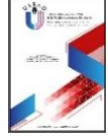




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**TWO SIDES OF THE SAME HEGEMONY: HUMAN, CONTROL, POWER  
STRUGGLES AND *THE HUNGER GAMES***

AYNI HEGEMONYANIN İKİ YÜZÜ: İNSAN, KONTROL, GÜÇ MÜCADELELERİ VE  
*AÇLIK OYUNLARI*

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**Abstract:** As being one of the most popular contemporary young adult fiction series at the time it was published, *The Hunger Games Trilogy* explores crucial real-life issues within a fictional apocalyptic world. This article delves into the analysis of the book series' various societies through the lens of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony and Jeremy Bentham's panopticon prison, which Michel Foucault later interpreted as a tool for societal discipline. The argument presented here centres on the striking similarity in the control methods employed by the two distinct power centres in the series—Capitol and District 13—to govern the people under their rule. By utilizing the theories of hegemony and panopticon, this study scrutinizes this type of control in detail. Additionally, the article examines how both Capitol and District 13 employ media, hunger, and the Hunger Games as separate tools for control, elucidating their respective impacts on society. Despite the initial portrayal of Capitol as evil and District 13 as good, a thorough analysis reveals that they share the same underlying motivation and methods in their quest for ultimate control over everything.

**Key Words:** Hegemony, Capitol, Panopticon, Tributes, Panem

**Öz:** Yayınlandığı tarihteki en popüler çağdaş genç yetişkin kurgu serilerinden biri olan *Açlık Oyunları Üçlemesi*, kurgusal bir kıyamet dünyasında gerçek hayattaki önemli sorunları araştırıyor. Bu makale, Antonio Gramsci'nin hegemonya teorisi ve Michel Foucault'nun daha sonra bir toplumsal disiplin aracı olarak yorumladığı Jeremy Bentham'ın panoptikon hapisanesi merceğinden kitap serisinin çeşitli topluluklarının analizini yapmaktadır. Burada sunulan argüman, serideki iki farklı güç merkezinin (Capitol ve 13. Mıntıka) kendi yönetimleri altındaki insanları yönetmek için kullandıkları kontrol metotlarındaki çarpıcı benzerliğe odaklanıyor. Bu çalışma, hegemonya ve panoptikon teorilerinden yararlanarak bu kontrol türünü ayrıntılı olarak incelemektedir. Ek olarak hem Capitol'ün hem de 13. Mıntıka'nın medyayı, açlığı ve açlık oyunlarını ayrı kontrol araçları olarak nasıl kullandıklarını inceliyor ve bunların toplum üzerindeki etkilerini açıklıyor. İlk başta Capitol'ün kötü ve 13. Mıntıka'nın iyi olarak tasvir edilmesine rağmen, bu çalışmadaki analiz, her şey üzerinde nihai kontrol arayışlarında aynı temel motivasyonu ve yöntemleri paylaştıklarını ortaya koymaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Hegemonya, Capitol, Panoptikon, Haraçlar, Panem

## INTRODUCTION

*The Hunger Games* trilogy by Suzanne Collins is a dystopian young adult fiction series set in a post-apocalyptic world known as Panem. Comprising three novels—*The Hunger Games* (2008), *Catching Fire* (2009), and *Mockingjay* (2010)—the series follows the quest of the protagonist, Katniss Everdeen, as she navigates through a society divided into twelve districts and a wealthy Capitol ruling over them. The story starts in a society where the Capitol exercises totalitarian control over its citizens, imposing harsh living conditions and holding an annual event known as the Hunger Games. The Games require a boy and a girl, known as tributes, from each district to fight to the death in a televised show, serving as a reminder of the Capitol's authority and supremacy.

Katniss, a resourceful and courageous young woman from District 12, volunteers to take her sister's place in the Hunger Games, setting off a chain of events that challenge the Capitol's rule and ignite a rebellion across the districts. The trilogy investigates themes such as oppression, survival, sacrifice, and the

consequences of unsupervised power. The trilogy has captivated audiences worldwide with its gripping narrative, compelling characters, and thought-provoking social commentary, establishing itself as a seminal work in contemporary young adult literature.

In one of the interviews with the publisher Scholastic about *The Hunger Games*, Suzanne Collins stated that the idea of writing this series came to her when she saw two different images when she was flipping channels on TV. First one was a reality show in which youngsters compete for money and the second was a footage from Iraqi war. She asserts that these two images started to interlace into each other leading to the idea of the Katniss's story (Alisha Mitchell, 2019). Beginning at this point, this article aims to explore the series as a depiction of reality, encompassing the struggles of young individuals fighting for survival within a system governed by hegemonic instruments designed to exert control over the masses in the realm of Panem. The series presents the reader with an alternate future where people in power try to manipulate the people through a range of tools, including media, military force, black propaganda, and the hunger games. In the story, the Capitol and District 13 serve as the two power centres, employing a multitude of techniques to have control over the population and secretly procreating the belief that power ultimately rests within the people's grasp. This article will delve into the analysis of the behaviour exhibited by these two powers, drawing upon the ideas of Antonio Gramsci, who coined the term 'hegemony' to explain the methods employed by dominant groups in society to establish and preserve their power. Although the term was first used by Lenin, he used it as a synonym for 'leadership' (Im, 1991: p. 123, Bates, 1975: p. 352, Anderson, 1976: p. 15-18). The actions carried out by the Capitol and District 13 to assert control within their respective societies are intricately connected with this concept. A detailed examination of these actions will be undertaken to investigate the mechanisms by which society becomes influenced by these tools and accepts conditions that are not in their favour, thereby shedding light on the how and why of societal acceptance.

First of all, it is crucial to acknowledge that hegemony encompasses a much broader spectrum beyond only manifestations of physical or economic power. Conceptual framework of hegemony includes a considerably wider array of elements, including but not limited to ideologies, social values, and cultural norms: "The basic premise of the theory of hegemony is one with which few would disagree: that man is not ruled by force alone, but also by ideas" (Bates, 1975: p. 351). As Gramsci suggests, hegemony refers to the dominance of one social group over others through the construction and distribution of a particular set of ideas, values, beliefs, and norms: "In the hegemonic system, there exists democracy between the 'leading' group and the groups which are 'led'" (Gramsci, 1971: p. 57). Dominant group in the society constructs a cultural framework and promotes it in the society whereas members of the society are required to abide by the rules of this cultural system with their own free will.

At this point, hegemony has two vital aspects that are directly related to the analysis in this study: consent of the subordinate groups and the apparatus of state coercive power. What Gramsci argues here is that subordinate groups must submit to the general direction in the society, in the contrary case, the political society, 'the State' could use its coercive apparatus to legally discipline these subordinate groups. (1971: p. 13) It is also explained by Femia that the internal control of the society requires creating a community in which majority of the people share a common social language and an ideology along with it (1981: p. 24). According to Femia, it is stated that through the exercise of ideological control, society reaches a reverberatory juncture in which individuals perceive their actions as serving their own interests, while in fact, they inadvertently serve the interests of the ruling class. The fundamental tenet of hegemony resides in the perpetuation of a state in which individuals willingly maintain their subordinate position. Woolcock (1985) similarly asserts: "a successful hegemony is one which is able to create a 'collective national-popular will'..." (p. 206).

As mentioned earlier, the ruling group skilfully fabricates an illusion of reality, leading people to unquestioningly perceive it as the true state of affairs. Consequently, governments are able to maintain their power and security without resorting to force. The concept in question bears resemblance to Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, a design featuring a circular prison equipped with a central surveillance tower. The prison is enclosed by an outer wall, within which individual cells are situated. This architectural arrangement aims to ensure complete surveillance over the inmates, providing control through their own perception, as they cannot see either the observer in the central tower or their fellow prisoners. The notion of constant surveillance governs the behaviour of the inmates, who, despite their uncertainty about the presence of an observer in the tower, maintain the belief that they are being monitored, thereby upholding the prison's security. (Bentham and Bođovi, 1995: p. 35-36) In his *Panopticon Writings* (1995), Bentham describes the physical structure of the Panopticon in great detail through the letters he wrote to his friend. In this article, Bentham's ideas are referred to by comparing the geographical structure of the country of Panem to a panopticon. The power relations between the departments of Panem and the pressure of the central government on the citizens are discussed by analogy with the surveillance mechanism of the panopticon. Thus, it is argued that Panem's geographical structure reflects an environment in which individuals feel under constant control.

The term panopticon is later used by French philosopher Michel Foucault as a metaphorical tool to discipline society in his 1995 book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* in which he discusses the history and transformation of the punishment system from public executions to the hidden disciplinary control systems of penitentiaries. In the section on panopticism within the book, Foucault explains the measures taken in a settlement afflicted by a plague outbreak, elucidating its connection to Bentham's panopticon design. For him, panopticon is an important mechanism because it makes the authority and power automated. (202) He describes the concept as: "Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to

induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power” (Foucault, 1995: p. 201). Foucault explains this idea further that:

... Bentham laid down the principle that power should be visible and unverifiable. Visible: the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied upon. Unverifiable: the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so (Foucault, 1995: p. 201).

This is what the population in the districts in *The Hunger Games* have to endure. It is acknowledged and evident in the plotline that there are cameras both in the districts and in the hunger game arenas, along with individuals responsible for monitoring. However, the actual execution of surveillance remains uncertain. Therefore, this serves as a means for the government to secure its authority over the people. The argument put forward here is that the various aspects of panopticism maintain the principles of hegemony. As hegemony seeks to acquire consent from the population to maintain power without resorting to sheer force, the panopticon concept effectively fosters such consent within the framework of the hegemonic theory, devoid of any coercive means. Another issue about hegemony relating to *The Hunger Games* is the economical side of the control. As stated by Femia:

Moreover, this ideological superiority must have solid economic roots: ‘if hegemony is ethico-political, it must also be economic, it must also have its foundation in the decisive function that the leading group exercises in the decisive nucleus of economic activity’ (Femia, 1981: p. 24).

The absence of economic underpinnings could render the cultivation of a sense of consent nearly impossible, as individuals lacking financial concerns might not be concerned about the government and its impositions. Furthermore, without economic foundations, such governments would lack the capability to assert their authority over the society and they would not possess the tools to instil the sense of consent effectively.

*The Hunger Games Trilogy* immerses readers in a world dominated by the state’s hegemony. At the heart of this narrative lies the fictional landscape of Panem, which strikingly resembles a panopticon, symbolizing excessive control. The story’s origins trace back to the collapse of the society, hundreds of years ago, followed by significant geographical change and the eventual rise of the Capitol as the new central government. Although the plot does not explicitly delve into Panem’s historical or geographical background, readers gain insight through the eyes of the main protagonist, Katniss. Her experiences shed light on Panem’s realities, demonstrating a world governed by the Capitol, positioned above the districts in absolute authority. The districts are tightly under the control of the Capitol. Initially, there were thirteen districts until the first rebellion, which occurred seventy-five years ago. In response to District 13 initiating the rebellion among the districts, the Capitol obliterated it. These thirteen districts encircle the

Capitol in a circular arrangement, purposefully isolated from one another to prevent communication and any potential daring acts of rebellion against the Capitol's authority:

The mountains form a natural barrier between the Capitol and the eastern districts. It is almost impossible to enter from the east except through the tunnels. This geographical advantage was a major factor in the districts losing the war that led to my being a tribute today. Since the rebels had to scale the mountains, they were easy targets for the Capitol's air forces (Collins, 2008: p. 59).

This geographical superiority was also explained in Wezner (2012) as:

The Capitol is located in the Rockies, with the mountains shielding the city from districts to the east. The Capitol's location elevates it over the districts that it controls, mirroring the warden's raised watchtower that allows him to survey, unseen, all the prison's inhabitants. Arguably, the thirteen districts may even ring the Capitol, yet are separated from each other (p. 149).

The description suggests that Panem's landscape closely resembles that of a panopticon. The Capitol functions like a central surveillance tower, while the districts form a circular shape around it, each isolated from the others. This configuration creates an impression that Panem itself is a colossal real-world panopticon. Furthermore, the conditions within the districts reinforce the panopticon concept. They remain segregated from one another, devoid of any meaningful connections, mirroring the panopticon's design. The divisions between the districts are fortified with electrified fences and barbed wires, which supposedly functions as a protection of people from wild animals (Collins, 2008: p. 9), presenting formidable barriers for those brave enough to attempt crossing them. Consequently, this isolation prevents the residents from organizing any form of rebellion or resistance (Wezner, 2012: p. 149). Capitol carefully orchestrates its own actions to maintain its power, and it is argued that the primary objective behind this cautious planning is to establish a system of consent among the district residents. The games, media, and hunger serve as instruments utilized by Capitol to assert hegemonic control and are integral components of this system. However, the very structure of the settlement plan is potent enough to dissuade the district inhabitants from rebelling against the Capitol.

The history of the hunger games serves as a good point to discuss hegemony, as it marks the Capitol's initial enterprise to establish a system under the ultimate control of President Snow. According to the story, seventy-four years before Katniss participated in the hunger games, a rebellion occurred, during which thirteen districts revolted against the Capitol. The war ended with the defeat of twelve districts, while District 13 suffered total annihilation at the hands of the Capitol. Interestingly, the supposedly obliterated District 13 later became one of the Capitol's media tools, demonstrating its power. Following the war's conclusion, the Capitol founded the annual hunger games, during which each district conducts

a lottery to select one male and one female tribute. These tributes are then placed into an artificial arena, carefully designed by the Gamemakers who are the designers of everything in the games. In the hunger games, tributes engage in a deadly struggle until only one remains alive. Certain districts embrace the games, having tasted victory multiple times, and secretly train their tributes annually, despite its prohibition. Meanwhile, other districts are obligated to participate due to their inability to escape the Capitol's control or the games' harsh realities, making it seemingly beneficial to send tributes with the hope of securing their district's victory and acquiring food for the whole district respectively.

Upon a district's triumph in the hunger games, the Capitol celebrates with lavish feasts, symbolizing their power over the distribution of food. This dynamic represents an external form of control, where the Capitol manipulates its subjects through hunger and nutrition. Gramsci's idea of 'domination' becomes evident when the Capitol employs its influence over the population, molding their societal norms through the administration of rewards and punishments. Originally devised as a punitive measure for the districts' rebellion, the games also take on a rewarding aspect, evident in the abundance of food granted after a district's victory. The Capitol justifies the necessity of the games by reinforcing its connection with hunger, further solidifying its grip on power. The method employed by the Capitol to select tributes for participation in the games (it is called the reaping system) could serve as a prime illustration of this. The name of each tribute is entered into the reaping starting from the age of twelve, and until the final selection age of eighteen, it is added one more time each year than the previous year. Therefore, by the time they reach eighteen, a tribute's name appears in the reaping seven times (Collins, 2008: p. 13). As Katniss also articulates, there is a 'catch' in the lottery of the games: if tributes are exceedingly hungry and desperate, they can add their name to the lottery as many times as they desire in exchange for more food (Collins, 2008: p. 13). In applying this rule, Capitol establishes a connection between the games and hunger through seemingly insignificant arrangements, thus consolidating its power. Furthermore, Capitol cultivates an appropriate atmosphere to acquire the essential consent required for hegemony to be granted voluntarily and autonomously:

A way to plant hatred between the starving workers of the Seam and those who can generally count on supper and thereby ensure we will never trust one another. "It's to the Capitol's advantage to have us divided among our-selves..." (Collins, 2008: p. 14).

The games themselves serve as a subject of intense debate, as they include brutal violence. The arena, a panoptic structure, is carefully overwatched by the Gamemakers, who remain unseen by the tributes but are well aware that they are constantly under surveillance. The Quarter Quell's arena exemplifies a panoptical prison, a circular complex divided into twelve distinct sections, each including its own dangers, while the Cornucopia stands as a watchtower at the centre. In the games, the Capitol seizes every opportunity to demonstrate its absolute authority

by controlling every aspect of the arena, including the weather: 'a woman in a white coat approaches me carrying a syringe. 'This is just your tracker, Katniss' (Collins, 2008: p. 143) They manipulate circumstances, such as announcing feasts or starting fires, to provoke confrontations among the tributes. In fact, the games as both a symbol of oppression and a means of exerting control over the populace through stylized acts of violence (Pavlik, 2012: p. 30).

Following the games, the victor embarks on a 'Victory Tour' punctuated by celebratory events. This tour is carefully controlled by the Capitol, as it does not only serve to commemorate the tribute's victory but also forces the victors to participate in the action of glorifying the act of killing others. According to Pavlik (2012), this event embodies a complex system that reinforces Capitol's dominance and manipulation over its subjects:

Even the Victory Tours – forced celebrations of the Games – reinforce the message in the districts that the capitol has an 'iron grip' (CF 4), one that makes the Games both a weapon against the districts and a symbol of the power the Capitol holds (p. 31).

The strategic use of media holds great significance in the Capitol's implementation of their system, because without this tool, the Games would be reduced to only entertainment. The Games and Victory Tours are compulsory viewing for all districts, serving as a message from the Capitol to entire Panem. The Capitol imposes its authority by enforcing viewership of the games, and they also air reviews of past events, as well as broadcasts from the remnants of the destroyed District 13. This serves as a cautionary measure for the twelve districts, warning them of the dire consequences if they dare to rise against the Capitol.

The story emphasizes the media's formidable role as a tool of control, evident in the Second Rebellion, where both the Capitol and District 13 compete for dominance over it. Peeta becomes the Capitol's puppet, while Katniss embodies the mocking jay of District 13. The critical importance of media becomes apparent to both sides from the war's outset. They strategically employ symbols to wage this media war, as both recognize how this tool shapes people's perception of reality (Wezner, 2012: p. 153).

At this point, it is crucial to examine the Capitol's strategic organization of districts, both geographically and economically, as it plays a pivotal role in establishing a hegemonic order. Evidently, the Capitol carefully divided the thirteen districts based on their respective production processes. For instance, District 12, Katniss' district, focuses on mining and coal production, while District 6 specializes in transportation and District 8 in textiles, and so on:

For the opening ceremonies, you're supposed to wear something that suggests your district's principal industry. District 11, agriculture. District 4, fishing. District 3, factories. This means that coming from District 12, Peeta and I will be in some kind of coal miner's getup (Collins, 2008: p. 66).



Furthermore, the geographical locations of the districts have not been arbitrarily chosen. Districts with interconnected economic productions are positioned close to each other, while districts crucial to the Capitol, such as weapon manufacturers and Peacekeeper trainers, are situated nearer to the centre. While much of this information is not explicitly stated in the trilogy, certain descriptions in the story, the interviews Collins' gave, and interpretations drawn from her life reveal that Panem is located in North America, all confirming the accuracy of the strategic mapping mentioned above:

District 9, the district where food processing takes place...borders all food production districts (District 4, District 11, and District 10). District 11 is the largest in landmass (plenty of room for lots of crops!), District 10 has room to raise a nation's worth of livestock, and District 7 is a more manageable size for Peacekeeping (Arrow, 2012: p. 15).

During the First Rebellion, the Capitol claimed to have annihilated District 13, but it was later unveiled that the district had, in fact, survived the Capitol's supposed destruction. As events unfolded, it became apparent that the Capitol was compelled to enter into a treaty with District 13, which increases concerns for the reasons behind this unexpected agreement. The necessity for the agreement between the Capitol and District 13 becomes apparent due to the latter's status as a centre for nuclear technology and weapon manufacturing. During the war, District 13 retaliated against Capitol's threats by directing nuclear missiles towards them, subsequently forcing the Capitol to sign the agreement and leading people to believe that District 13 was obliterated. After this, they survived by residing underground for 75 years, establishing a strictly disciplined society while awaiting the appropriate moment to strike back at the Capitol.

Just as District 13 leveraged its nuclear weapons against Capitol, Katniss' actions, involving the use of two poisonous berries, serve as a striking blow to the Capitol's hegemony, revealing the dual nature of a hegemonic government—both strong and vulnerable. As previously stated, hegemony relies more on the power of ideas rather than sheer force, a concept fully grasped by District 13, which consequently selects Katniss as the ideal figurehead for their long-awaited rebellion. She becomes the keystone in their plans to overthrow the Capitol's dominance.

District 13 exists as a carefully disciplined society, fostering a collective sense of duty among its inhabitants, all operating under the leadership of President Alma Coin, who bears a striking resemblance to President Snow. Residing underground, they survive with limited resources, necessitating obedience to a stringent training regimen that instils the belief that an imminent war waits at their doorstep. It is within the context of this ongoing conflict that District 13's ideology emerges. The essence of hegemony lies in convincing the population to nurture their hope, as they are promised by their leaders a future of peace once the war concludes. In describing this social structure, Tom Henthorne (2012) asserts the following perspective:

Although things may be difficult in the short term because of the ongoing war with the Capitol, the people make sacrifices in the present for the hope of a better future. Indeed, they seem to believe that democracy will resume once the war is over, ... (p. 120).

In conclusion, both Capitol and District 13 societies accept their respective conditions, as discussed in the context of hegemony. The power maintained by these structures does not only stem from brute force but largely from ideological influences. Gramsci's notion of 'consent' plays a significant role in shaping the perspectives of the inhabitants in all three societies: the Capitol people, the residents of the districts, and the population of District 13. However, this consent remains intact only until people realize that their living conditions are not obligatory; they come to recognize that power resides where they believe it to be, thus prompting them to reclaim power from their governments.

The parallels between the world depicted in *The Hunger Games* series and contemporary society become evident, with people's behavioural patterns, social lives and/or voting preferences being manipulated using similar tools. It is crucial to acknowledge that hegemonic systems constructed by ruling classes primarily rely on ideas. This fact renders seemingly inconspicuous elements, like the significance of little poisonous berries, incredibly important and dangerous for hegemonies. Consequently, hegemonic governments strive to suppress and hide such symbolic elements, fearing that even the slightest spark similar to the events in this trilogy could lead to irreversible results.

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<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27862802>

**EXTENDED ABSTRACT:** One of the most popular examples of the young-adult genre at the time of its publication, *The Hunger Games* Trilogy deals with some of the main problems of today's world in a fictional apocalyptic universe called Panem. Suzanne Collins, a former TV copywriter, states that the idea of writing this trilogy started when she watched footage of the war in Iraq after a reality show in which young people competed, and mixed these two images (Alisha Mitchell, 2019). Starting from this, this study treats the trilogy as a reflection of reality and analyzes a system governed by hegemonic tools designed to gain control over the masses. One of the forces using these tools is the Capitol, which controls 12 districts, and the other is the 13th District, which controls the people living underground due to the war that took place years ago. Although the first of these powers is presented as bad and the second as good in the trilogy, it is revealed in this study that these powers share the same basic motivation and methods in their search for control. The analysis of the methods used by these two governments to keep people under control will be made through Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony and the concept of the panopticon, first conceived by Jeremy Bentham and later conceptualized by Michel Foucault as a means of social control. According to Gramsci, people are governed not only by power but also by ideas (Bates, 1975: p. 351) and there is a fundamental democracy between the governed group and the governing group (Gramsci, 1971: p. 57). Accordingly, in order for the governed to accept this system, their own consent must be created. In this sense, the hegemonic system has two basic elements: the consent of the governed and the coercive power apparatus of the government. If consent is not given, the state continues its hegemony by showing its coercive power (Gramsci, 1971: p. 13). At this point, Gramsci's hegemony bears a great resemblance to Bentham's panopticon prison. The Panopticon is a prison in a circular structure with a viewing tower in the middle, where the cells face towards the viewing tower inside and cannot see each other. The security in this system is just like the hegemony system. Prisoners never know if they are being watched because of a strong light from the tower towards them, but their hesitation ensures that they consent and do not create any security problems. The hegemony created by the Capitol and District 13 in the Panem universe is similar to this prison. First of all, the geographical structure of Panem resembles a natural panopticon. The Capitol functions as a watchtower in the middle and the districts are located around it in a circular and isolated manner. There are also hidden cameras in all districts that monitor people. Survivors consent to live under this system without knowing whether they are being watched or not. It is not only the geographical structure that creates this hegemony. In addition, there is a serious problem of hunger in the districts while the inhabitants of the Capitol live in abundance. The Capitol also uses hunger and hunger games to gain the consent of the governed. Rewarding the winning district with feasts of plentiful food encourages them to voluntarily participate in the hunger game. This both keeps the districts in check and reinforces the Capitol's hegemony with control over hunger and food. The hunger games are also another panopticon in themselves. In a circular arena, the contestants start the game without seeing each other, and they are aware that they are being watched, even if they cannot see it. The Capitol, on the other hand, shows its authority in every sense by even controlling the weather in the game. Another important tool of the Capitol in the hegemony production process is the media. It is imperative for those living in the districts to watch all these hunger games organizations. On the giant screens set up in the squares, people are forced to watch the tributes they send kill each other. The ruins of District 13, which is said to have been destroyed in First Rebellion, accompany these images, thus showing the citizens that the state will not hesitate to use its coercive power if the society does not consent to itself. Moreover, not only the Capitol but also District 13 uses the media. In

order to legitimize their war in Second Rebellion, the Capitol uses Peeta as the media face, while District 13 turns Katniss into a symbol with her mockingjay image. Similar to the Capitol's use of hunger games and the media to gain public consent, District 13 gains the consent of its own society out of fear of war. As a result of the war they lost against the Capitol, they live underground with limited resources, and they follow the rules of the administration with the idea that a war is waiting at their door eventually under the leadership of President Alma Coin, who bears a striking resemblance to President Snow, the leader of the Capitol. Hegemonic aspirations, nurturing hopes that democracy will re-emerge once the war is over (Henthorne, 2012: p. 120). However, in this study, it is revealed that the 13th District management, which is positioned as a good actor against the bad Capitol in most of the story, is not at all different from the Capitol in terms of the control methods it uses.

**GENİŐLETİLMİŐ ÖZET:** Yayınlandığı dönemde genç-yetişkin türünün en popüler örneklerinden biri olan Açlık Oyunları Üçlemesi, Panem adı verilen kurgusal apokaliptik bir evrende günümüz dünyasının temel bazı problemlerini ele almaktadır. Eski bir TV metin yazarı olan Suzanne Collins, bu üçlemeyi yazma fikrinin televizyonda gençlerin yarıştığı bir realite programının ardından Irak savaş görüntülerini izlemesi ve bu iki görüntünün birbirine karışmasıyla başladığını ifade ediyor (Alisha Mitchell, 2019). Buradan yola çıkarak bu çalışma, üçlemeyi gerçeğin bir yansıması olarak ele almakta ve kitleler üzerinde kontrol sağlamak için tasarlanmış hegemonik araçlar tarafından yönetilen bir sistemi analiz etmektedir. Bu araçları kullanan güçlerden birisi 12 mntıkayı kontrol altında tutan Capitol, diđeri ise yıllar önce yaşanan savaş sebebiyle yer altında yaşayan halkı kontrol eden 13. Mntıka'dır. Üçlemede bu güçlerden ilki kötü ikincisi iyi gibi lanse edilse de bu çalışmada, bu güçlerin kontrol arayışlarında aynı temel motivasyonu ve yöntemleri paylaştıkları ortaya konulmaktadır. Bu iki hükümetin insanları kontrol altında tutmak için kullandıkları yöntemlerin analizi Antonio Gramsci'nin hegemonya kavramı ve önce Jeremy Bentham tarafından tasarlanan, daha sonra Michel Foucault tarafından toplumsal kontrol aracı olarak kavramsallaştırılan panoptikon kavramı üzerinden yapılacaktır. Gramsci'ye göre insanlar yalnızca güç ile değil aynı zamanda fikirler ile de yönetilir (Bates, 1975: s. 351) ve yönetilen grupla yöneten grup arasında temel bir demokrasi vardır (Gramsci, 1971: s. 57). Buna göre yönetilenlerin bu sistemi kabul etmeleri için kendi rızalarının yaratılması gerekmektedir. Bu anlamda hegemonik sistemin iki temel öđesi bulunmaktadır: yönetilenlerin rızası ve hükümetin zorlayıcı güç aygıtı. Rıza ortaya konulmazsa devlet zorlayıcı gücünü göstererek hegemonyasını devam ettirir (Gramsci, 1971: s. 13). Bu noktada Gramsci'nin hegemonyası Bentham'ın panoptikon hapisanesine büyük benzerlik taşımaktadır. Panoptikon, dairesel bir yapıda, ortada izleme kulesi bulunan, hücrelerin içerideki izleme kulesine doğru baktığı ve birbirlerini göremediđi bir hapisanedir. Bu sistemdeki güvenlik de tıpkı hegemonya sistemi gibidir. Mahkûmlar kuleden onlara doğru tutulan güçlü bir ışık sebebiyle izlenip izlenmediklerini asla bilemezler ancak yaşadıkları bu tereddüt onların rıza göstermelerini ve herhangi bir güvenlik sorunu yaratmamalarını sağlar. Panem evreninde Capitol'un ve 13. Mntıka'nın yarattığı hegemonya da tıpkı bu hapisaneye benzemektedir. Öncelikle Panem'in cođrafi yapısı doğal bir panoptikonu andırır. Capitol ortada bir izleme kulesi gibi fonksiyon göstermekte ve mntıklar dairesel ve birbirlerinden izole bir şekilde onun etrafında yer almaktadır. Ayrıca tüm mntıklarda insanları izleyen gizli kameralar vardır. Yaşayanlar izlenip izlenmediklerini bilmeden bu sistem altında yaşamaya rıza gösterirler. Bu hegemonyayı yaratan sadece cođrafi yapı değildir. Bunun yanı sıra, Capitol sakinleri bolluk içinde yaşıyorken mntıklarda ciddi bir açlık problemi vardır. Capitol açlığı ve açlık oyunlarını da yönetilenlerin rızasını elde etmek amacıyla kullanır. Kazanan mntıka'nın bol yiyeceklerle dolu ziyafetlerle ödüllendirilmesi açlık oyununa kendi rızalarıyla katılmalarını teşvik etmektedir. Bu hem mntıkları kontrol altında tutar hem de Capitol'un hegemonyasını açlık ve yiyecek üzerindeki kontrol ile pekiştirir. Açlık oyunları da ayrıca kendi içerisinde başka bir panoptikondur. Dairesel bir arenada yarışmacılar birbirini görmeden oyuna başlarlar ve görmeseler de izlendiklerinin farkındadırlar. Capitol ise oyunda havayı dahi kontrol ederek otoritesini her anlamda gösterir. Capitol'un hegemonya üretim sürecindeki diđer önemli aracı ise medyadır. Tüm bu açlık oyunları organizasyonlarını izlemek mntıklarda yaşayanlar için zorunludur.

Meydanlarda kurulan dev ekranlarda insanlar kendi gnderdikleri tributelerin birbirlerini ldrmelerini izlemeye zorlanırlar. First Rebellion’da ortadan kaldırıldıđı sylenen 13. Mıntıka’nın yıkıntıları da bu grntlere eřlik eder, bylelikle eđer toplum kendi kendine rıza gstermezse devletin zorlayıcı gcn kullanmakta ekinmeyeceđi de vatandařlara gsterilmiř olur. Dahası, medyayı sadece Capitol deđil 13. Mıntıka da kullanmaktadır. Second Rebellion’da verdikleri savařı meřrulařtırmak adına Capitol medya yz olarak Peeta’yı kullanırken 13. Mıntıka da Katniss’i mockingjay imajıyla bir sembole dnřtrr. Capitol’un alık oyunları ve medyayı kullanarak toplumdaki rıza almasına benzer řekilde 13. Mıntıka da kendi toplumunun rızasını savař korkusuyla elde eder. Capitol’e karřı kaybettikleri savař sonucu yer altında sınırlı kaynakla yařamaktadırlar ve Capitol’un lideri President Snow’a arpıcı bir benzerlik gsteren President Alma Coin nderliđinde eninde sonunda kapılarında bir savař beklediđi fikriyle ynetimin getirdiđi kurallara uyarlar. Savař sona erdiđinde demokrasinin yeniden ortaya ıkacađına olan umutlarını besleyerek hegemonik bir sistem inřa edilir (Henthorne, 2012: s. 120). Ancak hikyenin byk bir blmnde kt olan Capitol’un karřısında iyi bir aktr konumlandırılan 13. Mıntıka ynetimi kullandıđı kontrol yntemleri aısından Capitol’dan hi de farklı olmadıđı bu alıřmada ortaya konulmaktadır.