

A Portrayal of Hegemonic Practice in The Novel Mockingjay by Suzanne

Collins

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze the process of social movement in the novel Mockingjay by Suzanne Collin which ultimately led to the creation of a Hegemony in society. Novel Mockingjay is the third book in The Hunger Games trilogy. The researcher will present the causes of rebellion movement and find out the level of hegemony created in the novel during the revolutionary movement towards a new system of government. In analyzing, the writer use qualitative method and Hegemony theory by Gramsci. The data sources of this research were taken from quotations in the novel Mockingjay and also based on existing research references. The results of this study indicate that there are three levels of Hegemony in the novel Mockingjay: Minimum Hegemony, Decendent Hegemony, and Total Hegemony.

Keywords: *Hegemony, Social Movement, Novel Mockingjay*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis proses pergerakan sosial dalam novel Mockingjay karya Suzanne Collin yang pada akhirnya berujung pada terciptanya Hegemoni dalam masyarakat. Novel Mockingjay adalah buku ketiga dari trilogi The Hunger Games. Peneliti akan menyajikan penyebab gerakan pemberontakan dan memaparkan tingkat hegemoni yang tercipta dalam novel selama gerakan revolusioner menuju sistem pemerintahan baru. Dalam menganalisis, penulis menggunakan metode kualitatif dan teori Hegemoni dari Gramsci. Sumber data penelitian ini diambil dari kutipan-kutipan dalam novel Mockingjay dan juga berdasarkan referensi penelitian yang sudah ada. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat tiga tingkatan Hegemoni dalam novel Mockingjay diantaranya: Minimum Hegemony, Decendent Hegemony, dan Total Hegemony.

Kata Kunci: *Hegemoni, Gerakan Sosial, Novel Mockingjay*

1. Introduction

Humans are basically social creatures, have the instinct to live with others because since birth humans have two main tendencies, namely the desire to become one with the society and the natural environment around them (Rosana, 2017). Society has a close relationship with culture. The two of them have a reciprocal relationship where society produces a culture which will later determine the style of society. Culture is not only an art but also everything in life that surrounds humans and is created by humans. In short, culture is a way of life that is considered good and can be applied in a society. Culture functions to regulate human behavior in social life so that everything can run according to what is expected by the people who live in that environment. That's why culture can be in the form of social norms and the punishments if these rules are violated. This is due to a situation where something that happens in social life does not always run smoothly and sometimes there are deviations in society. As a totality of values, social order, and human behavior, Indonesian must be able to embody the state view and philosophy of Pancasila into all aspects of national and state life. The principle that underlies the mindset, pattern of action, function, structure, and process of the Indonesian socio-cultural system that is implemented must be the embodiment of the values of Pancasila and Undang-Undang Dasar 1945. In practice, socio-cultural is a dynamic thing. This is because humans in their lives are always changing. There are several main stages in the change process, starting from the creation or birth of something that can be desired or needed, which then develops into a new idea or concept. Then the idea spread among the community members. The result is changes that occur in the social system concerned as a result of the acceptance or rejection of new ideas or concepts. Social changes are changes that occur in a society which include changes in social structures, systems, and organizations as a result of modifications in human life patterns that are influenced by the internal and external needs of the community itself. Internal factors that influence socio-cultural changes one of which is the occurrence of a rebellion carried out by the community against the government which begins with the dissatisfaction of some people. This dissatisfaction refers to the system of power that is deemed unsuitable so that it encourages the community to come out and create a different power system. This dissatisfaction makes people who feel disadvantaged and carry out rebellions. This situation gave rise to a revolution as a form of rebellion. The existence of a revolution will bring major changes in the body of society. Regardless of the factors, social cultural changes that occur in society are cultural movements that cannot be avoided as a result of changes that occur in society itself. Socio-cultural changes in a place can vary according to the level of development of the community. Social culture is behavior between humans in society which is considered as a normal or regular that is developed both ritually and intellectually by dominant social groups. Social culture is very abstract, complex and broad, but the implications is very concrete. As Vygotsky defines social culture as a person's way of interpreting and responding to the world that is carried by their ancestors to their descendants (Mcleod, 2022). The social culture that still exists from ancient era to current modern era is the existence of a class system in society that causes the social class. These classes of society are stratified based on backgrounds with certain characteristics. Sorkin (cited in Manik 2013) suggests that social stratification is the differentiation of the population or society into classes in stages. The embodiment of social stratification is in the form of high classes and lower classes in society. The classes of society are then divided based on the roles, rights and obligations that complement each other. In principle, the classes in society are classified into three factors, namely political, economic, and positions in society (Manik, 2013).

In the process, the classes division in society usually often triggers the conflict. According to linguistics, conflict can be interpreted as quarrels, fights, disagreements or desires (Tualeka, 2017). Conflicts that occur between social classes are in the form of vertical conflicts, which are conflicts between upper and lower social class. Social class conflicts have an impact or

consequence for the social class groups that carry out the conflict including the destruction of group unity, loss of property, the emergence of human victims, the destruction of existing social values and norms, and changes in individual personality. Marx (Cited in Siswati, 2017) views conflict as a form of class struggle. From that point of view, Marx sees society as an arena of inequality that can trigger conflict and social change. Marx considered conflict in society related to the existence of groups in power and control. The idea of class levels conflict in society is what inspired Gramsci in creating the theory of hegemony.

Hegemony theory emerged as a critique and alternative to previous approaches and theories of social change dominated by class determinism and traditional Marxist economics. Gramsci (cited in Siswati, 2017) expands the notion of hegemony into hegemony that includes the role of the capital class and its members, not just the working class and its members. This theory was created by Gramsci which has a dream of a society without class, a society in which the workers were no longer exploited and dominated by the bourgeoisie, therefore Gramsci's thoughts generally rested on the question of how to create a socialist society free from domination and exploitation. Gramsci stated that a class cannot achieve national leadership and become hegemonic, if the class only cares about their own interests, then they must also pay attention to the demands and struggles of the people. Hegemony theory is actually a critique of the concept of thinking that reduces and considers the essence of a particular group as the only absolute truth. According to Gramsci, hegemony is not a relationship of domination by using power, but a relationship of agreement using political and ideological leadership (Siswati, 2017). Gramsci argues that to make the ruled obey the ruler, the ruled must not only feel they have and internalize the values and norms of the ruler, but also must give consent to their subordination (Siswati, 2017). This is what Gramsci meant by "hegemony" or having power with a consensus manner. Gramsci argues that if power is only achieved by relying on coercive power, the real result that has been achieved is called domination (Siswati, 2017). In contrast to domination, hegemony is a power that can rule but without coercion. However, this dominating power cannot last forever. That incident happened in the phenomenon of the power conflict in Indonesia which became the end of the New Order era. The conflict led to the fall of Indonesia's second president after 32 years of maintaining his power. This happened as a result of mutual distrust and public dissatisfaction with the government that ruled at that time which was considered too authoritarian and several other factors which were considered miserable for the people. This is what prompted the outbreak of conflict in 1998 where people who were fed up with the government finally fought simultaneously in several regions in Indonesia. The incident can be said to have succeeded in creating a new hegemony in Indonesia which was marked by the resignation of President Suharto, who was later replaced by his deputy, Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie (Parandaru, 2021).

In hegemony theory, Gramsci mentioned the three levels that will appear in the process of creating a hegemony in a social group. The lowest level of hegemony is Minimum Hegemony which occurs when each member in the hegemonic group has their own interests so that there is a lot of disharmony. The hegemony at this stage rely on the ideological unity between the economic, political and intellectual elites which goes hand in hand with the reluctance to any interference from the masses in the life of the state. In this lowest level of hegemony, the hegemonic group will maintain the rules through the transformation of the unification of cultural, political, social, and economic leaders who are potentially in conflict with the new state aspired by the hegemonic group. The second level of hegemony is Decadent Hegemony, at this level there is the potential for hidden disintegration or conflict within a group that is seeking a revolution. Even though the existing system has achieved its needs or goals, the mentality of the masses is not really in harmony with the dominant thinking of the hegemonic subject. Therefore, cultural and political integration is easy to collapse. Integral hegemony (Total Hegemony) which is characterized by complete cohesiveness among members in a hegemonic group. This relationship is not colored by contradictions and antagonisms both socially and ethically. A social group could be said as a hegemonic only if the group gets a consensus of power from other social classes, by creating and maintaining a system of alliances through political and ideological struggles. According

to Gramsci, the working class can only become a hegemonic class by taking into account the various interests of other classes and social forces, and meeting them with their own interests. The strategy of building a large group consisting of various social forces united with the same conception of the world is called Gramsci as a war of position. In analyzing the positional war between the two main classes for hegemony, Gramsci distinguishes between the strategies of the bourgeoisie and the workers. Passive revolution is a strategy applied by the bourgeoisie to achieve hegemony in which the main players are not the people, but the revolution from above. Passive revolution is a typical response of the bourgeoisie when the hegemony that they developed previously is threatened, so it is necessary to carry out a thorough reorganization process to regain its hegemonic power. On the other hand, the working class carries out an anti-passive revolution as a strategy to achieve hegemony by continuously strengthening the democratic people's class struggle. New hegemony can only be achieved by changing people's awareness, mindset, understanding and conception of the world, and changing their norms of moral behavior.

In social life, the issue of hegemony is one of the most relevant social theories for studying social situations in society. The practice of hegemony cannot be separated from various lines of life in terms of politics, economics, law, social and education. This happens because in the order of human life there will always be the ruler and the ruled. Hegemony can be practiced by anyone in order to achieve their respective goals. Along with that, Gramsci's theory of hegemony provides a new perspective in the sociological study of literature. Literature itself is closely related to daily social situations. Literary works contain the relationship between text and universe as has been described by Abram's in his mimetic theory. However some literary works contain an issue that is brought by the author is an imitation of reality. The author creates storyline and characters that might exist in real life based on their experience or background so that literary works can be used as a reference to overcome problems in real life (Cuza, 2019). Messages contained in literary works can also be used as advice or reminders to live a better life. One of the problems that can be studied in a literary work is the issue of hegemony of power. In line with this, one of the literary works that raises this issue is the third book of the Hunger Games Trilogy, *Mockingjay*.

Mockingjay by Suzanne Collins that was published in 2010 tells the story of how a social movement can create a hegemony. *Mockingjay* is the last book in The Hunger Games trilogy with the first book *The Hunger Games* in 2008 and the second book *Catching Fire* in 2009. Just like the two previous books, *Mockingjay* was also adapted into a film in 2014 for the first part and 2015 for the second part with the same title. The story in the novel *Mockingjay* begins with Katniss Everdeen who makes a brief visit to her house in District 12 which is said to have been destroyed by the Capitol attack which coincided with the attack that she was carried out in the Quarter Quell arena. Katniss proposed this visit agenda as a condition of her participation in the rebellion movement devised by officials from District 13. Although the Capitol claims that District 13 was exterminated 75 years ago during their first rebellion, the truth is that District 13 managed to survive by building the bankers in underground. After surviving while preparing for a further rebellion, District 13 under the leadership of President Alma Coin sees an opportunity for rebellion based on what Katniss did at the end of the Hunger Games. That what makes Katniss finally chosen to be a symbol of rebellion, namely the Mockingjay bird. Although she had refused, Katniss was finally persuaded on several conditions. The rebellion itself was carried out due to the Districts' dissatisfaction with the leadership of President Snow, who was considered to have rules that made the people miserable. The rebellion was carried out in response to the atrocities of the Capitol. The districts that had been trying to survive under President Snow's cruel rule got motivation after seeing Katniss' resistance in the Hunger Games and Quarter Quell arenas. Those who have long harbored the desire to rebel see Katniss as a hero who is able to lead a rebellion movement (Collins, 2010).

The uprising began with the spread of propaganda via video which was broadcast live throughout Panem. In the propaganda video, Katniss invites the entire District to cooperate and unite in the fight against the capitol. Katniss along with the rebel troops from District 13 visited the other Districts while doing a live broadcast to show to all of Panem how the impact

of the Capitol's atrocities on the entire District. This was done with the aim of being able to motivate and convince people who were still hesitant to join their rebellion movement. As predicted, their rebellion didn't go smoothly. Several Districts had rejected the idea of a rebellion brought by Katniss and District 13 on the grounds of loyalty to the Capitol. President Snow also didn't just sit back and let the revolutionary movement run its course. He countered all propaganda launched by district 13 with propaganda in the form of threats to any district that joined district 13. The climax is when President Snow uses Peeta as a direct threat to Katniss. Peeta, who previously failed to be rescued from the Quarter Quell arena, becomes a prisoner and is tortured in the Capitol. Because of that Katniss and the team from district 13 took action to save Peeta (Collins, 2010). After rescuing Peeta, they resume their rebellion movement. Realizing that they didn't have much time, they immediately devised a plan to attack the Capitol directly. In between struggles, Katniss realizes something else, both President Snow from the Capitol and President Coin from district 13, they have vested interests that will ultimately hurt Panem. Because of that she and her team moved to carry out a rebellion of their own. This is also what makes Katniss kill President Coin at the end of the story (Collins, 2010).

The phenomenon of rebellion that occurred in the novel *Mockingjay* prompted the researcher to conduct research on the relationship between the theory of hegemony and a literary work. This research aims to analyze the process of rebellion in the novel *Mockingjay* by Suzanne Collins as an attempt by the District to change the old system of government that is detrimental and replace it with a new system of government in the form of hegemony. In this process, the researcher tries to explain the causes and consequences of the rebellion. This research also reveals the level of hegemony that emerged during the rebellion movement. The levels of hegemony will be associated with each scene in the story that is relevant to each of these levels of hegemony. The researcher also hopes to be able to convey a value about social life in the novel *Mockingjay* so that it will have a good influence to everyone who reads this research.

In designing this study, researchers used several previous studies which were used as references and comparisons. First is the research conducted by Mutiara (2015) entitled *Totalitarianism versus Democracy in The Hunger Games Trilogy: Foucauldian Discourse and Power Relations*. In contrast to Mutiara's research, in this study, the researcher only focused on the last novel of *The Hunger Games* trilogy. Even though the research is about the power, instead of explaining the form of politics in *The Hunger Games* trilogy, the researchers in this research will present a new form of politics that is being attempted by The Districts. The second study that became the researcher's reference in conducting this research is a study conducted by Cahyaningrum (2014) entitled *Rebellion Against The Unjust Authority Reflected in Suzanne Collins' Mockingjay (2010): Sociological Criticism*. Even though the researchers both raised the issue of rebellion, the researchers in this research did not only explain how the rebellion process took place but also wanted to show the results of the rebellion agenda, namely in the form of a new hegemony of power. The third research that the researcher uses as a reference is a study conducted by Habiburrahman (2017) entitled *Cultural Hegemony at Novel Merpati Kembar di Lombok (Twin Pigeons in Lombok) by Nuriadi: Hegemony Analysis of Antonio Gramsci* written by Muhammad Habiburrahman.

2. Method

This research was analyzed by using a qualitative descriptive method. According to Denzin and Lincoln (cited in Ospina 2004) qualitative research involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach. This means the researcher studies things in natural settings and tries to understand and interpreting it then describe the results that have been found. This method is used by researchers because this research requires in-depth observation so as to create comprehensive results.

In this case, the researcher was interpreted the level of hegemony in the novel *Mockingjay* and then describes them. For this reason, the researcher has been reread novel *Mockingjay* carefully to find the connection between Hegemony and novel *Mockingjay*. In

addition, the researcher corroborates the findings by comparing it with previous findings related to the topic of this study.

The object for this research is the rebellion to the current system of government that occurred in the novel *Mockingjay* by Suzanne Collins which is the process of the creation of hegemony as a new government system that replaces the old totalitarian system of government.

The primary source of data for this research is the novel *Mockingjay* published in 2010. Meanwhile the secondary source for this research are articles and journals related to the research from previous researches. The stages of collecting data that has been carried out by the researcher in conducting this research are selecting important data in the form of narration and dialogue between characters in the novel *Mockingjay* related to rebellion and hegemony and reading the articles and journals related to hegemony and rebellion to get a deeper understanding of the problem of this study.

To analyze the data for this research, the researcher use descriptive data analysis techniques. Descriptive analysis is a statistical analysis method that aims to provide a description or description of the research subject based on variable data obtained from certain subject groups. The steps that that has been taken by the researcher in analyzing the data are analyzing the narration and the dialogue between the characters in the novel *Mockingjay* which indicates the causes of rebellion movement, analyzing the narration and the dialogue between the characters which indicates the establishment of hegemony as a new system of government in the novel *Mockingjay*, classifying the narration and the dialogues in the novel *Mockingjay* related to the level of hegemony (minimum hegemony, decadent hegemony, total hegemony) and the last is making a conclusion about the result of the establishment of Hegemony as a new government system in *Mockingjay*.

3. Results and Discussions

In this chapter, the researcher will present the results of the research in the form of the causes of rebellion and the process of forming three levels in the creation of hegemony as a new government system.

3.1. The Causes of The Rebellion Movement

A social movement will not happen if there is nothing to trigger it. Rebellion carried out by society usually has causes that make a group of people moved to do it. In the novel *Mockingjay* by Suzanne Collins, the cause of the rebellion is the actions taken by the Capitol against the Districts below it. The following are the actions of the Capitol that were the cause of the rebellion.

3.1.1. Capitol Destroy District 12 in retaliation for what Katniss did at the end of Quarter Quell

Written at the beginning of the *Mockingjay* novel, Katniss, who had been taken to District 13, returned to visit her hometown, District 12, which had been destroyed by the Capitol. In her narration, Katniss explains that there is nothing left in District 12 except for the two Hunger Games victorious houses. Many skulls scattered were the remains of the residents of District 12 who didn't manage to escape at that time.

“As soon as the Quarter Quell was over--as soon as I had been lifted from the arena--the electricity in District 12 was cut, the televisions went black, and the Seam became so silent, people could hear one another's heartbeats. No one did anything to protest or celebrate what had happened in the arena. Yet within fifteen minutes, the sky was filled with hoverplanes and the bombs were raining down” (Collins, 2010, P.10)

From the dialogue, it can be seen that the Capitol under the leadership of President Snow has shown its dominance of power by responding to Katniss' resistance in the form of an attack on District 12 which is Katniss' hometown. At first that was made Katniss hesitate to join the rebellion. She believes that what happened in District 12 is the result of her reckless actions against the Capitol. But after her visit to District 12 which was destroyed and only left

the victor's village, Katniss gets the strength and motive to continue to fight against the cruelty of the Capitol.

3.1.2. Capitol Assaulting District 8

The cruelty of the Capitol under the leadership of President Snow has been described since the first book of The Hunger Games trilogy but the most severe is told in the novel *Mockingjay*. At that time Katniss and the Rebel Troops from District 13 were visiting District 8 which was in a very deplorable condition. In her narration, Katniss describes how the condition of District 8 is almost destroyed with the dead and injured victims gathered in one remaining ward. The Capitol found out of the visiting agenda and sent the troops to attack District 8 with the aim of threatening anyone who is indicated to be in league with the Rebel Troops from District 13.

"I whisper as I catch sight of the hospital. What used to be the hospital. I move past the wounded, past the burning plane wrecks, fixated on the disaster ahead of me. People screaming, running about frantically, but unable to help. The bombs have collapsed the hospital roof and set the building on fire, effectively trapping the patients within. A group of rescuers has assembled, trying to clear a path to the inside. But I already know what they will find. If the crushing debris and the flames didn't get them, the smoke did" (Collins, 2010, P.111)

Written in the novel *Mockingjay*, President Snow orders his troops to destroy District 8 which clearly shows their support for the rebellion. The attack was also broadcast by President Snow throughout the Panem as usual to threaten anyone who is indicated to be involved in the rebellion agenda. This was done by President Snow to maintain the entire District's feelings of submission to the Capitol. But instead of feeling threatened by the propaganda, the rebel troops were even more inflamed and more determined to rebel against the Capitol.

3.1.3. Capitol Assaulting District 13

District 13 is the District most targeted for attack by the Capitol. The attack occurred shortly after the broadcast of a propaganda video made by District 13.

"Apparently, Peeta Mellark's information was sound and we owe him a great debt of gratitude. Sensors indicate the first missile was not nuclear, but very powerful. We expect more will follow. For the duration of the attack, citizens are to stay in their assigned areas unless otherwise notified." (Collins, 2010, P.165)

As the District that became the pioneer of the Rebellion agenda, District 13 is definitely the main target for President Snow to destroy. Luckily at that time District 13 had received advance warning through Peeta who was being held captive in the Capitol. After the attack, the rebel forces from District 13 immediately devised a plan to save Peeta and attack the Capitol directly.

4.2. Level of Hegemony in Novel *Mockingjay*

The rebellion carried out by the District in the *Mockingjay* novel has one main goal which is to replace President Snow's cruel and authoritarian government system with a new government system that can be accepted by all Districts. The new government system will later use a hegemony system where the power that will be obtained by the leader is not coercive power but with the approval of all the people. In his theory, Gramsci states that there are three levels in the process of creating hegemony, including Minimum Hegemony, Decadent Hegemony, and Total hegemony. In this research, the researcher will be explained how these three levels are presented in the novel *Mockingjay* by Suzanne Collins

3.2.1. Minimum Hegemony

Minimum Hegemony in the novel *Mockingjay* has been indicated since the beginning of the story. In her narration, Katniss expresses her rejection of District 13 idea which wants to make herself to be an image of revolution.

“To become the Mockingjay...could any good I do possibly outweigh the damage? Who can I trust to answer that question? Certainly not that crew in 13”. (Collins, 2010, P.20)

In addition to Katniss' disagreement, President Coin as the Leader of District 13 also shows a sign that hegemony of power is still difficult to achieve because the parties involved in it still refuse to cooperate.

“Yesterday afternoon, as the door was closing behind me, I heard Coin say, "I told you we should have rescued the boy first." Meaning Peeta” (Collins, 2010, P.18)

Peeta, who is imprisoned in the Capitol, expresses his disapproval of rebellion. In his video interview, he invites the entire community to call for a ceasefire.

"I want everyone watching--whether you're on the Capitol or the rebel side--to stop for just a moment and think about what this war could mean. For human beings. We almost went extinct fighting one another before. Now our numbers are even fewer. Our conditions more tenuous. Is this really what we want to do? Kill ourselves off completely? In the hopes that--what? Some decent species will inherit the smoking remains of the earth?" (Collins, 2010, P.33)

The incompatibility between Katniss as a symbol of the rebellion and President Coin as the leader of the rebellion shows that there has not been an agreement between the parties involved in the rebellion agenda. This means that the Hegemony is still difficult to achieve.

3.2.2. Decadent Hegemony

Decadent Hegemony is the second level of Hegemony where at this level there is still disintegration in groups that want to create Hegemony even though the parties are already in the same system, the disintegration giving the rise to internal conflicts. In *Mockingjay's* novel, Decadent Hegemony is often shown through Katniss's act. As seen from the start that Katniss and President Coin do not have a good relationship. It is still vaguely visible even though Katniss has agreed to be under her orders. Their incompatibility is clearly seen in Katniss and Boggs' conversation.

"Why does Coin want me dead now?" I ask.

"She denies she does," he answers. "But we know it's true," I say. "And you must at least have a theory."

Boggs gives me a long, hard look before he answers. "Here's as much as I know. The president doesn't like you. She never did. It was Peeta she wanted rescued from the arena, but no one else agreed. It made matters worse when you forced her to give the other victors immunity. But even that could be overlooked in view of how well you've performed." (Collins, 2010, P.287-288)

Apart from Katniss, Boggs, who has been trusted by President Coin to become the leader of the rebellion unit, also shows his resistance to President Coin and willing to support Katniss. This can be seen in his conversation with Katniss.

"She doesn't need you as a rallying point now. As she said, your primary objective, to unite the districts, has succeeded," Boggs reminds me. "These current propos could be done without you. There's only one last thing you could do to add fire to the rebellion."

"Die," I say quietly.

"Yes. Give us a martyr to fight for," says Boggs. "But that's not going to happen under my watch, Soldier Everdeen. I'm planning for you to have a long life."
"Why?" This kind of thinking will only bring him trouble. "You don't owe me anything."
"Because you've earned it," he says. (Collins, 2010, P.289)

Decadent Hegemony is most clearly presented when the rebels have succeeded in completely taking over the Capitol. In the novel, the surviving victors are gathered by President Coin to vote on the idea of holding the last Hunger Games with the children of the Capitol as the participants. Even though by that time the entire District had united to fight the Capitol, several related parties refused to agree with President Coin's idea of the last Hunger Games.

"We hold another Hunger Games using Capitol children," says Coin.
"Are you joking?" asks Peeta.
"No. I should also tell you that if we do hold the Games, it will be known it was done with your approval, although the individual breakdown of your votes will be kept secret for your own security," Coin tells us.
"Was this Plutarch's idea?" asks Haymitch.
"It was mine," says Coin. "It seemed to balance the need for vengeance with the least loss of life. You may cast your votes."
"No!" bursts out Peeta. "I vote no, of course! We can't have another Hunger Games!"
"Why not?" Johanna retorts. "It seems very fair to me. Snow even has a granddaughter. I vote yes."
"So do I," says Enobaria, almost indifferently. "Let them have a taste of their own medicine."
"This is why we rebelled! Remember?" Peeta looks at the rest of us. "Annie?"
"I vote no with Peeta," she says. "So would Finnick if he were here." (Collins, 2010, P.399-400)

This indicates that among the rebels there is still no overall agreement. This also shows that President Coin, as the pioneer of the rebellion, actually has a different goal than the other rebels who want peace for the entire Panem.

3.2.3. Total Hegemony

Total Hegemony is the last level of Hegemony. In this level, the mass affiliations involved in the creation of hegemony are close to the total. The relationship that exists between each of the parties is no longer accompanied by contradictions. In the novel *Mockingjay*, Total Hegemony was finally achieved after Katniss decided to shoot President Coin instead of killing Snow even though in the end President Snow was found dead among the crowd. This decision was chosen by Katniss to show that there is no one better between President Coin and President Snow. Both of them wanted authoritarian power which was not in accordance with the ideals of rebellion. After the two Presidents died, a new Hegemony of power was created where the election to fill the leader position was first held with the Commander Paylor from District 8 who was elected based on the most votes.

"After I shot Coin, there was pandemonium. When the ruckus died down, they discovered Snow's body, still tethered to the post. Opinions differ on whether he choked to death while laughing or was crushed by the crowd. No one really cares. An emergency election was thrown together and Paylor was voted in as president." (Collins, 2010, P.408-409)

The indication that hegemony has been formed can also be seen from the statement by Plutarch who was elected as the broadcasting council.

"Are you preparing for another war, Plutarch?" I ask.

"Oh, not now. Now we're in that sweet period where everyone agrees that our recent horrors should never be repeated," he says. (Collins, 2010, P.409)

From his statement it can be indicated that the new government system that is in accordance with the ideals of rebellion has been running, that means Total Hegemony has also been achieved.

4. Conclusion

After analyzing all the data, the researcher concludes that the beginning of the rebellion carried out by the District in the Capitol was caused by the dissatisfaction of the Districts against the cruel and dictatorial government system of Capitol. These atrocities include the Capitol's decision to destroy District 12 in retaliation for the Katniss resistance, then the Capitol shows more severe ruthlessness when carrying out attacks on District 8 which is experiencing a crisis as a threat to any District that is caught interacting with troops rebellion from District 13. Not only that, the Capitol is also trying to destroy District 13 as revenge for their rebellion.

It was these atrocities that directed the District residents to change the government system that existed at that time. The movement eventually gave rise to a new government system called Hegemony. In the process, the District residents went through three stages to achieve a new Hegemony that was in accordance with the ideals of rebellion. The three stages include Minimum Hegemony where at this stage there is a conflict that is still clearly visible between Katniss as a symbol of rebellion and President Coin who leads the rebellion, meanwhile Peeta who is supposed to accompany Katniss also shows his disapproval of the idea of rebellion. The second stage of hegemony that occurs in the novel is Decadent Hegemony where at this stage there are several hidden conflicts between the periods of rebellion, and the last stage that the rebel forces go through is Total Hegemony, namely the success of creating a new government system in accordance with the initial goals of the rebellion movement.

The researcher would like to give suggestion for readers especially for the English Literature student at the Language and Literature Faculty of Bina Darma University. It is important to study the theory of hegemony as a system of government because each individual in a community group should understand how a system of government is formed and runs. Studying the theory of hegemony is one of the efforts that can be made by the community to participate and be able to place themselves in the administration of the government system.

5. References

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