleization". Depletoleization is where workers accept the suffering. There are three levels proposed by Gramsci. They are total (integral) hegemony, hegemony is marked by the potential for disintegration (Sullivan, 1957). The first level is total hegemony. Total hegemony can be characterized by mass affiliation that is close to total. Society exhibits a strong degree of moral and intellectual unity, which is evident from the organists who govern and are governed. In the second level, namely decadent or declining hegemony. The second level is the potential conflict hidden beneath the surface. Therefore, the presence of hegemony often cannot be detected. Hegemony and the State Gramsci states that the state is divided into two regions, namely the state or civil society and political society (Pauly et al., 2016). Civil society is defined as a source of coercive power in a society, and civil society is defined as the location of hegemonic leadership. The state is also an essential element in creating or fighting hegemony. The influence of the state is considered in determining policies to influence the will of the

people. Therefore the state is sometimes symbolized as power over the will of the people. With the division of power in this world, so that hegemony can be created, there is a process of violence and agreement. Violence is identical to the world of politics, while the world of agreement is identical to the world of civil society.

Hegemony will occur if civil society agrees, implements unconsciously, and obeys what is spread by the political community. Political society is all public institutions that hold power to carry out juridical orders such as the army, police, courts, bureaucracy, and government. Practical and theoretical activities in the state are very complex, with the presence of the ruling class not only justifying and maintaining its domination but also trying to win the active consent of those it governs.

According to Gramsci (Sullivan, 1957), the state is a political society plus civil society. Hegemony also protected by armor. It is a complex combination of hegemony and dictatorship. This is a combination of a coercive government apparatus and a hegemonic state civil apparatus. The hegemonic relationship is enforced if the legitimacy of the ruling group's power is not challenged with its ideology, culture, values, norms, and politics have been internalized as belonging to a subordinate group (subaltern). So that consensus is born. Thus, the use of coercive power by the state is no longer critical. Gramsci's Hegemony of Power distinguishes between domination (violence) with moral and intellectual leadership. A social group can and even must exercise leadership before seizing governmental power (this is one of the main conditions for obtaining such power). In turn, that readiness becomes very important. When the group implement a

power, even if power remains in the hands of the group, they must continue to lead”.

Gramsci's theory became a source of thought for the analysis of the mechanism of power formation. According to Gramsci, power can be formed through alliances, negotiations, and agreements. These three things become an instrument that how that power can be practiced and tested in various interactions and transactions. There are two conditions for the working class to become a hegemonic class, they are paying attention to class interests and finding ways to bring together other groups to agree on their own interests. To bring together the two parties, labor-investors, is a difficult job to get a mutual agreement, because each party has different interests. To be in a hegemonic position, Gramsci put forward the concept of national-populist: "A class cannot achieve national leadership, and become hegemonic, if the class is only limited to their interests, they must pay attention to the demands and struggles of the people who do not have a class character. Which is pure, that is, that which does not arise directly from the relations of production (Sullivan, 1957).

### **1.The Concept of Gramsci’s Theory**

According to Gramsci (Faruk, 2015), the concept of hegemony is complex. Gramsci uses the concept to examine certain political, cultural, and ideological forms in existing society. Furthermore, Gramsci uses the concept to examine a class that can fundamentally establish it’s leadership as something different from coercive forms of domination. Hegemony introduces the dimensions of moral and intellectual leadership. According to Gramsci's theory

(Yusuf, 2017) there are several key concepts of hegemony. They are culture, hegemony, ideology, intellectuals, and the state.

### **a.culture**

According to Gramsci (Faruk, 2015), the concept of culture is very dangerous. Especially for the proletariat. It only functions as a tool to create a society that cannot adapt. Also, society believes that they are superior to other human beings because they have memorized data and facts and who quickly mention them at every opportunity. Thereby, it turning them into a command between themselves and others. It serves to create a kind of weak and colorless intellectualism. Such a concept, according to Gramsci, is not appropriate to be considered a culture. It is this extra hegemonic dimension that enables Gramsci to reformulate the overall question of the relationship between class and culture. Through the concept of hegemony in various contexts, Gramsci creates three different challenges. The first challenge is the challenge to the liberal idealist tradition which understands cultural issues as apolitical in nature or as spiritual issues that have nothing to do with politics (Faruk, 2015). The second challenge is directed to his Marxist colleagues who provide these procedures and reduce culture to merely a reflection of the economic basis of society. The third challenge is against his era to transform the state hegemony into a new "moral and intellectual leadership", which will expand and be democratic. According to Gramsci (Faruk, 2015), there is an important link between culture and politics. Nevertheless, it is far from simple and mechanical. Culture must be broken down into various forms, whether "high" or "low" culture, elite or popular culture,

philosophy or common sense, and analyzed with the limits of its effectiveness in “cementing” complex forms of leadership.

### **b. Ideology**

The term ideology is often simply defined as a system of ideas. According to Gramsci (Roger, 1999), ideology is more than a system of ideas. He distinguishes between the changing systems put forward by certain intellectuals and philosophers. Ideologies that are necessary under certain social conditions to the extent that ideology is historically necessary. Ideology has psychological validity. They are ideologically 'rules'. human beings, and provide a place for humans to move, gain awareness of their position, and their struggles. Ideology is not an individual fantasy but is embodied in the collective way of life of society. Gramsci considers the world of ideas, culture, superstructure, that only as a reflection or expression of the economic class structure or material infrastructure, but as a material force itself. As a material force, the world of ideas or ideology functions to organize the human masses, creating a field on which humans move. For Gramsci, the relationship between the ideal and the material does not go hand in hand but is interdependent and interactive. Material strength is content, while ideologies will be mere individual fantasies without material strength. The ideological ideas put forward by Gramsci are very relevant to his conception of human power in his domain. Through this ideology, individuals can carry out their actions in various forms as a manifestation of their struggle for control, as a psychological historical fulcrum. It is in this context that Gramsci builds his

theoretical basis on hegemony. There are forms of ideologies that are often associated with power (Lestari & Nensiliati, n.d.).

### **1.)Authoritarianism**

Authoritarianism is an understanding or stance that holds on to authority, power, authority, including the way of life and acting. Authoritarianism hold on to power as a reference in life, using authority as a basis for thinking. This understanding relies more on power, the way of thinking is only in the form of instructions which then turns into orders, advice, directions, further instructions into a compulsion that must be carried out for subordinates. Authoritarianism is someone who has authority, power, authority, authority, and the like who can give orders, directions, or instructions to his subordinates (Yusuf, 2017).

### **2)Feudalism**

Feudalism describes the socio political economic structure of European society in the middle ages. Feudal society was characterized by the control of large lands by kings, nobles, and landlords. People only borrow so they have to pay taxes and tribute. From time to time the king, nobles and landlords could take it if they wanted it so that the lower class and peasants had to submit and respect them. Feudal society was divided into ranks and positions as well as highly exalted social status. Feudalism is a rank or position that is owned by a person and is glorified by the community (Lestari & Nensiliati, n.d.).

### **3.)Capitalism**

Capitalism is an understanding that suggests that the economic system by investing is sourced from private capital or the capital of private companies with

the characteristics of competition in the free market. Capitalism is an economic system that is built and developed based on private or corporate capital (Lestari & Nensiliati, n.d.).

#### **4)Socialism**

Socialism, an understanding that requires a change from the current situation to a just and prosperous society, so that the state (government) needs to intervene in the economic field. Socialism is divided into two major streams. They are utopian socialism (about ideals) and scientific socialism. This is the socialism pioneered by Karl Marx with the help of Friedrich Engles. Karl Marx was the father of modern socialism, while his teachings were called Marxism. The doctrine of socialism is a doctrine whose teachings are mainly about economics and politics. One of the differences between this ideology and liberalism is that socialism also wants justice in the framework of prosperity or public welfare. If liberals want state intervention in the economic sphere of their people, then socialists generally demand heavier state intervention which is both about the will of the people. Socialism is a person who has concern for society, involves government intervention, and the like to create a just and prosperous society (Yusuf, 2017).

#### **5)Intellectuals**

According to Gramsci (Roger, n.d.), the definition of intellectuals is people who have the function as organizers in all levels of society in the area of production as well as in the area of politics and culture. He made a double break (double break) the general view of intellectuals. They are not only thinkers,

writers, and artists but also organizers such as civil servants and political leaders, and they are useful not only in civil society and the state but also in the means of production as engineers, managers, and technicians. The word "intellectual" there must be understood not in the usual sense, but as a comprehensive social stratum that carries out an organizational function in a broad sense whether in the fields of production, culture, or political administration. They include groups, for example, from junior employees in the army to higher-ranking employees. The first group of intellectuals above is called Gramsci as an "organic" intellectual group, while the second group is called a "traditional" intellectual group (Faruk, 2015).

### **c. State**

Gramsci distinguishes two regions within the State. Civil society and political society. The first is important for the concept of hegemony because it is the area of "consent", "free will", while the second is the realm of violence, coercion, and intervention. However, both worlds are included in the concept of the State in a special sense. The state for Gramsci does not only concern government officials, but also hegemonic officials or civil society. Gramsci divides the notion of superstructure into two main levels of structure. there are civil society and political society or the state (Faruk, 2015).

#### **1.)civil**

In Gramsci's conception, "civil society" includes all transmission apparatus commonly referred to as "private" such as university officials, schools, mass media, or houses of worship (Lestari & Nensiliati, n.d.).

#### **2.)politics**

Politics is a state apparatus that holds power and carries out juridical orders, such as the army, courts, government, police or bureaucracy. "political society" are all public institutions that hold the power to carry out juridical orders such as the army, police, courts, bureaucracy and government. These two levels of superstructure represent two different domains, namely the realm of agreement in civil society and the realm of power in political society (Yusuf, 2017).

Gramsci provides there are three phases of hegemony (as cited (Lasiana & Wedawati, 2021)). There are the economics, political society and civil society. First is economics. Economics is regional materialism, an economy that raises awareness of one class of hegemony. It also creates the differences of social classes in society. Second is political society. The political society is a group of people who maintain their dominance by using their power in the aspect of political dominance in the government. Also, political society involves forcing relationships that are manifested in several government institutions, armed forces, courts, and prisons. Third is civil society. Civil society is a group of people created by them using the different aspects in which beliefs and values were formed. Civil Society consists of 'what private organizations' such as churches, trade unions, and schools.

#### **D. Character and Characterization**

One of the essential elements of literary works is character. In a work of fiction, a character can be represented as a human being. The character can be described through behavior, nature, and description. There are several kinds of characters. The main character is the main concern of the reader in literary

works, and the supporting character, the character that creates and provokes a conflict for the main character. In general, the characters are divided into two. Namely the antagonist character and the protagonist character.

The protagonist character is a role that must present positive roles in the needs of the story. This role often takes on a painful and painful role that will arouse the sympathy of the reader. Meanwhile, the role of the antagonist is the opposite of the role of the protagonist. The role of the antagonist must present negative things in the needs of a story.

Characterization is an attempt to show the character or personality of a character. Characters are an important part of building a story. Characters not only convey a story but convey themes, ideas and plots. There are two methods of presenting characterizations. The first method is the direct method, namely telling the characterizations, and the second, the indirect method, namely showing. In the book Murphys *Understanding Unseen* (John Murphy, 1972), there are several steps to influence readers to view character characterization files:

### **1. Personal Description**

The personal description is one of the aspects that appear in a character so that the reader can understand. For example, the character's skin color, height, hair color, face shape, and national status.

### **2. Character as Seen by Another**

In the process of analyzing, readers can understand and understand characters through other characters. Readers can also find character

characterizations based on information obtained through the eyes of other characters.

### **3. Speech**

In the process of analyzing, the reader can find out the characterizations of the characters through the statements made by these figures. In this case it can be in the form of dialogue and monologues in literary works. Readers can find out between the protagonist and antagonist of a character by looking at the words used.

### **4. Past life**

In this step, the reader can find out and get information from the character's previous life. So that readers know the reasons how life in the past can affect character formation.

### **5. Conversation by Other**

This step includes a complicated step. Unlike speech, this step analyzes the speech spoken by the character when the character says something to himself or what is commonly called a monologue. Readers can find out how they give their opinion on something.

### **6. Reaction**

In this step, readers can get information based on instructions from the author through how the characters react to various conditions.

### **7. Direct Comment**

Readers can understand the characters in their way. The antagonist character is usually known for bad behavior, and the protagonist has a polite and well-mannered attitude.

### **CHAPTER III**

#### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

In this chapter, the researcher discusses how hegemony occurs on republican families. In this chapter, the researcher describes the background of hegemony on republicans. The researcher also describes how hegemony is against republicans. , Franco spread Hegemony through the nationalists against the republicans. Franco and nasionalists spread of hegemony through coercion (coercion on economics and coercion on political).

#### **A. The background of the Hegemony of the Republicans**

Based on the novel *The Founttains of Silence*, the researcher found social inequality in Spain. Spain in 1937 under the rule of the dictator Francisco Franco. Franco was a general and commander of the nationalists who was born on December 4, 1892. He was born into a family of marines. His father served in the Spanish army. Futhermore, his mother came from the upper middle class Roman Catholic. Franco is known as someone who can lead. He is also known as a careful and systematic leader. Franco was appointed general and attacked the Republicans who followed the old republican system. Franco as the leader of the nationalists saw and considered the performance of the Republicans unsatisfactory. Franco also disagreed with the creation of a second Spanish republic.

*The spanish civil war (1936-1939) began as a military revolt againts the democratically elected second spanish republic and continued as an armed conflict between the nasionalists and republicans. The nasioalists were led by generalissimo fransico franco and aided by hilter and mussolini. The republicans were led by the democratic goverment at the time and aided by mexico, the soviet union, and volunteers from over fifty co-untries, with support from academic, creatives, workers, unions, and leftists. Internally divided, the republicans were*

*not able to stop nationalist advance and surrendered in march of 1939. Franco's dictatorship lasted thirty-six years. (p.1)*

Based on the data above, the researcher know that franco became the leader of the nationalists who disagreed with the second Spanish republic. This led to a civil war between republicans and nationalists. War is something that occurs involving two parties with a specific purpose. War can have an impact on society and even the world. As in the novel *The Fountains of Silence*, there was a civil war in Spain in 1937 the war involved two groups, namely the nationalists and the republicans.

*The three-lined avnue of Paseo de la Castellana- home to Spanish royalty and grand palaces. And then, the bright images fade. 1936. Civil war erupts in Spain. War drains color from the cheeks of Madrid. The grand palaces become gray ghosts. Gardens and Fountains dissappear. So do Ana's parents. Hunger and isolation cast a filter of darkness over the country. Spain is curtained off frm the world. (p.6)*

Based on the data above, the researcher can determine a war in Spain in 1936. The war was a civil war. The war that happened changed Madrid's situation at that time. Gardens and other facilities became dark and gray. Spain, which turned into a country isolated from the world, also affected the Republican family, who was threatened with poverty and hunger. The nationalists under the leadership of the dictator Francisco Franco. The data also proves that Republican families experienced terrible things during the war. Murder, torture, and so on. Other data showing Republican families experiencing violence include the following:

*His father appears at the door. The Crows appear at the crub.  
The shot rings out. A flash explodes. Julia screams from above.  
No,*

No,  
No,  
*The drag his father's limp corpse by an arm.*  
*"Papa!"*  
*It's too late. As the cry leaves his throat, Rafa relaizes. He's given*  
*himself away (p. 03)*

Based on the data above, researcher can find out what happened when the war broke out through the figure of Rafael. Rafael, who is played as one of the Republican families, remembers the incident when the civilian guard killed his father. The shot that was aimed at his father occurred when Rafael and his father were together. The civil guard made him froze and stood stunned when he saw his father dead in front of him. Julia, Rafael's sister, also saw the incident. In this data, researchers can find out that the war lasted a long time. The researcher find the other data about war as data bellow:

*They shaved her head in prison. They branded her bare flesh with the yoke-arrow symbol of the Falange. They force-fed her castor oil so she would soil herself. They paraded her mother through the streets, human dignity excreting down her lings for all to see. Their mother, a teacher, became a human billboard: This is what happens when you become a Rojilla, a little Red. (p.154)*

Based on the data above, researcher can find out that there is violence against republicans. The data above shows that Julia's mother is imprisoned. Francisco had burned Julia's mother, and they marked the Flange symbol to Julia's mother. The sign is a Kundan arrow. In addition, Francisco gave castor oil to Julia's mother intending to contaminate all of Julia's mothers. Fransisco also paraded Julia's mother in the streets with her body dirty on Julia's mother. This treatment made Mrs. Julia's self-esteem fall, and she called her Rojilla. Rojilla is a pejorative term for a woman who conspires with leftist politicians. Based on the explanation above, the researcher can find out that the civil war in Spain has

solved the two peoples in Spain. Women from Republican families are called rojilla. This indicates that Spanish women from the republicans have been designated as women from the camp against Franco.

*The system was very rigid. It was Franco's Spain. You did not want to fall under the hands of the Guardia Civil or the police. The jails were pretty bad and people were getting thrown in there all the time. (p. 15)*

The data above shows that General Francisco Franco has won the civil war. Franco has a civil guard, politics, and regimes under him. They can torture and put him in jail if any republican does not follow the rules. Franco ruled Spain in thirty-six years.

## **B. Hegemony on Republicans**

Hegemony is a form of domination and subordination in a structural relationship based on power. According to Gramsci (Lasiana & Wedawati, 2021), hegemony is a class society exercising its power over a subordinate class by using a combination of coercion and persuasion. Hegemony can be found in the novel *The Fountains of Silence*. In maintaining his power, Franco with nationalists spread hegemony as a society under the leadership of Franco against the republicans by coercion (coercion on economics and coercion on political). .

### **1).Coercion on Economics**

In the novel *The Fountains of Silence*, the researcher finds some data which shows that franco and nasionalist as upper class have power to spread hegmony to republicans that the subordination class are the hegemonic people in economic conditions. Republicans as subordinates class have to work hard to their life. The data can be found by researcher as follows below:

*"It's not a child. He's powerful, and who could hurt my family. I love my job and we can't survive without the income. Please, we have to be careful." (p.302).*

From the quote above, the researcher can see that Ana reveals that Nick's father. Nick's father is one of the nationalists. Not only that, her economic needs are very dependent on it. The researcher also can see that from this conversation, the nationalists are very empowering as upper class. Because they hold full power as owners of capital and can take profits based on what he wants. Base on the conversation, the researcher can also see that Nick's father, as a nationalist, can harm Ana's family as a subordinate class. This power can be obtained because Nick's father is Ana's employer as the owner of the politic class. They are free to take advantage of the subordinate class. They are free to do anything, including hiring and laying off workers. In this case, the attitude of the upper class society can be found in the novel. This data shows that the nationalists sympathize with their subordinates. Other data that strengthen the data above are as follows:

*"Someone accused me of something I didn't do. They threatened me. I had to make changes. Nick was offered a job at the Hilton, where I can work my way up to a better position. I was grateful to you for defending Nick in the fight because he saved me. He gets himself in trouble, but he's not a bad person. And you, you are a wonderful person. You're kind and fun and talented. You've been very respectful to me, senior, and you deserve the same." (p. 305)*

In this quote, the author tells a little about Ana's threatening past. The threat from Nick's father. Shep Van Dorn threatened her guilty, so she quit her job. Nevertheless, Ana can hide it very well to escape the threats she gets and keep her job. Based on the data above, the researcher can see one of the powers that dominate the Republicans. Shop Van Dorn is one of the nationalists who feel

free to do whatever they want. Shep Van Dorn threatens Ana to remain silent about whatever she has been accused of. Her fate is saved by Shep Van Dorn's son Nick who has a kind heart to help Ana get a new job at the Hilton. Other data that indicates the hegemony on republicans as follow data below:

*Families of Republicans are not able to publicly mourn those they have lost ... he is able to whisper words to his mother each day... ( p. 307).*

Based on the data above, the researcher can see one of the dominance on the republican family. The data shows that Puri is a Republican family who works as a nurse in an orphanage. Puri revealed that as a child born to a Republican family, she had to keep a secret. However, she also wonders how Ana can get a job in a big American hotel when she is part of a Republican family. Also, the researcher can also see that one form of bitter taste experienced by republican families has to keep a secret. Republicans born into poverty as a form of punishment after the war had to keep what they were doing. Not only that, but they also have to keep everything they say.

In the face of this, the Republicans can do nothing but remain silent and entangled with poverty. Based on what was conveyed by Gramsci (El & Yechouti, 2017) , that the subordinates could not do anything even they were willing to accept the things that happened in their lives even though the feelings of resentment within the Republican family could not be conveyed. They can only accept the rules made by Franco and be silent for all his suffering. In addition, franco also stole republicans babies secretly. However, republicans can only keep their suspicions The data can be followed as bellow:

*My wife is certain there must be a mistake. She said the child she gave birth to was completely bald and had a red birthmark on his arm. The deceased infant shown to us was more significant than our son, had a bit of hair, and did not have the marking on his arm. (p.246)*

Based on the data above, the researcher knows that there is suspicion that exists in republicans. As Ana's sister, Julia felt an obstacle when she gave birth to a baby. This was conveyed by her husband Antonio through conversation. In the conversation, Antonio told me that the child born to Julia had a birthmark on her hand. Not only that, but he also had quite a bit of hair. In this data, researcher can be sure that babies born to republican families are sold to tourists who come to Spain.

*"You took pictures of one of her babies," whispers Ana, trying to bind her emotion. "Julia had twins. The birth was premature. Both infants were small, but one was stronger than the other. The doctor told Julia and Antonio that one of the babies died. The boy had deep suspicions but were too frightened to speak of it. The nun's and doctors were so adamant, and given that our parents were considered Reds, Julia was fearful to say anything" (p. 422).*

Based on the data above, the researcher was convinced through the conversations discussed by Ana. Ana says that her sister Julia has twins. The babies were born prematurely. During delivery, doctors told Julia and Antonio that the two babies had different powers. One baby is smaller while the other baby is more potent and more significant. The doctor informed Antonio and Julia that one of their children had died. However, the doctor reminded Antonio and Julia that their people were considered insignificant. However, this left Julia speechless, afraid to say anything. Other data that show Republicans' suspicions about babies who are claimed to have died in childbirth are as follows:

*The 'brothers' who ran the boys' home in Barcelona always told Fuga he was worthless, that if he was an infant they'd at least be able to sell him to Franco. He thinks babies born to Republican or poor families are being stolen, that the Church wants the children redeemed and raised by Francoists. Ay, I need him to*

*forget about the cemetery and the coffins. We finally have a promoter interested." (p.287)*

Based on the data above, the researcher can determine that Fuga is very suspicious about the Republican babies. Fuga, who was considered an insignificant person, felt that he thought he would be sold to Franco if he was a baby. Fuga suspects that babies born to Republican families as poor people will be stolen and sold because Franco wants Republican children to be raised as Francoists. The data above shows that there are lies in Spain that have been hidden. Rafa and Fuga, who worked as gravediggers, felt something sticking from the coffins. The coffins they buried were empty. This incident made Rafa and Fuga even more convinced that there was a lie involving hundreds of Republican children. This data also shows that suspicions about franco's republican family are getting more and more convincing. However, it cannot change everything. The republicans at the bottom can do nothing to fight these irregularities. Other data about Franco stealing and selling Republican babies as follows bellow:

*Nick exhales a full of smoke. "That some of the babies they're selling aren't orphans." (p. 244)*

Based on the data above, as one of the nationalists, Nick revealed an injustice that the tourists did not know before. Franco considers that the children of the Republicans born into the world will become a new enemy. With that in mind, Franco had an effort run without the knowledge of the republicans. Republican babies sold to tourists without the republicans knowing. Based on the data above, researcher can see one of the powers of the nationalists under the leadership of franco. Republicans not only lost their rights and dreams but also

lost their families. This shows one form of domination that occurs. Franco as ruler of Spain, has the power to do everything according to the policies he wants.

*Bless me, Padre, for I am full of rage. I am seen by many but understood by few. My heart, so capable of love, is instead lined with hatred for our country's leader. I detest that the coins I earn bear his image and the phrase "Caudillo by the grace of God." I detest that my future is determined by the past. I detest that I am made to feel unworthy and unable to pursue my heart's desires. I constantly dream of leaving Spain, of being wanted, yet the hands that have reached for me have never loved me. My sole intimacy is with silence and the taste of tears. (p.165).*

Based on the evidence above, Ana tells everything she feels at the confession booth. The feeling of deep distress over poverty haunted her. This pressure made her entangled and unable to achieve her dream. The feeling of injustice after the war had always understood her. The sentence she said was that she hated her life because her future was determined by her past. The past that hampered his life. Ana felt that she was just friends with silence and tears. But in the evidence above. Ana also said that she will continue to dream of leaving Spain. Nevertheless she felt that life in Spain, which was trapped in poverty due to the impact of the war was very depressing. Oppression can also occur through the threats it presents. With very poor economic conditions. In the data above, Ana received threats from Nick's father, Shep Van Dorn, as a political class. Ana tries to keep the secret that has been threatening her. She was forced to do that because she kept her job for the sake of economic stability, the nationalists, as the owners of capital, have the freedom to do what they want. Based in the novel, the writer tells about Ana's past, who could not make any defense to keep her job.

*"We have five months at the table now. No one can lose their job." ( p. 368).*

In the data above, the researcher can analyze that the sentence that always rings in Ana reminds Ana to stay on the path that she should be on. The words her sister Julia conveys to Ana remind Ana of her family who need her. Ana tries to fight this situation by controlling herself. Ana must be able to control herself so that she can still make ends meet. Republicans are proletariat choked on poverty. The author describes this in the evidence that the researcher can find in the novel.

*"Of course I wanted to be there. I want a lot of things I can't have. For you, this is a vacation, but for me, it's real life. I'm the daughter of Republicans. (p. 358).*

In the evidence above, the researcher can see that Ana has a great desire to stay outside Sapnyol and realize the many things she has. This evidence also explains what Ana must go through in reaching her life under fransisco franco. Ana is very depressed by her situation. she saves all his dreams to keep his job. For her, her family life is significant. She has a dream to find a job that is better than just being a waitress. Ana has confidence and self-confidence in her.

*Daniel repeatedly glances at the notes. The paper in his hand vibrates as a small patting swell to a pounding, and hordes of children run toward the vehicle. In an instant, the car is surrounded, faces pressing against the glass, distorted, like reflections in a ghoulish funhouse. The children shriek and wave, playful and exuberant. He faded and patched. Daniel looks out the windshield and sees a group of men walking toward the car. One carries a club. The sea of children parts for the men as they survey the Buick and walk to the driver's side. (p.170)*

In the evidence above, the writer tells the social inequality in the economy in the novel. Daniel visited Ana's place as one of the Republicans. The author tells through the character Daniel that the isolated village from Spain, Vacellas, is filled with cheerful and radiant children with smiling faces, radiant faces waving at Daniel. On the other hand, Daniel saw poor conditions there. Clothes that are faded and patched are words that indicate the existence of economic inequality

there. Republicans are the lower class. So no wonder it can be illustrated from this fragment of the story that Ana is a Republican who desperately needs money to stay alive with her family. Living in a capitalist society is very depressing for Republicans. Their life as a subordination class made her unable to do whatever they wanted. The data found that can strengthen that Spain at that time was a capitalist society.

*Each day, Rafa choose a brave and happy smile. He faces fear and wins. The temporary victory is silent, but sings through his soul. (p.99)*

Based on the data above, researcher can find out that republicans are trying to accept their pain. The data above tells from Rafael, who is one of the members of the Republicans. Rafael lives with a gripping fear of himself with death. His job requires Rafael to fight that fear. Rafael confronts and dispels his past that haunts him deeply. Rafael also kept smiling in the face of his situation and fear at that time. Based on the data above, researcher can find out one form of acceptance of Republican families with fear and pain that haunts their lives. As explained in Antonio Gramsci's theory (Sullivan, 1957), the subordination social class accepts the pain and injustice in power. Other data describe Republicans as a subordination social class.

*The picture of Nick, face bludgeoned, slumped in the back of the taxi:*

*Sometimes, when there's nothing left to burn, we set ourselves on fire.*

*The happy girl from Vacellas with the raven braid and holes in her shoes:*

*She has a name for the tapeworm that lives inside of her. She calls him Chucho. The hairy-chested tourist asleep at the sidewalk table:*

*The drink he spills costs more than many earn in a week. Who benefits most from tourist dollars in Spain?*

*Shep Van Dorn, entertaining guest at the dinner part:*

*Expensive clothes or cheap drapes of emotional poverty?  
Rafa, smile beaming, standing by the Buick:*

*The lashing scars on his back live like veins above the skin. But sometimes, a  
good smile can chase the memories away. (p.268)*

Based on the data above, researcher can determine the differences in social class based on economic conditions through one of the figures who interpret each photo. Tom Collins, one of the characters in the novel, describes a photo of Nick with a battered face. Nick was in the back seat of the taxi. Tom Collins describes the photo of Nick by describing Nick's condition. Nick is one of the active characters and full of problems. He was filled with problems of his own making. After that, Tom Collins described the second photo, namely Ana Photo. Ana is a jovial girl who comes from Vacellas and does not dress well. Tom Collins describes the hunger and Ana by calling it a tapeworm in her body. In addition, Tom Collins describes photos of tourists and describes it as a state of Spain that benefits more from the arrival of tourists. He exposed the injustices in Spain by comparing the spilled drink with the earnings of the lower-class Republicans.

Furthermore, in the next photo, Tom Collins depicts a picture of a smiling Rafa and describes him as someone who can hide his wounds with a smile painted on his face. Based on the data above, the researcher can find out that there is injustice in Spain. The Republicans, as the subordinates class society, are dominated by the nationalists as the upper-class society—Republicans hegemony with the condition of the economic structure.

*It is impossible to kill a man who is already dead. The mirror is broken, but the  
reflection is intact. Resurrection is possible, Huerfano. You fight for the  
forgotten, the abused, the hungry, and the unwanted. You fight for your one and  
only friend, just as he fights for you. (p.250)*

Based on the data above, the researcher can determine that one of the characters is named Fuga. Fuga was one of those Republicans trying to come to terms with his life. He convinced himself that he could change the situation he was in one day. He believed that his life would not be forever starved and forgotten. Based on the data above shows one of the pains of life faced by Republicans. Hunger-stricken Republicans desperately tried to accept their life. They try to remain optimistic that things have changed, as explained by Gramsci's theory (El & Yechouti, 2017) which argues that the lower class can accept pain and injustice in their lives. (El & Yechouti, 2017). Furthermore, in the next photo, Tom Collins depicts a picture of a smiling Rafa and describes him as someone who can hide his wounds with a smile painted on his face.

## **2) Coercion on Political**

Politics is a state apparatus that holds power and carries out juridical orders, such as the army, courts, government, police or bureaucracy (Lestari & Nensiliati, n.d.). The nationalist belongs to the political society. Because they are a society that operates under the leadership of Franco and has a business in cooperation with other countries. The nationalists carry out several other forms of hegemony. The data can be found as follows:

*"Oh, I'll get away with it and more. C'mon, Dan. Politicians and businessmen, they get what they want. When Van Dorn didn't, well, he got men, tried to intimidate her. I could share tales, both hilarious and terrifying, about these guys on overseas posts. I pray the stories make it in to the DC archives. This one guy, he roared into a village." (p. 355.)*

The author tells through dialogue between two characters, namely Nick and Daniel, from the above story fragments. The author says that a business

person and a politician will be free to get what he wants even if they depend on them for their economic conditions. If they do not get this, they will be free to emphasize the threat. Other data showing that babies of republican families have been sold include the following:

*My wife is certain there must be a mistake. She said the child she gave birth to was completely bald and had a red birthmark on his arm. The deceased infant shown to us was more significant than our son, had a bit of hair, and did not have the marking on his arm. (p.246)*

Based on the data above, the researcher knows that there is suspicion that exists in Republicans. As Ana's sister, Julia felt an obstacle when she gave birth to a baby. This was conveyed by her husband Antonio through conversation. In the conversation, Antonio told me that the child born to Julia had a birthmark on her hand. Not only that, but he also had quite a bit of hair. In this data, researcher can be sure that babies born to republican families are sold to tourists who come to Spain.

*"You took pictures of one of her babies," whispers Ana, trying to bind her emotion. "Julia had twins. The birth was premature. Both infants were small, but one was stronger than the other. The doctor told Julia and Antonio that one of the babies died. The boy had deep suspicions but were too frightened to speak of it. The nun's and doctors were so adamant, and given that our parents were considered Reds, Julia was fearful to say anything" (p. 422).*

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*The 'brothers' who ran the boys' home in Barcelona always told Fuga he was worthless, that if he was an infant they'd at least be able to sell him to Franco. He thinks babies born to Republican or poor families are being stolen, that the Church wants the children redeemed and raised by Francoists. Ay, I need him to forget about the cemetery and the coffins. We finally have a promoter interested." (p.287)*

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*Ben looks at Daniel carefully. "Yes, bodies from both sides of the war. But since the war ended, there's only been one side, Matheson. You were in Vacellas today. You saw. There are so many villages like that throughout Spain." Ben lowers his voice. "For years Spain was collapsing, people were starving, and Franco, he was spending money on this monument?" Ben shakes his head and takes a deep drag on his cigarette. He speaks as he exhales. "After World War II, even Germany, our archenemy, was a recipient under the Marshall Plan, but Spain?" Ben forms a "zero" with his hand. "Spain was the only major Western European nation excluded from the economic recovery plan. What do you think that says?". (p.187-188)*

The data above shows that the author tells the condition of Spain at that time through dialogue between characters. Ben's character tells Daniel about the condition of Spain at that time. Ben relates that there was only one side visible in Spain after the war. Vallas is an isolated part of Spain. Ben also tells Daniel that Daniel has seen a landscape with houses lined up in deplorable conditions in Spain. Ben's wrong words are one indication that the Spanish do not take Vacellas people very well as Spanish people. Franco only spends state money just for a monument. However, he ignored the condition of his people, causing Spain to collapse. This data shows the existence of injustice in social society. The gap that occurred after the war made the Vacellas people slumped in the economic gap. Republicans are proletariat choked on poverty. In the novel, several data indicate the existence of the freedom attitude of the political class. The nationalists carry out several other forms of hegemony. Rules made by franco as leader of Spain. Furthermore, the Republicans did not have any power against the nationalists. They have huge dreams. Nevertheless, unfortunately, their dreams are minimal because of inequalities on social class. The Republicans were only used as a people who only followed the injustice of the rules that had been made in Spain.

*"Who cares if they're true. That's the wild boar everyone's hunting so one day they'll run it down. But, they're missing something. What about the people of Spain? What is it like under a dictatorship? What's it like for young people when the textbook is government-sponsored? What are their hopes and dreams when there are no free elections and only one religion?" (p. 77)*

Based on the data above, the data shows that Republicans are considered one eye in Spain. Researchers can find out this based on the data above, which tells that no one cares about the truth that exists in Spain. Some people lost their rights, lost their dreams, and lost their hopes. Researcher can see that the people

who are told based on the conversation above are Republicans. Republicans who have limitations in their lives. People who lost their dreams and lost their hopes under Franco's leadership. In addition, Spanish people are required to live in one religion. This is a rule made by Franco, so the Republicans who fight for their lives for the catholic religion, must follow Franco and have no choice to follow another religion.

*"Protestant and Jewish religious services are not allowed outside the home. Nor are their weddings or funerals. It's a military dictatorship".( p.275).*

In the evidence above, the researcher can find out corroborating evidence that Franco has been in power. Under Franco's rule, Republicans were not allowed to leave the house. They are given boundaries for life. Besides, the Republican family is called the Red camp family. This shows the existence of social differences and inequalities in society. The red camp can be interpreted as the opposing camp. Based on the data above, the researcher also can find out that Republicans who hold fast to the Protestant and Jewish beliefs must comply with a rule made by Franco as the ruler and leader of Spain. They are not allowed to leave the house. Not only that, but they also do not get a facility when the wedding takes place and a funeral which is in a different place to bury the Republicans who died. This shows that there are social differences between the nationalists and the Republicans. The evidence above shows one of the powers in hegemony. That power is, legitimate power. Legitimate power is a possessed by a leader who has a certain ability to influence. In legitimate power a leadership base on legitimate power will affect a course of performance in the rules that are lead. Franco as the leader of Spain is very influential on the regulations in Spain.

Republicans are dominated by nationalists not only based on economic conditions but also from political elements. Republicans must be careful to speak in any case. If they say anything about the secrets of Spain and Franco, republicans must accept the risk that could endanger their lives. Other data on dominance can be found as follows:

*The Basque people are an indigeneous population with their own language and heritage. El Caudilli wants to unite everyone as Spaniard so the Basque laanguage has banned and some of their schools have been turned into jails. (p.96)*

Based on the data above, the researcher can find out the forms of coercion in politics in the novel. The data above tells that the people who use the original inherited language. However, the language is prohibited from being used in Spain even though El Caudillo wants to unite the Spanish community by using the language as a heritage language. However, their school has been turned into a prison. Based on the data above, the researcher can determine that Republicans are not even allowed to use their native language. This is a form of a regulation made by Franco as the ruler. Franco, as the ruler, set several regulations as a form of boundaries for the Republicans.

*Julia is right. In Spain, women must adhere to strict subordinate roles in the domestic arts. Ana remembers the teachings of the seccion femenina: "Do not pretend to be equal to men. They also teach that purity is absolute. Women's bathing suits must reach the knees. If a girl is discovered in a movie theater with a boy but no chaperone, her family is sent a yellow card of prostitution. (p. 34)*

From the above passage, the researcher can see that Ana feels that her life is very unfair. Ana differentiates her life as a woman who has boundaries in Spain. Ana distinguishes her life from the life of women in America who are very accessible. American women can travel anywhere in their vehicle and without a

license. *Permisso marital* is a series of laws that prohibits a wife from working, owning property, and traveling away from home without her husband's permission; it also applies in the form of written permission to marry. As stated by Ana in the conversation, the researcher can indirectly know that in Spain, the life of women is still under the control of men. Based on the evidence above, Ana also appears to be in a fact that is very difficult for her to accept as a woman living in Spain.. The other data as follow below:

*"Julia, it seems unbelievable to us, but for them, it's real-life!" says Ana. "American women drive their own cars and fly around the world on airplanes. It's not considered sinful. They don't need permisso marital. They can seek employment, open a bank account, and travel without their husband's permission" (p.33)*

From the above passage, the researcher can see that Ana feels that her life is very unfair. Ana differentiates her life as a woman who has boundaries in Spain. Ana distinguishes her life from the life of women in America who are very accessible. American women can travel anywhere in their vehicle and without a license. *Permisso marital* is a series of laws that prohibits a wife from working, owning property, and traveling away from home without her husband's permission; it also applies in the form of written permission to marry. As stated by Ana in the conversation, the researcher can indirectly know that in Spain, the life of women is still under the control of men.

*"Ana is tired of silence, tired of unanswered questions, and tired of secrets. A girl of patched pieces, she dreams of new beginnings. She dreams of leaving Spain. But her sister is right. Her dreams have proven dangerous." (p.5)*

From the quote above, the writer describes someone who has huge desires and dreams. Ana, who dreams of leaving her real life in Spain, tired of her silence

hiding her secret, will start her dreams—starting the residence that disturbed his life until as Ana's barrier to achieving the dreams she wants. Ana's voice drops to a whisper.

*It is impossible to kill a man who is already dead. The mirror is broken, but the reflection is intact. Resurrection is possible, Huerfano. You fight for the forgotten, the abused, the hungry, and the unwanted. You fight for your one and only friend, just as he fights for you. (p.250)*

Based on the evidence above, the writer tells the story through the Fuga character, who has a very high level of optimism and trust. Fuga believes that he can bring his family out of fear and achieve the desires they have been holding onto. Even though those were impossible things and he could not do. He believed that a miracle must have come for him. He also hopes and says about Huerfano struggling with the unwanted. Like abuse, forgotten to starvation. What Fuga has done can increase the self-confidence of the children of republican families as well as Ana. Ana, who is strong in herself, also gets a vital role from her older brothers Rafael and Fuga to keep her enthusiasm to achieve the dreams they want. Nevertheless, other young people have big ambitions to get out of sadness because of the people they have left behind.

*His father releases a heavy exhale. "I'm not too sure, Dan. It depends how the country of Spain moves forward. One of contactors said they heard Spain is heading toward democracy and amnesty was mentioned." (p.431)*

The following data shows that Spain has changed. Daniel's father told Daniel that the Spanish system of government would replace his government with democracy and amnesty. –Futhermore, the data above shows that Franco and the nationalists spread their hegemony by force against the Republican family. As

long as Spain was under Franco's rule, the Republicans were forced to remain silent in their pain. Republicans are not given the right to an opinion. Other data that shows Franco's power are as follows:

*Today, Spain has an absence-their dictator who ruled for thirty-six years. What is Ana's reaction? What is the country feeling? If Ben were alive, they would be on the phone. Daniel puts his hand on the steering wheel and closes his eyes, listening to the song, letting it hurt. Will all do the work. (p. 398).*

In the description fragment above, the author tells about the death of the Spanish dictator. This data shows that the shackles that the Spanish people experienced for thirty years are over.

*"Protestant and Jewish religious services are not allowed outside the home. Nor are their weddings or funerals. It's a military dictatorship".( p.275).*

In the evidence above, the researcher can find out corroborating evidence that Franco has been in power. Under Franco's rule, Republicans were not allowed to leave the house. They are given boundaries for life. Besides, the Republican family is called the Red camp family. This shows the existence of social differences and inequalities in society. The red camp can be interpreted as the opposing camp. Based on the data above, the researcher also can find out that Republicans who hold fast to the Protestant and Jewish beliefs must comply with a rule made by Franco as the ruler and leader of Spain. They are not allowed to leave the house. Not only that, but they also do not get a facility when the wedding takes place and a funeral which is in a different place to bury the Republicans who died. This shows that there are social differences between the nationalists and the Republicans. The evidence above shows one of the powers in hegemony. That power is, legitatae power. Legimate power is a prossessed by a

leader who w\has a certain ability to influence. In legitimate power a leadership base on legitimate power will affect a course of performance in the rules that are lead. Franco as the leader of Spain is very influential on the regulations in Spain. Republicans are dominated by nationalists not only based on economic conditions but also from political elements. Republicans must be careful to speak in any case. If they say anything about the secrets of Spain and Franco, republicans must accept the risk that could endanger their lives.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

In this chapter conclusion and suggestion of analysis from the data presented by the researcher. The researcher concludes the research in some paragraphs, and after that, the researcher explains suggestions about the next research.

#### A. Conclusion

This study analyzes the hegemony that occurs among republicans in the novel *The Fountains of Silence* by Ruta Sepetys. In this study, the researcher used Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony. This theory is one of the sociological analyzes of literature. In this study, the researcher uses a sociology of literature approach. This approach can help researchers in the process of analyzing the novel *The Fountains of Silence*. Based on this analysis, the researcher shows that there are social gap in the novel *The Fountains of Silence*. The social gap is in the form of hegemony. Researcher finds hegemony that occurred in one class of Spanish society. the background of the occurrence of hegemony is Hegemony occurred against the background of the division of Spanish society. General Francisco Franco who does not agree with the existence of a democratic system by the Republicans and considers it a lack of government performance. This led to civil war in Spain. The war was won by Franco who held power in Spain. in maintaining his power, Franco spread Hegemony through the nationalists against the republicans.

The spread of hegemony is through coercion. First is coercion on economics. The nationalists as people who have a high economy can take over the republicans as the subordinates. They can carry out a threat to the republicans as workers who work against the nationalists. Second is coercion on political. Franco spread his hegemony by forcing republicans to obey the rules that he made.

## **B. Suggestion**

After carrying out research, analysis, and discussion in Ruta Sepetys' novel entitled *The Fountains of Silence* (2019), the author gives suggestions to anyone who will research the novel.

1. The first suggestion, the writer emphasizes that further researchers can analyze the novel *The Fountains of Silence* by using different theories and approaches.
2. Suggestions for readers are to be more in-depth and know about the state of Spanish society at that time.

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## CURRICULUM VITAE



Dela Afkarina was born in Banyuwangi, 27 September 1999. She is the second of two children. In 2004-2011 she attended elementary school at SDN 4 Tembokrejo. In 2011-2014 she attended junior high school at MTS. Muncar and continued high school in 2014-2017 at MAN 1 Probolinggo. Then in 2017-2021 she took her undergraduate education, the English Literature Study Program at the Maulan Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, Malang. Her hobbies and achievements are in the field of dance. Dela followed and when she pursued the art of dance she was 8 years old and won several traditional dance competitions. This academic achievement that he has achieved is the third place in Arabic and Inconesian poetry in (2016). In 2021 she completed her education with a final project entitled Hegemony on Republicans in Ruta Sepetys's *The Fountains of Silence* (Antonio Gramsci Theory).

