



Sutasoma: Jurnal Sastra Jawa

<http://journal.unnes.ac.id/sju/index.php/sutasoma>



Criminal Hegemony in the Novel *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* by Kukuh S. Wibowo: Gramsci's Perspective

Ahmad Rizky Wahyudi¹ & Anas Ahmadi²

^{1,2}Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra, Fakultas Bahasa dan Seni, Universitas Negeri Surabaya

Corresponding Author: 24020835003@mhs.unesa.ac.id¹

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15294/sjsj.v13i1.22927>

Submitted: March 29th 2025 Accepted: May 26th 2025 Published: June 27th 2025

Abstract

The connection between thuggery and power gives rise to a new face of politics laden with criminal hegemony. This concept is vividly depicted in the Javanese novel *Lodan saka Segara Kidul (LSSK)* by Kukuh S. Wibowo. Through a mystery-driven narrative, the novel exposes the transformation of Rahsana, a criminal gang leader, who changes his name to Hendarsa Prabancana and reinvents himself as a politician using slick yet effective hegemonic strategies. This research aims to reveal the representation of criminal hegemony in *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo through the lens of Gramsci's theory, supported by other theories such as the normalization of crime, political oligarchy, self-image management, and more. The study employs a descriptive-qualitative method, emphasizing content analysis and literature review to examine novel narratives. This approach aims to identify forms of criminal hegemony, strategies for transitioning from crime to politics, and their societal impact. The findings demonstrate that Rahsana/Hendarsa utilizes wealth acquired through crime, money politics, and public image-building to gain legitimacy and maintain power. Hegemony does not manifest solely through physical domination but also through ideology that infiltrates social structures. These findings reflect how criminal practices can adapt within democratic systems and become part of legitimate political frameworks. This research contributes to enriching the study of Indonesian crime fiction while opening a critical discourse on the relationship between crime, politics, and the legitimization of power.

Keywords: *hegemony; crime; Gramsci; politics; thuggery*

© 2025 Universitas Negeri Semarang

p-ISSN 2252-6307

e-ISSN 2686-5408

INTRODUCTION

The presence of criminality in literary works is considered an aesthetic (Ahmadi, 2019a). Especially when paired with elements of power and politics. Representing the world of crime in literature often reflects the social dynamics that develop in society (Ahmadi, 2022; Sasson, 2005; Srivastav et al., 2019). Various literary narratives present criminal figures operating in crime and seek to expand their influence on the political system (Colvin, 2015).

This view is in line with the findings. Gupta (2019) and Sanli and Townshend (2018) show that power can be obtained through physical violence and hegemonic strategies, including economic, social, and political control. A similar representation of this can be found in the novel *Lodan saka Segara Kidul (LSSK)* by Kukuh S. Wibowo.

LSSK by Kukuh S. Wibowo is a Javanese novel in the detective genre about the story of a detective named Setyawan. The

detective uncovered the crime of the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* leader – the Javanese word for 'South Coast Shark' – who sought to gain political power by utilizing his financial resources and influence. The storyline also features the character Rahsana – later changed to Hendarsa Prabancana – as the antagonist in this novel, who builds his political path through the guise of his criminality through the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul*. The character of Rahsana/Hendarsa will be the main highlight of this study, as will his political activities and crime. There is also a character of Windarini who tries to take revenge for the death of his parents, whom Rahsana killed. This story presents mystery and crime elements and illustrates how power in crime can be transformed and gain legitimacy in the broader social order.

The novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo presents tension and criminal acts and shows how power works in transitioning from criminality to politics. The move from the world of crime to the political arena shows that criminal power relies on violence, as well as strategies to build an image and gain public acceptance. (Malešević, 2022). This novel depicts how criminal hegemony operates in society through the transformation of Rahsana into the political world by changing her name to Hendarsa Prabancana. The figure of Hendarsa Prabancana in this novel represents the power obtained through violence and the creation of social legitimacy. It can be relevant to Gramsci's theory of hegemony.

According to Gramsci, the basic concept of hegemony is the course of the influence of the dominant class in the defense of its power. If viewed from the outline of Gramsci's

hegemony theory, there are three common threads as the primary foundation for the creation of hegemony in society, namely (1) dominance, (2) consensus, and (3) intellectual leadership. These three aspects simultaneously form and maintain the social and political order that benefits the ruling group. Dominance, according to Gramsci (1971:57), became the main instrument of control used by the ruling class to ensure the obedience of subordinate groups. Then, he also emphasized that under certain conditions, the dominant group does not hesitate to use violence or coercion to maintain its authority.

However, hegemony cannot survive by domination alone because a government that relies only on repression will face constant resistance. Therefore, the dominant class also needs consensus so that society voluntarily accepts its power. In this context, Gramsci (1971:242-243) Emphasizes that consensus allows the ruling class to win legitimacy without constantly resorting to violence. The approval of the subordinate group is obtained through a control mechanism, which shapes society's way of thinking so that the leadership of the dominant class seems reasonable and acceptable. (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). So that the ruling class can indirectly educate the community and accept the existing order.

Consensus does not always go smoothly in practice. Sometimes, subordinate groups realize the inequality that occurs and demand change. In such a situation, the ruling class will rely on intellectual leadership to maintain power without losing legitimacy. Gramsci (1971:57) In this context, it is emphasized that hegemony requires intellectual leadership to maintain its stability.

This means that through this method, the ruling group is expected to be able to shape the way of thinking and values in society. According to the findings of Hatfield (2022), leaders with the ruling class's intellect play a key role in instilling an ideology that makes the existing system seem natural and irreplaceable. This strategy allows the ruling class to maintain the stability of the hegemony more smoothly and sustainably without the need to make significant structural changes.

There are main theories and supporting theories for this research. This research refers to the study of hegemony, specifically the view of hegemony. Gramsci (1971) becomes the primary theoretical reference. This research also adopts the theory of normalization of crime in politics from Varese (2018), which is considered natural to strengthen his analysis of the integration of crime in the political system. In addition, there is also the theory of political oligarchy from Winters (2011), which is used to understand the use of money politics by the elite with significant capital in acquiring and maintaining power. Goffman's self-image theory (1959), which is about how individuals construct a specific image in public spaces to gain legitimacy and support, is also used in this study. This combination of theories helps analyze how the character of Hendarsa Prabancana in the novel *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* uses power, crime, and politics as a tool of hegemony. In this regard, the formulation of the problem in this study is (1) how the form of criminal hegemony is portrayed in the *LSSK* novel by Kuku S. Wibowo, (2) how the strategy of the transition of thuggery to politics is portrayed in the *LSSK* novel by Kuku S. Wibowo, and (3) how the impact of criminal

hegemony on society is portrayed in the *LSSK* novel by Kuku S. Wibowo.

As far as the author's observation goes, the relationship between crime and politics in literature has not been widely studied, especially in the context of Indonesian detective novels. Although several studies discuss the representation of crime in the novel *LSSK* by Kuku S. Wibowo as is the case with the (Islamiah & Darni, 2023) and Murdantyo (2023), as well as the analysis of hegemony especially according to Gramsci's innumerable views, a more in-depth exploration of the hegemony process that allows the transition from the criminal world to the political realm in the novel has not existed at all. Therefore, this study seeks to fill this gap by analyzing the novel *LSSK* by Kuku S. Wibowo using Gramsci's hegemony theory to understand how power is constructed and maintained in criminal fiction narratives.

This research aims to reveal how the novel *LSSK* by Kuku S. Wibowo depicts the transformation of the character Rahsana/Hendarsa Prabancana as the leader of the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* into a political figure and how his hegemony strategy is used to gain legitimacy in society using Gramsci's hegemony theory. Analysis of the hegemony process in the novel can provide a deeper understanding of literary reflection on social reality (Sukmafitriani et al., 2023; Rose, 2022). In addition, the character of Rahsana/Hendarsa Prabancana relies on violence to maintain his dominance and various political strategies to gain positions in the realm of power. This shift suggests that hegemonic strategy in the criminal world continues to function, even after one enters a

more established political system. This research also makes academic and practical contributions. Its theoretical goal is to expand the discourse in criminal literature and the theory of hegemony by studying fiction that can reflect on social phenomena, especially in transforming power from crime to the political world. The practical purpose of this research is to serve as a reference for academics, literary critics, and readers who want to understand more about how the representation of political crime power in detective novels can be a critique of social practices that occur in reality.

METHOD

This study uses a descriptive-qualitative method to analyze the representation of criminal hegemony in the novel *LSSK* by Kuku S. Wibowo. Descriptive-qualitative methods in literary research uncover literary texts' meanings, structures, and patterns, especially those related to the social phenomena represented in stories. (Creswell, 2014:186). Moreover, Ahmadi (2019:3) believes that descriptive-qualitative research is also based on the reasoning and description of data. Therefore, this research will describe, interpret, and understand the depiction of the transformation of criminal groups into political actors and their impact on the social environment of the novel *LSSK* by Kuku S. Wibowo.

The data source in this study is the novel *LSSK* by Kuku S. Wibowo, focusing on narratives, character descriptions, conflicts, and events that describe the process of criminal hegemony. The data collection technique in this study was carried out through content analysis and literature review. Content analysis is carried

out by reading and understanding the novel in depth to identify how the narrative portrays the relationship between thuggery and politics. (Birkett, 2023). Meanwhile, literature studies are carried out by collecting various literature relevant to the research (Coates, 2015; Jaya et al., 2023), both related to thuggery, politics, and literary studies that highlight similar themes. The results of this literature study are expected to provide a strong theoretical foundation for analyzing the phenomenon of thuggery in social and political contexts and how literary representations reflect reality (Mrugalski, 2018).

The data analysis process in this study is carried out through three stages. The first stage is data reduction, which is done by selecting and sorting data from novels related to the research topic. The second stage includes the presentation of data by compiling data in the form of narrative descriptions, which describe how criminal hegemony is articulated in the novel *LSSK* by Kuku S. Wibowo. The third stage is in the form of concluding the interpretation of the meaning in the novel related to the issue of thuggery in politics. These three stages aim to provide an in-depth understanding of the interaction between fictional narratives and social reality, as well as the impact of the representation of crime in the political context on society (Frauley, 2010).

The validity of the data in this study is ensured through the data triangulation technique, namely by comparing the findings in the novel with various relevant academic studies. According to Gebeyehu (2019), the data triangulation technique allows researchers to gain a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the topics raised in the novel

LSSK by Kukuh S. Wibowo. In addition, this study also conducts repeated readings of the novel text to ensure that the interpretation carried out remains consistent and relevant to the focus of the research. Through this method, this research is expected to provide a clear picture of how the *LSSK* novel by Kukuh S. Wibowo represents the phenomenon of criminal hegemony as a reflection of its social dynamics that occur in society.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Birth of Criminal Hegemony in the Novel *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* by Kukuh S. Wibowo

Thuggishness that transitions into the political realm in the novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo became the forerunner of the birth of criminal hegemony. If connected with Gramsci's hegemony theory which includes dominance, consensus, and intellectual leadership, there are three findings in this novel, namely (1) the form of criminal hegemony in this novel which includes violence as a means of domination and influence over society and law enforcement, (2) the strategy of transition from thuggery to the political realm which includes the use of wealth from crime for political interests, the manipulation of public opinion and self-image, as well as the practice of money politics as a shortcut to power; Then (3) the impact of criminal hegemony on society as well as the normalization of crime and the triggering of community resistance to criminal hegemony. The three findings that resulted in criminal hegemony were born from the actions taken by Rahsana/Hendarsa Prabancana, as the leader of the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* in this novel when he took his political path.

The criminal hegemony carried out by Rahsana/Hendarsa Prabancana also greatly impacted society. Residents who live under the control of the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group show a submissive attitude and are reluctant to resist. This condition in social studies is called silent complicity (Srishti, 2023), which describes how fear makes people remain silent, despite being aware of injustice. Varese (2018) also explains that when criminal groups successfully adapt to the formal political system, the practice of violence and money politics becomes increasingly difficult to oppose. The passive attitude of the community gradually changed after the injustice they experienced became more real. Windarini and her grandfather become a symbol of resistance to criminal domination in this novel. A resistance that was initially hidden evolved into real action. This concept is in line with the idea of hidden transcripts. The concept was put forward by Scott (1990), who explained how the oppressed group devises a strategy before openly challenging the rulers.

Rahsana's transition from a criminal leader to a political figure and changing her identity to Hendarsa Prabancana reflects the social reality that occurs in life under the control of criminal hegemony. Individuals or groups with criminal records often use the political system to protect their interests. Winters (2011), in his theory of political oligarchy, he explains that money politics is important in helping elites with significant capital to secure power. Hendarsa, in this novel, uses the wealth obtained from criminal activities, in the form of counterfeit money to build a positive image and gain political support. This phenomenon shows that in the

political world, access to power is determined more by economic resources than by individuals' track record or competence. This concept is also explained by Colvin (2015), which examines the relationship between crime fiction and power dynamics in society.

This novel is not just a detective story that presents criminal intrigue but also a social reflection that illustrates how thuggery can transform into a legitimate political force. The representation in this novel shows that power survives through various strategies, ranging from violence to manipulation of public opinion and political co-optation. The following is a frame of thought that references the birth of criminal hegemony in the novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo and Gramsci's theory of hegemony.

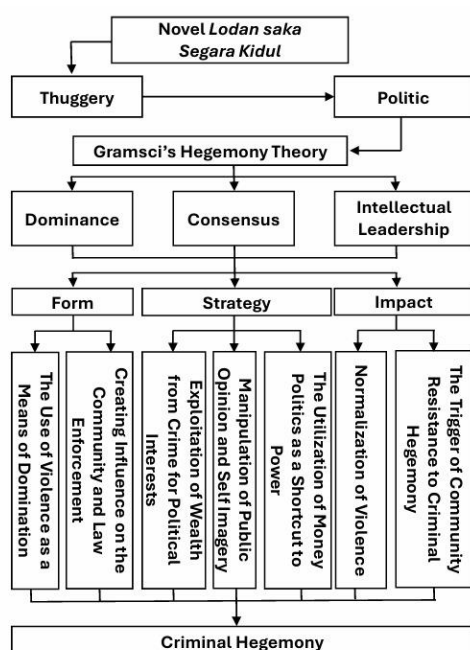


Chart 1. Frame of Mind

The Form of Criminal Hegemony in the *LSSK* Novel by Kukuh S. Wibowo

Before understanding how Rahsana or Hendarsa Prabancana transitioned to the world

of politics, it is important to examine how the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group controlled its social environment. The dominance built by Rahsana through the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group became the foundation for his political strategy in the future. In the novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo, the practice of criminal hegemony is represented through the dominance of the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group led by Rahsana. Then he used the name Hendarsa Prabancana when he began to have ambitions to enter the world of politics. Criminal hegemony in this context is not just sporadic acts of violence, but an organized system that exercises power through control over economic, social, and legal resources. Criminal hegemony refers to the dominance of criminal groups that rely on physical violence and building power structures to control society and formal institutions (Anggraeni & Wijaya, 2019). Criminal groups often create legitimacy by offering protection, building patronage networks, and controlling resource access (Caricati & Sollami, 2017).

In addition to relying on physical intimidation to maintain its influence, the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* in this novel can also build a network of power that makes them difficult to touch by the law. They succeeded in creating a hegemonic structure that normalized crime in people's lives by utilizing strategies such as structured violence, forced loyalty, and the exploitation of loopholes in the legal system. According to Joseph (2017) criminal groups that have become entrenched in the social system often take advantage of legal loopholes and the inability of the state to control crime as a strategy to strengthen their hegemony. The following discussion will unravel the form of

criminal hegemony that includes the use of violence, as well as its influence on society and law enforcement officials.

The Use of Violence as a Means of Domination

Violence is one of the main instruments in maintaining and expanding dominance, especially in the context of criminal hegemony. In the world of organized crime, violence serves as a coercive tool to subdue opponents, as well as a systematic strategy to build legitimacy and instill fear in society. Harish dan Little (2017) convey that violence in politics and criminality is often not random but rather part of a strategy designed to ensure the stability of power. In criminal groups, violence is used to establish an alternative social order that replaces state law with the group's internal rules. In the novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo, violence is the primary foundation for the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group in upholding its dominance. Rahsana, as the group leader, relies on physical threats to maintain the internal stability of the organization. Here are the quotes that support this statement in this novel:

"Tigang dasa gangsal taun kepengker, Rahsana sakanca wonten grombolan Lodan saka Segara Kidul kondhang ugal-ugalan lan cengkiling dhateng tiyang sanes. Mboten wigah-wigih mara tangan dhateng sok sintena ingkang nyenthok manahipun. Watakipun brangasan, tindak tandukipun bedigasan. Kula kalihan Margana kelebet ingkang nate dipunjotosi Rahsana jalaran perkawis sepele". (Wibowo, 2022:44)

Translation:

"Thirty-five years ago, Rahsana and her friends were members of the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul*, who are known to be reckless and like to act arbitrarily against others. They do not hesitate to act

violently against anyone who offends them. His character is rude, and his behavior is wild. Margana and me are among the people who have been beaten by Rahsana just because of a trivial problem". (Wibowo, 2022:44)

The data explained the statement of Siswanda, a local community leader in Sine Village, who was once the object of violence by Rahsana as the leader of the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group. At that time, he was being interviewed by Setyawan, who was unmasking the crimes committed by the group. Siswanda testified about the group's steps in instilling dominance through acts of violence. As stated in the quotation, *Rahsana sakanca wonten grombolan Lodan saka Segara Kidul kondhang ugal-ugalan lan cengkiling dhateng tiyang sanes*, 'Rahsana and her friends were members of the mob *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* who are notorious for being reckless and like to act arbitrarily towards others'. His testimony became evidence that the violence committed by the group became a collective crime committed to maintain power in the Sine Village area.

From the beginning, Rahsana and her group have made violence their identity to defend their criminal hegemony. The violence committed is part of the strategy to build sustainable societal fear. As explained by Kayman (2018), criminal groups often use violence to create an image that they have inviolable authority. If connected to the context of this novel, Kayman's view is that Rahsana's actions spread fear, so that the community recognizes and fears her existence. Rahsana's actions were also supported by the idea of Gramsci (1971:247) which states that hegemonic groups can form alternative social

orders with their own internal rules to shape their legitimacy.

Crime in the context of this novel is constantly allowed and accepted in society as a form of fulfilling the legitimacy of power, so that the normalization of crime is created. The testimony revealed by Siswanda revealed the brutality of the group *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* against the residents of Sine Village, as well as showing the role of violence as a multifunctional instrument in the practice of criminal hegemony. The group openly asserts its existence through violence, then forms a social order that supports the sustainability of its power.

Creating Influence on the Community and Law Enforcement

The criminal hegemony carried out by the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group led by Rahsana in the novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo, in addition to being able to create fear in the community, also dares to weaken the function of law enforcement. People who live under the domination of this group choose to remain silent, for fear of the consequences they will face if they resist. This phenomenon is called *silent complicity* by Srishti (2023), which makes citizens submit rather than face the threat of violence.

In addition, the law enforcement officials in this novel are described as ineffective in handling the crimes of the Rahsana group. Such a context has previously been initiated by Perito and Bayley (2010), who noted that criminal groups often exploit the weaknesses of legal institutions by bribing or intimidating the authorities, thus creating a culture of impunity. As a result, the law loses

its authority, and the public is increasingly apathetic to the existing justice system. The public's attitude towards the dominance of criminal groups in this novel is illustrated in the following statements:

"Sedaya warga kampung nelayan ngriki racak sami mboten purun urusan kalihan komplotanipun Rahsana, trimah nebih. Awit kejawi cengkiling. Rahsana menika anakipun Danupaya, juragan ingkang ngimpun ulam-ulamipun nelayan lajeng dipunsade dhateng kitha. Danupaya gadhah hubungan kalihan tiyang nginggil, kodhang idu geni, kekudhung lulang macan. Napa malih rikala semanten Danupaya ugi gadhah sambet sae kalihan sawatawis pejabat kabupaten, pramila sedaya sami ajrih urusan kalihan Danupaya." (Wibowo, 2022:44–45)

Translation:

"All residents in this fishing village agreed not to deal with the Rahsana group, choosing to stay away. In addition to acting arbitrarily, Rahsana is the son of Danupaya, a fisherman who collects fish caught by fishermen and sells them to the city. Moreover, try to have relationships with influential, famously sharp-tongued, and respected people. Danusaha also had good connections with some officials at the district level, so no one dared to deal with him." (Wibowo, 2022:44 45)

Quotation *Danupaya gadhah hubungan kalihan tiyang nginggil, kodhang idu geni, kekudhung lulang macan* 'And the attempt to have relationships with influential, well-known, sharp-tongued, and respected people' in the above data shows how the power inherited in criminal networks creates a system that is difficult for ordinary people to penetrate. In addition to having extraordinary economic influence, Danupaya, as the parent of the leader of *Lodan saka Segara Kidul*, Rahsana, also has relationships with figures who have power, so he is increasingly respected. It can use political power to expand its dominance

without worrying about legal threats through strong connections. The existence of a relationship between criminal groups and influential figures will make it more difficult for the public to resist or report the crime that occurs (Travaglino and Drury, 2020).

In addition to impacting society, criminal hegemony also weakens the function of law enforcement officials. In this context, the weakening of the law enforcement function can be described as an act of compromise with law enforcement. This was initiated by Gramsci (1971:161) that societal hegemony is created because of compromises that form power and domination. The law in this novel is described as ineffective in cracking down on the Rahsana group, because they have connections with local officials and political elites. Kjaer (2025) refers to this condition as state capture, when groups with specific interests control laws and government institutions. As a result, the police officers who are supposed to be law enforcers are part of the system that supports the sustainability of the criminal group.

The Transition Strategy of Thuggery to Politics in the *LSSK* Novel by Kukuh S. Wibowo

After building power through criminal channels, the next step for Rahsana, who has transformed into Hendarsa, is to seek legitimacy through political channels. This process is carried out through various strategies that allow the transition to go smoothly. The transition process from thuggery to the political realm in the *novel LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo is shown through the journey of Hendarsa Prabancana, who tried to expand his influence through formal political channels. This shift

reflects a strategy often used by criminal figures to gain broader social legitimacy and power. According to Barnes (2017), criminal groups seeking to secure long-term dominance often seek to rationalize their power by infiltrating political institutions through direct involvement in elections or building relationships with the ruling political elite. Hendarsa in this novel also consciously uses his economic resources and social networks to build a new image as a candidate for leaders who are worthy of trust.

This transition process also shows how criminal actors use various strategies to adapt to the political system. Criminal groups that do make it into politics often employ strategies such as elite co-optation, the use of proceeds of crime for campaigns, and the creation of populist discourse to attract public support (Baraldi et al., 2022). Hendarsa, in this novel, uses his wealth to build a benevolent image and is close to the people, while still maintaining his influence under the surface through the criminal network he controls. The following discussion will outline the strategies used in this transition process, including using economic resources, image manipulation, and the practice of money politics.

Exploitation of Wealth from Crime for Political Interests

One of Hendarsa's main strategies in entering the world of politics is to use financial resources derived from crime. He can accelerate his path to power without going through a long process of political regeneration by utilizing the wealth obtained through illegal practices. The use of wealth from crime as political capital is a strategy that is often used in the practice of

criminal hegemony, so organized crime is not only aimed at obtaining financial gains. The other goal is to build dominance in the social and political realm. In line with this, Faysal and Arifuzzaman (2022) explained that criminal groups often use illegal funds to finance political campaigns, bribe officials, and create loyalty among the public. Crime in this context is no longer just an illegal economic activity but a strategic instrument to secure and expand power.

The use of the proceeds of crime as political capital in the novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo is clearly illustrated through the actions of Rahsana or Hendarsa Prabancana. Hendarsa secretly set up a counterfeit money factory, collaborating with his former colleagues still operating in the coastal area. He did so to finance his candidacy as a councillor. Hendarsa's action is an instant way to raise campaign capital. Meanwhile, Hendarsa also showed that the criminal network is still maintained, even though he has become a political figure. The following quote describes how Hendarsa used his illegal business to expedite his political career:

"Rahsana lagi butuh dhuwit akeh kanggo ragad macung anggota dhewan. Kanthi sesidheman dheweke nyithak dhuwit palsu. Dheweke ngimpun tilas kanca rowange sing isih manggon ing pesisir kana kanggo nindakake kadurjanan kuwi. Aku sujana ora mung dhuwit palsu sing diprodhuksi ing gedhong tuwa kuwi, nanging uga bangsane narkotika." (Wibowo, 2022:118)

Translation:

Rahsana needs a lot of money for her candidacy as a council member. Secretly, he printed counterfeit money. He reunited his former comrades who lived on the coast to carry out the crime. I suspect not only counterfeit money produced in the old building, but also types of narcotics." (Wibowo, 2022:118)

Quotation *Rahsana lagi butuh dhuwit akeh kanggo ragad macung anggota dhewan* 'Rahsana needs much money for her candidacy as a councillor.' The data above shows that in the political realm, in addition to needing a precise strategy to win the competition, it also requires significant financial resources. Rahsana sees the criminal world as an instant way to gain political capital. This action reflects how wealth from crime can be a tool to buy power. This phenomenon in political studies is criminal politics (Ellis et al., 1999). Groups rooted in organized crime divert their influence into the system of government through criminal politics.

Furthermore, the quotation *Kanthi sesidheman dheweke nyithak dhuwit palsu* 'Secretly, he printed counterfeit money' shows that Rahsana continued to carry out illegal practices, even though he was trying to enter the world of politics. This shows that transitioning from the criminal world to politics does not necessarily eliminate criminal practices, but only changes their form and operational strategy. This confirms that the criminal and political worlds in the novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo are closely related. This means that figures from a crime environment can easily adapt to the world of politics without abandoning their illegal practices. Hendarsa's strategy in raising political funds is in line with the concept of Varese (2018:170) about criminal groups that not only seek financial gain, but also seek to gain influence at the structural level through infiltration into the political and economic system, by legalizing various means, including crime.

Rahsana uses the wealth of the

proceeds of crime to gain political support and form a positive image in front of the public. This move allows him to maintain control in the criminal world while also penetrating the political system that should play a role in enforcing the law. The consequences of criminal acts used for political purposes will indirectly blur the boundaries between crime and politics, making illegal practices part of a broader power structure (Sastry, 2013).

Manipulation of Public Opinion and Self-Imagery

In addition to relying on financial strength, Hendarsa also understands the importance of forming a positive image in the eyes of the public. He succeeded in changing the public's perception of himself and gaining political legitimacy through self-image strategies and manipulating public opinion. Manipulation of public opinion and self-image is often used by individuals or groups who want to shape certain perceptions in the eyes of the public. In the context of politics and power, Lyons et al. (2022) explains that building self-image is an effective way to control how a person is seen by the public, especially when there is a part of the past that you want to disguise or change.

Hendarsa Prabancana in the novel *LSSK* by Kuku S. Wibowo realizes that achieving a position in the political world is not enough with financial support alone, but also requires the formation of a new image in the eyes of the public. After giving up his identity as Rahsana, the former leader of *the Lodan saka Segara Kidul criminal* group, Hendarsa devised an image strategy by actively participating in social activities to gain public sympathy. Here is an excerpt:

"Kejaba sibuk bisnis, uga asring blusukan menyang kampung-kampung sing dadi wewengkon dhaerah pamilihane calon legislator. Ngadani sapatemon karo kadher lan tokoh masyarakat. Sing kulinane pelit ngetokane dhuwit, saiki Hendarsa brah-breh sregep ngamal nyumbang mesjid. Ora eman cucul ragad kanggo nyepensori klompok karang taruna gawe kegiatan. Ngarah atine konstituen, amrih ing pemilu mengko gambare dicoblos." (Wibowo, 2022:98)

Translation:

"Besides being busy with business, he often goes directly to the villages that are his constituency as a candidate for legislator. He held a meeting with cadres and community leaders. Who is usually stingy with spending money, now Hendarsa wastes himself diligently donating charity to the mosque. He also did not hesitate to spend money to sponsor the youth organization group in holding activities. All of this is done to attract the constituents' hearts, so that in the election, the image will be voted on." (Wibowo, 2022:98)

Quotation *Hendarsa brah-breh sregep ngamal nyumbang mesjid. Ora eman cucul ragad kanggo nyepensori klompok karang taruna gawe kegiatan* 'Hendarsa wasted himself to be diligent in donating to the mosque. He also did not hesitate to spend money to sponsor the youth organization group in holding activities. The data above illustrates how Hendarsa builds an image as a leader who cares about the community, through donations and sponsoring social activities. Hendarsa has created an emotional closeness that makes him look *relatable* and beneficial to his political position by taking advantage of important moments in people's lives. Furthermore, the public is directed to see Hendarsa as a figure worthy of being chosen, without realizing his factual criminal background. This self-image strategy is commonly used by figures who want to improve their image in the political world.

According to Goffman (1959:132), individuals who want to build a new societal identity often use *impression management*. They tend to present themselves according to social expectations that favor their position. Then, if viewed from Hendarsa's case, he can also use effective political communication strategies to secure his image as a candidate for leadership. In addition, this manipulation of public opinion is also supported by the media and the social networks he has built. As explained by Price (2014), control over public narratives is one of the important factors in building political legitimacy. Hendarsa ensured that what was spread in the community was his positive image as a philanthropic figure, while his criminal track record remained hidden under the surface.

The Utilization of Money Politics as a Shortcut to Power

Hendarsa builds a positive image and uses money politics to get a strategic position in his party. By buying influence and eliminating competitors, he ensures his path to power remains open. Money politics is one of the main strategies political actors use to gain power, without going through a long regeneration process. Money is often used to buy support, gain influence, and secure strategic positions in political parties in a political system complete with financial transactions.

(Winters, 2011:11) explained his idea of power resources in an oligarchic system, saying that individuals with significant financial resources have easier access to power than those who have to pursue a political career from the bottom. This phenomenon is depicted

in the novel LSSK by Kukuh S. Wibowo. Hendarsa Prabancana understands that wealth can replace the stages of regeneration that a politician should take in politics. He believes his position in the party does not need to be fought for through loyalty and experience, because money can accelerate all processes. This is seen in the following excerpt:

"Hendarsa wis nyinaoni thek kliwere politik negara iki sing racak ngalalake maneka cara, klebu sikut-sikutan karo kanca nunggal partai kanggo ngrebut pangaruh menyang pimpinan pusat. Hendarsa duwe pethingan sugih. Hendarsa yakin, nganggo dhuwite dheweke bisa nuku partai, saengga kanggo golek nomer urut 'calon dadi' ora perlu rekasa mbrang kang dadi kadher saka ngisor." (Wibowo, 2022:89)

Translation:

"Hendarsa has studied the intricacies of politics in this country, which often uses various means, including elbowing each other with fellow party colleagues to seize influence at the central leadership level. Hendarsa has abundant wealth. He is convinced that with his money, he can 'buy' the party, so that to get a serial number as a 'candidate', there is no need to bother to start a career from the bottom as a cadre." (Wibowo, 2022:89)

The above data illustrates how Hendarsa used his wealth as a tool to gain political influence. Instead of following the ideal cadre regeneration process, he chose a shortcut by using money to secure his position as a candidate. Moreover, he comes from a family that is in and has sufficient wealth, explained through quotes *Hendarsa duwe pethingan sugih* 'Hendarsa has abundant wealth', so that the money politics carried out by Hendarsa can lead him to power, without having to show loyalty to the party or build a strong track record in front of constituents. Moreover, coupled with quotes *Hendarsa wis nyinaoni thek kliwere politik negara iki sing racak ngalalake*

maneka cara, klebu sikut-sikutan karo kanca nunggal partai. Hendarsa has studied the intricacies of politics in this country, and they often use various methods, including elbowing each other with fellow party colleagues. This shows that Hendarsa already understands the salt and sour of the political world.

Hendarsa's actions reflect the concept of political oligarchy. Winters (2011), power in this system is determined more by financial power than by individual ability. In line with that, money politics became the primary tool to obtain positions, while maintaining the dominance of elite groups in the government system (Sule, 2022; Ranggong et al., 2023). Hendarsa, who took advantage of his wealth, bought strategic positions in the party and closed opportunities for his competitors to compete equally. Oligarchs operate through economic control integrated with political dependency mechanisms, so parties and government systems prioritize those with significant financial resources.

The Impact of Criminal Hegemony on Society in the Novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo

The novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo describes the practice of crime that previously occurred underground as part of a formal political mechanism through Hendarsa, who entered the political system. This has various impacts, including the normalization of crime in the bureaucracy and the weakening of democracy due to the dominance of money politics. The community sees crime as a threat that has been integrated into the power system. This situation shows how the line between legality and illegality is increasingly blurred, so corruption, intimidation, and abuse of

authority are considered a natural part of social and political life. The impact of this practice can be seen in how people are increasingly losing trust in the law and the political process.

When individuals with criminal backgrounds can rise to power, corrupt practices and abuse of authority become commonplace, while the rule of law is weakened (Johnston, 2005). The society in this novel is portrayed as submissive, both out of fear and because they are used to the dominance of criminal groups. This is in line with what Olsson (2022) said, stating that the political system is controlled by criminal groups, creating dysfunctional governments that make the law more functional to perpetuate power rather than uphold justice. The following discussion will outline criminal hegemony's impact on society in this novel. The impact includes the normalization of violence and the triggering of public resistance to criminal hegemony.

Normalization of Violence

Not only criminal acts committed by specific individuals or groups, but violence is also part of the social system that is accepted and even considered reasonable by society, even though it is carried out forcefully. The novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo shows that violent practices also act as a social control mechanism, subjecting people to fear. This phenomenon forms a cycle of injustice with those in power using violence to maintain their dominance, while victims are often trapped in hopeless situations. (Myers et al., 2018). In addition, this phenomenon is also a reflection of the concept of normalization of violence that legalizes brutal acts that continue to occur. Thus,

violence is considered something ordinary and no longer questionable.

In this novel, the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group often commits systematic violence to affirm their existence. Furthermore, the violence perpetrated by the group has also become an integral part of their strategy to maintain power. The violence they commit is multidimensional, involving physical torture, sexual harassment, and psychological destruction of the victim. The following quote illustrates how cruel this group's actions were towards their victims:

"*Bapak terus dipikut, dipulasara rame-rame. Diantemi. didhupaki, dikepruk watu, digebugi. Uh, wengis banget. Bapak nyoba nglawan, nanging kalah jumlah. Bapak sing gudras getih banjur dierut tangan lan sikile. Rahsana methal aku saka kekepene ibu. Ibu diglandhang metu kamar, diuncalake nganti tiba glangsan ing jogan. Disadhuki, dijambak. Sandhangane disebrat, banjur dirudhapeksa rame-rame.*" (Wibowo, 2022:122–123)

Translation:

"My father was constantly mobbed, beaten, and massed. Beaten, stabbed, stoned, struck. Ah, how cruel. Dad tried to fight back, but lost the number. The father, who was already covered in blood, then tied his hands and feet. I bounced off my mother's arms. Mother was dragged out of the room and thrown until she fell on the floor. He was kicked and robbed. Her clothes were taken away, then raped in turn." (Wibowo, 2022:122–123)

The data above shows the scene of violence committed by the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group against one of the families in Sine Village, which was told by a character named Windarini, as the child of the victim of violence, Rahsana, and her accomplices to Detective Setyawan. Violence experienced by characters *Bapak* and *Ibu*. The quote shows how

the ruling group uses brutal actions to assert dominance. The character *Bapak* is physically tortured, as in the sentence fragment *Bapak terus dipikut, dipulasara rame-rame. Diantemi. didhupaki, dikepruk watu, digebugi* 'My father continued to be mobbed, beaten, mass. Beaten, cornered, stoned, struck, which reflects a form of structural violence against a particular individual.

In addition, the actions experienced by the characters *Ibu* in the quotation *Ibu diglandhang metu kamar, diuncalake nganti tiba glangsan ing jogan. Disadhuki, dijambak. Sandhangane disebrat, banjur dirudhapeksa rame-rame*. 'Mother was dragged out of the room, thrown until she fell on the floor. He was kicked and robbed. Her clothes were snatched away, then raped in turn' as a reflection of gender-based violence, used as an instrument to assert control over women in situations of power conflict. A study by Wood (2018) shows that in many cases of collective violence, sexual harassment is often part of a hegemonic strategy aimed at weakening opposing groups and instilling fear in the community.

Violence in this novel is projected as a way of working the power system, through systematic terror in the form of brutality. Furthermore, these actions formed fear in society. The concept of forming community fear by the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group, in line with the views of Gramsci (1971:124) about the dual perspective in politics, namely "*force and consent*". The acts of violence raised by the group serve to gain approval in the form of legitimacy from the community. People who are bullied by fear will be more submissive to Rahsana and her group, so that they can be easily influenced and controlled.

The Trigger of Community Resistance to Criminal Hegemony

Criminal hegemony that lasts for a long time will create injustice and strengthen the power structure to oppress society. When the law fails to uphold justice, the individual or group that is the victim realizes that they must find alternative ways to fight back. (Moncada, 2020). Thus, resistance to domination often arises from the collective consciousness that the existing system favors the ruling group. At the same time, the general public continues to be in a state of powerlessness.

The violence committed by the Rahsana group against the Windarini family in the *novel LSSK* by Kuku S. Wibowo reflects the criminal hegemony that oppresses society. This violence also triggers a collective consciousness to counter this domination. The collective consciousness that grew in the community became the starting point for the emergence of resistance to the Rahsana group. The fear that once silenced the citizens slowly shifted into organized anger. The following data shows the existence of this phenomenon in this novel:

"Bayangna, Setyawan, Rahsana sing mrajaya bapak ibu-ku kathi wengis kuwi ora diukum, kepara malah keceh bandha-bandhu. Kesumatku sangsaya ngobong dhadha. Aku yakin simbah uga nduweni rasa sing padha karo aku. Nadyan ora dilairake, nanging aku bisa maca yen kanthi sesidheman simbah lagi ngrancang cara kanggo males ukum." (Wibowo, 2022:125)

Translation:

"Imagine, Setyawan, Rahsana, who cruelly persecuted my father and mother, were not punished, but instead were surrounded by wealth. My grudge was burning in my chest. I am sure *Simbah* also has the same feelings as I do. Although it is not revealed, I can read that *Simbah* is secretly devising a way to retaliate against them." (Wibowo, 2022)

The data above shows that the form of injustice that is left unpunished will build the spirit of resistance. As told to Setyawan, through a quote *Kesumatku sangsaya ngobong dhadha. Aku yakin simbah uga nduweni rasa sing padha karo aku* 'My grudge is burning in my chest. I am sure *Simbah* also has the same feelings as I do. Windarini expressed her disapproval of Rahsana's actions, which were directed at her family a few years ago, and her grandfather's disapproval of Rahsana's actions. Windarini and her grandfather realized that Rahsana's power would continue without action and the community would never get justice. According to Gramsci (1971:210), resistance to hegemony can occur when the previously passive masses begin to move and formulate demands that, although not yet systematically structured, can lead to a form of revolution. The opposition forces in this situation are trying to show that the existing conditions are sufficient and possible, and to demand significant changes. Then Scott (1985:336) argues that resistance to hegemony is often preceded by the realization that the existing system benefits only a few. At the same time, most of society has to bear the brunt of its adverse effects.

The view of Windarini and her grandfather in this novel is that the law does not work as it should, so resistance is the only way to oppose injustice. Furthermore, the resistance in this novel is not always frontal, but it is sometimes carried out secretly through covert strategies. This is in line with the concept of *hidden transcript* initiated by Scott (1990:191) about oppressed groups that often build resistance indirectly, before finally taking open action. Windarini and her grandfather in this

novel understand that they cannot act carelessly to carry out their resistance to Rahsana, but must strategize with precision and caution, even over the years, so that Rahsana does not immediately find out.

This novel illustrates that societal resistance can arise in an oppressive hegemonic system as a reaction to the injustice that continues to be allowed. This resistance is driven by personal grudges and the realization that as long as criminal power remains in power, society will remain in fear and helplessness. The novel shows that institutionalized evil will not last forever because individuals or groups will always rise against it.

CONCLUSION

The presentation presented at the beginning, the representation of criminal hegemony in the novel *LSSK* by Kukuh S. Wibowo, carried out by Rahsana/Hendarsa Prabancana through the *Lodan saka Segara Kidul* group, accurately reflects Gramsci's triad: dominance (structured violence), consensus (image and money politics), and intellectual leadership (transformation of criminal identity into politicians). The three are closely related to each other to give birth to new political faces. On the other hand, the interaction of these three elements not only creates a new political face that is ambiguous, on the one hand illegal but on the other hand legitimate, but also reveals the mechanism of adaptation of criminal power in a democratic system. These findings open up opportunities for further research to examine the extent to which similar phenomena occur in the contemporary Indonesian socio-political context and to

develop a prevention model based on deconstructing hegemonic narratives at the community level. The practical implications can be directed at reforming the political nomination system and strengthening the public's critical literacy towards problematic power practices.

REFERENCES

- Ahmadi, A. (2019a). Cak Nun dan Esai Sastrawinya dalam Perspektif Kriminologi. *Bahasa dan Seni: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Seni, dan Pengajarannya*, 47(1), 10–21. <https://doi.org/10.17977/um015v47i12019p010>
- Ahmadi, A. (2019b). *Metode penelitian sastra: Perspektif monodisipliner dan interdisipliner*. Graniti.
- Ahmadi, A. (2022). Study of Criminal Psychology in Indonesian Literature. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*, 9, 1285–1291. <https://doi.org/10.6000/1929-4409.2020.09.147>
- Anggraeni, R., & Wijaya, E. (2019). Pengantar mengenai Hegemoni dan Hukum: Menyoal Kembali Bekerjanya Hukum di Masyarakat. *Jurnal Magister Hukum Udayana (Udayana Master Law Journal)*, 8(4), 494. <https://doi.org/10.24843/JMHU.2019.v08.i04.p05>
- Baraldi, A. L., Immordino, G., & Stimolo, M. (2022). Self-selecting candidates or compelling voters: How organized crime affects political selection. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 71, 102133. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2021.102133>
- Barnes, N. (2017). Criminal Politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence. *Perspectives on Politics*, 15(4), 967–987. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592717002110>
- Birkett, I. (2023). Literature in Politics. *Exchanges: The Interdisciplinary Research Journal*, 10(3), 1–47. <https://doi.org/10.31273/eirj.v10i3.1197>
- Caricati, L., & Sollami, A. (2017). Perceived legitimacy follows in-group interests: Evidence from intermediate-status groups. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 56(1), 197–206. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12174>
- Coates, H. L. (2015). Library and Information Science Research Literature is Chiefly Descriptive and Relies Heavily on Survey and Content Analysis Methods. *Evidence-Based Library and Information Practice*, 10(4),

- 215–217.
<https://doi.org/10.18438/B8TS4N>
- Colvin, S. (2015). Why should criminology care about literary fiction? Literature, life narratives, and telling untellable stories. *Punishment & Society*, 17(2), 211–229. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1462474515577152>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Ellis, S., Hibou, B., & Bayart, J.-F. (1999). *The Criminalization of the State in Africa*. Indiana University Press.
- Faysal, A., & Arifuzzaman, Md. (2022). Financial Crimes: Activities that Amount to Money Laundering Offences. *British Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 89–96. <https://doi.org/10.34104/bjah.022089096>
- Frauley, J. (2010). The Fictional Reality and Criminology: An Ontology of Theory and Exemplary Pedagogical Practice. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 21(3), 437–459. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10345329.2010.12035859>
- Gebeyehu, T. A. (2019). Analysis of Literary Techniques Employed in the Novel *The Revelation: Flashback in Focus*. *Journal of Literature, Languages and Linguistics*. <https://doi.org/10.7176/JLLL/63-01>
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks* (Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith, Eds. & Trans.). International Publishers.
- Gupta, S. (2019). Gramscian Hegemony in Greene's *The Power and the Glory*. *International Journal of Trend in Scientific Research and Development Journal*, 3(4), 1369–1373. <https://www.ijtsrd.com/humanities-and-the-arts/english/25099/gramscian-hegemony-in-greeneu2019s-the-power-and-the-glory/swati-gupta>
- Harish, S. P., & Little, A. T. (2017). The Political Violence Cycle. *American Political Science Review*, 111(2), 237–255. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055416000733>
- Hatfield, J. M. (2022). Intelligence under democracy and authoritarianism: a philosophical analysis. *Intelligence and National Security*, 37(6), 903–919. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2022.2076340>
- Islamiah, W. S., & Darni. (2023). Kejahatan dalam Novel *Lodan saka Segara Kidul Karya Kuku S. Wibowo* (Kajian Sosiologi Sastra). *JOB (Jurnal Online Baradha)*, 19(2), 316–332. <https://ejournal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/baradha/article/view/54942>
- Jaya, G. P., Warsah, I., & Istan, M. (2023). Kiat Penelitian Dengan Model Pendekatan Telaah Kepustakaan. *Tik Ilmieu : Jurnal Ilmu Perpustakaan dan Informasi*, 7(1), 117. <https://doi.org/10.29240/tik.v7i1.6494>
- Johnston, M. (2005). *Syndromes of Corruption: Wealth, Power, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Joseph, J. (2017). The Hegemony of Governmentality: Towards a Research Agenda. *All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.20991/allazimuth.311383>
- Kayman, M. A. (2018). Iconic violence: belief, law and the visual. *Textual Practice*, 32(1), 139–161. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0950236X.2016.1249710>
- Kjaer, A. M. (2025, Januari). *State Capture*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/state-capture>
- Lyons, B. A., Farhart, C. E., Hall, M. P., Kotcher, J., Levendusky, M., Miller, J. M., Nyhan, B., Raimi, K. T., Reifler, J., Saunders, K. L., Skytte, R., & Zhao, X. (2022). Self-Affirmation and Identity-Driven Political Behavior. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 9(2), 225–240. <https://doi.org/10.1017/XPS.2020.46>
- Malešević, S. (2022). Crime, violence, and coercive power. *Journal of Political Power*, 15(1), 157–162. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2158379X.2022.2033097>
- Moncada, E. (2020). The Politics of Criminal Victimization: Pursuing and Resisting Power. *Perspectives on Politics*, 18(3), 706–721. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S153759271900029X>
- Mrugalski, M. (2018). From representation to enactment: temporal perspectives on literary objects in East and Central European structuralism and Ingarden's phenomenology. *Frontiers of Narrative Studies*, 4(s1), s146–s171. <https://doi.org/10.1515/fns-2018-0036>
- Murdantyo, B. (2023). *Kriminalitas dalam novel Lodan Saka Segara Kidul karya Kuku S. Wibowo (Tinjauan sosiologi sastra)*. Universitas Negeri Sebelas Maret.
- Myers, W., Lloyd, K., Turanovic, J. J., & Pratt, T. C. (2018). Revisiting a Criminological Classic: The Cycle of Violence. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 34(3), 266–286. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986218770003>
- Olsson, C. (2022). The criminalization of politics, the politics of criminalization and their paradoxes. *Journal of Political Power*, 15(1), 163–169. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2158379X.2022.2033099>
- Perito, R., & Bayley, D. H. (2010). *The Police in War: Fighting Insurgency, Terrorism, and Violent Crime*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Price, M. (2014). Narratives of Legitimacy. Dalam *Free Expression, Globalism, and the New Strategic Communication* (hlm. 41–61). Cambridge University Press.
- Ranggong, A. M. A., Sahabuddin, Z. A., & Uksan, A. (2023). RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MONEY POLITICS AND CORRUPTION: HOW THEY THREATEN NIRMILITARY DEFENSE. *International Journal of Social Science*, 2(5), 2087–2092. <https://doi.org/10.53625/ijss.v2i5.4816>
- Rose, L. (2022). Hegemonic Masculinity and Ecofeminist Literature. Dalam *The Routledge Handbook of Ecofeminism and Literature* (hlm. 321–330). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003195610-32>
- Sanli, T., & Townshend, T. (2018). Hegemonic power relations in real practices of spatial planning: the case of Turkey. *European Planning Studies*, 26(6), 1242–1268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2018.1448755>
- Sasson, T. (2005). Crime in Literature: Sociology of Deviance and Fiction. *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, 34(4), 415–416. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009430610503400448>
- Sastry, S. T. (2013). Towards the De-Criminalization of Elections and Politics. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2360421>
- Scott, J. C. (1985). *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. Yale University Press.
- Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts*. Yale University Press.
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). The Psychology of Group Dominance: Social Dominance Orientation. Dalam *Social Dominance* (hlm. 61–102). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139175043.003>
- Srishti, S. K. (2023). Culture of Silence among the Daughters in Law of Bisavli Village, Mathura District, Uttar Pradesh a Sociological Study. *International Journal For Multidisciplinary Research*, 5(4). <https://doi.org/10.36948/ijfmr.2023.v05i04.4205>
- Srivastav, A. K., Ghosh, M., & Chandra, P. (2019). Modeling dynamics of the spread of crime in a society. *Stochastic Analysis and Applications*, 37(6), 991–1011. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07362994.2019.1636658>
- Sukmafitriani, A., Nuryatin, A., & Nugroho, Y. E. (2023). Patriarchal Hegemony in the Novel Damar Kambang by Muna Masyari. *International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Translation*, 6(3), 91–96. <https://doi.org/10.32996/ijlt.2023.6.3.10>
- Sule, B. (2022). Effects of Money Politics on Party Primaries in Nigerian 2019 General Election: Reflections on All Progressives Congress (APC) and People's Democratic Party (PDP). *Politicon: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 4(2), 261–293. <https://doi.org/10.15575/politicon.v4i2.18574>
- Travaglino, G. A., & Drury, L. (2020). Towards a New Understanding of Criminal Groups' Secret Power (hlm. 49–54). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-44161-6_6
- Varese, F. (2018). *Mafia life: Love, death and money at the heart of organised crime*. Oxford University Press.
- Wibowo, K. S. (2022). *Lodan saka Segara Kidul*. Warung Buku Sastra Jawa.
- Winters, J. A. (2011). *Oligarchy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, E. J. (2018). Rape as a Practice of War: Toward a Typology of Political Violence. *Politics & Society*, 46(4), 513–537. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329218773710>