



BRITISH'S HEGEMONY IN JOHN BRILEY'S 'GANDHI'

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Article history:

Received

21 Mei 2023

Received in revised form

26 Mei 2023

Accepted

31 Mei 2023

Available online

Mei 2023

Keywords:

British, hegemony, Gandhi

DOI

10.22216/kata.v7i1.2245

Abstract

This research examines colonialism in India, focusing on the British East India Company and the practice of hegemony. The study explores how the company shifted from trading to monopolizing India's economy. Postcolonial theory and literature are analyzed as tools to understand the effects of European colonialism on society, culture, and history. The concept of hegemony is explored as a form of dominance exerted by the colonizers over the colonized. Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent resistance is highlighted as a struggle against British cultural and economic hegemony. The research employed qualitative methods, utilizing close reading and library research. This study contributes to understanding colonial dynamics and the impact of hegemony in India. The writer of Gandhi found how British colonizers influenced India, the colonization with their ideology that distinguished between white and colored people, also known as hegemony. The aspect of this hegemony is the general conception of life, which represents "old ideologies" that were spread coercively. Additionally, the colonized people, inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, engage in a struggle against the British hegemony.

INTRODUCTION

The United Kingdom was an empire that had control over many lands during its expansion, including various places in Africa and Asia. India was one of the lands under British rule, as they incorporated it into their empire. The British justified their expansion by citing reasons such as developing trade and assisting third-world countries in boosting their economies. To facilitate their operations, they established the East India Company, a business organization.

The East India Company promised wealth to India when granted permission to conduct business there. However, it also became a colonizer in third-world countries for many centuries, depleting their resources. According to McGilvary (2008), the East India Company was a significant monopolistic organization in the 18th century, with headquarters in London and global operations facilitated by ships sailing between London, India, and China. Its influence extended across various commercial activities.

Based on the information above, the English East India Company, established in the 18th century in India for trade purposes, marked the beginning of colonialism in India. Over time, the company shifted its primary goal from trade to monopolizing India's trading areas and gradually gaining control over the country's economy.

Empires have their own motivations for entering new territories. As stated by Sawan (2012), colonialism refers to a specific form of cultural exploitation that developed as Europe expanded over the past 400 years. It involves the settlement of territory, the exploitation or development of resources, and the attempt to govern the indigenous inhabitants of the occupied lands

So, colonialism is kind of monopoly or exploitation of human and natural resources. However, colonizer also tried to govern the lands. At first, the main purpose was to achieve a

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monopolistic trading position. Later, it was felt that a regime of free trade would make India a major market for British goods and a source of raw materials, but British capitalist who invested in India, or who sold banking or shipping service here, continued effectively to enjoy monopolistic privileges.

Postcolonial theory emerged in the twentieth century after World War II and gained prominence as a literary theory in the 1990s. It is used by literary critics to analyze the effects of colonial representation in literary texts (Cuddon, 2013). European colonization of various regions around the world has had an impact on literature. Postcolonialism is an interdisciplinary academic field that focuses on European colonialism and its influence on society, culture, history, and politics in formerly colonized regions such as Africa, the Caribbean, the Middle East, South Asia, and the Pacific (Cuddon, 2013).

This means that colonialism also shapes literary works by providing insights into the conditions of countries before and after colonization. European colonialism has had effects on society, culture, history, and politics of the colonized regions (Bertens, 2001). Postcolonial studies critically examine the relationship between the colonized and the colonizer from the early stages of exploration and colonization (Bertens, 2001).

Postcolonial writings often involve the discovery or rediscovery of neglected texts and analyze the forces that marginalized them. These writings emerged as part of the left-wing response to the struggles of the Third World against colonialism (Elliott & Owens, 1998). They shed light on the experiences and struggles of Third World countries during the colonial era.

British control in India went beyond economic dominance and extended to the realm of ideology. British influence in India aimed to make the natives feel part of the United Kingdom and under its control. This can be referred to as hegemony, where a dominant group exercises power over a weaker group. In the case of colonialism, hegemony is exercised by the colonizers over the colonized (Williams, 1997). Some Indians pursued education in England with the hope of acquiring English culture and bringing it back to India, but they soon realized that they would never be on equal footing.

The concept of hegemony, derived from the Greek word "hegemonia," meaning leadership or rule, involves a dominant group exerting authority, leadership, and domination (Ives, 2004). Hegemony represents the strong control of one group over others in social, cultural, economic, and political aspects. In the context of colonialism, hegemony is exercised by the colonizers over the colonized, who accept the ideology and rules imposed upon them. Culture is one of the forms through which colonizers exert control over the colonized (Ives, 2004).

• **The Way Hegemony is Practiced**

To dominate a group or nation, there must be a purpose, such as Japan dominating Indonesia for its natural resources and to expand its imperial territory. According to Gramsci (1999), hegemony involves ethical-political and economic aspects, with the leading group exercising control over the decisive economic activities. This economic problem drives the domination of one group over another, leading to assimilation of the colonized into the culture of the colonizer.

Gramsci presents two forms of intellectuals involved in hegemony. "Traditional" intellectuals, such as professionals in literature and science, hold positions that allow them to influence people. In Asia, countries like India, China, and Japan have prominent traditional intellectuals. Gramsci also observes that in countries like China and India, there is a significant gap between intellectuals and the general population, particularly in religious matters. This makes it easier for individuals or groups to influence others. In the case of India under British colonization, the imperial government's commands were followed by the Indian kingdom and its people.

- **The struggle**

Gramsci (1979:1999) argues that the struggle against domination can and should be carried out by developing the concept of hegemony. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence ideology, known as "Satyagraha," was a form of resistance against British colonization in India. Gandhi fought for India's independence and employed non-violent means to challenge British cultural and economic hegemony.

Gramsci highlights that countries like India, China, and Japan possess a significant presence of "traditional" intellectuals who can exert control and influence over the masses. These countries became sites of struggle due to the presence of such intellectual.

"Gandhi" is a historical biography written by John Briley. The book is based on the life and achievements of Mahatma Gandhi, the influential leader of India's independence movement. It explores Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance, his role in India's struggle for freedom from British colonial rule, and his impact on the world.

METHOD

The research employed a qualitative method for this study, which is commonly used in literary research. Qualitative methods are suited for uncovering and understanding underlying aspects of unknown phenomena. Qualitative data primarily consist of words and observations rather than numerical data. Analysis and interpretation are necessary to make sense of the data (Powell, 2003). Literature employs a distinct language with symbolic meanings that require interpretation.

In this research, the researcher utilized the close reading method, an essential skill for studying and researching literature. Library research was conducted to gather supporting data. The data were categorized into primary data, obtained from the film's script, and secondary data, which included sources like Antonio Gramsci's Selections from the Prison Notebooks translated into English. Journals relevant to the research and internet sources supporting the analysis were also utilized. The researcher presented the analysis results using descriptive methods.

FINDING

- **The way hegemony is practiced in "Gandhi"**

A certain group who dominates other in ideology is called as hegemony which is also known as colonizer while the dominated group is known as colonized. The domination not only occurs in "old ideology" but also influence colonized's mind. The general conception of life is done toward the rough statement that abuse the colonized because it is different from 'old ideology'. The colonizer threatens the colonized or abuse them to make them feel inferior to colonizer.

Colonizer does not trust about what colonized tells about. They always thought that colonized as liar, this is a form of general conception when a colonizer threat a colonized to give an example to other colonized to influence their mind. For example in the quotation below,

CONDUCTOR : Here -- coolie, just what are you doing in this car?

Gandhi is incredulous that he is being addressed in such a manner.

GANDHI : Why -- I -- I have a ticket. A First Class ticket.

CONDUCTOR : How did you get hold of it?

GANDHI : I sent for it in the post. I'm an attorney, and I didn't have time to --

He's taken out the ticket but there is a bit of bluster in his attitude and it is cut off by a cold rebuff from the European.” (8)

Here, the Conductor as a white man did not trust Gandhi who is a coloured person, even though he buys the first class ticket. Discrimination seems here from colonizer as white people to colonized as colored people. White thought that colored people cannot be trusted, they are treated as a liar and a thief. It is describe when the conductor ask Gandhi, “How did you get it?” He did not trust Gandhi because he is an Indian and colonizer always make colonizer underestimates in social stratification even he is an attorney. That is also why colonized cannot sit at the first class compartment. When the conductor cut off Gandhi's statement it is also proves that colonizer do not have a respects to colonized. The occurrence of in this part will become an example for other Indian to not to dare did something that makes Indian equals with British. So, through this quotation we do not see a coercive that consist in ‘old ideologies’ so that is why it is different from it.

Colonizer often insults colonized directly. Racism becomes one of the major topic in insult people, as seen in the passage below:

EUROPEAN : There are no colored attorneys in South Africa. Go and sit where you belong.

... **GANDHI** : You see, Mohandas K. Gandhi, Attorney at Law. I am going to Pretoria to conduct a case for an Indian trading firm.

EUROPEAN : Didn't you hear me? There are no colored attorneys in South Africa!” (8-9)

According to the quotation above, the white conductor says two times of “colored attorneys” strengthen the differentiation between racists in colonialism era, especially in British's colonialism. Based on the statement above, “Go and sit where you belong.” implied that colonized never be equal in social stratification with colonizer. So, the quotation above insulting another races besides white. White as colonizer underestimate all people besides them, even though those people have good background, study or profession, but it will not make them equals with the white.

The colonizer influences the colonized through some rules which will make colonized unrealized accept the rule without any struggle. Quotation below will show us the example how colonizer spread hegemony through their rules,

GANDHI: The symbol of our status is embodied in this pass -- which we must carry at all times, but no European even has to have.

Based on the Gandhi's statements above (the main character), people of India have been ill treated by the colonizer, it is proved by the “pass” for the India from Empire as their identity card to make them legal as Indian as states by the main character, “...our status is embodied in this pass...” It shows us how Indian people have been ill-treated, they just receive it during the time. Next statement of the main character makes the occurrence seems

strong, that is, "...no European even has to have." The rule exists because of the acceptable from the India's during the colonialism that happened for long time.

"KHAN : (a shrug) I'm rich -- but I'm Indian. I therefore do not expect to travel First Class.

It is said with a dignity and strength that makes the statement all the more bewildering. Gandhi looks around helplessly. We see Mr. Baker, a wealthy white lawyer, whose home this is, poking at the fire, slightly amused at Gandhi's." (10)

Here, Khan reflects to a colonized who admits colonizer is more powerful and higher than colonized in society. It is described by his statement above. Even though he is a rich man, but he is an Indian, he realizes that his status will always under the white's status. There are several aspects that influence this cause, such as trading area and job, when Indian is given permission by British in their business, so the Indian admits that they are under British's command.

Others aspects that give influence is religion. It is supported by the next quotation,

"SINGH: Mr. Gandhi, you look at Mr. Khan and see a successful Muslim trader. The South Africans see him simply as an Indian. And the vast majority of Indians -- mostly Hindu like yourself -- (there is a moment of blinking embarrassment from Gandhi at this mention of his own religion) were brought here to work the mines and harvest the crops -- and the Europeans don't want them doing anything else." (11)

The quotation above shows scholastic program influences colonized and makes them admits if they are powerless than colonizer. The colonizer seems like the guardian for the colonizer as Singh states above. The statement, " ... the Europeans don't want them doing anything else." such a careness for colonized from colonizer.

Another example of general conception of life is in passage below,

"GANDHI: You mean you employ Mr. Baker as your attorney, but you can't walk down the street with him?

KHAN: I can. But I risk being kicked into the gutter by someone less "holy" than Mr. Baker." (11)

Based on the passage above, one of the result of scholastic program if colonized confess the honour of colonizer as the higher level than them in social stratification. The words "kicked...by someone less holly...." has implicit if the colonizer is the better creature than them, even though the Indian is richest than them. It related to previous quotation, where colonized has enjoyed by the colonizer in job. They thought colonizer as the guardian for them, give them job, area for trades and it seems like colonizer have big attention for colonizer life.

The general conception of life not only give impact in education and nature of someone, but also other aspect such as culture, religion or even style. In the quotation below, the writer got a prove for scholastic program effects in style which is happened to the main character.

“**GANDHI** : In England, I was a poor student but I –

KHAN : That was England.

Gandhi comes from the house door. He carries a briefcase and is still dressed in European clothes, though far less elegant than we have seen him in before. . His mien, the cut of his hair, all suggest a passage of time....” (11-12)

Based on the quotation above, the writer analyzes if education give an effect to colonizer and is included into general conception of life because it does not use a coercion in influence the colonized. Gandhi was ever school at England for some years, so he adopts European style which is called “modern”, not seems like Indian style which is traditional. In passage, “... he still dressed in European style...” is the supporting data if hegemony in scholastic program also has impact in other aspect of life.

The colonizer also tries to influence the colonized by make some rule that must be obeyed by the colonized.

“**GANDHI** : Let us begin by being clear about General Smuts's new law. All Indians must now be fingerprinted -- like criminals. Men and women. (A rising, angry response; Gandhi just waits.) No marriage other than a Christian marriage is considered valid. Under this Act our wives and mothers are whores... And every man here a bastard.” (32)

The rule that made by the colonizer must be obeyed by the colonized. In part, “...Let us begin by being clear about General Smuts's new law...” so through this quotation the colonized must take a fingerprint as a new rule from colonizer to make they valid as a part of British. The colonized did not harm but they only need to obey the rule. The colonizer use their power to organize colonizer. All of this quotation is a form of hegemony that created by the colonizer’s rules, such as about fingerprints and marriage.

“**BA** : (simple, direct) ...but now something worse is happening. When Gandhiji and I were growing up, women wove their own cloth. But now there are millions who have no work because those who can buy all they need from England. I say with Gandhiji, there is no beauty in the finest cloth if it makes hunger and unhappiness.” (99-100)

In quotation above Ba says that “... But now there are millions who have no work...” as the result of British colonial. Why? It is because they think that European’s style as a good standard in life, for example on education and life style. So, it makes many Indian lost their job because British create their own fabrics and sells back to Indian with better quality than traditional fabrics. It seems at part, “...who can buy all they need from England...” where people think that Europe as good standard in many aspects of life. So, by monopoly Indian’s market it makes many India lost their job and lot of financial problems.

• **The Struggles**

In every colonial era there must be create some struggle against colonizer to get freedom, equality and independence that come from colonized. As Gramsci’s statement the struggle could come in hegemony shape. Almost in every struggles did in violence. The

quotation below also seems us the struggle without physical contact that done by the colonized, even though the colonizer want to crush them.

“SECOND ENGLISHMAN'S VOICE-OVER : God -- he's dressed like a coolie! I thought he was a lawyer.

The young Englishman glances back cautiously toward the well-dressed Indian again, then

YOUNG ENGLISHMAN : After he came out of jail he refused to wear European clothes.” (47)

As the analysis in previous quotation that style is one of the hegemony in colonial. Before Gandhi is arrested by the British, he always dressed like a European, because he ever get education in England before and become a lawyer. The quotation, “...he's dressed like a coolie!....” and “...he refused to wear European clothes.”, shows us how colonized refuses to accept the ideology of colonizer. Before the struggle comes, European style stares as a modern and good style than native's. So, as the struggle Gandhi changes his style back to traditional in against the hegemony.

“GANDHI : Forgive my stupid illustration. But I want to change their minds -
- not kill them for weaknesses we all possess.

It impresses each one of them. But for all his impact, they still take the measure of him with caution.” (86)

In quotation above, Gandhi tells his way in reach India's independence. The quote, “...I want to change their minds...” explains to us how Gandhi's way in get freedom from colonizer. He do not wants to use coercive or harassment in against British hegemony. He wants to change people's minds to struggle colonizer. That is why Gandhi's struggle is called Non-Violence, because he just influence people to brave and do not use physical or psychological harassment likes colonizer has done to them, like in quote, “...not kill them weakness we all possess.”, also in the last part of the quotation, “It impresses each one of them...” as the result of Gandhi's nonviolence's statement. Some of them are change their mind after hear gandhi's statement.

“GANDHI : (his grin) I mean a day of prayer and fasting. But of course no work could be done -- no buses, no trains, no factories, no administration. The country would stop.

Patel is the first to recognize the implications.

PATEL : My God, it would terrify them...

AZAD : (a wry smile) Three hundred fifty million people at prayer. Even the English newspapers would have to report that. And explain why.” (87)

In quotation above, shows how nonviolence way can influences situation and be a struggle in againts hegemony. In quote, “...no work could be done – no buses no trains...” as

the result of nonviolence struggle from colonized. So, nonviolence struggle has big influence to colonizer. It will stop business and other economy aspect. The quotation below as an additional quote that still related with previous quotation about how nonviolence's struggle could happened.

“Patel, now for the first time in an Indian tunic, and Azad, also in an Indian tunic. Desai, Gandhi's new male secretary, is with them. But it is Ba who is speaking at the microphone, who has brought the shout of defiance from the crowd.” (99)

In quotation above, Patel shows his nonviolence struggle, that is by changed his cloth. In part, “Patel, now for the first time in an Indian tunic...” as the proofs of the analysis. Still related to the previous quotation that some people of India thought Europe's style as good standard, but now he did his struggle by wears Indian traditional cloth.

“**GANDHI** : English factories make the cloth -- that makes our poverty. (A reaction.) All those who wish to make the English see, bring me the cloth from Manchester and Leeds that you wear tonight, and we will light a fire that will be seen in Delhi -- and London!” (101)

In part, “...bring me the cloth from Manchester and Leeds... we will light a fire...”, is a quote that the writer analyzes as a shape of another nonviolence struggle. The colonized is provoked by Gandhi to burn all British's clothes and wears Indian traditional clothes to make British's fabric industry stop produce cloth and makes Indian's traditional fabrics growth again. This also as the struggle in againts hegemony of British, that is European style as the good figure for them. So, the colonized will take their market again and shows to colonizer that they are nothing in foreigner's land.

Another struggle shown by Gandhi:

“**GANDHI** : Well, then, it must be fought. We are children of God like everyone else.

KHAN : (dryly) Allah be praised. And what battalions will you call upon?

GANDHI : I -- I will write to the press -- here -- and in England. (He turns to Baker firmly) And I will use the courts.”(12)

The struggle clearly said by Gandhi ,”...it must be fought...”. In againts discrimination and domination of certain group not always in uses coercion's way. The domination also can againts in using intellectual's way, as he said, “...I will write to the press...I will use the courts.”. That is what the main character tries to shows. He thought if coercion's way not always solve the problem, because he is an educated man. He shows to the public that Indian is not same as British think about them, Indian also has a good intellectual side in themselves. Gandhi try to influence public if they are could be in the same level as British, because all of them are Children of God. They must respect each other. There is another way in give influence to the colonized in againts the colonizer, such as the quotation below:

“Behind him, Gandhi wavers indecisively a moment, then takes the box from Singh and moves to the fire. Ba holds her hand to her mouth --

terrified. Again the crowd's reaction turns the sergeant. Gandhi is at the fire. For a second, his eyes lock with the sergeant's -- and then nervously, he takes a card and drops it in the wire basket, and another." (15)

The way in give new ideology to the colonized is when give direct example, to rise the power of colonized in againts the domination. Related to quotation before, where Khan influenced by Gandhi's struggle. It is one of the result of Gandhi's struggle to influence other colonized.

"GANDHI : (to Charlie) Would you care to walk?

He gestures Charlie on and starts walking. Charlie nods uncertainly. He looks back at the cab in confusion, then signals the driver to follow and hurries on to match strides with Gandhi's brisk pace.

...

CHARLIE : Yes. I've -- I've met some very remarkable people in India... and -- and when I read what you've been doing here, I -- I wanted to help." (22)

The question that Gandhi asks to Charlie as the struggle in againts the difference color between them. Charlie is a white, clergyman of Christian. Gandhi asked him, "Would you care to walk?" indirectly is a struggle. Back to previous point of analysis, if white and colored people cannot be walk on the street together, because they are not in the same level in society. Besides, Gandhi breaks the rule.

"...from his point of view, ending with two plainclothes European policemen conspicuous in seats at the end of the front row. A uniformed policeman stands near them.

GANDHI : (to the house) I want to welcome you all!

A buzz, then applause -- loud and defiant. When is subsides Gandhi looks down at the plainclothes policemen, fixing his gaze on them.

GANDHI : Every one of you. (Then, still at them) We -- have -- no -- secrets." (32)

CONCLUSION

Upon deep analysis of John Briley's script for "Gandhi," it uncovers the intricate webs of influence woven by these colonial powers, meticulously crafting an ideology that insidiously propagated divisions between the white and colored populace, a hegemony cunningly disguised as societal norms. It discovers how British colonizers influenced India, the colonized, with their ideology that distinguished between white and colored people, also known as hegemony. The first aspect of this hegemony is the general conception of life, which represents "old ideologies" that were spread coercively. Additionally, the colonized people, inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, engage in a struggle against the colonizers, which takes three forms. First, there is the war of movement, where the colonized people endure harassment from the colonizers without taking action, known as Gandhi's passive resistance. Second, there is the war of position, where the colonized people halt their activities and stage demonstrations on the streets. Lastly, there is the secret preparation of weapons, exemplified

by Gandhi's fasting as a self-imposed punishment for the perceived failure of his nonviolent struggle. The dominance of a particular group's ideology (hegemony) gives rise to certain elements of this struggle. Hegemony manifests in two forms: the general conception of life, which spreads influence without coercion, and the absence of a scholastic program that the writer did not find in this literary work. The writer further analyzes Gandhi's struggle based on Gramsci's theory of Non-Violence, which can be divided into three categories: war of movement, war of position, and underground warfare.

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