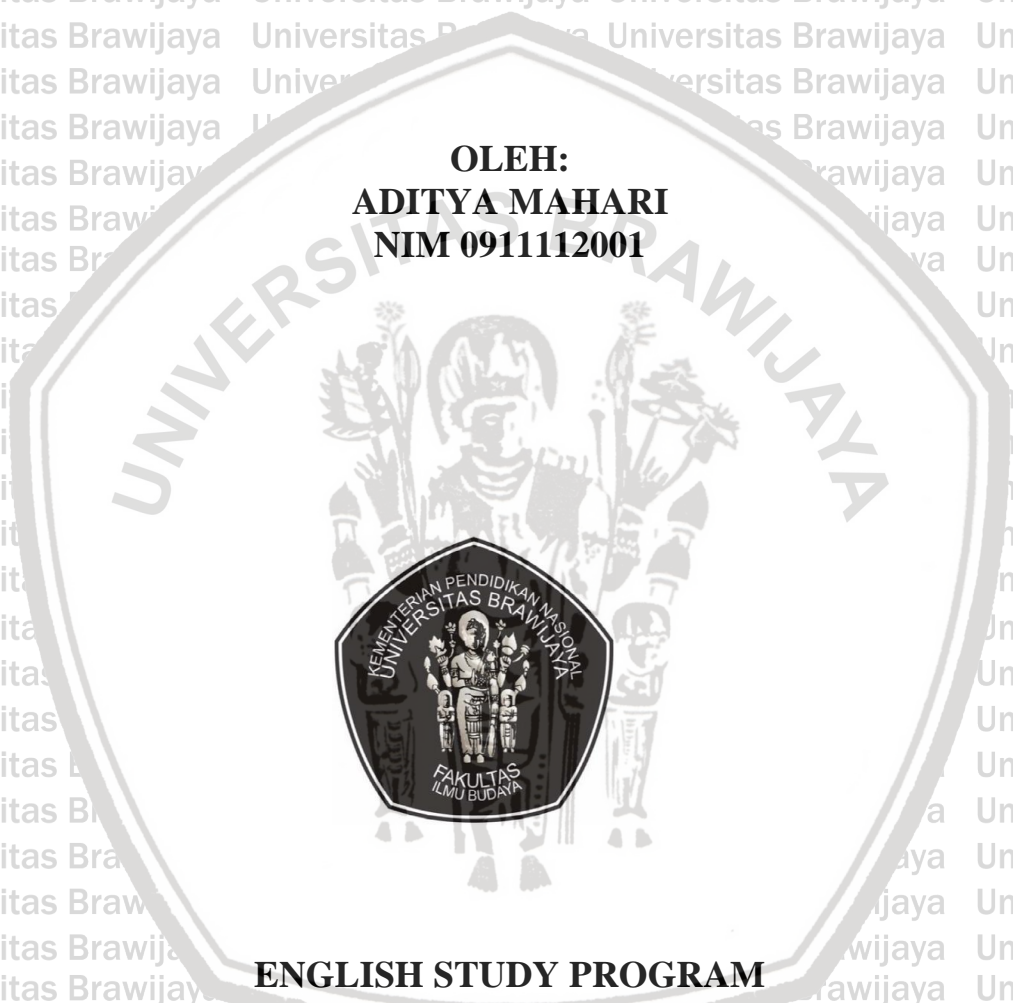


HEGEMONY AND DOMINATION IN MARJANE SATRAPI'S PERSEPOLIS

THESIS

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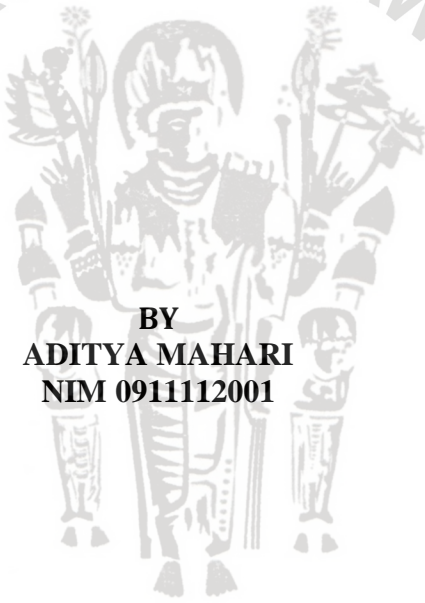


**ENGLISH STUDY PROGRAM
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF CULTURE STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF BRAWIJAYA
2011**

HEGEMONY AND DOMINATION IN MARJANE SATRAPI'S *PERSEPOLIS*

THESIS

**Presented to
University of Brawijaya
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra***



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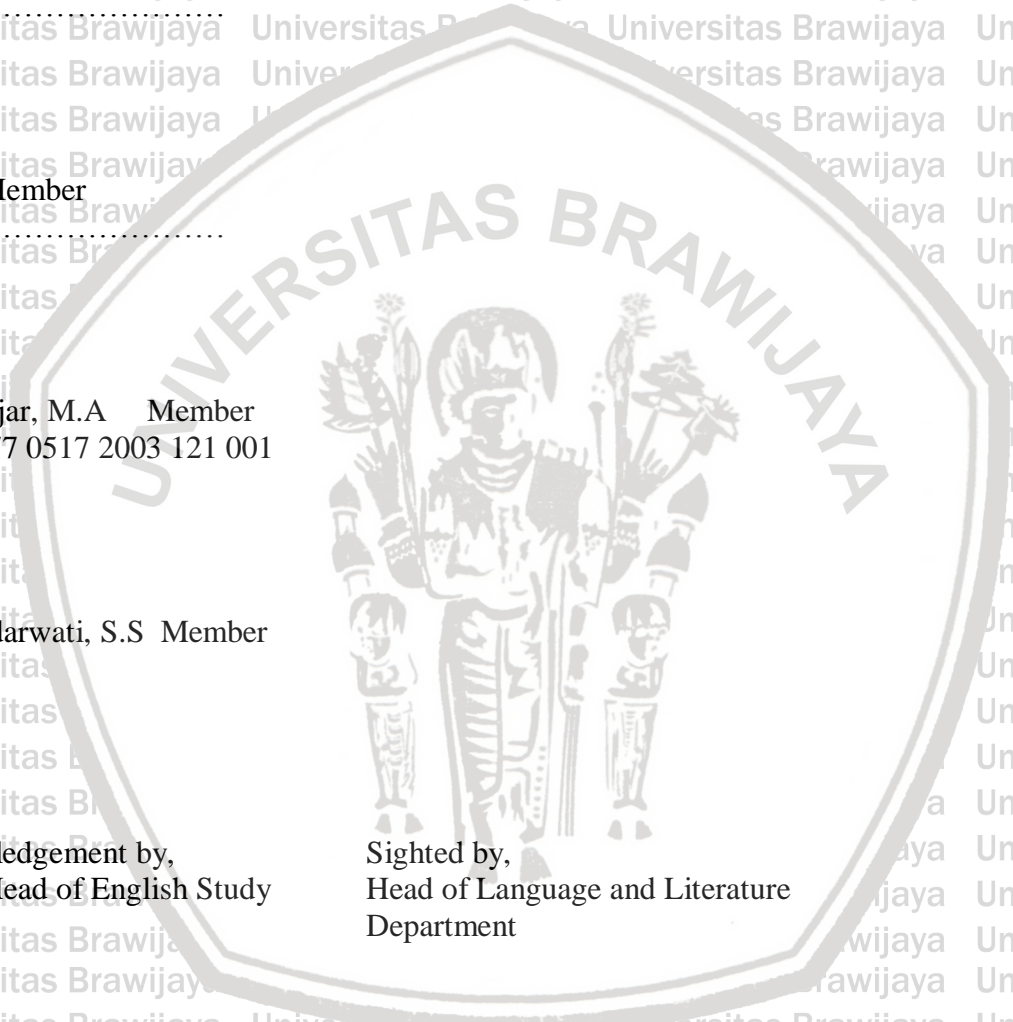
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ABSTRACT

Mahari, Aditya. 2011. **Hegemony and Domination in Marjane Satrapi's Persepolis**. Study of English, Department of Language and Literature, Faculty of Cultural Studies, University of Brawijaya.

Supervisor: Yusri Fajar, Co-Supervisor: Emy Sudarwati

Keywords: Cultural Studies, Ideology, Hegemony, Domination.

Society is complex place, people from different background such as culture, religion, race and gender gather there. From those differences a society can survive because those people have the same interest. The survival of community is because of the same interest from the members of the society. The same interest that bound them somehow gave birth to the views or the provisions that bind its members, such as norms or ideology.

Ideology somehow can be like a rope in society that ties the members of the society to stay together as a herd. Because ideology has a very important role in society many people or groups in society want to use it as a tool in control other people in society. Because ideology binds the society, so someone who can control ideology that is believed in society, he will be a leader of the society.

To know the battle of ideology in a society, Cultural Studies can be an appropriate approach because cultural studies focuses its analysis on power and politic. Politic can be said as the way to get access in controlling society and power can be said as "controller" in a society. Cultural studies uses Hegemony and Domination as the main approaches because hegemony and domination are one of the most effective tools to spread and control ideologies in a society. Hegemony enables to spread ideologies to other without any coarsen at all. It works through persuasion and repetition because ideology is dynamic and changes from time to time. And domination works through state apparatuses, so people in a society tend to take the ideologies that are spread for granted. Domination also enables to use direct action or coarsen in spreading, control and defend certain ideologies.

By those approaches, the writer of the thesis analyses *Marjane Satrapi's Persepolis* because this biography comic book tells about the Islamic regime in Iran that tries to defend their power by spreading ideologies through hegemony and domination. Hegemony and domination take a very vital part for regime to spread and defend their ideologies to change Iran into Islamic country. To success their goal, regime has to have support from all Iranian, so they use hegemony and domination to control the ideologies of Iranian to support them. This thesis takes Marjane Satrapi's point of view, a writer and an author who was born from western educational system and lives in France, that tends to put Islam in the corner.

ABSTRACT

Mahari, Aditya. 2011. Hegemoni dan Dominasi dalam *Persepolis* Karya Marjane Satrapi.

Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Brawijaya.

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Kata Kunci: Kajian Budaya, Ideologi, Hegemoni, Dominasi.

Masyarakat adalah sebuah tempat yang kompleks, orang-orang dari berbagai latar belakang seperti budaya, ras agama, dan gender berkumpul di sana. Masyarakat bisa bertahan karena mereka memiliki kepentingan yang sama. Kesamaan itulah yang mengikat anggota masyarakat untuk tetap bersatu.

Ideologi menjadi pengikat yang dapat menyatukan anggota masyarakat untuk tinggal bersama sebagai sebuah kelompok. Dan karena ideologi memiliki peran yang sangat penting dalam masyarakat, banyak orang atau kelompok dalam masyarakat menggunakannya sebagai alat untuk mengontrol anggota masyarakat lain. Seseorang yang dapat mengontrol ideologi yang dipercaya dan diterapkan dalam masyarakat, dapat dipastikan bahwa ia akan menjadi pemimpin masyarakat.

Untuk mengetahui pergulatan ideologi dalam masyarakat, *Cultural Studies* dapat digunakan sebagai alat pendekatan yang tepat karena analisisnya berfokus pada kekuasaan atau *power* dan politik. Politik dapat dikatakan sebagai cara untuk mendapatkan mengendalikan masyarakat dan kekuasaan atau *power* bisa dikatakan sebagai "alat kontrol" dalam masyarakat. *Cultural studies* menggunakan Hegemoni dan Dominasi sebagai pendekatan utama karena hegemoni dan dominasi adalah salah satu alat yang paling efektif untuk menyebarkan dan mengontrol ideologi dalam suatu masyarakat. Hegemoni memungkinkan untuk menyebarkan ideologi pada orang lain tanpa pemaksaan sama sekali. Hegemoni bekerja melalui persuasi dan pengulangan karena ideologi bersifat dinamis dan perubahan dari waktu ke waktu. Dan dominasi bekerja melalui aparatur negara, sehingga orang-orang dalam suatu masyarakat cenderung untuk mempercayai ideologi yang disebarkan begitu saja. Dominasi juga memungkinkan untuk menggunakan tindakan langsung atau pemaksaan dalam menyebarkan, mengontrol dan juga mempertahankan ideologi tertentu.

Dengan teori hegemoni dan dominasi, penulis ingin menganalisa *Persepolis* karya Marjane Satrapi karena komik biografi ini bercerita tentang rezim Islam di Iran yang mencoba untuk mempertahankan kekuasaan mereka dengan menyebarkan ideologi melalui hegemoni dan dominasi. Skripsi ini mengupas hegemoni dan dominasi dari sudut pandang Marjane Satrapi, seorang penulis dan komikus yang lahir dari pendidikan barat dan tinggal di Prancis, yang cenderung memojokkan Islam.

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Malang, 20 July 2011

The writer

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As the beginning of the research, in chapter I, the writer gives the background of the study, the research problem and the objective as well as key terms of study.

1.1 Background of the Study

In a society there is always class struggle, because the history of all societies is the history of class struggles. One of the ways to win the class struggle in a community is by winning the ideology. In other words, one can be the winner of the society if his ideology is well accepted by the society members. Ideology is a paradigm or abstract, so, the dominant ideology in society has to be re won to keep dominating ideology in a society. To win ideology in social life is not an easy thing because human being is a dynamic creature, not a static one, so the paradigm, the interest, or the ideology also changes from time to time. It is why the dominant ideology has to be re-won in a society.

The way to win ideology in a social life is very interesting to be analyzed. The writer of the thesis very concerns about the way in winning ideology in a social life and it will be the central point in this thesis. The writer of the thesis chooses a comic book by Marjane Satrapi's entitled *Persepolis* as the object of analysis because it tells about Iranian regime who ruled Iran after Iran Revolution or known as Islamic Revolution. In this biography comic book, Marjane Satrapi describes the social life in Iran after the revolution. It also shows how the way Iranian regime tried to maintain their power by spreading and forcing their ideology to the people. I

choose this comic book because this is not like other comic books, it is biography comic book.

So the portion of the texts is more than the portion of the pictures. The picture in this book is just the additional reference or explanation of the texts. So the most important thing in this biography is its texts not the picture. Without picture people will directly know the purpose or the content of this book. But if people only consider the pictures without the text, they will never understand the purpose or the content of this book. *Persepolis* also tells about a phenomena or a certain culture in Iran, so it is very interesting and suitable to be analyzed by culture studies.

Persepolis starts with the description about the condition of Iran after Islamic Revolution and the social life after the new regime ruled Iran. Marjane Satrapi shows how the ideology of Iranian is changed into the perspective of Islam after this new regime. Regime changes Iran to be Republic of Islam and also changes the national anthem of Iran. Many issues are found in this comic such as terrorism, fundamentalism, and also class struggle. As explained before, class struggle or the way classes spread their ideology will be the main issue in this thesis. Class struggle happens every time and every where in a community; every community always has dominant and subordinate class. The dominant class is usually dominated by rich people and state apparatus, and people outside are labelled as subordinate class because they do not have any power to rule the community. So, the writer of the thesis focuses his analysis only in the way dominant class spread their ideologies because the dominant class has a very big role to control the community.

In this comic book, the dominant class, government, regime, or state apparatus, are described as a powerful group that controlled Iran. People outside these groups, although have a larger number, are powerless. The numbers of subordinate class are larger, and the gap between them is so wide. To bridge the gap between these two classes, the dominant classes have to share

their ideologies to the subordinate class. They have to make their ideologies to be mass ideology. Mostly the dominant class used mass media or school to spread their ideologies. Mass media has significant role in spreading ideology. People access and consume it 24 hours a day. Mass media can change someone's perspective through the language or the way they show or broadcast news to the public. For example, Iranian television, when Iran declares war against Iraq, Iranian television informs that Iranian army has shot down, if it was totaled, around 6000 planes and 3000 tanks of Iraqi. It is impossible for Iraq to have 6000 planes and 3000 tanks, even America would never reach that numbers.

When people gain ideologies through mass media, according to Gramsci this condition can be called as "hegemony". "For Gramsci, hegemony implies situation where a 'historical block' of ruling class factions exercise social authority and leadership over the subordinates class." Barker (2006, p. 80). "Gramsci's theory suggests that subordinated groups accept the ideas, values, and leadership of the dominant group not because they are physically or mentally induced to do so, nor because they are ideologically indoctrinated, but because they have reason of their own." Strinati (1995, p. 166). When government spreads their ideology about the number of Iraq planes and tanks, most people accept it as the truth although the reality is not like that. It is because the way mass media announce the news has an important role to success hegemony. Mass media inform it almost 15 ours a day, and almost everyday. People, who hear, listen, watch and read it probably would assume that the news is true. So, people consider the news as a truth not because of force but because of the media. The way television broadcasts the news is also interesting, because according to the theory of framing, journalist has a very big role in the broadcasting process. Because according to Sobur cited in Nugroho (1999, page.21) "framing is an approach to find out how perspective or point of view that is used by journalists when

selecting issues and writing news. This point of view or perspective that ultimately determines what is in fact taken, what parts are highlighted and eliminated, as well as where the news is going to be purposed". So, news which is broadcasted somehow brings purposes, or ideologies and it can also shape people's point of view, not only informs something. And the reason why television broadcasts the news over and over again, it is because hegemony is not a fixed goal, just like ideology, hegemony changes from time to time. "Hegemony is not a fixed goal. It is a moment of power which is always contestible and that has to be constantly re-won." (Davis 2004, p. 46). From the statement above we know that people will realize the real situation, and because the function of mass media is very significant to maintain the ideologies, because people access mass media almost 24 hour a day.

School is also the arena to spread ideologies. School is a media where children or students accept new ideologies or new concepts from teachers. In the school, students are taught many disciplines of knowledge. In the past, teachers at "*Pondok Pesantren*" or Islamic Boarding house, known as traditional school say that that Jew or "Bani Israel" is enemy of the world (especially for Moslem); and they would crush the world because of their knowledge and greediness. But now, after the concept of modern school is introduced in Indonesia in the early 1900s, their perspectives on the Jew have changed. The students in the school and in the university almost everyday study Jewish's concepts and ideas. It is because people want to be a modern person, they have to learn, behave and always think positively (positivism) like a modern man. According to Auguste Comte in humanistic texts (2003, para. 7), Comte divides steps of the evolution of human mind into three stages:

1. Theological/Primitive, human or society who still believes in God or Holy Spirit (Animism, Dynamism, Polytheism, and Monotheism).

2. Metaphysic, human or society who believes that they can make or create something their selves, but they still believe in fate, fortune, or myth.

3. Positive/Modern, human who believes in fact. So everything is believed when it can be proofed empirically and also has its fact.

When people live in this modern era, they are asked to behave and think in the modern way. School and university are examples of modernity, so one way to study modernity is through school or university. Here teachers will guide students to study, think and behave like modern man who believes in fact, rational, and something that can be proved empirically. This also makes *Pondok Pesantren* and also Al-Azhar, the oldest university in the world, are not considered as modern school or university because they are still in theological phase. *Pondok Pesantren* and Al-Azhar still believes in God and still practices Islamic law, and unfortunately God can not be thought empirically.

The subject teaches in the school is very dominant in shaping the student's point of view. The student tends to accept everything the teacher thinks or says because teacher is their guide to get modernity. In the religion class (Islam) teacher says that Moslems have to believe in God, believe that the first mankind in the world is Adam. But according to Comte, believe in God (Polytheism or Monotheism) is the type of primitive or theological class and not the modern one. But when the science teacher gives the lesson about evolution, Darwin's human evolution theory, the students have to believe that human came from ape who changes to be human being. Although there are massive differences, students still accept it because the students consider that teacher's perspectives or ideologies as the truth and they have to take them, this situation in the school is called as domination by state apparatus.

To win ideology in a community, people do not have to use hegemony. Domination also has important part to force ideology to people. If hegemony works through dialogue and does not use any coarsen, domination works through coarsen. In this case the subordination class has no bargaining power or choices, but has to follow the ideology of domination class. Miller (2005, p. 62) writes that “Dominance may be exercised through sufficient coercive force as to be independent of the acquiescence of the dominated population”.

In this thesis, the theories of hegemony and domination by Gramsci are employed to analyze Marjane Satrapi’s Persepolis, because this theory is actually very useful for us to know and reveal what dominant class does to subordinate class. Those theories are still relevant and effective to be used in analyzing social phenomena recently because competition between classes actually happens every time, whether we realize it or not. Marjane Satrapi’s Persepolis actually tells about the situation during Iran Revolution or Islamic Revolution until Iran war (war with Iraq). This book describes clearly the situation of Islamic revolution and Iran war clearly. The new government who rules Iran after the revolution tries to get more sympathy and support from Iranian to maintain their power. And from this book the way regime attracts and persuades or acts to get support from people are described well. Satrapi’s pictures also represent the events vividly. With hegemony and domination concepts, the writer of the thesis tries to analyze and to understand the ways dominant class (Iran new government) maintains their power.

1.2 Problem of the Study

According to the background above, the problem of the study is:
How does Iran government practice hegemony and domination to maintain their power?

1.3 Objective of the Study

Based on the problem previously stated, the purpose of the study is to find out how Iran government practices hegemony and domination to maintain their power.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter provides all related literatures used in analyzing *Marjane Satrapi's Persepolis*. It consists of Cultural Studies, Ideology, Hegemony, and Domination. It also contains the review of *Marjane Satrapi's Persepolis* and the Previous Studies.

2.1 Cultural Studies

Cultural Studies analyzes the relationship between social classes, and focuses on the analysis in the matters of power and politic because political and economic always take a vital part in every class relationship. In a community all matters seems to appear because of economic and power or politic. According to O'Sullivan (2006, p. 71) "In general terms, culture is seen as the sphere in which class, gender, race and other inequalities are naturalized and represented in forms which sever (as far as possible) the connection between these and economic and political inequalities". Community is a very complex place; it contains both the relationship and the conflict between race, gender, and class. If it is analyzed, there will be a very big possibility that the root of the relationship and the conflict in a community is economic and power or politic. Economic and politic are also a part of community which can support the continuity of the community itself. Cultural Studies actually can be used to analyze almost all problems in a community, from race, gender, class struggle, until psychology, but it tends to focus the analysis on the matter of politic and economic because economy and politic somehow bind people in a community; they like a trigger in the history of people's interaction. The reason human being does interaction because he actually needs something that he does not have. His needs can only

be achieved by interacting with others. Human being is a social creature; he needs to interact with other to survive. To get what he needs, he has to make a good relationship. He has to be able to pursuit and work together with others. Here the ability to control or to persuade people is required to interact with others. Economic reason such as food and house, and also political reason such as influencing other to cooperate or do what he wants or be his friend, and live in a colony to get more security or become a leader or public figure in community are the basic instincts for human being does interaction. So from the beginning the reason human being does interaction is for the sake of economy and politic.

Besides economy and politic, the relationship between social classes is very important in cultural studies. “Cultural Studies has focused on the relations between social relations and meanings – or more exactly on the way social divisions are made meaningful.” O’Sullivan (2006, p. 71). Through cultural study class interaction, class interest, and class interplay can be analyzed, revealed and understood. Cultural Studies actually does not analyze the whole culture in a certain society. But it analyzes phenomena in a certain community. It tries to trace the history or the root of the phenomena. In finding the root, cultural studies allows researcher to use many approaches. Feminist, Marxist, Deconstruction, and almost all approaches can be tools for Cultural Studies to trace the background of a certain phenomena. That is why from the beginning up to now this approach is still debatable because it does not suggest a new approach, but it combines almost all approaches to analyze phenomena or culture in a society. Cultural studies does not offer a new approach but it combines and modifies many approaches in its analysis. So, once again to analyze a culture in certain community it is possible for cultural studies to use many approaches, and it also concerns to analyze a culture from economic and politic point of view. Just like Stuart Hall’s opinion, “For Hall, what is at stake is cultural studies’ connections to

matters of power and politic, to the need for change and to representation of and ‘for’ marginalized social group” Barker (2006, p. 5). It is clear that cultural studies really concerns in the practice of maintaining political power in a community. In a community or social life there are always class differences. And each class actually wants to control others. It happens every time everywhere that there are always dominant and subordinate classes in every social life. Cultural Studies is very important and relevant to analyze the way dominant class maintains their power and controls other classes, because class struggle or the competition of classes to dominate other can be revealed and analyzed effectively through this approach. Cultural studies enables researcher to explore more about the way dominant class rules the subordination through the force of ideologies. Cultural Studies provides many approaches in analyzing a culture in a community; some of them are Hegemony and Domination by Gramsci. Through Hegemony and Domination in Cultural Studies, the phenomena of class struggle in a community can be analyzed well. Class struggle is a culture or common phenomena in every community, so Cultural Studies, which analyzes culture in a community, is very appropriate if it is applied to analyze Marjane Satrapi’s Persepolis because this autobiography comic book talks about class struggle, especially the spreading ideology from certain class to other classes.

The most effective way in controlling other class, is by forcing ideologies to them. Giddens (1997, p. 583) describes ideology as “shared ideas or beliefs which serve to justify the interests of dominant groups”. Making the dominant’s ideology as social ideology in a community or even the other community is the goal of dominant class. From this point the writer of the thesis focuses his analysis only on the way dominant class spread their ideology to the subordination class. There are two ways in spreading ideology, by hegemony and domination.

Hegemony happens when people accept an ideology without any coercion from other, and domination works on the opposite way of hegemony, it works through coercion.

2.2 Ideology

Ideology is the part of human life. It lives within the existence of human being. All individuals have their own ideology, and all community also has it. Because it is very common to have the same ideology with others. Barker (2006, p. 80). Writes that, "ideology is not separate from the practical activities of life. Rather, it is understood to be a material phenomenon rooted in day-to-day conditions". Then other statements says that "ideologies provide people with rules of practical conduct and moral behaviour equivalent to a religion understood in the secular sense of a unity of faith between a conception of the world and a corresponding norm of conduct (Gramsci 1971, p. 349, cited in Barker 2006). Here those statements above can be understood that ideology is like a paradigm or norm in a certain community because ideology is like ideas, meaning and practices which are believed as universal truth in a community. William (1977, p. 108) also says in his book that "ideology is a system of meanings and values, it is the expression or projection of a particular class interest". So, every groups in a community has their own interest, expression or ideology. Then they race to win their ideologies to be mass ideology. Statements above show how powerful ideology to control a community or a social groups is. One or a group who can make their ideology be trusted by community or can become mass ideology, no doubt that they can control and also lead the community. it is also appropriate with Barker (2006, p. 81) statement, "Ideology is lived experience. It also a body of systematic ideas whose role is to organize and bind together a block of diverse social elements". Ideology is like a point of view of a community or someone about something. It can be belief of religion, about the right

things in society or about the ideal life in society. Ideology is life experience; it happens in community in society, and everyday the members of society deal with it. Ideology can also become a basic structure of a community. For example if the dominant ideology in a society is Islam, so it can be sure that the way of life in this community will be like Islamic community which also use Islamic law in doing its daily activities.

2.3 Hegemony

Hegemony is popularized by Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), he uses the term “hegemony” to describe the power of the ruling class to persuade, convince other classes that their interest are the interest of all classes (Ashcroft, et all (2007)). To control people it is very vital to make an interest to be the interest of all people. If one’s interest has become all interest, controlling other will be an easy thing to do. It is because everyone has agreed and believed that the interest will be their interest too, and it will bring benefit for them. For instance, a group of people will be tolerated to kill a thief in a community. People will consider that the thief deserves to be executed because he becomes the trouble maker for the community. If a person is labeled with the word “thief”, so people will consider that the man has to be punished because of what he did, although people never really know whether the man is really thief or just an enemy of a certain group which is issued that the man is a thief. That is the proof of how effective hegemony is.

Actually Gramsci is not the first person who uses that term. The term hegemony actually has been used in socialist community since the early 20th century. It is used to describe that if a group was labeled as “hegemonic” then it engage a leadership position within a particular political sphere. (Boothman, 2008). Lenin is one of first politician who introduces the term

“hegemony”. “Lenin has adopted the term in order to describe a strategy for the peasant overthrow of the Tsar and his class” (Davis, 2004, p. 46). Gramsci borrows his concept of hegemony from Lenin, using it to theorize that a "ruling group", govern through a balance of force and persuasion" (McGowan & McGowan 2004, p. 12). Lenin is one of actors in Bolshevics Revolution in Russia. Gramsci is very much influenced by him and “Bolshevics Revolution” Gramsci has been in Russia for two years (1922-1923), a few years after the Bolshevics Revolution. And after his short visit in Russia, hegemony begins to take a central role in his writing. From the Bolshevics revolution Gramsci sees that economy factor is not the only factor of revolution, but only one aspect of revolution. He considers that there are many complicated aspects which are needed to be analyzed such as cultural, intellectual, and moral. Like what Prastowo (para 4) opinion, Prastowo describes that Gramsci starts to analyze the idea about civil society, but it is not as same as Hegel and Marx who focuses only on economy. Gramsci suggests that civil society also a place to win hegemony among classes. In civil society where there are classes, it is natural that every class wants to dominate others because all class has different interest and all want to fulfill it. So it is not always capital who change the society, but intellectual or the ability to persuade people in sharing the same interest or the same ideology. And hegemony becomes the effective way to win ideology among civil society, because it persuades people and people share the same interest not because of the force or violence. Hartley (2006) says that hegemony refers to ability in certain historical periods of the dominant classes to control social and cultural leadership without direct coarsen of subordinate classes to maintain their power over economic, political and cultural. And Strinati (1995, p. 166) also has the same opinion about hegemony with Hartley, she argues that “Gramsci’s theory suggests that subordinate groups accept the ideas, values and leadership of the dominant group not because

they are physically or mentally induced to do so, nor because they ideologically indoctrinated, but because they have reason of their own.”. From the arguments above, it can be concluded that hegemony works to change someone’s perspective about something. The dominant ideology is somehow concept and it is spread to public and public accept it not by force but they think that it is good. For example, now people consider that school is the key to get success in this modern world, and if someone does not join school, so his future will be uncertain. This paradigm is actually not quite true, because many businessmen are not graduated from school. Hartley (2006, p. 100) also says that “In short, hegemony naturalises what is historically a class ideology and renders it into commonsense.

Because ideology is abstract and dynamic, it makes people’s perspectives change from time to time. As hegemony needs to be re-won from time to time because in hegemony there is no fix goal. “Where there is hegemony, there must also be resistance.” (Davis 2004, p. 46). Ideological control in community may be achieved, but it can not be maintained forever, it has to be rewon, because somewhat ideology is dynamic and change from time to time according to people’s perception. This statement has a similarity with what William has, he says that “A lived hegemony is a process. It is not, except analytically, a system or a structure. It is a realized complex of experiences, relationship and activities, with specific and changing pressures and limits. In practice, that is, hegemony can never be singular ... It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified.” (Williams 1977, p. 112). Because hegemony does not use coarsen to force some ideologies to other, so other’s perception has to be controlled. People’s ideology or perspective is fragmented, it always changes, gradually or directly; it is because of a new experience that can change perspective. That is why we are familiar with a saying “people change”

2.3.1 Types of Hegemony

According to Joseph (2003) there are two types of hegemony; Structural Hegemony and Hegemonic Project. “Structural hegemony is concerned with the deep underlying conditions that are prevailed within the society and is one of the basic elements behind the unity in the social formation” (Randall 2010, para 2). In this statement, structural hegemony is like to be a part of society. It shapes the community through an ideology or even ideologies and ties the community to be a solid bound. Structural hegemony shapes or in other words gives characteristic in a community. It takes an active part in shaping the way a community behave and think to response certain phenomena in the community itself. For instance in a community where it has a dominant ideology that forbids people in the community to accept guests staying in the house more than two days, for the sake of the community’s safety, and if there is a member of this community ignores it, the community will punish him. That ideology bounds the society because they believe that it will protect them from outsiders, it is like a norm in a community. Then Randall continues that “Structural hegemony is one of the aspects of continual process, which is known to perform certain functions” (Randall 2010, para 2). From the example above, structural hegemony actually performs certain functions in a community. It somehow shapes the community to think that strangers or outsiders are kinds of threat for the community. It performs a certain forms likes the safety in a community, and this is continual process as long as the community still believes in this ideology. “Structural hegemony ensures the reproduction of social structures and structural ensembles and it secures unity of social formation” (Randall 2010, para 2). Because all members of community believe this ideology, so they will support each other to do it, and it (the support) will secure the unity of social formation. “Structural

hegemony may be known as the active element of representing as it not only known for conscious political projects but have interventions of unconscious process like social coercion and structural reproduction” (Randall 2010, para 2). A norm or dominant ideology in a community somehow can be manipulated or used to change the perspective of community’s members for the sake of some people or a certain group. Structural hegemony can be an effective tool to influence people in a community consciously or unconsciously. If the dominant ideology in community somehow brings benefit for some people or a group, people in the community will keep believing and doing the ideology consciously or unconsciously, because it has become a norm.

The second type of hegemony is hegemonic project. “Hegemonic project is what you get when one group in society manages to convince a number of other groups that their interests will be well served by entering into a social coalition in which the hegemonic group is the leading partner” (Gilbert para 1). In this statement it seems that in a community has already had a dominant group. And other group, one group from many other groups in a community, believe that they will get benefit if they follow what dominant group says, and they also manage to convince other people to do exactly the same as they do, practicing what dominant group’s believe. The activities of a certain group in convincing others to follow the dominant group in a community is called hegemonic project. This kind of groups can be called as the supporters of the dominant group.

2.4 Domination

Actually there are two ways to spread ideology in a community; by coarsen and persuasion. The coarsen way is called “domination”, and the other is called “hegemony”. So

domination is forcing ideology to other classes through coarsens, or in other way if other classes do not accept the ideology, punishment will be given to them. In the “Selection of the Prison Notebooks” Gramsci wrote that nation is the combination between dictatorship and hegemony.

So, hegemony here is protected with coarsen (Hoare and smith (1999). Because in hegemony there is no a certain goal and dominant ideology have to be re won from time to time, it will be difficult for dominant class to take a whole control in a community. Hegemony is a process, and it needs time because it does not use any coarsen force; so to keep the dominant ideology reminds in a community, ideology has to be protected by coarsen. Never tolerate any potential seed that will become the obstacles for dominant ideology. This potential seeds have to be eliminated as soon as they can because ideologies from other classes, the same ideologies from classes in a community gathered, can be a great problem for both the dominant ideologies and the dominant class.

Miller in his book also states about domination, he writes that:

“By dominance I refer to the condition in which a set of ideas or practices, usually favourable to a particular minority within a society, appear to hold sway over the whole of that society and act to reproduce this same condition. Dominance may be exercised through sufficient coercive force as to be independent of the acquiescence of the dominated population, but more commonly it relates to principles of ideology and underlying discourses which structure both the construction of the subject and the subsequent acknowledgement by that subject of at least some of the legitimation claims made by the dominant group” Miller (2005, p. 62).

Actually domination has two perspectives, some experts like Hoare and Smith tend to describe that domination is the way in spreading ideology through coarsen, and some experts such as Miller and Ashcroft describe that domination is not always done by coarsen but by state apparatus, so people will take the ideology from the state apparatus for granted. State apparatuses such a police, army force or teacher in a community somehow always become a part of dominant class because they are like tools for government or dominant class to spread and also keep the

dominant ideologies remain exist in society. Teacher anyway can be an effective tool to spread ideologies. Because teachers are state apparatus and people know that their job is teaching, then everything that teachers say to students is always considered as a truth, and students just take or accept what teacher says for granted. The same thing also happens in police and army force, everything that is commanded from the upper rank to the lower rank is always considered as a truth, no matter what it is. And punishment will be given to them who do not want to do the command. Sometimes army force or police never tolerate any failure in doing the command, punishment is also given to them who fails in doing the command. In society, because police and army force are state apparatuses, people tend to consider that everything that they do is legal and do not against the law. Killing and executing political prisoners for instance, it can be a normal condition in a society. People usually never pay any attentions to the prisoners, why they are jailed for example; people always consider that prisoners are bad and they deserve to be executed by police or state apparatuses.

“Domination is the power of ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interests of all, not by force, nor even by active persuasion, but using the power of economy, and over state apparatuses such as education and the media, by which the dominant class’s interest is presented.” Ashcroft (2007, p. 116). Ashcroft here clearly says that domination is used not by force but using the power of economy and state apparatuses such as education and the media. Ashcroft’s opinion in some ways is identically same as what Miller says. Coarsen here seems to be the last option in spreading ideology. As long as the state apparatus is successful in spreading the ideology, coarsen will never be used. Domination works through states apparatuses whether use coarsen or not. It tends to use the power of dominant class, in this case is government or regime who rules a society or nation. So people take the ideology for granted

because they consider that state apparatuses are the part of government who rules the society, and what governments issued is also considered for the sake of all people in the society or country. And if some people still do not want to accept certain ideology which is issued by the government, coarsen way will be taken to maintain the ideology remain accepted in society.

2.5 Persepolis by Marjane Satrapi

Persepolis is written by Marjane Satrapi. She is Iranian who leaves her country because of the changing situation in Iran after Islamic Revolution. Now she stays in France and writes books there. *Persepolis* is written in France, it tells about her disappointment of Iran after Iran changes into Islamic country. This comic book is opened with the brief narration about the history of Iran revolution. Marjane describes how Iran became politically and security so unstable since oil is found in this country. In the 20th century oil is found in Iran, it attracts western, especially English to trade with Iran. During the 2nd world war English, Soviet, and United State of America asks Shah Iran, Shah Reza, to join them against German. But, Shah Reza refuses it and declares that Iran is neutral country. Then “Alliances” invades Iran. Shah Reza is banished and replaced by his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlawi, known as Shah.

In 1951, Mohammed Mossadeq, Iran’s minister nationalizes all oil industry. And as the consequence Great Britain organizes an embargo to all Iran’s oil export. In 1953 CIA with British Intelligent arranges “coup d’etat”, and Mossadeq is overthrown from Iran government. Shah, who escapes abroad to avoid this conflict before, back to rule Iran. Shah rules Iran until 1979 then he “escapes” again to avoid Islamic Revolution. Western collaborates with Shah, tries to dominate Iran oil, invaded Iran, erases Mossadeq from Iran, and tried to control Iran by

spreading capitalist system in Iran. This reason is a trigger of Islamic Revolution or known as Iran Revolution.

Persepolis tells about the situation after the Islamic Revolution. Because of the change of leader in Iran, Islam side wins against Shah and makes them the new leader of Iran, the new government really needs supports from all Iranian people. The new regime wants to change Iran completely from Monarch into Islamic country. The political situation in Iran also changes because of that transition (the transition from monarch to Islamic country). Regime starts to make movements to make their ideology widely accepted by all people. Through hegemony and domination the new regime spread their ideology to people and protect it with coarsen to make their ideology to be dominant ideology and accepted by all people across the country.

After this revolution, Iran changes into The Republic of Islam, and this new regime wants to change Iran completely into Islamic country, by using Islamic law as the basic law in Iran. To success their goal the government has to get the support from Iranian people, so they spread their ideologies through school, television, newspaper, radio and slogans in the public places across Iran. The regime does domination such as closes the non Islamic schools, and practices Islamic law in the social life. Iranian government would kidnap and kill politicians who are against them. Some political prisoners are released from the jail after they have been brutally tortured. The condition during war between Iran and Iraq also becomes interesting to be analyzed as described in this comic. Hegemony such as propagandas and slogans which spread through mass media and schools are very effective in changing Iranian people support the regime's ideologies.

2.6 Previous Studies

The writer reviews some previous studies related to this study. The first previous study is conducted by Izza El Frida (2008) entitled “Education as Hegemonic Device in America Portrayed in *Richard Lagravenese’s The Freedom Writer*”. This thesis discusses the domination of white people to the colored people in an American school. Erin Gruwell, who is a white teacher, tries to persuade her colored students who have juvenile problems. This thesis aims at analyzing the background of the kids to have juvenile problems and what their problems are, and also the proposed ways of Erin Gruwell to persuade her students with her hegemonic principles.

The second previous study is conducted by Raysya Septi Anggraini (2011) entitled “Power and Hegemony Construction on Indonesian Presidential Debate 2009”. This thesis tends to discuss the use of language to hegemony public in the presidential debate. This study reveals the different power and hegemony construction of the Indonesian Presidential candidates. By certain usage of language presidential candidates try to gain support from public. The diction and the pitch in oration actually can hegemony people to support the presidential candidates to be president.

Meanwhile, the writer’s study will mainly discuss and analyze the way dominant class, government, spread ideologies and how they make their ideology as a dominant ideology in the society. This thesis also reveals how dominant class keeps their ideology become dominant ideology in the entire country. To success their will, dominant class uses hegemony and ideology. Hegemony is used by the dominant class to get support from people, and to make their ideology to be the dominant ideology and also mass ideology in the country; and domination is used to keep the dominant ideology reminds still, because domination is like a protector of dominant ideology.

CHAPTER III

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Based on the problem of study that was mentioned in the first chapter, the writer analyzes about how Iranian Government used hegemony and domination to maintain their power. This chapter will be divided into two subchapters, hegemony and domination, to make it easier to be understood.

3.1 Hegemony

As stated before in the chapter two that Hegemony is a way to spread ideology to others without any coercion, it works through persuasion and has to be re-won. In this concept people accept the ideology because of their will, their intention, and people also have any right to reject it. So there is always possibility that people will not receive the ideology. In the simple language it can be said that if one offers an ideology to people, people may and can refuse the ideology. Hegemony tends to work through the psychological side in changing someone's ideology. Hegemony influences someone's ideology with a "new perspective or ideology"; it makes people agree the new perspective, believes it, and in the end changes someone's ideology to be that "new ideology". People accept the new ideology not because they are forced but because they believe "the new ideology", or it can be said that "the ideology" has to be his ideology too.

In Persepolis book page 115 Marjane Satrapi described how hegemony became an effective tool for regime, Iran government, to get sympathy or support from Iranian. To get "Karbala", the holy city of Shiite or Syiah in the Iraq territory, government covered all wall

across Iran with belligerent slogans to encourage people support the government's interest in winning Karbala.



Picture: 1

Slogans which written everywhere in public places were very effective to get attentions from people, no matter what people would read them. The purpose of those slogans were to built Iranian perspective that Iraq was not only the enemy of regime but the enemy of all Iranian, so people would support regime by volunteering their selves to join the war against Iraq, although in the page 16 regime admitted that the survival of the regime depend on the war. If the war was won by Iran so the regime would still rule Iran.



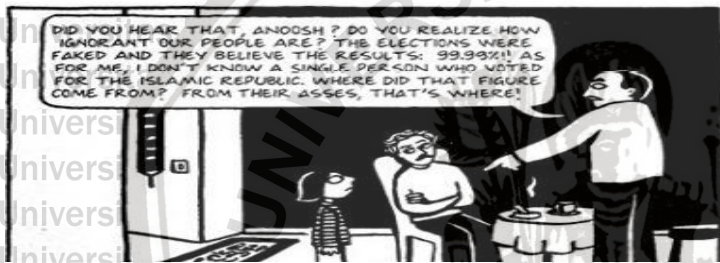
Picture: 2

Slogans were very effective, they covered all walls in Iran, and almost all public places in Iran had been used to be kind of slogans place. Even there were illustrations of slogans, an old man that suffered and need blood from Iranian people to support him. It means that Iran was in

critical condition and need support in the war, and people were very much requested to volunteer their selves to be army force and fought in the war. Slogans somehow have turned into propagandas, because they were written in every public place where it was a place for folk to gather. From the time people got out from their houses, they saw slogans written in the walls a long the streets. By slogans actually regime tried to persuade people, or in other words regime offered a perspective that Iran now in critical condition and needed support from all Iranian. It was the duty of all Iranian to serve their country, to sacrifice their selves for the sake of Iran. Because Iran was in crisis so it was the time for all Iranian to gather their vision and together face the crisis. With that perspective or ideology regime tried to get support from all Iranian; and with that support regime definitely would perpetuate their power in Iran. By slogans which covered Iran regime spread their ideologies, and although people ignored the slogans, people keep finding them because they covered all parts of the country.

3.1.1 Hegemony in Mass Media

Mass media is a very effective tool to spread ideologies. Mass media is read, listened, and watched by many people almost 24 hour a day. According to Hainsworth (para 2) “The media presents as a means of transportation and instrument for consumerism to grow and for society to deal with the current purchase-dominated way”. The word consumerism in the second line can be understood as “certain ideology” which is tried to spread. And from this perspective it can be said that the media can be key to influence the people because it informs the thought or ideology in a society. In Marjane Satrapi’s *Persepolis* page 62, it was said that Iran government in the Iranian local television informed that 99, 99% of Iranian voted the Republic of Islam in the election. It means that only 00, 01% of other Iranian voted for Republic of Iran.



Picture: 3

And on the page 64 Marjane Satrapi described that many people chose to leave the Iran than live in an Islamic country.



Picture: 4

From the information above it can be analyzed that the government used television to spread their ideology, their interest to people. The idea is to make people believe that their regime was supported by almost all Iranian people. In a healthy community, supports from all members of the community is a basic condition, it means that if people in community have agree about a certain ideologies in the community they will respect, support and even sacrifice their selves for this ideology. Ideology in a community is like a nerve, it bound the members of community, it is like a norm that shapes and gives characteristics in a community. That is why Iranian government tried to make their ideology as a dominant ideology in Iran. And by television regime spread their ideology and hoped all Iranian people would believe and support their ideology, or in other words support the regime.

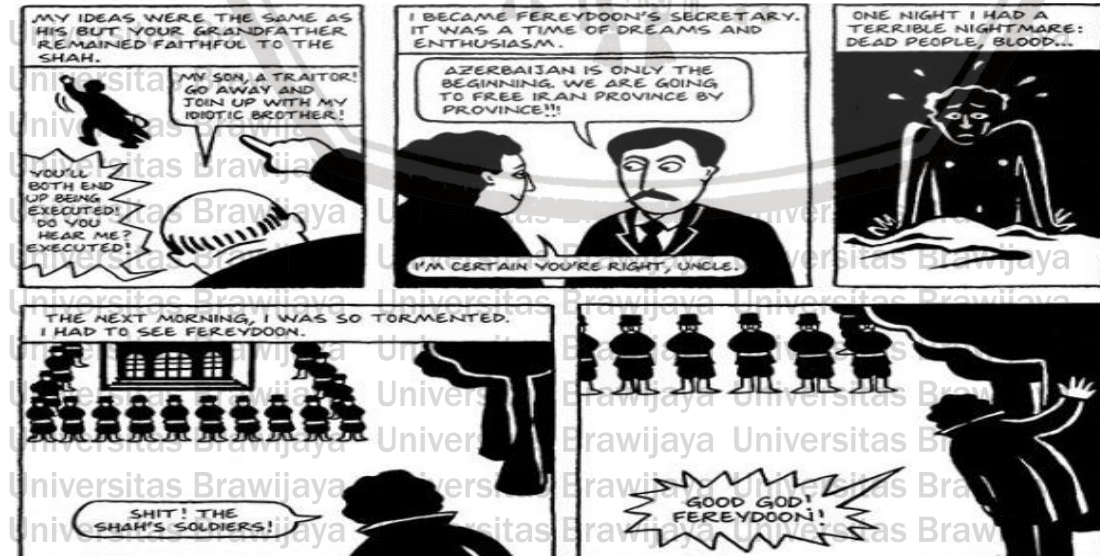
In Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* book page 70, described how the newspaper informed a Russian spy executed.

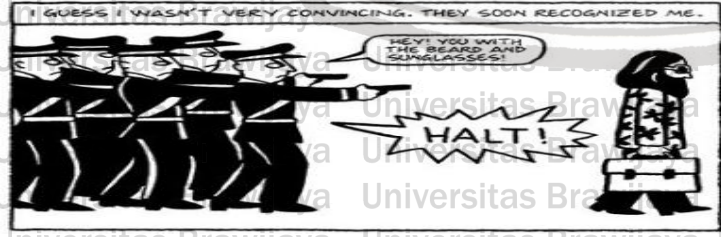
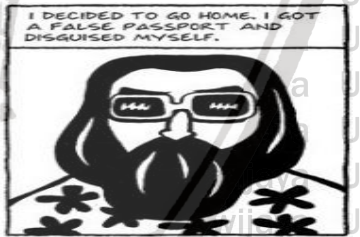
Picture: 5

From the words Russian spy, people will consider that the person, the spy, is national enemy, and deserve to die. But in the previous chapter page (54 – 69) it explained that the spy was one of Satrapi's relatives, Anoosh. Anoosh is Satrapi's uncle; he was the political prisoner in the Shah regime.



Picture: 6





Picture: 7

Picture: 8

Anoosh was fugitive; he leaved Iran and stayed in Russia. When he got back to Iran Shah Regime catch and jailed him for 9 years. And when the new regime ruled Iran he was once again jailed and executed. By the newspaper, government wanted to make people believed that the regime's enemy was also Iran enemy. In the news paper regime said that Anoosh was a Russian spy. Spy is somehow has negative meaning, if people talk about spy the first thing that comes out from someone's mind is a man who his work is steal information from a country and used them to attract the country which its information has been stolen. And by mass media Iranian regime spread the ideology that Anoosh was a spy. Regime labeled him as a spy to make Iranian people believed that what government did (executed Anoosh) was a good step and people had to support this action. Because of this label, spy, Iranian people would never give any attention to this man whether he was really Russian spy or not, they just considered that this man was bad and deserved to die. Regime did hegemony by creating an ideology that Anoosh was a spy, so if regime executed him, people will agree because he was a spy, the enemy of the nation.

Television somehow takes an important position for Iran government to spread their ideology. Television provides both pictures and sound, so it is very interesting for people to access, and because of the interesting of television regime mostly used television in spreading their ideologies. In Persepolis book, television takes a huge part in spreading hegemony. In the page 73 described that via television government declared that all universities would be closed for two years.



Picture: 9

The ministry of education has decreed that all university in Iran would be closed within a month.

Government argued that the educational system and what was written in school books, at all levels, were decadent, and everything need to be revised to ensure that the next generation of Iran would not go away against the true path of Islam. The regime tends to have no students than to educate future imperialists. From the description above it can be analyzed that regime ideology was to make the educational curriculum of Iran to be Islamic not like what western have. The previous curriculum was considered as western curriculum that would graduate future imperialists. By television regime spread their ideology that the previous educational system and curriculum was bad because it was western oriented. Western is bad because they are not same with Islam. If people learned and studied like western they would follow what they think, or in other words, people would think in the same way with western and tend to believe western ideology or western point of view. Western ideology like secular which teaches people to

express their feeling freely and tends to separate the connection between religious and system administration is not same with Islam point of view which teaches people to life in harmony, respect each other and make a good relationship between human and God and between human and others. So with this ideology regime wanted to convince Iranian that the previous educational system was bad and needed to be changed or closed.

In page 74, also via television, government informed that all Iranian female had to wear veil to protect them from all the potential rapists.



Picture: 10

From that statement government likely considered that all men were perverts and danger for women. And government also considered that women's hair emanated ray that excited men, wearing veil was also considered to be more civilized and animal were more civilized than women without veil. In this case, the ideology that regime spread is that women should wear veil to protect her from men, for sexual abuse, and to run the Islamic law, because this regime wanted to change Iran into an Islamic country. By wearing veil, actually it was some kind of sign or symbol that Iranian people supported the regime to make Iran to be an Islamic country. And people outside Iran would also think and consider that Iran has turned into an Islamic country.

This image, that people support the regime, was very important for the regime because for people outside Iran this image was like big information that Iran's new regime was strong

because Iranian supported this regime. Support from people or the members of community is a vital part to keep the power remains still. Because with the supports from all members in a community it can be sure that the government or the community is solid. So regime some how create this image by making a role about wearing veil. In Islam veil is like identity for female Moslems. This identity also can be understood as a support of Islamic regime.

In Persepolis page 82 to 83 Marjane Satrapi clearly described that television informed that 140 Iranian F-14s carried out bombing raids on Baghdad. It was very important information for regime because at the previous pages Marjane Satrapi described how Iraq planes had bombed some places in Iran, and with that information Iranian would believe that Iran army was still strong enough to attack Iraq and win the war. Regime actually released the military pilots jailed after they failed coup to attack Iraq with one condition; government broadcast the Iranian national anthem.





Picture: 11

Iranian national anthem was forbidden and replaced by the new government's Islamic hymn.

This explanation actually clearly describes that regime did not get support from all Iranian. It was proofed with many military pilots refused to support the regime in the war. After bargaining with military pilots, who still supported the Shah regime, the pilots agreed to bomb Iraq with a condition that the national anthem of Iran was broadcasted. By bombing Iraq, regime liked to prove that their power remained strong. The world and especially Iranian would consider that the regime still had power to win the war. By showing this bombing planes through television regime actually tried to gain supports from people of Iran and also from the world.

Persepolis page 94 showed that newspaper wrote that many "martyrs" died for Iran.

Martyr is person who died for the sake of Iran, or in other words they sacrifice their life for Iran.



Picture: 12

By showing the pictures in the newspaper government actually had two purposes. First people would think that many Iranian people, especially the teenager support the regime. Second, Regime showed that Iran had so many soldiers, and the numbers still will increase, because the pictures in the newspaper are designed in very prestige pages. People, especially teenager will consider that die for Iran will be something worthy and prideful. Government likely wanted to show to both Iranian and Iraq that the regime reminded strong and had a lot of support. In the newspaper it was said that most martyrs was teenager. Teenagers are easy to be persuaded because they are not mature enough. At their age, they actually in searching the meaning of their life, they tend to behave gently and like to be hero. From that reason government liked to use them and recruited them to join Iran army force. Page 101 described that mostly government chose teenagers from poor society, teenagers then persuaded to join army because teenagers from

the poor area were easier to persuade.



Picture: 13

Teenager from poor area were easier from regime to change their ideology, or in other words it was easier to built ideologies to them that to the teenagers from the city. It was because the level of education in poor area was not quit well, so they were easier to be influenced. So hegemony is easier to be practiced in the poor area, because the level of education in the poor area is not as high as the city.

On page 111 Marjane Satrapi described that war had been last for two years and people started to get used to it.



Picture: 14

Newspaper announced that Iranian army force had destroyed and shot down 13 Iraq planes. Everyday newspaper declared that Iran had shot ten Iraq planes and five tanks, and if it totaled the number of planes would be six thousand planes and three thousand. Even America would never have planes and tanks as many as the number stated in the newspaper. Blowing up the number of enemy killed would make Iranian people and even the world consider that the Islamic Republic of Iran was so strong and could win the war against Iraq. In the chaotic situation like what Iran dealt with is very important to have support from people or other country. In between the war and the demonstration from their own people was a very complicated situation. To remain in power, regime had to win the support from all Iranian and even the world if it's impossible. So, regime, through newspaper, informed and declared that they were still available to lead the country and win the war. By the newspapers regime spread their ideology and run hegemony to maintain their power. In the complicated situation like war and also demonstrations that happened in domestic area, showing that regime was still capable to run the government and change the social condition to be better was very important. It would gain supports from domestic people, because people believe the ideology that regime really capable to run the government and could change the condition to be better. The news about the number of planes and tanks which has been shot down also could gain a credibility about the capability of regime in leading the government.

3.2 Domination

Domination is a way in spreading certain ideology or interest to other using coercion or state apparatus. The concept of domination is to force certain ideology to other and other has to accept it, no bargaining and there will be consequences if other does not accept the ideology.

Coarsen is direct action to someone who does not follow or accept the ideology, it works like punishment. Coarsen in domination can be also used to get rid of any ideologies that challenge the dominant ideology. People or groups who spread another ideology to counter the dominant ideology can be eliminate using coarsen. To protect the dominant ideology dominant class tends to use coarsen through direct action, like beating, kidnaping and even killing other who against the dominant ideology. And on other way, domination using state apparatus can be said that it is softer than coarsen but still, other does not have any right to reject the ideology. Domination using state apparatus works when ideology is forced to other by state apparatus like army force, police or teacher to other. Because they are states apparatus people tend to obey to what they told to them. People accept the ideology not because they agree with it but they just take it for granted because the one who said or spread the ideology is state apparatus, or people who have power in the society.

3.2.1 Domination in School

School is a place to gain knowledge. From school almost all science and knowledge can be gotten. School provides many equipments to support students in the process of absorbing knowledge. The word “school” is the first word that will appear in people’s mind when people talked about a place to study. school has become the first priority when people want to get knowledge for them or their children, and that also makes school so vulnerable as a place to get knowledge, because school also can be a place to spread certain ideology or interest from certain group. Because people have assumed that school as the best place to gain knowledge so ideologies that are inserted in the school become so difficult to detect. Beside school, teacher also has a very important component to get new information or knowledge from school.

States apparatus such as teachers are very effective to be agent in spreading ideologies. Spreading ideology to their students is their job, and people agreed it, so people will trust their children's education or even their education to the teacher. It likes a commonsense that the job of teacher is giving information and that is why people just trust what tacher said whether it is really true or not. What teacher's said is believed and people rarely clarify the information or the ideology that teacher gave. People tend to believe what teacher said and just take it forgranted without any corection to what teacher said. In Persepolis page 3 and 4, those kind of situation happen.



Picture: 15

After Islamic Revolution happened and the Islamic regime ruled Iran, suddenly in 1980 schools required all female students wear veil to cover their hair. Students just obeyed this new rule and never asked why, although in the same page it explained that almost all students did not like to wear it. In the next page it explained that government closed all bilingual schools then separated male and female students into different classes. And again students just silence and did what teacher told them, although in the same page it described how sad students being separated from their friends during the school time. Students have no right against what teacher, or regime had stated. The ideology in wearing jilbab or veil in schools were not only because of regime wanted to practice the Islamic law, but also to build a identity that Iran now has changed into an Islamic country. Veil somehow has become an identity or symbol of Islam, and with that ideology regime used it to proclaim that Iran now is Islamic country. And by the larger number of people who wore veil it also can create an image that this new regime has a lot of support from Iranian.

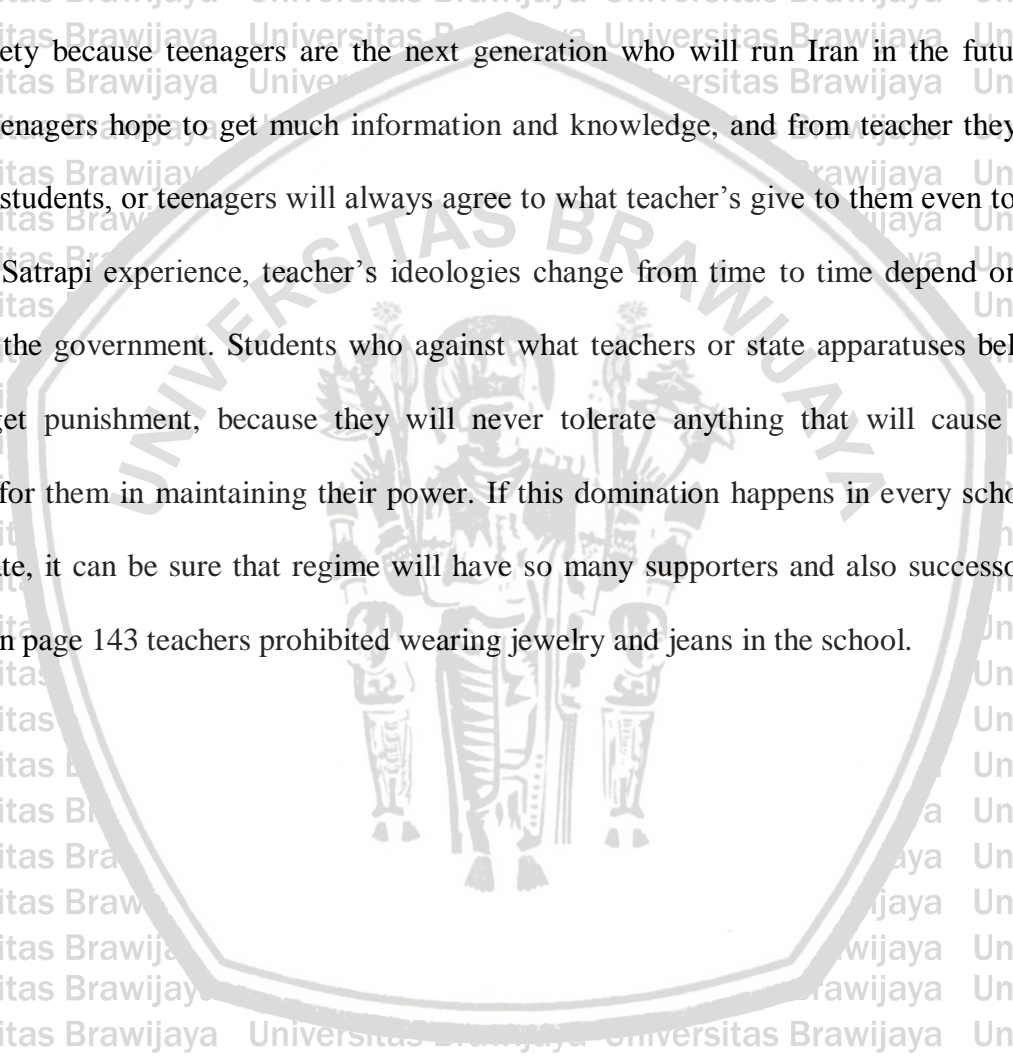
In page 44, Marjane Satrapi told that after the Shah regime over, in school teacher asked students to tear out all the Shah photo from the books.

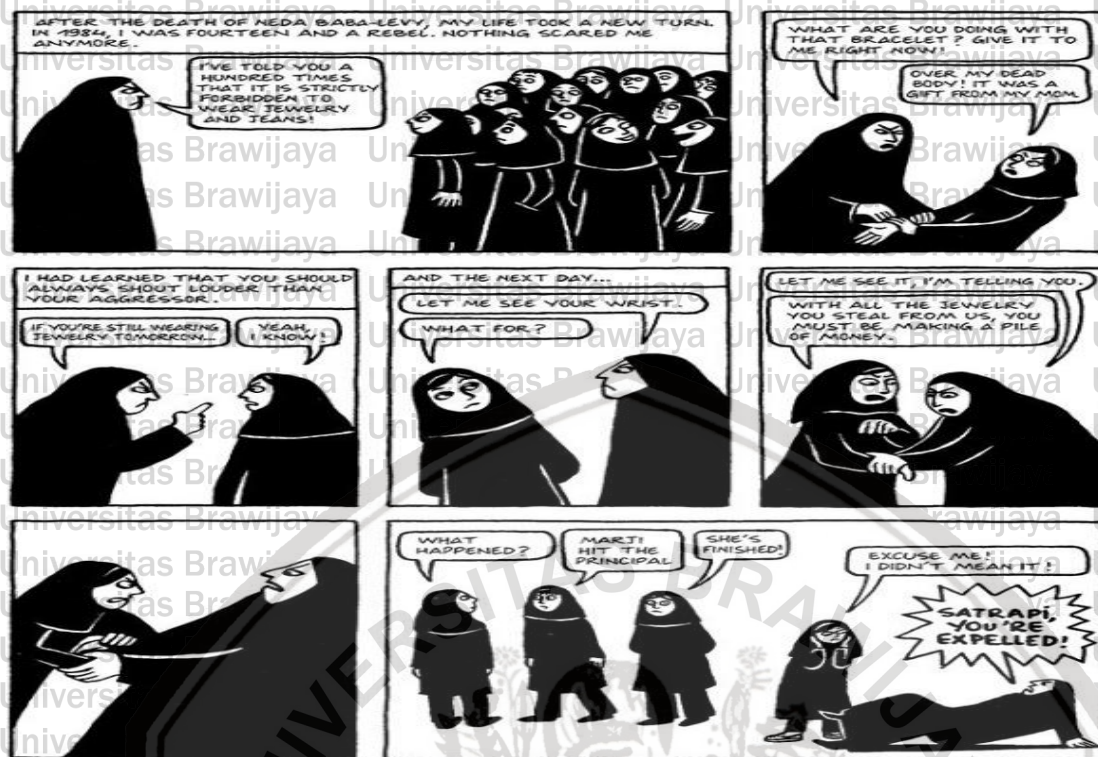


Picture: 16

Actually before the revolution the same teacher told the students that Shah was chosen by God. And when Satrapi asked about it she got punishment from the teacher. From this information, teacher as state apparatuses can easily change and spread ideologies follow the ruler of the state. And the worse thing is that the job of teacher is actually giving knowledge and information to the

students, but unfortunately they can also become the tools of regime to spread certain ideologies to their students. Children, teenagers, or students are easy to accept anything, because at their age, it is time for them to study, to gain information as much as they can. They are agent of change, the next generation and very productive age. So if a group success to control teenagers or to control their ideology there will be a big possibility for the groups to maintain their power in a society because teenagers are the next generation who will run Iran in the future. From school teenagers hope to get much information and knowledge, and from teacher they will get that. So, students, or teenagers will always agree to what teacher's give to them even tough, like Marjane Satrapi experience, teacher's ideologies change from time to time depend on the one who run the government. Students who against what teachers or state apparatuses believe will always get punishment, because they will never tolerate anything that will cause potential obstacle for them in maintaining their power. If this domination happens in every school in the entire state, it can be sure that regime will have so many supporters and also successors in the future. On page 143 teachers prohibited wearing jewelry and jeans in the school.





Picture: 17

Teacher would take any jewelry that students wear. When Satrapi chose to against the role by wearing jewelry and refused when teacher wanted to take her jewelry, she ended with expelling.

Once again regime will never tolerate anything that will be potential obstacles for their goal, changing Iran into an Islamic country. And after expelled from the school Satrapi finally find a

new school, with a real struggle because no school accepted her. In her new school Satrapi once again told her disagreement about the teacher's perspective. When teacher explained in front of

the class that since the Islamic Republic was founded, the government no longer has political prisoners, Satrapi challenged by saying that her uncle, a political prisoner, was imprisoned by

Shah's regime, but it was Islamic regime that ordered his execution. She continued by saying that in the Shah's regime, it had around 3000 political prisoners, but it became 300,000 political

prisoners in Islamic regime. With her statements Satrapi's life was threatened because her statement indirectly challenged the ideology of the regime, and usually regime would excuse her.

In page 144 to 147 described that one who challenged government's ideology would be killed, just like Niloufar, Satrapi's friend, who was killed by the regime. It was against the law to kill a virgin in Iran, so government would send a guardian of the revolution to marry the girl, after taking her virginity she would be executed. Considering that fact Satrapi's parents consider to get her abroad to study.





Picture: 18



Picture: 19

Domination mostly works through coarsen, so if Satrapi against the ideology of the regime, it can be sure that she will receive the consequence. The ideology of the regime in forbidding wearing jewelry and jeans was to protect the youth or their generation from the influences of western and also to keep the identity as Islamic country which their people run the Islamic law.

3.2.2 Domination With Direct Coarsen

Domination through coarsen was very effective for Iranian government to get rid all people who against their ideologies. In page 14 and 15, Marjane Satrpi described how effective domination was.



Picture: 20



Picture: 21

Because regime considered that all western products had really bad effect for Iranian, especially the teenager, regime burned out Rex Cinema which played western movies. All Rex Cinema's doors has been closed a few minutes after the audiences got in and only in minutes fire has burned the cinema. The audience inside trapped, polices were there, they line up around the

cinema and forbade people to rescue those locked inside. And when the tension between polices and people outside reached the peak, polices attacked them. The firemen did not arrived until forty minutes later, so the audiences inside can not be rescued. The reason behind this domination was to keep the ideology that western's influences was bad for Iranian, that most of the people were Moslem. Western's influences also against the Islamic law, for instance in the movies, the way the actress and actors dress, their custom about kissing or the culture of free sex or western call it "one night stand" are very far with the Islamic law, whereas the regime wanted to change Iran into Islamic country. So this influence can be real challenge for the dominant ideology, and regime as the dominant class by coarsen way tried to get rid of this challenge by burning the cinema that played the western movies. This action actually had two purposes, first regime wanted to keep the dominant ideology, Islamic ideology, still to be dominant ideology without any other challenge ideologies like the western influence, and at the same time regime also declared that they could do everything to protect the dominant ideology such as coarsen, and it also gave warning to all people that one who challenged the dominant ideology would receive the consequences.

Wining ideology in society is the most vital part to control the society. So government as the dominant group has to keep heir ideology to be the dominant ideology as long as it needed. One who against government's ideology has to be terminated to keep their power in controlling society. In Marjane Satrpi' *Pesepolis* those practices or dominations are described and take a lot of space in her book. From page 23 to 25 Satrapi told how her grand father was imprisoned by the government because he was a prince who has a very contras ideology with the dominant



ideology.

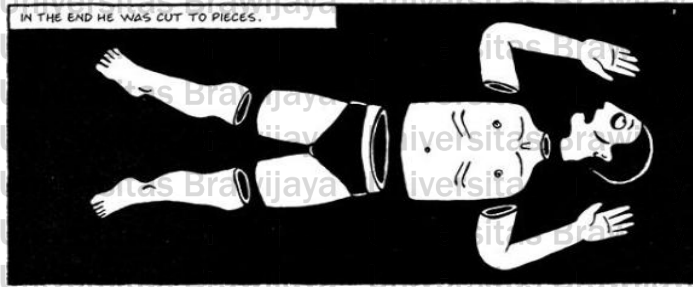


Picture: 22

Because he was considered a dangerous figure by the government, he was a prince and his speech may be heard and listened by many people. He was also communist, so government decided to jailed and even torture him. In page 50 until 52 Marjane Satrapi also wrote about how domination using coarsen was really done by regime to maintain their power.



Picture: 23



Picture: 24

In those pages told that some ex-political prisoners were friends of Satrapi parents. They visited Satrapi's family after being released from prison. Siamak Jari and Mohsen Shakiba, the ex-political prisoners, told how government tortured them and their friends in the prison. Siamak and Mohsen was Communist, and that was the reason they were imprisoned. Communist became a serious challenge for regime's Ideology at that time. In prison, state apparatuses cruelly tortured and even killed some of the prisoners. It was done only to keep the regime, ideologies still to be the dominant ideology in Iran. In the case of Marjane Satrapi's grand father, because he was from royal family so regime believed that he was a potential obstacle for them. The member of royal family always wanted Iran to be the monarchy country, and he also a popular figure that had a lot of supporters. He and his supporters can be a real counter hegemony that can be the trigger of mass demonstration, so regime used domination to remove him from the Iranian political arena. Regime jailed and tortured him in order that he would never speak his will, his ideology to the mass.

About Siamak and Mohsen, the ex-political prisoners, regime jailed and tortured them because they were communist. At that time communist and monarchy were the great challenges for this new regime, because as the new regime which brought a new concept or ideology in their government, it was common to have many challenges. Monarchy as explained before, it was the regime that was ruined, so it was normal if the monarchy's supporters which left behind still forced their ideologies. And about communist, at that time it was the moment of cold war

between Russia which the ideology is communist and America which the ideology is capitalist, so the influences of both ideologies were so big in a new regime like Islamic regime in Iran. Regime actually forbade any challenges from other ideologies include the capitalist and the communist. So to protect their ideologies, regime did affirmative action such as kidnapped, jailed and also tortured the figures who were consider as the trigger of counter hegemony. Regime would never tolerate anything against their ideology. They wanted to turn Iran to be Islamic country and used Islamic law to run the administration system. The ideology of communist was one obstacle for the regime's goal, so regime was very concern about this ideology. Like Siamak and Mohsen, they were both the figures of communist in Iran. And with that reason, regime jailed them and tortured them to avoid the spreading of communism in Iran. Regime considered that they had abilities to persuade people to rebel the regime. They could create a community or gather people then challenge the dominant ideologies. That was the thing that regime did not want to happen because it could create demonstration which also made the unstable of national economic, politic, and security. And above that demonstrator can threat regime position as dominant group in Iran.

Page 65 described about how regime killed the political figures who against the government ideology. Mohsen, a communist political, found dead in his house with only his head was underwater.



Picture: 25

States apparatuses actually have kidnapped and killed many political figures who against the government's ideology. After Mohsen, government tried to kill Siamak Jari, he was also communist political figure. States apparatus came to Siamak's house and killed Siamak's sister because Siamak and his family had already left the country. Regime seemed so worried about political figures who did not in the same way with their ideology or their perspective in ruling the country. Regime not only executed the figures but also their relatives. That showed how important to keep ideology become the mass ideology, because many people dead because of it. As explained before, Siamak and Mohsen, communist political figures, were jailed and tortured badly by the regime. And after the period of their detention was offer, they were released. But not quiet long after their freedom, regime killed them to avoid their activities in spreading the communism. Even their family, their relatives were also killed. The extermination of people, whose ideology against regime, was also described in page 125. Niloufar, the eighteen year old communist, was spotted, arrested and executed.



Picture: 26as Brawijaya

So in maintaining power in ruling a country, regime had to protect their ideologies from others ideologies and domination somehow appeared to be a main solution for this case. Ideology is something abstract and can change from time to time, because people's perspectives also changes, so to keep the dominant ideologies remind still, regime had to use domination with coarsen. Figures like Siamak Jari or Mohsen could be a big trouble if they were left free. Communism political figures like them can easily spread their ideologies and persuade or

influence people to follow their ideologies. And if that happens, counter hegemony like demonstration can happen. And that is the thing that regime avoid most because it can be a serious problem for their power. The more people against regime's ideologies, the more opportunities to overthrow regime's power in Iran government and that is why keeping dominant ideologies in society is very important for regime to defend their power.

Page 76 described the condition after the revolution of Islam over and the Islam regime ruled Iran. Everyday people did demonstration against the changing of ideology, from Monarchy to Islam.



Picture: 27



Picture: 28

The new regime forced the ideology of Islam to all Iranian, and many of them refused it by demonstrating everyday. To protect their ideology regime dissolve the demonstrations, and coarsen became a part of this dissolving. In maintaining power regime used domination with coarsen just like explained above. Domination became a vital part for regime because it can force people to follow the dominant ideology. From time to time the numbers of demonstrations in Iran were decrease; it proved that domination which was used by regime to dissolve demonstration was success. With the success of domination it was also followed by the safety of regime's power in ruling Iran.

Regime through state apparatuses controlled and punished people who did not obey the rule about the way they dressed and behaved. Regime never tolerated any western ideologies influence Iranian. From make up, dressing styles, hair styles, movies and even music which came from western were forbidden. For hair styles, it was described in page 74; when Marjane Satrapi's mother went to a public place without wearing veil, she was insulted that women like her should be pushed up against a wall, raped, and then thrown in the garbage.



Picture: 29

In page 127 until 134 Marjane Satrapi also told about how regime through states apparatuses punished people because she was considered influenced by western cultures. Anything which is related to the western is forbidden.



Picture: 30



Picture: 31



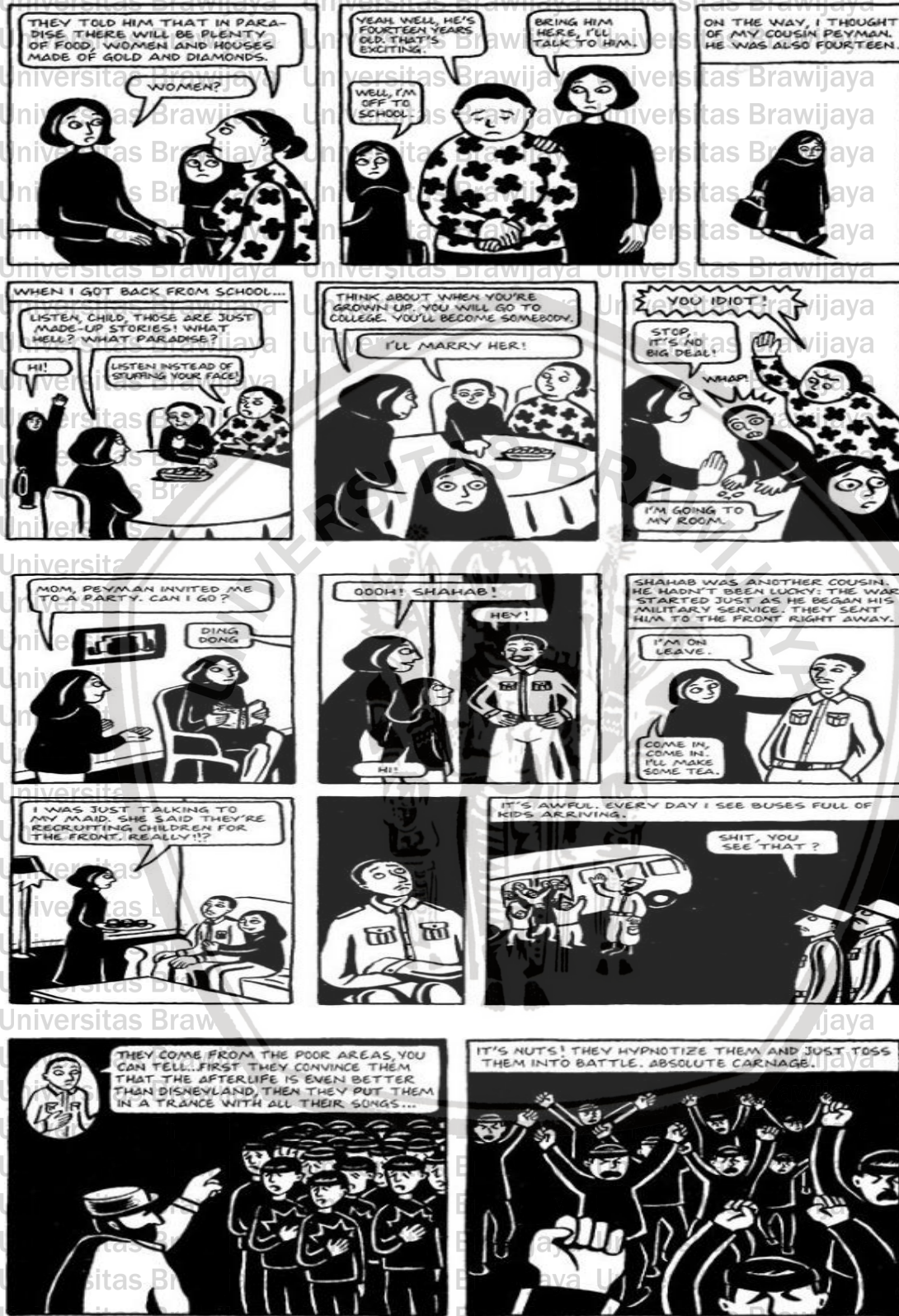
Picture: 32

Everything that was considered as western culture was forbidden. Posters, pin, cassette or music of western musicians, shoes and clothes were not allowed to enter Iran. So to buy them Satrapi had to go to the black market on Gandhi Avenue. There she could buy many choices of tapes, lipsticks, pantyhose, and many other things which were forbidden by regime. But in the town streets there were so many the guardians of revolution, a group formed in 1982 to arrest people who did not obey Islamic norm such as improperly veiled or dressed. The guardian of revolution would arrest, punish and even jail them who broke the norms. From the description above, it can be analyzed that from every aspect like daily life behaviors was controlled by regime. The basic ideology of regime was Islam ideology, so everything against this ideology such as western ideology was forbidden. If Islam Ideology were followed and supported by all Iranian, so it can be sure that the power of regime would remind save.

In page 99 to 102 Marjane Satrapi described how Iranian male teenagers were required to join Army force and serve their country or it could be called as conscription.



Picture: 33



Picture: 34



Picture: 35

Teenagers can not avoid or refuse the conscription because regime in the name of government had declared this policy. People had to obey it for the sake of Iran. Teenagers who were chosen by the regime to join army force were given keys. This key represented the key of heaven, so teenagers who died in the war would directly go to heaven. Beside the key, to encourage the teenagers before went to war regime asked them to sing belligerent songs. From the description above it can be analyzed that government used their position as government to make a policy about conscription to support their regime reminded strong in Iran. Teenagers had to obey this policy, and there was always a punishment wait for them who did not obey it. So people were forced to obey it. In the war situation, where everything like defeated could happen in a moment, the supply of army was a vital. The national security was the first priority to protect people and also the power of regime, so the more armies was the better for regime to keep their power. Policy is the best example of domination. It bounds people with the rules and punishment.

Page 117 described how regime became more repressive to the people whose ideas were not in the same way with regime.



Picture: 36

There were so many people in Iran against the decision of regime to war with Iraq. Regime exterminated them because in the chaos condition, in the middle of the war and demonstrations, an exact action like terminating people who against regime, was needed to solve this chaos condition. Those who opposed the regime were systematically arrested and executed together. Domination with coarsen action was a must for regime to maintain their power as long as possible. To rule the society, regime had to make sure that their ideology was believed, agreed and followed by the member of the society, and to protect their ideology was by domination.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

After analyzing the data, in this chapter the writer makes conclusion about hegemony and domination used by dominant class to maintain their power based on the analysis of Marjane Satrapi's Persepolis. Besides, the writer also gives suggestion that is related to the result of the analysis.

4.1 Conclusion

Marjane Satrapi's Persepolis tells about the situation after the Islamic Revolution. The situation of that time was chaotic because of the changing leader in Iran. Islam side won against Shah and made the Islamic side became the new leader of Iran. The new government really needed supports from all Iranian people to run the government well. Regime started to make movements to make their ideology widely accepted by all people. Through hegemony and domination the new regime spreads their ideology to people and protects it with coarsen to make their ideology to be dominant and accepted by all people across the country.

The effective way to control people is by controlling their ideologies. And this way is also applied by Islamic regime in Iran to control people and maintain their power. Ideology is the part of human life. It lives within the existence of human being. Ideology is like a paradigma or norm in a certain community because ideology is like ideas, meaning and practices which are believed as universal truth in a community. So one who can control people's ideology, can not be doubted that he will also control the people. Hegemony and domination are ways to spread and control some ideologies. Hegemony works slowly, gradually and does not use any coarsen in

spreading ideologies. Hegemony still open an opportunities for people to refuse or ignore the ideology which is applied by forced.

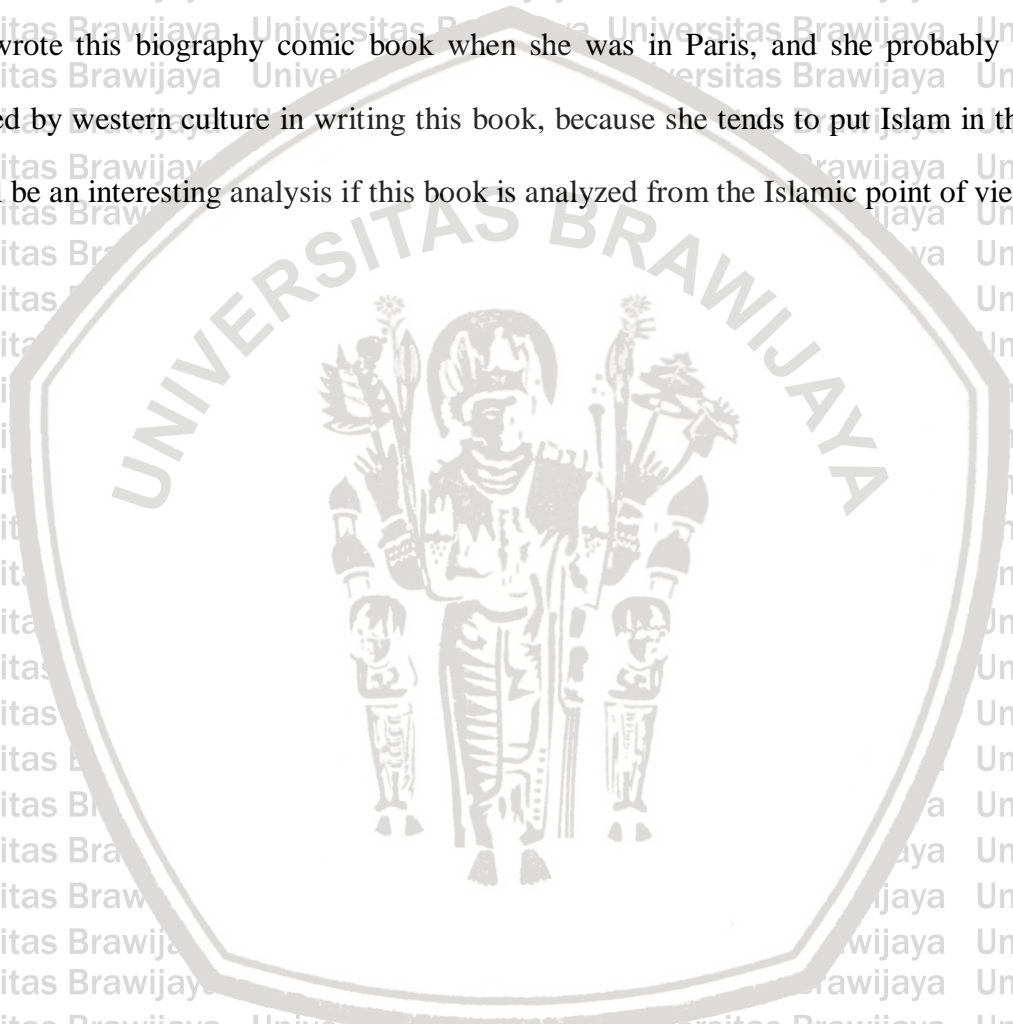
Domination on the other way works through coarsen and also uses state apparatuses in spreading certain ideologies. State apparatuses here have very important roles in spreading and also controlling some ideologies. State apparatus like teacher will be very effective tools for regime to spread regime's ideologies. In a community people always consider that teacher is a person or a profession that the job is giving information or knowledge. And in a nation teacher's position is as a state apparatus, so teacher can be some kind of tools for regime that rule the government to spread its ideologies to people. Army force on the other side is also function as the state apparatus in a nation. The job of Army force is not spreading the ideologies, but they tend to be the protector of the ideologies. Usually by coarsen they will defend, protect and even force the regime's ideologies.

In Persepolis, hegemony and domination are used as tools for regime to maintain its' power. Through television, regime spreads its ideologies. Those ideologies are broadcasted over and over again to make people believe in them. That is how hegemony works. Because it does not use any coarsen, ideologies which are spread have to be repeated many times to persuade people. And teacher as the state apparatus will spread regime's ideology through their students, the next generation of a state or a nation. Army on the other way works as a tool for regime to protect the ideologies. Coarsen or violence as an effective way is frequently used by Army to do their job as ideologies protector.

By hegemony and domination, regime's ideology can be spread and protected to remain as dominant ideology in Iran. So Hegemony and Domination are the main components for Islamic regime in Iran to maintain their power in Iranian government.

4.2 Suggestion

The writer of the thesis suggests that the next researcher who wants to use Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* as the object of analysis uses Deconstruction approach by Jaques Derrida. It is so as this book offers many topics to be analyzed using Deconstruction approach. Marjane Satrapi wrote this biography comic book when she was in Paris, and she probably had been influenced by western culture in writing this book, because she tends to put Islam in the corner. So it will be an interesting analysis if this book is analyzed from the Islamic point of view.



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