

**THE MECHANISM OF POLITICAL HEGEMONY IN RUTA
SEPETYS'S *I MUST BETRAY YOU***

THESIS

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG**

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**THE MECHANISM OF POLITICAL HEGEMONY IN RUTA
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THESIS

Presented to
Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang in Partial Fulfillment of
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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
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2024**

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled “**The Mechanism of Political Hegemony in Rata Sepetys’s *I Must Betray You***” is my original work. I do 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, December 5th, 2024

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APPROVAL SHEET

This to certify that Kirana Puspayanti thesis entitled **The Mechanism of Political Hegemony in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*** has been approved for thesis examination at Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)*.

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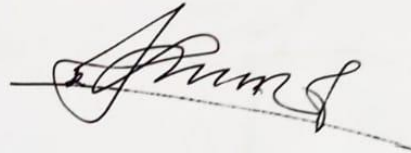
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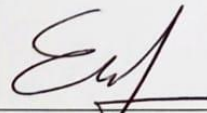
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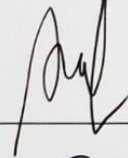
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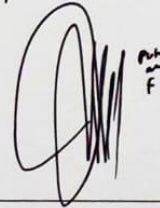
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MOTTO

Maybe I made a mistake yesterday. But yesterday is me and still me. I am who I am today, with all of my faults. Tomorrow I make a mistake or might be a tiny bit wiser, and that's me too.

-Kim Namjoon-

DEDICATION

With his outpouring of affection and support, I present my thesis to:
The most incredible support of my life, Edy Sutrisno and Suti Ningsih
My excellent guidance Advisor, Agung Wiranata Kusuma, M.A.
All my friends are always spreading positive things and motivation
And for myself, Kirana Puspayanti

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Salawat and salam were continuously poured out on prophet Muhammad SAW, and peace and blessings be upon him, along with his family, friends, and followers, until the end of time. The thesis entitled *The Mechanism of Political Hegemony in Ruta Sepetys I Must Betray You* was made to meet one of the requirements for achieving a degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.) in the Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanity, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Completing the thesis is with the participation of those who have provided endless motivation, counsel, and support. Therefore, with deep gratitude and appreciation, the researcher would like to extend thanks to all who have contributed to the drafting of this thesis:

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11. Lastly, don't forget I want to say congratulate to myself for successfully getting through to one of the difficult phases in my life. Thank for not giving up and choosing to complete my responsibilities. Thank you for proving yourself and not disappointing your parents. You are more valuable than anything in this world, please always love yourself today, tomorrow and forever.

The researcher realized that there are still many shortcomings that need to be corrected and improved in preparing this thesis. For that, the researcher hopes that there will be input for this thesis, as well as further research that is appropriate to the issue or object of this thesis. The researcher hope this thesis may benefit the researcher, family, and the wider community.

ABSTRACT

Puspayanti, Kirana (2024). The Mechanism of Political Hegemony in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*. Undergraduate Thesis, Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor: Agung Wiranata Kusuma, M.A.

Key word: Hegemony, Maintenance, Resistance

Hegemony studies are a relevant theme in today's social and political conditions. Hegemony has become a thing that can be seen in real life; even more so in today's era, hegemony is done physically and through media and culture. The study aims to examine the issue of hegemony, especially in knowing the ruling class's strategy for preserving and maintaining its hegemony, according to the political hegemony concept by Antonio Gramsci. The study, in its analysis, used an objective approach. To that end, researcher formulated two question assessments: 1) What are the strategies to maintain hegemony carried out by the government as portrayed in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*? 2) How does opposed characters resist the political hegemony carried out by the government in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*? This study is a literary criticism because it analyzes and interprets literature. Data was collected by identifying and clarifying relevant quotations from the novels *I Must Betray You*. The data is analyzed by describing and explaining a quote based on Gramsci's concept of maintenance of hegemony. A compromise shows that 1) the government also conducted efforts to maintain hegemony as stated in the Gramsci Maintenance of hegemony by the efforts compromise and adjustment of the alliance, restructuration, overcome structural contradiction, and Build a New Alliance System. 2) Leaders in the novel suggest resistance to hegemony by governments, both passive resistance and active resistance. Which in turn led them to revolution and freedom.

مستخلص البحث

بوسفايانتي، كيرانا (٢٠٢٤) آليات الهيمنة السياسية في رواية "يجب أن أخونك" لرونا سيبينيس. رسالة ماجستير. برنامج الدراسات في الأدب الإنجليزي، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم، مالانج. مشرف: أغونغ ويراناتا كوسوما، ماجستير.

كلمات مفتاحية: الهيمنة، الصيانة، المقاومة

دراسة الهيمنة أصبحت موضوعًا ذا صلة بالوضع الاجتماعي والسياسي الحالي. لأن الهيمنة أصبحت أمرًا دائمًا في الحياة ويمكن رؤيته بشكل واضح، خاصة في العصر الحالي حيث لا تتم الهيمنة فقط بشكل مادي بل أيضًا من خلال الإعلام والثقافة. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى دراسة قضية الهيمنة، وتحديدًا معرفة استراتيجيات الطبقة الحاكمة في الحفاظ على هيمنتها، بناءً على مفهوم الهيمنة السياسية لأنثونيو غرامشي. تستخدم هذه الدراسة منهجًا موضوعيًا في تحليلها. لذلك، صاغ الباحث سؤالين للبحث: (1) ما هي الاستراتيجيات التي اتبعتها الحكومة للحفاظ على هيمنتها كما هو موضح في رواية *I Must Betray You* لرونا سيبينيس؟ (2) كيف تصدى الشخصيات في القصة للهيمنة التي فرضتها الحكومة في رواية رونا سيبينيس *I Must Betray You*؟ هذه الدراسة هي نقد أدبي لأنها تحلل وتفسر العمل الأدبي. تم جمع البيانات من خلال تحديد وتوضيح الاقتباسات ذات الصلة من رواية *I Must Betray You*. تم تحليل البيانات بوصف وشرح الاقتباسات بناءً على مفهوم الحفاظ على الهيمنة لدى غرامشي. أظهر التحليل أن (1) قامت الحكومة بجهود للحفاظ على الهيمنة كما ذكر في مفهوم غرامشي للحفاظ على الهيمنة، بدءًا من جهود التوافق والتكيف مع التحالفات، وإعادة الهيكلة، والتغلب على التناقضات الهيكلية، وصولاً إلى بناء نظام تحالفات جديد. (2) أظهرت شخصيات الرواية موقفًا مناهضًا للهيمنة التي فرضتها الحكومة، سواء من خلال المقاومة السلبية أو المقاومة النشطة. والتي أدت في النهاية إلى ثورة وحرية.

ABSTRAK

Puspayanti, Kirana (2024). Mekanisme Hegemoni Politik Dalam *I Must Betray You* Karya Ruta Sepetys. Skripsi. Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Ilmu Humaniora, Universitas Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Agung Wiranata Kusuma, M.A.

Kata Kunci: Hegemoni, Pemeliharaan, Perlawanan

Kajian hegemoni menjadi tema yang relevan dengan kondisi sosial dan politik saat ini. Karena hegemoni menjadi hal yang selalu ada dalam kehidupan yang bisa dilihat secara nyata contohnya, terlebih lagi, di era saat ini hegemoni tidak hanya dilakukan secara fisik tapi juga melalui penyebaran media dan budaya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji isu hegemoni khususnya dalam mengetahui strategi kelas penguasa dalam menjaga dan mempertahankan hegemoninya, berdasarkan konsep political hegemony oleh Antonio Gramsci. Penelitian ini dalam analisisnya menggunakan pendekatan objektif. Untuk itu peneliti merumuskan dua pertanyaan penelitian: 1) Strategi apa yang dilakukan oleh pemerintah dalam menjaga hegemoni nya yang tergambar dalam *I Must Betray You* oleh Ruta Sepetys? 2) Bagaimana kelompok penentang dalam cerita melawan hegemony yang dibawa oleh pemerintah dalam Ruta Sepetys *I Must Betray You*? Penelitian ini merupakan kritik sastra karena menganalisis dan menginterpretasikan karya sastra. Data dikumpulkan dengan mengidentifikasi dan mengklarifikasi kutipan relevan dari novel *I Must Betray You*. Data dianalisis dengan mendeskripsikan dan menjelaskan kutipan berdasarkan konsep maintenance of hegemony oleh Gramsci. Analisis menunjukkan bahwa 1) pemerintah melakukan upaya upaya menjaga hegemoni seperti yang disebutkan dalam konsep Gramsci maintenance of hegemony yaitu mulai dari upaya compromise and adjustment of alliance, restructuritation, overcome structural contradiction hingga build new alliance system. 2) Para tokoh dalam novel menunjukkan sikap perlawanan terhadap hegemonI oleh pemerintah baik secara perlawanan pasif dan juga perlawanan aktif. Yang kemudian hasil perlawanan tersebut berhasil mengantarkan mereka kepada revolusi dan kebebasan.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers on the background of the study, the problems of the study, the significance of the study, the scope and limitation, and definitions of key terms.

A. Background of the Study

Literary work is a piece of creative writing that appears based on existing social circumstances. Literary works are created by authors based on their personal experiences of interesting incidents or problems, which leads to the expression of ideas and imaginations in writing (Wicaksono, 2017). It has a unique capability to describe complex society. Not just to entertain, literary work also stores values, world views, and collective experiences that describe the social condition, culture, and psychology of the era. Alsyirad and Rosa (2020), emphasized literary work is a social reflection of society which the author uses through a creative process. Literature is a medium where someone can express his thoughts freely with imagination, and feelings of opinions freedom that are poured through it (Yasin, 2022). Not only telling about fiction things, but literary work also tells about the reality of life. Through literary work, an individual can reflect and criticize circumstances or social surroundings. With this, literary work can be used as a medium for channeling narratives of domination and resistance to social conditions such as hegemony.

Literary work has an important role in social reflection. That not only to draw social reality but also to criticize the power structure. Literature plays a crucial

role in shaping social consciousness by challenging cultural norms, literature fosters social change by inspiring actions and social movement (Wilson, M & Wilson, N. 2024). Through it, literary work can become a bringer of social change. In the context of hegemony, literary work is an effective medium to explore how the domination of rulers works in society. Through characters, storylines, and narrative symbols, literary work can show how hegemony is maintained by those in power and how society or group response accepts or opposes this domination. Literary work research focused on hegemony helps the reader understand power dynamics related to social surroundings.

Hegemony is a class and its representatives exercise power over subordinate classes by mean of a combination of coercion and persuasion (Gramsci's in Simon, 2001). Hegemony is still often a topic in literary work. Because hegemony is something that always exists in social life even today. As previously discussed, literary works are born from the social circumstances that exist in an era. Hegemony becomes an interesting theme because it can draw power that not only comes from physical power or politics itself, but also from the influence of culture, ideology, and social norms that are created by dominant groups. Obszyński (2022) believes that hegemony is a form of influence that is based on approval and ideology, not just physical violence.

The examples of hegemony in the context of the modern world, hegemony is often seen in how states, large corporations, and the media, control the narrative and shape public perceptions. Nowadays, technology and social media are often used by countries and companies to shape the opinion public and maintain social

control. The development of information and technology which has brought about the birth of social media has increasingly changed society, which has caused people's behavior patterns to experience shifts in existing culture, ethics, and norms (Cahyono, 2016). The dominance of social media in everyday life, where the algorithms of platforms like Instagram and TikTok not only determine the information we see but also influence our opinions and behavior.

If the previous paragraph is the examples of hegemony applied in social-cultural life, domination hegemony in ideology and military or physical power is also seen in the current era. As an example, North Korea shaped the loyalties of its people through indoctrination and the creation of an image of an unwavering leader who is even equal to a god. The real condition of North Korea now is the example of domination in ideology. North Korean form of ideological domination of hegemony is based on the *Juche* concept brought by Kim ii-sung. *Juche's* ideology is the acculturation of the spirit of communism and local values. By using that ideology society can manage and hold their power and get royalties from the people (Abidin, 2020). Meanwhile, the domination in military or physical power is seen in Palestine, where military and political domination continues to suppress the rights of Palestinian people, creating injustice in their daily lives.

As a previous example of hegemony in some of the authority cities and conflict areas, hegemony creates a situation in which the narration of domination is controlled by those in power to maintain their dominance over other groups who have no power. Literary work especially novels with the title *I Must Betray You* by Ruta Sepetys is a perfect medium to draw forms of hegemony. This novel by Ruta

Sepetys is a novel that draws on the condition of Romania under the leadership of the communist regime of Nicolae Ceausescu. The novel tells how Cristian as the main character responds to the communism that occurred in Romania by resist against the rules set by the communist regime and fighting for the ideology of freedom. So the novel also tells how the strategies made by the communist regime Ceausescu to maintain its hegemony.

Study of hegemony being a relevant theme by the condition social and politics nowadays. Moreover, currently, hegemony is not only exercised physically but also through media and culture. As discussed previously. So that the discussion of hegemony is still something that can seen in real examples of events. Hegemony is a relevant concept in literary analysis because it helps understand how dominant ideologies and values can influence people's behavior and views (Baharuddin, 2020). Addressing this topic in research helps us understand how power structure influences society at large. Apart from that, choosing the topic of hegemony is also to highlight the issues of injustice and resistance that still exist. The topic is important, Therefore, researcher feel that this research is important for carrying out because it can explore how power operates and how resistance to domination is carried out.

The researcher choose the novel from Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You* as an object for this study. Because this novel is the right object to study that related to the topic, namely hegemony. The novel offers a complex picture of how hegemony, especially in politics which is the focus of this research, is carried out, maintained, and resisted. The narrative which contains a lot about domination,

resistance, and ideological conflict in this story provides sample space for the application of the chosen theory, namely the theory of political hegemony by Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci emphasized that hegemony is achieved through maintaining and strengthening social authority throughout civil society, such as exercising strict control over media and information, using security forces, controlling economic policy, and so on. More details regarding the discussion of the theory will be discussed further.

Furthermore, this research not only requires the theory of hegemony, but the researcher will also require ten journal articles as previous study. The journals will focus on the analysis of political hegemony using Gramsci's concept of hegemony and journals that relate to the novel. Lasiana & Wedawati (2021), *The Portrayal Of Hegemony As Seen In Snowpiercer*. The research uses a sociological approach to literature to reveal the operation of hegemony in *Snowpiercer*. Using Antonio Gramsci's idea of hegemony as the main theory and Max Weber's theory of power as the supporting theory, the research aims to describe hegemony through the five stages of hegemony operation in *Snowpiercer*. Baharuddin, (2020) *The Political Hegemony in Orwell's 1984*, this research examined themes of political hegemony and the control mechanisms used by the totalitarian regime, especially through Winston's character's fight against Big Brother. The research aims to explain how Big Brother in the 1987 novel uses his influence to shape people's attitudes and behavior.

Maryani, Kusuma, & Lililacs (2022). *A Portrayal of Hegemonic Power in The Handmaid's Tale Novel by Margaret Atwood*. The study examines scrutinizing

the portrayal of hegemonic power in the novel using Antonio Gramsci's conception of hegemony. The study shows that the ruling class in the novel mainly uses consent as a strategy to keep its power and coercion as a shield against its hegemonic power. Afkarina, (2021), *Hegemony on Republicans in Ruta Sepetys The Fountains of Silence: Antonio Gramsci theory*. The study investigates the republican hegemony found in the novel. The research focuses on the background to the occurrence of hegemony in the novel and how nationalists spread their hegemony after the Civil War.

Izza Nadiva (2023), *An Analysis of Hegemony in the Novel Mockingjay by Suzanne Collins*. The study examines the themes of social culture and stratification, particularly the conflicts between social classes, through the lens of hegemony as articulated by theorists like Vygotsky, Marx, and Gramsci. Masnuah & Hartanto, (2022), *The Power of Death-Cast in They Both Die at the End by Adam Silvera*. A Hegemony Analysis the focus of the research is Death-cast power over the group that has lower power. So that, the research aims to find out the dominant and the subordinate group in the novel. Salamah (2021), *Hegemony in Carol Lynch Williams' The Chosen One*. The research focuses on hegemony in the novel by finding the process of how hegemony is portrayed in the novel and what the effect of the hegemony itself is.

For the next, the researcher not only used previous studies related to the theme, but also the researcher provided previous studies related to the novel. Mihailescu (2022), *An interdisciplinary approach to Ruta Sepetys's I Must Betray You via Lacan*. The research focuses on finding novel intricate meanings using

theory from Lacan's theory and Bohn's quantum theory. Lacan's theory focuses on the three registers of reality while Bohn's approach to reality is built of levels, with each level comprising two levels of reality.

Rizki, Huda, & Aziz (2023), *Sovereign Power and Nuda Vita in Ruta Sepetys's I Must Betray You: Unveiling the Struggles of Romanian Civilians In 1989*. The study analyzed how the work of Ruta Sepetys in *I Must Betray You* novel draws the sovereign power that restrains civilian lives and how civilians detached from it. Using a descriptive qualitative approach research focuses on the concepts of sovereign power, the state of exception, and nuda vita. Svobodová (2024), *The Idea of Humanity in the Selected Works of Ruta Sepetys*. The research deals with the issue of humanity in the selection work of Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*. The research focus of the method limits the individual humanity aspect and also sets a theoretical background by exploring human aspects such as freedom, sympathy, and dignity.

Based on several existing previous studies, previous research focused on the aim of searching for intrinsic meaning, power, and the human condition in the novel. Meanwhile, in this study, the researcher aims to identify the efforts used by the government to maintain its power and how the main figures as civilians respond to this form of domination. By understanding the mechanisms of maintaining hegemony carried out by the government and the dynamics of resistance by the opposed characters, this research aims to provide in-depth insight into the process and effects of hegemony in the political context.

This research uses Antonio Gramsci's political hegemony concept which helps in producing novelty from this research which focuses on analyzing aspects of political hegemony and how regimes maintain their power which have never been discussed in previous research. Research using the novel *I Must Betray You* by Ruta Sepetys in the object of study which is still relatively small because it was only released in 2022. Even though it has received a lot of attention from readers and critics, there have not been many in-depth academic studies in a literary context. This provides wide space for new research, especially those that wish to explore specific aspects such as the theme of hegemony, as the researcher in this study did.

B. Problems of the Study

Based on the background of the study that has been explain, the researcher formulates the research questions as follows:

1. What are the strategies to maintenance hegemony carried out by the government as portrait in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*?
2. How does opposed characters resist the political hegemony carried out by government in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*?

C. Significance of the Study

In order to accomplish the goal, create structured findings, and provide broad utility, the researcher believes that the research will have theoretical and practical value. Theoretically, the research is expected to contribute to the development of literary studies, especially in utilizing Antonio Gramsci's theory of political hegemony in the context of literary works that depict political domination and control. This research can expand understanding of how hegemony

mechanisms are maintained and enrich the literature on the dynamics between rulers and the oppressed. This research can be a reference for future studies that want to explore the concept of political hegemony in various other forms of literary works.

Meanwhile, practically, this research has several benefits in everyday life, especially in increasing public awareness of the issue of political domination which is often not realized in the social and political environment, by understanding how hegemony is maintained by those in power, individuals can be more critical in assessing the policies set by the government. Inspire readers to be more critical and brave in voicing their views. In an educational context, the result of this research can be used as learning material that introduces the importance of critical analysis of literary works that depict social, political, and cultural realities. So it hopes that it will be able to form a generation that is more aware and sensitive to the power dynamics around them.

D. Scope and Limitation

This study focuses on the maintenance of hegemony in Ruta Sepetys *I Must Betray You*, as well as how the main character fight the hegemony carried out by government. The analysis uses the hegemony theoretical framework from Antonio Gramsci which focuses on analyzing the issue of political hegemony used by the communist regime in the novel that researcher discuss as an effort to maintain its hegemony. The analysis uses Gramsci's theory as a single analytical framework without making comparisons with other theories of hegemony. The analysis will only focus on aspects of political hegemony and resistance of characters in the

novel. Other elements such as narrative structure, character analysis, etc. will not be the main focus of this research. This research is also limited to one novel Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You* as the object of study.

E. Definition of Key Terms

1. Hegemony is a class and its representatives exercise power over subordinate classes by mean of a combination of coercion and persuasion (Gramsci's in Simon, 2001).
2. Political hegemony is a class or part of a class, is one that gains the consent of other classes and social forces through creating and maintaining a system of alliances using political and ideological struggle (Gramsci's in Simon, 2001).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter provides an in-depth exploration of the approach and the theory that will be used in this study. In this section, Gramsci's theory of hegemony is presented as the main theory. This research also used objective approach and the concept of maintenance of hegemony presented by Antonio Gramsci in the Roger Simon book are used in this research.

A. Objective Approach

The objective approach is an approach that emphasizes the importance of analyzing the literary text itself without involving external elements such as the author's intention or even the reader's reaction. Abrams & Harpham (2015) define the objective approach as a method of studying literary works that focuses on the text itself without considering "external" factors such as author biography, social context, or reader interpretation. Texts are treated as autonomous entities that have inherent meaning and can be understood through in-depth reading. The approach prioritizes the importance of finding meaning and messages in texts without interfering with subject interaction. By using this method, literary works are considered independent entities because their existence and meaning are separate from the views of the reader and writer. This allows the reader to discover hidden meanings contained in the text, thereby providing an understanding of how a work stands alone as a complex work.

The objective approach is the most important approach because whatever approach is taken is basically based on the literary work itself Yanti & Gusriani,

(2021). An objective approach that cannot be separated from the matter of the author and the reader who examines literature from intrinsic aspects that build a literary work. This harmonious combination of form and content strengthens the possibility of creating quality literary works. Through an objective approach, intrinsic elements will be explored to the maximum.

B. Political Hegemony

Hegemony is a condition that is unwittingly part of social dynamics, where the leadership of the dominant class is widely recognized and accepted by society. Thus allowing this class to rule without coercion. Simon (2001), Gramsci's state a political hegemonic is a class or part of a class, is one that gains the consent of other classes and social forces through creating and maintaining a system of alliances using political and ideological struggle. The hegemonic class not only dominates economically and politically but is also able to control its ideology so that its interests are seen as common interests. By creating narratives that disguise inequality as normal, the ruling class can maintain the stability of power without the need to directly use coercion. This is not just domination of force but rather approval through political leadership and ideology. Gramsci describes hegemony as a combination of coercion and persuasion, where the dominant class leads by getting approval from the subordinate class so that it can only be achieved by imposing their will.

In Gramsci's thinking about hegemony, the concept of history block is very important to know. In the book *Gramsci Political Thought* by Roger Simon, Gramsci in Simon (2001) Gramsci uses the term historic bloc to indicate the way

in which a hegemonic class combines the leadership of a block of social forces in civil society with its leadership in the sphere of production. The history bloc plays a very important role in understanding how the hegemonic class consolidates power through a combination of leadership in the production economy and civil society. In this framework, the ruling class builds alliances and integrates various social interests that support their power. History blocs are formed when the dominant class succeeds in creating alliances with other social groups including those who usually do not have power through the influence of political economy and ideology. Through historic blocs, the ruling class creates a network of mutually beneficial interests thereby strengthening their hegemony.

1. Maintenance of Hegemony

According to Gramsci's political thought by Roger Simon book (2001), even when a social group has become dominant and holds power firmly in its grasp, it must continue to 'lead' as well. Hegemony can never be taken for granted but has to be continually fought for afresh. As Gramsci said, so that hegemony requires efforts to maintain the power of hegemony intact. This maintaining process is seen and needed most clearly in periods when the hegemony and political power are threatened and tend to fragment. This stage can also be called an organic crisis. Gramsci in Simon (2001), Periodically there may develop an organic crisis in which the historic bloc begins to disintegrate, creating the opportunity for a subordinate class to transcend its corporate limitations and build up a broad movement capable of challenging the existing order and achieving hegemony. In this organic crisis, efforts to maintain the existing system cannot only be defensive but require a

persistent struggle to achieve a new balance by the ruling group. For this reason, Gramsci explains what efforts can be made to maintain hegemony as follows

a) Compromise and Adjustment of Alliances

Compromise is the act of making concessions or negotiating with other parties who usually have different interests, to reach a mutually beneficial agreement. In the context of hegemony, compromise means the ruling class negotiates with other social groups to maintain political support and stability. The goal is to avoid conflict that could weaken the dominance of the ruling class and ensure political alliances remain solid. Related to alliance adjustments, the meaning itself is an effort to adjust relations and cooperation with other groups according to changing political, social, and economic conditions. The aim is to ensure that the ruling class continues to have the support necessary to maintain its dominance. Especially in the face of challenges from opposition forces.

This internal conflict can stem from a number of circumstances, including a moral quandary, an identity crisis, or a struggle between firmly held desires and duties. Internal conflict has a crucial role in the formation of characters and storylines. Characters' internal conflicts motivate them to make decisions, act, and react to the situation at hand. It helps readers understand the complexities of mind and character emotions, as well as develop empathy for their struggles.

In this effort, the dominant classes must continuously adjust the alliance system that forms their historical block to deal with changing conditions and the activities of opposition forces. Like a quote from the book *Gramsci Political*

Thought By Roger Simon, making such compromises as are needed to adapt the existing system of alliances to changing conditions and the activities of the opposing forces. In adjusting alliances, the ruling group must be flexible in its alliances with other social groups. The compromise efforts aim to maintain social stability and ensure that groups that have the potential to support the opposition remain under the influence of the dominant power. This compromise can take the form of policies that benefit the groups or economic and political concessions.

b) Restructuritation

Restructuring is one of the common actions taken to maintain dominance. A quote in the book *Gramsci political thought* by Roger Simon states that ruling groups may have to undergo far-reaching changes and a process of restructuring if it is to survive, Gramsci in Simon (2001). In the face of an organic crisis, the ruling class must be willing to change the structure of their political and state institutions to remain relevant and be able to overcome new challenges. Restructuring is the act of changing the organizational structure of an institution to make it more efficient or in line with the needs of new conditions. In the context of defending hegemony, this means making changes in law or policy to deal with the dominations of the ruling class. This stage is carried out to ensure that the political structure and state are still able to carry out their role in supporting the ruling class.

Simon also said that the restructuritating process would not be easy. If the ruling class is not strong enough to change the rules to maintain its dominance, then the opposition will succeed in producing their new system. Simon (2001), if the

crisis is deep—an organic one—these efforts cannot be purely defensive. They will consist of the struggle to create a new balance of political forces, requiring a reshaping of state institutions as well as the formation of new ideologies; if the forces of opposition are not strong enough to shift the balance of forces decisively in their direction, the conservative forces will succeed in building a new system of alliances which will re-establish their hegemony

c) **Overcome Structural Contradictions**

Organic crises can give rise to structural contradictions that must be overcome by the dominant class to maintain their hegemony. Overcoming structural contradictions refers to the continuous efforts of the ruling political forces to deal with contradictions or tensions. Contradiction in the context of hegemony means making various efforts to strengthen and maintain power. Returning to the quote from the book *Gramsci political thought* by Roger Simon (2001), hegemony can never be taken for granted but has to be continually fought for afresh. This requires persistent activities to maintain and strengthen the social authority of the ruling class in all areas of civil society.

The quote from the sentence "*persistent activities to maintain and strengthen the social authority of the ruling class in all areas of civil society*" is related to efforts involving media control, education, and culture that prioritize the value of the ruling class. Overcome structural contradictions are related to efforts to maintain and strengthen social authority. The ruling class must continue to carry out activities that strengthen its social authority. This involves various actions to

ensure that their dominance remains accepted and acknowledged. The main aim of efforts to overcome contradictions is to restore and maintain the dominance of the ruling class, as well as to shape society's way of thinking so that it is in line with the interest of the dominant class and prevent criticism of their power.

d) Build New Alliance System

Building a new alliance system is an effort to create new relationships or alliances with groups that can support the power of the ruling class when old alliances are no longer effective. To ensure that hegemony can be maintained despite changing political and social situations. Simon (2001) under the impact of the first world war and its aftermath, the system of alliances that had ensured the hegemony of the northern industrialists disintegrated. The much greater strength of the working-class movement, with its revolutionary tendencies, contributed to this disintegration, but the movement was still mainly under reformist leadership and was unable to build an alliance with the different social forces capable of presenting an effective challenge to the ruling groups.

When old alliances begin to fail, the ruling class must seek and form new alliances. In this case, it could involve new political parties, alliances with the military, or new economic powers. This was done with the aim of creating a new, more solid foundation for domination. So that the power of the ruler can survive even though political conditions change. In the process of forming new alliances that means the defense of the middle ruling class, then this could actually be an opportunity for the opposition to change the balance and achieve their hegemony.

But if the strength of the opposition is now enough to change the balance of power, the dominant class can forge new alliances that allow them to restore and maintain hegemony.

The organic crisis causes instability that threatens the position of the ruling class because the lower classes are aware of the failure of the existing system. At this time of crisis, the ruler's hegemony is rented and vulnerable to resistance from opposition groups. During an organic crisis, various forms of resistance through both direct action and ideological shifts become more likely. In this discussion, Gramsci emphasized that the current situation must be understood, not only in the context of economic and political problems but also in the continuous and persistent efforts made to preserve and maintain the current system.

2. Resistance of Hegemony

Quoting from the book *Gramsci's Political Thought* by Roger Simon says that there will also be resistance within a society where there is power (Gramsci in Simon, 2001). This is an unavoidable social situation where a group or class feels oppressed and dominated, and they will look for ways to oppose and change the problem they are experiencing. As previously discussed, the power exercised by the ruling class is maintained with several of the strategies above. Still, it is emphasized again that if the ruling class cannot maintain its hegemony, the lower classes will try to take over the position or resist it.

The effort of the lower class to oppose the domination of the ruling class is often referred to as counter-hegemony, which is a force or influence that opposes the hegemony exercised by the ruling class. This power arises from social

movements that try to realize social conditions towards a just and equal society. This quote from the book *Gramsci Political Thought* by Roger Simon says the countervailing power of social movements, based on the growing activity of the members of these movements, linked together under the leadership of the working class, must increasingly undermine the hegemonic power exercised by the bourgeoisie through the organizations of civil society (Simon, 2001). Social movements led by the working class aim to weaken the existing bourgeois hegemony in civil society.

In the book *Prison Notebook* (Gramsci, 1987), Gramsci highlights that emotions are crucial in the counter-hegemonic struggle. He believed that emotion was part of a collective consciousness that had the power to induce social change, not just individual reactions. According to Patria (2009), people oppressed by the hegemony class rulers must be aware of their position and situation to resist the ruling hegemony. Emotions like anger or injustice can prompt lower-class people to act against oppressive systems. They have a mutual interest identified by this emotional awareness, which helps them build solidarity to stand against the ideological dominance perpetrated by the ruling class. Emotion, therefore, helps understand and fight the hegemonic. It allows for a more powerful counter-hegemony appearance.

The two main strategies introduced by the Gramsci in the resistance or counter-hegemonic effort were the war of position and the war of movement. The long-term strategy known as the "war of position" focuses on changing ideologies in civil society through institutions such as schools, the media, and community

organizations. The strategy involves slowly increasing public awareness and support for more inclusive and egalitarian values. On the other hand, the “war of movement” is a more immediate form of resistance and is usually fought when civil society is not strong, as was the 1917 Russian revolution. Here, the ultimate goal is to revolutionize quickly taking over the country.

In the study of hegemony, resistance is divided into two parts: active and passive. Active resistance is direct action, such as rebellion, breaking the prescribed rules, or confrontational mass protests against the dominant class or ruler (Taum, 2015). It often involves great risk, including possible loss of life, because of its direct opposition to the structures of power. Passive resistance, on the other hand, is a more subtle strategy and does not involve confrontation. This resistance is carried out in a safer way, such as petty sabotage, spreading alternative discourse, or refusing to follow the rules without taking dangerous risks (Taum, 2015). These two forms indicate how the subordinate group can express their discontent with ideological and structural domination by the ruling class

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter is written to explain what kinds of research methods are used by the researcher. This chapter includes the research design, data source, data collection, and data analysis.

A. Research Design

This research is included in literary criticism, which is used to analyze, evaluate, and interpret literary work. Falah (2020), Literary criticism is a scholarly discipline focused on the methodical examination of literature as an artistic creation. Research design like this focuses on how literary work interacts with social, political, and cultural contexts. The research focuses on explaining the hegemonic maintenance strategies carried out by the ruling class or government. To achieve this, Gramsci's theory is used to see and explain the hegemony maintenance efforts in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*.

B. Data Source

This study focus on exclusively describes the maintenance is carried out by the government as described in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You* and how the characters resist the hegemony carried out by government describe in novel. Researcher use the main source of data from the novel, which First published in the United States of America by Philomel Books on 31st August 2022 with 348 pages over 80 chapters. The data are taken from direct quotation which include all of the words, dialogues, phrases, and sentences occurring in the novel related to the topic from the hard file version.

C. Data Collection

The data to analyze this research are taken from novel *I Must Betray You* to find out the maintenance is carried out by the government and how the main character fight the hegemony describe in novel. The following steps are used to collect the data:

1. Using close reading to understand the novel's content.
2. Highlighting and underlining the information about focus on the maintenance of hegemony and how the main character fight to it in novel.
3. Categorize the data has been collected.
4. Take note of the novel's data annotations from the novel.

D. Data Analysis

After completing the data analysis, the researcher start proceeded to validate and strengthen the information that had been collected. This method entails verifying data associated with the research problems being studied. This research using Gramsci's theory of political hegemony to analyze the data, the first data focuses on the strategies maintenance is carried out by the government. The second was to explain how does opposed characters in the novel fight the hegemony carried out by government. As the final step, researcher will complete it with conclusions from research on political hegemony theory.

CHAPTER IV

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the data analysis that has been gathered to answer the research question. The data analysis is presented in a narrative way using the political hegemony concept presented by Antonio Gramsci. This chapter attempts to explain the continuance of hegemony as well as any resistance to hegemony through examples within *I Must Betray You* by Ruta Sepetys with a literary objective approach.

A. The Strategies to Maintain Government Hegemony

This research data is collected through *I Must Betray You* by Ruta Sepetys to answer the first question research. The data is analyzed based on sentences that focuses on the government strategy to maintain its hegemony billed into four ways: Compromise and Adjustment of Alliances, Restructuritation, Overcome Structural Contradiction and Build New Alliance System.

1. Compromise and Adjustment of Alliances

As explained in the previous chapter, compromise and adjustment of alliances according to Gramsci is an effort to adjust relations and cooperation with other social groups according to changing political, social, and economic conditions. For that, here are some of the data in *I Must Betray You* by Ruta Sepetys among others:

The first Compromise and Adjustment of Alliances is shown in the following quotations:

*“Cristian, go to the wardrobe. Quickly! Count the cartons of Kents,” instructed Mother as she bent a trembling knee to my grandfather.
Kents.
Kents were Western cigarettes.
Kents were used as currency. For bribes. For trade. For the black market.
We needed Kents for a lot of things: seeing a doctor, gratuities for our schoolteachers, bribing the apartment administrator. (Ruta, chapter 8, par, 18)*

The above data describes a situation where people are forced to adapt to a corrupt and unjust economic system. The use of Kent cigarettes as currency was a compelling form of compromise with a powerful regime. People must be willing to pay large sums of money for cigarettes to receive basic services such as medical treatment or education. This shows a shift in social relations, where relationships between citizens and state institutions become transactional and based on bribery. This quotation thus represents the regime’s attempt to maintain hegemony by adjusting relationships with other social groups, in this case, of the general public. Instead of providing adequate public service, the regime creates systems that force people to depend on them and engage in corruptive action.

The regime retains its power by forcing people to engage in corruption to meet basic needs. People caught up in this system find it increasingly difficult to fight or oppose the regime, as they have become too dependent on it. The foregoing, therefore, suggests how the regime uses an adjustment strategy to maintain its hegemony, which is to force people to make adverse compromises for their survival.

The next data that follows shows compromise and adjustment of alliances that Ceausescu makes toward social groups that are orphans to be trained as his bodyguards and loyal servants:

*...The agent looked up from the table.
 "Close the door," he instructed.
 I entered the box of a room and closed the door. I did not sit. I was not told to.
 The agent began fiddling with the paper stamp from his BT cigarette package,
 making a ring and slipping it
 on his pinky finger. Was that a nervous tic?
 "I'm sorry about your grandfather."
 Sure he was
 According to rumor, some of the Secu agents were orphans trained by the regime
 to fight for
 Ceausescu or serve as his bodyguards. Were they the ones who beat Bunu? This
 guy couldn't care about someone's grandfather. (Ruta, chapter 53, par 11)*

The regime, in this case, made "compromises" with marginal groups like orphans. They provide these children with training, shelter, and even new identities. In return, these orphans became loyal instruments to defend the regime. This is an adjustment form between the regime and marginalized social groups. In other words, the regime "purchased" the loyalty of this group through offers of protection and opportunity. By recruiting orphans, the regime has succeeded in creating individuals who lack strong emotional ties to family or community. This makes it easier to establish loyalties only to the regime. As a result of intense training and indoctrination, such orphan Securitate agents became highly effective depressions. They will not hesitate to carry out a regime order, even if it conflicts with morality or law. This strategy harmonizes with the Gramsci concept of hegemony as an effort to maintain class dominance by creating an elite group of absolute loyalty. Although training orphans to be Secret agents is basically an effort to strengthen regime rule, we can also see a dimension of compromise in this strategy. The regime adapted relationships with marginal groups by offering.

2. Restructuritation

Gramsci explains that restructuring was the common action often done to maintain the ruling hegemonic class. In the sense, restructuring is the act of changing the organizational structure of an institution to make it more efficient or in line with the needs of new conditions. This means making changes in law or policy to deal with the dominations of the ruling class.

The first data describes how the Romanian communist regime actively restructured social order through the application of repressive laws and strict surveillance, with the ultimate goal of shutting down critical voices and maintaining its power.

...The truth was, most Romanians broke the rules someway or another. There were so many to break. And so many to report that you had broken them. A songwriter wrote negative lyrics about life in Romania. He was committed to an insane asylum. A college student was discovered with an unregistered typewriter. He was sent to prison. Complaining aloud could get you arrested as a "political agitator." But I hadn't complained aloud. I did most things quietly. Secretly. So what had this agent discovered? (Ruta, Chapter 3, par 4).

In a situation where the Romanian communist regime implemented a very strict system of supervision on society, the above quote indicated that. There are so many rules to be obeyed, and stiff penalties for those who disobey indicate that there is an organized effort to control every aspect of people's lives. The regime successfully averted criticism and resistance by creating an environment full of fear and uncertainty. By building repressive surveillance systems, governments have deliberately altered social structures. Governments control information and ensure that only official stories are heard by limiting freedom of speech and punishing

those who oppose the government. The regime creates a climate of fear that keeps people quiet and obedient. They prefer to remain calm and do nothing to cause trouble. This is to ensure that people are constantly in surveillance conditions and dare not to act beyond predetermined limits. The above indicates how the Romanian communist regime used the restructuring strategy to maintain its hegemony. By changing social structures and creating strict surveillance systems, regimes have been able to restrict individual freedom and ensure that communities remain subject to their rule.

The data, in turn, reflect the strategy of restructuring the physical environment and creating a totalitarian surveillance system, successfully restricting individual freedom and ensuring that society remains subject to its control.

...The note about surveillance—it was true. Everyone was a possible target for surveillance. She, Mother Elena Ceausescu, even decreed that balconies of apartments must remain fully visible. The Communist Party had a right to see everything at all times. Everything was owned by the Party. And the Ceausescus owned the Party. (Ruta, Chapter 3, par 12).

The above data shows how the Romanian communist regime used restructuring to strengthen its hegemonic. By changing the physical environment and creating a totalitarian surveillance system, regimes have been able to restrict individual freedom and ensure that people remain subject to their rule. The government changes the physical environment in ways that allow easier supervision. The constantly obvious balcony is a concrete example of efforts to create controlled public space. By changing the physical environment, the regime has also succeeded in changing social behaviour. People are more careful in

speaking and acting because they always feel watched. An environment of surveillance creates a climate of fear that makes people more manageable.

Furthermore, it shows how the Romanian communist regime used restructuration to strengthen its hegemony by limiting access to basic resources especially in electricity:

...
“What’s the English word for these?”
“Streetlights,” I said. “But guess what, in other countries I think they actually work.”
She laughed.
The streetlights in Bucharest weren’t illuminated. Too costly. Romania was rich in resources, but for several years, our “hero” exported all of our resources to repay the country’s debts. As a result, electricity and food were rationed. (Ruta, Chapter 5, par. 21).

The above quotation describes a situation in which the Romanian communist regime intentionally curbed people’s access to basic resources such as electricity. For financial reasons, the government has chosen to export valuable natural resources and allow society to live in darkness. This action is a technical matter and part of a larger strategy for controlling and disciplining society. By limiting access to electricity, regimes change the economic structure of people. It creates dependence on the state and makes society more manageable. The darkness that sweeps through the city of Bucharest creates insecurity and insecurity. This makes society more manageable and acceptable.

Hegemonic maintenance efforts through restructuration are further seen by the government making massive changes in the structure of the city of Bucharest, to create a new social and physical order, more in harmony with the ideology and interests of the regime:

I was walking home with Liliana Pavel. We were having a conversation. If I could speak

freely, I'd say, "Yeah, Bunu said that after visiting North Korea, Ceausescu decided to bulldoze our city to build 'the House of the People' and cement apartment blocks. Our beloved leader destroyed churches, schools, and over thirty thousand private homes, including Bunu's. What do you think of that?" But I couldn't speak freely. No one could. (Ruta, Chapter 5, par. 36).

By referring to the Gramsci theory of restructuration, the act of the communist regime in the data, in which the government made a massive change in the structure of Bucharest by destroying historic buildings and reconstructing cities with correct architecture, was a deliberate attempt to change the physical and social landscape of society. With these actions, regimes not only eliminate traces of the past that may be a symbol of resistance or alternative identities but also create new public Spaces that are easier to control and monitor. These physical changes coincided with the regime's efforts to establish a new identity for the people, more in line with the ideology and interest of the authorities. Restructuration in the context of the novel involved physical change and an ideological project aimed at shaping the collective consciousness of society.

The fifth data below shows an attempt to keep hegemonic in place by forcing people to live in cramped, uncomfortable communal apartments, where the government seeks to create more manageable and supervised communities:

Trees appeared in parks and on large boulevards where they could be shared by all. Families, like our family of five, were herded into one-bedroom, ashtray-sized flats. I looked at the cement apartment blocks we passed. Some weren't even finished. They had no doors, no elevators, no stair railings. Similar concrete hulks loomed around the city, gray staircases to nowhere. Concrete walls gave birth to concrete faces. (Ruta, Chapter 5, par 40).

It described the efforts of the communist regime in the novel *I Must Betray You* to do physical restructuration of the community environment. The construction of communal apartments with very few facilities and limited public space layout is

a concrete example of how the regime seeks to reshape social and physical order to conform to their ideologies and interests. Through these physical changes, the regime aims not only to control the movements and activities of people but also to create a sense of homogeneity and uniformity among citizens. Identical communal apartments, for example, can be seen as a regime's attempt to standardize public life and remove individual identities. In addition, by limiting society's access to green spaces and Open Spaces, the regime also seeks to isolate communities from external influences and strengthen ideological control. The physical changes made by regimes are manifestations of their absolute power. Regimes can control people's behavior and minds by controlling space and the physical environment.

Furthermore, restructuration were drawn by Ruta Sepetys from how the communist regime tried to control every aspect of society's life, including their thoughts and feelings:

...
Joking about the regime was illegal and could ferry you straight to Securitate headquarters. But people told jokes anyway. In a country with no freedom of speech, each joke felt like a tiny revolution. (Ruta, Chapter 8, par 8).

The above passage describes the situation in which authoritarian regimes in Romania create a repressive environment, where freedom of expression, including joking about regimes, is severely forbidden and can be fatal. Yet, society continues to find ways to express its discontent through humor. This phenomenon, while seemingly trivial, is actually a significant form of resistance to the hegemonic regime. The regime seeks to change the social structure by creating fear and compliance. They want people to live in a condition where they are afraid to express

different opinions. Ruta Sepetys's described how the communist regime tried to control every aspect of people's lives, including their thoughts and feelings.

The data, in turn, show strict family planning policies, provides a clear example of how the regime uses power to change the social structure and create a society that conforms to their ideology:

*Ceausescu wanted to increase the population, to breed more workers. Population growth meant economic growth. If you were childless, you were taxed. Everyone knew Ceausescu's decrees:
The fetus is the property of the entire society!
Heroic women give children to the homeland!
Anyone who avoids having children is a deserter!
Mama had only managed to have two children. She felt guilty about it. (Ruta, Chapter 10, par 10).*

The above quote describes the efforts of the Ceausescu regime to control population growth and change the social structure of society. By enforcing policies that force people to have many children, the regime seeks to create a large and loyal population base for their ideologies. It is also aimed at boosting the workforce and strengthening the country's economy. These policies directly alter the social fabric of society by promoting increased birth rates. This results in a shift in the dynamics of families, women's roles, and economic structures. The regime created a new norm in which having many children was regarded as a patriotic duty. Women who have no children are regarded as traitors to the state. It reinforces nationalistic ideologies and collectivism promoted by the regime. Children born in these conditions are expected to grow up to be loyal citizens of the regime. The above excerpts indicate how the Ceausescu regime used extreme family planning policies as a tool for the restructuring of society. By changing the family structure and

promoting certain values, the regime seeks to create a more manageable and loyal society toward its ideology.

The restructuration measures show from the forced labor policies of the students as a concrete example of how regimes use power to change social structures and create communities that both ideologize and benefit them:

Compulsory volunteering.

That's what they called it. An oxymoron. How could it be considered volunteering if it was mandatory?

Students were required to devote themselves to helping the great golden era of Romania. Sometimes, that meant

raking a thick field or sorting through boxes of vegetables outside the city. That's what we were supposed to be

doing that morning during "Harvest Day" season.

The largest and best produce was sorted for export. The deformed and mealy produce held for Romanians.

We called them "bean potatoes" because they were so small. (Ruta, Chapter, 17, par 1).

In the above quotation, the Romanian communist regime describes forced labour practices disguised as "voluntary." The government seeks to change society's social structure and values by forcing students to do hard physical work such as harvesting and sorting out the produce. The above quotes show how the communist regime used forced labour as a means to reorganize social organizations. By changing the roles of students and creating new norms, governments seek to make societies more easily controlled and loyal to their beliefs. These policies transform students from mere students to cheap labour, helping the country's economy.

Furthermore, governments create a new social hierarchy where elites enjoy the students' work while the students are forced to work hard. As a result, a new norm was created where forced labour was viewed as a patriotic duty. It reinforces

nationalistic ideologies and collectivism promoted by the regime. Students are taught to put the interests of the country ahead of the personal.

Next, subsequent data references show how regimes use food shortages as tools to restructure social. By creating difficult and uncertain conditions, regimes have changed people's behavior and values as well as to strengthen regime rule:

....
Would there be anything in the shop today? We stood in line, programmed, never knowing. If a line formed at a neighborhood shop, most rushed to join it. Last night after three hours in line, my father came home exhausted, clutching a dented can of beans covered in dust.

....
We had more food during World War II," complained Bunu. "Do you see the lunacy of all this? They've got us brainwashed, standing in lines for hours, grateful for rotten beans. But what is the cost of self-worth?" (Ruta, Chapter 20, par 24).

The above passage describes a situation where people are forced to live in chronic food shortages. The long queue for food became a daily scene, and the quality of the food available was very poor. The regime created this condition to control society and ensure their dependence on the state. By creating scarcity and uncertainty, regimes have restricted individual freedom and forced communities to prioritize their basic needs rather than activities threatening the regime's stability. Economic policies that intentionally create food scarcity alter the social fabric of society. Communities that may formerly have had relatively stable lives have struggled to obtain daily food. It creates social tension and weakens social bonds.

Regimes create new norms where long lines and food shortages are considered normal. Society was taught to be patient and grateful for what they had, even if it was very little. By creating dependence on the state for food, the regime strengthened its power. Societies became easier to manage and control because they feared they would starve if they resisted the regime.

The following excerpts indicate how the regime uses restriction of emigration as a means of social restructuring. By changing social structures and creating new norms, the regime was able to strengthen its power and prevent significant changes:

....
"You're from the States?"
"I'm from Romania, but I live in Boston."
What? How did a Romanian woman get a passport to leave the country and live in Boston? People who applied to emigrate were often punished. Severely. But I could see it. Her bright green coat, fancy red boots, and the chic cut of her hair; she carried an air of elsewhere. (Ruta, Chapter 31, par 10)

The quote describes the obstacles individuals face when leaving the country. These conditions indicate structural changes in society, where the regime restricts individual freedom to move. By limiting emigration, the regime sought to preserve the status quo and prevent significant social change. The emigrating policy of restriction changed society's social structure by limiting social mobility. Individuals seeking a better life abroad are forced to stay in their country of origin, strengthening regime control over the population. Regimes create a new norm stating that abandoning the country is unpatriotic or illegal. This creates fear and uncertainty among communities, so they are inclined to stay and abide by the rules of the regime. By limiting emigration, the regime was able to strengthen its power by preventing mass exodus. It also prevented the exchange of ideas and information with the outside world, which could threaten the stability of the regime.

The data, in turn, suggest a change in the landscape of laws and regulations, the regime is systematically restructuring communities to conform to its political interests. The banning of group meetings and the suppression of protests are a

concrete example of the regime's efforts to strengthen control and prevent opposition from growing:

....
*I ran to school, passing a banner proclaiming LONG LIVE CEAUSESCU!
 What if I tore it down? No, we needed a group. We had to join together. In Romania it was against the law to gather in groups larger than a few people. But no one would pay attention to that now, would they? (Ruta, Chapter 57, par 1).*

It depicts a repressive change of laws and regulations. By applying laws and regulations forbidding group meetings and cracking down on each form of protest, the regime successfully restructured the social order of society, forcing individuals to submit to the ruling authority. The regime thus created an environment conducive to the maintenance of power and prevented the appearance of organized opposition. Policies forbidding group meetings alter the social structure of society by limiting social interaction and political participation. It creates social isolation and weakens the potential of social resistance. The regime made a new norm denoting that protests and demonstrations are illegal and dangerous. This creates fear and uncertainty among communities, making them inclined to abide by the regime's rules. By limiting freedom of expression and gathering, the regime was able to strengthen its power by preventing the formation of organized opposition movements. It also prevented the spread of new ideas and information that could threaten the regime's stability.

The following excerpts highlight government policies that encourage people to have many children, supported by vested rewards like "heroine mother". Governments seek to create larger and more loyal populations, while also strengthening the influence of state ideologies:

....

“My parents are at work. It’s just me and my sisters,” he said. Luca had four younger sisters. “Hello, Cristian!” They shrieked and giggled when I walked in.

*...
With five kids, Luca’s mom had received a maternity medal from the State. But five wasn’t enough. Ceausescu wanted women to birth ten kids. If they did, they received the title of Heroine Mother. (Ruta, Chapter 60, par 12).*

The quote highlights government policies that encourage communities to have many children. This policy, supported by rewards like “heroine mother,” is a form of social restructuring aimed at changing the family structure and the state’s demography. By encouraging large numbers of births, governments seek to create larger and more loyal population bases while reinforcing state ideologies’ influence. These policies directly transformed the ideal family structure in communities, where extended families with many children became the norm. By encouraging birth, governments aim to change the composition of the population and strengthen the base of political support. These policies also serve to strengthen the ideology of countries that favor population growth and loyalty to the regime.

Lastly, efforts to keep hegemony through restructuration described as creating extremely cruel and inhuman conditions in prison, the regime was able to create widespread fear in society. This demonstrates how regimes use the judicial system as an instrument to defend power and prevent the appearance of opposition:

*....
“It’s the worst of the worst, reserved for political prisoners and people incarcerated for their faith. The inmates are tortured, mutilated, burned, and locked in frozen boxes.”
We were considered political prisoners. And we had been marching with a group of what looked like a hundred thousand. (Ruta, Chapter 68, par 5).*

Excerpts about prisons that are horrific and used to torture political prisoners indicate structural changes in the judicial system and law enforcement. By creating prisons that were so cruel, the regime not only punished individuals who were perceived as a threat but also created fear in large communities. It can be considered a form of social restructuring, where fear becomes a means of sustaining power. Cruel prisons became a symbol of regime rule and created new norms where fear and obedience became the Paramount values. Prisons also served as a means to strengthen the regime's ideology by oppressing those who were viewed as enemies of the state.

3. Overcome Structural Contradictions

Gramsci claim that overcoming structural contradictions refers to the continuous efforts of the ruling political forces to deal with contradictions or tensions. It is related to efforts involving media control, education, and culture that prioritize the value of the ruling class. In the Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*, overcoming structural contradiction as a maintenance of hegemony is this:

In this first data, overcoming structural contradiction is shown with how controlling the resources and information is one of the key pillars in maintaining authoritarian rule:

....
*"The State controls the amount of food we eat, our electricity,
 our transportation, the information we receive*

 (Ruta, Chapter 4, par 15)

It highlights one of the key mechanisms in hegemonic maintenance: control of economic resources and information. By controlling food supplies, electricity,

transportation, and access to information, the regime in the novel *I Must Betray You* managed to create deep interdependence among the public. These controls ensure the survival of regimes and restrict individual motion to think critically and challenge power. Through restrictions on access to information, regimes can shape people's perceptions according to their desired narratives, thus strengthening the legitimacy of their powers. It thus reveals how economic control and information are an effective tool for authoritarian regimes to maintain hegemonic and suppress the development of civil society.

Further, the following data presents the concrete application of overcoming structural contradiction. Using media control is one of the key strategies for maintaining its hegemonic state. By limiting access to information and controlling the content of television programs, governments are successfully shaping public perception and hindering the development of critical thinking:

I paid little attention to the television. The English travel guide summed it up correctly: Romania has one TV channel. And one brand of TV set. The State broadcasts only two hours of bland television per day, mainly propaganda and salutes to Ceausescu. (Ruta, Chapter 7, par 4).

The above passage describes how the Ceausescu regime uses media control as one of the key strategies to maintain its hegemonic state. By limiting access to information and controlling the content of television programs, governments have succeeded in shaping public perception and hindering the development of critical thinking. Through persistent propaganda, regimes try to instill the values and ideologies that support their power while critical or different information is blocked. Thus, the media became an effective tool for creating the illusion of

consensus and controlling public narrative. Moreover, by limiting access to information, regimes can also prevent people from gaining knowledge that could threaten their power. In this context, media control is one important aspect of the regime's efforts to overcome its structural contradictions and maintain the dominance of the ruling class.

Then the rest of the data still shows an example of the maintenance hegemony strategies with the regime's mass surveillance efforts that were an integral part of the complex hegemonic maintenance mechanism:

...
*Just as you could be certain of lack of privacy, you could also be certain that the building administrator reported to the Securitate.
After all, the Party had a right to know everything. (Ruta, Chapter 7, par 10).*

The quote describes how the Ceaușescu regime uses mass surveillance as one of the key strategies to maintain its hegemonic state. By creating a widespread surveillance system, the government has created a climate of fear and distrust among communities. Citizens are constantly being watched and monitored, so they tend to abide by the rules and avoid actions that could be perceived as a threat to the regime. Mass surveillance is also used to gather information about citizens' political and social activities. This information can then be used to intimidate, suppress, or even imprison individuals perceived as threats. Mass surveillance thus became an effective tool to silence critical voices and strengthen regime control. By creating a widespread climate of fear and surveillance, the regime seeks to control people's thinking and behaviour. This harmonizes with the goal of "overcoming obstacles" that want to establish a way of thinking with the ruling class's interests. Strict surveillance systems scare the individual into expressing different opinions

or criticizing the regime. It effectively silences the voices of the opposition and maintains the stability of power.

Next, data shows a regime's attempt to establish social control with the installation of conscious devices to track people's movements and thus avoid future resistance:

*"Bugs, bugs all around," lamented Bunu. "Philips inside and outside."
Philips were listening devices and rumored to be everywhere: hidden in walls,
telephones, ashtrays. So all families followed the same mantra:
At home we speak in whispers. (Ruta, Chapter 7, par 15).*

The above passage clearly describes how authoritarian regimes in the novel *I Must Betray You* use massive social control as one of the main strategies for maintaining hegemony. Through the spread of eavesdropping devices such as the Philips, regimes create an atmosphere of intense surveillance and undermine trust between individuals in society. Fear of constant surveillance forces people to limit self-expression, including communication in the personal environment. Thus, the regime could silence critical voices and prevent organized opposition from forming. Furthermore, these surveillance practices strengthened the regime's ideology by creating a perception that each individual was always under surveillance, ensuring compliance and loyalty. In the Gramsci context, this action can be categorized as an effort to overcome obstacles as it seeks to establish a collective consciousness consistent with the ruling class's interests. By controlling information and creating a climate of fear, the regime could restrict critical thought space and maintain the stability of power.

Still with maintenance efforts by using media control, the following data describe how telephones in Romania are also wired by regimes that arouse public awareness of the sound:

Rumors claimed that Romanian telephones were all constructed with built-in listening devices. When whispering wasn't enough, we put a pillow over the phone, just to be sure. We'd usually put the radio on as well, but ours was malfunctioning. (Ruta, Chapter 10, par 3)

A quote about a widespread wiretapping device in Romania during the regim of Ceaușescu paints a chilling picture of life under an authoritarian regime. The fear of constant surveillance has permeated every corner of society's life. Simple actions such as talking on the phone must be done with caution. This condition is not merely a collective paranoia but a reality intentionally created by the regime to maintain its power. Through the spread of eavesdropping devices, the Ceausescu regime succeeded in creating a systematic atmosphere of terror. Citizens live in fear of being monitored and reported at all times. Fearing the possible consequences, society tended to guard against and avoid actions that might be perceived as a threat to the regime. Citizens internalize norms established by the regime and accept power as an inevitability. The regime thus strengthened its hegemonic state and ensured the survival of its powers.

The data goes on to show how the government's efforts in keeping its hegemony under control of information flows and forming public perceptions, the regime seeks to control ideologies and public thinking. It is in line with the understanding of efforts of inequality and continuity to safeguard hegemony by directing public thought:

The regime claimed that our beloved leader was respected in the West—considered a maverick of the Eastern Bloc—because he disagreed with the leadership of the Soviet Union. We saw reports of Ceausescu being invited to meet with American presidents. We were told Americans admired our hero and Heroine Mother. (Ruta, Chapter 13, Par 4).

The quote you gave describes how the Ceaușescu regime seeks to maintain its power by creating an alternative narrative of its leadership in the eyes of the public. By disseminating information that can be respected internationally, the regime deliberately restricts people's access to information from overseas, thereby allowing people to receive only a filtered and profitable narrative for the regime. By creating a positive image of Ceausescu in the eyes of the international community, the regime sought to instill a sense of national pride and loyalty to the regime among the people. By claiming that superpowers like the United States recognized Ceausescu's leadership, the regime sought to legitimize its power and justify its policies.

The quotations thus show how the Ceaușescu regime uses propaganda and information manipulation to overcome its structural contradictions and maintain its hegemonic state. The government has silenced critical voices and strengthened its legitimacy through media control and creating a favorable narrative.

The quote describes how the Ceausescu regime uses the overcoming obstacles strategy to maintain its hegemony. By creating an atmosphere of distrust and hostility among communities, the government could weaken the potential of resistance and consolidate its power.

The strategy, in turn, created an atmosphere of distrust and hostility among people, succeeded in weakening the potential of resistance and consolidating its power:

*We were all too suspicious.
And that's how the regime undermined everything...Mistrust is a form of terror.
The
regime pits us against one another. We can't join together in solidarity because we
never know whom we can trust or who might be an informer. (Ruta, Chapter 17,
par 12).*

One way that the regime uses to achieve this goal is by spreading propaganda and miscommunicating information. By creating a narrative that people are in danger and that there are threats from home and abroad, the regime has succeeded in instilling fear and distrust among communities. The regime also uses a network of informants to monitor public activity and report any behavior deemed suspicious. This kept people in fear and under constant surveillance, so they tended to obey the rules and avoid actions that could be perceived as a threat to the regime. The regime thus succeeded in creating a polarized, disunited society. Distrust and hostility among communities make it easier for opposition groups to form and resist.

Moreover, by creating a climate of fear, the regime also managed to silence critical voices and prevent alternative thinking. Through this strategy, the Ceaușescu regime strengthened its hegemonic state and maintained its power for many years. In time, however, people managed to counter and overthrow this repressive regime.

The data below highlights how governments have been spreading lies to the public about the outside world, to close access to people comparing their lives to those outside. Until finally the main character learned a truth that the government had never revealed before in a video:

*The video I saw that afternoon was not a fabricated script.
The boys on-screen were not actors.
They were real people, in a real house in the West, with real food.*

*It was all true.
And everything we'd been fed?
It was all lies. (Ruta, Chapter 21, par 46).*

It highlights a striking contrast between the realities portrayed in the video and the narratives the regime has been propagating. By revealing the truth about life in the West, the video was indirectly critical of the narrative the regime had been building. The narrative of the regime often describes life in the West as much worse than in their own country to vindicate repressive policies and limit people's desire for change. The regime seeks to control the public narrative by restricting access to information and disseminating propaganda, as already indicated in previous data. Showing the truth about life in the West, the video challenged the official narrative that the regime had built. The regime seeks to shape society's collective consciousness to suit the authorities' interests. By uncovering the supposed lies, the video opened the eyes of the public and encouraged them to question the truthfulness of the official narrative. By revealing the truth, the footage weakened the regime's hegemony by pointing out that the narrative it had built was a lie. This can trigger doubts and mistrust of the regime.

The data goes on to show the effort to maintain the hegemony by using the control of religious institutions as one way to overcome the structural contradictions in society and strengthen its hegemonic:

Most people prayed in secret anyway. The regime harassed religious leaders and destroyed many churches. When Ceausescu razed the center of Bucharest, a brave engineer saved several historic churches. He put them on rolling tracks and slid them to different parts of the city. (Ruta, Chapter 36, par 20)

The quote clearly describes the efforts of Ceausescu regimes to control and suppress religious institutions. With such actions as disrupting religious leaders, destroying churches, and changing urban landscapes, the regime sought to weaken

the influence of religious institutions. Religion is often a base for values and a collective identity that can challenge state rule. By suppressing religion, regimes seek to undermine potential resistance based on religious values. The regime aims to establish a secular, collective consciousness that focuses the country's ideology above all others. By destroying religious symbols, the regime sought to create a new identity for the people. Religious institutions are often the place for critics of power. By controlling and suppressing religion, the regime aims to prevent criticism of government policies. With the above analysis, the quotations harmonize most with the hegemony maintenance effort called "overcoming structural contradiction". The Ceausescu regime used control over religious institutions as a way to overcome structural contradictions in society and strengthen its hegemonic.

The data that goes on to show how the Ceausescu regime uses education as a very effective tool to establish a collective consciousness supporting the regime. By controlling what is taught in schools and what is accessed by students:

...
I flipped through my almanac, deciding which pages to use. The front section was always about Ceausescu
 ...
*I chose two pieces for wrapping:
 The cover, because the title of the teen almanac, Cutezatorii, meant "Brave Ones."
 I also chose an interior page that featured Ceausescu alongside an article titled "Romania—the Country of Creative Work. (Ruta, Chapter 49, par 17).*

This passage describes how the regime of Ceausescu actively used education, especially through such media as almanacs for students, as a propaganda tool. Almanac, supposedly a neutral information source, is used to spread a single narrative of Ceausescu as a great leader and of Romania as a developed country. It creates an alternative reality that benefits the regime. The title "cute ătorii"

(meaning “brave men”) associated with Ceausescu, as well as the article on “Romani-the country of creative work,” subtly indoctrinates the young generation with the values that support the regime.

Children are encouraged to admire the Ceausescu and believe in his country’s vision. By presenting the image of Ceausescu as a strong and visionary leader, the regime seeks to instill a strong sense of nationalism in the younger generation. It became associated with absolute loyalty to the regime. By controlling the information given to the students, the regime limits space for critical thinking and questions. Students are encouraged to receive the information provided without questioning it. The primary purpose of such controlled education was to create successive generations loyal to the regime and ready to defend the state’s ideology.

The data further shows the actions of the critical regime Ceausescu in imprisoning critical individuals are part of a broader effort to resolve structural contradictions in society and maintain its hegemonics:

....
“Did you hear about Bunu’s chess partner?” she whispered. “He’s been placed under house arrest.” I wasn’t surprised. Each night when we listened to Voice of America and Radio Free Europe we learned of writers, poets, and journalists who fought against the regime. “Apparently Bunu’s friend was affiliated with a literary magazine that . . .” (Ruta, Chapter 52, par 10)

The actions of the critical regime of Ceausescu in imprisoning critical individuals are part of a broader effort to resolve structural contradictions in society and maintain its hegemonism. By creating a repressive climate and limiting freedom of expression, the regime has succeeded in creating a more manageable and more challenging society. The act of imprisoning individuals involved in intellectual and critical activities, such as writers, poets, and journalists, is a form

of bullying. It suggests that the regime felt threatened by alternative ideas and tried to silence dissent voices. By arbitrary arrests and arrests, the regime created an atmosphere of fear among the people. This makes people reluctant to express different opinions or to engage in activities that are considered subversive. By limiting freedom of expression and suppressing intellectual groups, the regime seeks to control the ideologies circulating in society. Only ideologies that suit the interests of the regime are allowed to develop. By targeting potential individuals to be leaders of the opposition, the regime seeks to prevent organized resistance from forming.

Next, the data shows the maintenance of hegemonic strategies with restricted access to information about the insurgency in Timisoara. This is done to limit public opinion and desire to do the same:

.....
*State radio and television reported nothing.
Of course not. Radio Free Europe and Voice of America were the only sources of
information. The regime knew that.
Would they jam the signal? No, that was too expensive. They hadn't jammed signals
in years and probably lacked the equipment to do so. (Ruta, Chapter 56, par 1).*

Resistance limited public access to information from independent sources such as Radio Free Europe and Voice of America; the regime managed to control the public narrative of the country's political situation. People are fed only information that has been filtered and censored by governments, which presents a very positive picture of the regime and eliminates rebellion or discontent in the community. Information about uprisings or opposition movements can trigger mass mobilization and resistance to the regime. By limiting access to such information, the regime is trying to prevent protests or mob movements that could threaten the

stability of its power. Creating the illusion that the regime has complete control over the situation and that there is no significant threat to the country's stability, the regime seeks to strengthen its legitimacy in the eyes of the public. Information on human rights abuses, corruption, or the government's inability to cope with social problems can shape negative public opinion in regimes. By limiting access to information of this kind, the regime is trying to prevent the emergence of public opinion that could threaten its power.

The data, in turn, show the violence perpetrated by the Ceaușescu regime that is a classic example of the hegemonic maintenance efforts of the opposition or the rebels:

For decades, Ceausescu had tied a strangling noose of national communism around our necks. If we wanted our freedom, we'd have to fight for it. And our ruthless dictator, he would fight back. He'd mobilize his death squads of blue-eyed boys from beneath the belly of the capital to kill his own people. And he'd do it without a second thought. (Ruta, Chapter 65, par 11).

Violence is the most direct way of overcoming any challenge to power. By eliminating or intimidating political opponents, the regime ensures that no force can overturn them. The threat of open violence, such as the formation of "death marches," creates a pervasive atmosphere of fear in society. This leaves the public reluctant to express disapproval or engage in activities deemed subversive to the regime. By proactively pursuing and destroying opposition groups, the regime ensures that no force can take him seriously. The acts of violence committed against them serve as an example to others who may have similar thoughts. Through the use of violence, the regime creates an atmosphere in which the public is afraid to express disapproval. It establishes a vague consensus that regimes are the only forces capable of maintaining order. The use of violence often triggers a vicious

cycle of violence that is difficult to break. Acts of violence by the regime can trigger stronger resistance, which can lead to greater violence.

Next, the data shows repressive measures to the regime of Ceaușescu in imprisoning critics and limiting the freedom of citizens that was an attempt to defend hegemonic:

...
authorities have imprisoned their critics and jailed hundreds of other men and women for wanting to exercise their rights to leave the country. Some prisoners of conscience have been tortured, beaten, and jailed for years after unfair trials. Other critics of the government have been put under house arrest, have lost their jobs, or have been attacked in the street by security thugs. (Ruta, Chapter 62, par 12).

Overcoming obstacles refers to a regime's attempts to overcome any challenge that threatens its stability and perpetuity. In the context of authoritarian regimes such as Ceausescu, repressive action is one of the most effective tools to achieve this goal. Repressive measures made by the Ceausescu regime are integral to the attempt to maintain hegemony. By eliminating threats, creating fear, and controlling public narratives, the government has successfully overcome the structural contradictions that could threaten its power. By imprisoning critics and activists, the regime effectively removed voices that have the potential to voice public discontent. This reduces the risk of organized opposition movements.

Repressive action creates an atmosphere of fear in the community. When people fear the consequences if they dare to speak out, they tend to remain silent and submit to the regime. By silencing the media and imprisoning journalists, the government can control the public narrative and ensure that only information benefits the dispersed regime.

The following data show Ceausescu efforts to familiarize people with regime norms, Ceausescu succeeded in creating an obedient and loyal society:

Communist adulation rallies were commonplace in Romania. Over the years, we had all been dragged from school or work to hold signs and salute the leader. On our own, we weren't allowed to gather in a group of five, but Ceausescu could demand fifty thousand gather for him. (Ruta, Chapter 63, par 10).

The quote provides a clear picture of how the regime of Ceausescu used mass mobilization and specific norms to strengthen its hegemonic state. By forcing societies to attend programs that venerate leaders constantly, the regime has gradually adopted a new norm in which the veneration of leaders is considered a duty. It creates a climate where critics of leaders are viewed as unpatriotic or even dangerous. Mass events also made a strong collective identity around a figure of leaders. People are invited to feel part of a big and meaningful movement, so they feel emotionally attached to the regime. By filling people's time and minds with activities supporting the regime, the regime effectively limits the opposition to space. A society with regimes will have less time and energy to engage in critical political activities.

4. Build New Alliance System

As for the explanations of the previous chapter, Building a new alliance system is an effort to create new relationships or alliances with groups that can support the power of the ruling class. In this case, it could involve new political parties, alliances with the military, or new economic powers. In the Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You* the strategies maintenance build new alliance system is this:

As a start, the data he focuses on intense diplomatic activity carried out by Ceausescu is part of the effort to build "build the new alliance system":

I continued browsing the section. At the end of the bookshelf I noticed a wooden podium containing an official-looking album with the Romanian flag on the cover. I opened it.

....

Leader of the nation, Father of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu has established diplomatic relations all over the world and has visited over 100 countries.

The album contained photos of our leader during his travels or hosting other countries

.....

The album was packed full of colorful photos featuring Beloved Leader and Heroine Mother with dignitaries and heads of state. I scanned through some of the names

...

I flipped back through the pages toward the front of the album. Ceausescu hadn't outfoxed America.

No.

He'd outfoxed . . . everyone.

They thought he was a benevolent dictator. They'd welcomed him into their countries. (Ruta, Chapter 29, par 26).

As a means of communicating a nation's national interests to other nations, diplomacy has emerged as one of the vehicles for the actualisation of interactions between nations in the global political arena (Prayuda, 2019). Ceausescu is particularly focused on international diplomatic relations. He has made many visits to other countries and established friendly relations with world leaders. This is evident from a photo album with pictures of his visits to various countries and meetings with country leaders. The above passage explicitly highlights the intense diplomatic activity carried out by Nicolae Ceaușescu. He has established diplomatic relations with many countries around the world.

Building a wide diplomatic network, Ceausescu aims to increase legitimacy. Strong international relations make his leadership seem more valid and recognized internationally. The second is to gain support. An alliance with other countries can provide political and economic support that strengthens its position. Third,

displaying strength and influence: with the many countries that connect with Romania, Ceausescu wants to show that it is a strong and influential country in the world. By presenting himself as an active leader in the international scene, Ceausescu is trying to build a positive image for himself and his regime.

Such a diplomatic venture has had an effect on the Romanian people. Diplomacy successfully strengthens Ceausescu's position at home. Success with many countries has given legitimacy and support to its regimes, making it increasingly difficult for people to oppose their rule. Active diplomacy is also used to justify the authoritarian nature of the Ceausescu regime. By showing that Romania is openly acclaimed, Ceausescu is trying to convince people that its regime is the best for the state.

The data that goes on to show how alliance building is not always explicitly military or political but is also possible through cultural and educational cooperation:

"You know, this library is open to Romanians as well. You can come on your own."

"Really?" I wondered if Bunu knew that.

"Yeah, Reagan and Bush aren't really fans, but back in the day, Nixon bartered a deal with Ceausescu.

Romania was allowed to open a cultural office in New York and the U.S. opened this library in Bucharest." (Ruta, Chapter 30, par 17).

The above quote, especially the section that mentions the treaty between Nixon and Ceausescu regarding the library's opening in Bucharest, provides a clear picture of efforts to build new alliances. The agreement shows negotiations and agreements between two opposing ideologies (U.S. and Romanian) to achieve a common goal.

The library's opening in Bucharest symbolizes the cultural and intellectual exchange between the two countries. By opening a library in Bucharest, the U.S. promoted American culture and sought to establish better relations with Romania. Both countries seek to strengthen bilateral relationships and achieve their political objectives through cultural exchange and education. This quotation indicates that alliances are not always explicitly military or political but interwoven through artistic and educational cooperation.

Lastly, the data below provides a clear picture of how the regime used military force to maintain its hegemonic state. Forming new alliances with paramilitary groups was one of the strategies used to accomplish this goal:

Mixed patrols. Militia men, Secu snipers, patriotic guards, security teams in civilian clothes. It's been a hell of a night. You'll see people hiding in yards, trees, garbage cans. The regime broke through the blockade at the Intercontinental and they've cut power to specific parts of the capital. Give me info on Jilava. How many protestors were brought there?." (Ruta, Chapter 73, par 9).

The above passage describes the chaotic situation in which the regime is repressively trying to maintain its power. The use of various paramilitary groups, such as militias, snipers, and civil security forces, demonstrated efforts to increase the military strength of the regime. In addition, cuts from electricity in certain areas indicate efforts to isolate and weaken opposition groups. From this quote, it could be concluded that the regime was building a new military alliance to maintain its hegemonic state. The coalition involves various paramilitary groups working with official security forces. By strengthening military forces and using violence, the regime tried to intimidate the public and eliminate resistance.

In the context of the Gramsci theory, creating a new alliance with military power can be regarded as an attempt to strengthen the base of regime power. The

coalition gives regimes the power to suppress opposition, maintain order, and maintain the status quo. In other words, the regime is building a "state within the country" that is dominated by military and paramilitary forces.

B. Characters Resist the Hegemony Carried Out by Government

The data in this study is collected from Ruta Sepetys. *I Must Betray You* to answer a second question. In this session, researcher described the acts of resistance by characters in the story based on the concept of Gramsci's counter-hegemony. To quote back from its previous chapter, Gramsci says that where there is power, there will also be resistance within it (Gramsci in Simon, 2001). Where the understanding of resistance, often called counter-hegemony, is the effort of the lower class to oppose the domination of the ruling class (Gramsci, 1987). To that end, researcher will go into a deep description, looking for any resistance's passive and active action. It is also shown how awareness of the lies of these theoretical ideologies is formed. Most importantly, researcher also demonstrated the impact of the existing resistance in the data. The first discussion will focus on how opposed characters began to recognize the lies perpetrated by the regime over the years. This realization of the truth will then be the first step in the resistance's action which will be explained in the next discussion.

1. Awareness of Ideological Lies

As Antonio Gramsci explains, hegemony relies on the regime's ability to get approval from people. However, when society begins to see crevices in

dominant ideology, the hegemonic foundation is brittle (Gramsci in Simon, 2001). This paragraph directly points to critical moments in the novel where the main character begins to recognize the regime's lies. Through access to alternative information, Cristian gradually realized that the communist ideology promoted by the government was not an absolute truth but a construction aimed at sustaining power.

The first data below illustrate the crisis of trust in the regime experienced by Cristian as the main character. The main character experience reflects how a crisis of faith in official ideology can arise when individuals are exposed to alternative information that contradicts narratives constructed by the regime, destabilizing the hegemonic that has been built:

.....
Wait. Americans not only had video players and color TVs, they had video cameras to make their own movies?

A scene suddenly came to life. Three American guys were in a huge kitchen amidst a blaze of light. The ceiling alone had four lightbulbs. And they were all on.
 ...
*The video I saw that afternoon was not a fabricated script.
 The boys on-screen were not actors.
 They were real people, in a real house in the West, with real food.
 It was all true.
 And everything we'd been fed?
 It was all lies. (Ruta, Chapter 21, par 46)*

The above passage describes a crucial moment of enlightenment for the main character, Cristian. Sentences like "it was all true" and "it was all lies" explicitly indicate a paradigm shift in character thinking. Earlier, Cristian lived in a reality constructed by regime propaganda. However, after watching videos featuring a different life, he began to doubt the truthfulness of the official narrative he had always believed. In the context of the novel, the Ceausescu regime has

succeeded in building hegemony by creating a single narrative of the state's welfare and progress. The narrative is propagated through various media and institutions, and society is expected to believe it without question. However, when the main character finds evidence contrary to the official narrative, the consensus that has been built begins to crumble. This moment is particularly relevant to the hegemonic concept set out by Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci argues that when dominant ideology fails to explain the realities of society's feelings, the legitimacy of rulers will be weakened (Simon, 2001). In Gramsci's theory, this moment represents the beginning of an ideological consensus collapse, which is the regime's legitimacy.

The second data shows a data example of a contradiction between the official narrative and reality in relation to an awareness of ideological lies. Official narrative often portrays the west as the enemy of ideology, where poverty, injustice, and exploitation are rampant. However, the video seen by the main character reveals a very different picture:

"They showed us images of people living in prosperity and freedom in the West. People weren't starving or freezing. There were shops filled with goods and citizens laughing openly in the streets." (Chapter 22, Par 13).

The contradiction between the official narrative and the alternative reality revealed in the quotation is a crisis in belief in official ideology. The narrative, thought to be absolute truth, began eroding by empirical evidence pointing to a different reality. When individuals are exposed to information that conflicts with the regime's narratives, they will be inclined to question the truth of the narrative and seek alternative explanations. The government describes the West as a morally and economically corrupt world, but the visual information that Cristian acquired

suggests otherwise. In Gramsci's view, such contradictions unveil official narrative lies, creating loopholes allowing ideological resistance.

Next, the following data illustrates a crucial moment in which individuals begin to build a critical awareness of dominant ideology. This is the first step toward the emergence of counter-hegemony. By questioning the truthfulness of the official narrative and seeking alternatives, individuals can become agents of social change:

"For years, the regime painted a picture of the West as corrupt and morally bankrupt. But the images on that screen told a different story. It made me question everything." (Chapter 22, Par 18).

The above sentence is a powerful reflection of the process of individual enlightenment in the center of hegemonic power. This sentence implies a paradigm shift in character thinking from passive acceptance of the official narrative to critical and dubious attitudes. As the main character witnessed pictures that contradicted the official narrative, he began to doubt the truthfulness of what he had always believed. The question "it made me question everything" points to a crisis of belief in internalized ideologies. This moment became a critical turning point, where characters began to build a critical awareness of social reality. Critical awareness is the first step toward the emergence of counter-hegemony.

The phenomenon of awareness of ideological lies described in the novel harmonizes with the hegemonic concept presented by Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci argues that hegemony relies on a group's ability to build a broad ideological consensus. The hegemonic became brittle as this consensus crumbled due to the disclosure of lies within the official narrative. The novel suggests that when

individuals like Cristian begin to question the dominant narrative, they start their journey toward counter-hegemony, an attempt to establish a more representative ideological alternative. This data thus reinforces the idea that ideological control is only effective as long as the official narrative meets people's needs and expectations.

Individual awareness of official ideological lies sparked a series of significant changes in the social and political order. First, public belief in the dominant narrative weakens and thus destabilizes the consensual foundation that is a pillar of the regime's rule. Then, this individual's consciousness could trigger more organized resistance. As more and more people realize the same lie, they tend to unite to challenge the status quo. This collective consciousness encourages society to evaluate their role in the system and seek alternatives that are more relevant to their needs.

C. Form of Resistance

1. Active Resistance

Active resistance is direct action, such as rebellion, breaking the prescribed rules, or confrontational mass protests against the dominant class or ruler (Taum, 2015:98). This action shows that people do not accept the will Hegemony of the ruling class. In a sense, the society opposes the ruling policy. Those in the mind no longer have any basis in societies that have relied on rationality and questioning a policy that seems to weigh heavily in the balance. Here, the researcher has found data related to the active resistance in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*.

The first active resistance was shown in how the characters assembled on a large scale to watch illegal films. It empowers a blatant resistance no longer individual, an awareness of opposing rules that many view as incompatible:

“You’re late,” whispered Starfish. “Movie’s starting.

....

“First movie is called Die Hard.”

I leaned over and whispered to Liliana.

....

Over thirty people sat, crammed in the small, musty living room.

...

Video nights were forbidden. The Securitate could burst in at any time and haul us to headquarters. That only increased the excitement. The nervous energy in the room buzzed like a fizzy static over my entire body. (Ruta, Chapter 12, par 3-9).

The act of watching movies secretly has active resistance. By willfully violating government restrictions, the characters demonstrated courage and disobedience to authority. Although no physical action was done, it was a symbolic struggle against state rule. Engaging in movie viewing secretly enabled characters to realize that they were taking considerable risks. If caught, they could be arrested and punished. This also demonstrated solidarity among the people. They support and protect each other at the risk. Holding large assemblies, and especially those groups are the illegal film implementation of active resistance because the characters have already dared to engage in the open and public display against everyone there, not on a small scale.

The data that follows clearly indicates active resistance to the regime, by planning to release information related to the regime’s actions toward its citizens to other countries. Cristian as the main character of the story wants to try to expose to the world the atrocities of their leaders and hope for the revolution to be launched:

Hey, I've been keeping a secret notebook. I want to give it to the U.S. diplomat to ensure he knows the truth and shares it widely. (Ruta, Chapter 28, par 2).

Giving a secret notebook to a U.S. diplomat is an obvious form of active resistance. By informing the U.S. of the situation in his country, Cristian was trying to expose a lie. The notebook contained information that could expose the regime's lies and atrocities. By informing foreign diplomats, Cristian hopes to bring international attention to the situation in his country. The ultimate goal was to change the narrative built up by the regime, expose the truth of what was happening, and expect greater change. This action points to a heightened political awareness of the Christian. He understands the importance of information in the struggle against tyranny. This action is risky. If discovered, Cristian could face very serious consequences, including imprisonment or even the death penalty.

Next, the data will illustrate an active resistance effort by writing down structured information that will be addressed to American diplomat Mr. Van Dorn. These acts of resistance are carried out in order to ask the whole world to know the conditions of Romania:

I filled my notebook with statements, lists, and information about our country, cries for help that I hoped Mr. Van Dorn would share with others. (Ruta, Chapter 43, par 2).

Gathering information, organizing it, and then writing it down in a notebook is a series of proactive actions that take initiative and courage. This is a reaction to the situation and an active effort to change it. By gathering critical information on the regime, the writer here on record, Cristian, directly challenged the state authorities. The information contained in the notebook can be used to expose the lies and atrocities committed by the regime. The main gamble of this action is to

trigger change. By informing diplomats, Cristian hopes to encourage international action that could change the situation in his country. It's a very active and revolutionary goal.

The data goes on to describe the active resistance perpetrated by other characters in the story, which in his story influenced Cristian to do something similar and optimistic about its success:

I would finish my notebook and give it to Mr. Van Dorn as soon as possible. The strategy had worked before. The year prior, a Romanian professor and writer named Doina Cornea saw a car with a foreign license plate. She gave the driver a doll, requesting he take it when he left Romania. Hidden inside the head of the doll was an open letter to Ceausescu, written in tiny type on cigarette paper. The letter was delivered to Munich and broadcast on Radio Free Europe. Her sentiments echoed those of many Romanians who couldn't speak them aloud. I wanted to do something similar—give our country a voice. (Ruta, Chapter 48, par 11).

By directly writing to the country's highest leader, Doina Cornea openly resists challenging the regime's authority. Challenge the regime's authority. The action of Doina Cornea in sending a letter to Nicolae Ceaușescu through a puppet is an inspiration to many individuals living under repressive regimes, including the fictional character Cristian in the novel *I Must Betray You*. Both, though living in different eras and contexts, share the same passion for fighting injustice and fight for freedom. Inspired by the story of the courage of Doina Cornea, Cristian decided to follow in his footsteps by sending a critical notebook of information to an American diplomat. Both Doina Cornea and Cristian have, in their way, proved that even the simplest individuals could contribute significantly to the struggle against tyranny. Their actions have become symbols of hope for those living in the shadow of authoritarian regimes.

The next data shows an active resistance with the prompt and bold action that Cristian took place the previously discussed notebook on Mr. Van Dorn's desk:

I grabbed the notebook from my bag and ran to Mr. Van Dorn's desk. Just as I slid it beneath a stack of newspapers, the door of the apartment opened. (Ruta, Chapter 51, par 7).

Cristian handing over his notebook to Mr. Van Dorn is a powerful example of how active resistance can take many forms. While it does not involve direct physical action, it does have a significant impact in challenging political hegemony. By gathering and disseminating information against official government narratives, Cristian actively challenged the ideological hegemony established by the regime. It seeks to create counter-narratives or a more accurate and honest alternative narrative. Cristian actions are individual protests and attempts to trigger systemic changes. By informing the outside world, he hopes to promote international pressure on the regime and, in time, to initiate political change.

Next, the data below illustrate the active resistance of Maria's field protests involving large Numbers of people who openly express their views against the regime:

*«Protest in Maria Square»
"Where's Maria Square?" asked Cici.
Our mother appeared. "In Timișoara, the western part of Romania. Why?"*

*....
«In Timișoara, what began as a vigil over the forced eviction of church pastor László Tokés has
escalated into an antigovernment protest. Romanian security forces opened fire, and there are reports that civilians have been killed. This story is still developing and we'll come back with details.»*

*...
"Shhh . . ." said Cici. "The announcer's coming back on."
«The vigil began on Saturday with parish members holding candles and requesting that persecution of Pastor Tokés be stopped. But hour by hour, residents joined together and the brave people of Timișoara united and took to the streets. The crowd grew overnight and today the swarm of protestors was so large that it blocked traffic in the square and overflowed onto the surrounding streets. As the protest continued, the crowd began to oppose not just the pastor's persecution, but the regime itself.»*

....
 «Today, as the crowds swelled, the mayor called for the protestors to disperse. But the mayor's voice was soon overpowered by the repeated call of the masses. Together, the citizens of Timișoara joined as one voice, continuously chanting: *Li-ber-ta-te.*»
The word pierced through the radio. My skin chilled and a knot formed in my throat. Libertate. Liberty. It was happening. It was really happening! Romanians were joining in hand and heart. And together they were finally calling— For freedom. (Ruta, Chapter 55, par 4)

Maria's street protests are a classic example of active resistance. The protest demonstrates how civil society can unite to challenge authoritarian regimes and fight for their rights. Despite the risks, however, the courage and spirit of the demonstrators' unity inspired other resistance movements. In excerpts from the novel *I Must Betray You*, Maria's action in the protest field is a vivid example of active resistance. The protests in Maria's field involved many people who openly disagreed with the regime. It's a trademark of active resistance, where collective forces are used to challenge authority. Participants in the protests are explicitly demanding a political change, the liberate. This requirement was clear and unveiled, signifying a strong intention to change the status quo. This protest involves a confrontation with authority. Protesters dare to face the risk of arrest and violence to voice their voices.

2. Passive Resistance

Passive resistance, on the other hand, is a more subtle strategy and does not involve confrontation. This resistance is carried out in a safer way, such as petty sabotage, spreading alternative discourse, or refusing to follow the rules without taking dangerous risks (Taum, 2015:102). This is typical of individuals who still

lack the courage to revolt openly and directly. Here, the researcher has found data related to the active resistance in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*:

Furthermore, passive resistance is indicated by Cristian attempts to write down Romanian violent opinions and actions that are a form of resistance to the regime's attempts to control the narrative history, as it forbids and limits its access to expression:

I noted the arrangement in my notebook

...

writing illegal jokes, thinking about Liliana Pavel, and hiding a secret notebook of reports and opinions about Romania. (Ruta, Chapter 7, par 36).

The act of writing a secret notebook can be considered passive resistance. By writing down his experiences and observations, this figure maintained the hope that the truth would one day be revealed. Writing was also a defence against the regime's attempts to silence critical voices. The notebook has become a historical documentary that can be used as evidence of future regime crimes. The diary became a personal file recording the experiences of living under the repressive regime. This was a passive resistance because documenting personal experiences may be viewed as a resistance to the regime's control of the historical narrative. Keeping a diary is a form of refusal to forget what has happened. This attempts to ensure that truth will not be buried and evil will not be overlooked.

This first-site data shows passive resistance. Secret and careful action against regimes by watching illegal films because of government restrictions on media:

....

Most illegal movies from the West were

dubbed into Romanian by the same woman. No one knew her name, but more than twenty million people knew her voice. She brought us into a secret, forbidden world of inspiration. (Ruta, Chapter 9, par 3).

In this quotation, dubbing illegal films can be interpreted as an intelligent and effective form of passive resistance. Dubbing illegal movies into Romanian may be viewed as a form of passive resistance. The woman indirectly spread different ideas and perspectives by dubbing films that may be banned or censored by the government. It's a defence against a hegemonic culture that wants to restrict people's access to information. By not revealing her identity, the woman avoided the risk of arrest and torture. It shows awareness of the lurking dangers of engaging openly in the fight. These films inspire people. This suggests that his actions have a far wider impact than mere entertainment.

Subsequent data show Cristian passive resistance as the main character, as well as the Cici of his younger sister listening to illegal music from hotwire channels:

....
*She'd wedge into the kitchen with me, and together,
 we'd illegally listen to music I'd hotwired from Voice of America. (Ruta, Chapter 9,
 par 23).*

The data provided by the main character, Cristian, listening to the music of Voice of America on the sly, is categorized as passive resistance. In the novel *I Must Betray You*, where freedom of expression is severely limited, listening to music from overseas is a bold form of resistance. Listening to music from a banned radio station is relatively small but has great symbolic meaning. This action does not involve a direct confrontation with the authorities. Listening to the music of the voice of America means being exposed to different ideas and information from

official government narratives. It's an alternate form of diffusion, typical of passive resistance.

The third data shows a resistance to the regime's efforts to know everything about its people by minimizing the sound that comes out so as not to be heard by wiretaps installed in each house:

Rumors claimed that Romanian telephones were all constructed with built-in listening devices. When whispering wasn't enough, we put a pillow over the phone, just to be sure. We'd usually put the radio on as well, but ours was malfunctioning. (Ruta, Chapter 10, par 3)

Passive resistance, as defined by Gramsci, is an act done indirectly, without open confrontation, but aimed at obstructing or opposing class domination. In the context of the novel, covering the phone and turning on the radio is a form of passive resistance because by covering the phone and turning on the radio, the character in the novel is seeking to protect their privacy and communication from regime control. Covering the telephone and turning on the radio indicated character awareness of the repressive political situation. They understood that the regime could monitor their actions. Therefore, they try to find small ways to protect themselves and those around them. The fight was carried out secretly, without any open confrontation with the authorities. It's a safer form of resistance but remains effective in impeding surveillance.

The data that follows shows the resistance by consuming illegal's drink and sharing it with others:

*I could barely see the can, but I saw the white letters.
No. It couldn't be.
Coca-Cola.
....
A real Coke. And she was going to share it with me.
....*

We walked around the side of her building, Fetița following. We found a shadow and slid down, huddled next to each other against the cold cement wall.

....

//INFORMER REPORT //

[17 Oct. 1989]

After meeting in the street, the two quickly proceeded to a hidden spot where they engaged in clandestine discussion and the sharing of illegal items. (Ruta, Chapter 11, par 24-36).

In the context of the repressive communist regime in Romania at the time, the consumption of Coca-Cola meant far more than just enjoying carbonated drinks. Coca-Cola became a symbol of Western culture that conflicted with communist ideology. By sharing Coca-Cola, the characters in the novel take passive action. They subtly challenged the hegemony culture imposed by the regime. This action could be considered a minor sabotage, consuming a banned or restricted product. Passive resistance is often a safer option than active resistance. In situations where the risk of bullying is very high, small and hidden actions can effectively maintain the spirit of resistance without facing fatal consequences. In other words, passive resistance can be a survival strategy for individuals and groups living under authoritarian regimes.

The data, in turn, showed how illegal use of radio free Europe had become a public secret without government know it. This is a passive resistance attempt to obtain information about the outside world by hiding:

We needed Radio Free Europe.

Radio Free Europe had been established by the American CIA decades prior to move information behind the Iron Curtain—the border between communist and noncommunist countries. The broadcasts were accessed only with an illegal antenna, and nearly every family had fashioned one. (Ruta, Chapter 31, par 32).

The illegally printed data on Radio Free Europe is a vivid example of passive resistance. In the context of the repressive communist regime, listening to radio broadcasts from overseas was a significant form of resistance. The use of

illegal antennas to listen to radio-free Europe was done in secret, avoiding detection by authorities. It's an act that prevents a confrontation with the state. Listening to Radio Free Europe was an attempt to obtain alternative information that the government did not censor. This is a way to challenge hegemonic information that is controlled by the state. By listening to radio broadcasts from outside, individuals can shape opinions and views of the world different from those offered by the state. It's a resistance to the dominant ideology.

D. The Impact of Resistance to Hegemonic Structures

The Romanian resistance to the Ceausescu regime is a living example of how the hegemonic crisis can trigger a regime change. Through both passive and active action, society has weakened the ideological consensus that has been the foundation of the regime's rule. According to the Gramsci theory, as resistance succeeded in creating a collective consciousness opposing the dominant narrative, the hegemonic structure became brittle and eventually collapsed, Gramsci in Simon (2001). The process involves a shift from a war of position toward a war of movement, where the passive resistance that builds collective consciousness gradually transforms into more organized active action.

The first data provides a clear picture of how public resistance can cause the collapse of ideological consensus. Through massive and vigorous demonstrations, society has weakened the regime's legitimacy and paved the way for change:

....

*We walked together, chanting and singing. The crowds grew as we marched.
As people left work for the day, I encouraged them to join the swell of protestors.
Our column expanded and*

became one massive surge of thousands of people. Demonstrators brought flags with holes, they carried signs. Our voices were ragged from shouting and singing, hoarse with happiness.

....

The sound of the crowd roared.

Olé, olé, olé, olé, Ceausescu nu mai e!

My heart beat in rhythm to the chants.

Li-ber-ta-te, Li-ber-ta-te!

Ceausescu no more. Liberty! (Ruta, Chapter 64, par 26).

In the context of the above quotation, we can see how people's resistance gradually erodes public belief in the ideology of the regime's Ceaușescu. Robust and vigorous demonstrations demonstrate that more and more people are unwilling to accept the official narrative that has been forced. According to Gramsci, hegemony relies on a consensus of ideologies built through persuasion and indoctrination. As the consensus began to crumble, so hegemony became vulnerable. Simon (2001) further explains that the hegemonic crisis occurs when people lose faith in the ideology that underlies the ruling power. The quote paints a powerful picture of the social dynamics that occurred just prior to the collapse of the Ceausescu regime. The image of people eagerly demonstrating, voicing change demands, and shouting anti-regime slogans is tangible evidence of the growing ideological consensus at the foundation of power.

Next, the following data shows that resistance to the erosion of narrative control significantly impacted the regime's stability. When the government loses its ability to control the production of ideas and values in society, its legitimacy is eroded. This creates the conditions that allow regime change:

Ceausescu attempted to regain control. He couldn't. Random noise echoed from the sound system. He was rattled, confused. And the crowd—we felt it. (Ruta, Chapter 63, par 38)

The quote describes the crucial moment the Ceausescu regime lost control of the public narrative. When Ceausescu tries to regain control of the situation using the voice system, it fails, demonstrating the regime's helplessness. The mass reaction described in the quotation, which is the feeling that Ceausescu is "confused, rattled," suggests that the power of the narrative has shifted from regime to citizen. The Gramsci in Simon (2001) continued that the ruling power became unstable when a rival culture arose and gained legitimacy. In the context of the above quotations, it can be seen how community resistance has succeeded in creating a stronger counter-culture. As Ceausescu attempts to maintain the official narrative, the effort only reinforces the public perception that the regime has lost legitimacy.

The data, in turn, provides a vivid picture of how public resistance can trigger the transformation of collective consciousness. The fundamental change in people's values and beliefs was the principal driving force in overthrowing authoritarian regimes:

In a quarter of a century, this had never happened in Bucharest. The feeling was palpable, a breaking and cracking, the dam of oppression bursting. Emotion leapt within me. My hands began to vibrate. For Bunu. "Timișoara!" I yelled. I couldn't stop. The screams came from deep within me, tearing at my vocal cords. "You're thieves and murderers! Betrayers! TIMIȘOARA!" (Ruta, Chapter 63, par 32).

The quote gives a compelling picture of the fundamental change that occurred in the collective consciousness of Romanian society. The phrase "a breaking and cracking, the dam of oppression bursting" describes a turning point where long-lasting bullying is no longer tolerable. "You're thieves and murderers!

Betrayers! TIMIȘOARA!” is a manifestation of the anger and hatred it accumulates over the years and a strong statement of rejection of the regime. This quotation indicates that people’s voices can no longer be ignored. The loud clamor was a firm declaration that the public would no longer receive oppression. Gramsci’s theory reflects the success of the war of position in building a collective consciousness challenging the hegemonic structure.

Resistance to established power can weaken the hegemonic structure. When the subordinate group began to doubt and oppose the narrative that had long been believed to be correct, the foundation of ideological consensus of power faltered. The legitimacy crisis generated by this resistance would weaken alliances between ruling groups and those under control. This opens the way for an alternative narrative that can challenge existing hegemonic.

The events in Romania during the reign of Ceaușescu are a concrete example of how people’s resistance could spark the hegemonic crisis. Using various forms of action, both openly and secretly, the Romanian people have eroded the legitimacy of the regime and weakened the ideological consensus that has been at the very foundation of power. The success of the resistance suggests that while authoritarian regimes seem substantial, they are vulnerable to challenges from below.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION & SUGGESTION

In this chapter, researcher provide conclusions from this study and suggestions for further analysis. The conclusion comes from a discussion of the strategy to maintain the hegemony occupied by the government and how the character resists the hegemony, in Ruta Sepetys's *I Must Betray You*. Then, suggestions will be given to further studies that are interested in researching the same issue.

A. Conclusion

The major conflict of novel lies in how the government's policy is carried out to keep the hegemonic off the people, resulting in resistance from the people. This image of the political mechanism matches the Gramsci concept's political hegemony, particularly in its view of maintaining hegemony, which became the focus of the study.

The first research question in this research focus on the government's policies to maintain hegemony. This hegemony is included in the political mechanics of Ceausescu, where policy comes both economically and culturally. According to the Gramsci concept, the first attempt to maintain hegemony, namely adjustment of alliance, is described by government efforts that compromise orphans for future maintenance, and they will be hired as guards or security agents of Ceausescu. The second is structuration also included the development of the

country's bilateral or bilateral policies. The third is overcome structural contradiction, attempt aims to identify areas in which information, education, and culture are restricted to prevent outside information incompatible with government ideology. To avoid rebellion by their people. Finally, build the new alliance system is depicted in the government's effort to build cooperation with other countries that suit its ideology, to gain support and keep hegemony in his country strong.

The second question research focused on the discussion of how the follow-up by the character in the story resist the attempt to maintain the hegemony. Resistance is then divided into two: active and passive resistance. The active resistance was direct and openly opposed to the regime in which the figure undertook efforts to spread information about Romania to the world through the American embassy. It is against the rules not only that regulations should not communicate with foreign citizens but also that it betrays its own country by spreading its information to the outside world. Not only that but active action is also seen in how the rest of the community is finally putting up a massive fight with the strike in Timisiora. Then passive resistance is also seen in how not only the main character and other characters are lawless and disobedient to the policies set forth. Ultimately, resistance led to a new history, the revolution and freedom of the Romanian people. The rule of Ceausescu then surrendered, and he and his wife got their due punishment.

B. Sugesstion

Research on this novel *I Must Betray You* opened many of the doors for further exploration. In addition to the political aspects already discussed, we can dig deeper into the hidden cultural dimension of the novel. How, for example, did traditional Romanian values clash with communist ideology or, how a culture of resistance manifested in art, music, or literature at the time could also be focused more on practical application. How can we use this story to build a young generation's awareness of the importance of democracy and freedom or, how can we integrate this novel into the education curriculum to enhance students' understanding of history and politics. Thus, this study will not only contribute to the academic world but also have broader implications for society.

This research has focused on the interaction of individuals with power. However, it is also important to see how government policies shape people's lives and how they affect the economy, education, culture, and other aspects of life. To enrich our understanding, further research can dig deeper into the impact of repressive government policies on society. How do such policies influence people's daily lives, social values, and psychological well-being? Moreover, it is hoped that the study will be the starting point for further studies that explore other aspects of novels, such as symbolism, historical influences, or even comparisons with other literature that feature similar themes.

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CURRICULUM VITAE



Kirana Puspayanti was born on June 19th, 2001, in Ngawi City. She graduated from Madrasah Aliyah Negeri Kota Batu in 2018 and continued her studies in English Literature at Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang in 2020. During her undergraduate studies, Kirana actively contributed to extracurricular activities, especially in the field of vocal arts. She became a member of the Gema Gita Bahana Student Choir and consistently participated in various choral competitions at both National and International levels. Her dedication and talent in music have yielded impressive results. Together with the Gema Gita Bahana Student Choir, Kirana has achieved a number of remarkable achievements, including 1st and 2nd place in the Grand Champion Category at the 1st SATU VOICE National Choir Festival in Tulungagung. Not only that, she also won Gold Medals for the National Song and Folklore Categories at the same event. On the International stage, Kirana and her team won Gold Medals in the World Virtual Choir Festival and also won the Pop Vocal Ensemble Category and Gold Medals in the Folklore Category at the 21st Malaysian Choral Eisteddfod International Choir Festival. These achievements prove Kirana's consistency in pursuing her passion for music and making positive contributions to her alma mater.