

Women Workers Resistance Against Elite Class Hegemony in Indonesia

JURNAL
STUDI PEMERINTAHAN

27

Bevaola Kusumasari

Department of Public Policy and Management, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

Email: bevaola@ugm.ac.id

Suyulatudz Dzihan Bika Syekti Umar

Department of Public Policy and Management, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

Email: suyulatudzihan@gmail.com

Received: December 31st, 2017

Revised: January 17th, 2018

Accepted: February 27th, 2018

To cite this article:
Kusumasari, B., &
Syekti Umar, S. D.
(2018). Women workers
resistance against elite
class hegemony in
Indonesia. *Jurnal Studi
Pemerintahan*, 9(1), 27-
55.

ABSTRACT

This study describes the women porters' resistance movement in Yogyakarta towards the dominance and hegemony of other classes in the social structure of the market environment. This study uses a qualitative method with phenomenological approach and qualitative data analysis. The results showed that the social structure in a market environment puts the women in the lowest social class and becoming the most effective tool in pursuing the hegemony of the dominant actors. As a result, the market does not provide space for women workers to participate in the production process. They cannot play a role in the social change because their position can only be regarded as second class citizens causing the increasing gap between social classes. These conditions encourage the emergence of the women carrier labor activists to reduce disparities through alternative media.

Keyword: hegemony, women labor, social movement

ABSTRAK

Studi ini mendeskripsikan gerakan resistensi perempuan di Yogyakarta terhadap dominasi dan hegemoni kelas-kelas lain dalam struktur sosial lingkungan pasar. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologis dan analisis data kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa struktur sosial dalam lingkungan pasar menempatkan perempuan di kelas sosial terendah dan menjadi alat yang paling efektif dalam mengejar hegemoni aktor dominan. Akibatnya, pasar tidak memberikan ruang bagi pekerja perempuan untuk berpartisipasi dalam proses produksi. Mereka tidak dapat memainkan peran dalam perubahan sosial karena posisi mereka hanya dapat dianggap sebagai warga kelas dua yang menyebabkan peningkatan kesenjangan antara kelas-kelas sosial. Kondisi ini mendorong munculnya aktivis tenaga kerja wanita operator untuk mengurangi kesenjangan melalui media alternatif.

Kata Kunci: hegemoni, buruh wanita, gerakan sosial

INTRODUCTION

Labor remains a major development agenda in Indonesia, yet an irony remains to be observed as the fate of workers are being ignored. Most people remain oblivious to the fact that there is social stratification in the labor structure which has placed women workers at the bottom layer resulting in various forms of injustice, oppression, and neglect toward them. This article analyzes the existence of female porters amidst the domination and hegemony of elite domineering classes in the traditional markets of Yogyakarta. Specifically, the Yogyakarta women porters' efforts in breaking away from the hegemony is studied, which has always consigned them to becoming helpless human beings, after being introduced to awareness activities conducted by women labor activists. This is an important study, bearing in mind that there are numerous studies with discussions concerning laborers but there is still a limited amount of study focused on women porters. For instance, a study on women labour in Indonesia conducted by [Faturachman \(1998\)](#); [Absar \(2003\)](#) which demonstrates how women labor rights in factories were unfulfilled and often violated, in terms of regional minimum wage, outsourcing, piecework/lump sum contract system, health and social security. Furthermore, studies carried out by [Muhtadi \(2014\)](#); [Mulyani \(2014\)](#); [Turatmiyah \(2013\)](#) describe how household women workers often experience legal violations concerning physical or verbal abuse/violence, uncertain working hours, and lack of legal protection. Additionally, a study conducted by [Sugiarti \(2001\)](#) explains how violations of plantation laborers' wage rights and labor protection were the results of the implementation of a work system based on piecework/lump sum contract. Moreover, studies undertaken by [Hambra \(2002\)](#); [Wirahyoso \(2002\)](#) also illustrate women laborers strategy in their struggle by emphasizing the provision of minimum wage.

Based on the above studies on laborers, it can be observed that the relationships transpiring between women workers and

employers, be it factory workers, household workers, plantation workers, or women porters, are the same. Upon deeper examination, other workers, such as factory workers, household workers, and plantation workers have more binding work relations compared to women porters. Nevertheless, women porters remain under similar work relation and they often become objects of exploitation, although they in fact have independent work relation and more unrestricted work space. Hence, this study is of great significance. Topics on domination and hegemony have always been an interesting point of discussion, particularly those relating to patriarchal hegemony and feminism in gender discrimination and exploitation toward women porters. Women workers' have a long-standing struggle against exploitative and oppressive working condition ([Nyman, 1997](#)).

There are numerous social life practices which have positioned Yogyakarta women porters at the lowest level of the labor social structure itself. They are merely regarded as "additional or second layer of wage earners" which impacts on various forms of injustice, as manifested in subordinate position, discrimination, marginalization, stereotype, double-burden, dissemination of negative imagery of women workers, which often become objects of abuse and violence ([Mansour, 1996](#)). The issues above can be seen in a number of circumstances, *firstly*, the meager amount of wage received by women porters. The wage acquired by women porters for carrying one load ranges from IDR 500 up to IDR 1,500 with a weight load ranging between 40-50 kg, and in one day women porters obtain an average wage of IDR 15,000 to IDR 20,000. *Secondly*, women porters are highly vulnerable at becoming objects of exploitation, they are often treated inadequately by owners, traders, and male porters at the work place, such as being insulted, assaulted, sexually abused, and raped.

Nevertheless, women porters in the city of Yogyakarta do not dare to demand the rights they are entitled to. This is due to the lack of avenue for them to convey their opinions and

complaints. Many of them remain unaware of the importance in forming a union or organization as their time and energy have always been entirely consumed to fulfill economic necessities. At the end of the day, this weakens their bargaining position significantly. Such conditions show prevailing violations of human rights and imbalance in use of public facilities which cause women porters, both individually and as a group, to still be incapable of protecting themselves from the various injustices occurring at work. The actors domineering the traditional market ultimately determine the fate of women porters, provides significant implications to the cultural behavior ([Altheide, D. 1984](#)). Human rights acknowledge that all human beings are a civilization, wherein human rights do not condone any violation depriving the rights of others and punishing others as guilty ([Nurkhalis, 2013](#)). The existing discriminatory practices experienced by women porters in Yogyakarta, however, shows that recent paradigm on human rights tends to drive a community into a primitive civilization full of degrading values ([Muhammad Abed, 2009](#)). This means that the human rights possessed by the elite/dominating class are identical to being authoritative which presents themselves as superior subsequently driving them to engineer the existing social class according to their will.

This reality demonstrates a prevailing feministic and patriarchal hegemony which has been sustaining decadent values. Wherein the human rights owned by the elite class is developing within the moderate civilization as they try to maintain the corrupt values which develops according to their will. The continuity of feministic and patriarchal hegemony among women porters is driven by gender ignorance and pseudo awareness which relegate them to becoming an inferior group neglecting their normative rights. Regarding this conspicuous issue faced by women porters in Yogyakarta, efforts in advocating their rights are undoubtedly necessary. This endeavor can be undertaken by women labor activists advocating gender issues, concerning the rights of women porters, specifically their par-

ticipation in labor organizations as an implementation of fair democracy. These women labor activists attempt to develop human rights into civil society which advocates good values over corrupt ones. Civil society does not tolerate corrupt values to dominate freely as it tries to obstruct them through various means ([Nurkhalis, 2013](#)). Therefore, the effort undertaken by women porter activists is by “resisting” against the conditions of women porters through the use of a Gramscian frame which sees alternative media as a hegemonic counter in attempting to influence the cultural and social meanings of a message in the traditional market environment ([Huesca, R. 1995](#)). Based on the experiences of the women porters, this article is divided into three parts: *firstly*, the discussion on the experiences of women porters’ in Yogyakarta to understand the various forms of labor rights violations conducted by the elite class in the traditional market; *secondly*, discussion drawing attention to the need of alternative media founded on the activities of women porter activists as an attempt in eliminating issues of dominance and hegemony; and *thirdly*, discussion concerning women porters’ movement in resisting against the elite class hegemony in the Yogyakarta traditional markets.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Hegemony

The concept of hegemony has gained the attention of many researchers since the beginning of the 1970s. The word “hegemony” originates from the Greek *egemonia* which means “leadership” ([Loh, 2003](#)). Two school of thoughts emerged concerning hegemony based on this simple definition, namely realist and historical materialist. The realist school tends to see hegemony as a “preponderance of material resources.”

As for the historical materialist school, it tends to view hegemony as ideological, normative, theoretical, value-based, and social strengths which also play important roles

for individuals, groups, or states striving to obtain and exercise its hegemony ([Huesca, R. 1995](#)). Hegemony is the acquisition of power through a 'consensus' over another social class or pseudo awareness ([Hendarto, 1993](#)). This idea can be found in the concept of Antonio Gramsci who saw supremacy of a group in two ways, namely 'domination' and 'moral and intellectual leadership'. Regarding the former, a social group dominates opposing groups to 'destroy' or subdue them, even possibly through the use of armed forces. Then, concerning the later, a group leads their allies and relative groups, wherein the social group would then become dominant once it has wielded power, exercised that power, and continues to 'lead' ([Andi Arief, 1999](#)).

There are several substantial main ideas concerning the concept of hegemony, namely (1) the dominating group succeeds in influencing the dominated group to accept cultural, political, and moral values of the dominant group; (2) hegemony is accepted as something natural and ordinary so that the ideology of the dominant group can spread and be applied; (3) these hegemonic ideology and values are advocated and maintained by the dominant group in such a way so that the dominated group remains silent and obedient to the leadership of the dominating group ([Bocock, 2007:26-34](#)). Based on the main ideas above, the attempt of naturalizing a form of authority or power can be observed ([Sumartini, et al. 2013](#)). According to Gramsci, hegemony is not the relation of domination through the use of power, it is the relation of agreement by using ideology and political leadership, wherein to maintain power, the domination acquired through physical coercion is supported by control obtained through subtle means. When those dominated submit to the control of the ruler and agree to their own subordination, that is hegemony at work. Therefore, the hegemonized social group possesses concepts of the self, movement, and action within the created domain of their ruler's

ideology. This condition subsequently places the dominant ideology in a position of status quo.

Nevertheless, the status quo has the potential to be overthrown by other ideologies of the minorities through the conduction of a counter-hegemony. The ruler's hegemony cannot apply when political activism by the masses that were previously passive become active. As observed during the downfall of Suharto's political power in May 1998, such events are called crisis of hegemony by Gramsci, wherein the occurring hegemony crisis in fact opens up opportunities for local leaders to rise up toward a new hegemony ([Raditya, Michael HB. 2015](#)).

An actual requirement of counter-hegemony taking place is real movement of activists, organizers, and persuaders in which actions are grounded upon experiences of subordination and resistance ([Setiawan, 2015](#)). Thereby the social control which needs to be conducted by a group is through an internal influence process by determining self-confidence to replicating developing norms ([Maran & Effendy, 2006](#)). Additionally, this can also be conducted by social institutions which determine both directly and indirectly the affective and cognitive structures, wherein this method can drive the social group to assess and observe social problems within the pre-determined framework ([Sudibyo. 1998](#)). It is in this regard that the role of organic intellectuals becomes of utmost importance. Organic intellectuals are those who are capable of feeling the emotions and spirit of the proletariat, favoring the proletariat and expressing the experiences and objective tendencies of the proletariat ([Riza A.V and Affandi, 2015](#)). Thus, organic intellectuals are those who possess the capacity to implant new awareness revealing the failure of the old system and are capable of organizing the proletariat ([Simon, 2004](#)). Gramsci's view attempts to integrate intellectuality, hegemony, and philosophical understanding of the social po-

litical world which maps out, criticizes, breaks down, and revolutionize power/authority.

2. Power Domination

Domination is a form of power relations in which the ruler is aware of her/his rights to rule, while the ruled is aware of her/his rights to obey the commands of the ruler ([Moelyarto, 1987](#)). A similar definition was also described by Weber wherein the concept of domination only refers to cases of power when a given person obeys a certain specific command ordered by another person ([Weber, 1997](#)). As for the definition of power, the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* states that power refers to relations between social units such as the behavior of one or more units which under certain conditions depend on the behavior of other units ([Martin, 1990](#)). Additionally, Galtung also considers power as the capability an individual or group of individuals have in limiting the desires of other groups, and in preventing those groups from dominating their desires ([Windhu, 1992](#)). Therefore, it can be stated that every type of social relations reaches a certain level and under specific circumstances becomes a power relation. Based on the definitions above, power domination bears influence on the influencing party. Power domination originating from individuals and groups will give way to various possibilities, such as the behavior of an individual may dominate the behavior of a group, the behavior of a group may dominate the behavior of an individual, and the behavior of a group may dominate the behavior of another group ([Soekanto, Soerjono and Brotosusilo, 1997](#)).

3. Social Movement

[Anthony Giddens \(1993: 642\)](#) defines social movement as a collective effort in striving for a common interest or accomplishing a common goal through collective actions outside the scope of established institutions. Meanwhile,

[Robert Misel \(2004: 6-7\)](#) defines social movement as a set of convictions and actions that are not institutionalized, that are undertaken by a group of people to propose or advocate change in the society ([Misel, 2004](#)). A similar definition is also formulated by Van Klinken in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movement* (2007:11), social movement is “...collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are part...”

Based on the above definitions, [Sidney Tarrow \(1998:4-7\)](#) put forward four basic characteristics pertaining to the concept of social movement ([Suharko, 2006](#)), namely:

- a. Collective challenge. This is caused by the reality that social movement usually lacks stable resource.
- b. Common purpose. This is meant to arrange common claims against opponents, authorities or elites.
- c. Solidarity and collective identity which is usually derived from nationalism, ethnicity or religious beliefs.
- d. Sustaining political opposition. Political opposition is sustained when an oppressed group merges into a more dominant group then jointly amasses power to oppose the elites, authorities, and others. The basis of political opposition itself is the existence of an oppositional collective action.

In addition to the above, there are four other aspects of social movement, they are:

- a. Presence of broad ideas.
Broad ideas in a social movement usually comes from the hope of establishing a better social structure which often elaborates locally based ideas within.
- b. Setting up public action.
Setting up public action is the capacity to broaden a

national setting from the emerging idea into a form of public action. A social action occurring at a certain location can also inspire similar action in other locations which is then adapted accordingly to its needs, conditions and social settings where the action will be conducted.

- c. Organization of facilities.
- d. Use of symbol.

The symbol being used must have a local significance if the set up of the organization is also local in nature. Social movement can be very creative when supported by a symbol which although it has local significance, bears a general transnational meaning as well.

The currently developing social movement is very different to the social movements in the pre-1965 era ([Aprianto, 2008](#)). In pre-1965, social movements in Indonesia were related to the presence of political parties. Meanwhile, the social movements developing today are an antithesis to the presence of political parties which have been emasculated by the political system. In other words, the advent of new social movements in Indonesia cannot be dissociated from the presence of nongovernment organizations as a critical actor in development at the local, national, and international levels. Social movement is in itself divided into two, namely new social movement and old social movement ([Riza A.V and Affandi, 2015](#)). Old social movement focuses on economic interests in which generally its members are recruited from one particular social class. This is demonstrated in the labor movements of European (Western) countries and the US upon entering the industrial era in the 19th century and early 20th century.

As for new social movement, it focuses on cultural issues of individual autonomy and new risks that are intangible, such as issues pertaining to anti racism, anti nuclear,

weapon disarmament, feminism, the environment, civil liberty, and issues of peace ([Singh, 2007:122](#)). This movement is a reaction to bureaucratic, technological, economic, and political attacks in all aspects of human life. The members of the new social movement are not only recruited from a certain social class but it covers traditional class distribution. The new social movement perspective emerged as an alternative of old social movement which is based on the traditional Marxist view constantly emphasizing the issue of class struggle being dichotomized into the bourgeois and the proletariat ([Pichardo, 1997:411](#)). With reference to [Pichardo and Singh \(2001\)](#), the characteristics of new social movement are as follows:

a. Ideology and Goal

New social movement emerged as a struggle across the classes which raises the issue of community and society “self defense” in opposing the increasing expansion of market and state apparatus. Its most blatant expression is the advent of agents advocating social control and monitoring, marginalized urban groups, environmental activists, anti authoritarianism groups, anti racism groups, and feminists.

b. Tactic and Organization

New social movement employs tactics which disrupts and mobilizes public opinions to obtain political bargaining power. New social movement activists tend to utilize well-planned and extremely dramatic forms of demonstration. New social movement prefers grass-roots political model, initiating micro activities in small groups, and targeting local issues with a limited institutional basis.

c. Structure

New social movement strives to establish a structure which reflects a form of representative government which they desire. They create a structure more respon-

sive toward individual needs, a structure which is open, decentralized, and non-hierarchical.

d. Participant or Actor

Participants or actors in new social movement come from various social bases crisscrossing different social categories, such as gender, education, occupation, and class. One of the faces or features of new social movement can be observed in the Indonesian women labor movement which is a part of the global labor movement which has been developing since the end of the 1990s until today. Three important reasons laborers have the potential as agents of change compared to other civil society actors are *firstly*, laborers have more capacity in mobilizing their masses to engage in political movement. *Secondly*, labor movement can bring about widespread economic impact to a company or macro economy of a state by stopping production. *Thirdly*, labor movement can trigger new social political issues, it can even force regime change or political structure reform ([Syarif, et al. 2012](#)).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employed the qualitative method with phenomenological approach to obtain deep understanding regarding the situation and meaning of the subject matter under study, and to understand the meanings of events and their connections to the people present in certain conditions ([Jailani, 2013](#)). This is meant to understand the reality of women porters' lives in Yogyakarta and to understand the various forms of labor rights violations conducted by the elite class hegemony occurring in the traditional market environment, also to raise the need for an alternative media founded on the activities of women porter activists as an attempt in eliminating the problems of domination as well as encouraging women porters' movement to resist against the hegemony of elite class in Yogyakarta's traditional

market. Thereby, a qualitative conclusion can be obtained from the entire data and information by comparing the collected data and information with prevailing theories. The techniques used in gathering data are in-depth interviews and literature review. Interviews were conducted with Mrs. Amin as chairperson of the Annisa Swasti Foundation (*Yayasan Annisa Swasti – Yasanti*), Mrs. Martini as staff of Yasanti at Beringharjo and Gamping traditional markets, Mrs Umi Asih as staff of Yasanti at Giwangan and Kranggan traditional markets, Mrs Rubiyah as chairperson of Yogyakarta Special Region Sayuk Rukun Community (*Paguyuban Sayuk Rukun DIY*), Mrs. Suyatni as chairperson of Beringharjo traditional market Sayuk Rukun Community, Mrs Endah as chairperson of Gamping traditional market Sayuk Rukun Community, Mrs. Sumar as chairperson of Giwangan traditional market Sayuk Rukun Community, and Mrs. Jamirah as chairperson of Kranggan traditional market Sayuk Rukun Community.

Interviews of women porters were also conducted from May 16 to June 13 of 2016. These interviews were done in the traditional market areas where women porters commonly congregate waiting for customers, namely in Beringharjo, Giwangan, Gamping, and Kranggan traditional markets. The questions given to the women porters were only questions relating to the research focus, which are the reason for choosing to work as a porter, the problems encountered at work, the efforts undertaken by women labor activists, the reason for forming a community, and the benefits obtained after the formation of said community. Subsequently, interviews of informants, namely Mrs. Amin, Mrs. Umi Asih and Mrs. Martini were done on the 10th and 15th of May, 2016 at the Yasanti office which is located in Jalan Puntodewo DK VII No. 1 Jomogatan RT. 11, Ngestiharjo, Kasihan, Bantul, Yogyakarta Special Region. The list of questions given to the informants were limited to those connected to the porter community and preventive measures of women porters. The research was conducted for a one-month period from May

until June of 2016, numerous data relating to the focus of research were collected. These data were then analyzed for validity using triangulation method which was done by comparing the acquired data with literary reviews and data obtained from Yasanti and women porters so that the data obtained from the field are truly objective.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Elite Class Hegemony and Domination

Very strong market domination by few individuals have created unequal market conditions, which subsequently threatens the equality in the traditional market units. In the traditional markets of Yogyakarta such as Bringharjo, Giwangan, Gamping, and Kranggan, the strong domination of the elite class, such as owners, buyers, traders, and male porters, have led to the disregard of women porters' rights as laborers and women. This matter concerns the issue of democracy, particularly the control in the implementation of power and the participation of women porters in the political process within the traditional market environment. Regarding the case of women porters in Yogyakarta, the reality of domination and hegemony by the elite class cannot be separated from two aspects, economy and politics. The economic aspect pertains to the influence of Yogyakarta women porters' dependence on the elite class who controls the operation of the traditional market's economy. The elite class in the traditional market employs market capitalism with its ideology of free market, wherein they strive to reduce as much obstacles as possible to achieve their endeavors. As owners of capital, their behavior which emphasizes on avoiding loss has in fact violated the rights of women porters, particularly in the provision of inadequate wages. As one of the traditional market units, women porters in Yogyakarta, regardless of their desire, must adhere to what has become the economic policy line of the elite class.

TABLE 1 COMPARISON OF FEMALE AND MALE PORTERS INCOME FOR ONE LOAD TO CARRY (50 KG) IN YOGYAKARTA PRIOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION.

No.	Market Location	Female Porters	Male Porters
1.	Beringharjo	IDR 50 - IDR 500	IDR 1.000
2.	Giwangan	IDR 1.000 - IDR 2.000	IDR 3.000
3.	Gamping	IDR 200	IDR 1.000
4	Kranggan	IDR 2.000	IDR 3.000

Source: Results of interviews with women porters in Yogyakarta, 2016

As shown in Table 4.1 the wages of male porters tend to be larger than female porters' wages. In average, the percentage of wage difference between male and female porters is approximately 30-60%. However, upon closer examination, there is a most significant difference in the wages of porters in Gamping market. This is due to the fact that women porters in Gamping traditional market does not work independently but they are dependent on employers who have initially set the wage standard of their employees. The employer still firmly upholds patriarchic principles that consider women as an object who can easily be exploited. Thus, it is obvious that there is a male-female dichotomy deliberately created by the elite class. Many male porters do not want to be considered the same as women porters, as they often regard women porters as weak hence deserving to be belittled. The meager amount of wages given to women porters in Yogyakarta still entails the problem of them not receiving their pay immediately, as employers, traders and buyers often pretend to forget paying.

In the context of global labor many women workers are oriented toward occupations that are feminine in character, thus is also the case for women porters in Yogyakarta. Patriarchic values have more or less made women to develop into obedient and submissive human beings ([Suna-rijati, 2007](#)). This is why, although they received discriminative wages, women porters do not have the courage to protest and demand their rights which have been violated. Such conditions have led the way for the flow of traditional

market economy to be oriented toward the benefit of the elite class, wherein such orientation portrays a market capitalism model. The second aspect of domination and hegemony conducted by the elite class pertains to the political aspect which is also related to the control over resources (economy). In the effort of maintaining stability regarding their dominance and hegemony, the elite class of Yogyakarta traditional markets try to create a condition in which women porters remain underdeveloped. Women porters are prohibited to participate in organizations which impacts on their losing critical competence in assessing the current social reality which is far from ideal. Based on Law No. 13 year 2003 on Manpower, what the elite actors done have violated the normative rights of women porters, namely:

First, violation concerning equal opportunity and treatment. This is observed in which women porters are merely regarded as a complementary element in the family so they do not warrant equal treatment. Women porters do not realize they have equal and balanced position in the face of their employers, traders, and buyers so they only utilize their strength and energy as a means to acquire wages. The mindset of women porters is only affixed to mechanical processes without the possibility of further enhancing its human potentialities.

Secondly, violation concerning intangible security with the lack of insurance for health and accidents at the work place. If an accident were to happen at work, such as falling from a slip which consequently requires them to seek medical attention, the cost expensed for medicine will no doubt be taken from the wages they acquired. The employers, traders, or buyers seem to be uninterested and uncaring concerning the health insurance and work safety of women porters. Additionally, although a clinic is available in the market, women porters are still required to pay without any waivers when accessing the health facility there.

The inability of women porters in fighting against the system, which has been violating their rights as workers and human beings, is in fact turning women porters themselves into a portrait of a social class of oppressed community with bad morality. Their mindset is trapped within an artificial life of submission which considers that the currently accepted conditions and position is something normal and natural. Women porters are not automatically capable of conveying their aspirations which increasingly weakens them and leaves them more powerless. This is the reason which subsequently leads them to consider that they seem to only have opportunities in jobs that are low-paying and vulnerable to discriminatory actions as well as abuse, both physically and verbally.

Looking back, the domination and hegemony experienced by women porters in Yogyakarta is closely related to the New Order era, wherein during that period laborers were conditioned to be in one relationship of ‘exclusionary state corporatism’ which impeded freedom of labor union through various ministerial regulations ([Habibi, 2013](#)). Indonesia’s post-Suharto regionalism is a response to the nation’s former centralist governance, and to real or perceived socio-economic disadvantage ([Morell, 2010](#)). The state’s security institution (military) also had strong legitimacy to take part and take repressive actions toward workers who opposed the state. Although it was meant to maintain the state’s economic, political, and security stability, exclusionary state corporatism in reality disadvantaged the workers, in terms of welfare and limitation of labor movement ([Habibi, 2013](#)). Thus, it is obvious that the free market ideology with its market capitalism has been declared by [Kaufman \(1997\)](#) as a failure in boosting the welfare of women porters in Yogyakarta.

The domination and hegemony exercised by the elite class demonstrate the tremendous burden of work risks

women porters in Yogyakarta undergo without having any protection at work. Furthermore, women porters in Yogyakarta tend to have limited amount of experience and low level of education. This ultimately cause stratifications to emerge within the laborers' structure itself. Women porters in Yogyakarta are not only positioned at the lowest level of social structure in the traditional market environment where they work, but at the lowest of the laborers' structure as well. This is based on the perspective that employers, traders, buyers, and male porters are at higher social hierarchies compared to the hierarchy of women porters. Thus, the dominating classes feel they have the supra-structural power to continue trampling and oppressing the rights of women porters. The dissemination of positional imagery regarding the social structure of classes in the traditional market environment has unconsciously led women porters to assume that their currently prevailing conditions and position are normal and natural. This ultimately induced women porters to becoming immune to changes which destroy their mentality with fear and anxiety of being even more marginalized in the prevailing system.

2. Women Porters Network and Media Formation

The domination and hegemony maintained by the elite class have degraded the democratic worth of women porters in Yogyakarta. Women porters have lost their control in relation to the owners/employers, traders, buyers, and male porters ([Johnson, 2001:522](#)), wherein perpetual dominance of the strong over the weak emerged and is occurring. Thus, an alternative media participating in developing discourses in the public sphere is necessary, wherein the said media will provide more assistance to groups that are the real majority but are marginalized. Here lies the role of organic intellectuals to observe and form ideology, as well as being capable of operating linearly and capable of con-

ducting and following changes that contribute to the rise of movement in the workforce ([Lahoti & Swaminathan, 2015](#)). The main concept of organic intellectual is emphasized on the capacity to participate actively and practically, as a developer and organizer. Women labor activists who are gathered in a nongovernment organization called Yasanti¹ retain all of the important components necessary in fighting against the domination and hegemony of the elite class in the traditional market. Yasanti's active participation is shown consistently in their struggle against the oppression of women porters whose rights have been violated by employers, traders, buyers, and male porters.

Yasanti as a network for women porters in Yogyakarta not only focuses on conducting advocacy or claims, but it also provides several insights relating to gender awareness, labor movement, health and work safety, organization, and general law on labor. This is meant to enable women porters in developing synergies in their attitude of stating their resistance against the oppressions of various elite class interests². The efforts they have been engaging in are formation of Islamic study group, labor organization, and conducting leadership school/training.

Women porters' Islamic study activities are conducted every Sunday *Pon* (Javanese calendar day cycle) from 7 am

- 1 The Annisa Swasti Foundation (Yayasan Annisa Swasti or Yasanti) is a nongovernment organization active in the field of social works, specifically in the development of women's roles. Yayasan Annisa Swasti (Yasanti) was founded on September 28, 1982 by eight women student activists from various higher education institutions in Yogyakarta, namely Dra. Liliek Haryati, Sri Kusyuniati, Iin Insiyah Faqieh, Budi Wahyuni, Siti Muslimah Widyastuti, Siti Noordjannah Djohantini, Kumara Dewi, and Susilowati. Yasanti is listed as a Legal Entity with the act of notary from Umar Syambudi, SH. Number: 52 / 28 September 1982 and is registered in the Yogyakarta District Court on Monday, November 25, 1982 with registration number: 183 / 82 / 4 with a scope of work area in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Region.
- 2 Yasanti's vision is to achieve social life that is democratic, free from gender inequality, bearing opportunities and capabilities in the political, economic, social, and cultural fields. Based on that vision, the mission of Yasanti is as follows: 1. Encourage efforts in achieving a democratic and independent labor organization; 2. Foster critical awareness of the labor community particularly women workers through organization, education, and advocacy.

to 8 am Western Indonesian Time. Issues on labor rights awareness such as reproductive health, gender and religion, health in Islam, organization in Islam, daily religious conduct in Islam, Islamic morality, faith, commercial and civil transactions, dressing according to Islamic stipulations and many others (Mrs. Martini, Yasanti Staff). It is known that all religions teach the conviction that in order to change the condition of a people, they must change the condition that is within themselves ([Suwignyo, 2012](#)). Unfortunately, many women porters misinterpret the unjust system and the various forms of behaviors which undermines them as fate and an opportunity to compete in patience. By upholding these values, Yasanti strives to foster strong spirit and zeal in women porters so they develop the courage to fight against various forms of injustices which they have been enduring and to establish the conviction that righteousness must prevail against evil.

The organization of women porters in Yogyakarta was conducted in several stages. the formation of the Beringharjo Market Sayuk Rukun Community in 2001, the formation of the Giwangan Market Sayuk Rukun Community (2008), the formation of the Gamping Market Sayuk Rukun Community in 2010, the formation of the Kranggan Market Sayuk Rukun Community in 2011, and the formation of the Yogyakarta Special Region Women Porters Sayuk Rukun Community in 2015. These organizations have played similar roles as the type of NGO roles in social protection which is helping women labour in addressing social problems ([Kim, 2014](#); [Eldridge, 2008](#)). Yasanti realizes that the accumulation of organized ideological masses is the best resistance against the domination and hegemony of the elite class. Regarding the women porters' organizations, Yasanti attempts to develop the workers' critical reasoning on various social realities which have been far from ideal, and stimulates their courage to speak up and convey

their opinions. Hence, network communications among women porters will emerge and create a collective intent which is subsequently capable of competing with the authoritarian power and monitor policies pertaining to the welfare of women porters themselves.

Yasanti's final effort is the establishment of a school of leadership. The materials given in this school ensure to promote gender, human rights and women's rights, sustainable woman porter feminist leadership, labor in the context of labor movement, health and safety at work for women porters, policy advocacy, women porters as paralegals, communication and campaign, and organizational management (Yasanti documentation). This school of leadership is an effective forum to stimulate women porters' participation because of its function which enables women porters to develop skills, evaluation, collective work, leadership formation, and open service center. Yasanti realizes that only through critical education can the fate of women porters be changed. Therefore, it is observed that the role Yasanti assumes in raising awareness of women porters regarding the domination and hegemony of the elite class emphasizes various aspects. *First*, the intellectual aspect, wherein Yasanti with a basic knowledge provides education to enhance the understanding of laborers in interpreting the social reality she experiences. *Second*, the assistance aspect which is an effort to foster critical awareness of women porters in responding to the rights violations conducted by the employers, traders, buyers, and male porters. This assistance is carried out in an attempt to implant understanding concerning social and political constellations which map out, criticize, and disassemble power (Haq, 2015). Additionally, the awareness raising effort conducted by Yasanti was also observed to be aimed at changing the mindset which has always constrained women porters in Yogyakarta to becoming helpless human beings. It is an important foundation

which must be changed as it is that very pattern of thinking which has caused the low level of women porters' potential to free themselves from the problems they are facing. They, therefore, remain unaware of the capacity they possess in analyzing situations and identifying effective and realistic strategies for a better life (Mrs. Martini, Yasanti staff). Hence, the efforts employed strive to raise women porters' awareness concerning their rights and the values inherent within their selves, both as laborers and as women so that ultimately, women porters can enhance their life quality for the better.

3. Women Porters' Movement against Domination and Hegemony

Studies on working-class movement is often neglected ([Parfitt, 2016](#)). However, referring to the characteristics of new social movement proposed by [Pichardo \(1997\)](#) and [Singh \(2001\)](#), the resistance movement of women porters against the elite class in Yogyakarta's traditional markets is a manifestation of women labor activists' efforts in protecting women porters from violations that have been conducted by employers, traders, buyers, and male porters. The manifestation of women porters collective action in Yogyakarta is the formation of an organization called the Women Porters' Sayuk Rukun Community. The Sayuk Rukun Community of Women Porters is an organized labor social movement which was established on the basis of political and economic conditions which have an impact on the oppression of women porters. This community is a manifestation of the aspirations of women porters and as a media for their struggle in fighting the domination and hegemony of the elite class in Yogyakarta's traditional markets.

Through the organization above, women porters in Yogyakarta affirm that political struggle is not only the purview of more dominant classes in the social structure at the work

place. Yet, it is even more than that, as the women porters are aware of the fact that they have the capacity to determine their own destiny. This means they possess political awareness that in order to garner strength and power, they have to assemble and organize themselves so they are able to rid of all doubt, fear, insecurities, and lack of confidence in themselves to convey their opinions and demand their labor rights which has been robbed by the government, traditional market authority, employers, traders, buyers, or male porters. In undertaking actions, the community of women porters are not alone as they are within a broader united strength that is the coalition in which [Pattenden \(2016\)](#) called it as associational power. This association power has emerged as a coalition to undertake acts of resistance is the Annisa Swasti Foundation. The several forms of actions carried out are *firstly*, the emergence of women porters' courage in negotiating with customers in demanding the wages they should be given. *Secondly*, the emergence of women porters' courage in speaking up and conveying their opinions in front of public as observed in the many hearing sessions and advocacy activities conducted with the government, negotiation activities with employers and buyers, and compromise activities within the household of women porters themselves. *Thirdly*, the emergence of women porters' courage in negotiating with perpetrators of abuse as a form of resistance against the act of discrimination and abuse they have always accepted.

The emergence of women porters' resistance movement in Yogyakarta subsequently has a significant impact on their lives. This can be seen in the following number of things:

TABLE 2 COMPARISON OF FEMALE AND MALE PORTERS INCOME FOR ONE LOAD TO CARRY (50 KG) IN YOGYAKARTA AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION.

No.	Market Location	Female Porters	Male Porters
1.	Beringharjo	IDR 2.000 - IDR 2.500	IDR 2.000 - IDR 2.500
2.	Giwangan	IDR 2.500 - IDR 3.000	IDR 2.500 - IDR 3.000
3.	Gamping	IDR 2.500 - IDR 3.000	IDR 2.500 - IDR 3.000
4.	Kranggan	IDR 4.000 - IDR 5.000	IDR 4.000 - IDR 5.000

Source: Results of interviews with women porters in Yogyakarta, 2016

Based on Table 6.1 it is observed that the dichotomy between male and female porters no longer exists. The patriarchic values which had been adhered to by women porters in Yogyakarta have shifted to gender equality values which consequently bring about awareness of a mutual relationship model. The shift in these values has led to the firm attitude of women porters in Yogyakarta as seen in their agreement to not carry any load when the given wage is considered to be inadequate, which is different to the wages given to male porters and the weight of the load that should be carried feels too heavy (Mrs. Jm, 40 years old). Therefore, it can be concluded that after the formation of the community organization, the wages given to female porters are the same as male porters. The resistance method which was conducted through diplomacy in the form of hearing sessions and advocacy has in fact restored the rights of women porters concerning the provision of resting space, use of market facilities, recognition as laborer and market resident, and involvement in various planning activities related to advancement of the traditional market. Women porters in Yogyakarta realized that their position is equal in the face of the market authority, employers, traders, and buyers, wherein without the presence of one of these market units, the economy of the traditional market will cease to operate.

Additionally, the resistance movement conducted by the women porters has brought about collective identity within the laborers themselves. This means solidarity

has grown among women porters due to their similar fate and mutual feeling of being abused when a colleague of the same profession is being treated unfairly. Based on this fact, it is observed that women porters' group has become a group of hegemonic class, wherein the awareness which had emerged within themselves is that "*laborers are a significant factor and they are capable of determining their own destiny*" thus they are entitled to be "*free from low class stigma and hierarchy*" ([Suwignyo, 2008:173](#)). The process of raising awareness undertaken by women labor activists not only made women porters in Yogyakarta aware that they are able to fight against domination and hegemony of the elite class in the traditional market environment where they work, but even more than that, they are also capable of organizing themselves and conveying their opinion so they can change their quality of life to become better and more ideal. Thus, it is observed that the resistance movement conducted by women porters attempted to establish a structure which reflects the form of representative government they desire. They have created a structure that is more responsive to individual needs, an open structure which is decentralized and non-hierarchical. Throughout their every resistance, women porters emphasized to the dominant classes that they are also included as one of the market units contributing to the success of the traditional market's economy so issues regarding their welfare must be a point of concern.

CONCLUSION

The resistance movement of women porters in Yogyakarta emerged due to the presence of a policy or violation conducted by the elite class which disadvantaged and unfavorable for laborers' interest. The domination and hegemony undertaken by the elite class originated from the violation of women porters' normative rights, such as wages rights, equal rights, protection rights, and union rights. Hence, women porters did not have

full access to reproductive and productive rights because they experienced isolation due to the practice of structural violence that is influenced by the patriarchic and capitalistic system developing in the traditional market environment. Concerning the agenda of these issues, Yasanti assumes a role in igniting women porters' sensitivity to assess the unideal social reality they have been undergoing. Yasanti has always been consistent in advocating for the welfare of women porters through various means, such as discussions, religious groups, advocacy or claims, developing insights regarding gender awareness, labor movement, work safety and health, organization, and labor law in general. These activities are conducted with the intent of influencing the perspective of women porters who remain shackled by artificial awareness that is the patriarchic system oppressing their position as women and workers. Domination and hegemony conducted in a certain field will experience various forms of resistance that often emerge in alternative forms. The women porters' organizations in Yogyakarta initially began as a tremendous change in the women porters' movement itself, wherein women porters started to become more reactive in the fight for defending their rights although the accomplished results have not provided significant change to women porters as a whole. These kinds of resistance, however, need to be continued, so women porters become capable of conducting changes in the political, economic, and social systems that are more favorable to them.

In line with the development of a community, a socio-cultural differentiation process is bound to happen within the community itself, as is the case with women porters. Under the said conditions, it is not easy to maintain supports from both internal and external parties of women porters themselves in the resistance against the domination and hegemony of the dominant class in the traditional market environment and sustain their existence. In response to the various issues relating to the matters above, there are a number of suggestions proposed in the

following passages firstly, women porters are expected to put in more efforts in maintaining and enhancing solidarity and closeness among themselves. This is meant to secure closer social relations and to avoid conflict which may cause discord in the women porters' community organization to occur. Additionally, women porters are also expected to be community organizers, to open up other opportunities and ventures to improve their economic welfare. Secondly, the government and the traditional market management should raise more concern toward discriminated women groups especially women porters in Yogyakarta's traditional markets, in terms of their regional minimum wage, protection, welfare, and healthcare services which can be improved. This is so that the conditions and position of women porters as residents of the traditional markets be taken care of and they be given adequate assistance. Thirdly, independent institutions should promote women porters' empowerment activities to the general public more. This is in order to provide the public with information regarding women porters so that issues which have yet to be resolved can be provided with a solution and it can increase human resource as well. Additionally, independent institutions need to conduct evaluations after conducting empowerment activities so that the following activities can run more effectively and smoothly. Lastly, the public need to appreciate the work of women porters in terms of adequate wages provision for the work risks they must face by not insisting on carrying loads that are too heavy. In addition, the active role of the public is also needed in collaborative activities and also the donation of energy or funding to support programs concerning the empowerment of women porters.

REFERENCES

- Absar & Sharmin, Syeda. (2003). Health hazards and labour laws in Bangladesh: a narrative-based study on women garment workers. [*Asian Journal of Social Science*, 31, 452.](#)
- Al-Jabiri, & Abed Muhammad,. (2009). *Democracy, Human Rights and Law in Islamic Thought*. London: I.B. [*Tauris Publishers In Association With The Centre for Arab Unity Studies.*](#)

- Altheide, D. (1984). Media Hegemony: A Failure of Perspective. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 48(2), 476-490.
- Aprianto & Chandra, Tri. (2008). Wajah Prakarsa Partisipatif: Dinamika Gagasan reforma Agraria dan Gerakan Sosial di Indonesia Pasca 1998. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 12(1), 25-39.
- Arifin & Syarif, et al. (2012). *Memetakan Gerakan Buruh: Antologi Tulisan Perburuhan Mengenang Fauzi Abdullah*. Depok: Kepik.
- Birowo & Antonius, Mario. (2004). Melawan Hegemoni Media dengan Strategi Komuni- kasi Berpusat pada Masyarakat. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 1(1), 37-72.
- Eldridge, Philip. (2008). Development, Democracy and Non-Government Organizations in Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 4(1), 17-35.
- Fakih, Mansour. (1996). *Analisis Gender dan Transformasi Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Faturochman. (1998). Deprivasi Relatif: Rasa Keadilan dan Kondisi Psikologis Buruh Pabrik. *Jurnal Psikologi*, 2, 1-15.
- Habibi, Muhtar. (2013). Gerakan Buruh Pasca Soeharto: Politik Jalanan di tengah Himpitan Pasar Kerja Fleksibel. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 16(3), 200-216.
- Hambra, Makinnuddin Al. (2002). Polarisasi (Gerakan) Buruh: Momentum Negara untuk Menekan Upah. *Jurnal Analisis Sosial*, 7(1), 37-50.
- Haryanto, Siti Mauliana Hairini and Abu Bakar. (2013). PKBI: Aktor Intermediary dan Gerakan Sosial Baru. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 16(3), 187-199.
- Hatmoko, Mahadi Dwi and Sumartini, et al. (2013). Hegemoni Moral Nyai Kartareja terhadap Srintil dalam Novel Jantera Bianglala Karya Ahmad Tohari: Kajian Hegemoni Gramsci. *Jurnal Sastra Indonesia Unnes*, 2(1), 1-10.
- Hendarto, Heru. (1993). *Mengenal Konsep Hegemoni Gramsch. Diskursus Kekuasaan dan Kemanusiaan*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka.
- Huesca, R. (1995). Subject-Authored Theories of Media Practice: The case of Bolivian tin miners radio. *Communication Studies* 46(3-4), 149-168.
- Jailani, M. Syahrani. (2013). Ragam Penelitian Qualitative (Ethnografi, Fenomenologi, Grounded Theory, dan Studi Kasus). *Edu_Bio | Jurnal Pendidikan Biologi*, 4, 41-50.
- Kim, Sunhyuk. (2014). NGOs and Social Protection in East Asia: Korea, Thailand and Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 23(1), 23-43.
- Lahoti, Rahul and Swaminathan, Hema. (2015). Economic Development and Women's Labor Force Participation in India. *Feminist Economics*, 22(2), 168-195.
- Maran, Yohanes Laba and Tadjudin Noer Effendy. (2006). Dominasi dan Hegemoni Kekuasaan Negara dan Bisnis Terhadap Petani (Studi tentang Produksi dan Distribusi Jambu Mete di Desa Baluk Hering, Kecamatan Tanjung Bunga, Flores Timur, Nusa Tenggara Timur). *Sosiosains*, 19(1), 115-142.
- Martin, Roderick. (1990). *Sosiologi kekuasaan*. Jakarta: Rajawalo Pers.
- Misel, Robert. (2004). *Teori Pergerakan Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Resist Book
- Moelyarto. (1987). *Politik Pembangunan sebuah Analisis Konsep, Arah dan Strategi*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- A.V Muhammad Riza & Affandi M. Arif. (2015). Gerakan Perlawanan Serika Buruh dalam Sistem Outsourcing dan Sistem Pengupahan di PT Japfa Comfeed Sidoarjo. *Paradigma*. 3(1), 1-8.
- Mulyani & Widi, Leni. (2014). Problematika Pekerja Rumah Tangga dalam Hal Kelayakan Bekerja Berdasarkan Konvensi ILO Nomor 189 Tentang A Decent Work For Domestic Worker. *Jurnal Clinical Legal Education*. 17-37.
- Morrell, Elizabeth. (2010). Local Agency and Region Building in Indonesia's Periphery: Shifting the Goalposts for Development. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 18(1), 48-68.
- Nurkhalis. (2013). Hegemoni Barat dan Islam Terhadap Estimasi HAM. *Jurnal Substantia*, 15(1), 26-40.
- Nyman, Roseline. (1997). Labour Reform: Addressing Women's Needs?. *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, 13(35), 6-17.

- Parfitt, Steven. (2016). A Nexus between Labour Movement and Labour Movement: the Knights of Labor and the Financial Side of Global Labour History. *Labor History*, 58(3), 288-302.
- Patria & Nezar and Andi Arief. (1999). *Negara dan Hegemoni*. Pustaka Pelajar. Yogyakarta.
- Pattenden, Jonathan. (2016). Working at the Margins of Global Production Networks: Local Labour Control Regimes and Rural-Based Labourers in South India. *Third World Quarterly*, 37(10), 1809-1833.
- Pichardo, Nelson A. (1997). New Social Movements: A Critical Review. *Annual review Sociology*, 23, 411-430.
- Raditya, Michael HB. (2015). Kontestasi Kekuasaan dan Keteladanan Semu di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 19(1), 1-16.
- Setiawan & Nugroho Ferly. (2015). Hegemoni dan Dominasi Perusahaan Semen Terhadap Penduduk di Wilayah Pembangunan Pabrik Semen dalam Samin vs Semen. *Jurnal Unimus*. 6(1), 39-53.
- Simon, Roger. (2004). *Gagasan-gagasan Politik Gramsci*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Singh, Rajendra. (2001). *Social Movements, Old and New, A Post-modernist Critique*. New Delhi: Sage Publication.
- Soekanto & Soerjono and Brotosusilo, Agus. (1987). *Masyarakat dan kekuasaan*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- Sudibyo. (1998). Cerpen Saran "Groot Majoor" Prakoso Karya Y.B. Mangunwijaya: antara Hegemoni dan resistensi. *Humaniora*, 9, 1-9.
- Sugarti & Lasmi, Keri. (2001). Sistem Kerja Borongan Pada Buruh Pemetik Teh Rakyat dan Negara. *Jurnal Analisis Sosial*. 7(1), 111-134.
- Suharko. (2006). Gerakan Sosial Baru di Indonesia: Repertoar Gerakan Petani. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 10(1), 1-34.
- Suwignyo, Andito. (2008). *Buruh Bergerak : Membangun Kesadaran Kelas (Edisi Revisi)*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung; Jakarta.
- Turatmiah, Sri and Annalisa Y. (2013). Pengakuan Hak-Hak Perempuan Sebagai Pekerja Rumah Tangga (Domestic Workers) Sebagai Bentuk Perlindungan Hukum Menurut Hukum Positif Indonesia. *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum*. 13 (1), 49-58.
- Van, Klinken G. (2007). *Perang Kota Kecil*. Jakarta: KITLV-Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Weber, Max. (1997). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*. A.M. Handerson. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Windhu, I. Marsana. (1992). *Kekuasaan dan Kekerasan menurut Johan Galtung*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius. 30.
- Wirahyoso, Bambang. (2002). Upah Minimum bagi Buruh dan Strategi Perjuangan Serikat Pekerja/Serikat Buruh. *Jurnal Analisis Sosial*. 7(1), 77-94.
- Yayasan Annisa Swasti.
- Rachmat Yulianto Nur (2005). Hegemoni Amerika Pasca 11/9: Menuju Sebuah 'Imperium Amerika Baru?'. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*. 9(1), 91-112.