CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter describes analysis of Snow's hegemony actions, as a president and his own personal traits. It also describes the subjects' reaction towards the hegemony which can be found in "The Hunger Games" trilogy.

4.1 Snow's Tools in Hegemonizing the Subjects

Snow's ways to hegemonize his subjects in the trilogy are similar with three conceptualizations of Gramsci's hegemony: economy, political society, and civil society. Those tools are described through Katniss's focalization which shows her perspective on the issues.

4.1.1 Economy

Economy is used term to define manufacture of consent in a region at a time. Economy includes technical instrument, and complex of social relations that construct upon a distinction in economic structure of society. The structure 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 goods yet having no financial capital. Usually those kinds of ownership belong to government or capital city—authorizer, although some subjects have particular features to negotiate with the authorizer such as they can their debts are settled if they work directly under the authorizer and served for time determined by the authorizer. Such conditions occur in Panem as described in *The Hunger Games* trilogy.

Panem is a state that governed by a president as the only one who holds authority named Coriolanus Snow. Panem has thirteen districts called as their number and one capital city called as Capitol. As a state, Panem has obligations to protect and create welfare for its subjects, as well get products from each district as form of mutual relationship between the Capitol and the thirteen districts' subjects. In other hand, it can be said that all of the district subjects are technical instrument and the Capitol is owner of the means of social production. These conditions are seen through Katniss Everdeen's focalization as a part of district subjects.

Katniss lives in one of the thirteen districts named District 12. The farther district from the Capitol and the poorest it becomes, since Snow pays more attention to closer districts that fortuitously produce better and more expensive goods like jewelry, weapon, and sea stuff as their manufacture of consent. Katniss thinks that District 12 which is the furthest district and only produces coal is the poorest in Panem (THG, 2008: 202). It is occurred because Snow's consideration differences such as give several districts better job make complex of social

relations between the district subjects with the Capitol subjects, the poorer districts with the wealthier districts, and in the internal of some district subjects. The complex of social relation arises due to dissimilarities in economic structure of society. Snow gives the Capitol subjects glamorous life. They never suffer shortage of food, shelter, electricity, apparel, entertainment, and safety. Meanwhile the district subjects do not get all of it, except for some wealthier district such as District 1, 2, and 4 which get more attention from Snow. The wealthier district get profit of being the Capitol's favorite, since they produce the Capitol subjects' most desirable goods—jewelry and sea stuff—and Snow's most desirable good—weapon—so that, they get better life quality than the poorer district. They are provided with better job that make their salary is higher than other districts. These occurrences are seen from Katniss's focalization as a part of the poorest subjects in District 12.

> Our **part of District 12**, nicknamed the **Seam**, is usually crawling with **coal miners** heading out to the **morning shift** at this hour. **Men and women** with **hunched shoulders, swollen knuckles**, many who have long since stopped trying to scrub the coal dust out of their **broken nails**, the lines of their **sunken faces.** But today the **black cinder streets** are empty. Shutters on the **squat gray houses** are closed. **The reaping** isn't until two. May as well **sleep** in. If you can. (THG, 2008: 5)

The quotation above tells that Seam is a place for coal miners and shown as the poorest place to live because geographically it is located near District 12's fence so that both its safety and welfare are not well established. Besides that, geologically Seam will never be able to grow corps because its soil is covered by coal dust and formed by hard soil texture. As result, to survive their life, Seam's

subjects are only able to work as coal miners. In District 12, the poorest subjects such as coal miners and black market traders live in countryside and the wealthier subjects such as merchants and district's rulers live in the city. Katniss's father works as coal miner before he died, thus she lives in a countryside called Seam. The District 12's manufacture of consent is coal, meanwhile the technical instrument is all of the district subjects without differentiating gender and physical health condition.

Some of brave subjects secretly go outside the district's fence to hunt wild animals, fish in lake, or pick some wild plants and fruits. They can trade those things in Hob, District 12's black market. However, since passing the fence and trade in black market are illegal acts, many of District 12 subjects do not have any courage to do such action. It affects their life's qualities since they have a very short time to rest, poor quality foods and bad housings. They live in squat gray houses made from rocky soil which may contain high toxic level. They also work without differentiating gender; both men and women are working in deep mines and long working hours with shift system. Those things slowly change their performance into disproportional posture—hunched shoulders, swollen knuckles, pale and sunken faces, as well broken nails. Somehow, Seam's street which is usually crowded by people is empty when Katniss states the stamenent because of reaping day—an election event to pick two kids from each district to participate in Hunger Games.

The Hunger Games is a live television event that performing one boy and one girl aged twelve until eighteen years old—called as *tributes*—from each district to

be gathered in an arena and kill each other until one winner—called as *victor*—remains. The *victors* will get particular privileges such as wealth, fame, and security which bring them to a better life quality. The Hunger Games itself is believed by Katniss as one of Snow's ways to hegemonize his subjects by showing his power during the event (THG, 2008: 14-15). Katniss have thought like that for a long time, even before she becomes a *tribute*. Snow uses it to maintain the production relation between the Capitol and the district subjects; therefore, he can keep continuing cycle of production in Panem. The cycle of production is constructed by manufacture of consent, technical instrument, and complex of social relations. Those aspects are significant because each of them holds important role.

The manufacture of consent is particular product that is only obtained in each district; for instance, District 12 only produces coals, District 11 only produces crops, and District 7 only produces lumbers, which in the end all of the products will be sent to the Capitol and only can be enjoyed by the Capitol subjects. While for the district subjects themselves, they have to buy their own products because of all the production belongs to the Capitol. The technical instrument is all of the district subjects and natural resources that exist in each district. Snow as the complex of social relation who is taking control, takes maximum advantages in the production. Snow makes the district subjects inevitably work for him directly by working as his violence tools, yet as a return, he gives them better life quality. Snow also makes the district subjects inevitably work for him indirectly by working as producer of manufacture of consent, yet as a return, he gives them low

salary. He provides free schooling to the district subjects, yet its purpose is in order to make them will be able to work better. These conditions are occurred because in the cycle of production relation, the district subjects are only the technical instrument. These are also caused by fact that all of the produced products will be delivered to the Capitol and the district subjects have to buy their own products. It means the district subjects will continue to experience poverty and Snow will continue to be in power, because he is the owner of the means of social production.

> "Do you **get all the coal** you want?" Rue asks.
> "**No**," I answer. "Just what **we buy** and **whatever** we **track in** on our **boots.**"
> "**They feed us a bit extra during harvest, so** that **people can keep going longer**," says Rue.
> "Don't you have to be in **school**?" I ask.
> "**Not during harvest**. **Everyone works** then," says Rue.
> (THG, 2008: 202)

The quotation above is a dialogue between Katniss and Rue, a *tribute* girl from District 11, in the 74th Hunger Games arena. There are no written rules in the event. The only known rules are there will be only one winner, no method limitation to kill each other, do not step off from each launching circle in the arena for sixty seconds, and the unspoken rule about no cannibalism—because the Capitol audiences do not like it. There is no rules about alliance, thus, the *tributes* can play alone or in groups depend on their eagerness. At first, Katniss chooses to play alone because she does not believe the other *tributes* and she remembers there will be only one winner hence any alliance thing will not long last. Katniss also thinks she will be the first target to be killed since she has advantages that make other *tributes* envy her. The advantages are she has the best preparation

team and stylist among all of the other *tributes*. Cinna, her stylist, makes flaming costume for her during *tributes* parade and interview session so it creates an amazing impression with her new nickname "Katniss, the girl who was on fire". She also gets the highest score in training before the event. The top of all, Peeta's —the boy *tribute* from District 12—interview before the event makes deep impression in the Panem audiences. At that time, Peeta confesses his feeling to Katniss, and says that Katniss has many fan boys back in District 12. Peeta's confession makes Katniss becomes desirable. It is proved by quotation below.

> …And let's face it, you can use all the help you can get in that department. You were about as romantic as dirt until he said he wanted you. **Now they all do**. You're all they're talking about. The star-crossed lovers from District Twelve! (THG, 2008: 134)

In the Haymitch's statement above, Katniss and Peeta are perceived by Capitol subjects as a tragic star-crossed lover, and Haymitch sees it as a brilliant idea to be their tactic in the 74th Hunger Games. Then, Haymitch as Katniss and Peeta's mentor continue that impression because Capitol subjects like a story about love. This plan works very well and Katniss's suspicions are turned out to be true since some dominating *tributes* from wealthier districts—*career tributes* or *careers*—express their hatred to her noticeably.

Nevertheless, in the middle of the Hunger Games Katniss makes alliance with Rue due to several reasons. Katniss thinks that she and Rue both are coming from less prestigious districts. Thus, different with the *careers*, they experience similar condition: poor and weak. The Hunger Games arena is in woods, and Rue has knowledge about woods since District 11's job is agriculture. Rue helps Katniss to

rescue from the *careers* and gives treatment when Katniss is passed out from poisoned. The uppermost of all she resembles Katniss's sister, Prim, which is Katniss very fond of. Therefore, Katniss decides to stay with Rue in the arena (THG, 2008: 198-200).

After make an alliance, Katniss and Rue are talking about their own district's condition. Katniss says that District 12 subjects do not get coal and have to buy it, even though they are the one who produce it. Similar circumstance also occurs in District 11 even though their manufacture of consent is crops such as fruits and vegetables. By such condition, District 11 subjects are supposed to be well fed since they are the one who plant and harvest the crops. However, in reality, District 11 subjects do not get enough food. If they eat the harvested crops, they will be whipped by Peacekeepers, Panem police and military under Snow authority, while district mayor makes everyone else watches. The subjects only get more foods from Peacekeepers during harvest so they can make the subjects work longer. It is because the subjects should work over night to fulfill crops quota which is determined by Snow. They also work without age limitation, it can be recognize because Rue who is just twelve years old yet has to work like adult. All education institutions are called off and children, both healthy and sick, are required to work. Sometimes the district subjects have to work overtime during harvest, and they will be given night glasses thus they can see in the dark. Rue tells Katniss there is a mentally slow boy in Rue's district who keeps the glasses to play with and the Peacekeepers kill him in the place. The Peacekeepers think the glasses will be used to do an uprising (THG, 2008: 203). It means in addition

to employing children, District 11 also employs people with disrupted mental health.

Meanwhile, in District 12, mentally sick subjects do not have to work. Nevertheless, that person will be a bum and will be mistreated by the other subjects. Furthermore, the only sign to indicate they can stop working is a raised flag by Peacekeepers. Thus, if none of the subjects see it, they will not know when to finish and will keep working. Those actions indicate that Snow takes maximum profit with smallest expense as well wants the districts subjects remain to live in poverty and powerless meanwhile he maintain his power.

Katniss sees such conditions are false and immoral because District 11 has strict rules for its subjects without any exception. She thinks that children should go to school by saying “Don’t you have to be in school?” to Rue because Rue is an underage worker. She asks about it since in District 12, all the subjects have obligation to work after they reach eighteen years old. It means the District 12 subjects only work after they graduate school. Katniss percepts that she is lucky to live in District 12 because even though public whipping exists, it does not happen much since their Peacekeepers are a lot nicer. Theoretically, Katniss and her friend, Gale, must have to be whipped or worse than that because they often hunt outside their district’s fence. However, since the Peacekeepers need to eat meat too, they often buy from Katniss and/or Gale and do not punish them. Besides, their mayor seems not to like punishing his subjects. Thus, Katniss feels lucky to be a part of District 12 because it is the most less prestigious district which makes Snow does not pay so much attention to 12 unless they fulfill the coal quota.

Therefore, it means the regulation in District 12 must not to be too strict (THG, 2008: 6-7; CF, 2009: 52).

After Katniss wins the 74th *Hunger Games*, she has to travel around Panem to give speeches in Victory Tour—the *victors*' welcoming celebration in all districts and the Capitol. The tour contains of the *victors*' grateful speeches of Capitol's kindness and other *tributes*' death speeches that are written by the Capitol. Katniss thinks the Victory Tour is one of Snow's ways to hegemonize his subjects by giving them hope that they can have better life by winning the *Hunger Games* (CF, 2009: 3). The Victory Tour can also make the district subjects grow hatred and envy on the *victor* because of killing their *tribute* representative and having better life than them. Not only the *victor*, the district where the *victor* belongs will also get better life because they will get a packet of food in every first day of each month for a year which is called Parcel Day. Moreover, the Victory Tour is the only chance of district subjects to know other districts' condition, since Snow prohibits the district subjects to go outside their own district. It is positioned in the middle of the annual *Hunger Games*. Katniss thinks it is Snow's way to tell district subjects that he still and always holds power (CF, 2009: 3). Usually, the *Tour* starts from District 12 and goes in downward district order to District 1. However, since Katniss and Peeta win the last *Hunger Games*, District 12 is saved for the last and is followed by the Capitol. Thus, for the first time in her life, she may go to other districts. When she arrives at District 11, she is shocked by the district's situation even though Rue gives her impression that District 11's rules are harsher than District 12's when they talk in the 74th *Hunger Games*arena.

Katniss says District 11 is tremendously huge and almost all of the subjects are black. District 11's fence is very high and the security is profligately.

> Towering at least thirty-five feet in the air and topped with wicked coils of barbed wire….the base is lined with enormous metal plates….the watchtower, placed evenly apart, manned with armed guards. (CF, 2009: 52)

Katniss's statement above is occured when she sees District 11 subjects, places and conditions. Her perception is that regulation in District 12 is nothing than in 11. Even though District 12 is shielded by electrified fence, District 12's Peacekeepers as well as its mayor are not cruel enough towards the subjects. District 12 only gets electricity for two until three hours every day in the evening, thus, the fence is not electrified oftentimes. Different with District 11 that is fenced by at least thirty-five feet tower which has wicked coils of barbed wire on the top of it. The fence's base is not grounded but lined with metal plates which make District 11 subjects unable to run from their district. Moreover, the tower is manned with armed guards which make more protection of the tower. Katniss is also shocked when she sees that all of the district subjects are working just as Rue's description in the Hunger Games arena.

> Now the crops begin, stretched out as far as the eye can see. **Men, women, and children** wearing straw hats to keep off the sun straighten up, turn our way, **take a moment to stretch their backs as they watch our train go by**….**Small communities of shacks — by comparison the houses in the Seam are upscale** — spring up here and there, but they're all deserted. **Every hand must be needed for the harvest**. (CF, 2009: 53)

The quotation above tells District 11's manufacture of consent, that is crops, and technical instrument are all of the district subjects regardless of age and

gender. The weather in District 11 is hotter than in Katniss's district. When District 12 is covered by snow, District 11 experiences summertime. Their climate differences, according to Katniss's assumption in the quotation in page 48, are caused by its large and far region compared with hers. Thus, it is assumed that the district subjects are required to work in a long time since the day is longer during summer. It is confirmed by Katniss statement that says 'take a moment to stretch their backs as they watch our train go by'. Even though they are housed in better dwellings than District 12 subjects are, but during harvest time, they cannot return home. They have to work until the harvest is finished because harvesting is the manufacture of consent in District 11.

During the Victory Tour, Katniss realizes that Snow makes different regulations to control his subjects in all over Panem related to conditions in each region. Katniss mentions several other districts that catch her consideration, such as District 1, 2, 3, 4, and 8, even though she pays more attention to District 11 since she has an alliance with Rue. Therefore, Katniss does not talk much about the other districts. Just like in District 10, she only mentions about the district's *tributes* in the 74th Hunger Games. She says that the boy *tribute* from 10 is a boy with crippled foot (THG, 2008: 46). It indicates District 10 is suffering similar conditions with District 12 and 11. The boy *tribute*'s crippled foot shows that he, as a representative from District 10 subjects, does not have enough money to heal his wound or illness. District 10 is one of poor districts in Panem. It means, District 10 subjects do not get good health facility from Snow. It indicates the district's condition which is also suffering in poverty like District 12 and 11.

Katniss also mentions about District 10 *tributes*' costume in the 75th *Hunger Games*. District 10's manufacture of consent is as livestock keepers, thus the District 10's *tributes* use cow costume in the 75th *Hunger Games* (CF, 2009: 198). Katniss has to participate in the 75th event even though she has won the last event because Snow considers that she is a threat for him. Thus, Katniss thinks Snow intentionally make regulation to take the *tributes* from the remaining *victors* for the 75th event (CF, 2009: 163). Katniss is chosen since she is the only girl *tribute* from her district. During the event when there are only seven *tributes* left, Katniss destroys the Hunger Games arena by shooting an electrified arrow to its force field. In fact, the subjects who want to do an uprising against Snow have predicted, planned, and directed Katniss to do this without Katniss realizes. While the Gamemakers—those creating the Hunger Games—and the Capitol are in shock, the rebels rescue Katniss from the arena and evacuate her to District 13.

In District 13, Katniss mentions District 10 again when she meets a refugee named Dalton who is originated from District 10, and he is the only real connection that Katniss has with District 10. Apparently, he does not saved by District 13, he escaped from District 10 a few years ago. It indicates that condition in District 10 is not good since he decides to leave his own district. Back then in District 10, Dalton works in one of the beef branches. He maintains herd's genetic diversity with long-frozen cow embryos implantation (MJ, 2010: 7-8). The statement does not show District 10's technical instrument. However, 'one of the beef ranches' phrase indicates there is separation in District 10's job vacancies. The District 10's manufacture of consent is as livestock keepers, thus it must not

only beef even though Katniss only mentions about cow and herd. Possibly because the most produced products in District 10 are beef. The phrase is also mean District 10 has a big territory and quantity of subjects since the Capitol subjects have habit to pile their food, therefore the livestock demand will be high. The cycle of production in District 10 is the district subjects supplies the Capitol live-stock quota and Snow will provide them technology and property to do their job.

Katniss does not talk much about District 9 subjects since the only connection she has with them is when she fought over a supplied bag with District 9's boy *tribute* in the 74th Hunger Games. She talks a lot about District 8 since it has similar condition with her district. She knows it after she meets two of District 8 refugees in District 12's woods. The manufacture of consent in District 8 is textile such as fabric, apparel, ribbon, and Peacekeepers' uniform and shoes. The technical instrument is all of District 8 subjects. Since District 8 is a factory district, they live in a bad environment and suffer in economic difficulties. The cycle of production in District 8 is they are given housing and low salary as consequences to fulfill textile quota.

> I remember **District 8, an ugly urban place stinking of industrial fumes, the people housed in run-down tenements**. Barely a blade of grass in sight. No opportunity, ever, to learn the ways of nature. (CF, 2009: 132)

Katniss's statement is uttered when she went to District 8 after agreeing to be the voice of rebellion. Through the statement, it can be inferred that District 8 has poor sanitation since its air and ground are already contaminated. Thus, the

district does not have natural resources because the factories dispose its waste without further processing to eliminate toxic and make it neutral for its environment. In that kind of situation, it is impossible for them to grow their own crops, so the district subjects do not have another option than to work at the factories. Similar with coal-miner subjects from District 12, District 8 subjects are housed in seedy dwellings. Hence, Katniss thinks District 8's environment is worse because even though some parts of District 12 are covered by coal dust, they are still surrounded by woods, have meadows, and coal-dust-free street in the city (CF, 2009: 132). Furthermore, Katniss has experienced luxury things after she wins the 74th Hunger Games. She has a huge house in a separated part of the district near the city heart called Victor's Village. One house in the Victor's Village—special housing of *victors*' in each district—equals to nine dwellings in her former accommodation in the Seam and each house has its own garden. Then, there is Snow's regulation that restricts communication among districts. Thus, she has culture shock when she sees the other districts.

It is conceivable that the District 8 subjects have poor life qualities. As a textile-producing districts, similar to District 11 and 12 subjects, District 8 is not considered by Snow as a valuable district and, as the result, it is suffered economically.

> Ever since the Hunger Games, the **discontent in District 8** had been growing. **It was always there**, of course, **to some degree**. (CF, 2009: 133)

The quotation above is Katniss's statement about her knowledge on District 8 as the first district declaring war to Snow. Her statement implies that in District 8

occurs economic structure of society as in District 12, which the subjects are always suffering in injustice. However, only some segments of the subjects experience it. Phrase "to some degree" assumes there is complex of social relation in the district subjects. Therefore, besides the bad environment, job, and live quality, the subjects' segment differentiation is also makes them want to fight Snow.

From the way Katniss expresses District 7, she does not find District 7 subjects are approachable. Yet, it is because the only subject she knows is Johanna Mason, a girl *victor* from District 7. She is a cunning, outspoken, rough girl which good with ax, since the manufacture of consent of District 7 are tree, lumber, and paper. Furthermore, Katniss thinks District 7 subjects must have learned to use ax since they are kid (CF, 2009: 309). Katniss's thought indicates District 7's technical instrument is all of the subjects without exception of age, health, and gender.

If Katniss thinks District 7 subjects are sly, District 6 is ruthless. It is because she only knows about District 6's boy *tribute* named Titus of former *Hunger Games*. He is a strong candidate to be a victor. However, in the middle of the event he becomes mad so the Gamemakers have to use electric gun to make him faint before he eats the other *tribute*'s body that he just kill (THG, 2008: 141-142). In her second participation in the Hunger Games, Katniss meets two *victors* from District 6 which is described as drug addicts. Thus, manufacture of consent and technical instrument of District 6 is unidentified.

Similar to District 7, Katniss only concerns about a girl *tribute* from District 5 in her first Hunger Games which is cunning yet smart, but elusive (THG, 2008:

125). She meets a boy *victor* from District 5 in her second Hunger Games which is described as a guzzler (CF, 2009: 211). Other than that, she does not know about the District 5's manufacture of consent and technical instrument.

Katniss mentions a lot about District 4 since *tributes* from that district are usually be the *career*. The manufacture of consent of District 4 is fishing. They supply the Capitol needs of seafood and any other sea stuffs. In her first Hunger Games, Peeta shows Katniss the other district's breads. From District 4 is a "fish-shaped loaf tinted green with seaweed" (THG, 2008: 97). She says that the other district's breads are a lot better and appetizing than the usual quality thin bread in her house even though made from same stuff. Katniss's thought of District 4 implies that Snow has spoiled other districts, one of them is District 4, by giving them better life quality. There is a boy *victor* named Finnick from District 4. Besides he is the *career* who comes from a prestigious district, he also has marvelous beauty. Tributes' attractiveness cannot make them win the Hunger Games but it can help them to reach the victory. For instance, Finnick does not need everything during the event because he never lack of *sponsors* while the other *tributes* are suffering even to hope to get a match. The *sponsors* are those who wants to give gift to the *tributes* during the Hunger Games, but they are usually the Capitol riches since the price of gifts in the arena is extremely expensive. The *sponsors*' motives are not always caused by their attention on the *tributes,* it also causes by their intention to brag about their wealth. The longer the Hunger Games goes, the higher gifts' price becomes. Thus, if the *tributes* are making alliance in the arena, their *mentors*—the *victors* from each district—can

work together to search and choose the gifts to be delivered. After winning the Hunger Games, all of the *victors* will be mentors for the next *tribute* from their district. After a week of the Hunger Games Finnick participates, he even gets a weapon from sponsor which possibly the most expensive gift in the entire the Hunger Games. He is really good at using spear, knife, and trident just like Johanna from District 7 is with her axe. Katniss thinks that District 4 subjects must have been working with trident to fish in their whole life (CF, 2009: 309). It indicates District 4's technical instrument is similar to District 7's: no exception of age, health, and gender in working field.

District 3 manufacture of consent is factories. Nevertheless, different with District 8, District 3 supplies technology such as television, automobile, electronic gadget, and explosive for the Capitol (THG, 2008: 216-271). Besides that, District 3 is also supplying security for the Capitol since Beetee, a *victor* from District 3, makes half of their systems. Beete says that kids in District 3 are learning about technology in school. Thus, Katniss thinks that District 3 subjects are the most genius of the other districts (CF, 2009: 309). It indicates that District 3's technical instrument is same with several districts that have been discussed before: all of the district subjects with no exception of age, health, and gender.

Katniss as the part of the poorer districts has private problem with District 2. Since everybody in the entire Panem knows District 2 supplies the Capitol with the most important goods: weapons and Peacekeepers.

> By the other districts' standards, **the Capitol babied** the inhabitants here. Just by looking at the **District 2** rebels, you can tell they were **decently fed and cared for in childhood**. **Some** did **end up as quarry and mine workers. Others were educated for**

> **jobs** in the Nut or funneled into the ranks of **Peacekeepers**. Trained young and hard for combat. **The Hunger Games were an opportunity for wealth and a kind of glory not seen elsewhere**. Of course, **the people of 2 swallowed the Capitol's propaganda more easily than the rest of us**. Embraced their ways. But for all that, at the end of the day, **they were still slaves**. And **if** that was **lost on the citizens who became Peacekeepers** or worked in the Nut, **it was not lost on the stonecutters** who formed the backbone of the resistance here. (MJ, 2010: 185)

Katniss's perception about District 2 can be found in the data above. Since District 2 produce the most admired products, Snow takes care of the subjects differently than the other subjects. Nevertheless, there is also complex of social relation in the District 2 subjects because there is separation in economy. Some of the chosen and volunteered subjects will be trained and schooled to have higher status job such as Peacekeeper and the Capitol headquarters' worker meanwhile the rest will be mineworkers. Therefore, it means District 2's technical instrument is all of the district subjects even though there are job differences. The District 2 subjects sees Hunger Games as an escape from poverty, thus many of them volunteer to be *tribute* in the event. Since Snow takes care of them more than another district, they are easy target of Snow's hegemony. They somehow do not aware that they are being dominated.

Similar with District 2, District 1 is Capitol's favorite since they produce the most admired goods: jewelries. Thus, Snow is also spoiled them just as he does to District 2. The consideration differences between wealthier districts such as 1, 2, and 4 with poorer districts can be seen through *tributes* from each district. Katniss states that the wealthier district's *tributes* or *career tributes* are well-fed and has been trained for their entire life for the Hunger Games. Before the event begins,

there will be parade of the *tributes*. The parade is the *tributes* costumed with each district's manufacture of consent will be pulled in a chariot. Snow-white, spray-painted silver horses pull District 1 tributes' chariot, meanwhile coal-black horses pull District 12's.

Capitol is 'a shining city' (THG, 2008: 18-19), according to Katniss's perception, which is supplied by thirteen districts. She calls it as a shining city because it is Panem's capital city which never experienced any disadvantage of food, shelter, entertainment, and security. Geographically, the Capitol is secluded and covered by mountains, such condition eventually form a natural barrier between the Capitol and the eastern districts. As a result, it is hard to enter the Capitol from the east except through the underground tunnels. Therefore, it forces the rebels to choose the tunnel to go to the Capitol. However, since the rebels have to scale the mountains, they are easy targets for the Capitol's air forces. This geographical advantage is major factor in the district subjects lose which makes the thirteen districts have to work like slaves to fulfill demand of manufacture of consent. It is caused by the fact that the Capitol does not have manufacture of consent. The Capitol in cycle of production is only taking part as owner and all of the districts become technical instruments because they work as the producer of the manufacture of consent.

4.1.2 Political Society

Political society consists of violence tools, specific region, and state-financed bureaucracies. The violence tools consist of police and military, the specific region consist of separated areas in a state, and the state-financed bureaucracies consist of civil servants or government institutions and law institutions such as law of enforcement, welfare, and education. In the trilogy, the violence tools consist of police and military that are called Peacekeepers, the specific region consist of thirteen districts and Capitol, and the state-financed bureaucracies consist of Peacekeepers and mayor in each district as civil servants, hospital as government institution, and school and Justice Building as enforcement, welfare, and education law institutions. Those tools also occur as Snow's tools to hegemonize his subjects in all over Panem.

The violence tools and the state-financed bureaucracies in Panem can protect and invade the subjects as well. As violence tools, Peacekeepers maintain district subjects' security in order to protect them from wild animals and other unknown dangers outside districts' fence. The fence may consider as Snow's good intention, however, Katniss thinks that his actual purpose is to restrict communication among his subjects (THG, 2008: 5-6). Besides protecting the district subjects in order to remain inside the district's fence, the Peacekeepers also have authority to punish them if violating Snow's regulations. Meanwhile, Peacekeepers in the Capitol have function to protect Capitol's subjects from any violence actions.

As state-financed bureaucracies, the civil servants—the Peacekeepers and the mayors—both can protect and punish the district subjects as well, depend on their own perception. For instance, the Peacekeepers and mayor in District 12 do not really like to punish their subjects. They take flexible deed towards Snow's regulations. Katniss recognizes it after she sees the Peacekeepers and mayors in other districts that are not as flexible as in her district during the Victory Tour. The Peacekeepers and the mayor in District 11 are very severe, they kill their subjects in the place when caught stealing and make the subjects work without exception of age, gender, and both mental and physical health.

The government institution as a part of state-financed bureaucracies is hospital in each district. However, even though hospital is a government institution, it is only affordable by wealthier subjects. The poorer subjects only treat their sickness with cheap remedies from district's apothecaries or natural resources that they found in the districts' meadows or woods.

State-financed bureaucracies are also consists of law institution such as law of enforcement, welfare, and education. Thus, Justice Building as enforcement and welfare law and school as education law are included as state-financed bureaucracies. The law is as a repressive and negative education function. It becomes an instrument for creating and maintaining a certain type of civilization and of citizen, to eliminate certain customs and attitudes, and to disseminate others. In *The Hunger Games* trilogy, Snow uses law to create and maintain Capitol as the only civilized area in Panem and manufacture of consent, technical instrument, and complex of social relation as the certain type of citizen. Snow also

uses law to eliminate certain customs and attitudes such as banning District 12's 'three middle fingers gesture' which means thanks, admiration, and good bye to the loved ones (THG, 2008: 25). The last, Snow uses law to hegemonize his subjects all over Panem.

Justice Building as a symbol of enforcement and welfare in each district is the place for distributing food—*tesserae*, for giving bravery medal of coal miners who are dead in mine explosion, and for saying goodbye to friends and family of *tributes* before they are taken to the Capitol.

Education becomes repressive function because it is used to acknowledge, comprehend, and maintain ruler's authority by executing regulations that the subjects have learnt. Thus, the goal of education is to strengthen ruler's authority, in this case is Snow's authority. Through education, Snow is able to hegemonize his subjects with schooling them. In addition giving them free education, subversively Snow gives ideology to hegemonize them. School is considered as positive educative function, whether it still has negative side. It is positive to maintain Snow's power; nevertheless, it is negative because it makes standardizing in Panem subjects. The hegemonized subjects will unconsciously live as Snow tells them because they are brainwashed by Snow's ideology. Moreover, the subjects who are not hegemonized by Snow's ideology will live as Snow tells them as well since they cannot disobey his regulations. Due to its functions, schools as the law institution are free for each district subject. The main purpose of school is to make the entire district subjects can work better for Snow in the future. In the school, the district subjects will only learn about each

district's manufacture of consent and not given any other lessons except Panem history, basic math and reading that is still related to their manufacture of consent.

> Somehow **it all comes back to coal at school. Besides basic reading and math most of our instruction is coal-related**. Except for the **weekly lecture on the history of Panem**. It's mostly a lot of **blather about** what **we owe the Capitol**. I know there must be more than they're telling us, an actual account of what happened during the rebellion. But I don't spend much time thinking about it. Whatever the truth is, I don't see how it will help me get food on the table. (THG, 2008: 42-43)

According to Katniss, school in District 12 only taught about coal and coal-mining related, basic reading, and math that are still coal-related since their manufacture of consent is coal. However, Panem history that contains all districts' debt to the Capitol is implemented on school's curricula because of their uprising during Dark Days that make the subjects have to be Panem's technical instruments until now. Katniss thinks there must be hidden information about the history. However, she does not think more about it, because even though she knows, her life condition will be just the same state—struggling in poverty (THG, 2008: 42-43).

Similar conditions occur in some district, the subjects are only taught their manufacture of consent-related as their curricula in school. District 3 subjects are only taught explosive, automobile and technology (THG, 2008: 216-217), and District 8 are only taught industrial related (CF, 2009: 132). It indicates that Snow does not want his subjects to have other knowledge beside each district's manufacture of consent, to have knowledge to balance their salary, or to have knowledge to start an uprising.

The specific region makes complex of social relation among Capitol subjects with district subjects, among each district subjects, and among internal of each district subjects. It occurs because Snow restricts communication among subjects in Panem. Therefore, the Capitol subjects do not have any information about condition in the thirteen districts; the same way with district subjects who do not know each other's condition. The complex of social relation is can be seen from many aspects, one of them is perception differences in seeing each other and in seeing the annual Hunger Games. The Capitol subjects assume the district subjects as their fulfillment of entertainment needs. Moreover, they consider the Hunger Games as sport festival and it makes them to put bets on *tributes*' endurance in the arena and which *tribute* who will become *victor*.

Meanwhile, the district subjects consider the Hunger Games as a torturing event. It still happens even though Snow makes them to consider it as a sport festival that has to be celebrated (THG, 2008: 19). Furthermore, the district subjects work like slaves while the Capitol subjects live glamorously. Katniss sees the district subjects work with long working time, given low salary, and have to buy their own produced product while the Capitol subjects just have to enjoy the district subjects' hard work.

Such condition leads Panem subjects to have different perception on the Hunger Games and causes separation among them. The district subjects hate the Capitol subjects that look very happy to watch them fight and die. They also become hating each other because the other district's *tribute* kills their family or their district's *tribute*. Those actions indicate that Snow's purpose is to make the

district subjects forget their real enemy and consider each other as enemy instead. All of these misunderstanding will always occur because Snow takes some actions to ensure that the Panem subjects cannot communicate. Those are by quarantining each district by huge electrified fence and placing Peacekeepers in each district as guards. Their position is obliged them to protect district subjects from unknown danger from outside districts' fence, to monitor them in order to obey the Snow's regulations, to punish subjects who caught break the regulations, to drown out insurgency, and to fight rebellions from the district subjects if it is ensue.

> **Gale**'s wrists are **bound to a** wooden **post**. The wild turkey he shot earlier hangs above him,….His jacket's been cast aside on the ground, his shirt torn away. He slumps unconscious on his knees, held up only by the ropes at his wrists. What used to be his back is a raw, bloody slab of meat. Standing behind him is a man I've never seen, but I [Katniss] recognize his **uniform**. It's the one designated for our **Head Peacekeeper**.
> (CF, 2009: 99)

The quotation above tells an incident when Katniss's friend named Gale Hawthorne is caught hunting outside District 12's fence. Katniss goes hunting with Gale almost every day before she becomes a *victor*. However, since Katniss's victory in the Hunger Games, she has enough money to buy food in official store in the city. Then, Katniss is going hunting for fun and giving the game—hunted animals—to Gale. Yet, Gale continues to hunt if he is out of work because his salary is not enough to fulfill his family needs. Previously, both Katniss and Gale take some of the games for their supply and sell the rest in Hob—black market in District 12—or to the city subjects such as merchants and Peacekeepers. Even though Peacekeepers are not supposed to disobey Snow's regulations, District 12's Peacekeepers are flexible in facing the district subjects. As in fact, the former

head Peacekeepers named Cray often buy wild turkey from Gale and Katniss (THG, 2008: 52).

Nevertheless, since Katniss becomes one of the *victors* of the last Hunger Games, Snow pays more attention to District 12. It happens because Katniss unconsciously inspires the district subjects to do an uprising against the Capitol from her action in the 74th Hunger Games. Each Hunger Games event has its theme. After Peeta confesses his feeling to Katniss, they have an image as star-crossed lovers, thus the 74th event raises love story theme. In the middle of the event, Gamemakers—the event's arena and theme maker and the *tribute* judges in Training Center—make different rule. Usually there is only one *victor* allowed, but at that time, the rule changes become two *tributes* can be the *victors* if they come from same district. The rule goes to a certain direction, because at the event the only remaining *tributes* that have their partner are only District 12 and District 2. Katniss thinks the Gamemakers intentionally make the rule since the Capitol audiences are bored or do not like how the event's work and they adore love story (THG, 2008: 241). Furthermore, when there are only Katniss and Peeta left, the Gamemakers change the rule to its usual that is only one winner remains. Peeta asks Katniss to kill him but Katniss takes out some nightlocks—poisoned berry—instead. She does that because Peeta makes her realize that the event must have a winner as an example of hope that the Capitol give to the district subjects. Katniss thinks if she and Peeta both look like trying to die, the Gamemakers will not allow it (THG, 2008: 338-339). Thus, Katniss takes some nightlocks, share it with Peeta, and pretend to suicide together. Katniss's tactic works. The Gamemakers

announce the two of them as the 74th *Hunger Games*' *victors*. Katniss's action with the berry makes two impressions in Panem. The Capitol subjects think that as an action of depressed couple who decided to die rather than loose each other, while the district subjects think that as an action of an uprising. The district subjects think if Katniss is still alive after doing a rebellion, they have a chance to do an uprising as well. Consequently, without any announcement, Snow changes District 12' head Peacekeeper to discipline Katniss, Peeta, and Haymitch—their mentor, and the rest of the subjects. It is also consider as an action to make the subordinate Peacekeepers obey Snow's regulations.

Principally, in District 12, passing the fence is forbidden, not to mention hunting. It is illegal to take everything outside the fence because all of them are stated as Capitol's properties. Thus, hunting and collecting everything that belongs to the state is alleged as stealing, and stealing in some districts is condemned to death. Therefore, as the punishment, Gale is flogged on the pole in district's square so that everyone can see. The one who punished Gale is the new head Peacekeeper named Romulus Thread. Even though he is still new personnel in District 12, he does not hesitant to punish the district subjects. His action is not only based on Gale's action but also by the uniform that is used by Thread. The head Peacekeepers will have higher authority than the subordinate will. It is approved by Cray, the last head Peacekeeper, which always pay for poor girls to satisfy his desire, disobey Snow's regulation such as letting District 12 subjects to trade in Hob, letting them to pass the fence, and letting them hunting and

harvesting in the woods. Following by Thread which directly punish Gale even though he still new in District 12.

Anyhow, Thread's action is Snow's purpose to reinforce his regulations' supremacy in District 12. Snow's way to reinforce his regulations' supremacy in all over Panem is by continuing to apply a policy—the annual Hunger Games—aiming to spread fear to his subjects. It is occured with intention they do not have courage to oppose any of his regulations. The annual Hunger Games is an event that is established after the Dark Days.

> Then came the **Dark Days, the uprising of the districts against the Capitol**. Twelve were defeated, the thirteenth obliterated. The **Treaty of Treason** gave us the **new laws to guarantee peace** and, **as** our **yearly reminder** that the Dark Days must never be repeated, it **gave** us the **Hunger Games**. (THG, 2008: 19)

Katniss states the quotation above. In the quotation, Capitol refers to the president, because the central government is in the Capitol. Dark Days is the time when district subjects uprising against the Capitol in the past before Snow's governmental. During the war, the district subjects are defeated. The remaining 12 districts are forgiven and District 13 is obliterated because it is the district rebels' headquarter. As a penance over their uprising, the former president before Snow make a pact called the Treaty of Treason—a regulation that in every year all districts must submit one boy and one girl aged twelve to eighteen years old to participate in reaping event named Hunger Games. The elected children to join Hunger Games are called *tributes*. After being treated, trained, given luxurious facilities, and given delicious meal, the *tributes* are brought into a public arena where they have to fight to death until only one winner—called as *victor*—

remains. The *victor* will get luxury which the other subjects do not have: wealth, security, and fame. The Hunger Games event itself is the president's way to give hope to the thirteen district subjects. Hope that the district subjects may be live in safety and prosperity. That is the reason some of the district subjects see the Hunger Games as an opportunity to a better life that make tense among the district subjects.

> **I** [Katniss] **can't win**. Prim must know that in her heart. **The competition will be far beyond my abilities**. **Kids from wealthier districts**, **where winning is a huge honor**, who've **been trained their whole lives** for this. Boys who are two to three times my size. Girls who know twenty different ways to kill you with a knife. Oh, there'll be **people like me**, too. People to **weed out before the real fun begins**. (THG, 2008: 37)

The quotation above is how Katniss as a part of poorer district subjects sees wealthier district subjects. The quotation takes place after Katniss volunteers to replace her sister, Prim's place as a *tribute* in the 74th Hunger Games. Katniss states that District 12 subjects thinks it is unfair when every twelve years old *victor* is chosen. Katniss also thinks that she is too weak (THG, 2008: 22-23). Therefore, Katniss takes Prim's place because she does not want Prim to die even though she has no chance of winning the Hunger Games since she comes from a poor district. The *tributes*' disadvantages of coming from poor district are they never trained to compete in the event, not fed properly, and work with harder pressure than the wealthier districts. Meanwhile, the *tributes* from wealthier districts such as District 1, 2, and 4 have trained to compete in the event and fed properly since they have better job and work with lower pressure. Therefore, the

Hunger Games' *victors* are usually *tributes* from wealthier district. Thus, Katniss thinks the *tribute* from poorer districts do not have any chance to win the event.

> Almost all of the boys and at least half of the girls are bigger than I [Katniss] am, even though many of the tributes have never been fed properly. You can see it in their bones, their skin, the hollow look in their eyes….The exceptions are the **kids from the wealthier districts**, the volunteers, the ones who **have been fed and trained** throughout their lives for this moment. The **tributes from 1, 2, and 4** traditionally have this look about them. It's **technically against the rules to train tributes before they reach the Capitol but it happens every year**. In District 12, we call them the **Career Tributes**, or just the Careers. And like as not, **the winner will be one of them.** (THG, 2008: 94)

Katniss's statement that the victors are usually taken from wealthier district makes her unable to win the Hunger Game. Different conditions are emerged in other wealthier District tributes such as District 1, 2, and 4 because Snow pays more attention to their districts because they produce exclusive goods; District 1 only produces jewelries, District 2 produces weapons, hovercrafts, and recruit peacekeepers, and District 4 only produces seafood and another sea stuffs. Meanwhile, District 7 only produces lumbers, District 8 only produces textile, District 11 only produces crops, and District 12 only produces coals—the least prestigious goods. Those make life quality of each district different from one to another, between wealthier and poorer districts. Furthermore, District 12 subjects work only after reaching eighteen years old, it is the latest age when district subjects have to join the Hunger Games event. Hence, District 12's tributes do not have much experience such as to hold weapons and to have more money to increase their life's quality.

Unconsciously, Snow's differences in considering districts makes the poorer districts grow hatred and jealousy towards the wealthier districts while the wealthier districts grow superior feeling above all other districts. It is believed as one of Snow's ways to hegemonize the district subjects by growing hatred among each other thus they forget who the real enemy is and will not do an uprising since they are never be united.

4.1.3 Civil Society

Civil society is other organization in social form that is not a part of production process in economy. It is not state-financed organization; therefore, it can be referred as "private" bureaucracies. Civil society is relatively long-lived bureaucracies that supported and run by people outside government organization. Civil societies in the trilogy are District 13, Mockingjay team, and Katniss. District 13 is independent from Panem because Capitol obliterates it when Dark Days, first district subjects' uprising against the Capitol. District 13 is obliterated because it is nuclear producer and as district subjects' uprising headquarters. Since then, the Capitol states that District 13 has been destroyed. In fact, they are not completely obliterated yet they are able to survive underground even with various kinds of trials.

> We were in no position to launch a counterattack until recently**. We could barely stay alive. After we'd overthrown and executed**

> **the Capitol's people**, only a handful of us even knew how to pilot.
> (MJ, 2010: 79)

The quotation above is a statement by Boggs, highest leader of District 13's soldier, to Katniss. The conversation takes place in District 13's hovercraft headquarters. Katniss asks him about District 13's reason for not helping the remaining twelve districts for 75 years while they have nuclear, hovercrafts, underground bunkers, and train their subjects to become soldiers. Boggs says District 13 cannot attack Capitol without receiving revenge attack. He says back then when the Capitol attacks District 13, they are save yet get many difficulties even though they are not obliterated since they have already evacuated to underground bunker. District 13 has underground bunker because they have an initiative to execute an uprising even though before the Dark Days.

As one of District 13 subjects and highest leader of its soldiers Boggs must be has high patriotism. Thus, when Katniss judges his district, he defends its pride. He says that District 13 is not in a state to protect other districts because it suffers pitiful condition as well. District 13 subjects successful to kick Capitol's people—Peacekeepers—out from the district. Yet, because of that, District 13 loses many important people such as people who can operate hovercrafts.

However, the former president before Snow's governmental knows that District 13 is still alive. In spite of knowing this fact, the former president let District 13 alive in suffered condition and cut off its communication with other districts. He thinks District 13 will not able to survive with destroyed area and no help. He also wants District 13 manufacture of consent, nuclear. To preserve it, there is an invisible pact between the former president and District 13. The

Capitol will pretend and state to all over Panem that District 13 is deceased while the district itself pretends to dead. In addition, the former president states to all over Panem that District 13's manufacture of consent is granite thus nobody knows the truth it produces nuclear. However, after Snow becomes Panem president, he wants the nuclear as well. Thus, by continuing the former president, he states to all Panem subjects that District 13 is no longer exist and the manufacture of consent is granite and not nuclear as already known by people.

Because of the invisible pact with the Capitol, District 13 stays at the underground bunker to continuing live. They grow their own crops since they cannot produce in their real location. After they are bombed, the nuclear becomes theirs and no longer belongs to the Capitol. Since then District 13 is free from the Capitol government. They become a "private" bureaucracy and have its own president as one who holds highest authority named Alma Coin.

However, the Capitol and District 13 want to dominate each other. The Capitol wants District 13's nuclear, weapons, and hovercrafts; meanwhile, District 13 wants the Capitol's location and position as Panem leader. Thus, when District 13 sees second opportunity to do an uprising against the Capitol, they use Katniss to be their voice to collect other districts to make alliance. Katniss herself aware that she is being used to unite Panem.

> What they want is for me to truly take on the **role** they designed for me. **The symbol of the revolution. The Mockingjay**. It isn't enough, what I've done in the past, defying the Capitol in the Games, providing a rallying point. I must now become **the actual leader, the face, the voice, the embodiment of the revolution**. The person who the districts—most of which are now openly at war with the Capitol—can count on to blaze the path to victory. I

> won't have to do it alone. They have a whole team of people to make me over, dress me, write my speeches, orchestrate my appearances—as if that doesn't sound horribly familiar—and all I have to do is play my part. (MJ, 2010: 10)

The quotation above is Katniss's statement when she is demanded to be Mockingjay—face of uprising. Even though she never has any intention on her action with *nightlocks*—poisoned berries—in the 74th Hunger Games to resemble rebellion actions, many of other districts are inspired by her and make her as a martyr of the uprising. District 13 and Capitol subjects who ascend the uprising consider that Katniss has huge influence, thus they want Katniss to be their voice and called themselves as Mockingjay team. The team plans to rescue Katniss from the 75th Hunger Games. The *tributes* from District 7, 6, 4, and 3 know about this and make an alliance to protect Katniss and Peeta as well since Katniss will not cooperate with them if there is no Peeta. While the Mockingjay team and some of the *tributes* plan this, Katniss and Peeta do not know even any little information about it. The Mockingjay team uses them to accomplish its goal—unify thirteen districts to against the Capitol. Such action of Mockingjay team, is actually hegemonizing Katniss, Peeta, and some *tributes* and turns it into one of "private" bureaucracies. This can be happened because they are District 13's unit.

However, Katniss is not simply agreeing to be the Mockingjay. She afraid that her action will harm Panem's subjects and make them to become victims since Snow has a regulation which restricts any symbols of Mockingjay. She also does not want to do it since every action she takes will be influential to Peeta. After Katniss is rescued from the Hunger Games arena by Mockingjay team, Snow imprisons other *victors* from the 75th Hunger Games—Peeta and Johanna—to

hook Katniss and imprisons Annie—*victor* from District 4—to hook Finnick since she is his lover. The Mockingjay team cannot rescue all of the remaining *victors* since they are running out of time. Katniss gets hysteria since then, because she is really disappointed of not knowing the Mockingjay team plan. She is also overthinking about Peeta's condition since Snow uses Peeta as his doll to make districts that do uprising to ceasefire. Snow makes this propaganda and airs it in all over Panem. Peeta's condition is getting worse day by day he appears in television. Thus, to persuade Katniss and make her moderate, Mockingjay team illustrates her some conditions in District 12 and 8 after Snow's hovercrafts bombing.

Snow obliterates District 12 after Katniss destroys force field in the 75th Hunger Games' arena. Katniss's action with the force field makes two perceptions. Katniss is acting to be pregnant since Peeta states in interview before the 75th Hunger Games that they are already married and Katniss is going to have a baby. After imprisoned, Peeta keeps protecting Katniss's life with continuing their 'star-crossed lovers' story that Katniss is just an unstable pregnant girl who does not know what she is doing. Peeta says this just in case the district subjects lose in the war, Capitol will tolerate Katniss. Peeta's statement is aired all over Panem, it means Snow wants to build Katniss's image as an innocent girl and any of her actions do not intended to rise an uprising. In contrast, some districts who do uprising do not believe in Snow's propaganda and thinks that Katniss's actions are not meant to be uprising actions. However, Katniss's actions with the *nightlocks* and the force field make the event, Gamemakers, and Snow

embarrassed since Katniss is outsmarted them. Force field is Capitol's way to separate the Hunger Games arena with real world. After Katniss destroys the field, everyone in Panem notices that the event's arena is always built only in certain area, thus the *tributes* will meet each other and cannot escape. The arena is also build in round shape and the force field is reflecting same scenery with the environment, thus many of the *tributes* dead because they hit the force field and are electrocuted. Haymitch, Katniss's *mentor*, is the first *tribute* who consider about it. Katniss is the second. Haymitch accidentally win the Hunger Games because force field throws back his rival's weapon and it killed his rival itself. It is not supposed to be happening, because the Hunger Games' main purpose is to make the *tributes* kill each other with their own hands. Then there is Katniss who breaks the force field's secret. Because all of these reasons, Snow obliterates District 12. It also happens since District 12 is Katniss's hometown and to make other districts and especially District 12 itself to afraid execute an uprising.

District 8 is bombed but it is not obliterated, because it is the first district declaring an uprising against Snow. He abandons hospital and destroys everything else to indicate that Snow is still trying to hegemonize his subjects by giving them a hope in surviving. Yet, the district is bombed again after Katniss is caught visiting District 8. The bombing is a consequence of Katniss's visit, Snows is categorizing it as crime since Snow declares that any Mockingjay symbols are banned. Thus, Snow sends hovercrafts to bomb the hospital and then there is no place to live in District 8 anymore. District 8 remaining subjects are evacuated to District 13.

Katniss percepts that condition in the two districts is awful after the bombing, she is also told by Mockingjay team another districts are suffering similar condition. Finally, she agrees to be the Mockingjay. Afterward, Katniss is trained by Mockingjay team in District 13 to read written speeches, since Katniss is always easily touched and expresses her emotion in her speeches and end up ruin situation. The Mockingjay team also wants Katniss just to say things which give them advantages. Katniss is also demanded to act like leader of the uprising in front of camera because it will be recorded as propaganda—*propos*. The uprising team plans to hijack Capitol's television satellite and use them to broadcast their *propos*. Katniss and the remaining *victors* find this familiar since Snow treats them like that. It indicates that District 13 and Capitol are using same tools to hegemonize, propaganda and the *victors* as their doll.

After some Capitol's propagandas, Katniss considers that Peeta's condition is getting worse. In the first propaganda, Peeta looks fine and healthy. Nevertheless, in the latest propaganda Peeta looks unstable. The sight in his eyes looks like angry yet confused. While sitting, he taps his legs in irregular beat. He is flooded by his own sweat and speaks in frustrated tone (MJ, 2010: 127-128). Katniss and the Mockingjay team speculate that Snow tortures Peeta with miserable unknown way. In the latest propaganda, Peeta warns Katniss that District 13 will be bombed in the morning. The information makes District 13 subjects can be evacuated safely to their anti-bunker-missile bunkers. Missile bunker is designed bomb to penetrate deep in the ground before they are blown since Snow knows there is no use to bomb District 13's surface (MJ, 2010: 140). After bombed for days, the

Capitol hovercrafts finally leave and the Mockingjay team can go to the surface to check the damage caused of the bombs. Lots of District 13's land surface are damaged, yet only left worthless destructions on generators, poultry farm, some guard stations. However, Katniss is shocked by scattered of roses near debris of District 13's Justice Building. She believes that Snow sends the roses to mock her because those are pink and red roses that meant for a pair of lovers. Katniss recalls that pink and red roses are stage properties when she and Peeta doing their victory interview after winning the 74th Hunger Games. Katniss thinks that Snow knows how to destroy her, that is by confusing her (MJ, 2010: 153).

Katniss realizes how Snow hegemonizes her after seeing the roses, Snow uses Peeta to torture her. Every act that she does, it will effect to Peeta. Snow will distress Peeta yet not let him dead. Katniss believes that Snow will make sure that Peeta's life will be worse than dead. After realizing it, Katniss's hysteria relapses. The Mockingjay team understands that Katniss will never heal after this happened. Thus, the Mockingjay team under Coin's authorization decides to rescue the *victors*—Peeta, Johanna, and Annie—from the Capitol.

When rescue team that consists of Boggs, Gale, and some top-trained volunteers go to the Capitol, the Mockingjay team in District 13 plans to make distraction by doing *propo* with Katniss and Finnick as main roles. It is occurred to divert Snow and Peacekeepers thus they do not notice District 13's hovercrafts which try to emerge Capitol's air defenses. Luckily, the Capitol electricity is off at that time, thus the rescue team can emerge to the Capitol's airspace straightforwardly. Katniss's *propo* contains story of first time she meets Peeta.

Almost everyone in Panem believes that Katniss and Peeta have married. Katniss still playing that act because she believes that love story will last long in people's mind. It is also because the first time Katniss is being open to public because usually she uses indifferent mask in society. Therefore, she is sure that Panem subjects will like story about her private life. After telling about her first meeting with Peeta, she adds that Snow's action in torturing Peeta makes her brave to do anything needed to destroy the Capitol. Then she declares her own independence.

> **President Snow once admitted** to me that **the Capitol was fragile**. At the time, I didn't know what he meant. It was hard to see clearly because I was so afraid. Now I'm not. The Capitol's fragile because **it depends on the districts for everything**. Food, energy, even the Peacekeepers that police us. **If we declare our freedom, the Capitol collapses**. President Snow, thanks to you, I'm officially declaring mine today. (MJ, 2010: 162)

The above quotation is Katniss's statement which occurs at her house in Victor's Village before huge scale uprising happens. During Snow's visit to Katniss's house before Victory tour, Snow himself is admitting that the Capitol is a fragile city. At first, Katniss cannot grasp the meaning because she is too afraid on Snow's threat to kill her beloved ones. Even though, she is afraid on Snow's authority, she also thinks that the Capitol must not be fragile since it has literally everything like food, shelter, electricity, technology, entertainment, expensive apparel, and safety. After having such thought, she is no longer afraid and able to comprehend Snow's statement. Snow does not mind to share her about Panem's system because he may think she will not tell anyone about this fact; moreover, he sees her as a regular cunning *tribute* who desperately trying to stay alive during

the Hunger Games and afterwards. He openly asks Katniss to cooperate with the Capitol to discontinue uprising in some districts.

However, after she realizes Snow is torturing Peeta to make her helpless, she becomes not afraid anymore to his authority. She also considers that the Capitol is depends on the thirteen districts for everything since they do not have any manufacture of consent. They need jewelry from District 1, police and hovercraft from District 2, technology from District 3, seafood from District 4, lumber from District 7, textile from District 8, livestock from District 10, crops from District 11, coal from District 12, and nuclear and granite from District 13. Thus, if the thirteen districts declare their independence, the Capitol has nothing to hold on and that encourages Katniss to continue stating her freedom. As the Mockingjay and as one of the *victors* Katniss has massive impact on Panem subjects, thus, her independence will trigger the subjects to declare their freedom as well.

Snow once states that Katniss and other *victors* are threat because they are symbol of uprising. Since they become the symbol, their freedom declaration will trigger district subjects to do the same. Finnick is one of the most famous *victors*, thus just like Katniss, he has huge influence. Finnick's *propo* contains story about secrets of Snow and some functionaries in the Capitol (MJ, 2010: 162-164). Finnick states that Snow gives him as a reward or sells him to anyone in the Capitol who can pay dearly for his time. He is not the only one; all other desirable *victors* are traded too even though he is the most favorite since he is very handsome. If the *victors* refuse, Snow will kill someone they love. Thus, they inevitably have to do it and Finnick states that he may be the most defenseless

because his love one is defenseless—Annie is mentally unstable after participating the Hunger Games.

As payment, Finnick's patrons pay him with money or jewelry, but Finnick finds payment that is more valuable, with secrets. The patrons—Capitol's functionaries and rich Capitol subjects—say the secrets unconsciously while drunk. Finnick starts with prominent Capitol subjects' secrets of strange sexual desire, betrayal, bottomless greed, bloody power plays, incest, backstabbing, blackmail, and arson produce. They give such information to Finnick since they think no one will believe if he spreads it. Yet, now, with full scale uprising, everybody in Panem will believe Finnick's *propo* since its authentication is bearable. Finnick continues with Snow's secret. Snow becomes Panem's president in young age and can remain his position until now. He uses poison to destroy his political opponents and allies that potential to become threat. The poison makes Snow's rivals dropping dead at that time or slowly missing over period of months. Snow blames old shellfish, elusive viruses, or overlooked weakness in artery. Snow has antidotes, thus he can also drinks from poisoned glass to rebound people's suspicion. However, the antidotes do not always work and make his mouth sores in never heal state and it sometimes bleeding. This thing makes Snow uses genetic rose to cover blood scent from his mouth. Finnick's *propo* makes enormous impacts to the Capitol's rebels than to districts' rebels. Katniss as part of districts' rebels has already low opinion towards Snow and the Capitol, thus Finnick's *propo* does not shock her. In the contrary, the rebels from the Capitol in District 13 seem to be in shockwave.

District 13 leader, President Alma Coin, monitors all of Katniss's actions as the Mockingjay since beginning because it affects in the uprising. However, Coin has her own intention toward the uprising. As District 13 leader, she is also the highest leader of the uprising and she is the one who determine decision-making in the uprising. In the propos, Coin seems want to liberate district subjects from Snow's slavery, whereas some people like Boggs and Plutarch knows that Coin has another purpose, which is to replace Snow's place as Panem leader. Thus, Coin demands Katniss to become the Mockingjay on screen only and not in real war. It occurs because Coin is afraid Panem subjects will elect Katniss as their next leader. However, after Katniss's job in uniting the district's subjects is successful, Coin does not need her anymore and decided to destroy her.

Even though previously Katniss takes action as an individual, she becomes one of "private" bureaucracies when she agrees to be the Mockingjay. It happens because of her position as symbol of uprising and her declaration of independence in television during her *propo*. However, throughout her position as the Mockingjay, Katniss is already hegemonized by two organizations, Capitol and District 13. Katniss already knows main intention of Snow as the highest leader of Capitol, which is using her as a doll to sadden uprising. Moreover, Katniss just realizes Coin's main intention as the highest leader of District 13 after Boggs tells her that she has been used for Coin's matters. Boggs thinks that Coin wants Katniss to dead because Katniss has already finish her job as unifier of Panem. Boggs states that Coin does not like Katniss since she does not like everything that she cannot control. (MJ, 2010: 252-253). Thus, Coin sends Peeta who is

mentally unstable to the war field. Peeta is sick because he is *hijacked*—brain washed—by Snow to threaten Katniss. Peeta becomes confused and unable to differ which isreal and not. After hijacked, he thinks Katniss as a threat; knowing this Coin decides to send Peeta, hopefully, to kill Katniss. Coin wants her to die because Katniss as the face of rebellion is a threat for her due to what kind of impacts Katniss has. Katniss may not be the next Panem leader, yet, she has Panem subjects's voice majority. Coin thinks Katniss will not choose her as the next leader, thus Katniss should die since her job to unify Panem is accomplished. If Katniss dies, then she becomes a martyr of the uprising, thus Panem subjects have something to fight for.

Nevertheless, during the second uprising, Boggs tells Katniss his speculation that Coin has her own intentions. Those are freeing Panem from Snow, taking over the Capitol, and becoming the next leader of Panem (MJ, 2010: 252-253). To get her purposes she uses Katniss and all of Panem subjects. She outwardly wants to dominate Panem and be its next leader. Yet, she does not show it in District 13's *propos*. The *propos* only show how immoral Snow and his hegemonies are. The *propos* intend to make Panem subjects thinks that their only enemy is Snow. Most of common District 13 subjects do not recognize Coin's main intention and just follow her regulations. It also occurs for most of Panem subjects. Panem subjects' perception towards both Snow's hegemony actions can be seen from their reaction towards the hegemony.

Katniss which acts as focalizor and also as character in the same time makes her get some advantages to be more perceived by reader than any other characters

in the trilogy. This concern makes the reader only gets limited information of the three conceptualization of hegemony: economy, political society, and civil society in all over Panem, because Katniss only mentions what she hear and see. Thus, the reader does not get any further information besides what has been described by Katniss and only focus on her opinion about events that are happened.

4.2 The Subjects' Reaction on the Hegemony

During his governance, Snow is only able to hegemonize several regions since he gives different attention to some region in Panem, consequently, it leads into the subjects' reaction differences to his hegemony. As has been discussed in 4.1, Snow is focusing to keep his eye towards wealthier districts—District 1, 2, and 4—since they produce desirable goods and Capitol becomes consumer of all district's manufacture of consent (THG, 2008: 69). Most of all district subjects aware that Snow is dominating them, yet, almost all of Capitol subjects not. The average aware districts are all of less concerned and poor districts—District 3, 5 until 11—because they produce less desirable goods such as coal, textile, and lumber. District 12 subjects' reaction is not immense because, according to Katniss, they are too afraid to against Snow's regulations. In contrast, the richer district such as District 2 is not completely aware, even unaware, on Snow's hegemony. It happens since their life qualities are better than the poorer districts;

it is caused of Snow's action which facilitates them like providing better food, shelter, education, and job (MJ, 2010: 185).

Meanwhile, Katniss also thinks that District 2 subjects who work as miner can be persuade to join the uprising. Some subjects in the Capitol who aware are people who have revenge to Snow such as ex Hunger Games' stylist and those who still work Snow's politic opponent and victim, *avox*—mute slave in the Capitol who serves *tributes* in Training Center, subjects who work at Capitol's television, and some subjects who consider that Snow's authority must be ended. Meanwhile the rest of common Capitol subjects do not aware since they live in peace and prosperity (MJ, 2010: 306-307). Based on Katniss's perceptions, the district subjects are divided into three parts—aware, unaware and those who are in between or ambiguous—when it is related to their reactions on Snow's hegemony.

4.2.1 Subjects who Aware

After Katniss become *victor* of the 74th Hunger Games, the uprising begins to emerge in some districts. It is occurred because some district subjects consider Katniss's action after issued *nightlocks* in the Hunger Games arena as an act of rebellion. They are inspired and dare to do the same thing, which is against Snow by making Katniss as the face of uprising. Snow also realizes Katniss's influence in the district subjects. Moreover, he considers all of the *victors*, not only Katniss, are threat at that time. Thus, Snow states that in the 75th Hunger Games, which

means the 3rd Quarter Quell—special edition of the annual event every twenty-five years. Since it is special edition, the rule is different from the usual event. Snow states that in the 3rd Quell the *tributes* will be chosen from the remaining *victors.* Katniss thinks that Snow intentionally makes the *victors* participate in the Hunger Games for a second time because he wants them, especially her, to be dead (CF, 2009: 163). However, before the Quell begins, the *tributes* from District 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 11 agree to release Katniss from the arena, which means they agree to join the uprising.

> There was a **plan to break us out of the arena** from the moment the Quell was announced. The **victor tributes from 3, 4, 6, 7, 8,** and **11** had varying degrees of knowledge about it…..We are currently on a very roundabout journey to District 13. Meanwhile, **most of the districts in Panem are in full-scale rebellion**.
> (CF, 2009: 358)

Katniss's statement above is occured after she is rescued from the Hunger Games arena. Plutarch and Haymitch told her that even before the Quell begins, some *victors* have a plan to rescue Katniss and themselves from the arena. Those *victors* are from District 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8. The statement of '…had varying degrees of knowledge about it' means even though they have the plan, not all of them are having equal information. After rescued, Katniss is brought to District 13 by rebels' team which has not have a name at that time. While the statement of 'most of the districts in Panem are in full-scale rebellion' means at first the uprising only occurs in small-scale. Hitherto, after Katniss destroy the arena, most of the districts start to make huge-scale of the uprising.

After successfully rescuing Katniss from the arena, the uprising is spreading widely. In the beginning, the uprising is only occurred in less concerned districts that, according to Capitol, produce less prestigious manufacture of consents such as coal, crops, lumber, textile, livestock and technology. Nevertheless, eventually, all districts have started the rebellion. At first, the rebellion is started in small scale by executing strikes, assaults on the Peacekeeper, takes over the justice building and seizes crop supplies. Next, it is aroused into a bigger one when all districs are united under the Mockingjay team. However, the uprising is getting wider and followed by subjects in richer districts and Capitol.

District 13 subjects' reaction through Snow's hegemony is by doing uprising after 75th Hunger Games. The uprising is led by Coin, District 13's president. Coin uses similar method like District 13's former leader does in executing the uprising during Dark Days. The former leader unifies all districts before attack the Capitol. However, the districts are losing and the Capitol wins. Continuing District 13's former leader system, in the second uprising Coin tries to unify all of the subjects. The difference occurs because she not only unifies subjects in the districts but also in the Capitol. She needs the remaining twelve districts, Katniss as Mockingjay—voice of the uprising, the Mockingjay team—districts' and Capitol's rebels, and Katniss's prep team from the Hunger Games. Complex of social relation is occurred between them, because they need each other to make the uprising realization. Coin as representative of District 13 subjects needs the twelve districts to attack Capitol since they are lost in number. The rebels in the remaining twelve districts and Capitol need District 13 that have weapon, technology, and

hovercraft. To unify all of the districts, they need Katniss as the Mockingjay (CF, 2009: 360). To make Katniss prepared they need Katniss's prep team that contains Flavius, Octavia, and Venia—Capitol subjects. The rebels need the Mockingjay team as uprising's controller and decision-making. They also need Coin as the uprising highest leader to decide the uprising's method and policy. It means the uprising need all subjects in Panem to cooperate to be succeeded.

Katniss does not mention about District 11, 10, and 9 reactions since she has not been there. In District 8, their first reaction through Snow's hegemony is by attacking Peacekeepers and taking over weapon barrack and government institution that is hospital. The subjects are also attacking Capitol hovercrafts which bombing them. Katniss does not mention about other districts' reactions since she does not go anywhere besides District 13, 8, and 2.

4.2.2 Ambiguous Subjects

In District 12, the subject's first reaction is by giving no actions and only silence when Effie—Capitol subject who works as District 12's *tributes* companion—asks them to cheer Katniss volunteering because she replaces her sister's place in 74th Hunger Games. Thus, Effie's order is same like Capitol's regulation. Yet, at that time, District 12 subjects do not clap and stay still instead. According to Katniss, their silence means refusal, and refusal towards Capitol's regulation means uprising against Snow. The district subjects' second reaction is

by lifting three fingers of their left hands in the air. It is only a symbol for saying goodbye and thank you in District 12. However, since the reaping—*tributes* choosing event—in each district will be broadcasted in all over Panem, the Capitol subjects who work as the Hunger Games commentators say that District 12 is always a bit backward yet consider the hand gesture as a charming local custom (THG, 2008: 24-25, 47). The commentators' statement makes the hand gesture seems harmless, it also occurs to prevent the hand gesture turns to become a symbol of uprising. However, since Katniss perform as the Mockingjay, the hand gesture has converted into a symbol of uprising.

There is time when Gale is flogged by new Head Peacekeeper in the city square because he is caught has been hunting outside district's fence. The subjects just see him being punished and do nothing. After several flogs, a Peacekeeper named Darius tries to stop the punishment by step in and say that it is enough. However, he does not do it in official manner; thus, he is knocked out by the Head Peacekeeper. After that, Katniss, Haymitch, and Peeta—District 12 *victors*—come to save Gale. Katniss thinks that maybe only three of them in the district who can make a stand to against the Capitol. After that, Seam subject named Purnia says that protocol in the district states that the punishment is enough for first crime. The Head Peacekeeper glances over at his subordinate, and they show expressions that they do not like the punishment. The several district subjects who watch nod in agreement (CF, 2009: 102). Actually, Katniss hesitates that the subjects know about this punishment regulation, since they never get this kind of punishment for a long time. Finally, the Head Peacekeeper stops the punishment. After he leaves

the square, some Peacekeeper help Darius and some district subjects help Gale who are still unconscious, but most of the subjects leave because they are afraid to get more compassion feels (CF, 2009: 103). It means only small amount of subjects—Seam subjects, Peacekeeper, and *victors*—in the district who brave to against Snow's regulation. Their reactions through Snow's regulations are affected by the subjects' pleasant feel of regulation flexibility. Even though they have to work in deep mine with long working hour, live in bad housing, given low salary, they still can manage by trade in Hob—their black market, or go outside the district's fence to harvest wild corps or hunt wild animals. They also can have animal to produce something like goat and open official shop in the city.

According to Katniss, Darius is never really throwing his authority as Peacekeeper and his jokes suit her style. Katniss is close with him because of that. No one in District 12 knows about Darius's fate after helping Gale. However, after Katniss has to participate in the 75th Hunger Games, she knows that Darius is taken to the Capitol to be an *avox* who serves her in Training Center. This is kind of the District 12 subjects fear if they against Snow's regulations.

There are no other reactions of District 12 subjects since most of the subjects are too afraid and, at the same time, too relieved with regulation's flexibility. The subjects seem to like facilities that exist in their district. They are too afraid after their Head Peacekeeper change into the cruel one. As the least concerned region, District 12 is not really controlled by Snow. Besides working at coalmine, the subjects still can harvest and hunting outside district's fence and trade in black market without get any punishment. Their Peacekeepers and mayor once flexible,

however, after the Head Peacekeeper changing District 12 has to follow strict regulations. Thus, it is unusual for them to do an uprising action.

4.2.3 Subjects who Unaware

There is only one district that does not do any uprising action, District 2. It is very difficult to make the District 2 subjects to join the uprising because it is Snow's military headquarters. Consequently, the Mockingjay team from all districts plans to attack the heart of the Snow's military headquarters, Nut. After success to attack the Nut, it will be full-scale uprising towards Snow's authorities.

> "We don't need to control it if we give up the idea that we have to possess the Nut," says Gale. "Only shut it down."
> "So you're suggesting we start avalanches and block the entrances?" asks Lyme.
> "That's it," says Gale. "**Trap the enemy inside, cut off from supplies. Make it impossible for them to send out their hovercraft**." (MJ, 2010: 194)

The quotation above is a conversation between Gale and Lyme—one of District 2's *victors* which is highest leader of the district at that time. It takes place in the middle of uprising meeting in District 2. The district rebels successfully controls all other districts except District 2. Then, they are discussing how to get the rest of District 2. Gale has an idea to cover Snow's military headquarters access in the Nut—a hill contains underground rooms where weapons, hovercrafts, and control room of Snow's military. The Nut contains District 2 subjects as worker. Gale offers this idea since District 12, his hometown, is

bombed by Capitol's hovercrafts that are launched from the Nut. It makes him have a personal intention, which is to kill District 2 subjects as what they do to District 12. His idea to bomb the Nut is not agreed by some people such as Boggs, Lyme, Beetee, and Katniss because they think it will kill anyone in there. Then they discuss it with Coin and she decides to make one way for District 2 subjects to surrender and escape from the Nut. This idea is successful and eventually the entire districts are united against Snow's hegemony.

In Capitol occurs complete chaos. After the twelve districts unify, they attack the Capitol and success to enter its edge barricades. While Snow and his partisans —important and rich people from the Capitol—are safe in his presidential mansion, the common subjects are confused because they do not have place to shield from the district rebels' attack. They are defenseless and never trained for combat, thus, the only defense for them is get in Snow's mansion. However, Snow will open his mansion when the district rebels already enter the Capitol's city center, not from the beginning. Snow regulates the Peackeepers to take the Capitol subjects' children and put them in front of his mansion gate. Katniss thinks (MJ, 2010: 331-332) that Snow makes children barricade, thus, the district rebels will not enter his mansion because they may not like to kill children or innocent subjects. However, suddenly, a Panem logo hovercraft that spreads something to the collected kids that all Panem subjects known as gift. It forms like gift from sponsor in the Hunger Games arena.

The most of Capitol subjects are also not doing anything toward Snow's hegemony since they never face difficulty and live in very nice shelters, high-level

securities, and abundance of foods and electricity. Such condition makes them unable to realize that Snow hegemonizes them. They are also unaware even after the district rebels reach the Capitol during the uprising, so that the Capitol subjects do not do anything to save their life. They only follow Snow's regulations such as evacuate to suburban and evacuate their children to in front of Snow's mansion gate for making another protection for Snow, since he thinks the rebels will not kill children. Therefore, the Capitol subjects believe that no matter happen, they will be saved.

> "So who are we supposed to be now?" I ask.
> "Desperate citizens of the Capitol," says Gale. "The Peacekeepers will think we're on their side, and hopefully the rebels have more interesting targets." (MJ, 2010: 327)

The quotation above is a conversation between Katniss and Gale when the rebels attack the Capitol. Gale and Katniss pretend to be the Capitol subjects to infiltrate to Snow's mansion to kill Snow. The reaction of the Capitol subjects—common people and the Peacekeepers—is resembled by Gale's statements. Even though the Capitol subjects are desperate, they believe that the Peacekeepers will protect them from the rebels. Meanwhile, the Peacekepeers believe that they will have support from the common subjects or Snow's subordinates. It occurs because they usually live in prosperity and never get any influence action. Gale hopes that the rebels have more interesting targets, those are the Peacekeepers and Snow. Thus, those who usually live in good life's quality with many facilities are unable to realize surround conditions, in this case on Snow's hegemony.

Katniss which acts as focalizor and also as character in “The Hunger Games” trilogy makes her more perceived by reader than other characters in the trilogy. Since Panem subjects’ reactions are seen through Katniss’s focalization, the reader only gets limited information according to what Katniss thought and feel about the subjects in the districts and their reactions regarding to Snow’s hegemony. Katniss only come to several district such as District 11, 8, and 2. Thus, she does not mention a lot about the other districts. It makes the reader only focus on her opinion about the subjects’ reactions to Snow’s hegemony that are occurred in the trilogy.