



**PRESIDENT SNOW AND PANEM: THE TOTALITARIAN MOVEMENT
AS REFLECTED IN FRANCIS LAWRENCE'S
*THE HUNGER GAMES: MOCKINGJAY – PART 1 AND PART 2***

A THESIS

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Bachelor Degree Majoring
in American Cultural Studies in English Department Faculty of Humanities**

Diponegoro University

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PRONOUNCEMENT

The writer confirms honestly that this thesis entitled “President Snow and Panem: The Totalitarian Movement as Reflected in Francis Lawrence’s *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2*” is compiled by herself without taking any result from other research in any university, whether from S-1, S-2, S-3, and diploma degree. The writer also ascertains that she does not take any material from other publications or someone else’s work except for the sources that are mentioned in references.

Semarang, June 2020

Salsha Nevyliantika Rista Nurfrianti

MOTTO AND DEDICATION

“Everything’s coming up roses.”

- Keira Knightley

“Nothing can bring you peace but yourself.”

- Ralph Waldo Emerson

“Life is a triathlon. Just start swimming, then bike, then run.”

- Unknown

I proudly dedicate this thesis to myself and my mother.

APPROVAL

**PRESIDENT SNOW AND PANEM: THE TOTALITARIAN MOVEMENT
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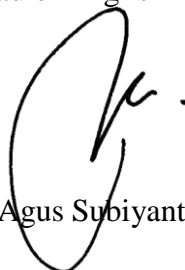
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The writer realizes that this thesis is far from perfection. Therefore, the writer will be glad to receive any constructive criticism and recommendation to make this thesis better. Finally, the writer expects that this thesis will be useful to the reader who wishes to learn something about Totalitarian Movement reflected in *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* directed by Francis Lawrence.

Semarang, June 2020

ABSTRAK

Penulis mengkaji film karya Francis Lawrence yang berjudul *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1 dan Part 2*. Tujuan dari kajian ini adalah untuk menganalisis unsur-unsur intrinsik dan ekstrinsik dalam film dan penerapan gerakan totaliter dalam film. Unsur intrinsik yang meliputi aspek narasi dan aspek pengaturan panggung dianalisis menggunakan teori dari Richard Barsam dan Dave Monahan (2013) dan Mary H. Snyder (2011). Metode kajian pustaka digunakan untuk mengumpulkan data sedangkan teknik pengamatan untuk menganalisis data yang diperlukan dalam kajian ini. Hasil kajian terhadap film *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1 dan Part 2* menunjukkan bahwa dalam menjalankan sebuah negara dengan sistem pemerintahan totaliter membutuhkan sebuah kekuatan untuk menggerakkan massa agar kekuasaan tercapai sepenuhnya. Sebuah gerakan perlu menggunakan perangkat-perangkat totaliter dengan baik untuk mengatur dan mengurangi keragaman dan perbedaan pada manusia agar memiliki kepribadian yang serupa dan menjadi masyarakat tanpa kelas.

Kata kunci: gerakan totaliter, kekuasaan penuh, masyarakat tanpa kelas, massa

ABSTRACT

The writer conducts a study on Francis Lawrence's *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1 and Part 2*. The objective of this study is to analyze the intrinsic and extrinsic elements of the films and the application of totalitarian government. The intrinsic elements discussing the terms of narrative aspects and mise-en-scène aspects are analyzed using theory by Richard Barsam and Dave Monahan (2013) and Mary H. Snyder (2011). This study utilizes library research method to require the data and close viewing technique to analyze the data. The result of the study on *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1 and Part 2* shows that in running a country with totalitarian government requires a power to mobilize the masses in order to obtain a total domination. Totalitarian devices have to be well-utilized by a movement to arrange and reduce the plurality and distinction of human beings to the same personality and become classless society.

Keywords: totalitarian movement, total domination, classless society, masses

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

On December 26, 1933, the representatives of 19 states signed a treaty during the Seventh International Conference of American States in Montevideo, Uruguay which expected intervention in inter-American affairs as the key issue. As stated in The Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States 1933 Article 1, four things should be considered in establishing a state or a country; a permanent population, a defined territory, government, and capacity to enter into relations with the other states. A country is necessary to fulfill the four followed qualifications to be recognized by other countries of international law.

Government, as a preeminent institution within society in which decisions are made to resolve conflicts or allocate benefits and privileges, exists to control public needs and to avoid civil war (Bardes, Shelley and Schmidt). Thus, its functions are to give security, to limit the power of the government, and to build authority and legitimacy. The leader of a country applies a political system in making decisions of the government. There are various forms of government; some of them are federalism, democracy, oligarchy, autocracy, totalitarian, authoritarian, and aristocracy.

John Locke on *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) believes that political authority was obtained directly from God. Locke came out with the statement regarding the state of nature that it could be peaceful since the people of a country need the government to keep them in peace by avoiding civil war and controlling

public needs. Hence, in several aspects, the government is not always pursuing the ideal definition of a country as stated by Locke, which is protecting the people's rights in living, having liberty, and possessing properties. In odd moments of running a country, the government is pursuing the advantages for the satisfaction of its ambition, revenge, covetousness, or any irregular passion. This tyranny can lead to the government's incapability of fulfilling its duties due to the lack of preserving the properties of the people. If this tyrant or an unfair leader occurs, the people have the right to overthrow the leader and set up a new government.

On the contrary, Thomas Hobbes on *The Leviathan* (1651) explains that human life in the state of nature was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." This statement puts the state of nature as the state of war which can be ended only if the people give the power of liberty to the government. Hobbes called this agreement as "the social contract". The people should obey the governmental authority, even to an imperfect kind, to achieve the condition where the lives of the people are protected and guaranteed by the government in power. People only have little rights to complain when the country does not run as they expected as they have formed the government willingly. A leader's capability in keeping the orders from the people and preventing the chaos in the state can be resulting in unlimited power, which then nowadays called a totalitarian government.

Benito Mussolini, an Italian dictator, in his speech to the Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF)'s National Congress in June 1925 used the term 'totalitarian' publicly for the first time. He stated that "Everything within the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state". His statement explains that the

totalitarian government takes total control of the citizens and citizens shall not interfere or against the country. Citizens of totalitarian government are not permitted to take part in the political decision making of the country. This violates human rights since the citizens' free will is being repressed. The country also decides the private life of the citizens; even they are not allowed to go abroad. The leader in totalitarian government tends to rule the country through fear and repression with military involvement in civil to prevent any protest.

On August 9th, 2014, there was a killing of Michael Brown, an unarmed African-American teenager by a white police officer named Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri. This shooting emerged protests in the suburb for weeks. The grand jury's decision not to indict Wilson had provoked another wave of protests which led to the militarized police response. The protesters showed their anger by vandalizing an arch in St. Louis. They wrote "If we burn, you burn with us", which is known as a famous slogan from *The Hunger Games* film series.

The revolution or the rebelling is often reflected or told through a work of art, hence film is one of the common works. According to Richard Barsam and Dave Monahan on *Looking at Movies: An Introduction to Film – Fourth Edition* (2013), film is considered by critics and scholars as a more serious and challenging motion picture. A similar case in which the people are protesting against the government is depicted in *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2*. The films tell the story of the totalitarian government portrayed by President Snow's leadership in a post-apocalyptic future country named Panem and has Capitol as its capital city. Continuing the story from *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*, this film depicts the

battle of Katniss Everdeen with Peeta, Gale, and the rebels from District 13 against the tyranny of President Snow and Capitol after they survived the 75th Hunger Games. This movement aims to decide the fate of Panem in the future.

The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1 and *Part 2* are science fiction-adventure films directed by Francis Lawrence. The films are based on the last book of *The Hunger Games* trilogy written by Suzanne Collins, which is entitled *Mockingjay* and was published in 2010. As the third installment of *The Hunger Games* film series, *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* has received 21 awards and has nominated for 32 nominations, while the final installment, *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 2*, has received 17 awards and nominated for 34 nominations. Two of the awards are Favorite Movie from Kids' Choice Awards, USA in 2015 for *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and Best Scene or Sequence from Criticos de Cinema Online Portugueses Awards in 2016 for *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 2*

The writer finds that *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* are interesting to study. According to Tim Stanley on his article for The Telegraph on November 18, 2015, the series is loved by the Left and the Right. Back in 2014, the famous phrase from the film was written on an arch in Ferguson as a part of the protest. This shows that the film has the power to influence mass movement and proves the statement from Oscar Wilde's "Life imitates Art far more than Art imitates Life" on his *The Decay of Lying*, 1989 essay.

A left-winger, Michael Rosen, explained that the books point out clues of how power was assigned in the totalitarian future society of Panem. Leftist interprets

that the books represent the disorganized, post-ideological nature with plenty of contemporary democratic protest movements. The Rights consider that the series taught about how power is accumulated and how to fight against it. Christian Toto, on the conservative website Breitbart, writes that the series is reflecting on how the government manipulates the mass broadcast images.

Taking everything into account, analyzing *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* is principal. The films, showing on how the totalitarian government is applied to control a country and to oppress the society portrayed by President Snow in his ruling of Panem, are worthy to be analyzed to enhance our knowledge regarding how the leader of totalitarian government runs a country and to raise awareness that whether it is a good choice to rule a country with totalitarianism, which puts the military in the front line as the citizens will live in fear and they will suffer the adverse effects of the government. The writer believes that the assessment of both intrinsic and extrinsic elements of *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* will be beneficial to achieve the purposes of the study.

1.2.Scope of the Study

This writing will be focused on the practice of totalitarian government by President Snow in his ruling of Panem in *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay Part 1* and *Part 2*. The films will be analyzed through both intrinsic and extrinsic elements of the films.

1.3.Purposes of the Study

At the end of completion of this study, the writer would have comprehended some aims of this study which are:

- a. To analyze the intrinsic elements of *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* in terms of narrative aspects and mise-en-scène aspects.
- b. To analyze the extrinsic elements of *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* which includes the application of totalitarian government on Panem by President Snow as depicted in the films.

1.4.Methods of the Study

To comprehend the materials of the study, the writer will be structurally using library research to identify and collect the relevant information. As stated by C. R. Kothari on *Research Methodology: Methods & Techniques* (2004), library research is a method that is used to analyze historical records or documents. The techniques of library research can be in various forms such as recording notes, content analysis, tape and film listening, and analysis. Thus, this study will be using the close viewing technique to carefully and purposefully view and analyze the film. The objective is to comprehend what the director tries to imply by reviewing the characters involved, the setting, decision in choosing the role of images and narration, and the purpose of the film (Facing History and Ourselves). Mise-en-scène and narrative approach are used to analyze the film for intrinsic elements. The further analysis for the extrinsic element is using the theories of totalitarianism from Hannah Arendt's book entitled *The Origin of Totalitarianism* (1973).

1.5.Methods of Approach

The films as the primary source construct the elementary statements, it will be strengthened with the secondary sources; website journals, director and stars interviews, website articles, and related books. As a part of analyzing the intrinsic elements, the approach of literature and society is used. The aim is to see the relations of literature to a given social situation, to an economic, social, and political system (Wellek and Warren 89).

While in analyzing the extrinsic elements of the films, the political sociology approach is applied to see how society is affected by the political system. Maurice Duverger, a French jurist, sociologist, political scientist, and a politician, explained that political sociology studies how power, government, authority of command effects all human societies, including the national society.

1.6.Previous Studies

There was a study conducted in 2018 by Bondan Priambodo that analyzes the patriotism of Katniss Everdeen from *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay 2*. In this film, Katniss, as the main character, is represented as a Mockingbird to protect the People of Panem from the tyranny. The study entitled “Patriotism as Reflected on Katniss Everdeen in Francis Lawrence’s *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay Part 2*” discusses the intrinsic element, including character, setting, and conflict. Besides, the extrinsic elements of the film will be discussed as well. A Patriotism theory by Igor Primoratz is used to analyze the extrinsic element patriotism acts portrayed by Katniss Everdeen.

In 2015, a study entitled “*The Hunger Games: The Picture of a Reality Show in Dystopian Fiction*” was conducted by Tereza Holičová as a Diploma Thesis for Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Education, Masaryk University Brno. The study analyzes *The Hunger Games* as a reality show used by the government to manipulate the People of Panem shown in the trilogy novel *The Hunger Games* written by Suzanne Collins. The theoretical background and information provided in the first part of the study are regarding the series books, dystopia and reality show as the base for the analytical part. In analytical part, which is placed in the second part, is discussing how the reality show is conceived in different ways by two dissimilar groups of audience, how the reaction of the tributes and the main character towards *The Hunger Games* that is used by the government to manipulate people.

1.7. Organization of the Writing

I. Introduction

This chapter shows the background of the study, the scope of the study, the purpose of the study, the previous study, and the organization of the study.

II. Literary Review

The summary of the film discussed in the study will be narrated along with the biography of the director in this section.

III. Theoretical Frameworks

This section directs the explanation of theories that are used to analyze the film. This includes intrinsic and extrinsic elements theory to construct the study.

IV. Discussion

This provides and analyzes the intrinsic and extrinsic elements of the film. The intrinsic element includes the narrative structure of three-act, setting, and the human figure. As the primary chapter of the study, the case of whether Panem is run by a totalitarian government or not will be explained as an extrinsic element in this part.

V. Conclusion

As the last chapter of the study, this will summarize the main notions of the discussion including according to the writer's point of view.

References

CHAPTER 2

LITERARY REVIEW

2.1.Synopsis of The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1

Surviving from The Third Quarter Quell or The 75th Hunger Games, Katniss Everdeen and the other victors live in the military based district, District 13. Even though Capitol bombed it to rubble, the people of District 13 survive underground by training and preparing. President Alma Coin, the leader of District 13, asks Katniss as the Mockingjay to unite all districts and to attack Capitol, she refuses because Peeta Mellark is not saved and is now in Capitol. President Coin sends her to see what Capitol did to District 12 as an attempt in convincing her to join the fight and become the Mockingjay. Their plan is to start the fight with making a series of propaganda clips or Propo to be broadcasted to the whole country, Panem, just like what President Coriolanus Snow, the leader of Panem, has been doing all this time.

On one of his speech, President Snow calls the victors as “Radicals” as he does not want to acknowledge the senseless acts of defiance that the survivors did. Through his propaganda, President Snow emphasizes that Panem is built over peace, cooperation, and respect for law and order. Thus, each district in Panem supplies the Capitol, like a blood to a heart. In return, Capitol provides order and security. If one refuses to work, it means that he puts the entire system in danger.

All of the citizens in each district are ordered to gather in the city hall to watch the propaganda and to witness the shot by death of the criminals whom kneel before them. They are sentenced for possessing and using the symbols of Mockingjay for

provocation. Thus, the using of the symbols is forbidden and considered as the symbol of betrayal.

Peeta is first time shown doing a broadcasted interview with Caesar Flickerman, he states that Hunger Games costs lives as tributes shall kill innocent people. Peeta asks the rebels to stop all of the movements and the violence for it is not a path for justice. People in District 13 get mad immediately and call Peeta as a traitor and the puppet of Capitol. After seeing the interview, Katniss agrees to become the Mockingjay with conditions; Peeta and the other Tributes should be rescued at the earliest opportunity and are freed to any sentence.

Haymitch Abernathy, District 12's mentor for the 74th Hunger Games, suggests Katniss to shoot the Propo on the field yet President Coin turns it down for they cannot assure Katniss' safety. Eventually, they decide to visit District 8 for it is considered to be safe enough. Plutarch introduces Katniss to some rebels from Capitol who will help her to shoot the Propo. Cressida as the director, Messalla as the assistant director, Castor and Pollux as the cameramen. Pollux is an Avox, Capitol cut his tongue few years ago.

As they arrive in District 8, Commander Paylor greets them and takes them to the emergency hospital. Capitol has destroyed everything in District 8. The patients are giving three-fingers salute as a part of their support to Katniss. This situation is immediately broadcasted as a part of Propo.

Capitol recognizes their whereabouts from the surveillance camera. Hovercrafts are sent directly to destroy everything's left in District 8, the emergency hospital is the main target. President Snow reckons everyone in the hospital was traitor and he

wants to point that being friends with Katniss will put their life in danger. Katniss has managed to knock out two hovercrafts still she is unable to save everyone in the hospital. Through the Propo, she ensures that she is alive and gives report of what Capitol has done to District 8. Her message to President Snow is “If we burn, you burn with us”

President Snow increases the log production quota; thus the working hour is also increased two hours longer. The failure of fulfilling the quota will not be tolerated. When the workers are entering the forest with the guards of Peacekeepers, one of the workers see the symbol of Mockingjay and starts to whistle as a sign to run away from the Peacekeepers. Lots of them are shot to death, yet lots of them are managed to climb the trees. As the Peacekeepers stop shooting, one of the rebels shouts “If we burn, you burn with us” and he bombs the forest so all of the Peacekeepers are dead.

Peeta is having the second interview with Caesar, his mimic changes a lot. He doubts Katniss knows what she is doing, he knows Katniss does not want any revolt. Katniss is certain that Capitol has brainwashed him. On the third interview, Peeta states what the District 5 did by bombing the hydroelectric dam as the power source was a savage attack. He is expecting restraint and decency. Beetee hijacks the signal to broadcast the Propo of Katniss singing on the lake side. When Peeta starts to remember Katniss, Caesar reminds Peeta to continue his statement. Peeta gives warning that District 13 will be attacked by morning, then he is dragged by the Peacekeepers. Everyone in District 13 is ordered to proceed the evacuation protocol. Capitol starts to attack District 13 from various sides.

District 13 is on the mission to save the other Tributes who are in Tribute Center, Capitol. They distract Capitol by broadcasting Propo of Finnick speaks about how President Snow kills without mercy and rules with fear. Suddenly the signal is disconnected, Katniss decided to do the Propo trying to speak with President Snow. She said that she will stop being the Mockingjay if Capitol lets Peeta and the other Tributes go. However, Capitol already knew that the team of Mockingjay 1 is already in Tribute Center to save them. Peeta, Johanna, and Annie are saved and now in District 13. Katniss straight heading to see Peeta, but he does not seem to be friendly. He has changed. Peeta chokes Katniss which resulting in her difficulty of speaking. This is an attempt of Capitol to hijack District 13 by giving Peeta a tracker-jacker venom which puts the subject in a dissociative state. Thus, Peeta will see Katniss as a life threat for Capitol uses Peeta as a weapon to kill Katniss. On her speech, President Coin claims with the Mockingjay and the Victors, all citizens of Panem can overthrow Capitol.

2.2.Synopsis of The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 2

Katniss Everdeen is recovering after being attacked by Peeta Mellark, who had been hijacked by the Capitol. She meets President Alma Coin and asks her to send Katniss to the Capitol. Coin can't send her unless they can take control of District Two, the last district outside the rebels. She insists to be sent to District Two and she ensures that she can take out the loyalists. While shooting for the propo, the District Two refugees are coming. The rebels ask them to surrender immediately. A fight breaks out when she tries to calm the situation and prevent shooting which makes her getting shot. President Coriolanus Snow kills Minister Antonius by

poisoning him for he makes the best troops of the Capitol crushed. President Snow orders the ministers to secure the Mansion and prepare the Gamemakers setting up new defenses to fight against the rebels.

Visiting Peeta, Katniss witnesses that he recovers his memory but sometimes he is unstable and indignant towards her. Katniss meets Coin and insists that she has to kill Snow. But Coin declines for she wants Katniss to be preserved as the symbol of their revolution. At the wedding party of Finnick Odair and Annie Cresta, Katniss tells Johanna Mason that she is going to kill President Snow. Johanna explains that aircraft shipping supplies will leave for Capitol around midnight. By sneaking aboard, the rebels welcome Katniss which then she is assigned to Boggs' Squad 451 "Star Squad" with Finnick, Gale, and her camera crew. Coin is irritated by what Katniss doing, she ensures Plutarch that the mission should be the face of the rebellion. During their way to Capitol, they use a holographic map called Holo to scan "pods", the traps that are created by The Game Makers. "Ladies and Gentlemen, welcome to the 76th Hunger Games", said Finnick comparing the pods to the arena of games. Coin sends Peeta, who is still unstable, to join the squad. Boggs warns Katniss to remain careful around Peeta. At first, Katniss acts cold towards him, but as she realizes that Peeta has a problem of remembering memories, they begin to open up.

Boggs is killed because of the explosion from the traps, so he gives the Holo to Katniss. Waves of oil are coming so they run to the higher place of a building. Realizing that Capitol figures out their position, they immediately move to another building, but the Leegs sister stays there for one of them is unable to walk. The

Peacekeepers are sent to the location to explode the building where they thought she is there. The announcement from the Capitol is broadcasted reporting that the Katniss is dead.

They realize that they are now too exposed, so they move underground. Capitol puts mutants that kill some members of the squad. As now they have lesser members, Cressida brings the squad to Tigris, who is a designer for the games until Snow realizes that she is not pretty enough. Tigris keeps them in the basement of her boutique. When the morning comes, Katniss and Gale are joining the people to go inside the Mansion in order to be safe. They wear a long coat with a hoodie that is given by Tigris to cover their faces. As they close to the gate, the Peacekeepers check everyone's face by removing the hoodie. Katniss and Gale turn their direction immediately, but there are Peacekeepers as well in the back, so they make another turn. As one of the Peacekeepers touches Katniss' shoulder, the rebels are coming with brutality, resulting in the arrest of Gale. An aircraft from the capitol is coming no longer after that, it is releasing the parachute which is known for bringing gifts at the game. The people in front of the Mansion thought that they about to receive a gift, while it is actually bombing which explodes soon as they reach the ground.

Due to this incident, President Snow becomes a house arrest and removed from office. Now, Snow is the executor of the task to run Panem. On her staying in the Mansion, she visits the greenhouse under the permits from Commander Paylor after the guards do not let her in. President Snow compliments her choice right after she picks one white rose. She tries to reassure Katniss that it is both of them who are

playing for Coin. At the end of the war, she is the one who will be the President of Panem.

On the day before the execution of Snow, Coin gathers all the rest victors to discuss the next step. She proposes to make one symbolic game which includes the children of Capitol as the tribute. Peeta and two others at against, while Johanna, Katniss, and Haymitch are in favor.

Katniss is the one who will shoot her arrow to execute Snow, but instead of aiming at him, she shot her arrow to Coin. Snow is laughing while being tied to a pole. Snow is eventually dead either choking his bloody saliva or laughing himself to death. Katniss is brought to a room right after she shot her arrow. She receives a letter from Plutarch, which is brought by Haymitch, saying that he is not disappointed, he knows that she will do this.

The scene moves to the village of the victors when she hears Buttercup meowing at the kitchen. She is immediately got mad and is crying knowing that the cat is the pet Prim loved the most. The film is closed by showing the family of Katniss and Peeta with a toddler child and a baby on her sling. She promises that she will tell the baby everything that she did for Panem.

2.3.Biography of Francis Lawrence

Francis Lawrence is an American director and producer who was born on March 26, 1971, in Vienna, Austria. He started his career as a director of music videos and commercials, then he made his directorial debut with a thriller movie entitled *Constantine* (2005). During his career as a director, some of his works are *I Am*

Legend (2007), *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire* (2013), *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* (2014), and *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 2* (2015).

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In literary analysis, exploring the terms and the complexities of the text of how one perceives the world and oneself can be insightful and enlightening. Analyzing a literary text develops the mind and one's understanding of viewing the world from a more analytical perspective, and not merely seeing what is on the surface of any text or experience (Snyder). That being said, the establishment of intrinsic and extrinsic elements in this chapter is necessary in order to expand the awareness and to avoid misunderstanding in studying *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2*. The further and deeper discussion of intrinsic and extrinsic elements of *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* will be examined in the discussion chapter.

3.1. Intrinsic Elements

3.1.1. Narrative Aspects

Intrinsic analysis of the film includes various aspects such as theme, narrative structure, and characters. Without analyzing the narrative aspects, the plot and the storyline of *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* will not be fully comprehended. The writer found the essential and prominent narrative aspects in the film are theme and narrative structure; exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, and denouement. The theories from Richard Barsam and Dave Monahan in *Looking at Movies: An Introduction to Film – Fourth Edition* are used in discussing the narrative aspects.

3.1.1.1. Theme

The theme of a film is a merged idea which is defined through the narrative or imagery of the film. One film is not always delivered in a single and clear-cut-thematic idea (Barsam and Monahan 88). The tension of aspirational and moralistic ideas can derive to the complexity of thematic. This can offer the viewer a more valuable experience than one might expect from a dedicated theme.

Additionally, it is notable for one to be fully acknowledge the two kinds of theme in literary works; major and minor (Lombardi). A major theme presents the repeated and the most significant idea in a literary works. On the contrary, a minor theme indicates a brief idea which may or may not lead to another minor theme.

3.1.1.2. Narrative Structure

Narrative structure presents an ordered series of events which generally focuses on the characters and the struggles of one's obstacles. Narrative as a way to structure fictional or fictionalized stories includes exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, and denouement or resolution helps the filmmakers to comply or differ from audience's expectations of the narrative (Barsam and Monahan 67).

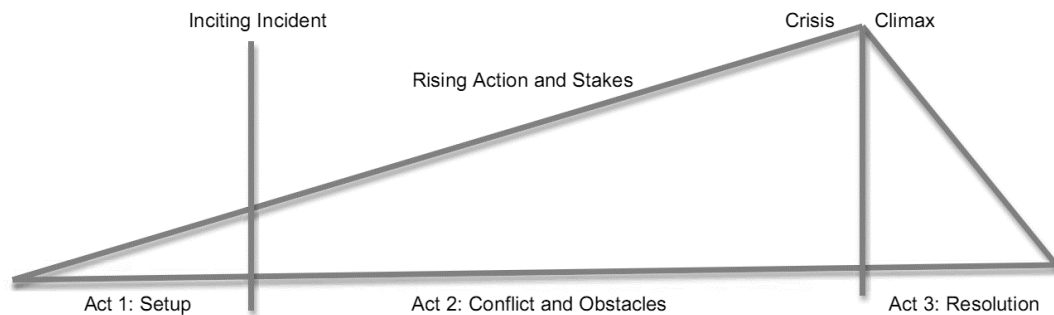


Figure 1 Narrative structure schematic
(Barsam and Monahan 136)

3.1.1.2.1. Exposition

The stage which exposes and sets the introduction of the characters until its meeting with the inciting incident. The necessary dialogues in this stage are presented to the audience to give the background of the nature of character's situation (Barsam and Monahan 538). Once the character and its world are established, the inciting incident or catalyst presents the goals – shifted and straightforward ones – which is driving the rest of the storyline.

3.1.1.2.2. Rising Action

Rising action occurs when the development and occurring of important changes or obstacles affect a character or a situation which leads to a climax. This stage of film provokes the tension and enhances the engagement with the ongoing storyline (Barsam and Monahan 135). The character will find it difficult to navigate the obstacles in this stage as the stakes are rising. This stage breaks down the point of sorts and builds toward a peak.

3.1.1.2.3. Climax

This stage is the highest point of conflict and the most impressive event in the film in a conventional narrative. The objective of this stage is to present the greatest distress and the impossible finding of answer to the key question. The climax stage arises as the protagonist character deals with the major obstacle and the character's attempt to achieve the goal. In order to cultivate the problem, the protagonist character must take a great risk, build a prominent sacrifice, or cope with a personal flaw (Barsam and Monahan 135).

3.1.1.2.4. Falling Action

As the goal is whether achieved or lost, falling action wraps up loose finals and stirs toward a conclusion (Barsam and Monahan 136). Some protagonist characters may still experience the continuous struggle in this stage.

3.1.1.2.5. Denouement

The resolution follows the climax by presenting the conclusion of narrative events (Barsam and Monahan 544). Every narrative reflects the outcomes of the story and the conflict resolution of the achieved or lost goals.

3.1.1.3. Characters

Every character pursuing a goal is an essential element of a film's narrative (Barsam and Monahan 127). In literary works, characters who become more complicated than the others are called as complex or round characters. They possess many subtlety, repressed, or even opposite traits which can shift

significantly over the story line. On the other hand, the ones who play slight distinct traits and do not shift significantly are flat characters. No matter what shape of a character is, the narrative will not exist if the characters do not have a goal. Protagonist is the main character who pursues the goal, sometimes referred as the hero or heroine. Meanwhile, character whose objective is to obstruct protagonist is known as antagonist. The antagonist shows a clear-cut identity and nature.

3.1.2. Mise-en-scène Aspects

The term *mise-en-scène* is derived from French which has a literal meaning as “staging or putting on an action or scene”. This is referring to the whole look and feel that the audience sees. The objectives of establishing *mise-en-scène* are to create the world on screen, indicate the development of characters, present motifs and amplify themes, build the mood (Barsam and Monahan 172). In a film, *mise-en-scène* is used to present all the elements which are set in front of the camera (Snyder 177). The elements of *mise-en-scène* that the writer found it necessary to be discussed is setting, costumes, and properties.

3.1.2.1. Setting

The spatial and temporal setting in which the narrative occurs is to give physical significance (Barsam and Monahan 183). It is not only presenting the time and place of the story, but also providing characters’ backgrounds and the other important elements for understanding them. Thus, the

objectives of setting are to establish time and place, to introduce ideas and themes, and to build the mood. Setting discovers any particular purpose of the set in a film by exploring how the properties and characters are arranged in relation to the background. In showing physical place, it could be real location or artificially constructed soundstage (Snyder 177).

The composition of setting in *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* will be identified according to the explanation above which is divided into:

3.1.2.1.1. Spatial Setting

Spatial setting presents where the actions of the story occur in a particular place. Relating to certain genres, it shows real or artificial physical place of a narrative such as Westerns with wide-open country, horror movies with creepy houses, and noirs film with dark city streets.

3.1.2.1.2. Temporal Setting

Temporal setting establishes the scope of the narrative's occurrence. It does not only determine a specific time such as day, month, or year but also a matter of moments, period life of characters, a single battle, or an entire war.

3.1.2.1.3. Social Background Setting

Social background setting delivers the characters' social, educational, and cultural background and the other important elements; what the characters'

wear, eat, and drink. Thus, the development of social background setting becomes the main focus which affects the theme and the idea of a narrative.

3.1.2.2. Costumes and Properties

Costume is what the actors wear during the film production, or sometimes known as wardrobe. Paying attention in selecting the clothes can contribute in establishing the setting and suggesting the specific character traits (social status, self-image, state of mind, on the whole situation, etc.) to the audience (Barsam and Monahan 188). Besides, hairstyling and make up have something to do with the costuming as well. Using cosmetics to enhance or change the natural appearance of an actor becomes crucial in fantasy, horror, and science fiction films (Snyder 178).

Meanwhile, properties are the objects or items used in a scene. Their arrangement is meant to develop the realism or authenticity on a set. (Snyder 178) It is also to guide the audience in understanding the characters and the narrative by showing the preference in such things (Barsam and Monahan 183).

3.2. Extrinsic Elements

The Hunger Games: Mockingjay Part 1 and *Part 2* demonstrates totalitarian government that is applied in Panem. To assist us in understanding how President Snow as a totalitarian is ruling the country, theories from Hannah Arendt on her book entitled *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1973) will be used.

3.2.1. A Classless Society

Changes in totalitarian movements is inevitable as the leaders' quality of fame can be replaced. The surprising swiftness will make them forgotten and the surprising ease will replace them. Perpetual-motion mania of totalitarian movements can continue to exist for a durable time if only the leaders keep moving and manage everything around them in motion. Totalitarian movements are well-known for its remarkable adaptability and its deficiency of preservation as their characteristics. (Arendt 305 - 306).

The number of masses has something to do with the aim and the success of totalitarian movements as it lies on its masses organizing and public affairs handling (Arendt 308). The movement is depending on the force of numbers to be fully in power, even in a country with a small number of populations. Even though the movement is well-established to serve the masses until the movement is in power, the totalitarian ruler then forced to rule the masses with more familiar patterns of class or party dictatorship.

Arendt briefly explained "it has frequently been pointed out that totalitarian movements use and abuse democratic freedoms in order to abolish them" (Arendt 312). The leader of totalitarian movements demands for total, unrestricted, unconditional, and unalterable loyalty of the atomized and isolated individuals as the mass organizations. Not only ruling by external means, totalitarianism also found its way to dominate and terror the citizens from within.

3.2.2. The Totalitarian Movement

The totalitarianism momentum will attract the masses by propaganda and terror which are presenting two different ways in the same situation. As totalitarianism holds total control, it is using indoctrination to replace propaganda and using violence to frighten people. The aim is to consistently realize its ideological doctrines and its practical lies (Arendt 341). Hannah Arendt explains more regarding propaganda,

Since totalitarian movements exist in a world which itself is nontotalitarian, they are forced to resort to what we commonly regard as propaganda. But such propaganda always makes its appeal to an external sphere – be it the nontotalitarian strata of the population at home or the nontotalitarian countries abroad. This external sphere to which totalitarian propaganda makes its appeal may vary greatly; even after the seizure of power totalitarian propaganda may address itself to those segments of its own population whose co-ordination was not followed by sufficient indoctrination (Arendt 342).

The connection between propaganda and indoctrination lies on the dimensions of the movements and the outside pressure. Mere propaganda will expend more energy for smaller movement, meanwhile the totalitarian dictators will be more involved in propaganda as the pressure from the outside world on the regimes is bigger. Totalitarian propaganda is not only using direct threats and crimes against individuals but also using indirect, implicit, threatening instructions to all who do not obey the teachings, and mass murder is committed to “guilty” and “innocent” alike. The final objective of totalitarian propaganda is to accumulate the power without possessing the means of violence.

On the contrary, indoctrination includes terror and increases the isolation and security of the totalitarian movements or governments from any outside interference (Arendt 344). While propaganda is a part of “psychological warfare”,

terror is on a higher level of that. Even though the psychological aims are achieved, totalitarian regimes still continue using terror to rule over a feudatory population. Totalitarian rule has often transformed classes into masses, supplanted the party system, not by one-party dictatorships, but by a mass movement, shifted the center of power from the army to the police, and openly formulated foreign policy toward total domination.

3.2.3. Totalitarianism in Power

As the totalitarianism is in power, the danger which might be rigid for the state machine is taken over and a form of absolute government is congealed. But then, the borders of the territory might limit the freedom of movement. The development of absolutism would finalize the interior drive of the movement. Once the nationalism is developed and is putting an end to exterior expansion, the movement is unable to survive (Arendt 389). As Arendt (Arendt 392) clearly stated;

The struggle for total domination of the total population of the earth, the elimination of every competing nontotalitarian reality, is inherent in the totalitarian regimes themselves; if they do not pursue global rule as their ultimate goal, they are only too likely to lose whatever power they have already seized.

Totalitarian regimes struggle for total domination of the thorough population and the removal of every rivaling nontotalitarian reality. They will likely lose any power they seized if they do not place pursuing global rule as their main goal. Global totalitarian conditions can absolutely and reliably dominate an individual.

Totalitarian devices arise simple and effective in absolute power monopoly and rare certainty that all orders will always be carried out which leads to the variety of the transmission belts, the hierarchy confusion, the secure of the dictator's

complete rule over the inferiors, and the swift and surprising changes in policy (Arendt 409). The total domination of totalitarianism, seeking to arrange the plurality and distinction of human beings as though all of humans are just one entity, will only be accomplished if each individual can be reduced to the same personality of reactions to be randomly exchanged for one another. It creates entirely new political institutions and replaces many of the country's social, legal, and political practices (Arendt 438).

Totalitarian domination makes use of ideological indoctrination and absolute terror – meant to exterminate people, degrade human beings, and terrible experiment of eliminating – to achieve the goals (Arendt 438). The image of fright arises as the benefit of terror to demolish the sophistic-dialectical interpretations of politics which is derived from the superstition that something evil might be resulting in good. The most awful victory of totalitarian terror is achieved when the individuality of man is killed to spread the skepticism by making martyrdom and corrupting the human solidarity. There will be no testimony to share if there is no witness. Totalitarian belief that everything is possible seems to be proved as everything can be wiped-out.

3.2.4. Ideology and Terror: A Novel Form of Government

Totalitarian rule places the population in a totally different kind of government (Arendt 461). It opposes all positive rules, even to the point of opposing those self-developed rules. Meanwhile, it takes action either with guidance of law or it is not arbitrary. It claims to strictly and completely obey by certain rules of Nature or History from which all sensible laws were also expected to arise. Trying to defy

legality and claiming to create the absolute rule of justice on earth, totalitarian lawfulness implements the law of History or Nature without defining it into norms of right and wrong for behavior of individual. Terror becomes the essence of totalitarian domination since the body politic of totalitarian government places positive laws in total terror. Arendt (Arendt 465) explains further in terror;

Terror as the execution of a law of movement whose ultimate goal is not the welfare of men or the interest of one man but the fabrication of mankind, eliminates individuals for the sake of the species, sacrifices the “part” for the sake of the “whole.”

The totalitarian notion sees the birth and death of men as a disturb with higher forces. Terror has to eliminate not only the freedom in any particular establishment, but also the core of freedom which is given since the birth of one man and is remaining in his holding to begin a new start. Practically speaking, terror operates the death sentence. It does not wait for the slower and less efficient process of nature or history in which Nature describes it as the races or individuals who are “unfit to live” and History on “dying classes” (Arendt 466). The citizens of a totalitarian country are thrown into and caught in the acceleration process of nature or history, they can be either the executioners or the victims of the country’s inherent law. Totalitarian government will only be sustainable if it is able to mobilize man’s own will power into the Nature or History movement which supposed to make use of mankind as the object and know neither birth nor death.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

In this essential chapter of the study, the elaboration of both intrinsic and extrinsic elements of *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* will be done as proposed in the prior chapter. Those elements help the writer to measure how totalitarian government theories are applied in Panem. Although the writer analyzes the application of totalitarian government in Panem, this chapter discusses the application on what *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* only.

4.1. Intrinsic Elements

4.1.1. Narrative Aspects

4.1.1.1. Theme

Theme provides the merged idea of a film (Barsam and Monahan 88). Therefore, analyzing both major and minor themes of *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* is inevitable to have a better understanding of Francis Lawrence's thought on the film. In *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1*, the scene of Katniss visiting several districts and recording Propo videos stack up pretty close to the theme. As Lawrence stated on the film's press conference (Lawrence, Lawrence and Hutcherson), *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* tells a story of Katniss' discovering on what she means to the people and her responsibility in the revolution. The previous films are more tense with the fight action while the series of *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* are more political. This theme could have hidden deeper

meanings, as Francis Lawrence wanted to show the audiences that Katniss is on her attempt to rebuild herself as the games have changed her emotionally. Katniss as the representation of the consequence of war is caught up in the middle of President Snow's bad government and President Coin's aimed freedom.

A whole story of manipulation is narrated in both Part 1 and Part 2. Since her first Hunger Games, Katniss has been used as a pawn in Capitol's game which she resisted in every step of the way. She is not freed to live as a victor even after escaping from the Quarter Quell to District 13. Capitol and District 13 are found to have a similar manipulative trick which is using Katniss and the other victors to pursue their aims. Both of the governments are depending highly upon staged media and broadcasted propaganda video to obtain support and control. Neither District 13 nor the Capitol is broadcasting the truth event. The propaganda videos are set with acting, scripts, costumes, make-up, and camera. The scripted monologues and the Propos shooting portrayed in Part 1 differs with what Capitol has since District 13 is not directly harming anyone. Yet at the end of Part 2, Katniss is aware that District 13 is just as manipulative as the Capitol for cunning people are causing a large number of deaths. It is unlikely for Katniss to trust anyone in a government role.

Another theme that is being brought is warfare. The more real game is on in Part 2. Unlike the previous Hunger Games, the scale of this game is larger and takes Capitol as its game arena yet it is as lethal as the Hunger Games. In the previous Hunger Games, the tributes from each district had

to fight against each other, but, in this game Katniss and her ally have one enemy only, that is the Capitol. Thus, they need to have the same vision and use the same strategies to pursue the goal. They have more lives at stake and more to lose this time.

The appearance of many people have power and the ones who actually do in the narrative of the film shows that power can be obtained in many forms. We see in the films that Katniss is portrayed to have power as she is the Mockingjay, the face of the rebel movement. Somehow, the one who holds the actual power is President Coin, the leader of District 13. At the end of Part 2, Katniss slowly discovers her actual power and authority as she kills President Coin. She refuses to be a pawn in another government's game.

4.1.1.2.Narrative Structure

4.1.1.2.1. Exposition

Exposition portrays the introduction and establishment of the characters and its world. The natural background of character's situation is presented until its meeting with the inciting incident (Barsam and Monahan 538). In *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay - Part 1*, the audience first meets Katniss Everdeen – dressed in white sleeping suit and her brown hair is left loose – as she is muttering her name, where she comes from, and events that she experienced before while hugging her legs and pushing her body back and forth. In this scene, we can learn that she escaped from the Hunger Games and her friend, Peeta, is kidnapped. In the next shot, we

acknowledge that she is actually hiding away for having a nightmare. Katniss is forced to go back to her room in the district which she did not know existed. According to the scene, we can picture that she is confused, but she does know what she wants and no one can stop her ambition. Later on, Katniss is passing a room by in which Finnick is there. He immediately explains how he wanted to save Peeta, Annie, and Johanna and that they are now in the Capitol.

The exposition in *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 2* portrays the scene where Katniss is recovering from choked scars which leads to her difficulty of speaking. She still shows her ambitious personality that she wants to talk to Peeta even after she is attacked by him in the previous part. It seems like Peeta had been beaten; his right eye is red and there are bruises around his eyes. Peeta is still under the influence of brainwash from the Capitol. Tied up in an isolation room, he yells at Prim, Katniss' sister, saying that Katniss is a mutt and she has to be killed. Peeta's conditioned response holds Katniss' longing for seeing Peeta in person. From this scene, we can study that Peeta could be one of the obstacles for Katniss in her revolution.

4.1.1.2.2. Rising Action

Rising action portrays the development and important changes or obstacles that are provoking the tension and enhancing the engagement with the ongoing storyline. This affects a character in navigating the problem or the situation that is leading to a climax (Barsam and Monahan 135). The problem in *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* starts to arise when President Coin asks Katniss to be the Mockingjay, but she refused. Katniss is encouraged to accept her role as the

Mockingjay after seeing Peeta appeared doing interview on Capitol state television. President Snow orders two hovercrafts to bomb District 8 as he acknowledges that Katniss and her team is there. District 5 bombs the hydroelectric dam which shuts off the power to the Capitol. The Capitol attacks District 13 right after Peeta warns Katniss through his interview. A rescue mission is sent to rescue the remaining victors in the Tribute Center, including Peeta.

The rising action in *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 2* starts when Katniss asks President Coin for sending her to the Capitol. President Coin will not send her unless she can take control of District 2, the only district outside the rebels. Katniss and her “Star Squad” team starts their journey out to the Capitol. In the middle of their journey, President Coin sends Peeta to join the team. Their main mission is to assassinate President Snow in the city center.

4.1.1.2.3. Climax

The climax of Part 1 arises when the power returns to the Capitol. The Capitol acknowledges that the rescue team is in the Tribute Center even though District 13 had been trying to distract the Capitol by broadcasting their Propo video.

Part 2 delivers the climax by portraying Katniss about to assassinate President Snow with an arrow to his heart, which is her goal of being the Mockingjay. On the contrary, she decided to kill President Coin as she discovers that it was President Coin who sent the bomb to get into the Mansion. Regardless, Snow is now dead as well, either choking on his own bloody saliva or laughing himself to death.

4.1.1.2.4. Falling Action

Part 1 meets its falling action as the rescue team succeed to escape and bring the victors back to District 13. Waiting for a long time to meet Peeta, Katniss is finally reunited with him yet only to have him choking her almost to death.

On the next shot of Part 2, the falling action is delivered in a shocking twist. The arrow which was supposed to kill President Snow, is now aimed to President Coin and killer her. The Capitol has Commander Paylor, formerly the leader of District 8, as its new president.

4.1.1.2.5. Denouement

On the final of Part 1, the story is ended with Katniss wakes up in the medical facility. She is told that Peeta is used by Capitol as a weapon to hijack them and to kill Katniss. He has essentially been brainwashed which puts him in a dissociative state. Peeta is isolated to begin the process of reversing the effects.

The film is closed by showing the happy family of Katniss and Peeta with a toddler child and a baby on her sling. They are finally free from the pressure of the games. She promises that she will tell the baby everything that she did for Panem.

All things considered, according to narrative structure schematic by Richard Barsam and Dave Monahan, the first act of part 1 starts when Katniss is pictured mumbling her identity and is not currently in a good mental state after the incident in the Quarter Quell. The narrative continues to the second act, it portrays the scene of Katniss accepting the offer from President Coin to be the Mockingjay and the mission to save the other tributes from the Tribute Center. Wrapping up the

narrative, the third act delivers the conclusion showing Katniss wakes up in the medical facility after attacked by Peeta. She discovers that Peeta has been brainwashed by the Capitol and is isolated to reverse the effects.

Moving on to part 2, the first act introduces Katniss recovering from choked scars but she still manages to show her ambitious personality. This scene portrays that Peeta could be an obstacle for Katniss and the rebellion. Assassinating President Snow becomes the main mission of the rebellion which is portrayed in second act. In fact, it is President Coin who is killed by Katniss instead of President Snow. However, President Snow is dead either choking on his own bloody saliva or laughing himself to death. The third act closes the narrative by showing the happy family of Katniss and Peeta with their three children.

4.1.1.3.Characters

The essential element of a film is placed on how a character is pursuing the goal (Barsam and Monahan 127). In literary works, there are complex or round characters – more complicated than the others – and flat characters – has slight distinct traits. The character who pursues the goal is protagonist and the one who obstructs them is antagonist.

4.1.1.3.1. Katniss Everdeen

Katniss Everdeen is the protagonist who plays as the heroine (Picture 1). Her goal is to free the country from the tyranny of the current government. Going along with the narrative, she does not meet any significant shift in playing the character, thus she is considered as a flat character.

4.1.1.3.2. President Coriolanus Snow

In playing role as the antagonist, President Snow's main objective is to fail Katniss' goal. He always has his way to show his opposition to Katniss for every movement she makes. President Snow plays the role as a flat character for his characterization does not change since his first appearance on the films (Picture 2).

4.1.1.3.3. President Alma Coin

In her first appearance in Part 1, President Coin prepares Katniss to be the Mockingjay as the symbol of the revolution. She has the same vision as Katniss, fighting against President Snow. Meanwhile at the end of Part 2, her real vision is discovered. President Coin slightly seems not fully supporting Katniss since she only uses Katniss so she can become the next president of Panem (Picture 3). President Coin undergoes character changing from protagonist to antagonist, therefore President Coin is a round character.

4.1.1.3.4. Peeta Mellark

Peeta Mellark, at first, appears to be the character which will obstruct Katniss from achieving her goal. The antagonist character of Peeta lasts until the first half of Part 2. This happens as Peeta is still undergoes the brainwash influence of Capitol (Picture 4). As the story goes and the influence slowly fades away, Peeta starts to be more supportive for what Katniss does. By seeing his changing from antagonist to protagonist, it can be concluded that Peeta also plays as a round character.



Picture 1 - Part 2 (01:52:08)



Picture 2 - Part 2 (00:18:57)



Picture 3 - Part 2 (01:51:40)



Picture 4 - Part 2 (00:02:40)

4.1.2. Mise-en-scène Aspects

4.1.2.1. Setting

4.1.2.1.1. Spatial Setting

4.1.2.1.1.1. The Capitol

The Capitol pictures the place of where the rich people and the celebrities are living the beautiful and exclusive life in the center of Panem. The city is full of skyscrapers with neoclassical architectural design colored in white. The city's transportation system is more advanced among the other districts. The Capitol operates subway tunnel and has wide road pedestrian. Having its own right and being a powerful entity, Capitol uses those advantages to torture people, including Katniss and Peeta. The festivity of Capitol, looking like an evil and creepy ruler who is intended to

destroy the heroine and the hero, reflects little much of President Snow. Capitol is also a reminiscent of the Hunger Games since all of the arena was built within the Capitol. During Katniss and her team's journey to the Capitol and examining the special holographic 'Holo' tools, Katniss and Finnick realizes that the Capitol is now become a giant game arena.

4.1.2.1.1.2.District 13

District 13, the lost district, was supposed to be bombed to rubble by Capitol years before the Hunger Games. The Capitol fake broadcasted the chemical bombing in District 13 to claim that the district is no longer inhabitable. Living in a nuclear weapon production zone, the people gather their limited power and sources to stay alive and plan a revolution. Everyone lives underground with developed innovative technologies. Each story in this district is connected with stairs and cargo lift. The ambience is quite dark for it has little source of natural light and the lighting tends to be dimly lit. The door of each rooms is grey colored steel, the color matches with the wall as well. The properties in this district are found to have a similar color also, any vibrant color cannot be found in this place. By the time Katniss arrives there, District 13 has evolved and has rebuilt itself. In District 13, everyone has distinct role and strict schedule in the community to follow. This place turned into a stern and unhappy place, a single luxury cannot be found in here. District 13 has thrived but otherwise it is also creepy.

4.1.2.1.2. Temporal Setting

The films are set in a future dystopian country named Panem which is formerly United States and North America after many brutal wars. The usage of developed technology such as hovercrafts and mutations are futuristic enough to support the setting. However, the temporal setting is not that far from the current year as the audience is still able to identify the characters.

4.1.2.1.3. Social Background Setting

The characters' social, educational, and cultural background are delivered in social background setting. Being a military forced district, the food in District 13 tends to be boring, everyone wears the same kind of clothes, has clear role in the community, and has strict schedule to follow. Their main goal in becoming a part of rebellion is to overthrow the Capitol. Meanwhile, the people in Capitol has always been spoiled with luxury life and wearing glamorous costumes. Once District 13 starts to show their existence, the Capitol attacks them immediately.

4.1.2.2. Costumes and Properties

1. Katniss Everdeen

In Part 1, the secret of Katniss' costumes and properties is inside of Cinna's sketchbook – her former designer – which is shown to Katniss right after she decided to be the Mockingjay. Cinna wants her to look like a mocking jay bird in a black suit with medieval shoulder and asymmetrical breast. Not only protecting her, the costumes also eases her when moving, running around, and even shooting an

arrow – which is never out of sight. A small matte black mocking jay bird gripping an arrow pin is always on her costumes since her first game. Every time she goes outside and in action, her brown hair is always braided and laid on her right shoulder. The braided hair becomes her symbol as the Mockingjay. Her look in Part 2 is a little bit glamorous when she is walking with Gale to enter the Mansion. They have to dress up in big-thick hooded-coat to blend with the other people in the Capitol and to cover their face from the Peacekeepers.

2. Effie Trinket and Cressida

In Part 1, Effie Trinket and Cressida are formerly the resident of the Capitol. They are now become part of the revolution and are on Katniss' team. Even so, the fashion influence of the Capitol is still obvious. Being used to wear glamorous wig when lived in the Capitol, now Effie always wears grey scarf to cover her head but still manages to match the color with her grey jumpsuit, just like everyone in District 13. Effie's glamorous look is back in Part 2 as she is back to the Capitol. She escorts Katniss to the Mansion in a hot pink with high collar (Fernandez). A contrast hairstyle of Cressida also defines her origin. Her hair on the left side is shaved and her head is tattooed. As the director of Propo shooting, she is shown with camera. There is no look like Cressida's is found in District 13.

3. President Snow

As the leader of the country, President Snow always looks neat. He is always shown in tuxedo. He shaves his beard regularly to keep his neat look. But he lets his gray hair grows. A white rose is always on his left pocket. Turns out, the smell of the flower is used to cover the smell of blood from his mouth.

4. District 13

District 13 lives underground but still managed to rebuilt itself. Everyone in this community is wearing similar clothes; cargo pocket-covered jumpsuits. Any festive version of clothes cannot be found in District 13, even on Finnick and Annie's wedding. Annie gets on a soft veil and Finnick's suit has nuptial popped collar.

4.2.Extrinsic Elements

4.2.1. A Classless Society

The aim and the success of totalitarian movements are depending on the masses organizing and public affairs handling (Arendt 308). The leader of totalitarian movements rules, dominates, and terrors the citizens by external means and from within. The classless society in Panem is portrayed on how the country is divided into districts and also how District 13 is pictured as a little Panem.

4.2.1.1.Districts Division

Panem, run with totalitarian government, organizes the masses by dividing the country into thirteen districts, but the Capitol only recognizes 12 operational districts. Each of the districts produces, procures, or refines goods in a particular means which will be sent to the Capitol. It is illegal for districts to interact with each other, thus their culture is unique and unaffected by the others. Even though the welfare level of each districts varies depending on the means they produce, there is no district is as wealthy as the Capitol.

The abolishing and abusing of democracy in totalitarian government is depicted in the films. The citizens of Panem is not included and has no influence in

national political decision making. Every districts are ordered to obey the will from the Capitol. It is portrayed in Part 1 when President Snow increases the log production quota in District 7. Picture 5 and 6 shows the scene when the workers are walking to enter the woods and the voice of President Snow stating, *“All work shifts will be extended by an extra two hours. Failure to meet these quotas will not be tolerated”* is playing in the background.



Picture 5 – Part 1 (00:55:20)



Picture 6 – Part 1 (00:55:24)

4.2.1.2. District 13

The classless society of District 13 is obviously portrayed on the customs and clothes; no one looks wealthier nor more impoverished. District 13 is ruled with more familiar patterns as everyone has strict daily schedule they should follow and has determined tasks. In Part 1, President Coin finishes her speech by saying, *“Please, resume your daily schedules.”* It is also shown that everyone in this community wears similar clothes; grey cargo pocket-covered jumpsuits (Picture 7). Any festive version of clothes cannot be found in District 13. It is already customized that every activity in this community is persevered. It appears in Part 1 when everyone eats together in the same room (Picture 8).



Picture 7 – Part 1 (00:31:27)



Picture 8 – Part 1 (00:32:30)

4.2.2. The Totalitarian Movement

The totalitarianism momentum will attract the masses by propaganda and terror which are presenting two different ways in the same situation. Totalitarian propaganda will not only threat directly to individuals who do not obey the teachings, but also indirectly and implicitly (*Arendt 345*). On the other hand, indoctrination includes terror to rule over a feudatory population and increases the isolation and security of the totalitarian movements from outside interference.

4.2.2.1. President Coriolanus Snow's Propaganda Videos

The objective of the propaganda is to gain the power without possessing violence acts. As the rebellion starts to show its existence, the pressure rises to the Capitol. Thus, it is obligated for citizens of Panem to watch the President Coriolanus Snow's broadcasted speech video (Picture 9) to remind the citizens of the good deeds of the government. In Part 1, President Snow reminds the citizens of the unprecedented era of peace after Dark Days. Therefore, each district should obey the laws and keep distributing supply to the Capitol in order to receive order and security in return. In referring to the actions in Quarter Quell, President Snow states that the tributes are

few radicals who choose the destructive path and that they are misunderstood on how the country has survived.

As the rebellion is on their journey to the Capitol, they are attacked by Peacekeepers but managed to rescue themselves in an empty building without Capitol's knowing. President Snow announces their death immediately through the broadcasted video (Picture 10). He states that Katniss Everdeen is valuable for the rebellion since they do not have a vision and have a true leader among them. It is one of his ways to prevent the citizens from joining the rebellion and to defame Katniss as the symbol of the rebellion.

The government can attract the masses by propaganda (Arendt 341). The citizens of Panem now has a new hope, the Mockingjay. The Capitol wants to win the masses back by broadcasting such propaganda videos which degrading the rebellion and mentioning how good the Capitol is. This attempt manages to succeed in putting psychological warfare within the citizens. The citizens are taught to obey the Capitol only, otherwise they will be punished.



Picture 9 - Part 1 (00:17:36)



Picture 6 - Part 2 (01:00:12)

Terror is on a higher level than the psychological warfare of propaganda. The aim of terror is to rule over a feudatory population by shifting the center of power from the army to the police. The presence of Peacekeepers around the

citizens is to ensure that there is no interference to the government and to ensure that the citizens have their tasks done. During President Snow's speech in Part 1, the criminals who kneel are shot to death by the Peacekeepers in front of the citizens (Picture 10) for using and possessing the symbols of Mockingjay – the hope for the citizens to overthrow the tyranny. President Snow shows the citizens what will cost them if they decided to join the Mockingjay. The scene in Part 1 showing the log workers in District 7 are walking entering the woods with the guards of the armed Peacekeepers behind them proves the idea of ruling the population by shifting the center of power to the police (Picture 11).

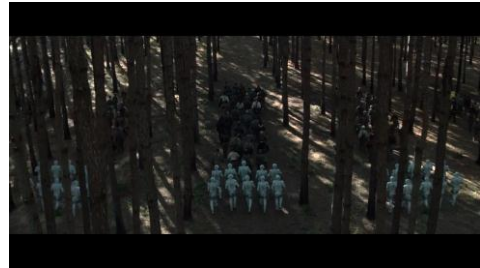
The usage of terror is also shown when the Capitol acknowledges that Katniss and her team visit an emergency hospital in District 8 where the patients show their support by making the three-finger salute. Two hovercrafts are sent immediately to bomb the hospital down (Picture 12). President Snow takes that action as a treason. This gives a psychological warfare to the citizens knowing that they will not be safe if they be friends with Katniss. Another attack from the Capitol is sent to District 13 once the Katniss' Propo video is interrupting Peeta Mellark's interview (Picture 13). The Capitol gives a fast terror responds to any interference to the government. In Part 2, the terror from the Capitol continues. They recognize the presence of the Star Squad after they are nearly engulfed by oil. Peacekeepers bomb down the building where the Leegs are in (Picture 14). The shooting and bombing video is broadcasted live.

Terror becomes a device of indoctrination to increase the isolation and security of the totalitarian government from any interference (Arendt 344). Thus,

the purpose of broadcasting the attacks videos is to indoctrinate the citizens of Panem that any interference to the Capitol will be abolished at the drop of a hat. By watching those videos, the citizens will obey the order from the Capitol because they do not want to be executed.



Picture 10 - Part 1 (00:17:42)



Picture 11 - Part 1 (00:55:35)



Picture 12 - Part 1 (00:50:20)



Picture 13 - Part 1 (00:19:29)



Picture 14 - Part 2 (00:56:20)

4.2.2.2. Peeta Mellark's Interview Videos

In Part 1, Peeta Mellark appears being interviewed three times by Caesar Flickerman. In his first interview, he says that his wish was to save Katniss during the Quarter Quell. He also wants everyone to stop doing the violence as this may

lead to civil war (Picture 15). In his second interview, Peeta appears with a different look and voice. The indirect instruction of totalitarian propaganda is delivered in this interview. Through Peeta, the Capitol wants Katniss to stop the rebellion by reminding her what she really wants and if she trusts the people she is working with (Picture 16). In his last interview, the tension is rising since Peeta is seen to have a worse condition. He reports three savage attacks which happened recently and begs for restraint and decency (Picture 17). Peeta warns Katniss that no one will be safe, even in the Capitol, and that the Capitol will attack District 13 by morning.

The tension in the interviews is increasing because the pressure on the government from District 13 as the outside world is bigger. The interviews are not only a form of propaganda from the Capitol to prevent the citizens from joining the rebellion, but also a part of terror for Katniss as she knows that Peeta is alive and now become a part of the Capitol.



Picture 15 - Part 1 (00:22:11)



Picture 16 - Part 1 (01:00:48)



Picture 17 - Part 1 (00:12:53)

4.2.2.3. The Rebellion's Propos

As the main objective of propaganda, the accumulation of power for the rebellion also uses broadcasted propaganda videos, known as Propo. The Propo videos constantly spread the existence of the rebellion and show the wicked acts of the Capitol to districts. The first video showing Katniss' visit to an emergency hospital in District 8 and the attacks to the hospital from the Capitol is played for the first time in District 13 (Picture 18) and will be broadcasted to all the districts. In the video, Katniss shows her anger to the Capitol by stating that the rebels must fight back. She does not stop there, she also has a message for President Snow, "*And if we burn, you burn with us!*". The video is closed with the motion of mocking jay bird that is on fire and persuasive sentences, "*Join the Mockingjay, Join the Fight*" with Katniss' identical whistle sound in the background. The aim to accumulate the power is achieved as the Propo video successfully attracts the citizens to start the revolution; there is an attack to the Peacekeepers in the woods of District 7 which is started with the identical whistle in the next morning.

The second Propo video is broadcasted to all the districts but the Capitol. It is airing the clips of Katniss seeing the condition of districts which are bombed to rubble by the Capitol. Her singing of "The Hanging Tree" becomes the background song (Picture 19). On the next scene, District 5 is shown heading to the hydroelectric dam while singing the song. They bombed down the dam which shuts down the entire electricity in the country. Interrupting Peeta's third interview, the second Propo is broadcasted for the second time as an attempt to remind him about Katniss.

Katniss is not doing the third Propo, but Finnick Odair instead (Picture 20). The purpose of this video is to fill the commandeered system. This is to able the Mockingjay 1 team to get in and out the Tribute Center undetected while they are on the mission to save Peeta, Johanna, and Annie. Finnick is not giving the recent news about what the Capitol has done to District 13, but he is reporting that he is alive and well. He also tells that being a victor of the game also means that being the slave of the Capitol.

Three of the Propo videos are constantly spreading the ideology of the rebellion. Without having any violence act, the Propos are found to be an effective way to accumulate the power and to attract the citizens in starting the revolution with the rebellion. The indirect and implicit instruction is also included in the videos as there are two attacks occurred after the videos are broadcasted.

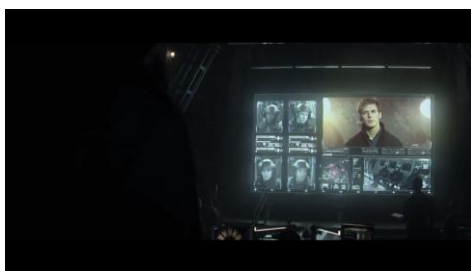
In Part 2, The Star Squad is the onscreen faces of the invasion. It means that their rebellion mission is effective when they are seen by the masses. Their instructions are to shoot propaganda footage on the battle-scarred streets of the Capitol. The aim is to intimidate the Capitol's power and inspire surrenders from District 2 so they will no longer supporting the Capitol but joining the revolution instead.



Picture 18 - Part 1 (00:53:00)



Picture 19 - Part 1 (01:08:53)



Picture 20 - Part 1 (01:30:38)

4.2.3. Totalitarianism in Power

The power of totalitarianism leads to the taking over of danger and congealing of absolute government. The dictator has a complete rule over the inferiors and policy can be swiftly and surprisingly changed (Arendt 409). The victory of totalitarian terror is assessed when skepticism is spread by killing individuality, making martyrdom, and corrupting the human solidarity. The objective is to abolish witnesses and testimony.

4.2.3.1. District 13

Even though the district is the pioneer of the revolution against President Snow, the situation in this district is look alike with the Capitol. The complete rule once totalitarianism in power is portrayed on how District 13 applies strict daily schedule. Furthermore, Katniss and Gale should have President Coin's permit for them in order to hunt above ground (Picture 21). President Coin sees them as inferior individuals who should be controlled over and dominated unless the absolutism will not be achieved.



Picture 21 - Part 1 (00:57:10)

4.2.3.2. The Capitol

The Capitol as the government achieves the victory of totalitarian terror by killing individuals to spread the skepticism. It is portrayed when the criminals are shot to death during the broadcasted President Snow's video for possessing the Mockingjay's symbols. The human solidarity is also corrupted as no one is allowed to confront this act unless they will be sentenced as well. The killing of the criminals has the aim to abolish the testimony and witness of Mockingjay's existence. Mockingjay as the symbol of revolution is seen as a danger for the Capitol, therefore the government is taking over it.

The absolute government of the Capitol is also depicted when President Snow emphasizes that, *"Each district supplies the Capitol. Like blood to a heart. ... To refuse work, is to put the entire system in danger. The Capitol is the beating heart of Panem. Nothing can survive without a heart"* (Picture 22). The Capitol applies power monopoly as a totalitarian device. The device is arising in simple and effective way as orders are always carried out to arrange the citizens as one entity to work in the same industry and the districts are counted as one unity to supply the Capitol.

Following the actions in the Quarter Quell, districts are revolting the Capitol which leads to the bombing down of districts. It is the Capitol's attempt to abolish witness and testimony, also to remind them how the country has survived together. The ideology is indoctrinated that the actions were a sporadic violence. This meant to degrade the tributes in front of the citizens by calling them as "radicals".

The struggle for total domination continues in Part 2. The removal of every rival appears when Star Squad is on their journey to enter the Mansion in Capitol (Picture 23). Pods are planted through the street from the front line to the Capitol. This journey turns out to be a new game with bigger arena with pods above ground and mutants underground. Finnick emphasizes that, "*Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the 76th Hunger Games.*"



Picture 22 - Part 1 (00:16:49)



Picture 23 - Part 2 (00:38:55)

4.2.4. Ideology and Terror: A Novel Form of Government

Totalitarian government opposes all positive rules and places the population in a totally different kind of government (Arendt 461). Terror, operating death sentence, becomes the essence of totalitarian domination since the body politic of totalitarian government places positive rules in total terror. The citizens of a totalitarian country are thrown into and caught in the acceleration process of nature or history, they can be either the executioners or the victims of the country's inherent law.

The Capitol makes laws and orders according to what was happening during Dark Days. The government prevents another wave of rebellion from the citizens by instructing the citizens to strictly obey the laws to receive security and order from the Capitol. Hunger Games is a way to remind the citizens of the nation peace that has been built upon cooperation. On the other hand, the games are not implementing the law of History or Nature.

Totalitarian government does not wait for the slower and less efficient process of nature or history in which Nature describes it as the races or individuals who are “unfit to live” and History on “dying classes” (Arendt 466). In operating death sentence, any individual of Panem who does not obey the rule will be executed and become the victim of Panem. The statement is portrayed when the criminals are shot to death for possessing the symbols of Mockingjay, the bombing of districts, emergency hospital in District 8, and the attempts to fail and kill the Mockingjay and Star Squad (Picture 24).

The fabrication and mobilization of mankind is applied in District 13 as the population is ordered to wear the same clothes, have individual daily schedule, and sacrifice the individuality for the sake of the population. President Coin sees the bombing of the emergency hospital in District 8 as a good way for the rebellion to start revolting. She clearly states, “*There is no progress without compromise.*” (Picture 25). In a bigger picture, the Capitol fabricates the districts by dictating the main industry of each according to the nature and human resources. The Capitol makes its way to mobilize man’s own will power into the Nature or History

movement. The individuals in districts are placed as the object by working in their districts to supply products to the Capitol.



Picture 24 - Part 2 (00:48:15)



Picture 25 - Part 1 (00:53:30)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis discusses the application of totalitarian movement which is depicted in *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 1* and *Part 2* by Francis Lawrence. The data analysis come to the conclusion that Panem is proven run with totalitarian government. The action of the Capitol and Panem adopt four stages of totalitarian movement in which resulting in a novel form of government. Both governments are able to organize the masses and shape a classless society. The Capitol divides the country into districts and dictates each of them to produce certain products to supply the Capitol. While in District 13, the population has to follow the strict daily schedule and is not provided with various types of clothes. Later on, the Capitol uses propaganda videos which airing President Snow's speech to remind the citizens of how the country has gained the success. Besides, the interviews with Peeta is also an attempt to stop Katniss from doing the revolution. Terror is applied by the Capitol when any interference is directed to the government. Peacekeepers without any doubt shot the criminals to death and this action is spectated by the whole country. Meanwhile, the rebellion has the aim to gain the power from the citizens and to show what the Capitol has done to districts by broadcasting Propo videos. Thus, the rebellion does not apply any terror in running the movement. As the power is gained and interference is abolished, the totalitarian government is now in power.

District 13 becomes pretty much like the Capitol for the leader has a total control over the inferior individuals. The population in District 13 is controlled with the daily schedule and the Capitol controls the citizens of Panem with the divisions of district and the obligation to supply the Capitol. Afterwards, a novel form of government does not obey the process of nature and history. The Capitol will execute any citizen of Panem who is found to be a danger for the country. The population of District 13 is fabricated and mobilized by having daily schedule and wearing the same jumpsuits. Hence, the writer hopes that this study regarding the totalitarian movement in Panem will encourage the reader to acknowledge the stages and devices of the totalitarian movement and how it affects the citizens.

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