

Negotiation of Ideology in an Anthology of Short Stories *Mewariskan Lalat* by Dian Nangin: Gramsci's Hegemony Study of Karo Women's Discourse in Domestic and Public Spaces

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Abstract. Discourses on women in domestic and public spaces, especially on women of the Karo ethnic group, are still widely discussed in the literary works of North Sumatra, especially some of Dian Nangin's short stories collected in an anthology of short stories *Mewariskan Lalat*. This is because Karo women are still tied to the patrilineal system. But Nangin wants to obscure the discourses that the dominant constructs by negotiating its ideologies. The method of this study was qualitative descriptive by using listening techniques on three selected short stories, namely “*Matahari di Mata Ibu*”, “*Angin Berkabar Hujan*”, and “*Perempuan-Perempuan di Kaki Gunung*”. The three short stories were selected because they corresponded to the results the researchers wanted to achieve (purposive sampling). These short stories were studied using Gramsci's concept of hegemony. The result of this research is that Nangin wants to negotiate the ideologies of humanism, socialism and motherhood that need to be considered for women, especially Karo women, among the ideology of capitalism.

Keywords: hegemony, motherhood, ideology, Karo women

1 Introduction

“Ah, that woman is struggling
so as not to lose her love for her children,
for her husband, even for herself.”

(Nangin, 2021, p. 146)

The poem above illustrates that women continue to fight for themselves and their families. Women, however, tend to be conceived as weak (because of pregnancy and childbirth) and irrational. A woman is a creature that cannot escape from a man--always in need of a man. This discourse is in line with what was stated by Fakihi (2013, pp. 8–11) that men and women are socially and culturally constructed. Women are delicate, beautiful, emotional, and motherly creatures, whose role is to be in the home. Meanwhile, men are constructed as strong, masculine, rational, and powerful, whose role is in the public space (to earn a living). Sari (2018, p. 24) also suggests that in 17th-century, women tended to be seen as less rational, more emotional,

and in need of male (husband) guidance. Then, in the 18th century, women were defined through their bodies, which played the role of mother (bearing and giving birth), which was also seen as close to nature. The female role is considered dangerous if attempted as a male. This is what makes women look inferior.

Women are also conceived as the second sex, whose existence is constructed by men. A woman is not born, but is made by a man. A woman is an outsider in her relationship with a man (Beauvoir via Udasmoro, 2023, p. 85). This is based on the main aspect, which is the patriarchal power regime or the so-called male dominated system. Walby (1989 in Udasmoro, 2023, pp. 86–87) explains that there are six patriarchal structures that dominate women, namely 1) men get paid more than women; 2) women do more domestic work than men; 3) women's and men's culture (behavior) is differentiated; 4) women's sexuality is controlled by men; 5) violence against women is one form to control and dominate women; 6) the country adopts a patriarchal, racist, and capitalist system.

This patriarchal regime is still practiced by most of the people of North Sumatra, especially the Karo ethnic group. The Karo ethnic group adheres to a patrilineal system or kinship based on the paternal lineage. This system regulates kinship, such as marital matters, including in the relationship between husband and wife, as well as the division of inheritance. They distinguish between the positions of men and women in the social structure. This can be seen in the different treatment of boys and girls (Susanti, 2020, p. 53). Furthermore, Udasmoro (2023, p. 87) explains that the division of duties between women and men is based on natural and cultural aspects¹. Women are given roles according to nature because they have reproductive organs (conceiving, giving birth, breastfeeding, etc.), which are attached to women so that they are placed in the domestic or private space. Meanwhile, men are given the role of culture, which is attached to the production function so that it is in the public space.

In the Karo ethnic group, the difference in the status of men and women can be seen from the granting of the clan, i.e. only sons can continue their father's clan. Then, in the performance of the customary procession, women were not given the right to speak. They are just listeners and accept the decisions that are made. Furthermore, in the division of the inheritance, only the son becomes the heir. Nevertheless, they still had the opportunity to go to school and participate in farming. As stated by Susanti (2020, p. 54), They have the same opportunities as men, namely school and work (farming). There are many Karo women who are achievers. Even in the workplace, they play a strategic role, namely fulfilling the family's economic needs by helping their husbands in farming.

Based on the phenomenon above, it can be concluded that Karo women are not only in the domestic space, doing housework and being mothers (bearing and giving birth), but they are also given the opportunity to be in the public space working in the fields as farmers. This, however, creates a paradox: Karo women have a double burden, having to work in two domains at once. This phenomenon is highlighted by Dian Nangin in her short stories entitled “*Matahari di Mata Ibu*”, “*Angin Berkabar Hujan*”, and “*Perempuan-Perempuan di Kaki Gunung*”. These three short stories are collected in an anthology book of *Mewariskan Lalat*.

Dian Nangin is a North Sumatran female writer who argues, negotiates and strategizes in dealing with society's socio-cultural construction regarding women's discourse, especially Karo women in the domestic and public spaces. Nangin struggles and speaks out through her essays because of women's issues in the domestic space and women's movements in the public space. Through her essay, she negotiates ideology between the dominant ideologies that are alive and

accepted by society. An ideology can be accepted without resistance by a society means that hegemony has been achieved.

Barker (2004, p. 62) explains that hegemony is the ruling class exercising social authority and leadership or dominating subordinate classes through force and consent. Hegemony is formed and achieved by the way the dominant group producing, maintaining and spreading ideology, which is then naturalized in common sense. An ideology in Gramscian analysis is an idea, meaning, and practice that is considered to be a universal truth. Ideology spread through language, common sense, and folklore (Faruk, 2013, p. 144).

Hegemony makes the dominant (ruler) look harmonious - living without any gaps with the subordinates, like the rich oppressing the poor. In fact, the gaps that occur in society have been polished by cultural, political and ideological practices that have been implanted in a country, making the two seem to be a harmonious and complementary whole. This is what makes organic intellectuals resist. Gramsci divided the intellectuals into two categories, the traditional intellectuals and the organic intellectuals.

Traditional intellectuals are intellectuals who produce, maintain and circulate naturalized ideologies to form hegemony. Meanwhile, organic intellectuals are intellectuals who fight or counter hegemony. It is these people who fight for the subordinate class (Barker, 2004, pp. 374–375).

Based on the explanation above, Gramsci's concept of hegemony can resolve the phenomena experienced by women, especially Karo women regarding discourses in the domestic and public spaces. So, the research was done to answer the following questions; 1) How is the author's ideology in the short story collection "Mewariskan Lalat" by Dian Nangin related to women's issues in the domestic and public spaces? 2) How are the ideological negotiations in the short story collection "Mewariskan Lalat" by Dian Nangin related to women's issues in the domestic and public spaces?

Gramsci's study of hegemony has been widely used by previous researchers. Firstly, it was carried out by Anggreini, Harahap and Jakaria (2020) who studied the poem "Kau ini Bagaimana atau Aku Harus Bagaimana" by KHA Mustofa Bisri using Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Gramsci's study of hegemony has been widely used by previous researchers. Firstly, it was carried out by Anggreini, Harahap and Jakaria (2020) This research aimed to find out the ideology negotiated by the author to fight the hegemony of the dominant group. The result of the research is that the author negotiates a religious nationalist-humanist ideology so that every people's mindset and behavior becomes focused. However, Gus Mus implicitly negotiated the ideology of Pancasila which must be reclaimed by the state and began to dismantle authoritarian militarism because Pancasila is the basis of the Indonesian.

Secondly, a research done by Anggreini (2018) which studied the short story "Sarman" by Seno Gumira Ajidarma with Gramsci's concept of hegemony. The findings from this research were the ideologies negotiated by Seno Gumira Ajidarma, namely social and humanist ideologies to coexist with the ideology of capitalism. This is because Seno Gumira Ajidarma as the author is also trapped and cannot escape the dominant ideology.

Based on the previous studies, it can be seen that there is a novelty in this research, namely the emergence of the discourse "new women" as a form of Nangin's negotiation as an author, who resisted the hegemony associated with the discourse of Karo women in domestic and public spaces.

2 Method

The research used qualitative descriptive method. The source of data was the short story collection *Mewariskan Lalat* by Dian Nangin. In addition, the data were in form of dialogues and sentences in the short stories. The short story collection “*Mewariskan Lalat*” by Dian Nangin consists of twenty seven short stories. Researcher chose three short stories to be analyzed. It was chosen by using purposive sampling technique (Alwasilah, 2003 via Pujiarto, 2018, p. 76). the short stories are 1) *Matahari di Mata Ibu*; 2) *Angin Berkabar Hujan*; and 3) *Perempuan-Perempuan di Kaki Gunung*.

Data collection on the three short stories uses the listening method, which is listening to language (words, phrases, sentences, and discourse). The listening method is the most appropriate way to obtain verbal data (Sudaryanto, 1993 in Faruk, 2012, p. 24). After collecting the data, the researcher categorized or classified the data. Then, the researcher analyzed the data using Gramsci's hegemony studies, that is, by identifying the author's socio-cultural background, finding the ideological formation, and the ideological negotiations that Nangin made through her short stories.

3 Results and Discussions

3.1 Dian Nangin's Socio-Cultural

Dian Nangin is a woman born in Berastagi, Karo Regency, North Sumatera in 1991. Berastagi is one of the tourist destinations in North Sumatra. The weather in Berastagi is cool so this area grows vegetables and fruit. Berastagi is one of the horticultural producing centers in North Sumatra, especially vegetables and fruit (Lubis and Nasution, 2017, pp. 1–2). Therefore, Berastagi people tend to work as farmers.

The Berastagi people are an ethnic Karo people. This society adheres to a patrilineal system or kinship based on paternal lineage. This system regulates kinship relations, such as marital matters, including within the relationship of husband and wife, as well as the division of inheritance. This system differentiates between the positions of men and women in the social structure (Susanti, 2020, p. 53). Karo women in a deliberation are not given the right to speak (give an opinion), but only accept the decision or results of the deliberation. As explained by Nofasari and Ginting (2019, p. 127) that Karo women have great responsibilities within the family (their own parents' family and the family of their in-laws). As during the custom, women are not allowed to speak, only to be listeners and accept the decisions taken. This explains the position of women in social society. However, in the fields of education and economics, Karo women are given opportunities.

Karo women are given the opportunity to go to school, even go to university and get achievements. Apart from that, Karo women are also given the right to work, namely farming or farming—helping their husbands. Karo women occupy a strategic role in meeting their family's economic needs (Susanti, 2020, p. 54). This essentially explains that Karo women are not only in the domestic space (housekeeping, pregnancy, and childbirth), but also in the public space (fields and farming). Karo women are simply not entitled in the socio-cultural aspects of their patrilineal system.

The existence of Karo women in domestic and public spaces, in fact, makes Karo women experience a double burden. This condition is basically a paradox for women. However, Karo women enjoy this role.

3.2 Dian Nangin's Ideology Negotiation

Dian Nangin's short stories, collected in the anthology *Mewariskan Lalat* are the form of her criticism of the socio-cultural in North Sumatra, especially the culture constructed for women. But she could not entirely rid herself of the ideology of capitalism, but she tried to polish it with the ideology of humanism. As in the quotation of short story "*Matahari di Mata Ibu*" below.

A short weekend break doesn't make my longing melt away - if only I could spend a few more days with you. However, the routine of studying in the city required me to return immediately.

You stuffed the money from yesterday's potato sale into my bag and left little for you, very little. And, it always has been.

"It's okay," you said when I asked. "Living in the city requires a lot of money. Your college needs at the end of this semester are also in abundance, I understand that. It's okay. Life in the village is much easier.

(Nangin, 2021, p. 67)

The same thing is also depicted in the short story "*Perempuan-perempuan di Kaki Gunung*", namely polishing the ideology of capitalism with the ideology of humanism. Pay attention to the following quote.

The woman asked her husband who had just returned from queuing for government aid at the Village Hall. Even though he doesn't really like receiving help because it means hoping for other people's pity.

.....

"Go to the city with some friends. Perhaps I can get a job and a livelihood today".

(Nangin, 2021, p. 147)

Furthermore, it is also seen in short stories "*Angin Berkabar Hujan*", below.

The couple volunteered their shoulders to become stepping stones to get their children out of the hole that limited their movement. So that they can go out to see the world, experience its hustle and bustle, and then occasionally come home to visit them with great stories.

.....

After years of struggle, the old farming couple was quite proud to see their children achieve success according to their standards: getting a college degree, having a steady job, and enough money for the demands of life in the capital city.

(Nangin, 2021, p. 141)

The quotes of short story above explain that Nangin cannot escape the ideology of capitalism. This ideology is a big ideology that has enveloped the entire space. So, this ideology was enveloped by Nangin with the ideology of humanism.

3.3 Motherhood: The Ideal Woman

The short story “*Matahari di Mata Ibu*”, “*Angin Berkabar Hujan*”, and “*Perempuan-Perempuan di Kaki Gunung*” also negotiates the ideology of feminism, which is related to the concept of motherhood. The motherhood is a concept that attaches women to the elements of “housewifery”, which means the domestication of women to tame women so as to achieve order and stability. (Ernawati, 2017, pp. 142–143).

The concept of motherhood is explained by Suryakusuma (2011, p. 10 via Ernawati, 2017, p. 144) as a broader concept of domestication. Domestication has implications of the taming, segregation, and depoliticization of women. Thus, the concept of motherhood of the state was born. Mother-of-states is a gender ideology that creates stereotypes for women to restrict movement and control women.

The concept of motherhood in short stories “*Matahari di Mata Ibu*”, “*Angin Berkabar Hujan*”, and “*Perempuan-Perempuan di Kaki Gunung*”, has a difference with the concept of motherhood presented above. These three short stories of Dian Nangin raise the figure of the powerful “mother”, who is in the domestic space as well as in the public space. The figure of the “mother” not only takes care of household affairs, but also works in the fields. Like a quote from a short story “*Matahari di Mata Ibu*”, below.

My eyelids are still reluctant to open, but my heart doesn't have the heart to let you struggle alone in the cold kitchen. I force my body to get up and immediately follow you to the kitchen, to prepare breakfast and lunch together in the field later. (Nangin, 2021, p. 64)

The female Karo, as described above, is within the male-dominated patrilineal system. However, Karo women were allowed to go to school and work to help their husbands provide for the family. Notice the quotation from the short story “*Angin Berkabar Hujan*” dan cerpen “*Perempuan-perempuan di Kaki Gunung*”, below.

That's what he and his wife have been doing for decades: cultivating the land through sweat and tears. Supporting their children by farming - a profession without a choice inherited from their predecessors.

(Nangin, 2021, p. 140)

In the midst of her busy digging, she heard the sound of sinking from several directions. Her heart sank, worried that there would be officers on patrol and catch her crossing the safe zone and entering a prohibited area. She lifted her head and looked around. However, instead of finding patrol officers, what she found were other women. They were also doing the same thing as she was doing. Digging the ground, trying to find tubers, fighting to survive.

(Nangin, 2021, p. 144)

This means that women, especially Karo women in the patrilineal system, are women who are 'marginalized' in socio-cultural and customary terms, as well as women who are 'exploited' in household and public affairs. Karo women not only take care of domestic affairs, but also take care of public affairs (work) to meet the living needs of their families. Meanwhile, Karo men tend to be in coffee shops. Karo women have a double burden.

It can be concluded that the discourses of Karo women in domestic and public spaces are discourses that are deliberately spread to make Karo women as tools: housekeepers and at the same time earning money for household needs. However, this makes Karo women ideal women because they can divide themselves into the domestic and public spaces.

4 Conclusion

Based on the results and discussion, it was found that the discourse of women, especially Karo women in domestic and public spaces, is discourse that is deliberately produced and spread so that women experience more suffering (injustice). This discourse was constructed by patriarchy who adhere to a patrilineal system. This discourse makes women have a double workload, which makes women worse off. However, women gain an identity as the ideal woman: a woman who is able to take care of household affairs and take care of work (farming and farming).

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