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

# TITLE

**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 1*” 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 AS REFLECTED IN FRANCIS LAWRENCE’S**

***THE HUNGER GAMES: MOCKINGJAY – PART 1* AND *PART 2***

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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

## 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 of 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 in2010. 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 proofs 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.

## 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.

## Purposes of the Study

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

1. 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.
2. 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.

## 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).

## 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.

## 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.

## Organization of the Writing

1. **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.

1. **Literary Review**

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

1. **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.

1. **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.

1. **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

## 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 knocked 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.

## 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.

## 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).