



The Hegemony of Power in the Drama of *Mangir* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer: An Antonio Gramsci Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This study discusses the hegemony of power in the drama script *Mangir* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer using Antonio Gramsci's perspective. The focus of the research is directed at two main aspects, namely the hegemony of power viewed from the ideological aspect and the hegemony of power viewed from the social class of society. This study uses a qualitative descriptive method with a sociology of literature approach. The research data are in the form of dialogues in the drama *Mangir* which show the practice of power domination, social agreement, class conflict, and Mataram's political strategy towards *Mangir*. The results of the study show that the ideological hegemony in the drama *Mangir* is built through the legitimacy of the Mataram kingdom's power, manipulation of love, symbols of nobility, and the instilling of political awareness in the *Mangir* community. In addition, the hegemony of social class is seen through the conflict between the Mataram noble group and the *Mangir* perdikan community who uphold social equality. This drama shows how power does not only work through violence, but also through cultural and ideological agreement as Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony.

Keywords: hegemony, power, drama of Mangir

Hegemony Kekuasaan dalam Naskah Drama *Mangir* Karya Pramoedya Ananta Toer: Perspektif Antonio Gramsci

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini membahas hegemoni kekuasaan dalam naskah drama *Mangir* karya Pramoedya Ananta Toer dengan menggunakan perspektif Antonio Gramsci. Fokus penelitian diarahkan pada dua aspek utama, yaitu hegemoni kekuasaan ditinjau dari aspek ideologi dan hegemoni kekuasaan ditinjau dari kelas sosial masyarakat. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan pendekatan sosiologi sastra. Data penelitian berupa dialog-dialog dalam drama *Mangir* yang menunjukkan praktik dominasi kekuasaan, persetujuan sosial, pertentangan kelas, dan strategi politik Mataram terhadap *Mangir*. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa hegemoni ideologi dalam drama *Mangir* dibangun melalui legitimasi kekuasaan kerajaan Mataram, manipulasi cinta, simbol kebangsawanan, serta penanaman kesadaran politik kepada masyarakat *Mangir*. Selain itu, hegemoni kelas sosial tampak melalui pertentangan antara kelompok bangsawan Mataram dan masyarakat perdikan *Mangir* yang menjunjung kesetaraan sosial. Drama ini memperlihatkan bagaimana kekuasaan tidak hanya bekerja melalui kekerasan, tetapi juga melalui persetujuan budaya dan ideologi sebagaimana konsep hegemoni Antonio Gramsci.

Kata kunci: hegemoni, kekuasaan, drama Mangir

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INTRODUCTION

Literature serves as a reflection of social life, representing the various issues humans face within society. Through literary works, authors do more than simply present stories for entertainment; they convey the social, cultural, political, and economic realities of human existence. One recurring theme in literature is the issue of power. In literary works, power typically manifests through relationships of domination between a ruling group and the populace they govern. These dynamics are evident in acts of oppression, ideological influence, and the political strategies employed by specific characters to maintain their authority. According to Faruk (2021:77), literature often serves as an arena for ideological struggle between dominant and subordinate groups, as it emerges from a social reality rife with conflicting interests. Thus, literature can be understood as a medium that represents the dynamics of power within society.

One Indonesian literary work that presents the complexities of power is the play *Mangir* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. The play depicts the conflict between the Mataram Kingdom and the autonomous territory of Mangir, led by Wanabaya. This conflict transcends mere physical warfare over territory; it encompasses ideological battles, political maneuvering, and cultural domination. Mataram is portrayed as a vast kingdom seeking to expand its political authority over external regions—including Mangir, which fiercely guarded its independence as an autonomous domain. Mataram employed various methods to subjugate Mangir, ranging from military threats to subtle strategies involving Princess Pambayun as a political instrument of the kingdom. Princess Pambayun serves not only as a female character in the narrative but also as a symbol of the power strategies Mataram used to influence and undermine Wanabaya, both emotionally and politically. The issue of power in *Mangir* can be analyzed through the lens of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony. Gramsci viewed hegemony as a form of domination exercised by the ruling group

through the consent of the populace, rather than solely through physical force. According to Simon (2020:23), hegemony operates through moral and intellectual leadership, leading dominated groups to accept the ruling group's values as natural and legitimate. Within this framework, power functions not merely through political or military coercion but also through the influence of culture, ideology, education, and social symbols that shape public consciousness. Consequently, hegemony serves as one of the most effective strategies for maintaining dominance, as the subjugated groups often remain unaware that they are operating under the influence of the ruling group's ideology.

In a literary context, hegemony manifests through the ways characters maintain power, influence societal mindsets, and establish social legitimacy for the authority they hold. Conflicts in literary works often reveal a struggle between the ideology of a dominant group and that of a subordinate group striving to preserve its identity and freedom. This aligns with Ratna's (2022:91) view that the sociology of literature approach can uncover the relationship between literary works and societal social structures—including power dynamics, class conflicts, and ideological clashes. Through this approach, a literary work is understood not merely as a product of the author's imagination but also as a representation of the social reality evolving within a society during a specific period.

In the play *Mangir*, the relationship between Mataram and Mangir illustrates an intense struggle involving ideologies of power and social class conflict. Mataram represents the feudal ruling class seeking to expand its political and cultural dominance, whereas Mangir represents a community upholding freedom and social equality. This conflict demonstrates that power operates not only through physical warfare but also through ideological influence and social legitimacy. Therefore, this study is significant for understanding how the hegemony of power is represented in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Mangir* through the lens of Antonio



Gramsci's theories, specifically regarding ideology and social class.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method utilizing a sociology of literature approach. Qualitative methods are commonly used in various social studies. (Abubakar, 2021; Razak, 2017) The qualitative descriptive method was selected because the study aims to describe and understand the phenomenon of power hegemony within the literary work in a comprehensive and systematic manner. The sociology of literature approach is employed to examine the relationship between the literary work and its underlying social reality—specifically regarding practices of power, domination, and ideological influence in societal life—as depicted in the play *Mangir* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. The primary data source for this study is the text of the play *Mangir*. The research data consist of dialogue excerpts, conversations between characters, monologues, and narrative passages that reveal forms of hegemonic power. These data were selected because they contain elements of domination, ideological influence, leadership, social consent, and power relations relevant to Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony. Data collection was carried out using the "read and note" technique; the researcher read the play's script carefully and repeatedly to comprehend its content, plot, characterization, and social context. Subsequently, the researcher recorded significant passages illustrating forms of hegemonic power, whether manifested directly or indirectly through the characters' actions and speech.

Data analysis utilized Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony and proceeded through several stages: data reduction, data classification, data interpretation, and conclusion drawing. During the data reduction stage, the researcher selected data relevant to the research focus. The data classification stage involved categorizing the data based on the forms of hegemonic power identified in the script. Next, the data were interpreted by linking

the findings to Gramsci's concept of hegemony to gain a deeper understanding. The final stage involved drawing conclusions based on the analysis, thereby providing an overview of the forms and practices of hegemonic power within the drama of *Mangir* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer.

RESULTS

1. The Hegemony of Power Viewed from an Ideological Perspective in the Drama of *Mangir* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer

Ideological hegemony in the drama of *Mangir* is evident in the clash of perspectives between the Mataram Sultanate and the autonomous territory of Mangir. Mataram sought to impose the legitimacy of its royal authority upon other regions, whereas Mangir upheld an ideology of equality and freedom. This conflict is represented through the following dialogue between characters.

Data 1

Baru Klinting : "What is it you wish to say, Suriwang?"

Suriwang : "Mataram lusts to straddle Mangir! Ai-ai-ai. They set themselves up as kings and sent their patih, Singaranu, to Mangir—demanding submission and tribute, both raw materials and finished goods, Klinting." (Toer, 2000:6)

This dialogue illustrates Mataram's attempt to establish ideological dominance over Mangir. Mataram's demand for submission and tribute signifies not merely territorial expansion but also a royal effort to secure political recognition from Mangir. From Antonio Gramsci's perspective, this action constitutes a form of hegemony, as the dominant group seeks to instill the view that its power is legitimate and must be accepted by others. Through this dialogue, the author portrays how power operates via the legitimization of royal ideology.

Data 2

Suriwang : "Eight hundred more—and not just Mataram, Ki Ageng Mangir the Younger."

Baru Klinting : "Mangir shall remain an autonomous territory; it will never become a kingdom. Everyone may voice their opinion, everyone has a right to everything; no one need bow to another, for each is equal to all." (Toer, 2000:7)

This dialogue reveals an ideological conflict between the feudal system embraced by Mataram and the values of equality upheld by the people of Mangir. Baru Klinting's statement underscores Mangir's rejection of a monarchical system that elevates certain individuals above the rest of society. According to Antonio Gramsci, this situation represents a form of counter-hegemony—a resistance against the dominant ideology seeking to subjugate other groups. The author demonstrates that the people of Mangir possessed the resolve to uphold their cherished values, even while facing pressure from the power of Mataram.

Data 3

Suriwang : "He won't become king! What use is an extra spear, anyway?"

Baru Klinting : "It isn't to raise Wanabaya to the throne, but to vanquish every king harboring insatiable ambition—those lusting to straddle the land as supreme ruler. Mangir must not be touched." (Toer, 2000:7)

This dialogue demonstrates a rejection of a power system centered on a single ruler. Baru Klinting asserts that the goal of Mangir's struggle is not to establish a new kingdom, but to oppose power practices that oppress the people. Viewed through the lens of Gramscian hegemony, this dialogue reveals the ideological consciousness of the Mangir community in rejecting the domination of the ruling group and upholding a more egalitarian ideology.

2. Power Hegemony Viewed through Social Class in the Drama Mangirby Pramoedya Ananta Toer

Power hegemony is also represented through social class distinctions between the nobility and the common people. The social structure within the drama reveals the existence of privileged groups alongside those in subordinate positions. This situation is evident in the following dialogues.

Data 1

Suriwang : "Mataram lusts to straddle Mangir! They appoint themselves kings and send their patih, Singaranu, to Mangir to demand submission and tribute."

Baru Klinting : "They mean to test the autonomy of Mangir!" (Toer, 2000:6)

This dialogue illustrates the class relationship between the ruling group and the group being dominated. The Mataram Sultanate is positioned as an elite group possessing the political power to demand obedience from other territories, while Mangir occupies a position of striving to maintain its independence. In Antonio Gramsci's theory, class domination occurs when a ruling group employs political and social influence to maintain its position. Through this dialogue, the author represents the relationship between the dominant class and the group attempting to resist that domination.

Data 2

Baru Klinting : "Everyone may voice their opinion; everyone has equal rights; no one needs to bow down to another."

Suriwang : (looking at Baru Klinting) "And what of the eight hundred spears?" (Toer, 2000:7)

This dialogue reveals the social consciousness of the Mangir community regarding the importance of class equality. Baru Klinting's statement indicates that the Mangir people do not desire a social structure where some groups are ranked higher or



lower than others. According to Antonio Gramsci, such collective consciousness can serve as a form of resistance against the domination of the ruling class. Thus, this dialogue represents the Mangir community's effort to uphold a more egalitarian social system.

Data 3

Suriwang : "Alas, it is inevitable; relying on lies and treachery... simply to become king."

Baru Klinting : "Wanabaya—Ki Ageng Mangir the Younger—will not become king." (Toer, 2000:7)

This dialogue presents a critique of ruling groups that acquire and maintain power for personal gain. Suriwang's statement illustrates that the status of "king" is often linked to ambition and the domination of other groups. Meanwhile, Baru Klinting's rejection of the royal title demonstrates an awareness of the need to avoid creating a social stratification that places one group above another. Consequently, this dialogue represents resistance against the class hegemony characteristic of feudal systems.

DISCUSSION

Hegemony is a key concept in Antonio Gramsci's thought, explaining how a group maintains its power through social consent rather than solely through coercion. According to Gramsci, domination can operate subtly through ideology, culture, values, and various social practices that shape the way society thinks. Through this process, the dominant group seeks to establish its views and interests as natural, legitimate, and acceptable to other groups. Thus, power operates not only through physical force but also by influencing public consciousness.

This concept of hegemony is evident in the drama of *Mangir* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, which depicts the relationship between the Mataram Sultanate and the autonomous territory of Mangir. The relationship between these two regions reveals not only political conflict but also

the ideological clashes and social structural differences underlying that conflict. Dialogues between characters in the play illustrate how domination and resistance unfold through complex social processes. Therefore, this discussion focuses on the hegemony of power—examined through the lenses of ideology and social class—based on Antonio Gramsci's perspective.

The Hegemony of Power Viewed from an Ideological Perspective in the Drama of *Mangir* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer

Ideological hegemony in the drama of *Mangir* is manifested in the Mataram Sultanate's efforts to extend its influence over the autonomous territory of Mangir. Mataram sought to position itself as the center of power, entitled to recognition and obedience from other regions. This effort is evident in the demands for Mangir to submit and pay tribute to the kingdom. In this context, power is asserted not merely through military threats but also by fostering the perception that the kingdom's domination is legitimate and worthy of acceptance. The initial dialogue reveals Mataram's attempt to establish the legitimacy of its power over Mangir by demanding submission and tribute. According to Chris Barker (2021:52), ideological hegemony occurs when a dominant group successfully constructs a discourse that makes its power appear natural and acceptable to society. This view aligns with the dialogue illustrating Mataram's desire to secure political recognition from Mangir. Thus, Mataram's exercise of dominance aimed not only to gain physical control over the territory but also to instill the awareness that the kingdom's power constituted an authority demanding respect.

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The analysis of the fourth dialogue reveals a relationship of dominance between the kingdom—acting as the elite group—and Mangir, a territory positioned to submit to central authority. According to Raymond Williams (2021:88), class hegemony arises when a dominant group successfully establishes a social system that renders its own position superior and more entitled than that of other groups. In this dialogue, the demands for submission and tribute demonstrate that Mataram positions itself as the authority capable of governing other territories. Thus, the kingdom's power serves as a mechanism to maintain class dominance within society.

Furthermore, social class conflict is evident in the perspective of the Mangir people, who reject distinctions of rank based on social status. The Mangir community desires an egalitarian existence, free from hierarchies of superior or inferior groups. This value stands in direct opposition to Mataram's feudal system, which positions the nobility as the dominant group within the social structure.

The analysis of the fifth dialogue indicates that the Mangir community possesses a collective consciousness aimed at upholding social equality. According to Sugihastuti (2023:117), subordinate groups can resist dominance by forging social solidarity and a shared consciousness. The Mangir people's refusal to bow to others demonstrates resistance against the class structure imposed by the kingdom. Consequently, the conflict in the drama of *Mangir* is not merely about the struggle for political power but also involves a clash regarding social standing within the community.

Class hegemony in the drama of *Mangir* is also manifested through criticism of the monarchical system, which centers power on the king. The king's status is viewed as a symbol of the dominant class, enjoying privileges denied to commoners. The Mangir community rejects this system, perceiving it as a potential source of inequality and social dominance. This rejection highlights their divergent views on the relationship between power and social status.



The analysis of the sixth dialogue reveals a rejection of the class system established through the institution of the kingdom. According to Bourdieu (1984:56), Elmustian & Razak (2021:19), class domination can be maintained through symbolic capital—such as honor, prestige, and social recognition—possessed by the elite. In the drama of Mangir, the status of the king serves as a symbol of power that distinguishes the ruling group from ordinary people. However, the people of Mangir attempt to reject this symbol by upholding a more egalitarian social system. Thus, the drama of Mangir demonstrates that class hegemony operates not only through political power but also through social symbols that establish status distinctions within society.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that the hegemony of power in the drama of Mangir by Pramoedya Ananta Toer—viewed through the lens of Antonio Gramsci's theories—manifests itself through the aspects of ideology and social class. Regarding ideology, the Mataram Sultanate employs strategies of domination via the systematic construction of power legitimacy, royal symbols that reinforce the ruler's authority, and emotional manipulation involving the character Putri Pambayun. Through these methods, hegemony operates subtly rather than as overt coercion; consequently, power appears legitimate and natural, eventually gaining acceptance among those subject to this domination. This process demonstrates that power relies not merely on physical force but also on the capacity to shape public consciousness and societal perspectives. Meanwhile, regarding social class, the drama of Mangir illustrates a clear conflict between the Mataram nobility—as the dominant class—and the community of Perdikan Mangir, a group situated outside the kingdom's feudal structure. Mangir represents a society that upholds values of social equality and rejects feudal power hierarchies, whereas Mataram upholds a social sys-

tem that privileges the nobility. This conflict reveals that hegemony operates not only through ideology but also through the social structures governing inter-class relations. Thus, drama of Mangir depicts more than just political conflict; it illustrates how power functions through ideology, culture, and social relations—aligning with Gramsci's concept of hegemony, wherein domination is sustained through a combination of social consent and unequal class structures.

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