CHAPTER II

THEORITICAL REVIEW

This chapter discusses theories that are used in this study. Those are three conceptualizations of hegemony by Gramsci (1999) as well those corresponding with their ideas George Ritzer (2012), Robert Boccock (2007), and Michele Barrett (1997), capitalist society in Marxism as ground theory of hegemony which is taken from Karl Marx and Frederic Engels (1887), and focalization as a part of aspect of narratives by Mieke Bal (1997).

2.1 Focalization

Focalization is an aspect in a narrative text which discusses on perspective or commonly known as point of view. Perspective is important in telling a story and giving the meaning, so that Bal (1997: 5) stated "narrative text is a text in which an agent relates ('tells') a story in a particular medium, such as language, imagery, sound, buildings, or a combination thereof". It means the narrative text is expressed by an agent—a narrator, a linguistic subject, a function—and not only occurs in manuscript form but also in any type of texts such as language, imagery, sound, building, or combinations of all of them. Narrative agent is referring to a

narrator, a linguistic subject, a function, which expresses itself in the language that constitutes the text. It means that the agent is not biographical author of the narrative text, in short, not a person (Bal, 1997: 16). Narrative agent is a medium of arranges text in the language in making narrative text. The narrator of a novel is not its author, because the author is a 'living historical person', or 'not a person'—Bal consider all actors are paper persons and not real person. Thus, Bal mentions narrator as 'it' in delivering a story. In his thinking, Bal uses term 'tells' to mention 'relates' or delivering story by 'it' because narrative text has related sequence—a connecting structure of events in the story. Thus, narrative text is an arranged text expressing through the language by narrative agent—narrator. According to Bal (1997: XV), there are three layers—aspects—of narratives: text, story, and fabula.

Based on Bal's concept, text is an entirely composed, limited, and structured language signs which are finite ensemble of signs. It does not mean that the text itself is finite, for its meanings, effects, functions, and background are not (Bal, 1997: 5). Text is a group of language signs that are composed, limited, and structured since every story has its own perception. It depends on its sender and receiver. Received information will depend on the receiver—reader or hearer—and the sender—the agent—of the language signs.

The language signs include language, imagery, sound, building, or combination of them all. The language signs are limited, however, the text itself can be countless because it contains unlimited meanings, effects, functions, and background depended on the receiver's perception, attitude, and knowledge about

the language. It is related with Bal's statement, a text can have various stories to be told—fabula and event (1997: 5, 8).

Story is a fabula that is presented in a certain manner. According to Bal (1997: 5), fabula contains events that are organized and structured by elements—events, agents, time, and location whether actually exists or imaginary—that create the story. Fabula is a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by agents in the story—events' sequences that are presented to the reader or hearer. It has to be underlined that the events' are always presented in certain vision—perception.

> ….whenever events are presented, they are always presented from within a certain 'vision'. A point of view is chosen, a certain way of seeing things, a certain angle, whether 'real' historical facts are concerned or fictitious events. It is possible to try and give an 'objective' picture of the facts. But what does that involve? 'Objectivity' is an attempt to present only what is seen or is perceived in some other way. All comment is shunned and implicit interpretation is also avoided. (Bal, 1997: 142)

'Vision' which is stated above refers to point of view which is also equal to perception. The perception itself is equivalent with focalization because it is the relation between the events' vision and which is seen perceived from the events. Bal states that focalization shows every events that happen in the life of people—the reader or hearer, whether real and have historical facts or fictional—are always seen from certain 'vision'. It means reader or hearer have their own point of view, certain way, or angle to see things, in short, subjectivity. Although it is possible for people to try to give 'objective' vision of the events, Bal thinks that 'objectivity' must have other things involved.

‘Objectivity’, in this case, is the effort of the reader or hearer to present the events only from what are seen or perceived feelings in some other ways. It means when reader or hearer use their ‘objectivity’ they will avoid any comment and implicit interpretation that may contained in the events; it is occurred because ‘objectivity’ is an attempt to present only what is seen or is perceived. Thus, all the reader or hearer will avoid any other thought of the events and their ‘objectivity’ is influenced by perception.

> Perception, however, is a psychosomatic process, strongly dependent on the position of the perceiving body; a small child sees things in a totally different way from an adult, if only as far as measurements are concerned. The degree to which one is familiar with what one sees also influences perception. Perception depends on so many factors that striving for objectivity is pointless. To mention only a few factors: one’s position with respect to the perceived object, the fall of the light, the distance, previous knowledge, psychological attitude towards the object; all this and more affects the picture one forms and passes on to others. (Bal, 1997: 142)

Perception is the reader or hearer’s psychosomatic process—their mind which affects their physical condition—that is reliant on their position. The mind condition are fear, love, attitude, adore, yearn, mad, tired, happy, and others. Meanwhile, the position mentioned above is not only referring to measurement of distance, but also other measurements such as age and experience. Bal (1997: 80) states that many things can influence perception, such as the reader or hearer’s position, age, previous knowledge, rank, attitude, exposure, distance, and other reader or hearer’s judgment when seeing things. The things that can influence reader or hearer’s perception are divided into two: mentally and physically. The mentally measurements are seen from the reader or hearer’s social status: position

in occupation, family, school, society, etc. Meanwhile, the physically measurements are seen from their physical body: height, weight, senses condition, etc.

The reader or hearer's age mentally measurements are seen from their life phase: baby, toddler, children, teenager, mature, and old. Meanwhile, the reader or hearer's age physically measurements are seen from the age average physical body: baby must be shorter than toddler must, and so on. The reader or hearer's previous knowledge and rank mentally measurements are seen from their age, education, social status, educational status, etc. Meanwhile, the reader or hearer's previous knowledge and rank physically measurements are seen from their position—distance, altitude, lightning, age, status, etc.—when gaining the knowledge. The reader or hearer's exposure mentally measurements are seen from their perception of the lights. They who afraid of dark may be frightened if the condition is lack of light, the dim lights may has romantic image, the excessive lights may be disturbing some people, and vice versa. The reader or hearer's exposure physically measurements are seen from their physical body and senses.

The reader or hearer's distance mentally measurements are seen from their distance of mindset, closeness with other, etc. The reader or hearer's distance physically measurements are seen from their distance of position, height, etc. The reader or hearer's attitude mentally measurements are seen from their previous knowledge, adornment, judgment, and other's judgment. The reader or hearer's attitude physically measurements are seen from their physical body. Thus, position, age, previous knowledge, rank, attitude, exposure, distance, other's

judgment are clearly influencing reader or hearer's perception which also means their focalization.

Beside those elements above, Bal (1997: 146) also states that focalization has direct connection between 'vision', agent—focalizor—that sees, and the events which are seen. Focalizor is a term used to mention agent or people who experienced the events that cannot be separated from the 'vision' and the focalizor.

> If the focalizor coincides with the character, that character will have an advantage over the other characters. The reader watches with the character's eyes and will, in principle, be inclined to accept the vision presented by that character. (Bal, 1997: 146)

Bal states that if an event or a story is performed by a character, and the focalizor agrees with them, the character will have more influence over the other characters. It happens because the focalizor sees the event or the story from the character's perception, thus, the focalizor which is also becoming a character will have advantage by making the reader or hearer focus on the 'vision' which is presented by them.

In every event or story, it has to be discovered which character—played as the focalizor—focalizes which object—focalized. "The combination of a focalizor and a focalized object can be constant to a large degree or it can vary greatly." (Bal, 1997: 149-150). The quotation shows that focalizor and focalized object combination can make a constant perception can gradually grow broader or become various. Thus, it is important to do an analysis of fixed or loose combinations because the reader or hearer are received image of the focalized

which is determined by the focalizor. It happens since the focalized's image which is presented by the focalizor says something about the focalizor itself. (Bal, 1997: 149-150). It means, the way the focalizor describe the focalized reflects their inner self.

Hegemony issues in the Hunger Games trilogy novel are seen through Katniss Everdeen's focalization with her as focalizor and Panem as focalized. Even though Katniss is the focalizor in the trilogy, she is also a character. Thus, she has advantages to get the reader's attention more than other characters. Meanwhile, the focalized is Panem including all the subjects in it. Panem is a country that becomes the plot of the trilogy. This study analyzes hegemony actions that are performed by authorizer in Panem named President Snow. His actions are seen from Katniss's focalization as a part of authorized subjects.

2.2 Marxism

Marxism is a study of commodity analysis. At first, Marx defines commodity and money, which have impact on authority. However, in the end, he prompts that the commodity must be the first one to be investigated because "the wealth of societies in which capitalist's production mode prevails is 'an immense accumulation of commodities'" (Marx, 1887: 27). It means accumulation of capitalist's commodity production make monetary system for society who holds the production yet give no advantage or profit for capitalist's producer—

production tools or means of production. Thus, the commodity, no matter how big they are, will make the capitalist production getting bigger to get more profit for the society.

A commodity is ‘an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another’ (Marx, 1887: 27). The statement indicates that commodity is an object which is not inside an individual, such as money, goods, properties, factories, artifacts, and values (1887: 33). However, commodity is also taking form as a living being—humans, animals, and plants—because it has function to satisfy societies’ basic desires such as prosperity, luxury and affection. Marx also states that no one knows how the satisfying objects—commodity—work, whether “directly as means of subsistence, or indirectly as means of production” (1887: 27).

The commodity in object forms are produced things such as textile, crops, livestock, technology, etc. that directly have role as means of subsistence since those objects can be sold to gain money and prosperity. Indirectly, the commodity in object form is the production tools such as machine, gardening tools, etc. that have role as means of production since those objects are medium to produce things. Meanwhile, the commodity in living being forms is labours who work to operate the production tools. Directly, the labours’ role is as means of subsistence since they work to make profit for the society and to get salary for themself. The commodity in living being forms such as animals and plants as means of production do not gain any profit for themselves. Yet, indirectly, they have role as

means of production since they give advantage to the labour and society in a form of produced things such as food, energy, etc.

In capitalist's production, the owner is the society. Thus, it makes them as capitalist society. Related to the commodity that gain profit for the capitalist society, they do exploitation to maintain their position as owner of production. It makes cycle of production because the cycle is constructed by manufacture of consent, technical instrument, and complex of social relations.

2.2.1 Capitalism

Marx distinguishes commodity function into two parts: use-value and exchange-value. Marx (1887: 27) states that all object—product of labour or commodity—in capitalist's production have their own utility, and the commodity's utility make a use-value. It means the use-value is the commodity's utility and is power to satisfy desire for goods or services in classical political economy or the capitalist society. Marx also adds that the use-value only can be a reality by use or consumption. Use-value also constitutes the substance of all wealth, whatever social form of that wealth comes (Marx, 1887: 27). It means the commodity has to be consumed by the society, thus, it can carry out its function. If the commodity cannot perform as its function, it cannot be the satisfying object—commodity—for the capitalist society such as to earn profit or satisfaction. Thus, in the capitalist society's form, the use-value is the material depositories of exchange-value.

Meanwhile, according to Marx (1887: 27), the exchange-value is not identical to price. It more represents quantity of other commodity that will be exchanged for trading. At first, trading system starts with barter and simple exchange, which in the end becomes the capitalists' commodity production. It changes because trading system becomes more refined. It makes the commodity's exchange-value can be expressed in an abstract quantity of money—with money price. The quantity is made from socially-recognized standards of measure's establishment of commodity in capitalism.

Ritzer (2012: 92-93) quotes Marx that states capitalism is not only an economic system with a big number of labours that produce goods for the capitalists' sake. Capitalism is a combination of economic, political, and power system. Capitalism is a way to implement powers and processes to exploit the labours. He also states that there are two class systems in capitalist society. First, the capitalists hired labours to have the labours' time. The labours inevitably sell their time for working to the capitalists in order to live. Second, the capitalists have production tools such as tools and materials, which in the end, all of the products—commodities—will be the capitalists' property while all of the labours get is minimum salary. Since the capitalist's function is as capital personified and endowed with consciousness and will, it makes the capitalist exploit the labour.

2.2.2 Exploitation

Ritzer (2012: 100) mentions Marx who states that exploitation is an important part of capitalist's economy and not seen as authority problem but as graphic and economic calculation problem. It is occurred because the capitalist get profit from exploiting labourer as means of production and natural resources as commodity, and that exploitation action is economic matters' source. Even though looks like the capitalist's coercion, exploitation is a coercion which arise from labourer's needs which can be fulfilled by working with the capitalist. Since by being hired, the labourer will get salary to fulfilled their needs and the capitalist will get profit in the production. However, the capitalist give insufficient salary if it is compared to their working time, so that it cannot be used to cover their needs.

However, to trade money with financial capital, the capitalist have to make contract with free labourer in the market. There are two means of free labourer. First, free labourer means they are a free man, thus they can sell their labour-power as their own commodity. It means they offer the capitalist to buy their owned skill. Second, free labourer means they have no other commodity to be sold, do not have any skill which is needed to create their labour-power (Marx, 1887: 120). It means the labourer cannot sell themselves to the capitalist because they do not have anything profitable, however, if the capitalist want them, the capitalist will buy them and make them work with lower salary than the skilled labourer.

According to Ritzer (2012: 87), Marx states that the labourer has to accept the capitalist's values such as work time and salary after get hired by the capitalist since they no longer produce their own need. Ritzer (2012: 87-88) also mentions that Marx states human as commodity worked in accordance with the orders of the capitalist who pay them. The capitalist has full swing to decide how long the labourer work per day and to make job vacancy as much as possible that meant to pile industrial reserve army—unemployed or under-employed—for change those labourer who does not want to work with the offered salary. The capitalist can change the labourer—whether which decided to quit or get fired—with the industrial reserve army. It means the capitalist can take advantages and do anything they want to the labourer as the commodity of production. It is occurred because according to Marx (1887: 119), if the capitalist knows human's physically and mentally skill, they can take advantages on the human as commodity of production. This action leads to division of labour and manufacture. According to Marx (1887: 237), division of labour is common characteristic form of the capitalist's production process during manufacture period. Related to that, Marx (1887) mention it into a division of labour and manufacture. In the division itself, he divides manufacture into two types.

> "At first, carriage manufacture is a combination of various independent handicrafts. By degrees, it becomes the splitting up of carriage-making into its various detail processes, each of which crystallises into the exclusive function of a particular workman, the manufacture, as a whole, being carried on by the men in conjunction. In the same way, cloth manufacture, as also a whole series of other manufactures, arose by combining

> different handicrafts together under the control of a single capitalist." (Marx, 1887: 237)

Marx's statement above can be understood that division of labor occurs after entering manufacture system in the form of mass production of a commodity. This system leads to division of skill that makes labourer focus on one particular thing and will be expert in that field. At the same time, they become no expertise in addition to their field because they only do one thing continuously.

Another type of division of manufacture is "…arises in a way exactly the reverse of this-namely, by one capitalist employing simultaneously in one workshop a number of artificers, who all do the same, or the same kind of work, such as making paper, type, or needles." (Marx, 1887: 237). His statement describes that manufacture system can also arise from opposite way with the first statement. The capitalist hires labourer with different skill, maybe with helper of some assistance, to produce same commodity in one place. The assistance have important role in this production. It means that the authorizer cannot control the production by himself or herself, thus, they hire other labourer with higher social class than free labourer to do it. Different with the first type that do division, this second type do isolation which conducted alongside. The labourer makes the commodity in different position. This manufacture type performed together simultaneously by the co-operating workmen. This type grows into a systematic division of labour. The commodity which at first an individual product of free labourer changes into

social product of a union of labourer which everyone only do one field from constituent partial operation.

In short, the division of labour and manufacture divided into two: the one division which arise from combination of various independent commodity, which becomes no longer independent and specialized to such degree to be reduced into supplementary partial processes in one particular commodity's production. The other division arises from free labourer's co-operation of one commodity. The free labourer splits up the one commodity into some processes part, isolated themselves to make the commodity, and then makes the process until each process becomes special function of a particular labourer.

Therefore, as stated by Marx (1887: 238), manufacture either introduces division of labour into a process of production, or further develops that process of production. On the other hand, it unites commodity that were previously separate. Nevertheless, whatever may have been its particular starting-point, its final form is always the same. The final form of manufacture is a productive mechanism whose parts are human beings. To conclude, in the type one, manufacture introduces division of labour into a process of production and the type two, manufacture introduces division of labour into a further development of the type one. The existence of division of labour and manufacture next can be used as apparatuses in executing hegemony.

2.3 Hegemony

In Marxism, according to Forgacs (2007), hegemony is an alliance of ruling classes who assume their position is higher than the other classes. This alliance is formed by group of ruling classes which make agreement to maintain their position and to get benefit from each other. The ruling classes lead the lower classes, make excuse to take care of them—provide safety and economy, which in return take particular advantage of the lower classes such as natural and human resources. The lower classes unavoidably have to accept the condition even though they disagree. This ruling and lower classes action is a form of hegemony, because it is done to secure the ruling classes' public political power over society as a whole.

Meanwhile, Barrett (1997: 239) quotes Gramsci who mentions hegemony as cooperation ensured by force that combines social and political control, coercion, and agreement. It means that hegemony is a cooperation of ruling classes and lower classes which is implemented by force using social and political control by showing the ruling classes' power, that is with using coercion by implementing regulation and agreement by making a pact in social and politic matters. Even though hegemony usually does not involve physical oppression or violence but more to mind control, in practice, to achieve the goal, the ruling class or the authorizer has to use physical oppression thus the lower classes or authorized inevitably obey authorizer's regulation.

> Undoubtedly the fact of **hegemony presupposes** that account be taken of the **interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised**, and that a **certain compromise** equilibrium **should be formed**—in other words, that the leading group should make sacrifices of an economic-corporate kind. But there is also no doubt that such sacrifices and such a **compromise** cannot touch the essential; for though hegemony is ethical-political, it must also be economic, must necessarily be based on the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity. (Gramsci, 1999: 373)

On the quotation above, Gramsci states that hegemony is performed by a leading group—authorizer—which put such attention to lower group—authorized. However, not only a group, a person can also hegemonize another person or group by making certain compromise between the authorizer and the authorized. He mentions that the authorizer should make sacrifices of an economic-corporate kind which means that the authorizers have to sacrifices something in economic kind to reach their goal—to dominate the authorized to get anything profitable both material or immaterial things. However, before reaching the economic matters, hegemony has to be implemented to the authorized and it can be achieved by using ethical-political—the authorizer embed some concept, ideology, value, or norm to the authorized so that they do not aware for being dominated and accept the domination as a natural action which supposed to be happen. This action leads to a practice of social formation.

Thus, Bocock (2007: 34-35) quotation of Gramsci's statement which states that hegemony has three interconnected fundamental terms in social formation which form the basis for its conceptualization: economy, political society, and civil society, is related to one another .

a) Economy

According to Bocock (2007: 34-35), economy is a used term by Gramsci to define manufacture of consent in some region at a time. Economy consists of technical instrument and complex of social relations that build upon distinction in economic structure of society. The technical instrument is everything—living being and inanimate object—that is used to produce manufacture of consent. The complex of social relations is associated with owners of the means of social production, either as owners who have financial capital and authority to operate the production or as not-substantially owners that are employed to produce commodity yet having no financial capital. Usually those kinds of ownership belong to government or capital city—authorizer, despite some subjects who have particular features to negotiate with the authorizer.

The term is similar with second type of Marx's division of labour and manufacture. That type describes manufacture system can also arise from the capitalist action who hires labourer with different skill, maybe with a help from some assistance, to produce same commodity in one place. It means the labourer make commodity according to its manufacture of consent in certain area such as in a city or country. Marx also states that the assistance have important role in this production. It means that the authorizer cannot control the production by themself, thus, they hire other labourer with higher social class than free labourer such as mayor to do it.

b) Political Society

Bocock (2007: 35) quotes Gramsci which states political society consists of violence tools, specific regions, and state-financed bureaucracies. The violence tools consist of police and military. The specific region consists of precise area in a state---the place to produce the manufacture of consent. State-financed bureaucracies consist of civil servants or government institutions and institutions such as law enforcement, welfare, and education. Those tools become the authorizer tools to hegemonize the society—subjects—because the violence tools and state-financed bureaucracies can protect and invade the subjects as well. The violence tools such as police and military protects the subject from war or disturbance but they also can attack the subjects if violating the authorizer's regulation.

The violence tools term is similar with Marxism's concept of hegemony. Forgacs (2007) mentions that Marxism sees hegemony as an alliance of ruling classes who assume their position is higher than other classes. The ruling classes lead the lower classes, which are more like making excuse to handle them by providing safety and economy. In return, the authorizer will take particular advantage from the lower classes such as exploit natural resources and human resources. Hegemony is done to secure the authorizer's public political power over subject as a whole. The term is also similar with Barrett (1997: 239) which quotes Gramsci that hegemony as cooperation ensured by force combining social and political control, coercion, and agreement. It

means that hegemony is a cooperation of ruling classes and lower classes which is implemented by force using social and political control, coercion, and agreement. The authorizer hegemonizes their subjects with social and political control by using violence tools such as police and military. To achieve the goal, that is hegemonize the subjects, the authorizer has to involve physical oppression or violence and more to mind control by utilizing police and military. The authorizer also uses law enforcement institution, such as welfare and education field to approach the subjects.

> "….every State is ethical in as much as one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes. The school as a positive educative function, and the courts as a repressive and negative educative function, are the most important State activities in this sense: but, in reality, a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities tend to the same end—initiatives and activities which form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes." (Gramsci, 1999: 526)

The quotation above tells about a state's important function is to make civilized subject according to the authorizer's judgment. This is happened because the civilized subject will make better profit for the authorizer. To make the subject become civilized, the authorizer needs productive forces to help the authorizer reach their goal. The productive forces are school, courts, and private initiatives and activities. School is categorized as positive educative function because school is a medium to instill the authorizer's ideologies with possibility of positive feedback from the subject. It occurs

since the subject feels they need formal education to be civilized which can be achieved in school. It will facilitate the authorizer to dominate the subject because they do it willingly yet unconsciously.

Meanwhile, court is the most important thing in this domination matters that must be done by a state because it can make the authorizer successfully achieve their goal. Even though, court is categorized as a repressive and negative educative function by executing maltreatment such as spreading threat and executing punishment to its subject in order to force them following its regulation and give them consequence if violating the regulation. However, in practice, some personal action—initiatives and activities—is occured which is an initiative of the authorizer that lead to the same goal, make apparatus of political and cultural hegemony of the ruling class, the authorizer.

The statement “every State is ethical in as much as one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level” in page 26 describes a usual form of a state according to Gramsci. He says that a state can be categorized civilized if the authorizer of the state success to bring the subject into greater cultural and moral level according to the authorizer’s standard. The authorizer conducts it with adjusting the need to increase productive forces for development of production, which actually is the authorizer’s trick to get more benefit from the successfully civilized subject.

c) Civil society

Civil society is a group of people which is free from a state's governmental yet according to Bocock (2007: 35) who is quoting Gramsci, civil society is other organization in social form that is not a part of production process in economy. It means civil society is not producing manufacture of consent for the authorizers but for themselves since they are not a state-funded organization. Therefore, civil society can be referred as "private" bureaucracies such as politico-private, belonging to parties and trade unions (Gramsci, 1999: 466). "Private" bureaucracies are institution which is not funded by the government and maybe intended to be hidden from the government. Related to that, Bocock also states that civil society is relatively long-lived bureaucracies that supported and run by both people inside and outside government organization. It indicates that even though civil society is a "private" bureaucracy, it still has the government contribution and still in the government's control although may be furtively.

The civil society's fundamental components are institutions and religious organizations which not funded by the state and the main communication medium which are not under state or political control censorship. The civil society is referred as "private" bureaucracies because it makes its own regulation outside the authorizer's regulations and not funded by them. The examples of civil society are private organization such as Indonesian Ulema Council and Indonesian Medical Association.

Those three fundamental terms—economy, political society, and civil society —form an action of hegemony which is conducted by the authorizer. Since Gramsci is a Marxist, there are similarities and differences of hegemony's conceptualization by Gramsci and Marx.

The similarities of Marxism's concept of capitalist society, exploitation, and division of labour and manufacture with Gramsci's concept of hegemony are in seeing the product—commodity, economic productive activities, and the capitalist-labourer connection which occurs from conflict of social relation.

Meanwhile, the differences are existed in the apparatus of hegemony. Bocock (2007: 21) cites Marx that a state is only seen as continuity of class rule and not as an autonomous or a relatively autonomous region. A state involved, control, regulate, monitor and manage the subject from the most common existence forms to private life individuals. It means that Marxism sees a state as a place for its subject to live in controlled, regulated, monitored, and managed life—even the private one—by the state's authorizer. It indicates that in Marxism a state becomes an apparatus of the authorizer to hegemonize the subjects which holds all the control of the subjects and the subjects do not have power to deny it. While Gramsci believes a state's role and presence is in production of civil society. It means Gramsci is more concerned to the state's function as a creator of civil subjects—civil society. Civil society is can be said as "private" bureaucracies, thus, Gramsci means a state have to discharge labourer and make free labourer instead. To make the subjects become civil society, the subjects have to be

independent from the state's authorizer, do not work as the authorizer's labourer and make its own commodity to earn money.

Other differences are mentioned by Ritzer (2012: 476-477) which states that Marx's tendency is in emphasizing economic aspects of coercive state domination. In other words, Marx is more concerned in a state's economic situation which is implemented by domination in a coercive state. According to Kurian (2011), coercive power is a tool used by the owner of the means of production—the authorizer or the capitalist—to exploit certain social classes—the bourgeoisie or the labourer. Meanwhile, Gramsci's hegemony is emphasizing the cultural leadership. It means Gramsci is more concerned into the implementation of ideology by the authorizer which will transform into a cultural existence in the subjects' life.

Due to some similarities and differences of hegemony terms above, the hegemony action still have the same goal, which is to maintain the position of the authorizer. The tools used by the authorizer to hegemonizes the subjects are economic—production of manufacture of consent; political society—violence tools, specific regions, and state-financed bureaucracies; and civil society —"private" bureaucracies.