



**LIVES UNDER CONTROL: FOUCAULDIAN
BIOPOWER IN BRITISH POST-APOCALYPTIC
NOVELS**

Gonca KARACA

**Ph.D. Thesis
English Language and Literature
Assoc. Prof. Kubilay GEÇİKLİ
2020
All Rights Reserved**

ATATÜRK UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Gonca KARACA

**LIVES UNDER CONTROL: FOUCAULDIAN BIOPOWER IN BRITISH POST-
APOCALYPTIC NOVELS**

Ph.D. THESIS

ADVISOR
Assoc. Prof. Kubilay GEÇİKLİ

ERZURUM – 2020



TEZ BEYAN FORMU

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

BİLDİRİM

Atatürk Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Eğitim ve Öğretim Uygulama Esaslarının ilgili maddelerine göre hazırlamış olduğum "Lives under Control: Foucauldian Biopower in British Post-Apocalyptic Novels" adlı tezin/raporun tamamen kendi çalışmam olduğunu ve her alıntıya kaynak gösterdiğimi taahhüt eder, tezimin/raporumun kâğıt ve elektronik kopyalarının aşağıda belirttiğim koşullarda saklanmasına izin verdiğimi onaylarım.

Gereğini bilgilerinize arz ederim *.

☒ Tezimin/Raporumun tamamı her yerden erişime açılabilir.

☐ Tezimin/Raporumun makale için **altı ay**, patent için **iki yıl** süreyle erişiminin ertelenmesini istiyorum.

27.07.2020

Gonca KARACA
Aslı Islak İmzalıdır

*** LİSANSÜSTÜ TEZLERİN ELEKTRONİK ORTAMDA TOPLANMASI, DÜZENLENMESİ VE ERİŞİME AÇILMASINA İLİŞKİN YÖNERGE**

ÜÇÜNCÜ BÖLÜM

Çeşitli ve Son Hükümler

Lisansüstü tezlerin erişime açılmasının ertelenmesi **MADDE 6– (1)** Lisansüstü teze ilgili **patent başvurusu yapılması veya patent alma sürecinin devam etmesi durumunda**, tez danışmanının önerisi ve enstitü anabilim dalının uygun görüşü üzerine enstitü veya fakülte yönetim kurulu **iki yıl süre ile tezin erişime açılmasının ertelenmesine karar verebilir.**

(2) Yeni teknik, materyal ve metotların kullanıldığı, henüz **makaleye dönüşmemiş veya patent gibi yöntemlerle korunmamış** ve internette paylaşılmaması durumunda 3. şahıslara veya kurumlara haksız kazanç imkanı oluşturabilecek bilgi ve bulguları içeren tezler hakkında tez danışmanının önerisi ve enstitü anabilim dalının uygun görüşü üzerine enstitü veya fakülte yönetim kurulunun gerekçeli kararı ile **altı ayı aşmamak üzere tezin erişime açılması engellenebilir.**

Gizlilik dereceli tezler MADDE 7– (1) Ulusal çıkarları veya güvenliği ilgilendiren, emniyet, istihbarat, savunma ve güvenlik, sağlık vb. konulara ilişkin lisansüstü tezlerle ilgili gizlilik kararı, tezin yapıldığı kurum tarafından verilir. Kurum ve kuruluşlarla yapılan işbirliği protokolü çerçevesinde hazırlanan lisansüstü tezlere ilişkin gizlilik kararı ise, ilgili kurum ve kuruluşun önerisi ile enstitü veya fakültenin uygun görüşü üzerine üniversite yönetim kurulu tarafından verilir. Gizlilik kararı verilen tezler Yükseköğretim Kuruluna bildirilir.

(2) Gizlilik kararı verilen tezler gizlilik süresince enstitü veya fakülte tarafından gizlilik kuralları çerçevesinde muhafaza edilir, gizlilik kararının kaldırılması halinde Tez Otomasyon Sistemine yüklenir.



SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

Graduate School of Social Sciences

TEZ KABUL TUTANAĞI

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

Doç. Dr. Kubilay GEÇİKLİ danışmanlığında, Gonca KARACA tarafından hazırlanan bu çalışma 27/07/2020 tarihinde aşağıda isimleri yazılı jüri tarafından İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı'nda Doktora Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Başkan : Doç. Dr. Kubilay GEÇİKLİ

İmza: Aslı Islak İmzalıdır

Jüri Üyesi : Prof. Dr. Mukadder ERKAN

İmza: Aslı Islak İmzalıdır

Jüri Üyesi : Doç. Dr. Kamil CİVELEK

İmza: Aslı Islak İmzalıdır

Jüri Üyesi : Prof. Gencer ELKILIÇ

İmza: Aslı Islak İmzalıdır

Jüri Üyesi : Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Turan Özgür GÜNGÖR

İmza: Aslı Islak İmzalıdır

Prof. Dr. Sait UYLAŞ

Enstitü Müdürü

Aslı Islak İmzalıdır

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	III
ÖZET.....	IV
PREFACE.....	V
INTRODUCTION.....	1

CHAPTER ONE

FOUCAULDIAN BIOPOWER AND BIOPOLITICS

1.1. POWER IN FOUCAULT.....	16
1.1.1. What Is Power?.....	16
1.1.2. Types of Power	22
1.2. BIOPOWER	28
1.2.1. Disciplinary Power	30
1.2.2. Biopolitics.....	42

CHAPTER TWO

POST-APOCALYPTIC FICTION

2.1. APOCALYPSE AND POST-APOCALYPSE	54
2.2. POST-APOCALYPTIC NOVELS	57

CHAPTER THREE

BIOPOWER AFTER THE APOCALYPSE

3.1. THE NORMS AND OTHERS: JOHN WYNDHAM'S <i>THE CHRYSALIDS</i> ..	64
3.2. REGULATING A POPULATION ON THE VERGE OF EXTINCTION: P. D. JAMES'S <i>THE CHILDREN OF MEN</i>.....	87
3.3. THE PANOPTICON SOCIETY: BEN ELTON'S <i>BLIND FAITH</i>	110

3.4. R FOR RACISM: ANDREW HUNTER MURRAY'S <i>THE LAST DAY</i>.....	145
CONCLUSION.....	165
BIBLIOGRAPHY	172
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	180



ABSTRACT**Ph.D. THESIS****LIVES UNDER CONTROL: FOUCAULDIAN BIOPOWER IN BRITISH POST-APOCALYPTIC NOVELS****Gonca KARACA****Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kubilay GEÇİKLİ****2020, 180 pages****Jury: Assoc. Prof. Kubilay GEÇİKLİ
Prof. Mukadder ERKAN
Assoc. Prof. Kamil CİVELEK
Prof. Gencer ELKILIÇ
Asst. Prof. Turan Özgür GÜNGÖR**

This thesis aims to examine British post-apocalyptic novels in accordance with Michel Foucault's concept of "biopower". Foucault, who considers power as a net of relations, asserts that a new type of power focusing on life emerged beginning from the seventeenth century. Foucault calls this power over life biopower, and explains that it operates as two different and complementary poles, which are disciplinary power and biopolitics. Disciplinary power, or the anatomo-politics of the individuals, controls the individual bodies by disciplining them through constant surveillance and norms. On the other hand, biopolitics of the population concerns itself with the control of the population as a whole through various regulations that ensure the health and improvement of the population.

Post-apocalyptic novels, which are very popular recently, present the opportunity to find out how biopower is exercised over people in a world that survives a catastrophe and adapts itself into new circumstances. Accordingly, this thesis deals with four novels, *The Chrysalids*, *The Children of Men*, *Blind Faith* and *The Last Day*, where it is possible to examine disciplinary techniques and biopolitical regulations that control both individuals and the whole population.

Key Words: biopower, biopolitics, discipline, post-apocalyptic novel

ÖZET**DOKTORA TEZİ****KONTROL ALTINDAKİ HAYATLAR: İNGİLİZ POST-APOKALİPTİK
ROMANLARDA FOUCAULTCU BİYOİKTİDAR****Gonca KARACA****Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Kubilay GEÇİKLİ****2020, 180 sayfa****Jüri: Doç. Dr. Kubilay GEÇİKLİ
Prof. Dr. Mukadder ERKAN
Doç. Dr. Kamil CİVELEK
Prof. Dr. Gencer ELKILIÇ
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Turan Özgür GÜNGÖR**

Bu tez, İngiliz post-apokaliptik romanları Michel Foucault'nun "biyoiktidar" kavramına uygun olarak incelemeyi amaçlar. İktidarı bir ilişkiler ağı olarak düşünen Foucault, yaşama odaklanan yeni bir iktidar türünün on yedinci yüzyıldan başlayarak ortaya çıktığını öne sürer. Foucault, yaşam üzerine olan bu iktidarı biyoiktidar olarak adlandırır ve onun disipline edici iktidar ve biyopolitika olarak iki farklı ve tamamlayıcı kutupta işlediğini açıklar. Disipline edici iktidar, ya da bireylerin anatomo-politikası, bireysel bedenleri sürekli gözetim ve normlar aracılığıyla disipline ederek kontrol eder. Diğer yandan, nüfusun biyopolitikası, nüfusun sağlığını ve gelişmesini sağlayacak çeşitli düzenlemeler yoluyla nüfusun bir bütün olarak kontrol edilmesiyle ilgilenir.

Son zamanlarda çok popüler olan post-apokaliptik romanlar, bir felaketten sonra hayatta kalan ve yeni şartlara uyum sağlayan bir dünyada biyoiktidarın insanlar üzerinde nasıl uygulandığını görme fırsatı sunar. Bu açıdan, bu tez, hem bireyleri hem tüm nüfusu kontrol eden disipline edici teknikler ve biyopolitik düzenlemeleri incelemenin mümkün olduğu dört romanı, *The Chrysalids*, *The Children of Men*, *Blind Faith* ve *The Last Day*, ele alır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: biyoiktidar, biyopolitika, disiplin, post-apokaliptik roman

PREFACE

I would like to thank my advisor Assoc. Prof. Kubilay GEÇİKLİ, who has always supported me and my ideas during this challenging process of writing my thesis. I am also thankful to the jury members Prof. Mukadder ERKAN, Assoc. Prof. Kamil CİVELEK, Prof. Gencer ELKILIÇ and Asst. Prof. Turan Özgür GÜNGÖR for their patience and contributions. I wish to express my gratitude to my friends and colleagues Asst. Prof. Tuğba AYGAN, Asst. Prof. Cansu GÜR, Asst. Prof. Merve BEKİRYAZICI, Research Assistants Tuğçe ALKIŞ and Ahmet KOÇ, who have continuously guided me with endless patience and kindness. I also would like to thank other members of the staff of the English Language and Literature Departments of both Atatürk University and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University, who are ready to help me whenever I ask them.

The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) provided scholarship for four years during my doctoral studies. I deeply appreciate the support I received as a TÜBİTAK scholar under 2211/A National Scholarship Programme for Ph.D. students.

Last but not least, I am quite grateful to my family, especially my dear mother Gül KARACA and my father Yücel KARACA, who raised me, helped me reach my goals, and made me whom I managed to become.

Erzurum, 2020

Gonca KARACA

INTRODUCTION

Ours is essentially a tragic age, so we refuse to take it tragically. The cataclysm has happened, we are among the ruins, we start to build up new little habitats, to have new little hopes. It is rather hard work: there is now no smooth road into the future: but we go round, or scramble over the obstacles. We've got to live, no matter how many skies have fallen.
D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*

In these days, while the world is struggling with a catastrophic event, namely Coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic, it is not quite surprising for most people to feel like they are inside an apocalyptic or a post-apocalyptic novel or movie. Having killed thousands of people, this pandemic resembles those in such novels and movies, like Richard Matheson's *I Am Legend* (1954), José Saramago's *Blindness* (1995) or the TV series *The Walking Dead*. Nonetheless, it is not as devastating as those pandemics, which result in transformation and death of a great deal of world's population, or generally turn people into zombie-like creatures. The virus has not only killed many people, but also it has brought many activities and services to a standstill, for instance, in many countries flights have been cancelled, restaurants and hairdressers have been closed, people have been prohibited from travelling. Hence, it is possible to consider the pandemic an apocalyptic event because of its consequences, and to comment that the world is now a post-apocalyptic one. In his book, *After the End*, just as the critic James Berger asserts that people entered a post-apocalyptic period since the Holocaust was the end of the world as we know it.¹ Then, contrary to the traditional or religious perception of the word "apocalypse", which marks the literal end of this world, what is significant in understanding apocalypse in a contemporary sense is the stress on its being the end of the world *as we know it*. Indeed, the difference between various perceptions of apocalypse is an issue on which almost no one is able to reach a consensus. Originally,

¹ James Berger, *After the End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1999, xiv.

the word “apocalypse” comes from a Greek verb “apokalyptein” which seems to have been firstly used among Greek-speaking Jews, and then spread to Christians, and which can be translated as “reveal” and “uncover”.² It correspondingly refers to the revelation by God about the end of the world and formation of a new world, which requires the destruction of the whole current world. However, whether apocalypse is understood as God’s uncovering the destruction of the whole world or is regarded as the end of the world as we know it, namely the end of the world as “Earth under its current conditions”³, it marks the beginning of a new period. In this respect, both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic texts and fictional apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic works depicting an apocalypse or its aftermath give way to a new beginning, except for such novels as *On the Beach* (1957) by Nevil Shute.

In addition to literature, apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic genres, which are usually categorised together, became popular in cinema, TV, games and other kinds of media with the twentieth century that is “marked, perhaps even defined, by apocalyptic impulses, fears, representations and events”⁴ like the World Wars, the Holocaust, the Cold War, ecological problems, unprecedented technological advancements. These two related genres reached the peak with the twenty-first century giving way to other apocalyptic fears especially due to ecosystem degradation and various pandemics. Today it is possible to watch lots of movies or TV series where the world experiences another ice age, or to play many video games that challenge players to survive a virus turning people into zombies, or to read a great deal of novels that tell the transformation of the world into a global desert. Such novels that tell how people have to survive and live after a disaster resulting in the end of the world as we know it are typically called post-apocalyptic and may additionally have the features of other genres like science fiction and dystopia. This does not mean that every post-apocalyptic novel involves science fictional or dystopian characteristics. Similarly, it would not be reasonable to comment that a post-apocalyptic novel cannot be apocalyptic, science fictional, dystopian, young adult, etc.

² Jewish Encyclopedia, Retrieved 14 May 2020, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/1642-apocalypse>

³ Claire P. Curtis, “Post-Apocalyptic Fiction as a Space for Civic Love”, *English Studies in Africa*, 58(2), 2015, 6.

⁴ James Berger, “Introduction: Twentieth-Century Apocalypse: Forecasts and Aftermaths”, *Twentieth Century Literature*, 46(4), 2000, 388.

From Mary Shelley's *The Last Man* (1826) to their latest examples, post-apocalyptic novels written in English mostly focus on three types of catastrophes, which are nuclear wars, pandemics resulting from a natural or man-made virus, and natural or ecological disasters such as earthquakes or climate change.⁵ Although nuclear war as a subject matter has lost its significance in post-apocalyptic fiction with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, war, as the either direct or indirect reason of apocalypse, always has an important place in such novels. Nuclear disasters, which were quite popular in 1950s, 60s, 70s and 80s, have given their place to disasters stemming from viruses and nature. Furthermore, various contemporary post-apocalyptic novelists do not prefer any longer to explain the catastrophe in their novels. By looking at these different types of post-apocalyptic novels that are popular at respectively different times among both writers and readers, it can be stated that this genre reflects a number of historical or cultural changes and advancements. The years in which nuclear apocalypses were rather popular were also the years of the Cold War that triggered the fear of a nuclear disaster. Likewise, the first two decades of the twenty-first century have seen a rise in the popularity of such novels that depict a world devastated by a virus as a consequence of various pandemics like avian or swine flu.

Influenced by the circumstances of the time in which they are written, post-apocalyptic novels are significant in reflecting fears and anxieties based on those historical and cultural transformations. This enables writers to comment on or criticise the evils or malfunctions they see in society or in the way of rule of the states. For instance, they may warn the readers against what an oppressive regime could turn into by setting their post-apocalyptic novels in a dystopian society under the control of a totalitarian ruler. Or, they may show the dangers of uncontrolled scientific or technological experiments far from ethics by picturing a post-apocalypse following an attack led by machines or a pandemic resulting from a virus that is originally produced as a biological weapon. Through these warnings and criticisms, post-apocalyptic fiction earns a didactic characteristic, being a portrait of the future worlds which are actually a result of present actions. Therefore, post-apocalyptic novels, on the one hand, reflect the

⁵ "Writing the end of the World: Charting trends in apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic fiction", *The Economist*, 12 April 2017, Retrieved 17 October 2019, <https://www.economist.com/prospect/2017/04/12/charting-trends-in-apocalyptic-and-post-apocalyptic-fiction>

historical and cultural events of the time in which they are written, and on the other hand, they, some of them if not all, aim to raise awareness among readers of the potential of present conditions to transform in the future. These novels sometimes end with an atmosphere of hope, which shows people have learned from their mistakes that they made in the past, or they, at other times, tell the readers that an apocalypse caused by people's mistakes is not enough to make them realise their mistakes, and history repeats itself implying another apocalypse, which gives the novels a pessimistic tone. Whether they have a hopeful end or not, post-apocalyptic novels usually portray human beings in a worse situation than they are at the present. Living "in a world where the familiar coordinates of social, cultural, political, economic and moral organisation are gone"⁶, human beings strive to survive and adapt to this world of post-apocalypse. Some turn back to a primitive way of living deprived of science and technology, some learn to live in flooded cities or in a country where the sun never sets, some try to figure out what to do if they cannot reproduce, some search ways of coping with a very contagious disease that causes the death of a significant number of people because of such a virus or bacteria as Coronavirus. Currently, people, on the one hand, try not to get infected or infect others through, for instance, self-isolation and social distancing, on the other hand, states make regulations and take measures they consider necessary such as lockdowns, compulsory face masks or restrictions on travels.⁷ Some states have made it compulsory for anybody arriving from abroad to self-isolate for at least two weeks, others have banned entry to all foreigners or some from certain countries. While some have imposed strict lockdowns on their citizens, others have decided to shut down venues, parks, or beaches. Schools and other educational institutions have been closed, and many people have been told not to go to work unless it is necessary and to work from home.

Just like current measures and regulations after the outbreak of Coronavirus, almost all post-apocalyptic worlds in fiction are tried to be kept in order with people disciplined and populations regulated in various ways. While some fail and turn into a wasteland where chaos prevails, others become successful and generally become a

⁶ Majid Yar, *Crime and the Imaginary of Disaster: Post-Apocalyptic Fictions and the Crisis of Social Order*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2015, 2.

⁷ "Coronavirus: What measures are countries taking to stop it?", *BBC*, 1 April 2020, Retrieved 11 May 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-51737226>

dystopian world where a totalitarian regime rules with disciplinary and biopolitical techniques. Even though this does not mean that a post-apocalyptic novel has to depict either of these two alternatives, it is not surprising that many writers of post-apocalyptic novels prefer dystopian sets to comment on what the states or governments could do in order to control the citizens by taking advantage of the condition after an apocalypse. Accordingly, this makes it possible to examine some of these novels in the light of issues related to Foucauldian biopower and biopolitics. French thinker Michel Foucault (1926-1984) is primarily known for his analyses of society, specifically Western society, in terms of many various issues including power, knowledge, ethics and sexuality. In addition to his teaching career at different schools, he has an influence on many contemporary thinkers like Giorgio Agamben through his significant ideas including “archaeology”, “genealogy”, “heterotopia”, “dispositif”, “biopower”, “panopticism”, “governmentality” and many others. His major works, some of which are *The History of Madness* (1961), *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963), *Discipline and Punish* (1975) and *The History of Sexuality* (1976), largely deal with such institutions in Western society as army, prisons, schools, workshops or factories, hospitals and mental clinics and how they function in accordance with historical changes. Perhaps, one of his most revolutionary and influential ideas is that many things “that people think are universal” like the individual, body, sexuality, identity, subjectivity and knowledge are actually socially constructed, being “the result of some very precise historical changes.”⁸ Foucault states that it is his aim as an intellectual to object to those universal truths and to show people their presuppositions are wrong. For him, all those things are nothing but a mere construction produced around power relations diffused at many levels of society.

It is significant that Foucault prefers using the phrase “power relations” when he examines the concept of power, which is in the heart of his analyses. He rejects the perception of power as centralized in the sense of the state or government, and considers it a limited assumption. Accordingly, he does not regard power as something that a particular person or a group of people like a government seizes and monopolizes. He

⁸ Rux Martin, “Truth, Power, Self: An Interview with Michel Foucault”, Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, Patrick H. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, The University of Massachusetts Press, U.S.A. 1988, 11.

objects to the juridico-political theory of power which considers power a property that can be simply hold, seized or given.⁹ He asserts that power is not a thing or a right that someone gives to and takes from another, or holds in their hands. Instead, power is exercised through a net of relations, which are not hierarchical or homogenous, and which every individual in society is subjected to. He believes that it is necessary to “speak of powers and try to localize them in their historical and geographical specificity”¹⁰ in order to analyse power. In this respect, Foucault, in his studies, examines various types and modalities of power which are related to one another such as sovereign power, juridical power, pastoral power, psychiatric power, disciplinary power, biopower, governmentality. It should be stated that Foucault’s use of these terms is not always concrete and clear when his different texts and lectures are taken into consideration. He does not usually present clear explanations for all types of power he analyses just as he avoids giving fixed definitions for what power is. He sometimes prefers using particular terms and not others; sometimes he starts to use new terms in place of others which he thinks are inadequate; sometimes he interchangeably uses two terms which he, at other times, differentiates from each other. Despite his vague explanations for different types of power, his studies, in general, put forward a difference between traditional power and modern one.

It seems that Foucault associates traditional power with a type of power he calls “sovereign power”. Implying a complete and occasionally absolute power and control over someone, sovereign power is roughly the hierarchical power exercised by someone on others, and is related to, for Foucault, monarchy and thus royal power. Foucault claims that sovereign power is supported by the juridical system, namely laws, since until the seventeenth century “right in the West is the King’s right.”¹¹ The monarch or sovereign has the right to take wealth, goods, service, labour, time and life. Since in sovereign power, especially its absolute form, the monarch is able to take her/his subjects’ lives as she/he wants, sovereign power becomes, as Foucault points out, the right over life and death. However, the sovereign’s “right of life and death” is an

⁹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 94.

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, “The Meshes of Power”, Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Eds.), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, Ashgate Publishing, Farnham 2007, 156.

¹¹ Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures”, Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, Vintage Books, New York 1980, 94.

unbalanced one to the extent that death always outweighs life. In other words, the sovereign constantly exercises the right to kill while the right over life is exercised only when she/he does not take lives. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that, as Foucault reveals, “the right of sovereignty was the right to take life or let live.”¹² Despite this absolute right to seize, sovereign power has its failures that make it disadvantageous and unfavourable for the development of capitalism. Sovereign power fails to control minute details of the individuals in society, which makes it possible for a great deal of things to slip the sovereign’s attention. Therefore, with the emergence of capitalism, a new form of power that enables the total control of each detail about the individuals and the whole population became necessary. This new form of power focuses on life rather than the right to kill because death becomes a limit for power in the current conditions.

Foucault calls this power that focuses on life “biopower” and gives a significant place to its analysis and the issues related to it in his studies. According to Foucault, biopower operates at two different, yet related levels: “anatomo-politics” or “discipline” and “biopolitics”, which respectively focus “on the body, on the individual body” and on the individuals as “a global mass that is affected by overall processes characteristic of birth, death, production, illness, and so on.”¹³ Foucault explains that in accordance with capitalism biopower firstly appeared in the form of disciplinary power in place of sovereign power at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Yet, he reminds people that it does not mean that sovereign power vanished completely; rather, sovereign power is still exercised to the extent that modern states take the advantage of both sovereignty and disciplines.¹⁴ The second pole of biopower, namely biopolitics, formed later in the eighteenth century, appears to complement the former, and handles the individuals as a whole, in other words, a population. Foucault stresses that although disciplinary power and biopolitics seemed to be separate in the eighteenth century, they do not exclude or conflict with each other. Nevertheless, Foucault discusses and positions different modalities of modern power, especially biopower, disciplinary power and biopolitics, complexly and vaguely

¹² Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004, 241.

¹³ Foucault, 242-243.

¹⁴ Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures”, Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, Vintage Books, New York 1980, 106.

throughout his career. Foucault usually considers disciplinary power, as is stated above, a part of biopower, and sometimes he distinguishes biopower from discipline. He even, at times, uses biopolitics synonymously with biopower and regards it as completely different from discipline. In contemporary studies regarding politics and life, the term “biopolitics” is mostly preferred instead of “biopower” with the works of successive names, influenced by Foucault’s views on power over life, like Giorgio Agamben, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. Such names have contributed to the development of biopolitical studies, which have led to many “bio-” terms.¹⁵ Despite current popularity of biopolitics, it can be claimed that figures like Agamben have been inspired by Foucault’s analysis of biopower, specifically by his first look on biopower in the last chapter of *The History of Sexuality*.

In “Right of Death and Power over Life”, Foucault uses the term “biopower” for the first time, and explains that biopower encompasses both disciplinary power and biopolitics. Disciplinary power sees the individual body as a machine that could be integrated into production and economy and, therefore, aims to control and discipline the bodies in order to make them docile and useful. The discipline of the individual body is carried out through various techniques including those that are related to space and through such institutions as schools. The exercise of disciplinary power is also based on constant surveillance and norms, through which judicial system and laws become compatible with biopower. Surveillance is important not only in controlling the individuals and ensuring their docility, but also in order to gain knowledge that would make the control easier. This knowledge also contributes to the establishment of norms, which divide the individuals into categories of those who conform to them and those who do not, in other words, those who are docile and not. After setting the norms, disciplinary power normalizes the individuals who do not conform to them, which emphasizes its dependence “on normalizing judgement for its continued exercise”¹⁶. For example, if heterosexuality is a norm, individuals are divided into the categories of “heterosexuals” and “homosexuals”. Moreover, the discipline aims to normalise homosexuals, namely the “abnormal” ones, and make them heterosexual, the “normal”.

¹⁵ Timothy Campbell and Adam Sitze, “Biopolitics: An Encounter”, Timothy Campbell and Adam Sitze (Eds.), *Biopolitics: A Reader*, Duke University Press, Durham 2013, 4-5.

¹⁶ Marcelo Hoffman, “Disciplinary Power”, Dianna Taylor (Ed.), *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*, Acumen Publishing, Durham 2011, 31.

Indeed, sexuality, its normalization and medicalization are significant to the extent that sex and sexuality take place at the meeting place of disciplinary power and biopolitics. Sex is both a bodily activity that would contribute to the control and discipline of the body, and the foundation of reproduction, which is one of the biological processes of the population, like mortality and morbidity.

Biopolitics considers the population a living body or organism that consists of a multiplicity of individuals and has its own biological processes, which are crucial for its survival and wellness. In this sense, as Chloë Taylor writes, “discipline is the micro-technology and biopolitics is the macro-technology of the same power over life.”¹⁷ Biopolitics aims for the management of the population or race through various regulations in accordance with those processes. Regulating the population is crucial in order to establish a balance, by increasing longevity and natality and decreasing mortality and morbidity rates, and to maximise the forces of the population. Foucault asserts that the wellness and welfare of a population or a race are related to the concept “eugenics” and biological racism. He explains that as biopower wants to foster and improve life, death becomes the limit of biopower; in other words, the sovereign’s “right to take life or let live” is replaced by “the right to make live and let die”.¹⁸ Accordingly, the right to kill is integrated into the functioning of biopower through racism and eugenics, which is “a way of thinking about humans as subject to evolutionary pressures that either led to the degeneration of certain races or their strengthening”¹⁹. It comes to mean that the right to kill is carried out within biopower only when there is a biological threat to the improvement of the population or race. A state, as long as it is racist, is able to perform the right of death and eliminate those biological threats. However, the right to kill for Foucault does not only refer to actual murder: “When I say ‘killing,’ I obviously do not mean simply murder as such, but also every form of indirect murder: the fact of exposing someone to death, increasing the risk of death for some people, or, quite simply, political death, expulsion, rejection, and

¹⁷ Chloë Taylor, “Biopower”, Dianna Taylor (Ed.), *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*, Acumen Publishing, Durham 2011, 45-46.

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004, 241.

¹⁹ Catherine Mills, *Biopolitics*, Routledge, Oxon 2018, 17-18.

so on.”²⁰ As with the Nazis, biopolitical regulation of the population related to concerns about eugenics tries to ensure the elimination of factors that hinder the purity, wellness or improvement of the race.

In accordance with these Foucauldian concepts, namely biopower and biopolitics, this thesis aims to examine four selected British post-apocalyptic novels, where it is possible to find disciplinary and regulatory techniques within a new order established after an apocalypse. In the first chapter, after Foucault’s discussion about what power is and how it is exercised is given as an introductory part, his analysis of biopower and its two poles, discipline and biopolitics, is put forth in separate parts. This chapter examines how biopower is different from sovereign power and how it developed firstly as disciplinary power and later as biopolitics. It also shows what disciplinary power and biopolitics are, what they are concerned with, and how they separate from and complement each other. The second chapter aims to give information about the post-apocalyptic genre before analysing the four novels in terms of biopower and biopolitics. Accordingly, this chapter initially explains what apocalypse refers to and how apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic fiction is related to the concept of apocalypse. As well as the features and history of post-apocalyptic novels, the relation with other genres such as dystopia and science fiction is presented. After these theoretical chapters, the third chapter gives the examination of the four novels in terms of the disciplinary and biopolitical control and regulations. These novels have been selected as they depict not a world in chaos right after the apocalypse, but a somehow settled world many years after the end of the world as we know it, which enables the governing authorities in the novels to exercise biopower. The novels also reflect various apocalyptic fears and anxieties of different periods: *The Chrysalids* (1955) deals with the aftermath of a possible nuclear disaster, a popular concern in the 1950s and 1960s. *The Children of Men* (1992) is influenced by the anxieties concerning infertility in the 1990s. *Blind Faith* (2007) was published in the midst of worsening effects of global warming. Similarly, these environmental and ecological concerns, in addition to other recent issues, find their reflection in another novel of the twenty-first century, *The Last Day* (2020).

²⁰ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004, 256.

The Chrysalids tells the story of a group of children who are able to think together and are, thus, chased away by the authorities since they are not “normal”. Its author, John Wyndham (1903-1969), whose real name is John Wyndham Parkes Lucas Beynon Harris, is an English science fiction writer. He tried different careers including farming and advertising before he turned to writing literary works for money. He published several novels and wrote short stories for American magazines such as *Amazing Stories* and *Wonder Stories*. After his military service in the British Army during the Second World War, he returned to writing and decided to try a different style under the pseudonym John Wyndham. His first novel under this name, *The Day of Triffids* (1951), became a huge success and turning point for his writing career. Though some of his novels were criticised as “cosy catastrophes” by Brian Aldiss, Margaret Atwood objects to this consideration expressing that “one might as well call World War II – of which Wyndham was a veteran – a ‘cozy’ war because not everyone died in it.”²¹ Actually, it can be asserted that Wyndham’s novels were influenced by the bleak atmosphere of the period he lived in and his experiences as a veteran. *The Chrysalids*, like Wyndham’s other major novels, focuses on the concept of survival as he lived “in the context of a worsening threat of nuclear death and social collapse.”²² Set in Waknuk, a small rural area, nearly two thousand years after Tribulation, possibly a nuclear disaster, the novel is narrated by the protagonist David Storm, who is one of those children. *The Chrysalids* can be also regarded as a coming-of-age novel as the readers witness the growth and development of those children through the years. Thinking together, similar to telepathy, is not a miraculous gift from heavens, but a kind of mutation, apparently a result of Tribulation. Already, the world in the novel struggles with various mutations not only in human beings but also in animals and plants. “Normal” people think that Tribulation was a punishment sent by God to human beings for their sins, mutations are the work of the Devil, and the all mutants are blasphemous. However, the novel ends in a relatively happy atmosphere when the children are able to escape their homeland full of religious fundamentalists.

²¹ Margaret Atwood, “Chocky, the Kindly Body Snatcher”, *Slate*, 8 September 2015, Retrieved 29 May 2020, <https://slate.com/culture/2015/09/margaret-atwood-chocky-the-kindly-alien-invader-in-john-wyndhams-last-book.html>

²² Miles Link, “‘A Very Primitive Matter’: John Wyndham on Catastrophe and Survival”, *The Irish Journal of Gothic and Horror Studies*, 14 (Summer 2015), 63.

The Children of Men also has an open ending with a glimpse of hope, which opens the way for comments about the book and leads the reader to question what messages the novel gives. Its author, P. D. James also admits that it can be regarded as a moral parable though she says that it was not what she intended.²³ P. D. James (1920-2014), whose full name is Phyllis Dorothy James, is an English writer known for her detective novels. Being an influential writer, she won honorary degrees from various universities and was ennobled by Queen Elizabeth II as a life peer with the title of Baroness James of Holland Park in 1991. She was forty two years old and working as a civil servant when she published in 1962 her first novel *Cover Her Face*, which introduced the character Adam Dalgliesh, who is one of the most popular fictional detectives. She wrote several novels featuring this character, which helped her become a prominent figure in crime writing. Apart from her detective novels, she wrote short stories, non-fiction works and three other miscellaneous novels, one of which is *The Children of Men*. Also adapted into a movie in 2006, *The Children of Men* is set in 2021 and has a mixed narration: the first part of the novel is narrated from first person perspective of the protagonist Theo Faron in the form of diary while the events in the second part are told from a third person point of view limited to Theo. Though most critics tend to categorise the novel as science fiction, James expresses that it is not actually science fiction.²⁴ The novel opens with Theo's hearing the news about the death of the last born human being born in 1995, since then the world have been struggling with the results of mass infertility, and human beings have not been able to reproduce. James tells that she was inspired by a scientific article which gives information about the fall in the sperm count of Western men.²⁵ The reason for the infertility in the novel is not known, and the states around the world have different approaches to this catharsis and its destructive consequences. England is ruled by a tyrant named Xan Lyppiatt, the Warden of England, who controls the remaining population with problematic regulations, while a small group of dissidents decides to take action against him. When it turns out that one of the members of the group is pregnant, things get complicated.

²³ Shusha Guppy, "P. D. James, The Art of Fiction No. 141", *The Paris Review*, 135 (Summer 1995), <https://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/1627/the-art-of-fiction-no-141-p-d-james>

²⁴ Sarah Crown, "A Life in Writing: PD James", *The Guardian*, 4 November 2011, Retrieved 30 May 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2011/nov/04/pd-james-life-in-writing>

²⁵ Shusha Guppy, "P. D. James, The Art of Fiction No. 141", *The Paris Review*, 135 (Summer 1995), <https://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/1627/the-art-of-fiction-no-141-p-d-james>

The third novel, *Blind Faith*, narrated from a third person perspective limited to the novel's protagonist, Trafford Sewell, is written by Ben Elton and has quite similarities with the current world. Born as Benjamin Charles Elton, Ben Elton (1959-) is an English comedian, screen writer, novelist, playwright and actor. He studied drama at the University of Manchester and achieved success as the co-writer of the TV sitcom *The Young Ones* in the early years of the 1980s. Having a productive career, Elton wrote sixteen novels in addition to sitcoms, plays, scripts and musicals. His novels, beginning with *Stark* (1989), have become bestsellers and deal with various issues from murders in *Past Mortem* (2004) to drugs in *High Society* (2002), from TV shows in *Chart Throb* (2006) to crime in *The First Casualty* (2005) with comic and satirical elements. His latest novel *Identity Crisis* (2019) discusses identity problems in terms of gender, sexuality and race while satirising the virtual violence on Twitter through hashtags. Elton criticises the social media platforms and the current obsession with sharing on these platforms in *Blind Faith*, which is a dark comic novel. As the novel tells the story of a dystopian Britain controlled by the Temple that condemns privacy, science and thinking, and makes faith and sharing compulsory, it is possible to express that the novel's world resembles the one in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by George Orwell. When he is asked about the similarities between his novel and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Elton answers that "there's virtually nothing that anyone writes about the future that isn't influenced by Orwell."²⁶ However, *Blind Faith* seems to be different from Orwell's in that it makes in parts the reader laugh with the use of comic elements, which is the characteristic of Elton's novels. It is also frightening to notice the extent that the novel accurately reflects the contemporary world where "many people voluntarily broadcast personal information about themselves in the hope that others will see it; actively participating in a surveillance society."²⁷ People are not only encouraged but also expected, sometimes forced, to share every detail about themselves. This voluntary sharing makes it easier for the authorities to keep people under surveillance and control not only in the novel but also in real life.

²⁶ Henry Sutton, "Ben Elton: Is the former stand-up comedian the new Orwell?" *The Independent*, 11 November 2007, Retrieved 30 May 2020, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/features/ben-elton-is-the-former-stand-up-comedian-the-new-orwell-399527.html>

²⁷ Ellie Gardner, "'What's on your mind?': A Critical Reflection of Facebook", *Critical Reflections: A Student Journal on Contemporary Sociological Issues*, 2014, <https://ojs.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/index.php/SOC/article/viewFile/4490/4327>

The last novel *The Last Day* is the debut novel of the British writer Andrew Hunter Murray, who is also a comedian performing in the improvisational comedy show *Austentatious*. He is one of the members of the “QI Elves”, who write and research for the BBC comedy quiz show *QI* (short for Quite Interesting), which deals with the most interesting facts in the world. Together with other members, he co-hosts the award-winning weekly podcast series called *No Such Thing As A Fish* and the spin-off BBC2 series *No Such Thing As The News*. He also writes for *Private Eye*, a British satirical magazine with jokes on news and current affairs. His *The Last Day* is a science fiction novel exploring a future Britain where the authorities do everything to protect the country and its resources from foreigners and outsiders, a Britain similar to the one in Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.²⁸ The novel follows the limited third-person perspective of a young scientist Ellen Hopper on her journey to reveal a truth that costs lives and would change everything. As Ellen approaches revealing the truth, the readers learn what has happened and what Britain, lucky enough to be in the only habitable zone, actually has done since the earth’s rotation stopped. It is also possible to read the novel as a thriller as Ellen and people who help her are followed, and either die or narrowly escape death. Inspired by such dystopias as *The Handmaid’s Tale* by Margaret Atwood and *The Children of Men*, Murray admits that he was also influenced by the Brexit process while writing his novel.²⁹ However, he also adds that he did not intend the novel to be a simple allegory reflecting the exact picture of current Britain. Even though the novel is not a mere portrait of the whole current Britain or world, it seems to concern itself with the issues related to the real world as it deals with migration restriction, ecological problems, and oppressive practices.

The despot prime minister in *The Last Day* exercises various biopolitical regulations in order to control the population in Britain and also to stop immigration. As the novel progresses, it is revealed that he does not only regulate his own country, but also, in the past, he did other things to eliminate, by killing, the possible threats for

²⁸ Paul Di Filippo, “There’s no shortage of novels about what happens when the Earth stops spinning. ‘The Last Day’ may set a new standard.”, *The Washington Post*, 10 February 2020, Retrieved 30 May 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/books/theres-no-shortage-of-novels-about-what-happens-when-the-earth-stops-spinning-the-last-day-may-set-a-new-standard/2020/02/10/e60a847a-4c32-11ea-bf44-f5043eb3918a_story.html

²⁹ Aoife Barry, “‘Britain has pride about not succumbing to fascism in the 20th century - I’m suggesting it could happen in the 21st’”, *TheJournal.ie*, 7 March 2020, Retrieved 30 May 2020, <https://www.thejournal.ie/andrew-hunter-murray-interview-the-last-day-novel-5031116-Mar2020/>

Britain's population, which are for him the citizens of other unlucky countries who want to live there. He wanted to prevent them from coming to the country, which is actually "full of citizens spying on each other, curfews, and oppression."³⁰ The Warden of England in *The Children of Men* exercises similar biopolitical regulations for his own population and foreigners coming from other countries. But he prefers to get rid of them by not killing them but increasing the risk of death for them. On the other hand, the authorities in both novels do not neglect to control the individuals using the individuals through various techniques such as keeping them under surveillance. The surveillance becomes quite constant and almost voluntary in the case of *Blind Faith*, where people provide the government with the necessary information about themselves. The society in this novel is built on the norms, established by the Temple, about almost every detail about the bodies of individuals from the volume of sound they should use while speaking to the clothes they are expected to wear. The norms are very significant in *The Chrysalids* to the extent that they form the basis of the valid laws made by the government. Not only human beings but also other living beings are divided into two main categories: normal ones in their true forms created by God and deviations that are wrong and the work of the Devil. The novel is also important in terms of biological racism and eugenics because it is seen that different groups strive to maintain the survival and strength of their own races by regulating reproductive practices. Whether it is norms or normalisation, or regulations concerning such biological processes of the population as birth or mortality that strengthen it, or regulations concerning the elimination of threats for the population or race like other races, or surveillance methods, or disciplinary techniques concerning the bodies and bodily practices like sexuality, the four novels involve issues related to biopower. They show how biopower is exercised in various post-apocalyptic worlds under different conditions and how disciplinary or biopolitical techniques or both are put into practice.

³⁰ "An interesting new twist on a post-apocalyptic tale.", *Kirkus Reviews*, 25 November 2019, Retrieved 30 May 2020, <https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/andrew-hunter-murray/the-last-day-murray/>

CHAPTER ONE

FOUCAULDIAN BIOPOWER AND BIOPOLITICS

1.1. POWER IN FOUCAULT

1.1.1. What Is Power?

French social theorist and thinker Michel Foucault, whose studies cover issues ranging from sexuality to madness, from prisons to medicine, from ethics to knowledge, is perhaps one of the most prolific theorists influencing contemporary thinkers and readers. Although his works are varied in terms of the topics they focus on, it can be said that his thoughts are not irrelevant but connected to one another. It seems that everything he writes about is somehow related to the concept of “power”, and he always deals with “the question of power, a question that no theoretical system – whether the philosophy of history or a general theory of society, or even a political theory – seems able to deal with.”³¹ In order to comprehend how Foucault approaches this concept, it would be helpful to look at the way power is defined and understood in general and political terms. Being one of the key terms of humanities including philosophy and politics, “power” is generally defined as the ability or capacity to act in a particular way or to influence or direct other people to act in a particular way. In this respect, it is likely to understand power as the ability to direct actions considering that it comes from the Latin word “potere”, which means “to be able”.

Specifically defined as “the ability or capacity to compel others to act according to one’s aims so that they will do what they would not otherwise have done”³², power is either perceived as force or used in place of government, since the entries for “power” in an average dictionary mostly include these meanings and references. Hence, power is usually associated, and sometimes confused, with the state or the government. Foucault finds this perception of power limited, insufficient and inappropriate, as it simply reduces power to a thing, a property, which undermines complexity of power as a notion. Criticizing many aspects of this traditional conception of power, Foucault

³¹ Michel Foucault, “Interview with Michel Foucault”, James D. Faubion (Ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 3*, Penguin Books, London 2002, 284.

³² Nicholas Bunnin and Jiyuan Yu, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden 2004, 543.

expresses that he does not use “power” in a traditional sense in his analyses, and he adopts a different approach: “I do not mean, then, power in the sense of government, in the sense of the state. I say: between different persons, in a family, in a university, in an army barracks, in a hospital, in a medical consultation there are relations of power which occur.”³³ So, it can be said that what is essential for Foucault in developing his theories related to key topics such as sexuality and madness is not power analogous to the government or state, but power as a net of relations.

Although power seems to be one of the conceptions that lie at the bottom of Foucault’s works, he is likely to focus more on different modalities of power than the source of power: “I do not ask, ‘Where does power come from, where is it going?’ but rather, ‘In what way does it happen and how does it happen, what are all the relations of power’?”³⁴ Actually, it seems that Foucault is not interested in giving precise and clear-cut definitions of and explanations on what power is, instead, what he endeavours is to clarify what power is not. Therefore, he challenges many widespread conceptions of power, which are regarded by him as “misunderstandings” resulting from the nature of power. He lists three “misunderstandings” about power as he begins his analyses of sexuality and power in *The History of Sexuality*:

By power, I do not mean “Power” as a group of institutions and mechanisms that ensure the subservience of the citizens of a given state. By power, I do not mean, either, a mode of subjugation which, in contrast to violence, has the form of the rule. Finally, I do not have in mind a general system of domination exerted by one group over another, a system whose effects, through successive derivations, pervade the entire social body.³⁵

As it is understood, Foucault objects to the limitation of power to the state or government, to law, and to any kind of discrimination such as racial or class discrimination. For him, these are only some forms that power can take, not the whole content of the concept itself. In this respect, Foucault is against the Marxist approach to power, since Marxist theory also asserts a localised power. Marxists believe that the substructure or base of the society, which is ways of production and economy,

³³ Michel Foucault, “Sexuality and Power”, Jeremy R. Carrette (Ed.), *Religion and Culture*, Routledge, New York 1999, 127-128.

³⁴ Foucault, 127.

³⁵ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 92.

determines and shapes the superstructure, which includes culture, politics and law. This means that power emanates from one definite source, and makes power centralized, which Foucault rejects discussing there is no absolute source of power.

If Foucault thinks that power is not limited only to those traditional assumptions, if he assumes that power is not just the state, or subjugation, or domination, then what does he mean by power? For Foucault, there is not one total or centralized power, instead, he believes in the multiplicity of powers, in other words, power relations, as stated before. It is not only between the state and its citizens, or more generally between the ruler and the ruled, that power is exercised, but power exists in any kind of relationship between human beings, which makes it possible for people “to ‘govern’ each other. Parents govern their children, a mistress governs her lover, a professor governs, et cetera.”³⁶ So, it would be misleading to regard power as dependent on the state or politics when there are various multiple power relations operating at micro and macro levels of the society. Power relations are so diffused within society that Foucault explains power as a net of relations:

Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation.³⁷

It is not possible to speak of an individual or a place that is independent of power relations. This net or web of power relations embraces every individual in society to the extent that individuals become not the source of power, but the tools for the exercise of power. If all individuals are subject to power relations, then it means power relations are not exterior to, but related to other kinds of relation like sexual or economic relations.

Foucault asserts that power relations are different from one another, which comes to oppose the hierarchical order of homogeneous power relations. A power relation between a king and his subjects has distinctive features when it is compared to

³⁶ Michel Foucault, *Wrong-Doing, Truth-Telling: The Function of Avowal in Justice*, Fabienne Brion and Bernard E. Harcourt (Eds.), Stephen W. Sawyer (Trans.), The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2014, 251.

³⁷ Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures”, Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, Vintage Books, New York 1980, 98.

the power relation between a husband and a wife. On the other hand, a woman can exercise power on the patients when she is a doctor while she, at the same time, may be the one over whom power is exercised by her husband. Accordingly, power relations can change and become reversed in the sense that those who exercise power may find themselves in an opposite situation, or vice versa. Thus, power is not something which can be monopolized by a specific individual or group. Power is not a property “that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away”³⁸. Moving away from regarding power as a commodity, Foucault believes, in the same vein, that there is no essence of power, which means power has no centre or source. Power neither is “a stable, unitary, and coherent entity”³⁹, nor does it spread from a single source, nor centralized in a ruler, nor localised in a single place. It rather operates and circulates as a net of relations within society through individuals.

Foucault remarks that regarding power as something that can be taken, given and shared is a result of analysing power “from a juridical conception: where power is, who holds power, what the rules are that govern power”⁴⁰. The consideration of power as a property is, therefore, a typical feature of the juridico-political model of power. Dating back to the medieval Europe where everything the monarch said was a law, juridical theory is based on the exercise of the law. In accordance with it, the exercise of power is legalized through the laws, especially the laws of the monarch in the Middle Ages. Foucault states that

in the case of the classic, juridical theory, power is taken to be a right, which one is able to possess like a commodity, and which one can in consequence transfer or alienate, either wholly or partially, through a legal act or through some act that establishes a right, such as takes place through cession or contract. Power is that concrete power which every individual holds, and whose partial or total cession enables political power or sovereignty to be established.⁴¹

³⁸ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 94.

³⁹ Judith Revel, “Power”, Leonard Lawlor and John Nale (Eds.), *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2014, 377.

⁴⁰ Michel Foucault, “The Meshes of Power”, Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Eds.), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, Ashgate Publishing, Farnham 2007, 154.

⁴¹ Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures”, Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, Vintage Books, New York 1980, 88.

It is possible to comprehend that power, according to juridical theory, is a right either deserved by a person or a group of people determined by laws as a consequence of a contract, or gained by a person through succession or cession of a sovereign. In juridical theory, power operates through prohibitions which are manifested through discourse. For instance, smoking bans are not only imposed by laws, but also they are strengthened by various discursive ways such as anti-smoking campaigns.

This consideration of power as made up of prohibitions makes power repressive and negative, which is another point Foucault criticises and protests. From the juridico-political perspective, power prohibits what laws impose on individuals and repress them by telling them ‘Do not do that!’ or ‘Do not go there!’, which is resulted in the perception of power as a totally negative concept. Foucault discusses this perception of power is quite widespread though it is also “a bit dangerous, because it allows one to say, ‘Lift the prohibitions and thereafter, power will have disappeared; we will be free on the day that we will lift the prohibitions.’”⁴² Power is not something which only compels, prohibits, limits, represses, forces or oppresses. Even if power sometimes can take the form of prohibition and repression, the only function of power is not to repress or force individuals. Defined as the capacity to make people act in a certain way, power also influences, directs, shapes and produces individuals, which gives it a productive, and thus, a positive nature. Foucault asserts that it is possible to find some elements for the analysis of power as productive in the texts of a number of thinkers including Marx and Bentham.

Power does not only produce individuals, for Foucault, but also “it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production.”⁴³ Indeed, there is a crucial relationship between power and knowledge. Foucault believes that what people consider universal – whether it is ideas or truths – is, in fact, not universal and fixed, and can be changed and transformed. In this sense, there is no absolute and universal truth which is valid and acceptable in every occasion. It is because knowledge is

⁴² Michel Foucault, “Sexuality and Power”, Jeremy R. Carrette (Ed.), *Religion and Culture*, Routledge, New York 1999, 128.

⁴³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan (Trans.), Vintage Books, New York 1995, 194.

produced by power and this knowledge becomes the truth in accordance with the conditions of the time. It seems that power is not free of knowledge, and it does not operate without knowledge. In this way, the relationship between power and knowledge becomes reciprocal making both power and knowledge dependent on one another. Foucault constantly stresses this vital relationship analysing its nature whenever it is possible:

We should not be content to say that power has a need for such-and-such a discovery, such-and-such a form of knowledge, but we should add that the exercise of power itself creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information. [...] The exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power.⁴⁴

Power produces knowledge and relevant discourse in order to legitimise its actions and effects. In return, it is this production of knowledge that enables power to function, to penetrate into every single relationship in society. For instance, medicine produces knowledge and discourse about various diseases, and determines who is healthy and who is sick according to this knowledge. Later, this knowledge enables doctors to exercise power over the patients and to control them.

Discourse is roughly the language used in certain types of speech and writing, and it is known to be one of the significant concepts for Foucault. Based on the knowledge which is made valid after being produced as a consequence of the exercise of power, discourse constitutes the truths and determines what is right and what is wrong. It gives the right to speak to those who exercise power strengthening their power to the extent that power relations “cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse.”⁴⁵ Medical discourse can be given as an example with respect to the relation between power and discourse. Discourse of medicine requires a specialized scientific knowledge which is accepted to be true by almost everyone. This medical discourse is mostly used by doctors and gives them the right to speak against patients who do not

⁴⁴ Michel Foucault, “Prison Talk”, Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, Vintage Books, New York 1980, 51-52.

⁴⁵ Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures”, Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, Vintage Books, New York 1980, 93.

know this discourse and have any medical knowledge. Patients do not question what doctors say, and do not interrupt whatever doctors do in the process of diagnosis and treatment. But this does not mean that patients do not have the right to refuse treatment at all. There is always a possibility that they get into action against what they are expected to do.

Similarly, every relation of power contains resistance to the extent that power operates only if there is possible resistance. Foucault believes that resistance is the precondition of power relations, which means both sides in a power relation must be free, at least they must have the chance of freedom. By resistance, Foucault does not mean only a revolution or a big rebellion. Instead, what he tries to indicate when he says “power is exercised only over free subjects” is that they “are faced with a field of possibilities in which several kinds of conduct, several ways of reacting and modes of behavior are available.”⁴⁶ For instance, slavery becomes a power relation as long as those over whom power is exercised have the possibility of escape, not when they are in shackles. Thus, it can be concluded that power and freedom are not contradictory terms as they are claimed to be in the traditional perception of power.

1.1.2. Types of Power

It is important to specify what kind of power Foucault puts forward if he does not approach power from a traditional perspective. The fact that he criticises certain aspects of traditional power and analyses power through his distinctive approach does not mean that he proposes a specific form of power which is appropriate for every age or every rule. Instead, he tries to assert various modalities of power in various texts and lectures, which are different from each other, yet not completely disjointed. At times, he quits using some terms instead of which he chooses to conceptualise others without rejecting the former. Despite this, the type of power which Foucault usually associates with traditional power seems to be sovereign power. Referring to the complete power or right roughly, sovereignty had the monarch as its “living body”⁴⁷ and operated through juridical system. Laws, indeed, served as an instrument for the justification of the

⁴⁶ Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, James D. Faubion (Ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 3*, Penguin Books, London 2002, 342.

⁴⁷ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004, 26.

monarch's acts. It is interesting, however, to note that sovereign power contains "no mechanism for controlling day-to-day behaviour"⁴⁸ despite the complete control or the right to seize things. Sovereign power, Foucault argues, is exercised through the principle of deduction giving the monarch the right to appropriate the wealth, the goods, the service, the labour and the life of the subjects. Hence, sovereign power becomes a right to seize things, time, bodies and eventually life itself.

Consequently, Foucault describes sovereign power as "power of life and death", the symbol of which becomes the sword.⁴⁹ Sovereign power, Foucault asserts, has a number features, one of which is this asymmetrical right of seizure. While the sovereign seizes from the subjects whatever she/he wants within her/his territory, the subjects do not have a chance but to give what they are expected. Though the sovereign may reward the subjects during, for example, religious ceremonies, or, repay service of protection for this deduction, she/he does not have to pay back at all, which leads to "a levy or deduction one side, and expenditure on the other"⁵⁰ – the asymmetry of sovereign power.

This extreme distinction between the sovereign and the subjects does not mean that there is a systematic hierarchy in sovereign power. Relations in sovereign power, therefore, are not isotopic, which means they are not homogenous, and each of them has its distinctive dynamics. For instance, the relation of sovereignty between a lord and a serf is very different when it is compared to the relation between the priest and the laity. Whereas the lord has authority over the serf and the priest over the laity, the nature of each relation is not alike. After all, the sovereign is the one who has the absolute authority through some precedence. That is to say, the sovereign is authorised either through divine right, or by birth, or through such things as "conquest, a victory, an act of submission, an oath of loyalty, an act passed between the sovereign who grants privileges, aid, protection, and so forth, and someone who, in return, pledges himself"⁵¹. This right of precedence is reactualised through rituals or ceremonies, emblems or coats

⁴⁸ Martin J. Smith, *Power and the State*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2009, 46.

⁴⁹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 136.

⁵⁰ Michel Foucault, *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the Collège de France 1973-1974*, Jacques Lagrange (Ed.), Graham Burchell (Trans.), Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2006, 42.

⁵¹ Foucault, 43.

of arms, and various signs of respect like specific forms of greeting. Actually, this causes the relationship of sovereignty to become fragile, and to be threatened by resistance, violence and ultimately its breakdown.

In the old and absolute form of sovereign power, the sovereign unconditionally exercises power over the subjects instantly seizing lives as well as goods or service. While the sovereign may exercise the right to kill by taking any subject's life as she/he wishes, the right of life can be exercised only by killing or not killing. Thus, "the power of life and death" becomes, as Foucault claims, "the right to *take* life or *let* live".⁵² Later on, this right of the sovereign becomes more conditional, which is exercised only if the sovereign's survival is under threat. If someone rebels against the sovereign or her/his laws, she/he may punish the offenders by directly exercising the right to kill. On the other hand, the sovereign may "expose" the lives of the subjects to death instead of "directly proposing their death"⁵³ by waging war and making the subjects defend the state under a possible threat by external enemies. Yet, Foucault claims that wars are not waged for the sovereign anymore, but for the population; in other words, survival of the sovereign is replaced by the survival of people as a consequence of a new form of power which focuses on life itself.

Foucault remarks that this new power over life, "bio-power" as he calls it, takes shape beginning from the seventeenth century in place of sovereign power as a result of various significant scientific, economic, social and political transformations. One of the biggest characteristics distinguishing this biopower from sovereign power is perhaps that biopower does not adopt deduction as its major principle. While sovereign power deducts lives in order to impede or suppress them, deduction is not a major principle, but rather only one among many others in biopower, which seeks to "incite, reinforce, control, monitor, optimize, and organize the forces under it".⁵⁴ So, biopower is not the right to *take* life or *let* live but the "power to *foster* life or *disallow* it to the point of death."⁵⁵ Foucault first uses the term "biopower" in the last chapter of *The History of Sexuality Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, where he contrasts biopower with

⁵² Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 136.

⁵³ Foucault, 135.

⁵⁴ Foucault, 136.

⁵⁵ Foucault, 138.

sovereign power. He asserts that biopower operates in two poles which are related to and complement each other: “anatomo-politics”, namely, discipline or disciplinary power, which concentrates on control over bodies, and “bio-politics”, which focuses on the regulation of the population.

Although Foucault explains that biopower encompasses disciplinary power and biopolitics, which are not completely different from each other, in *The Will to Knowledge* published in 1976, there are many shifts and diversions in Foucault’s views related to the conceptualisation of modern power. He sometimes synonymously uses biopower and biopolitics differentiating disciplinary power as a contrast to them as in a series of lectures published under the title *Society Must Be Defended* in 1997; at other times, he chooses to use alternative terms such as “governmentality” and “security” in addition to biopolitics as he does in the lecture series published as *Security, Territory, Population* in 2004. Making distinctions between sovereign power, disciplinary power and biopower, Foucault deals with the idea of government as a part of his analysis of modern power. He treats the term “government” as a way of governing in a broader sense and discusses modern power as a problem of government. Indeed, for Foucault, governing is specific and “different from ‘reigning or ruling,’ and not the same as ‘commanding’ or ‘laying down the law,’ or being a sovereign, suzerain, lord, judge, general, landowner, master, or a teacher”.⁵⁶ His increasing use of the terms concerning governing leads to the replacement of biopolitics by governmentality on occasion.

The term “governmentality” was coined by Foucault, who confesses to using it vaguely. Calling the term “ugly”, “problematic” and “artificial”, Foucault lists three different meanings for governmentality:

First, by “governmentality” I understand the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*, Michel Senellart (Ed.), Graham Burchell (Trans.), Picador, New York 2007, 115-116.

⁵⁷ Foucault, 108.

By governmentality, he also means the tendency that has led to governmental apparatuses, and the process or the result of the process through which states have been governmentalised. It can be deduced from this explanation of Foucault that governmentality focuses on governance of population through knowledge of political economy. The history of governmentality began in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when “the state of justice of the Middle Ages became the administrative state”.⁵⁸ The significant transformations in the eighteenth century such as the penetration of economy into politics and the emergence of population as a significant political target due to the rise of statistics made this new modality of power possible.

Foucault occasionally contrasts governmentality with sovereign and disciplinary power in that governmental management is not juridical as sovereignty, and that it is based on the willingness of individuals to govern themselves while discipline aims to control everything as much as possible. What the state deals with is not rule of the sovereign or the minute supervision of the individuals, but the organisation of the population. However, Foucault argues that sovereignty or disciplinary power have not been eliminated by governmentality. There is no such thing “as the replacement of a society of sovereignty by a society of discipline, and then of a society of discipline by a society, say, of government.”⁵⁹ Instead, he proposes a triangle of sovereignty, discipline and governmental management, traces of all of which can be seen in modern states. Though this governmental management is a modality of modern power, it is possible to find its origins in the pastoral power of Christianity.

The pastoral power is based on the metaphorical Christian relation between the shepherd and his flock. In Christianity, the pastor is like a shepherd who is responsible for watching and guiding the flock. Accordingly, the pastorate is “the existence within society of a category of individuals absolutely specific and singular, who [...] in the Christian society play the role of pastor (*pasteur*), shepherd (*berger*) in relation to others who are their sheep or their flock.”⁶⁰ Foucault notes that the idea of the king or the leader as a shepherd of a flock guiding them from birth until death was not familiar

⁵⁸ Foucault, 108-109.

⁵⁹ Foucault, 107.

⁶⁰ Michel Foucault, “Sexuality and Power”, Jeremy R. Carrette (Ed.), *Religion and Culture*, Routledge, New York 1999, 121.

in ancient Greece and Rome. The politicians were not referred to as shepherds in Greek or Roman literature. Instead, this metaphorical theme can be found in the eastern Mediterranean world, particularly in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Assyria and, especially, Judea. Hebrews believed that God is the shepherd of his people. Later on, David, as the founder of the monarchy and the first king of Israel, received the task of being the shepherd from God. In this sense, the ruler, like a shepherd, within pastoral power guides, protects, takes care of his people who become his flock.

The shepherd is responsible for ensuring the salvation of not only the flock as a whole but also of each member of the flock individually. He guides them, watches them, protects them, gathers them together, counts them, in short, does everything for the entirety of the flock as well as each member of the flock. Similarly, the pastor ensures the subsistence of people as a whole, whom he is responsible for, on the one hand, and the subsistence of each individual on the other hand. This makes pastoral power individualising: “the good shepherd (*berger*), the good pastor (*pasteur*) is qualified as the one who watches over the individuals in particular, over the individuals taken one by one.”⁶¹ Indeed, the ultimate aim of pastoral power is the salvation of the flock. Since the flock is always moving and not stable, the shepherd does not rule over a territory, he rather watches over a moving multiplicity. Thus, pastoral power does not function by defeating enemies and conquering the territories of the enemies, which does not make victory, conquest and destruction its objective. On the grounds that “its principle function is doing well for those over whom one watches”⁶², pastoral power becomes a beneficial power instead of a triumphant one. Despite being beneficial, pastoral power entails absolute obedience, which obliges people also to seek their own salvation. The duty of the pastor is to make the individuals feel obliged to do what they should do for their salvation.

The absolute obedience requires surveillance and knowledge. The pastor must know what each individual of the flock does, and also what is inside their souls or minds. This leads to the idea of confession in Christianity, which means each individual is obliged to confess whether they do or think something wrong. In this way, the pastor can control them even when he does not keep them under surveillance. This is, indeed,

⁶¹ Foucault, 123.

⁶² Foucault, 123.

some kind of normalisation process for the salvation of both the whole flock and each member of the flock. This dual function of pastoral power recalls the two poles of biopower in that they separately handle the individual bodies and the whole population.

1.2. BIOPOWER

In spite of his extensive, yet complicated and vague terminology, Foucault, indeed, sticks to his general idea of power over life. After explaining in *The Will to Knowledge* the two forms in which this power over life emerged, namely, anatomo-politics and biopolitics, he gives the name “biopower” to this new type of power: “there was an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations, marking the beginning of an era of ‘bio-power.’”⁶³ Life became an object of power beginning from the late seventeenth century along with a number of significant phenomena like capitalism and the rise of biology. Western countries began to evaluate human beings as members of a living species realising how various elements of biological existence have crucial effects on the exercise of power. This caused life to enter the domain of politics, which means that power was no longer juridical: “Once, there were only subjects, juridical subjects from whom one could take goods, life too, moreover. Now, there are bodies and populations.”⁶⁴ Life is not something which the sovereign can deduct from the subjects like things or services any longer, it is now the main target of power.

Instead of impeding or suppressing life as in sovereign power, biopower is a type of power “that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavors to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations.”⁶⁵ With this emphasis on life, death has become the limit that biopower does not transgress, and has become less and less visible. This is why the capital punishment has become more difficult to be exercised since the eighteenth century. If it is necessary, Foucault claims, it is used not because the crime is a major offense, but because the criminal becomes a danger to other people. This change in the function of

⁶³ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 140.

⁶⁴ Michel Foucault, “The Meshes of Power”, Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Eds.), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, Ashgate Publishing, Farnham 2007, 161.

⁶⁵ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 137.

death marks the transformation from sovereign power to biopower. The right to take life and let live of the sovereign is replaced, thus, by the new right to “make” live or “let” die with biopower.⁶⁶ The difference in the right to kill between sovereignty and biopower is only one characteristic which differentiates these two modalities of power. The sovereign power can be exercised through the law, which makes sovereignty juridical power whereas the norm is what biopower is based on. Since the seventeenth century not only the importance of the norm has grown in the society, but also there has been a juridical regression in comparison to earlier centuries. Nevertheless, it does not mean that laws are replaced by norms, or that institutions of juridical system disappear. Laws begin to operate more and more as norms, and juridical institutions become less punishing than disciplining and regulating within biopower.

In accordance with the two poles of biopower, Foucault explains that biopower first emerged in the form of anatomo-politics of the human body at the end of the seventeenth century, which “centered on the body as a machine: its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls”⁶⁷. The objective of this first pole of biopower is to control and discipline the individual body through a number of techniques related to time and space, and institutions like schools or prisons. So, the anatomo-politics of the body becomes a disciplinary power which seeks to make bodies more docile, more productive and more useful in order to adjust them to production and economy.

Later, biopolitics of the population, which “focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity”⁶⁸, emerged complementing the former one. Biopolitics involves regulatory techniques for the management of life processes such as mortality or morbidity at the level of the population rather than the individual bodies. Biopolitics targets the management and regulation of the population, not the discipline of the body, which

⁶⁶ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004, 241.

⁶⁷ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 139.

⁶⁸ Foucault, 139.

leads to a big differentiation between disciplinary power and biopolitics. It can be observed that, Foucault notes, in the eighteenth century these two poles were separated from each other clearly. However, he also asserts that biopolitics

does not exclude disciplinary technology, but it does dovetail into it, integrate it, modify it to some extent, and above all, use it by sort of infiltrating it, embedding itself in existing disciplinary techniques. This new technique does not simply do away with the disciplinary technique, because it exists at a different level, on a different scale, and because it has a different bearing area, and makes use of very different instruments.⁶⁹

It can be assumed that biopolitics and disciplines are not completely independent of each other; they are rather closely intertwined in that the population consists of the individual bodies.

1.2.1. Disciplinary Power

Foucault constantly reminds that sovereign power was not adequate for the changing conditions of the Western world in terms of great transformations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one of which is the emergence of the capitalist system. He argues that sovereignty was an obstacle to the development of capitalism having two significant disadvantages for it. The first of those disadvantages is that sovereignty is a discontinuous form of power because the area within which sovereign power is exercised is too large, and there are lots of various elements it must control. This results in the escape of many things as well as economic processes from the control of sovereign power. For example, the significance of contraband in Europe in the eighteenth century shows that some points of economic processes escaped the control of power, which demonstrates the need for a continuous and individualising power which can control individual elements more easily.

Secondly, sovereign power is based on the right of the sovereign to seize whatever she/he wants leading to the economic subtractions and eventually making it an onerous type of power. The right of seizure the sovereign has, thus, does not support but hinders economic processes. This situation also requires a power which can control as many individuals as possible without being a burden on the economic system. Foucault

⁶⁹ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004, 242.

asserts that disciplinary power, at this point, becomes one of the inventions of the bourgeoisie for the functioning of industrial capitalism, which demands “the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production”⁷⁰ and economic processes. The aim of disciplinary power in this vein is to create an effective labour force and get maximum efficiency in accordance with the needs of capitalist system by making the bodies more productive and more docile. In this way, individuals are not only easily controlled, but also their bodies become a tool for the effective operation of capitalism. Then, it may be claimed that disciplines became a significant form of power as a product of bourgeoisie for the development of capitalism when the body became the target of power beginning from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

However, this does not mean that the body became the object of power for the first time. It means rather that the body had not been approached as it was by disciplinary power in an individualistic, detailed, efficient and productive way through various methods and techniques before. For Foucault, disciplines are those methods and techniques “which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility”⁷¹. Though it is possible to find the exercise of discipline in such places as monasteries, armies or workshops, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the disciplines began to become the major form of power. The disciplines are not only used for fixing problems or avoiding risks within a population or a group of people any longer, but also they are used for positive ends increasing the utility of individuals. For instance, the discipline in the army is not only a way of preventing desertion or avoiding the failure of soldiers to obey orders. Military discipline “increases the skill of each individual, coordinates these skills”⁷² making them more useful and docile. Similarly, the discipline in the workshop improves the skill and speed of the workers, which targets the increase of the profit.

As it can be grasped, disciplinary power operates primarily through institutions such as schools, hospitals, prisons, workshops and army. Nevertheless, it is not

⁷⁰ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 141.

⁷¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan (Trans.), Vintage Books, New York 1995, 137.

⁷² Foucault, 210.

appropriate to identify the disciplines with one or more of these institutions despite this extension of disciplinary techniques and the spread of disciplinary institutions throughout society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Foucault asserts that ‘discipline’ is a type, modality and technology of power on its own, which has its own targets, instruments, methods and techniques. Various institutions including previously mentioned ones, penitentiaries or police may take it over for various ends when it is necessary. Disciplinary techniques were initially used in schools, and then they spread to hospitals, to the military, so on. The spread of them from one institution to another in this period shows that the disciplines were required for particular ends on every occasion; for instance, the outbreak of an epidemic disease or a development within the military. The disciplines are now so diffuse across the social body that modern societies become disciplinary ones.

In such institutions as prisons and schools and in a disciplinary society, Foucault notes the individualisation of a multiplicity of people. He states that disciplinary power does not deal “with a mass, with a group, or even, to tell the truth, with a multiplicity: we are only ever dealing with individuals.”⁷³ Calling disciplines the techniques of individualisation of power, Foucault believes that disciplinary power produces individuals, their capacities and productivity. He says this process of individualisation is succeeded through targeting the bodies of the individuals: controlling the body, maximising its capacities, increasing both its utility and docility. A body becomes docile when it “may be subjected, used, transformed and improved.”⁷⁴ Foucault points out various methods and techniques in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison* as ways of making docile and productive bodies.

One of the distinctive features of disciplinary power is that it puts individuals in order or distributes them spatially, which Foucault calls “the art of distributions”. Discipline encloses a specific place that is different from others by using walls or gates, as in barracks and workshops or factories. However, this enclosure is not complete or sufficient, Foucault claims, without the principle of partitioning. Disciplinary power

⁷³ Michel Foucault, *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the Collège de France 1973-1974*, Jacques Lagrange (Ed.), Graham Burchell (Trans.), Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2006, 75.

⁷⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan (Trans.), Vintage Books, New York 1995, 136.

partitions this enclosed place into distinct cells which belong to distinct individuals. Dating back to the old monastic cells, the principle of partitioning, along with the enclosure, is for both maintaining order and preventing risks like theft and loss of concentration or dangerous collective activities like desertions and rebellions. In order to make these disciplinary spaces useful, they are specifically defined according to different functions. Dividing a factory, for example, into different departments determines the specific work which each department must carry out and eliminates confusion among the workers. Thus, it leads to the increase of the motivation of workers and productivity. “The art of distributions” does not only include enclosure, partitioning and defining specific functions, it is also based on the principle of ranking. Foucault, who understands discipline as “an art of rank”, remarks that rank becomes one of the major forms of distribution of individuals especially in schools in the eighteenth century. It is possible to observe that students in schools are distributed in accordance with different types of ranks such as their age, success or behaviour. Accordingly, disciplinary power requires “complex spaces that are at once architectural, functional and hierarchical”⁷⁵ in its production of docile bodies through individualisation.

In addition to space, time is also one of the elements that are used to discipline the bodies of individuals. With regard to the control of the time of individuals, timetable is perhaps a major disciplinary technique. Like most of the other disciplinary techniques, timetable also originates from the monastic communities spreading to schools, factories and other institutions. Timetable partitions the time of individuals into smaller and specific segments for an efficient use of time so that it will clear for each individual what to do. Timetable both increases the productivity of individuals preventing confusion among them and is a way of better surveillance and control because it is easier to watch individuals when it is known what they do at a specific period of time. Indeed, timetable has gone beyond being a mere disciplinary technique in modern societies. It has become one of the fundamental tools to arrange and organise almost all kinds of activity making daily life much easier. However, as it is stated above, it also makes it easier to control, govern and keep people under surveillance in a more organised way in modern world.

⁷⁵ Foucault, 148.

Surveillance is an important concept in relation to Foucault's discussion of disciplinary power. Surveillance can be roughly defined as monitoring something or someone for a specific purpose like gathering information. Surveillance could include simple sensory watching or observation from a distance through electronical devices like CCTVs or more technological methods such as drones. It is used by governments especially for security measures and preventing crimes, which is indeed problematic if it is considered the violation of privacy. Governments' increasing use of surveillance and tracking systems day by day are criticised by various activists not only because they violate privacy of citizens but also because the purpose behind them is indeed to gather information about citizens in order to control them. Foucault deals with surveillance in *Discipline and Punish*, particularly in the chapter entitled "Panopticism" indicating its significance for power. He believes that surveillance is a major technique in exercising power since it helps to gain knowledge that is the other side of power. Constant surveillance is necessary when bodies are disciplined through various methods and techniques including the organisation of time and space. For instance, the existence of some agents in the factories who are responsible for watching the workers and inspecting the workplaces makes workers disciplined and productive. Therefore, surveillance "becomes a decisive economic operator both as an internal part of the production machinery and as a specific mechanism in the disciplinary power."⁷⁶ Foucault finds the formula of this kind of disciplinary technique related to surveillance in Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*.

The Panopticon is, indeed, an architectural plan for an institutional building designed by Bentham, who published the drawings for it in 1791. Though this model was used with various modifications mostly for prisons, it can be applied to a number of institutions such as schools or workshops. The Panopticon is a circular building, within the periphery of which there are cells which are separated from each other by a wall. Each cell has two windows, one on the inside, and "the other, on the outside, [which] allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other"⁷⁷, making cells visible. At the centre, there is a tower with wide windows from which it is possible observe everything in the cells. Foucault stresses that the windows of the tower must be

⁷⁶ Foucault, 175.

⁷⁷ Foucault, 200.

shuttered or darkened because the main principle of the Panopticon is that the inmates can be seen without seeing the inside of the tower or other cells. What makes the Panopticon a model for the exercise of disciplinary power is partly its mechanism of individualisation. Since only one individual is placed in each cell, the Panopticon never deals with a multiplicity, but only with individuals. Due to the walls separating the cells, the individual inmates cannot communicate with each other. So, there is no threat of dangerous collective activities such as plots and rebellions in prisons, no danger of contagion in hospitals, no disorders or distractions in factories, no noise or copying in schools.

Foucault regards the Panopticon as an ideal form of surveillance because its main effect is to make the inmates think that they are being constantly observed. The inmates, subjected to permanent visibility, do not know if they are really observed every moment since they cannot see what is happening inside the tower. Being able to see without being seen, the supervisor in the tower even does not need to be in the tower and observe the cells all the time. Because of this invisibility, anyone, in addition to the supervisor, may be the one who observes the individuals including her/his partner, friend, servant or a complete foreigner. Accordingly, anyone can enter the tower and supervise the individuals to check what is happening in the prison, school, etc., if everything is all right, if the supervisor carries out her/his duty. Thus, the Panopticon does not only enable supervising the supervisor and check the system; it also makes the power anonymous. Even though there may be someone who supervises, power actually becomes “de-individualized.”⁷⁸ Power is not exercised by specific people, it operates rather as a net or web through constant visibility, which is compatible with Foucault’s perception of power.

Foucault notes that this concern for individualisation and visibility antedates Bentham, and was first applied in the Military School of 1751 in Paris. In this school, students were placed in cells made of glass where they could be observed.⁷⁹ However, Foucault emphasises that it is Bentham who truly formulated the idea of the Panopticon.

⁷⁸ Michel Foucault, *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the Collège de France 1973-1974*, Jacques Lagrange (Ed.), Graham Burchell (Trans.), Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2006, 76.

⁷⁹ Michel Foucault, “The Eye of Power”, Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, Vintage Books, New York 1980, 147.

The word “panopticon”, which comes from the Greek word “panoptēs” meaning “all seeing”, again shows the significance of visibility. The dichotomy between visibility of the cells and invisibility of the tower makes the Panopticon an economical machine for the exercise of power since it reduces the number of those who supervise and increases the number of those who are observed. Accordingly, the Panopticon becomes an almost perfect model for the exercise of disciplinary power as it causes the inmates, namely those over whom power is exercised, to internalise power making them think that they are watched all the time:

There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself. A superb formula: power exercised continuously and for what turns out to be a minimal cost.⁸⁰

This visibility also enables the Panopticon to become a machine for acquisition of knowledge about the individuals and assessment of this knowledge. The Panopticon eventually is the formula for both individualising power and the constitution of knowledge about the individuals. Foucault, thus, reminds us that the idea behind the Panopticon is not only found in prisons but also in hospitals, workshops, barracks, schools, etc. Furthermore, he claims that it appears in modern societies as a general form of power, which he calls “panopticism”. Rather than being limited to certain disciplinary institutions, panopticism also becomes “a general political formula that characterizes a type of government.”⁸¹ For him, it can be said that people in modern societies live in panopticism since they live in a system with disciplinary power. Actually, modern societies resemble the Panopticon in that individuals are kept under surveillance through various methods. Being constantly surrounded by surveillance technologies leads to the self-surveillance and self-disciplining of individuals who become docile bodies, obey the rules, and conform to the norms.

As noted previously, norms become the foundation of biopower instead of the law of judicial system as in sovereignty. Foucault, however, constantly reminds that the

⁸⁰ Foucault, 155.

⁸¹ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*, Michel Senellart (Ed.), Graham Burchell (Trans.), Picador, New York 2008, 67.

norm does not supersede the law, and it is not true that there is no need for laws and judicial systems. Norms become the necessary condition for laws to operate within biopower, and judicial systems are incorporated into disciplinary and regulatory techniques. The norm can be defined as something which is standard, usual, proper or expected, whether it is a behaviour or a level of development. Determining and setting norms enables measuring and evaluating how someone fits into “an almost infinite variety of categories and sub-categories of people and forms of behaviour”⁸² and to make a distinction between the normal and the abnormal as a consequence of this evaluation. After norms are established, disciplinary power ensures that individuals conform to these norms through a number of techniques, one of which is surveillance. In order to stress its significance, Foucault specifically notes that normalisation is “one of the great instruments” of disciplinary power along with surveillance.⁸³ Normalisation, for Foucault, is the process in which behaviours of individuals, especially those incompatible with the norm, are made compatible. He argues that “the norm is the mechanism along which” biopolitical regulation of the population “intersects with the disciplining of individual bodies within the context of modern societies”.⁸⁴ As with his conceptualisation of biopower/biopolitics, Foucault later revises his thoughts on normalisation especially in *Security, Territory, Population*, where he makes a distinction between normalisation of disciplinary power and normalisation related to the regulation of population. Nevertheless, his perception of normalisation as a general principle of biopower both at the level of body and population remains prevalent among social and political theorists influenced by him.

Normalisation appeared in the seventeenth century as a result of disciplinary techniques of documentation and recordkeeping. Individuals under surveillance are also subjected to a process of documentation. For the control and discipline of the individuals, it is expected to keep the record of every minute detail about their lives, movements, behaviours and even thoughts. Performances of the workers in factories, developments of the students in schools, conditions of the patients in hospitals are all

⁸² Tony Schirato, Geoff Danaher and Jen Webb, *Understanding Foucault: A Critical Introduction*, (2nd edition), SAGE Publications, London 2012, 49.

⁸³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan (Trans.), Vintage Books, New York 1995, 184.

⁸⁴ Dianna Taylor, “Normativity and Normalization”, *Foucault Studies*, 7, 2009, 50.

recorded and documented. All these techniques of acquiring knowledge paved the way for the development of statistics. Statistical analysis of data was primarily used by authorities and theorists of management in the eighteenth century. These statistical analyses relating to management led to the production of norms, namely standards in different multiplicities of individuals. In time, norms have transcended the borders of management and spread to all other areas within society, and become the way of evaluating almost everything with disciplinary power. Accordingly, the discipline aims to establish the norm, make individuals conform to the norm, and normalise those who are abnormal or deviant. But Foucault asserts that there are always individuals who cannot be disciplined, classified, supervised, assimilated or normalised. This comes to mean that normalisation entails this type of individuals, who Foucault calls the “residue” or “residual”.⁸⁵ Having produced norms along with the residual, disciplinary power then establishes new norms to which those individuals can conform, new ways for normalisation.

Norms are produced through discourses of human sciences, one of the most influential of which is perhaps medicine. Specialised scientific knowledge which modern medicine is based on helps medical profession to gain power in order to establish norms and develop a discourse of normality. The target of medicine is not merely to find ways to cure illnesses anymore; rather, it now defines the normal and the abnormal or deviant. According to Foucault, who examines the emergence of modern medicine in *The Birth of the Clinic*, this shift results from “the great break in the history of Western medicine” when “clinical experience became the anatomo-clinical gaze.”⁸⁶ Foucault argues that it is possible to observe the development of anatomy after the French Revolution. The increase in the significance of anatomy enabled medicine to be more practical and less theoretical, which may be related to the influence of the empirical thinking of Enlightenment. Doctors tended to focus on bodies of the patients and the symptoms of illnesses on the body rather than depending on theoretical knowledge. This resulted in a “clinical gaze” or “medical gaze”, that is, the doctors began to rely upon their “gaze” on the patient’s body when they made a diagnosis. The

⁸⁵ Michel Foucault, *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the Collège de France 1973-1974*, Jacques Lagrange (Ed.), Graham Burchell (Trans.), Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2006, 53-54.

⁸⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, A. M. Sheridan (Trans.), Routledge, Oxon 2003, 179.

medical gaze entails dealing with only biomedical elements connected to the patient's body ignoring other things such as listening to the patient's story of the illness or the patient's personality. The modern medicine regards the patient as a case or condition causing objectification of the patient through the medical gaze, and does not pay attention to the patient's subjectivity comprised of her/his personality, beliefs, etc.

The medical gaze provides doctors with dominance over the patients who become submissive and dependent on the doctors' knowledge. In the process of diagnosis and treatment, the patient's perception of illness or readiness for treatment is not important and is nearly ignored. The decision-maker about the patient's body is not the patient herself/himself who experiences the illness, but the doctor who is equipped with the scientific knowledge of medicine. Therefore, the patient is expected to be docile and to conform to what is necessary for the treatment. Those who question the doctor's authority and procedures of treatment or who do not want to be cured are approached with suspicion and mostly regarded as "not normal". Even the specialized terminology used by doctors and other authorities of medical profession strengthens the power exercised over the patients, making them more passive. Modern medicine, thus, does not only cure the illnesses and treat the patients, it also defines the categories of norms such as "normal", "healthy", "abnormal" or "unhealthy", into which individuals fall. Through this type of norms, individuals are not forced to conform to these norms, they rather feel a desire to conform. Foucault asserts that power is strong because "it produces effects at the level of desire – and also at the level of knowledge."⁸⁷ It comes to mean that power operates along with knowledge, establishes norms in accordance with this knowledge, and makes individuals conform to these norms keeping them under surveillance and stirring desire in them, both of which lead to internalisation of norms and self-disciplining of individuals.

While medicine establishes norms and creates the categories of normality, it identifies the normal with the healthy and the deviant with the unhealthy. It creates a discourse which dictates that conforming to norms related to the body and being normal means being healthy. Normal body means healthy body, normal sleep means healthy sleep, normal nutrition means healthy nutrition, normal weight means healthy weight, or

⁸⁷ Michel Foucault, "Body/Power", Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, Vintage Books, New York 1980, 59.

vice-versa. In this sense, a person is healthy, for instance, if she/he has a weight that is compatible with the norm. On the other hand, being overweight is not a healthy situation in accordance with the norms which medicine defines. Thus, fitness becomes a norm to which power makes individuals conform not by enforcing them but by creating a desire.⁸⁸ Power creates a discourse related to the norm of fitness not only by identifying it with health; it also presents fitness as something attractive and sexy making it desirable. The individuals feel a desire to be fit, in other words, a desire to conform to norm of fitness, in order to be healthy on the one hand, and to be attractive and sexy on the other hand. For this purpose, they begin to discipline and observe their own bodies in a number of different ways such as diets and physical exercises. Many norms about the body including fitness, “gymnastics, exercises, muscle-building, nudism, glorification of the body beautiful” are internalised “by way of the insistent, persistent, meticulous work of power on [...] the healthy bodies.”⁸⁹ The body is shaped, transformed, educated and regulated in accordance with these norms through self-disciplining of individuals who desire not to appear abnormal, unhealthy, bad-looking and deviant. Power targets the normalisation of almost every detail regarding the body from its movements to its size, from its systems to its appearance, from its needs to sexuality. Sex and sexuality are medicalised and regulated according to the norms that medicine establishes so that it is possible to speak of, for example, healthy sexual identity or relationship.

Sexuality is, indeed, a crucial issue for Foucault, who points out the significance of sex for the operation of biopower functioning both at the level of discipline and biopolitics. Attempting to examine how sex has been dealt with throughout history in *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault emphasises that there is a strong relation between sex and power. In this series of books, Foucault wants to show that the assumption that sex has been repressed and has become a taboo since the seventeenth century with emergence of the bourgeoisie in the West, which he calls the “repressive hypothesis”, is erroneous. Foucault notes that although sexual activities were limited and people were not free to do whatever they sexually wanted to do in the eighteenth and nineteenth

⁸⁸ Jen Pylypa, “Power and Bodily Practice: Applying the Work of Foucault to an Anthropology of the Body”, *Arizona Anthropologist*, Vol. 13, 1998, 25.

⁸⁹ Michel Foucault, “Body/Power”, Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, Vintage Books, New York 1980, 56.

centuries, discourse on sex and sexuality proliferated in this period especially in terms of science and medicine. Foucault argues that Western civilisation approaches and examines sex in a scientific and medical manner producing discourses in order to find “the truth of sex”, and he calls this approach “scientia sexualis”. However, for Foucault, sexuality is neither a truth to be explored nor a given in human nature, it is rather “something that we ourselves create”⁹⁰, something that is constructed as a result of the relation between power and knowledge:

Sexuality must not be thought of as a kind of natural given which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain which knowledge tries gradually to uncover. It is the name that can be given to a historical construct: not a furtive reality that is difficult to grasp, but a great surface network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation of special knowledges, the strengthening of controls and resistances, are linked to one another, in accordance with a few major strategies of knowledge and power.⁹¹

Sexuality in the West as a historical construct is not related to finding pleasure unlike “ars erotica”, which is the approach towards sex of eastern and antic civilisations regarding it as an experience of pleasure. Instead, it is related to health and hygiene leading to self-surveillance of individuals as a result of norms. Furthermore, individuals are made to confess issues about their sexuality not to priests anymore but to doctors or psychologists to find out if there is something abnormal about the truth of their sexuality because sexuality becomes a main target of biopower in setting norms and producing medical or psychological discourses.

Being at the meeting point of two levels of biopower, sexuality is linked to the discipline of the body and the regulation of the population. Since sexuality is totally a bodily construct, it becomes a tool for disciplining the body, maximising its forces, optimising its capabilities and increasing its efficiency and docility. On the other hand, sexuality stands out at the centre of reproductive activities and thus becomes an element in regulating biological processes of the population. Foucault exemplifies sexuality’s

⁹⁰ Michel Foucault, “Sex, Power, and the Politics of Identity”, Paul Rabinow (Ed.), *Ethics, Subjectivity and Truth: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 1*, The New Press, New York 1997, 163.

⁹¹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 105-106.

functioning in both disciplines and biopolitics with perverted sexuality.⁹² A sexually perverted individual, for instance, a child who masturbates too much or a homosexual, means an undisciplined body that does not conform to norms, a deviant who needs to be normalised. This individual also affects the population as she/he is assumed to have biologically inferior heredity. Her/his descendants will have the possibility of having similar perversity leading to the influence over generations, which will eventually cause a sexual degeneracy within the population. Besides, the sexuality of the individual directly affects the population as it consists of different individual bodies.

1.2.2. Biopolitics

Though it is assumed that Foucault is the one who invented the term “biopolitics”, he was not the first to use the term, he actually developed it. It was Rudolf Kjellén, a Swedish political scientist who used “geopolitics” for the first time, and coined the term biopolitics.⁹³ Having developed the term in his book *Staten som livsform* (The State as a Living Form) of 1916, Kjellén had an organicist theory of the state. According to the organicist approach, state does not emerge as a legal structure shaped through a social contract by citizens. The state is, instead, a living organism like a human being, “which precedes individuals and collectives and provides the institutional foundation for their activities.”⁹⁴ The organicist theory and biopolitics were later adopted by the Nazis during the 1920s and 1930s. They believed that social and political problems could result from biological facts, and justified the racial discrimination as a result of the hierarchy of races according to their biological purity. The aim of biopolitics for the Nazis was to preserve the biological and racial homogeneity and purity of the German people by eliminating the factors threatening the health of “the body of German people”. In addition to the Nazis, biopolitics continued to be deployed by various theorists, politicians and sociologists for supporting their own ideas. However, perhaps none of these deployments has become as influential as Foucauldian biopower and biopolitics.

⁹² Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004, 252.

⁹³ Roberto Esposito, *Bíos: Biopolitics and Philosophy*, Timothy Campbell (Trans.), University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 2008, 16.

⁹⁴ Thomas Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*, Eric Frederick Trump (Trans.), New York University Press, New York 2011, 10.

Before developing his ideas on power over life especially in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* and in *Society Must Be Defended*, Foucault mentioned biopolitics for the first time in a lecture he delivered in 1974, which was later published as “The Birth of Social Medicine”. While discussing the history and development of medicine Foucault remarks that modern medicine becomes a social medicine dealing with the social body. He further argues that modern medicine emerges as a result of capitalism which focuses on the body: “it was biopolitics, the biological, the somatic, the corporal, that mattered more than anything else. The body is a biopolitical reality; medicine is a biopolitical strategy.”⁹⁵ It is obvious that his conceptualisation of biopolitics is not completely settled yet, considering that he does not speak of the term again in this lecture and he does not even mention biopower. As it is stated before, biopolitics together with anatomo-politics is one of the two levels on which biopower operates, focusing on the population rather than the individual body. Biopolitics does not focus on disciplining the bodies and keeping individuals under surveillance. It is responsible for controlling knowledge related to life processes and taking regulatory measures as a consequence of this knowledge. Foucault points out that although disciplines and biopolitics are directly linked to each other, biopolitics is pretty different from disciplines operating on a different scale and using different techniques. However, he also does not hesitate to emphasise that biopolitics does not do away with or exclude discipline, but integrate and modify it. While disciplinary power is applied to “man-as-body”, biopolitics is directed at “man-as-species”. What is significant for biopolitics is not the body of individuals but the body of population. Therefore, rather than being individualising, biopolitics is “massifying” in that it deals with the multiplicity, the collective, population and race.

Foucault claims that one of the main discoveries of the eighteenth century concerning power is population. Population for Foucault means not a mass of people composed of legal entities

but living beings, traversed, commanded, ruled by processes and biological laws. A population has a birth rate, a rate of mortality, a population has an age curve, a generation

⁹⁵ Michel Foucault, “The Birth of Social Medicine”, James D. Faubion (Ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 3*, Penguin Books, London 2002, 137.

pyramid, a life-expectancy, a state of health, a population can perish or, on the contrary, grow.⁹⁶

It is clear that population is vital for its biological side and it is approached as a living organism having its own biological features and processes. Like a human being, a population could keep existing or suffer and come to an end. The significance of population appears as a result of the demographic increase in Europe with the effects of the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Drastically growing population has led to the development of science of demography, which, together with biology, has made the regulation of the population possible. Modern states have realised that a large and efficient population strengthens the state, which stresses the importance of the health of population. This has caused population to be considered both a biological and political problem making it a concern of both science and power. Since a healthy population is closely connected to the rates about biological processes such as birth and death, biopolitics primarily involves knowledge on birth rate, mortality, morbidity, life expectancy, longevity, reproduction, fertility, etc. Knowledge concerning these rates within a population is enabled through statistics, which etymologically means “knowledge of state”. Statistics in the eighteenth century roughly involves data collected by the state, for example data of population. It both helps the establishment of norms and gives the state a vision for the control over the population. The statistics of crime rates, for instance, could play a role in crime prevention by categorising different elements such as types of crime, age or sex of the criminal, just as the statistics of life expectancy and longevity could improve the health and lives of people.

Similarly, it is possible to see the appearance of natalist policies, concerns with birth control and other phenomena related to reproduction and birth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this sense, sex and sexuality become quite notable for biopolitics as they have a crucial part in reproduction. If one reason behind the intervention in the sexual activities is to discipline the body, the other reason is the importance of the reproduction process of the population. Eighteenth century saw the emergence of norms about healthy sexual life, healthy reproduction or birth control

⁹⁶ Michel Foucault, “The Meshes of Power”, Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Eds.), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, Ashgate Publishing, Farnham 2007, 161.

practices as well as discourses on these issues like pamphlets or books. In addition to reproduction, biopolitics involves issues relating to morbidity, which deals not only with the epidemics but also with what Foucault calls “endemics”. Endemics come to mean the permanent factors that cause the common illnesses in a population and factors such as the duration, extension, nature or intensity of these illnesses. Foucault infers that unlike epidemics, endemics do not cause frequent and mass deaths. They rather weaken the population by wasting energy and shortening working hours of people and costing money. They are shortly random and ordinary illnesses and the permanent factors that cause those illnesses. Endemics have begun to become significant since the end of the eighteenth century both because they have caused a decrease in production and a loss in economy and they have negatively affected the health of the population. These all have given way to the growth of interest in hygiene resulting in the development of public hygiene and medicalisation of the population. So, modern medicine is essential not only at the level of disciplinary power but also for biopolitics being a major tool for the regularisation of the population.

Foucault explains that it is necessary to note the relations between human species and their environment which they live in with respect to the issue of public hygiene. This includes both elements of natural environment such as geography or climate and “the problem of the environment to the extent that it is not a natural environment, that it has been created by the population and therefore has effects on that population.”⁹⁷ The latter signifies the matters of hygiene and illness stemming from urbanisation in the eighteenth century while natural environment, swamps or polluted water resources for example, could result in epidemics. Consequently, biopolitics concerns itself with the control of and regulations on environment, intervening in environmental issues and urban planning introduced by modern states. Together with the environmental effects, modern states must also take accidental factors into consideration when they provide hygiene, health and safety of the population. Correspondingly, biopolitics involves problems with various accidents and infirmities which harm, like endemics, the production and economy incapacitating the population. It deals with these issues not through, for instance, random charities controlled by the

⁹⁷ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004, 245.

church but through the introduction of more economical and rational techniques including insurance systems, savings and safety measures.

All these issues – endemics, environmental problems, accidental factors and others – are crucial for biopolitical operation since they could affect the rates of biological processes of the population in a negative way. Biopolitics aims “to establish an equilibrium, maintain an average, establish a sort of homeostasis, and compensate for variations”⁹⁸ within population increasing life expectancy, decreasing mortality rate, lowering morbidity rate and raising birth rate. It benefits from statistical data, ratios, estimates, forecasts and safety measures in order to achieve a balance and make everything “normal”, “average” and “regular”. Foucault claims that biopolitics, therefore, ensures the control over the population by maintaining an equilibrium and regularity through security measures, not by disciplining the bodies of individuals. He repeatedly differentiates the two poles of biopower, namely, anatomo-politics and biopolitics, and respectively calls them series of “the body-organism-discipline-institutions” and series of “the population-biological processes-regulatory mechanisms-State.”⁹⁹ Though they do not operate at the same level of biopower, and they use different techniques and mechanisms, both disciplinary power and biopolitics rely on norms. They both target life and health, make people live and strive to maximise the forces of the bodies and the population. In such a system based on biopower, whose main goal is to improve life, death becomes the limit or, more assertively, the end of power as it is the end of life. In the process of transition from sovereignty to biopower, power does not recognise death any more. Death becomes less visible and more private, and it stays out of the power relationships.

Nevertheless, it does not mean that death does not have a place within biopower at all, or it does not function in a modern state centred on biopower because Foucault questions the place of death in biopower asking

How can a power such as this kill, if it is true that its basic function is to improve life, to prolong its duration, to improve its chances, to avoid accidents, and to compensate for failings? How, under these conditions, is it possible for a political power to kill, to call for

⁹⁸ Foucault, 246.

⁹⁹ Foucault, 250.

deaths, to demand deaths, to give the order to kill, and to expose not only its enemies but its own citizens to the risk of death?¹⁰⁰

Foucault tries to examine how death can function and the ancient right to kill can be exercised in biopower, which is actually the right to make live and let die. If biopower is no longer the right to take lives as in sovereignty, will killing not be possible? If biopower ensures health and safety of the population, will nobody be killed? If biopower ignores and denounces death, will it not ever turn back to death? The answer which Foucault proposes for these questions is racism, which he relates to biopolitics and eventually biopower.

Positing racism as a crucial precondition that justifies the right to kill within biopower and that enables functioning of the modern state, Foucault regards racism as “the appearance within the biological continuum of the human race of races, the distinction among races, the hierarchy of races”.¹⁰¹ Despite this vital relation with biopower, Foucault naturally states that racism actually did not appear with the emergence of biopower. However, he distinguishes “modern, ‘biologizing’, statist form”¹⁰² of racism relating to biopower from the general and broad perception of the term, which most likely appeared long before the emergence of biopower. The difference between the two is that modern racism fragments races biologically, and marks certain races as biologically superior or good and others as inferior or vile. Foucault acknowledges that this fragmentation of the biological continuum and separation out of races is one of the two functions of racism, while the other function is the establishment of a relation between the death of certain races and the life of others. In other words, biological superiority of certain races and inferiority of others means that one race must die in order for another to live and develop. Foucault admits that this type of relation is the relationship of war, which refers to the death of one for the survival of other. But, Foucault notes, modern racism makes this relationship function in such a new and different way that it is not a military or warlike relation any longer. It becomes some kind of biological relation which means that the superior race will be stronger, purer and healthier when the inferior races are eliminated.

¹⁰⁰ Foucault, 254.

¹⁰¹ Foucault, 254-255.

¹⁰² Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998, 149.

The target of the modern state's right to kill is not political enemies but internal or external biological threats to the population. If the elimination of a threat to the population or race, not the victory over a political enemy, is in question, then killing becomes acceptable and legitimised. That is why racism becomes the precondition of death and killing within biopower. Thus, if a state that exercises biopower wants to practice the right to kill and justify its murderous actions, "it must become racist."¹⁰³ Consequently, Foucault believes that states that commit the most murderous actions are also the most racist ones or vice versa. By the way, Foucault feels it necessary to note that by killing he does not mean only murdering someone directly. For Foucault, this killing also involves increasing the risk of death for someone, or exposing someone to death or political actions such as expulsion or rejection. Whether it takes the form of mere murder or more indirect ways, killing becomes acceptable and justified within biopower only when there is a biological threat to the population or race. One race will survive and become stronger and purer as long as it kills or eliminates inferior races and biological threats. Nevertheless, if killing other inferior races is only one of the ways for a race to make itself purer and stronger, another way is to make its own people die, especially in wars. Foucault claims that "as more and more of our number die, the race to which we belong will become all the purer"¹⁰⁴ and stronger. With biopower, therefore, wars have two functions relating to racism: regeneration of one's own race by killing one's own population and elimination of biological threats by killing them.

This perception of racism by Foucault is likely to be related to the concept of eugenics, which probably peaked in the Nazi regime in Germany. Eugenics is roughly the belief or study that aims to improve the quality of genes of human race or a population through various ways. Influenced by Darwin's theories of natural selection and evolution, eugenics evaluates human beings as subjected to evolution and aims at directing this process by choosing who should or should not reproduce. Improving the genetic quality of a population could involve positive regulations like encouraging genetically superior human beings to marry and reproduce, and negative regulations like prohibition of marriage and reproduction or sterilization of those who are considered

¹⁰³ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004, 256.

¹⁰⁴ Foucault, 257.

genetically and socially inferior including the disabled, the insane, the diseased, the criminal, the alcoholic, the unemployed, vagabonds, minorities and immigrants. Eliminating those elements within the genes and heredity of a race or population means eliminating biological threats, which helps that race or population to be stronger and purer protecting it from degeneration.

Foucault puts forward Nazi Germany as a typical example of disciplinary techniques and biopolitical regulations especially in terms of issues concerning racism and eugenics. Believing the German people to be genetically superior, the Nazis tried to preserve this superiority and purity both by getting rid of other inferior races, especially Jews, which would be a threat to the purity of the Aryan race, and by eliminating inferior groups such as communists, homosexuals and the disabled within the population that degenerate the German people. Accordingly, many regulations were made in terms of purity and health of the population and disciplinary measures were taken for the control of the bodies and eventually of the population.¹⁰⁵ For instance, giving great significance to the health of the German population, the Nazis cared about the statistical information of rates relating to biological processes, especially birth rate so that they took a number of measures for increasing the birth rate of the German population. While abortion of Jewish women became legalised, existing laws on banning abortion of German women were tightened up and enforced. Additionally, German women who gave birth to four or more children were awarded bronze, silver and gold Mother's Honour Crosses.

On the other hand, the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 took from Jews, Gypsies and others, who do not have German blood, their citizenship rights, and prohibited marriage and sexual affair between Germans and others. However, eliminating these inferior races was not sufficient for purifying the German population. Such measures were taken against those people within the population deemed unworthy of reproducing as the Law of 1933 for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring, which legalised the compulsory sterilisation of many people suffering from, for example, feeble-mindedness, hereditary blindness or deafness and severe physical deformity. In this sense, Foucault remarks that the objective of the Nazi regime was not only the

¹⁰⁵ For these measures and regulations see: Richard J. Evans, "Towards the Racial Utopia", *The Third Reich in Power*, Penguin Books, New York 2005.

destruction of other races; it was also exposing “its own race to the absolute and universal threat of death.”¹⁰⁶ In addition to destroying other inferior races, it was necessary for the Nazis, Foucault asserts, to expose the whole population to the risk of death for the purification and regeneration of the German people.

Together with these types of biological regulations, in addition to the disciplinary techniques, biopower, overall, aims to control “life” itself, to support it, to foster it, and to maximise its forces. Despite Foucault’s imprecise use of the terms concerning power over life, analysis of biopower includes “more or less rationalized attempts to intervene upon the vital characteristics of human existence”¹⁰⁷ both at the level of the individuals and at the level of the whole population comprised of those individuals. Unlike the sovereign power based on the sovereign’s right to kill, biopower operates and controls the individuals and the population by improving life and making people live. The control of the individuals and their bodies means the discipline of the bodies by shaping, transforming and educating them in accordance with norms that are imposed on the individuals. The norm refers to “a statistically determined standard of behavior administratively required by disciplinary institutions”¹⁰⁸ like prisons and schools, where disciplinary power seems to emerge. But, both discipline and norms gradually spread over the rest of the society to the extent that modern societies become normalising societies where every single individual is required to conform to the norms concerning every detail about the human life from health, to relationships. For instance, perceptions of sex and sexuality are also “products of normalizing power and may not even exist in regions of the world not organized by normalizing power networks.”¹⁰⁹ Norms also function at the level of the population and regulate it according to statistics and rates of its biological processes such as reproduction. These processes have a crucial place in the operation of biopolitics as balancing them helps to improve the population. Improvement of the population also refers to the elimination of factors that risk and threaten the population. Thus, biopolitics concerns itself eliminating the

¹⁰⁶ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004, 259.

¹⁰⁷ Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, “Biopower Today”, *Biosocieties*, 1 (2), 2006, 196-197.

¹⁰⁸ Jon Simons, “Power, Resistance, and Freedom”, Christopher Falzon, Timothy O’Leary and Jana Sawicki (Eds.), *A Companion to Foucault*, Blackwell Publishing, Chichester 2013, 305.

¹⁰⁹ Ladelle McWhorter, “Sex, Race, and Biopower: A Foucauldian Genealogy”, *Hypatia*, 19 (3), 2004, 45.

inferior groups or races biologically threatening a race or population, which Foucault calls biological racism. This type of racism enables biopower to perform and justifies the right to kill, which actually becomes a limit with the exercise of biopower. It is not surprising that many modern states, which focus on life and control the individuals and populations through discipline and biopolitics, continue to kill certain people and subject them to death.



CHAPTER TWO

POST-APOCALYPTIC FICTION

Post-apocalyptic fiction basically deals with life after the apocalypse, which indicates the end of the world as we know it caused by a global or large-scale catastrophe. Post-apocalyptic novels are generally grouped together with apocalyptic ones, which focus on the apocalypse itself rather than its aftermath. Though they appear to be similar, they are indeed not the same, and the choice between depicting the apocalypse and the events resulting in it, and portraying the world after the apocalypse may imply significant changes. However, a clear-cut distinction between these two types is neither easy nor reasonable because there are novels that narrate the apocalypse, its background and aftermath, which makes them be regarded as both apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic.

Most post-apocalyptic novels contain elements of other genres, and they are dystopian rather than depicting a utopian perfect world after the catastrophe. Dystopias portray societies that have a seemingly perfect order yet are shaped by an imperfect and, predominantly, totalitarian rule. In this respect, post-apocalyptic novels as “social fiction”¹¹⁰ overlap with dystopian worlds in order to make criticisms and give warnings about the current issues in society, economy, politics and culture. The idea of starting over fails as the dream of founding the utopia turns out to be replaced by the emergence of the dystopia to show how ill acts of human beings do not only cause the end of the world but also damage the life after the apocalypse.

The use of dystopia in post-apocalyptic fiction does not mean that all post-apocalyptic novels are dystopian or vice versa. The writers can choose to use post-apocalyptic and dystopian genre at the same time; however, there are dystopias which do not deal with the aftermath of an apocalypse and post-apocalyptic novels which are not set in a dystopian world. Despite their differences, it is not proper to consider them two completely distinct genres that cannot exist together as they have many common features. In this sense, on the one hand, some critics like Hicks claim

¹¹⁰ Christian Hoffstadt and Dominik Schrey, “Aftermaths: Post-Apocalyptic Imagery”, Tobias Hochscherf and James Leggott (Eds.), *British Science Fiction Film and Television: Critical Essays*, McFarland & Company, Jefferson 2011, 29.

In some respects, dystopian content is symptomatic of the distinction between the Christian apocalyptic tradition, which culminates in the utopian New Jerusalem, and the secular post-apocalyptic genre, which, without fail, imagines the destruction of modernity as leading to a state of at least provisional suffering and oppression.¹¹¹

On the other hand, some assume that a truly apocalyptic text always has a revelatory and utopian nature and heralds a New Jerusalem, as with the religious apocalypses.¹¹² Despite this, it seems to be clear that contemporary post-apocalyptic dystopian genre is massively popular among people as they dominate literature, TV (*The Walking Dead*), cinema (*The Terminator*) and video games (*Resident Evil*). Apart from dystopia, post-apocalyptic fiction is also associated with another genre: science fiction. Apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic novels are usually regarded as a sub-genre of science fiction since novels of this type predominantly use science fiction elements. Writers who are associated with science fiction genre, from Mary Shelley to J. G. Ballard, have also played a significant role in the development of post-apocalyptic fiction. Many apocalypses stem from scientific and technological studies, especially in contemporary post-apocalyptic novels, but it would be better to keep in mind that there are also novels that do not use features peculiar to science fiction. Besides, it is not a good idea to make clear-cut distinctions in relation to the genres as a literary work may be put under various genres. Similarly, post-apocalyptic novels, as Curtis states, reside at a “crossroads between science fiction, horror and utopia/dystopia”¹¹³, for example. This means that a post-apocalyptic novel can also involve features of these genres as well as others, for instance, the famous trilogy *The Hunger Games*, which became bestsellers and were adapted into expensive movies, is labelled as dystopia, science fiction, and young adult fiction besides being post-apocalyptic.

Apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic novels are highly admired by readers, being written by both genre fiction and literary fiction writers, from Margaret Atwood’s *MaddAddam* series to *The Hunger Games*. Actually the interest in and popularity of the apocalypse and post-apocalypse is not limited to literature; it also finds its way into

¹¹¹ Heather J. Hicks, *The Post-Apocalyptic Novel in the Twenty-First Century: Modernity beyond Salvage*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2016, 7.

¹¹² Teresa Heffernan, *Post-Apocalyptic Culture: Modernism, Postmodernism, and the Twentieth-Century Novel*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2008, 6.

¹¹³ Claire P. Curtis, *Postapocalyptic Fiction and the Social Contract: “We’ll Not Go Home Again”*, Lexington Books, Plymouth 2010, 7.

various fields of culture and media including myths, tales, movies and video games. This is partly because human beings are obsessed with the end of the world, being affected by religious narratives that tell the world will ultimately come to an end, whether it is the Mayan belief that the world would end in the year of 2012, which marks the end of their well-known calendar, or it is the Book of Revelation, which is the last part of the New Testament.

2.1. APOCALYPSE AND POST-APOCALYPSE

Those mythological and religious narratives related to the end of the world shape and feed apocalyptic imagination of people, leading them to speculate about how the world will end. Accordingly, the perception of the concept “apocalypse” has varied through time since the beginning of humanity. Although apocalypse has come to mean in modern period a cataclysmic event that could end the world as we know it, and has pessimistic vibes, the origin of the word “apocalypse” is the ancient Greek word “apokalyptein” meaning “to uncover” and “reveal” and implying “an unveiling either of future events or of the unseen realms of heaven and hell”¹¹⁴. It originally comes from the Book of Revelation, which was written in a type of dialect of Greek, and has also been called Revelation to John, the Apocalypse and the Apocalypse of John. In this book, the prophet John foretells, with the help of his visions, the coming final battle between God and the devil, which will result in the victory of God. While the world and sinful people will be destroyed during this battle, the ones who have been faithful to God will be rewarded and drawn to him. Like the Book of Revelation, Jewish and Christian texts dealing with the prophecies and revelations concerning the imminent end of the world are called the apocalyptic literature. Some significant apocalypses include the Book of Daniel, the Book of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Ezra and the Apocalypse of Abraham. Generally in these works, a messenger visits a prophet and reveals to him the events that will result in the destruction of the world and the sinful, the salvation of the faithful and founding of a new world. These religious texts made way for the fictional works depicting the end of the world whether they are religious or secular. However, the utopian and optimistic mood in the apocalyptic literature has altered as the meaning of apocalypse has changed.

¹¹⁴ Maria Manuel Lisboa, *The End of the World: Apocalypse and its Aftermath in Western Culture*, Open Book Publishers, Cambridge 2011, 15.

Consequently, the apocalypse within Jewish and Christian context refers to the revelation from God that this world will end, and a New Jerusalem will be founded. Unlike its popular meaning, the word “apocalypse” focuses on not “the catastrophic end of the material world, but rather the revelation of a utopian new world, the New Jerusalem, the divine kingdom which awaits the faithful at the end of history.”¹¹⁵ This religious apocalyptic perception promises the emergence of a new world despite the destruction of existing one, whereas the modern and popular perception usually has nothing to do with the beginning of a New Jerusalem. So, it is possible to conclude that apocalypse has a popular meaning on the one hand, and a technical meaning on the other hand. Technically apocalypse is the revelation and prophecy related to the end of the world within a religious context, and popularly it is the catastrophe that causes the end of the world, as Claire B. Curtis states.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is not appropriate to limit the apocalypse to these two meanings because it can be interpreted differently by other critics and theorists. For instance, James Berger puts forward three meanings for apocalypse, two of which are similar to the ones Curtis proposes. He means by apocalypse, firstly, the imminent end of the world as within the Jewish and Christian context, and, secondly, catastrophes that resemble the first one. Besides, he adds that these catastrophes have such an impact that they make a difference between the periods before and after them:

All preceding history seems to lead up to and set the stage for such events, and all that follows emerges out of that central cataclysm. Previous historical narratives are shattered; new understandings of the world are generated. Apocalypse, thus, finally, has an interpretive, explanatory function, which is, of course, its etymological sense: as revelation, unveiling, uncovering.¹¹⁷

The Holocaust and the use of atomic bombs against Japan, for Berger, are the examples of such catastrophes possessing an apocalyptic impact. Berger thereby suggests that we are living in a post-apocalyptic world. Frank Kermode similarly expresses that we remain in the middle of past apocalyptic events and imagined apocalypses in the

¹¹⁵ Diletta De Cristofaro, “Critical Temporalities: *Station Eleven* and the Contemporary Post-Apocalyptic Novel”, *Open Library of Humanities*, 4(2): 37, 2018, 3.

¹¹⁶ Claire P. Curtis, *Postapocalyptic Fiction and the Social Contract: “We’ll Not Go Home Again”*, Lexington Books, Plymouth 2010, 5

¹¹⁷ James Berger, *After the End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1999, 5.

future.¹¹⁸ So, this implies that a catastrophe like the Holocaust is also apocalyptic although the whole world is not destroyed and all people are not killed.

The World Wars, the Holocaust, atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Cold War all have their effects on how apocalypse is regarded as well as the political, cultural and social changes they have caused. Thinkers and writers have begun to contemplate that the end of the world has already come with all these catastrophic events. Influenced by the dramatic consequences of these events, they have also thought that the apocalypse does not have a revelatory function that uncovers the meaning behind the events leading up to it. Teresa Heffernan claims in her *Post-Apocalyptic Culture* that many modernists and postmodernists have also felt that the end of the world does not promise any revelation and meaning, and does not present a new world or beginning. Heffernan explains that the apocalypse ceases to “offer up a new beginning or any hope of rebirth or renewal; the end is instead senseless and arbitrary” since the world seems to be “exhausted” and “there is no better world that replaces it”¹¹⁹, which means there is no revelation as well. Disappointment, disillusionment and disgust as a consequence of the apocalyptic events in the twentieth century are noticeable not only in the literary works of many modernist and postmodernist authors but also fictional works about the end of the world. Most of the works fictionalising the apocalypse, usually science fiction novels, do not probably offer a better world after the end unlike Jewish and Christian apocalypses. Unlike the idea of utopian New Jerusalem, what most of the twentieth-century post-apocalyptic fiction offers is generally either a chaotic wasteland or an organised dystopia or a mixture of both.

It is interesting to note, at this point, that most apocalyptic narratives do not end with the end of the world, whether they are religious apocalypses or popular science fiction novels. This is the paradox that these apocalyptic narratives share, as Berger figures out:

The end is never the end. The apocalyptic text announces and describes the end of the world, but then the text does not end, nor does the world represented in the text, and

¹¹⁸ Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction*, Oxford University Press, New York 2000, 8.

¹¹⁹ Teresa Heffernan, *Post-Apocalyptic Culture: Modernism, Postmodernism, and the Twentieth-Century Novel*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2008, 5.

neither does the world itself. In nearly every apocalyptic presentation, something remains *after the end*. In the New Testament Revelation, the new heaven and earth and New Jerusalem descend. In modern science fiction accounts, a world as urban dystopia or desert wasteland survives.¹²⁰

The fact that the apocalyptic narratives depict not only the apocalypse but also the post-apocalypse seems to be very common though paradoxical. The reason why authors choose to write about the post-apocalypse can perhaps be explained with the sense of wonder of human beings. Since people cannot thoroughly imagine the end of the world, thus, the end of humanity, they are inclined to imagine also what happens after the end. Sometimes, the post-apocalypse becomes so significant that “details of the apocalypse itself recede in importance as we wonder ‘what next?’ because that is the question that holds our deepest hopes and most existential fears.”¹²¹ It can be stated that depicting how the world ends and all people die is not sufficient and satisfying while describing how some part of the world stands and some people survive sounds more appealing for readers.

2.2. POST-APOCALYPTIC NOVELS

Apart from other dramatic consequences, First and Second World Wars caused a drastic number of people to be killed, which stirred up the fear of the destruction of the world and extinction of humanity. Accordingly, apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic novels as a genre have been in demand since the World War II though first examples of this genre were written long before the World Wars. Influenced by Jewish and Christian apocalypses, numerous religious and secular narratives about the end of the world have always been told and written since earlier times. However, it was not until the Romantic period in English literature that the apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic genre emerged in its modern sense. *The Last Man* (1826) by Mary Shelley may be considered the first post-apocalyptic novel of the literature in English, which focuses on “the last man” figure after the end of the world. In the Romantic period, the last man was, indeed, a popular subject, which various writers and poets dealt with including Lord Byron, also a

¹²⁰ James Berger, *After the End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1999, 5-6.

¹²¹ Barbara Gurr, “Introduction: After the World Ends, Again”, Barbara Gurr (Ed.), *Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Post-Apocalyptic TV and Film*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2015, 1.

friend of Shelley, with his “Darkness”, a poem about the last man in the world. Shelley’s *The Last Man* tells the story of a man and his friends after a plague ravages the world killing all people and eventually “the last man”. What makes this novel important is not only that it is one of the first examples of science fiction along with *Frankenstein* (1818), but also that it is a break with the traditional religious apocalypses as the novel ends with no survivors signifying no appearance of a new world.

Another early example of post-apocalyptic fiction is *After London* (1885) by Richard Jefferies, which is set in England wiped out by a catastrophe whose reason is never explained throughout the novel. While nature takes over man and technology, the survivors have to return to a primitive way of life. Following these works, the first decades of the twentieth century witnessed the increase in the number of post-apocalyptic novels such as M. P. Shiel’s *The Purple Cloud* (1901) and William Hope Hodgson’s *The Night Land* (1912). They are significant and interesting in that they represent the increasing apocalyptic imagination of the novelists with various kinds of apocalypse. While Shiel imagines a mysterious purple cloud that causes humans and animals to die except one man, and later a woman, Hodgson prefers to tell a world of very distant future where people try to survive after the sun has burned out. In addition, 1920s and 1930s saw that the apocalyptic imagination was fed and the post-apocalyptic novels were influenced by the devastating results of the World War I. *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933) by H. G. Wells, one of his science fiction novels, envisages a future life in Europe devastated by a major war, just as the World War I devastated the lives of people especially in Europe.

Following the World War II and its atrocities, post-apocalyptic fiction boomed and became widely-read especially in the 1950s and 1960s in Britain and America. The post-war novel *Earth Abides* (1949) by George R. Stewart describes the lives and struggles of the survivors of a deadly disease. Richard Matheson’s *I Am Legend* (1954) also imagines the end of the world due to a disease; however, this time it is a pandemic which turns human beings into blood-sucking vampires. The use of virus as a way of apocalypse is also used by John Christopher in his 1956 novel *The Death of Grass*, about devastating chaos and famines resulting from a virus that causes the death of all types of grass. While the reason for the apocalypse in these novels is some kind of

disease, pandemic or virus, in *The Day of the Triffids* (1951) by John Wyndham people get first blinded by a meteor shower and then killed by a type of plant. Despite the post-apocalyptic content of this novel, it was labelled as “cosy catastrophe” by Brian Aldiss. It means that far from the struggles and responsibilities of modern life destroyed by the catastrophe, a couple of characters, generally the main ones, stay less affected and respectively enjoy their lives while everybody else perishes and dies, as if they feel a sense of “gleeful relief at the collapse of modernity.”¹²² Unlike the cosy catastrophes, numerous nuclear post-apocalyptic novels were published in the 1950s as a result of the use of nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the beginning of the Cold War. Wyndham’s *The Chrysalids* (1955), Nevil Shute’s *On the Beach* (1957), Pat Frank’s *Alas, Babylon* (1959) and Walter M. Miller Jr.’s *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (1959) are just a couple of novels dealing with a nuclear apocalypse.

In addition to nuclear disasters, it is also possible to observe ecological issues in post-apocalyptic novels of the 1960s with the increase in environmental awareness in this period. In *Hothouse* (1962) by Brian Aldiss, the earth’s rotation with the sun is locked so that only one side of it constantly faces the sun, which causes evolving types of plants to grow taking over humanity and exposing them to the risk of extinction. On the other hand, another 1962 novel, *The Wanting Seed* by Anthony Burgess is about a world destroyed by overpopulation that leads to the lack of resources, increasing sterilisation and oppression by homosexuals. J. G. Ballard wrote four post-apocalyptic novels in this decade, each dealing with a different type of ecological disaster: *The Wind from Nowhere* (1961), *The Drowned World* (1962), *The Burning World* (1964) and *The Crystal World* (1966). These novels show the increased interest in the climate change resulting from negative effects of pollution and global warming.

In the 1970s, post-apocalyptic novels continued to revolve around the nuclear and ecological disasters and pandemics. Stephen King’s 1978 novel *The Stand* depicts how almost all human beings are killed by a flu pandemic which has been actually planned as a biological weapon and released accidentally. Though the genre stagnated in the 1980s and 1990s, this period saw also the publication of numerous post-apocalyptic novels, witnessing the genre to become hybridised with other genres such as

¹²² Heather J. Hicks, *The Post-Apocalyptic Novel in the Twenty-First Century: Modernity beyond Salvage*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2016, 4.

zombie fiction. In the twenty-first century the post-apocalyptic genre has again proliferated and become a favourite one due to the anxieties triggered by the beginning of a new millennium, technological advancements like artificial intelligence engineering, 9/11 attacks in the United States, ever-increasing environmental problems and consequent natural disasters like fires, floods, earthquakes and tsunamis, pandemics such as avian and swine flu and viruses such as HIV and SARS. *The Road* (2006) by Cormac McCarthy is perhaps one of the most-loved post-apocalyptic novels, and it tells the survival story of a father and his son after a catastrophe that is never explained. Atwood's popular trilogy consisting of *Oryx and Crake* (2003), *The Year of the Flood* (2009) and *MaddAddam* (2013) dealing with the events before and after the apocalypse caused by a pandemic also is a favourite among readers. Among numerous post-apocalyptic novels written in the twenty-first century, perhaps the most popular ones are those which revolve around zombie apocalypse. Both *The Passage* (2010) by Justin Cronin and *The Girl with All the Gifts* (2014) by M. R. Carey are set in a world after the spread of an infection that turns the infected humans into flesh-eating zombies. The twenty-first century sounds to be the golden age of apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic fiction with aforementioned developments that happened in this century.

It would not be wrong to state that post-apocalyptic fiction is affected by the historical and social events of the period they are written in. Thus, for instance, the reason why post-apocalyptic novels in the 1950s and 1960s are predominantly about nuclear catastrophes is because of the influence of bombings of Japan and the fear of a possible nuclear war stirred by the Cold War. Berger suggests that "either explicitly or obliquely, the apocalypses of post-apocalyptic representations are historical events"¹²³; therefore, these novels reflect the actual catastrophes in history, which makes them a reflection of the present rather than a prediction of the future. This enables the writers to comment on and criticise the social, political and economic conditions making post-apocalyptic novels a form of critique of any malfunction within society or vices and follies of human beings, and "a means of denouncing social and economic injustice"¹²⁴. Many writers prefer to set their novels in a world after an apocalypse resulting from

¹²³ James Berger, *After the End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1999, 19.

¹²⁴ Heather J. Hicks, *The Post-Apocalyptic Novel in the Twenty-First Century: Modernity beyond Salvage*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2016, 14.

faults and weaknesses of humans such as greed, hubris, extreme curiosity or apathy. Sometimes a man-made lethal virus is released by accident and kills almost all people, at other times an environmental disaster occurs due to pollution or other types of harms done to the environment, or a nuclear disaster induced by developments in nuclear weaponry. Through representing either a nuclear disaster or an environmental one or others, the apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic fiction seems to have a didactic function of warning human beings not to make certain mistakes that could lead to their doom, by raising an awareness of the current issues.

Being didactic and critical, post-apocalyptic fiction addresses the great fears of human beings that include fear of death, extinction, diseases, science, technology, environment, aliens or zombies. In this type of novels, fears are transformed into disasters that bring the end of the world as we know it and offer the chance of forming a new one and starting over. It creates a sense of catharsis by which the readers see the transformation of their fears into an apocalypse, which terminates the world or society with problems and enables human beings to have a second chance and fix their mistakes. Curtis asserts that “the catharsis of seeing total destruction either relieves that fear or awakens a need to act to prevent it”¹²⁵, both of which give apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic novels a positive aspect. Accordingly, these novels reflect people’s desire for the end of a troubled world and starting over again as they are tired of experiencing various problems in the world. People feel that this world should come to an end as

the world is poised to end and so suffused with moral rottenness and technological, political, and economic chaos and/or regimentation that it should end and must end, and it must end because in some crucial sense it *has* ended.¹²⁶

This desire for starting over is perhaps one of the reasons why this genre is widespread especially in this century, in which factors contributing to the apocalyptic imagination have been gradually increasing.

The possibility of a fresh start depends on the fact that the apocalypse in post-apocalyptic novels is the one which does not lead to the complete and absolute end of

¹²⁵ Claire P. Curtis, *Postapocalyptic Fiction and the Social Contract: “We’ll Not Go Home Again”*, Lexington Books, Plymouth 2010, 5.

¹²⁶ James Berger, *After the End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1999, 7.

the world. The post-apocalypse is the result of the apocalypse not “as the end of time or worldly reality itself, but rather as the end of an era, which is at the same time the beginning of a new one.”¹²⁷ Although the whole world is not terminated and all human beings are not extinct, the order, civilization and modernity collapse in these novels. The apocalypse, accordingly, should refer to a large-scale catastrophe having global effects and causing the destruction of, at least, a major part of the world. The collapse of the order is what enables the reestablishment of a new one in place of the old destroyed “often by humanity’s own hubris or callous disregard of itself”¹²⁸ and offers, again, the opportunity for a fresh start and a second chance for humanity. However, people cannot generally succeed in properly using this chance of starting over and founding a utopian New Jerusalem because they do not learn from their mistakes, and keep making them.

Post-apocalyptic fiction contains varying elements like totalitarian control, chaotic environment, strict order, crime and violence, embracement or denouncement of science and technology, scavenging fragments of collapsed civilization or prohibition of questioning the world before the apocalypse. In relation to the setting and characteristics of this genre, post-apocalyptic novels depicting a society where people are controlled in a strict order years after the apocalypse have been selected for this thesis. These novels – *The Chrysalids*, *The Children of Men*, *Blind Faith* and *The Last Day* – like many other post-apocalyptic novels present readers a world different from the one as we know it, where characters strive to adapt into the circumstances of this new world, and, most importantly, to survive. It is not surprising that states in these novels exercise biopower, namely the power over life in order to make their people survive, make them live. They also bear the characteristics of dystopia as it is possible to find examples of oppression, constant surveillance, and order that seems to be perfect but is not. It would not be wrong, accordingly, to assert that they have the potential for an analysis of the discipline of individuals and biopolitics of the populations in accordance with Foucault’s conceptualisation of biopower. Consequently, these post-apocalyptic novels, on the one hand, provide readers with an experience of reading, through which they

¹²⁷ Christian Hoffstadt and Dominik Schrey, “Aftermaths: Post-Apocalyptic Imagery”, Tobias Hochscherf and James Leggott (Eds.), *British Science Fiction Film and Television: Critical Essays*, McFarland & Company, Jefferson 2011, 31.

¹²⁸ Robert A. Booth, “Organisms and Human Bodies as Contagions in the Post-Apocalyptic State”, Barbara Gurr (Ed.), *Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Post-Apocalyptic TV and Film*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2015, 18.

both enjoy the destruction of a corrupt world full of problems like injustice, greed and degeneration, and are encouraged to think about the same problems through a new world, which actually reflects that old, corrupt world. On the other hand, they show what people could do for survival, what they could do to make other people live, and how power is exercised in a post-apocalyptic world.



CHAPTER THREE

BIOPOWER AFTER THE APOCALYPSE

3.1. THE NORMS AND OTHERS: JOHN WYNDHAM'S *THE CHRYSALIDS*

Foucault asserts that biopower is based on the functioning of norms that become necessary for the operation of laws within biopower. It means that judicial systems exist within biopower when laws are formed in accordance with norms. A society where laws are formed through norms, and order and control are maintained through normalisation becomes a “society of normalisation”. *The Chrysalids* published in 1955 describes such a society where norms have become the law itself. Norms have such a crucial place in this society that those who are considered to be “normal” are called the norms. The “norm” in *The Chrysalids*, which shows a world suffering from genetic mutation, is “the Image of God”¹²⁹, the true image in which human beings are believed to be created.

Even, possibly, more than two thousand years after Tribulation, a catastrophe which is not much revealed in the novel but seems to be a nuclear one, all kinds of living beings including plants, animals and humans are exposed to mutations. The only place that is known to be civilized in the world after Tribulation is called Labrador on the island of Newf, which “was thought to be the Old People’s name for it, though that was not very certain.”¹³⁰ Waknuk, where the novel is set, is a small part of Labrador and far from the government in Rigo. The society in Labrador is a primitive and agrarian one that does not have almost any record or book which involves information concerning the life of Old People before Tribulation:

There was no telling how many generations of people had passed their lives like savages between the coming of Tribulation and the start of recorded history. Only Nicholson’s *Repentances* had come out of the wilderness of barbarism [...] And only the Bible had survived from the time of the Old People themselves.¹³¹

Repentances seems to be a religious book written by Nicholson a few generations after Tribulation, which has succeeded in surviving probably because it was sealed in a

¹²⁹ John Wyndham, *The Chrysalids*, Penguin Books, London 2000, 22.

¹³⁰ Wyndham, 33.

¹³¹ Wyndham, 33.

coffer. Unaware of science and technology and led by religion, people have no idea that mutations could stem from the lingering effects of radiation emitted as a result of Tribulation. They believe that Tribulation was sent to Old People to punish them for their sins, and mutations are “Deviations” which the Devil sends “among us to weaken us and tempt us away from Purity.”¹³² In the eyes of these people, a deviation from the true image means an act of blasphemy. Therefore, in order to prevent another tribulation, they believe in the idea of being faithful to the true image by preserving normality and Purity and eliminating any deviation.

People in this disciplinary and fundamentalist society are controlled through norms in accordance with the true image that is the foundation of “Purity Laws” and standards set up by the government. Purity Laws and standards dictate the limits that determine what is regarded as a Deviation and what is not. According to these laws, Deviations are divided into two groups: mutated plants and animals are called Offences, while mutated human beings, Mutants are called Blasphemies. As well as wild animals and vegetation, Offences also involve livestock and crops which are necessary for people to survive. Offences are generally easy to recognize, especially if they are animals, since simply “they were things which did not look *right* – that is to say, did not look like their parents or parent-plants.”¹³³ They need, in any case, to be immediately annihilated as soon as they are detected, no matter how small deviation is, in order to prevent them from breeding and decrease the Deviation-rate. In case of crops, if it is a few rows of crops in a field that are wrong, they are gathered and destroyed. But, if it is more than that, and almost all the crops in the field have gone wrong, then the whole field is burnt by people singing hymns when the weather is good. On the other hand, livestock are normally slaughtered in a ceremonial way, which is called Purification, at sunrise after the occurrence of deviation:

Then, in the evening, he would call us all together, including everyone who worked on the farm. We would all kneel while he proclaimed our repentance and led prayers for forgiveness. The next morning we would all be up before daylight and gather in the yard. As the sun rose we would sing a hymn while my father ceremonially slaughtered the two-

¹³² Wyndham, 48.

¹³³ Wyndham, 15.

headed calf, four-legged chicken, or whatever other kind of Offence it happened to be. Sometimes it would be a much queerer thing than those...¹³⁴

Although many Offences are easily recognizable, there are sometimes minor differences, which are not recorded as an Offence, or disagreements on whether a difference is enough to make it an Offence or not. When there is such a disagreement, the inspector of a district, whose job is to confirm Offences, Blasphemies and norms according to the approval of the government, is called upon.

Accordingly, an animal that is regarded as an Offence may sometimes be a different and specific breed to be recognized. For instance, when Ben Dakers and his wife house a tailless cat, it is understood that the cat did not lose its tail, but never possessed it. So, the magistrate of the district Joseph Storm, who is also the father of David, the novel's protagonist, condemns the cat. However, the Dakers file for an appeal, which provokes Joseph's decision to participate in the liquidation of the cat without waiting the final verdict. The statement that informs them that there is indeed "a recognized breed of tailless cats with a well-authenticated history"¹³⁵ puts Joseph in a difficult position and makes him apologize in public rather than resigning. Joseph Storm is also involved in another incident concerning the disagreement on Offences. Angus Morton, who is the half-brother of Joseph's wife Emily, acquires a pair of great-horses that are twenty six hands at the shoulder. This leads to another argument between Joseph and Angus whose "differences of temperament and outlook had kept them intermittently at war with one another for years."¹³⁶ Joseph accuses Angus of being devoid of principles while Angus mocks Joseph for his bigotry. Believing the great-horses are "wrong", Joseph demands from the inspector the annihilation of the great-horses as Offences. Yet, as the inspector informs, they are actually approved by the government, and there is nothing that he can do. Joseph insists that God did not create such horses, and asserts that the reason why the government approves them is that they are able to do the work that two or three horses can do. Although the inspector tries to convince Joseph that they are produced, according to the official approval, by breeding horses larger in size than normal ones, Joseph accuses the government of being corrupt

¹³⁴ Wyndham, 14.

¹³⁵ Wyndham, 32.

¹³⁶ Wyndham, 30.

and immoral. When he criticises the inspector that it is his duty to take action against these Offences, the inspector replies that to protect the government-approved horses “from harm by fools and bigots”¹³⁷ is his duty. In addition to the government, Joseph blames him too, without giving his name, in the next Sunday sermon discussing about the existence of “a certain official” who becomes “an unprincipled hireling of unprincipled masters and the local representative of the Forces of Evil.”¹³⁸ The inspector, on the other hand, makes statements here and there about bigotry actions against the government.

The Storm family lives in Waknuk built by Elias Storm, David’s grandfather, who wanted to get away from “the ungodly ways of the East”¹³⁹. Joseph Storm as a magistrate and the preacher in the church built by his father is proud of himself because of the low Deviation-rate in Waknuk. As “a careful and pious man with a keen eye for an Offence”¹⁴⁰, Joseph rarely needs the help of the inspector and destroys anything suspicious, which results in more annihilation than others have. Though some people criticise him for being meticulous, Waknuk, in general, is “an orderly, law-abiding, God-respecting community”¹⁴¹, and produces more stable crops than many communities in Labrador. Outside Waknuk, there is the Wild Country where the chance of Deviation is more than fifty percent. And beyond it lay the Fringes where Deviation is out of control, the Badlands where nobody has the courage to go and those few who could go died, and the Blacklands or Black Coasts, extreme form of the Badlands. It is told that the borders between these lands are inclined to change through time, as the civilized districts keep expanding into the Wild Country. While the Wild Country becomes more and more civilized and tractable each year, the Fringes become more habitable and manageable. Similarly, it has been noticed that some parts of the Badlands turn into the Fringes, which would enable to colonize these parts someday.

The Fringes is significant in that Mutants, or technically-called Blasphemies, are exiled there after they are found out and banished from the society. It does not matter how small the deviation is, an extra finger or a longer arm than the normal is enough to

¹³⁷ Wyndham, 32.

¹³⁸ Wyndham, 32.

¹³⁹ Wyndham, 12.

¹⁴⁰ Wyndham, 15.

¹⁴¹ Wyndham, 13.

be considered a Blasphemy. It is believed that the Devil seeks to deceive people with small differences and “he is clever enough to make a nearly-perfect imitation, so we have always to be on the look-out for the mistake he has made, however small, and when we see one it must be reported at once.”¹⁴² Whether a human being is true or wrong is determined through the Definition of Man that is taken from Nicholson’s *Repentances*. The definition explains how a human being is created by God and supposed to be, and describes the features of both male and female body in detail:

‘And God created man in His own image. And God decreed that man should have one body, one head, two arms and two legs: that each arm should be jointed in two places and end in one hand: that each hand should have four fingers and one thumb: that each finger should bear a flat finger-nail [...] Then God created woman, also, and in the same image, but with these differences, according to her nature: her voice should be of higher pitch than man’s: she should grow no beard: she should have two breasts...’¹⁴³

The fact that the source of definition is not the Bible, but a supposedly-religious book written after Tribulation puts forward the question of its reliability. However, no one seems to be suspicious of the definition and keeps believing in it except Uncle Axel, who was married to one of David’s aunts and lives with the Storms. Axel is an ex-sailor and able to visit different places and learn different things before he is crippled in an accident. As a consequence of learning many more things than other people around him, he can question and does not believe in such things as the true image and the definition as easily as others. He asks, “what real evidence *we* got about the true image?”¹⁴⁴ He also wonders if Nicholson really knew about the true image or speculated and thought he knew it. For Axel, “*nobody* really *knows* what is the true image. They all *think* they know – just as we think we know”¹⁴⁵. He thinks that it is not possible to really know the true image and be sure about the Definition of Man.

David is first introduced with the problem of Blasphemies when he becomes friends with Sophie at the age of ten. Sophie hurts her ankle in a small accident when they are playing in the sand, and she has to take her shoe off. Sophie feels terrified when

¹⁴² Wyndham, 48.

¹⁴³ Wyndham, 6-7.

¹⁴⁴ Wyndham, 55.

¹⁴⁵ Wyndham, 56.

David sees her foot because it is revealed that her left foot indeed has six toes instead of five. However, David does not initially notice the difference, and helps her to go her home. Only when Sophie's parents, as well as Sophie, get extremely anxious, David understands what he has seen means remembering the rest of the Definition of Man:

‘... and each leg shall be jointed twice and have one foot, and each foot five toes, and each toe shall end with a flat nail [...] And any creature that shall seem to be human, but is not formed thus is not human. It is neither man nor woman. It is a blasphemy against the true Image of God, and hateful in the sight of God.’¹⁴⁶

However, David does not really understand it how Sophie can be a Blasphemy as she seems nothing but ordinary. He concludes that some part of the definition must be mistaken since “having one very small toe extra – well, two very small toes, because I supposed there would be one to match on the other foot”¹⁴⁷ cannot make someone blasphemous. David comes to understand, through time, that the society is controlled through norms so tightly that people are alert to even such small differences, and instantly react in case of Mutants, especially when he is involved in an incident in which he says something about having an extra hand without even realising it.

One day, he runs a splinter into his hand, and it bleeds too much when he pulls it. So, he tries to bandage his own finger as everybody at home, including his mother, is very busy with daily works. But he cannot manage and says that he could have managed it if he had had another hand. He sees that everybody stops moving and talking and starts to look at him with a shocked look on their faces. His father Joseph also hears what he says and asks him whether having a third hand is what he wishes for. His attempt to explain what he has meant does not prevent his father's rage and rebuke, because what he has done, for his father and, probably, others, is “calling upon the Devil to give you another hand!”¹⁴⁸ His father accuses David of “expressing dissatisfaction with the form of the body God gave [him]”, wishing to be a Mutant, “committing blasphemy, and before his parents!”¹⁴⁹ He makes everybody kneel, begins praying, and later commands David to go to his room and also pray God for forgiveness

¹⁴⁶ Wyndham, 9.

¹⁴⁷ Wyndham, 10.

¹⁴⁸ Wyndham, 21.

¹⁴⁹ Wyndham, 21-22.

on his own. David gets puzzled wondering “if it was such a terrible thing just to *think* of having three hands, what would happen if one really had them – or anything else wrong; such as, for instance, an extra toe –?”¹⁵⁰ His shock and bafflement result in a dream that night in which Sophie is caught like an Offence to be slaughtered by his father with the household gathered in the yard at sunrise as in former Purifications. This dream may be a foreshadowing of the revelation of Sophie’s Deviation.

Sophie is exposed when Alan Ervin, the son of the blacksmith in Waknuk, discovers her secret at the end of a coincidental incident. David and Sophie find a place up the stream where they can fish shrimp-like creatures after they take off their shoes and roll up their trousers. During their second visit to this place, Alan, who knows David, sees them and stops to ask them what they are doing. He sees an undried footprint on a stone which Sophie has already stepped on. When he asks David who Sophie is with a grin on his face, David does not answer and attacks him. While they are fighting, Sophie hits Alan with a stone, which helps them to rush home fearing both that Alan has learned the truth and that he might be dead. Sophie’s parents learn the incident and immediately prepare to flee from Waknuk knowing that people will come after Sophie. Although they manage to escape, it turns out that Alan has informed the authorities about everything that happened including David’s actions. David finds, when he arrives at his house, his father and the inspector waiting for him and expecting him to tell the truth. The inspector remarks that concealing a Blasphemy and not reporting it to him is a serious action which could cause people to go to prison.

David’s denial and silence result in his father beating him until he confesses that the girl is Sophie Wender. What hurts more than physical pain is the anguish and self-contempt when he learns that Sophie and her parents get caught. However, the inspector informs him that it is not because of David’s confession, but because a patrol, by chance, has seen and picked them up. The inspector gets surprised by the information that David has known Sophie’s secret for six months and has not reported it. David explains that they did not seem frightening like the things said about the Blasphemies, rather “they were awfully little toes.”¹⁵¹ Yet, the inspector reminds him that:

¹⁵⁰ Wyndham, 22.

¹⁵¹ Wyndham, 47.

‘Well, every part of the definition is as important as any other; and if a child doesn’t come within it, then it isn’t human, and that means it doesn’t have a soul. It is not in the image of God, it is an imitation, and in the imitations there is always some mistake. Only God produces perfection, so although deviations may look like us in many ways, they cannot be really human. They are something quite different.’¹⁵²

The inspector states that it is everybody’s duty to report any kind of Deviation, however small it seems, in order to prevent people from being tempted away from Purity since Deviations are the work of the Devil. In this sense, the norms do not only help controlling the individuals by shaping the laws, but also they are imposed on them through making them watch for themselves and other people. Each individual begins to internalise norms, as they grow up hearing the commandments and precepts and are watched and supervised by others, and to discipline and control themselves. It can be commented that everybody becomes the spy of themselves and one another. Because of this reason, the government commands that each individual should be alert to Deviations and must report any kind of it, by considering the concealment of Blasphemies a crime. Though David breaks when he is beaten by his father, he does not initially report Sophie since he feels commitment to her. On the other hand, Alan, as a person who has managed to internalise norms, does not hesitate to inform on Sophie without any feeling of commitment or sympathy. Indeed, David admits that although people learn those commandments and precepts by rote and may easily recite them, they do not quite understand what these precepts mean until they notice an example and experience an incident as in the case of Sophie. These precepts constantly get engraved on people’s minds everyday through, as well as sermons regularly delivered on every Sunday, wooden panels hanging on the walls of everybody’s house, with sayings on them from Nicholson’s *Repentances* such as “BLESSED IS THE NORM”, “THE NORM IS THE WILL OF GOD”, “KEEP PURE THE STOCK OF THE LORD”, “IN PURITY OUR SALVATION”, “THE DEVIL IS THE FATHER OF DEVIATION”, and “WATCH THOU FOR THE MUTANT!”¹⁵³ Even though the government keeps the individuals under surveillance mainly by using the inspectors, it is also interesting to possibly assume that these panels, which are the only decoration people hang on the

¹⁵² Wyndham, 48.

¹⁵³ Wyndham, 14.

walls of their houses, serve as a kind of way of surveillance. As people come and go, these sayings confront them every moment, reminding them the norms and making them internalise them, perhaps even without realising.

Actually, the true image and the definition taken from *Repentances* are the norms valid only in Labrador not in other places of the world. Uncle Axel reveals that sailors have found out that some parts of the Badlands beyond the Newf are inhabited by communities that are not civilised at all and do not have the same sense of sin as people in Labrador. Those people, as well as animals and plants there, have various mutations and they do not struggle to stop or prevent deviations from the true image valid in Labrador. For instance, some of them have white hair and pink eyes while others are completely black. Some are all thickset, others thin, some are even rumoured to be two feet high with a fur and tail. Some of them seem not to be ashamed of being Mutants and they find nothing wrong in having mutations. When their children are born wrong, in other words with a mutation, they do not get worried because they think that it is all right as long as they learn to survive. On the other hand, most of them believe that they are not mutated but normal, and assert that their image is the norm. For example, in a tribe consisting of hairless women and men, people consider being hairless the norm and believe that “hair is the devil’s mark”¹⁵⁴. In one community, a human being without webbed fingers and toes is not regarded as a true human, in another a woman who does not have multi breasts is not allowed to reproduce. Some are friendly but do not speak the same language while others are hostile and attack foreigners with different primitive weapons such as poisoned arrows and spears. Some of them are quite strange, disturbing and even dangerous,

But what’s more worrying is that most of them – whether they have seven fingers, or four arms, or hair all over, or six breasts, or whatever it is that’s wrong with them – think that their type is the true pattern of the Old People, and anything different is a Deviation.¹⁵⁵

Unlike those people in Labrador, they believe that the norm is having seven fingers, four arms or hair all over, etc. That is, most people in Labrador or in other places assume they know the true image which Old People also possessed. All this makes

¹⁵⁴ Wyndham, 54.

¹⁵⁵ Wyndham, 55.

Uncle Axel question the norms, the true image, the definition and their validity or reliability. It would not be reasonable to speak of one true image if everybody asserts that their image is the true one. Then, it may even be argued that Old People themselves had the true image, or there exists such a thing as the true image.

Nevertheless, many people are not aware of the existence of other human beings in different places of the world, which results in the assumption that their reality is the only reality in the world. Accordingly, people in Labrador hunt those that they think are not in the true image, whether it is an Offence or a Blasphemy. Of course, a Blasphemy is much more dangerous than an Offence since it possesses the risk of tempting human beings away from Purity much more. Thus, Blasphemies are not only condemned as the work of the Devil, they are also sterilised, ostracised from the society and banished to the Fringes. Old Jacob, one of those who work in the farm of the Storms, tells that in the days when his father was a young man, Mutants were burnt like Offences as soon as they were detected. Women who bore a Mutant were whipped if it was the first or second time. On the other hand, those women who had wrong children for three times in a row were outlawed and sold. Later, however, the government Rigo thought: “Even though they aren’t human, they *look* nearly human, therefore extermination *looks* like murder, or execution, and that troubles some people’s minds.”¹⁵⁶ Thus, according to current laws, Mutants are not killed, but they are still outlawed and banished. Elderly people like Old Jacob think that the Deviation-rate, consequently, gets very high some years because of those “wishy-washy minds” who do not “have enough resolution and faith”¹⁵⁷. They argue that Mutants should be cleansed too like other Deviations in order to keep pure the stock of the Lord. On the contrary, the government makes them live and let them die naturally after, of course, they are sterilised. If they are infants, they are left in the Fringes so that they are found by those who already live there.

When a new baby is born, the parents should get a Normalcy Certificate for the baby, which will certify and legitimise her/him. It is interesting to state that the household cannot announce the birth and must pretend that there is no baby born at all until the inspector comes to the baby’s house and confirms the baby is born in the true image:

¹⁵⁶ Wyndham, 80.

¹⁵⁷ Wyndham, 80.

No one, indeed, would dream of mentioning the matter openly until the inspector should have called to issue his certificate that it was a human baby in the true image. Should it unhappily turn out to violate the image and thus be ineligible for a certificate, everyone would continue to be unaware of it, and the whole regrettable incident would be deemed not to have occurred.¹⁵⁸

If the baby turns out to be a Mutant, it is not certified and, thus, gets outlawed and left on its own in the Fringe territory to take its chances while the family continue to live as if it was never born. Similarly, when Petra, David's younger sister, is born, David observes that nobody mentions her existence, even though her crying is heard, until the inspector comes to examine her. The household has to "go on pretending that my mother was in bed for some slight cold, or other indisposition" since the word "baby" is "unmentionable and unhintable"¹⁵⁹. As David's mother, Emily, gave birth to babies with mutation on the last two occasions, the wait for the inspector gets more suspenseful in the case of the Strorms. Though women who bear three Mutants in a row are not outlawed and sold any longer, they can still be punished by being separated from their families. Mostly, husbands do not take the risk of holding their wives that bear three Blasphemies, and they send them away from their houses. Yet, Petra is eventually examined by the inspector in detail and certified to be in the true image without any visible deviation, which allows her birth to be announced.

Emily's sister Harriet, who has given birth to a Blasphemy for the third time, is not as lucky as her. Harriet visits Emily with her daughter, born a week earlier than Petra, in order to ask for help to save her own child. She asks Emily if Petra has been certified, and when she hears "yes" she suggests that they could exchange the babies for a particular time so that she could get the certificate which would be valid for her own baby. Emily gets so horrified upon hearing this suggestion that she protests saying she, in her life, has "never heard anything so outrageous."¹⁶⁰ She even accuses Harriet of being mad enough to make "an immoral, a criminal conspiracy"¹⁶¹ and trying to tempt her too. When Joseph comes she reveals this plan to him, demanding that Harriet should leave their house and notify her child. Harriet tries to explain that they will take the

¹⁵⁸ Wyndham, 59.

¹⁵⁹ Wyndham, 60.

¹⁶⁰ Wyndham, 64.

¹⁶¹ Wyndham, 64.

child, and her husband will send her and get a new wife that could bear true children, which she would not endure. For Harriet, her child is a poor baby having a deviation that is “such a little thing” and “nothing much”¹⁶², while Joseph preaches that she has produced a baby that “would grow up to breed, and breeding, spread pollution”:

Not ashamed of producing a mockery of your Maker – not ashamed of trying to tempt your own sister into criminal conspiracy! [...] You have sinned, woman, search your heart, and you will know that you have sinned. Your sin has weakened our defences, and the enemy has struck through you. [...] You have produced a defilement.¹⁶³

It is interesting to notice that women, not men, are blamed and pay price when their children are born with a deviation although reproduction is a reciprocal activity. It is Harriet, not her husband, who should be ashamed and remorseful for the procreating a Mutant just because she is the one who carried the child. However, Harriet does not accept that she has done something to be ashamed of: “I am *not* ashamed – I am only beaten.”¹⁶⁴ David is later told that Aunt Harriet has been found dead in the river without the mention of a baby. He assumes that she did not possibly die by accident, and the baby must have been left in the Fringes.

Fringes people mostly look ordinary human beings unless they have very obvious deviations. Nevertheless, they are feared however normal they look like because “ACCURSED IS THE MUTANT IN THE SIGHT OF GOD AND MAN!”¹⁶⁵ David tells that in earlier years, mothers, in order to quieten their spoiled children, used to frighten them through the stories of possibly non-existent scary Fringes people such as Old Maggie or Hairy Jack. While Old Maggie has “four eyes to watch you with, and four ears to hear you with, and four arms to smack you with”¹⁶⁶, Hairy Jack and his family are all hairy with long tails, living in a cave and eating a boy for breakfast and a girl for supper every day. It is not only children, David points out, who are afraid of Fringes people nowadays, but also grown-ups have trouble with them in recent years. Labelled as Blasphemies and banished from the society, Fringes people are left with no choice but live in an intractable environment full of mutated plants and animals. Having

¹⁶² Wyndham, 63.

¹⁶³ Wyndham, 64-65.

¹⁶⁴ Wyndham, 64.

¹⁶⁵ Wyndham, 68.

¹⁶⁶ Wyndham, 16.

almost nothing for subsistence in the Fringes, these people make small raids on inhabited and civilised parts in order to steal what they can and what they need like grain, livestock, clothes, tools, weapons and sometimes even children. This leads to physical conflicts between the norms and Fringes people, which mostly result in the loss of only stock of the norms. Yet, as the civilised parts gradually expand into other parts, Fringes people are obliged to live in increasingly smaller lands. They become more and more in need of supplies, and, therefore, go to plunder in more organised bands that do more damage. David remembers a big invasion from the Fringes that gave damage to people in Waknuk as they did not have an organised defence plan. Yet, the norms, getting better armed, were eventually able to defeat them and capture some of Fringes leaders, one of whom has arms and legs that are “monstrously long and thin” making him look “half-man, half-spider”¹⁶⁷, and resembles David’s father. Nonetheless, raids and invasions from the Fringes gradually become more of a menace than a nuisance, which cause the loss of more and more time and money in order to hold those people back.

The loss of stock, money and time brings forward the question why those Mutants are not killed, but only banished in spite of the harm they cost. It is probably because death is the limit of biopower, as Foucault explains. The government does not choose to directly kill Mutants; rather, they expose them to risk of death since they are a threat to the Purity of the human race. When David does not want to inform on Sophie in order to protect her, the inspector reminds him of “the importance of a greater loyalty” which is the “Purity of the Race”¹⁶⁸. Joseph Storm always wants all people to be alert to the Mutants quoting from *Repentances* that “the enemies of God besiege us. They seek to strike at Him through us. Unendingly they work to distort the true image; through our weaker vessels they attempt to defile the race.”¹⁶⁹ It can be claimed that these people’s belief in respect to Mutants defiling the human race is quite similar to the Nazis’ belief that the genetic superiority and purity of German population could be degenerated by other inferior races. Just as the Nazis attempted to eliminate such inferior races as Jews, the government and people in Labrador want to eliminate

¹⁶⁷ Wyndham, 29.

¹⁶⁸ Wyndham, 48-49.

¹⁶⁹ Wyndham, 64-65.

Mutants and Deviations from the true image, though not through direct murder, extermination or execution. In order to eliminate this threat to the human race, they expose Mutants considered unworthy to live to death and increase the risk of their death. The norms assert that Mutants are the enemy of not only the human race but also

all the species God had decreed; the seed of the Devil within, trying unflaggingly, eternally to come to fruition in order that it might destroy the divine order and turn our land, the stronghold of God's will upon Earth, into a lewd chaos like the Fringes; trying to make it a place without the law¹⁷⁰.

The government does not only increase the risk of their death by banishing them to the Fringes, but also outlaws and sterilises them just as the Nazis took the citizenship rights of those inferior groups and legalised their sterilisation. The sterilisation of Mutants like Jews puts forward the issue of eugenics, which aims to improve the genes of the human race by regulating who should or should not reproduce. Accordingly, the government does not allow Mutants to reproduce through sterilisation in order to prevent Deviations from breeding, while the norms are advised to reproduce as much as they can. There is a resemblance between the perception of Jews as an inferior race by Nazis and perception of Mutants as defilement to the human race by the norms, which causes Mutants to be assumed as an inferior race too. Together with eugenics, biological racism is also in question in *The Chrysalids*, since racism, Foucault points out, is the precondition of death and killing within biopower. In this way, killing, which is not only direct murder but also, for example, increasing the risk of death for Foucault, becomes acceptable and justified. The government, in this sense, becomes racist claiming that Mutants defiling the human race are a biological threat to the norms and all other true living beings, and drives them into the Fringes.

Meanwhile, David, who has a secret, makes his mind up to run away from Waknuk after Sophie as a Deviation is exposed and banished together with her family. He wants to go to the Fringes, where they would not want to see his Normalcy Certificate. Uncle Axel advises him not to run away, especially to the Fringes warning him that “they’ve got nothing there – not even enough food. Most of them are half starving, that’s why they make the raids. No, you’d spend all the time there just trying

¹⁷⁰ Wyndham, 67-68.

to keep alive, and lucky if you did.”¹⁷¹ He even claims that Waknuk is safer than most of the places for a boy as young as David without knowing David will have to escape in the future. David’s secret is that he is also a Deviation from the true image, but not in an obvious way because he has a secret power. He, who in the beginning sees himself as “a normal little boy, growing up in a normal way”¹⁷² feeling nothing unusual despite the unusual understanding he and his half-cousin Rosalind have, is some kind of telepath, though it is later explained that telepathy is just a rougher version of this power. They communicate by transferring thought-shapes into each other’s minds, which is not exactly hearing or seeing words inside one’s head, but rather thinking together through shapes. David explains that words are unnecessary in thinking together, but saying words out loud helps to make it easier to understand. Despite their condition, they have spent their lives until now without being uncovered, since this type of deviation is not visible and remains unnoticed by the norms. Through time, David and Rosalind get in contact with other seven children who live in neighbourhood districts by realising one another’s thought-shapes. These are Michael, Sally and Katherine, Mark, Anne and Rachel who are a pair of sisters, and Walter, who later stops talking after he dies in an accident. David clarifies that this skill needs to be improved by practicing with others, and some people do not even realise their potential. David likens those people to “someone who is not quite blind, but is scarcely able to see more than to know whether it is day or night.”¹⁷³ The children cannot communicate with those people and cannot catch the thought-shapes of people who live very far away since their skill is still limited.

As David grows up, he begins to realise that he is not normal, but a Mutant, a Blasphemy to the true image of God. He fears for the lives of himself and his friends, knowing that they will be sentenced to an exile in the Fringes or even worse if their secret is revealed. After Aunt Harriet’s death because of her baby with a small difference, he even prays every night: “please, please, God, let me be like other people. I don’t want to be different. Won’t you make it so that when I wake up in the morning I’ll be just like everyone else, please, God, please!”¹⁷⁴ Not only David, but also other

¹⁷¹ Wyndham, 49.

¹⁷² Wyndham, 2.

¹⁷³ Wyndham, 72.

¹⁷⁴ Wyndham, 68.

children are afraid of what would happen to them in this god-fearing society hunting out Mutants. They decide to be careful in order not to get caught, and certainly not to tell anybody, but David only informs Uncle Axel, who discovers David, and whom David completely trusts. They are aware of the fact that the situation has grown more risky as they notice the difficulties of living with concealment and struggle. They have to pretend to act like other people and hide their true nature, which, as Michael puts it, “should have been a blessing, but was little better than a curse.”¹⁷⁵ They assume that the norms, however stupid they are, are happier than them because they have the sense of belonging, on the other hand, they do not feel that they belong to this society, where they have to constantly conceal, pretend, deceive and lie. Despite this, one of them, Anne, eventually decides to marry a norm, Alan, who found out about and informed on Sophie.

Anne tries to explain that their group consists of five girls and three boys, which means that three girls could marry three boys, whereas, two of the girls either have to get married to a norm if they want to marry, or they have to give up hoping for love and marriage. Even though others remind her about the dangers of a marriage with a norm, she protests that she did not want to be different from the norms and she will not give up Alan, with whom she thinks she is in love. All the others believe that their current position in their homes is bad enough to constantly be on tenterhooks, so it would be impossible for them to live intimately with a norm in the same house continually:

It could not be anything but a sham of a marriage when the two were separated by something wider than a different language, which had always been hidden by the one from the other. It would be misery, perpetual lack of confidence, and insecurity [...] Nothing but prolonged unhappiness and frustration – with, sooner or later, a fatal slip; or else an accumulation of small slips gradually fostering suspicion...¹⁷⁶

They know that slips are inevitable even with their families and would be undoubtedly inevitable between a married couple. Uncle Axel also gets worried about the situation, and suggests that they should get rid of either Anne or Alan so that they could not marry and others will remain safe, which David strictly rejects. Nevertheless, Anne gets

¹⁷⁵ Wyndham, 77.

¹⁷⁶ Wyndham, 84-85.

married to Alan despite her friends' advice and warnings, and closes her mind so that she will not communicate with them and pretend to act like a norm every day. After some time, Alan is found dead with an arrow on the way to his home and this causes anxiety and fear within the group. They try to reach Anne in order to tell that none of them has anything to do with Alan's death, but fail as Anne's mind remains closed. Thereupon, Rachel goes to her sister's house, when she is rejected she writes Anne a letter which explains that no one is guilty but which Anne tears it up without reading. Next morning, Anne is found hanging from a beam in her bedroom. Rachel, who is shocked, notices a folded paper on the table, which reveals their secret. After reading the note that denounces all of them, including Rachel, and accuses them of planning Alan's death and carrying it out, Rachel burns the letter. It later turns out that it was Uncle Axel who killed Alan when he suspected that Alan might have known the secret, which was actually true because, as Axel informs David, Anne told Alan everything about her and the group before he was killed. Although all of them are sorry about Anne, they get also relieved to know that the danger has passed and they remain unrevealed until another incident caused by David's sister, Petra.

David and others learn that Petra, though she was approved to be in the true image, is also like them after they experience an extraordinary incident. While David is harvesting one day, he suddenly feels struck, which is not like anything he has ever experienced. He describes it as a physical pain as if someone hit him inside his head, a pain that demands him to rush into a particular place. When he arrives there he sees that Petra is about to be drowned in a pool. He realises that Rosalind, who has experienced the same thing, has also come. They rescue Petra and understand that Petra under danger has sent, without being aware, signals, which are so strong that it has made them come, to their minds. Other people who have seen them running also come to the scene and ask David and Rosalind how they knew while they themselves did not hear anything. David and Rosalind lie that they heard Petra screaming at the top of her lungs so that it was impossible not to hear her. Although those people still seem puzzled and suspicious, they have no chance but to believe since both David and Rosalind, who have come from different directions, confirm the same lie. Later, David and others try to communicate with Petra by sending thought-shapes to her, which results in failure. Petra apparently is not aware of her ability and does not even know what she has done.

However, it is enough for them to understand that Petra's ability is different from theirs: "Something like us, but not one of us. None of us could *command* like that. She's something much more than we are."¹⁷⁷ They decide that it is not safe to tell Petra, who is six years old, about this secret until it would be necessary.

It becomes necessary when Petra causes the same thing again, this time the stroke is more intense full of not panic, but anxiety and distress. Petra goes exploring in the woods, where it is dangerous to wander without a weapon because of wrong animals, riding her pony. However, her pony is attacked by a strange creature, a Deviation without doubt, causing her to unleash her ability without knowing and controlling it. David tries to reach others to prevent them from coming, but cannot manage as Petra's power seems to block everything. When he arrives, he again finds Rosalind there, with whom he kills the creature. While they are attempting to calm Petra, others keep coming: Michael, Rachel and Mark. David and Rosalind tell them to go back as soon as possible because it would not be wise to be seen together. However, after they leave, Sally and Katherine anxiously arrive riding their horses and holding bows. It turns out that they are followed by a man who is responsible for watching out for spies of the Fringes. He questions them and does not believe the similar lie Sally and Katherine tell him, emphasising that he did not hear anything though he was right behind them. Though still suspicious, he decides to allow them to go their homes without asking any more questions. After they all go their own ways, David and others explain to Petra about forming thought-shapes and teach her how to control her ability. Petra is a fast-learner, but still has difficulty in controlling it and mentions that there are others who are very far away, and, thus, whose signals are not clear. That night, Uncle Axel warns David that they have been careless recently because a man, who helps the inspector in his inquiries, has asked questions about David and Rosalind. David tells him that the inspector cannot denounce them as they do not fit into any category of the "Scheduled Deviations".

Nevertheless, Sally and Katherine are captured and taken to the inspector in order to be interrogated, upon which David, Rosalind and Petra leave their homes and start to escape in order that they would not get captured. Rosalind notices a man who

¹⁷⁷ Wyndham, 76.

finds the trail of their horses and kills him, which, Michael explains, she had to do to survive because “this is a war, between our kind and theirs. We didn’t start it – we’ve just as much right to exist as they have.”¹⁷⁸ Unfortunately, Sally tells them that Katherine got broken as a result of the tortures and confessed about the thought-shapes and David, Rosalind and Petra. Sally also confirmed it because she did not want to get tortured too. So, the government issues a proclamation that classifies them as Deviations and outlaws them, which means that anyone could shoot them. Furthermore, there is a reward for those who are able to catch them alive. Generally, when Mutants escape and cross the frontier of the Fringes, the norms stop following them and let them go. Yet, in this case, they keep coming after David, Rosalind and Petra until they catch them since they are afraid that

we could be a real danger to them. Imagine if there were a lot more of us than there are, able to think together and plan and co-ordinate without all their machinery of words and messages: we could outwit them all the time. They find that a very unpleasant thought; so we are to be stamped out before there can be any more of us. They see it as a matter of survival – and they may be right, you know.¹⁷⁹

Obviously, the norms consider David and others to be more dangerous and a greater threat to their survival than other Mutants, and find it necessary to examine and question them for further details and if there are others before they eliminate them. Michael decides to join a search-party for David, Rosalind and Petra in order to mislead and distract them. By the way, Petra gets into contact with people from somewhere called Z/Sealand, who tell them through Petra that they are coming to help and they should keep Petra safe, who has “a power of projection” that is “unheard of without special training – she was a discovery of the utmost importance.”¹⁸⁰ It sounds as if they do not care anyone but Petra and are surprised to find someone like Petra among primitive people, namely the norms.

While David, Rosalind and Petra are approaching the Fringes, Katherine and Sally become unreachable, which means that they are either dead, or something unpleasant has happened to their minds. On the other hand, Mark also stops talking,

¹⁷⁸ Wyndham, 118.

¹⁷⁹ Wyndham, 121.

¹⁸⁰ Wyndham, 130.

maybe because he has an accident like Walter, who also stopped due to an accident. Michael tells David that he must not let them catch Rosalind or Petra and he himself must kill them in order to prevent them from being tortured and, maybe, killed, like Katherine and Sally. Petra apparently cannot understand why they are escaping and why the norms are trying to catch them. David tries to explain that the norms are afraid of them because they are different, and “when people are different, ordinary people are afraid of them”¹⁸¹. When most of the people are in a certain way, they think everyone should be in that way, or, otherwise, they should get rid of them. However, it does not make sense for Petra, and she gets distracted by the information that the Zealanders are approaching, which makes it possible for David and others to communicate with one of them. The Zealand woman introduces her community as the “New People” who all are able to think together, and again warns them about protecting Petra at all costs.

However, as David, Rosalind and Petra come near the frontier of the Fringes, they are captured by Fringes people and taken to their leader, who is revealed to be the spidery man that was captured by the norms years ago. It turns out that he is indeed the brother of Joseph, David’s father, and feels a great hatred towards both Joseph and other norms. He tells what Fringes people have had to endure for years just because they are not in the true image, which is, for them, actually a lie made up by the norms. He asserts that the norms consider Mutants a threat that should be eliminated, exposed to death not because Mutants are physically dangerous, though some of them can be, but because Mutants are different from them, defile the Purity, the normality. He informs David that they know why they are escaping and that the norms are coming after them. After this speech, David is beaten by his men and loses consciousness, but later he is saved by Sophie who was condemned to live in the Fringes when they were children. Sophie also helps Rosalind and Petra to escape from where they are kept captured and bring all of them to her hut. They learn from Sophie that all men including the spidery man have gone to fight with the norms who are coming to the Fringes in order to kill two birds with one stone: both to catch David, Rosalind and Petra and to get rid of Fringes people. The norms being armed trap Fringes people outside their settlement and easily defeat them. The victorious norms follow those who are able to survive and escape towards the interior part of their settlement. In the midst of this conflict, the Zealanders arrive in

¹⁸¹ Wyndham, 132.

their some kind of airship and kill both the norms and Fringes people while they rescue David, Rosalind, Petra and also Michael, who has come there with the norms. David and Rosalind get shocked to realise that all of those people are killed by the Zealanders who did not even blink an eye while killing them. The Zealand woman, with whom they contacted earlier, admits that “it is not pleasant to kill any creature”, yet she believes “we have to keep ourselves alive in these ways, so, too, we have to preserve our species against other species that wish to destroy it”¹⁸². What she means is that it is necessary to kill others who become a threat to one’s own survival, which is indeed constantly emphasised throughout the novel. Uncle Axel kills Alan because he poses a threat to the survival of David and his friends, Rosalind kills the man who found their trace because he threatens their survival, Michael tells David and Rosalind to kill anybody who presents a threat to them, and finally the Zealanders kill both the norms and Fringes people.

The Zealander woman recounts that her ancestors were affected by Tribulation less than people in other parts of the world as they lived on two distant islands. Somehow, human beings who were able to think together were born, whose number was low at first. Those who could do it well trained those who did it a little and helped them to improve themselves. These people chose to marry one another not only because they could share each other’s thoughts but also in order to strengthen their breed, their race. Through time, they have both improved their ability and race and developed their country by making machines again, which has enabled them to go to other places of the world where people of their kind lived and to rescue them. The Zealanders believe that they “are going to build a new kind of world – different from the Old People’s world, and from the savages’.”¹⁸³ They despise both Fringes people and the norms and call them savages, pitying Fringes people for whom, they assert, there is no future. They also disdain the norms who helplessly try to preserve and protect their race from deterioration by eliminating anyone who is different from them. Furthermore, the Zealanders belittle the Old People who were

only ingenious half-humans, little better than savages; all living shut off from one another, with only clumsy words to link them. [...] They aspired greedily, and then

¹⁸² Wyndham, 182.

¹⁸³ Wyndham, 144.

refused to face the responsibilities they had created. They created vast problems, and then buried their heads in the sands of idle faith. There was, you see, no real communication, no understanding between them. They could, at their best, be near-sublime animals, but not more.¹⁸⁴

It can be easily understood that the Zealanders despise anyone who cannot make thought-shapes whether they are the Old People, the norms or other Mutants. It is interesting how they accuse the norms of exposing Mutants to death and eliminating any deviation and difference while they themselves boast about their own kind and otherise all those people who are different from them. They even seem not to care much about David and others except Petra, who are also of their kind, as they are not “unique and tremendously important”¹⁸⁵ like Petra. It is very likely that they would not have come to rescue them from an extremely long way if they had not noticed Petra because they say they cannot go to fetch Rachel who is left behind in Waknuk, claiming that there is no place for an extra person in their ship.

Petra is important for them, very possibly, only because she “can make stronger think-pictures than anybody at all”¹⁸⁶ and nothing else. They constantly and persistently keep warning David and Rosalind about protecting Petra even if it means for them to sacrifice themselves. They do not actually care about Petra as an individual or her personality, etc. What they care is someone who has such a great ability to make thought-shapes whether it is Petra or somebody else. They want people who are able to improve themselves, and, thus, contribute to the improvement of their people, kind, race, etc. Those who are not very good at forming thought-shapes in Zealand have to work very hard to improve themselves until they succeed in it. Accordingly, they plan to use Petra for reproduction reproduce when she grows up again in order to make their race stronger. Just as the norms do not allow Mutants to reproduce so that they could preserve Purity of the human race, the Zealanders encourage, or, maybe, urge their kind of people and especially Petra to marry and reproduce in order preserve their own race. It is because regulating biological processes of the population such as reproduction and mortality is one of the main goals of biopower and biopolitics.

¹⁸⁴ Wyndham, 145.

¹⁸⁵ Wyndham, 146.

¹⁸⁶ Wyndham, 134.

Consequently, the Zealanders also believe in the superiority of their own race and struggle to keep it pure by marrying no one other than people of their kind. On the one hand, they assert that they are superior to other people as they are able to think together, on the other hand, they blame such people who consider themselves superior as the norms and the Old People. While the norms as primitive beings are destined to be superseded by people who think together, the Old People being a little more than savages were doomed to fail:

‘They could never have succeeded. If they had not brought down Tribulation which all but destroyed them, then they would have bred with the carelessness of animals until they had reduced themselves to poverty and misery, and ultimately to starvation and barbarism. One way or another they were foredoomed because they were an inadequate species.’¹⁸⁷

It seems that the Zealanders blame the Old People for Tribulation claiming that it was nothing but the result of their mistakes. In this sense, the perception of Tribulation by different groups in the novel is, indeed, interesting in terms of different points of views. Whereas the norms have a religious perspective, regarding it as the wrath of God due to the sins of the Old People as in many post-apocalyptic novels, the Zealanders have a more realistic point of view, considering it a human-made disaster caused by the Old People. Besides these, Fringes people also believe that Tribulation was sent by God to punish the Old People not for their sins assumed by the norms, but to “remind ’em that life is change.”¹⁸⁸ According to Fringes people, God punished the Old People and will punish the norms as well through another catastrophe because “they stamp on any change: they close the way and keep the type fixed”¹⁸⁹, identifying themselves with God.

Whether it is God-sent or human-made, Tribulation remains a mysterious cataclysm throughout the novel. One of the few things known about Tribulation is that it was not like those punishments that had been sent earlier such as “the expulsion from Eden, the Flood, pestilences, the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, the Captivity.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Wyndham, 145.

¹⁸⁸ Wyndham, 142.

¹⁸⁹ Wyndham, 143.

¹⁹⁰ Wyndham, 34.

It was the greatest of all like a mixture of floods, fires, hurricanes, earthquakes, etc. It seems to have caused all those mutations and the Blacklands, where the solid is nothing but black and is rumoured to dimly glow at nights. Such signs as genetic mutations and black ruins appear to be the results of a disaster that might be a nuclear one and thus triggered other natural events like floods, causing the destruction of both the world and humanity.

3.2. REGULATING A POPULATION ON THE VERGE OF EXTINCTION: P. D. JAMES'S *THE CHILDREN OF MEN*

Apocalyptic events in literature, TV and films are generally assumed to be great catastrophes influencing the world and human beings in a direct physical or material way such as floods or earthquakes destroying the cities, wars or pandemics killing large scales of people, etc. However, the end of the world in post-apocalyptic novels does not always have to arise from such kind of event that leads to the destruction of the world or the death of a big part of the world's population. *The Children of Men* (1992) written by P. D. James sets such an example in which the disaster does not cause any direct or instant physical damage for the world and people. The apocalyptic event in this novel is the mass infertility across the world, resulting from the fact that men cannot produce fertile sperms: "Overnight, it seemed, the human race had lost its power to breed [...] even the frozen sperm stored for experiment and artificial insemination had lost its potency"¹⁹¹. Although the infertility does not directly kill any human being and destroy any part of the world, humanity faces extinction with no new born child for twenty five years since 1995, which is known as Year "Omega". Having lost their hope for a new generation and, thus, future, and fearing extinction have led people to feel angry, disappointed and frustrated in the years following the discovery of infertility. It can be stated that this feeling of frustration have made people commit suicide and caused the crime rate and violence to increase especially in the beginning. The number of suicides among not old but middle-aged people specifically increases especially in 2023, the year in which the last born human beings born in 1995 reach sexual maturity and also fail at producing fertile sperm. The spread of these suicides of middle-aged people, "who would have to bear the brunt of an ageing and decaying society's humiliating but

¹⁹¹ P. D. James, *The Children of Men*, Faber and Faber, London 2010, 11.

insistent needs”¹⁹², is tried to be stopped by fining relatives of the people who commit suicide.

The mass infertility is thought to be the result of drops in the number of births especially in Europe and Roman Catholic countries in the early 1990s, which is triggered by “more liberal attitudes to birth control and abortion, the postponement of pregnancy by professional women pursuing their careers, the wish of families for a higher standard of living.”¹⁹³ This decrease in the birth rate does not create anxiety at first since it is assumed to be desirable and deliberate. However, as the reasons and solutions for the infertility are studied by the scientists, it is found that there is no concrete, explainable scientific reason or solution for the infertility. The failure of Western science and medicine has caused the disappointment and demoralisation as “Western science has been our god. In the variety of its power it has preserved, comforted, healed, warmed, fed and entertained us”¹⁹⁴. Nevertheless, the states do not give up searching for a solution, and they go on doing what they can because birth and reproduction are crucial for the survival of the human race, and as well as mortality, morbidity and life expectancy, namely the biological processes of the population which are important for the maintenance of the states. In this sense, it is vital for the states to make biopolitical regulations in order to both find a way of reproduction and organise the current population.

Taking advantage of the state of chaos and disorder in England, Xan Lyppiatt seizes control of the country and declares himself the Warden of England when he is elected by the citizens. Under his despotic rule, whatever is necessary is done in order to restore the order at all costs. In respect to finding a solution for the infertility, Xan becomes unsuccessful, but he continues to search for fertile human beings by making medical testing and examinations compulsory. Beginning from childhood, men are “observed, studied, cosseted, indulged, preserved for that moment when they would be male adults and produce the hoped-for fertile sperm.”¹⁹⁵ Although these studies and tests become vain struggles over time because of being seen as hopeless, they are kept

¹⁹² James, 11.

¹⁹³ James, 10.

¹⁹⁴ James, 6.

¹⁹⁵ James, 78.

going by the state as a way of control. Except for certain ones, all women and men are subjected to this compulsory supervision and examination of their bodies as a way of both biopolitical and disciplinary control in that it keeps the individual bodies of people under supervision and surveillance through regular inspections and organised recordkeeping, and it may contribute to the birth and reproduction processes of the population. On the one hand, women under the age of forty five are regularly examined in terms of gynaecology in every six month in order to find healthy and fertile female bodies for insemination in case of the discovery of fertile sperm. What is significant here is that old and unhealthy women are not worth these gynaecological examinations: “No one who was in any way physically deformed, or mentally or physically unhealthy, was on the list of women from whom the new race would be bred if ever a fertile male was discovered.”¹⁹⁶ It seems to mean that physically or mentally unhealthy and deformed women are not worth breeding, becoming mothers and producing a new generation of human race. Anyway, the examinations are not only “time consuming” and “humiliating”, but also they are considered to “degrade women”.¹⁹⁷ They are far from putting forward a solution for the infertility, and besides they are carried on no matter what women think about this issue, as their views are insignificant for the state.

On the other hand, male bodies are regularly tested searching for fertile sperm under the “semen testing programme”, which is also considered time-consuming. As with the women, these tests are carried on healthy men and, additionally, well-behaved ones:

‘You should give up the compulsory testing of sperm. It’s degrading and it’s been done for over twenty years without success. Anyway, you only test healthy, selected males. What about the others?’

‘If they can breed, good luck to them, but while there are limited facilities for the testing, let’s keep it for the physically and morally fit.’

‘So you’re planning for virtue as well as health?’

‘You could say, yes. No one with a criminal record or a family record of offending ought to be allowed to breed, if we have a choice.’¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ James, 56.

¹⁹⁷ James, 56, 83.

¹⁹⁸ James, 145

The exclusion of certain individuals in the society from these tests and examinations leads to the result that such women get pregnant, if they are able to, without being noticed. Thus, when Julian, who has a deformed hand, becomes pregnant, she is able to conceal her pregnancy from the authorities. Julian is a member of a group of dissidents, called “the Five Fishes” that criticises what Xan does and wants to change the situation. The group consists of five people including Julian, Rolf, who is the leader of the group, Gascoigne, Miriam a midwife and Luke a priest. Though Julian is married to Rolf, her baby’s father is Luke, who is excluded from the medical tests like Julian as he had epilepsy when he was a child. The real father of the baby is revealed towards the end of the novel only when Julian grieves too much over the death of Luke. Until then, Rolf never suspects of not being the father of the baby even though he is tested and discovered to be infertile because he thinks “that the technicians had been careless or that they’re just not bothering to test half the specimens they take.”¹⁹⁹ It can be deduced that the tests and examinations are not very carefully carried on as they are found to be useless over time.

Assuming himself to be the father, Rolf believes that he has an advantage over Xan because of that he can breed while Xan cannot, and he can bring Xan to his knees. But Rolf does not realise that his plans depend on the baby and whether the baby will be healthy or not, and he does not see his plans are inclined to fail:

‘it may be luckier for you if the child is abnormal, deformed, an idiot, a monster. If he’s healthy you’ll be a breeding, experimental animal for the rest of your life. You don’t imagine the Warden will give up his power, even to the father of the new race? They may need your sperm, but they can get possession of enough of that to populate England and half the world, and then decide that you’re expendable. Once the Warden sees you as a threat that’s probably what will happen.’²⁰⁰

It is possible that Rolf is in the Five Fishes not because he does not really think that Xan and what he does is evil, but because he envies and desires what Xan has, and wants the position of the Warden for himself. The baby is important for Rolf probably because, more than anything else, he is the key factor in succeeding to reach his goals. After all, when he learns that Luke is the father of the baby, he leaves the group and reports the

¹⁹⁹ James, 265.

²⁰⁰ James, 237.

baby and remaining members of the group to Xan and the Council. Similarly, when he learns about the baby, Xan simply sees him as a tool that can contribute to his power and cares about him and Julian to the extent that they can strengthen his position as the person in control. The baby, for Xan, who does not know that the baby has already been born and, thus, the gender of the baby, will be more significant in case that it is a boy because if he has fertile sperm, he will “be the father of the new race.”²⁰¹ While Xan plans for the baby that he will start breeding as soon as he is biologically capable at the age of twelve or thirteen, he also decides to extend the tests to every male in the society including unhealthy and deformed ones. When he finds out the place where Julian and the baby are hiding he immediately comes with his Council and everything Julian as the mother may need for her safety: doctors, midwives, an ambulance, etc.

Julian, on the other hand, wants to deliver the baby in a secret place where Xan, whom she considers evil, or any authority cannot find and reach them rather than hospital. The protagonist of the novel, Theo, who is also Xan’s cousin and helps Julian and others escape, states that Julian will be safer in hospital in case of complications when he learns that she is pregnant. However, the medical profession based on scientific knowledge has the authority to do whatever it considers necessary, subjecting pregnant women, like other patients, to the “medical gaze”. As the right to make decisions on the pregnant body and the baby “is thus taken away from the mother and placed in the hands of the medical profession and its technology”²⁰², those who question the medical care, which is the norm, or reject it during their pregnancy may be labelled deviant. Accordingly, Julian does not believe that medical measures are the best option for her and the baby, knowing that she will have no right over her baby, who would become the saviour of humanity. She insists on giving birth in secrecy rather than in hospital, which has “the high sterile bed, the banks of machines to meet every possible medical emergency, the distinguished obstetricians, summoned from retirement, masked and gowned”²⁰³. Theo, who also considers the baby the future of the human race, at first, accuses Julian and other members of the Five Fishes of risking the baby’s life, by running from the authorities.

²⁰¹ James, 335.

²⁰² Jen Pylypa, “Power and Bodily Practice: Applying the Work of Foucault to an Anthropology of the Body”, *Arizona Anthropologist*, Vol. 13, 1998, 31.

²⁰³ P. D. James, *The Children of Men*, Faber and Faber, London 2010, 317-318.

It is normal for Theo, who is an academic, to assume that medical services are the right choice for any pregnant woman, especially for Julian as she bears the first baby after twenty five years, and not to understand Julian's choice. For Theo, the baby is not an ordinary one whose life should not be risked. It is clear that Theo, like Rolf and Xan, considers the baby something more than a human, partly a vehicle for survival of the human race. These contrasting perceptions of the baby by Julian and Theo put forward the question that who has the right to speak over the baby:

'This is crazy. You aren't children with a new toy which you can keep to yourselves, play with by yourselves, prevent the other children from sharing. This birth is the concern of the whole world, not just England. The child belongs to mankind.'

Luke said, 'The child belongs to God.'

Theo turned on him. 'Christ! Can't we discuss this at least on the basis of reason?'

It was Miriam who spoke. She said: 'The child belongs to herself, but her mother is Julian. Until she's born and for a time after the birth, the baby and her mother are one.'²⁰⁴

What Theo tries to assert is that in a world that is about to die without babies, a new baby that is the equivalent to life means everything to the extent that state can do anything in order to have him, protect him, and keep hold of him. The state can make any regulation regarding this new living being as it also regularises the rest of the population. While the state wants to protect the baby's life, it can easily risk the lives of those who become nothing but a burden to the state, for instance old people.

The state organises mass-suicide ceremonies called the "Quietus", in which old people are get boarded in the boats that will sink in the sea. Though it is constantly said that the Quietus is voluntary, the state makes it attractive and encourage old people to kill themselves in these ceremonies by paying large amounts of pension to the relatives of those who attend the Quietus and by promoting it as something patriotic and heroic. The Council admits that the Quietus is "absolutely voluntary" having its own safeguards against any accusation. Those who want to attend the ceremony have to sign a form which is copied in triplicate: "One copy for the Local Council, one to the nearest relation so that they claim the blood-money, and one is retained by the old person and collected when they board the boat. That goes to the Office of Census and

²⁰⁴ James, 219-220.

Population.”²⁰⁵ It seems that almost everything about the Quietus is neatly organised by the Council in accordance with the wish and request of the old people. After all, the Quietus originally began spontaneously when a group of old people, aged eighty, organised a bus trip at the end of which they committed suicide by jumping over a cliff. The number of such incidents increases in time, and they become “messy and unsatisfactory”²⁰⁶ as some of the old people do not succeed in killing themselves at the end of these suicides, and they survive for a short time in bad conditions. The Council has to take the control of these incidents in order to get rid of “the unpleasant job of clearing away the bodies.”²⁰⁷ The Council simply thinks that it is better to let them die by sending them in the boats and causing them to drown in the sea rather than letting them to jump over cliffs, and decides to organise these ceremonies for those old people who want to die in groups.

The Quietus is seen by many people in the society as a serene peaceful event where elderly people voluntarily and restfully die at sea. They deduce that it is comforting for old people, who do not have the strength to die alone, and it enables them to die together with similar people in a ceremonial way. This perception is possibly based on the only Quietus they have ever watched on TV: “white-clad elderly being wheeled or helped on to the low barge-like ship, the high, reedy singing voices, the boat slowly pulling away into the twilight, a seductively peaceful scene, cunningly shot and lit.”²⁰⁸ Despite what is told and shown about the Quietus, and though their survivors are said to be paid pensions by the Council, the Five Fishes claims that, though most people are volunteers, some are dragged into the event, and wants to stop it. The members want Theo to watch one in order to persuade him to help them by talking to Xan, as his cousin, about the poor conditions of the country.

Theo decides to go and watch a female Quietus without thinking anything would go wrong. Old women, who are brought by buses to the embarkation site, are helped by nurses to go into the beach huts and change their clothes. The women wearing white robes and carrying flowers look like “a bevy of dishevelled bridesmaids.”²⁰⁹ The

²⁰⁵ James, 135.

²⁰⁶ James, 134.

²⁰⁷ James, 134.

²⁰⁸ James, 67.

²⁰⁹ James, 105.

ceremony is watched by a group of people most of whom are members of the “State Security Police”. As the women walk towards the pier, a band begins to play songs, melodies and hymns. They try to hum to themselves, dance and even pirouette, which leads Theo to assume that they could be drugged. In each of the boats, there are two soldiers who either shackle women’s ankles or attach weight. As the women board the boats, one of them suddenly starts to scream and struggle leaping into the sea. While Theo is trying to help and save her, one of the soldiers also leaps into the water and hits her with the butt of his pistol. Theo is seized by, probably, another soldier who almost commands him: “Let it be, sir. Let it be.”²¹⁰ When he insists on moving towards the woman, he is also hit, which causes him to fall and lose consciousness.

The image of the struggling woman, who turns out to be the wife of one of Theo’s friends, haunts him, which convinces him that the Quietus is indeed a way of doing away with old population that is perceived as a burden rather than a peaceful ceremony organised for the mass death of the old:

Harriet leaned forward, her voice persuasive, reasonable: ‘People need their rites of passage and they want company at the end. You have the strength to die alone, Warden, but most people find it comforting to feel the touch of a human hand.’

Theo said: ‘The woman I saw die didn’t get the touch of a human hand except, briefly, mine. What she got was a pistol crack on her skull.’²¹¹

The difference between the revealed and hidden side of the Quietus shows the plight which old people are subject to in the society. In an aging world moving towards the extinction without a sign of new life, old people become a burden for other people and the state except for “the privileged few – relations and friends of the Council, members of the Regional, District and Local Councils, people who are considered to have given some service to the State.”²¹² These privileged old people have the right to stay at Woolcombe, which was once the house of Xan’s family and now offers service as a nursing and retirement home. Also, a few of them, if they are found qualified by the Council, probably those who have links with the councils and their members or have enough money to afford, can get the aid of the “Sojourners” for their personal care

²¹⁰ James, 108.

²¹¹ James, 134-135.

²¹² James, 31.

and/or household chores. Others are seen as useless as they are not able to contribute to production and economy, which leads to the perception of old population as worthless. Besides their missing workforce and contribution to economy, they additionally become incapable of fulfilling their own needs and dependent on others. All these factors cause old people to be considered unwelcome by the rest of the population, resulting in the otherisation of them.

As it has been discussed, the right to directly kill people is replaced by exposing them to death in biopower. If there is a biological threat to a particular race or population it must be immediately eliminated. In terms of biopower and biopolitics, modern states “foster life” and promote the health and welfare of the population. Nevertheless, they have also the right to “disallow it to the point of death” and expose people, who are considered unworthy to live such as the criminal, the poor, the disabled, the deranged, etc., to death or increase the risk of death for such people. In the context of the novel, old people may not be a biological threat, or eliminating them does not lead to the emergence of new life. “The aging body needs to be eliminated not because it needs to give room to a young one”²¹³, but because it becomes a threat to the welfare of citizens, wellness of the population and operation of the state. Thus, the existence of the old becomes a risk for the state that needs to be eliminated not only because they are dependent on others, but also because they are incapable of working, which makes them unworthy to live. In order to eliminate old people, the state exposes them to death, if not directly kills them, organises their suicide and makes sure they would die in the end. After seeing what happens in the Quietus, Theo concludes that the whole event is a murder and decides to talk to Xan and the Council about the regulations they make and their consequences. What he wants to do is to convince Xan and the members of the Council that these regulations including the Quietus are actually problematic:

I was at the Quietus at Southwold last Wednesday. What I saw was murder. Half of the suicides looked drugged and those who did know what was happening didn't all go willingly. I saw women dragged on to the boat and shackled. One was clubbed to the death on the beach. Are we culling our old people now like unwanted animals? Is this

²¹³ Eduardo Marks de Marques, “I Sing the Body Dystopic: Utopia and Posthuman Corporeality in P.D. James’s *The Children of Men*”, *Ilha do Desterro*, 65, 2013, 41.

murderous parade what the Council mean by security, comfort; pleasure? Is this death with dignity?²¹⁴

Theo accuses Xan and the Council of treating their elder citizens badly and reducing them to the “unwanted animals”. However, Xan and the Council claim that everything is under control except that particular Quietus, which is claimed to be mismanaged. After all, the Quietus seems to be a regulation no part of which is wrong for the state, there is nothing that needs to be worried about.

While the state tries to eliminate the old by organising ceremonies of mass-suicide and make sure they die, another group in the society has large privileges: “Omegas” born in 1995. As they are the last born human beings, Omegas are welcomed by the rest of the population with great admiration and fear around the world. On the other hand, in England, as in many other countries, they are always considered saviour of the human race because of the possibility that they could breed. The medical tests and examinations are accordingly carried out on Omegas with more care and hope than any other generation to the extent that “no generation has been more studied, more examined, more agonized over, more valued or more indulged.”²¹⁵ When it is understood, thus, that they are not able to produce fertile sperm, people realise they have lost their last chance and they are doomed to face extinction feeling disappointed. Still, Omegas have rights and immunities that other people do not have, which causes them to be “indulged, propitiated, feared, regarded with a half-superstitious awe”²¹⁶, to the extent that Omegas are even sacrificed in the rites performed for fertility in some countries. The death of the last born human being in the world is even reported in the news with a great grief around the world, which marks the beginning point of the novel. As a result of this mixture of continuous examination and indulgence, they eventually become selfish, inconsiderate and rude. Theo believes “if from infancy you treat children as gods they are liable in adulthood to act as devils.”²¹⁷ Indeed, it is not totally their fault to be like that, rather, other people are responsible for what Omegas become of ultimately.

²¹⁴ P. D. James, *The Children of Men*, Faber and Faber, London 2010, 133.

²¹⁵ James, 13.

²¹⁶ James, 14.

²¹⁷ James, 15.

Being the last generation does not make them fertile but it, perhaps, affects them to become more beautiful and handsome than any other people as if the nature wanted to remind people what is lost forever. The male Omegas “are strong, individualistic, intelligent and handsome as young gods. Many are also cruel, arrogant and violent” while the female ones are also distinctively beautiful and “incapable of human sympathy.”²¹⁸ Their inclination towards vulgarity and violence shows itself in various offences and crimes committed by them. It is rumoured that Omegas form gangs called the Painted Faces that ambush travellers in their cars at the countryside at night by catching them off guard. They usually set fire to the cars and kill one of the passengers in the car by clubbing her or him to death at the end of a savage rite performed through animalistic dancing. The rumours turn to be true as Theo and the members of the Five Fishes are captured in such an ambush while they are running from the Council and the State Security Police (SSP) to find a safe place for Julian to give birth around the countryside, which results in the death of Luke. Though Omegas commit such serious crimes as homicide, they can get immunity when they are captured on condition that they agree to join the SSP.

Whereas Omegas born in England have a privileged and luxurious lifestyle in their home country, other Omegas living in the same country, those who come from abroad, are not as lucky as them. Those Omegas and young people from relatively poor countries, who immigrate to work and live in England, are called the Sojourners. It is not wrong to state that England imports these people from poor countries to do “dirty work”²¹⁹ by luring them into the country. Above all, there is a quota which limits the number of the Sojourners that could enter the country in accordance with restricted immigration rules: “We import them as helots and treat them as slaves. And why the quota? If they want to come, let them in. If they want to leave, let them go.”²²⁰ When the Council is asked by Theo to improve their conditions, at least not to limit immigration, the members of the Council remind him of the situation of the countries in 1990s that suffered from unrestricted immigration, and tells him that it as a mistaken policy:

²¹⁸ James, 14.

²¹⁹ James, 83.

²²⁰ James, 137.

‘We’re not talking about history. We’ve no shortage of resources, no shortage of jobs, no shortage of houses. Restricting immigration in a dying and underpopulated world isn’t a particularly generous policy.

Xan said: ‘It never was. Generosity is a virtue for individuals, not governments. When governments are generous it is with other people’s money, other people’s safety, other people’s future.’²²¹

Actually, restricting immigration, especially immigration in a general sense is a problem which modern states are recently concerned with. Immigration problem is one of the issues that need to be regulated at the level of biopolitics of a country because the immigrants become a part of the population as well as other disadvantaged or minority groups. Many modern states deal with the immigration issue by restricting the number of immigrants and making regulations which would differentiate the immigrants from their citizens. It is known that nowadays lots of immigrants have to live and work in difficult conditions; while refugees face the risk of being deported, some are even placed in refugee camps.

Similarly, the Sojourners in the novel are not treated in a humane way and they are exploited by the state as cheap labour, experiencing lots of difficulties during the time they reside in England:

We take the best and then chuck them back when they’re no longer wanted. And who gets them? Not the people who need them most. The Council and their friends. And who looks after the foreign Omegas when they’re here? They work for a pittance, they live in camps, the women separate from the men. We don’t even give them citizenship; it’s a form of legalized slavery.²²²

Since the number of the Sojourners allowed to the country is limited in accordance with restricted immigration policy, it is compulsory for them to have qualifications like being strong and healthy and without any criminal record. They come to England knowing, at least some of them, the conditions they have to endure because the situation in their home countries is much worse. On the one hand, they are used for very little money in bad jobs like collecting the garbage, cleaning the sewers, mending the roads or nursing old and incontinent people, who are privileged or qualified enough to have a Sojourner;

²²¹ James, 138.

²²² James, 83-84.

on the other hand, they are obliged to reside in camps, women and men separately. When they reach the age of sixty or become incapacitated, they are deported to their countries. It is true that they are neither given citizenship nor treated equally although they live and work as if they are slaves. Most people fear and discriminate them on the basis that they come from foreign countries:

I don't think I want strangers here, particularly not Sojourners. I don't trust those people. It's asking to get murdered under my own roof. And most of them don't know what a day's work means. They're better used mending the roads, cleaning the sewers and collecting the rubbish, jobs where they can be kept under supervision.²²³

They are not trusted and face hatred just because of being foreigners, and thus they are suspected of being possible criminals who can rob and kill people whom they take care of. Accordingly, it is believed that they should be kept under supervision while they are working, and this is why they have overseers during work outside such as repairing roads or clipping flower while wearing yellow-and-brown overalls as obligatory uniforms. And, this is also why they are kept in camps where they can be supervised, and it is illegal for them to distribute political material. Although there are rumours concerning the poor and inhumane conditions of these camps the Sojourners have to endure, most people do not care about the situation of the Sojourners and they consider it normal as they are seen as machines used for certain jobs, not individuals. They even think if Sojourners do not come to England, the works that Sojourners do will not be done, rubbish will not be collected, roads will not be mended, etc., which will eventually result in the collapse of order in the society.

The Council creates the perception that Sojourners come to Britain in order to escape from bad conditions of their home countries and have a better life knowing the living and working conditions for them in the country, that the state does them a favour by allowing them to come, and that they are grateful for being accepted: "They get a better deal here than they'd get back home. They're glad enough to come. Nobody forces them."²²⁴ In this sense, it is normal for the rest of the population to perceive and treat the Sojourners in a manner deprived of empathy. Indeed, the state is not concerned

²²³ James, 68.

²²⁴ James, 168.

about the situation of the Sojourners as they are, like old people, a part of the population whose life can be risked by the state, but this time not because of being weak or useless but because of being foreigners:

‘And the treatment of the Sojourners? Giving them full civil rights, a decent life here, the chance to stay?’

‘That seems very unimportant to him compared to what is important: the good order of Britain, ensuring that the race dies with some dignity.’²²⁵

Again, the welfare of people of Britain is the reason for risking other lives even if it means increasing the risk of death of the Sojourners by condemning them to live in poor conditions. As a consequence of the Council’s regulations regarding the Sojourners, the otherisation of them by people puts forward the issue of racism. Being perceived, like old people, as a threat to the population, the Sojourners, namely, foreigners and immigrants, are exposed to the risk of death through poor living conditions.

Another inferior group in the society is criminals who are permanently sent to the Penal Colony on the Isle of Man, “where the prisoners are left to their own devices”²²⁶. Since the island is not supervised by the Council, the conditions are said to be extremely inhumane and brutal. As with the Quietus and Sojourners, the Council also dismisses the condition of the Penal Colony. What is important for Xan and the Council is, as it is stated before, the welfare and wellness of the population in England, not the situation of old people, immigrants or criminals:

We have plans that will ensure that the last generation fortunate enough to live in the multiracial boarding house we call Britain will have stored food, necessary medicines, light, water and power. Beside these achievements, does the country greatly care that some Sojourners are discontented, that some of the aged choose to die in company, that the Man Penal Colony isn’t pacified?²²⁷

The Quietus, the policy concerning Sojourners, the Man Penal Colony, and even the semen testing programme and gynaecological examinations are all necessary biopolitical regulations for maintaining order. Above all, what the Council promises to

²²⁵ James, 154.

²²⁶ Rudolf Weiss, “Limitations of Solidarity in P. D. James’ *The Children of Men*”, *Beyond Philology*, 15 (3), 2018, 152.

²²⁷ P. D. James, *The Children of Men*, Faber and Faber, London 2010, 140.

provide people with is security, comfort and pleasure, the first of which is ensured through the deportation of criminals to the Man Penal Colony. Those who are convicted of crimes of violence or repeated burglary or theft are permanently banished to the island. When a criminal is convicted of these crimes and sent to the island, there is no remission for her/him, or no getting out of the island. Although the state tries to make sure that no one escapes from the island through security force, it does not control what happens on the island and keep the prisoners under surveillance.

The island is told to be a hell where there are “the murders, the starvation, the complete breakdown of law and order”²²⁸ though the Council asserts to provide what is necessary for survival of the prisoners: seeds, water, shelter and machinery. It is said that all the supplies are plundered and consumed by some of the convicts, who are stronger and crueller than the others:

‘The island is a living hell. Those who went there human are nearly all dead and the rest are devils. There’s starvation. I know they have seeds, grain, machinery, but these are mostly town offenders not used to growing things, not used to working with their hands. All the stored food has been eaten now, gardens and fields stripped. Now, when people die, some get eaten too. I swear it. It has happened. The island is run by a gang of the strongest convicts. They enjoy cruelty and on Man they can beat and torture and torment and there’s no one to stop them and no one to see. Those who are gentle, who care, who ought not to be there, don’t last long.’²²⁹

Since the island is not governed and policed by the state, this one group consisting of the strong and cruel convicts seize the control of and terrorise around the island by tormenting, torturing and even killing other convicts. The Five Fishes wants the Colony to be pacified and no more criminals to be sent there as they learn what happens on the island through Miriam’s brother Henry. Miriam tells that Henry robs an Omega by snatching her handbag and pushing her over. The Omega falls to the ground and Henry runs away but gets immediately caught by the State Security Police. The Omega tells at the court that Henry kicked her while she was on the ground, which causes Henry to be convicted of crime of robbery with violence and sent to the Penal Colony. Later, Henry finds a broken dinghy on the island, which the security force has probably overlooked.

²²⁸ James, 135.

²²⁹ James, 90.

He, who is skilled with his hands, repairs the boat and makes oars by working for weeks in secret. He, in a filthy, bloody and extremely thin condition, arrives in the house of Miriam, who washes and bandages him. Henry tells Miriam what happens on the island by groaning and shrieking: deaths, starvation, murders, tortures, butchery, diseases and so on. The next morning, six Grenadiers and six members of the State Security Police come and arrest her. They tell Miriam that they detected him when he landed but did not arrest him there, that they followed him all the way to Miriam's house and waited until he felt safe. When Miriam asks what will happen, one of the State Security Police says: "What do you expect? But you'll get his ashes."²³⁰ Anyway, they cannot send him back to the island or let him live because they do not want anybody to know that it is possible to escape from the island. Miriam is glad that they did not send Henry back, believing that death is better than being sent back to the island.

The Penal Colony is, indeed, probably the most appreciated deeds of Xan and the Council. The setting up of the Colony is widely supported by the public as it is believed to be done for the good of people. Compared to evils, chaos, wars, slaughters in other parts of the world, what happens on the island seems to be insignificant and be "the price of sound government" which means "good public order, no corruption in high places, freedom from fear of war and crime, a reasonably equitable distribution of wealth and resources, concern for the individual life."²³¹ People do not know the conditions of the island and what happens there in reality, and even if they are informed they do not care for the convicts believing that they deserve what they experience, that they can improve the conditions, that they can restore order. No matter what people believe about the situation of the convicts and the Man Penal Colony, they do not want the Colony to be closed down, which would eventually lead to releasing the criminals into the society:

And the convicts can have a reasonable life. It's up to them. The island is large enough and they have food and shelter. Surely the Council wouldn't evacuate the island. There would be an outcry – all those murderers and rapists loose again. And aren't the Broadmoor inmates there too? They're mad, mad and bad.²³²

²³⁰ James, 91.

²³¹ James, 92.

²³² James, 169.

Evacuation of the convicts from the island does not seem possible since it would risk security of the public and freedom from fear, which is actually one of the promises of the Council. Pacifying and policing the convicts is not also possible because no one would be volunteer for it and the Council would never waste people and resources for governing and policing the island.

Xan and the Council are also questioned by Theo about the situation of the Colony. When Theo asks them why they do not provide the necessities for the proper organisation and order of the Colony, they answer that they fulfil their responsibilities by supplying “shelter, water and seeds to grow food.”²³³ But, Theo protests that the Colony need to be policed and governed remarking that “even in the nineteenth century when convicts were deported to Australia the settlements had a governor, some liberal, some draconian, but all responsible for the maintenance of peace and order.”²³⁴ The Council asserts that every way has been tried to deter people from committing crimes including “every type of so-called treatment, every regime in our prisons.”²³⁵ However, neither prisoning nor correcting them has worked. It is reminded by the Council that during the 1990s, criminality reached its peak with ever increasing crime rates and number of criminals, that women were afraid to walk outside even in the cities especially during evenings, that crimes of sex and violence increased more than ever before, that old people imprisoned themselves in their flats, that drunken hooligans terrorised the country towns and villages, that people had to protect their properties with expensive burglar alarms and grilles, that children were as dangerous as adults. For Xan and the Council, deportation of the criminals into an island and keeping them there permanently is the best policy for punishing and getting rid of them:

If people choose to assault, rob, terrify, abuse and exploit others, let them live with people of the same mind. If that’s the kind of society they want, then give it to them. If there is any virtue in them, then they’ll organize themselves sensibly and live at peace with each other. If not, their society will degenerate into the chaos they’re so ready to impose on others. The choice is entirely theirs.²³⁶

²³³ James, 136.

²³⁴ James, 136.

²³⁵ James, 137.

²³⁶ James, 136.

Xan says that they cannot encourage criminals by attempting to cure and correct them in various ways offered by religion, psychology, psychiatry or criminology. They cannot either waste people such as magistrates, judges, court officials, social workers, probation officers, criminologists and psychiatrists on striving to judge and punish criminals any longer. In a depopulated world, the state tries to reduce the unnecessary jobs that people need to have, and makes relevant regulations such as taking the Sojourners, encouraging old people to die, doing away with crimes and criminals, and imposing fines on the relatives of middle-aged people who commit suicide.

As the novel progresses, it is understood that not all criminals are sent to the Man Penal Colony. Only a part of them, those who are convicted of violence and repeated theft, are sent there while dissidents are dealt with by the State Security Police, who are considered “spies and executioners”²³⁷ of Xan. The dissidents who have thoughts or acts against the state, or who openly criticise the policy and deeds of Xan and the Council, or who make plans and take action in order to change the regime are considered to commit treason and to be terrorists. They should be immediately captured and punished by the state. What the State Security Police actually does, though they are seemingly responsible for the security of the state, is to spy, keep people under surveillance, find those who are suspected of being a dissident, make them confess their crimes, and do away with them. In this regard, the SSP seems to resemble the Thought Police in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by George Orwell. It is rumoured that no one can hide or escape if they are already suspected by the SSP: “The cover isn’t meant to convince the SSP. If they started taking an interest in us no cover would protect us. They’d break us in ten minutes. We know that.”²³⁸ It can be said that anyone who is suspected to be a dissident is eventually found and captured, tormented and tortured, and killed by the SSP. By eliminating dissidents, who are possible threats to the state, the SSP indeed provides security of the state, together with the Grenadiers, who were once specialised soldiers in one of the famous regiments of the British army, but later became Xan’s private soldiers serving him. Gascoigne, one of the members of the Five Fishes, thinks that Xan made them “his private army. It’s him they take an oath to. They don’t serve

²³⁷ James, 93.

²³⁸ James, 81.

the State any more, they serve him. He's got no right to use that name."²³⁹ Having a grandfather who was a private in the Grenadiers, Gascoigne asserts that Xan abuses the name of the Grenadiers.

The State Security Police generally do not generally have to physically torture dissidents to make them confess. Instead, they take advantage and make use of specific drugs in order to break their suspects. In the novel, the reader witnesses how the SSP deals with the Five Fishes. The members of the group want to inform people about the wrong deeds of Xan and the Council and believe that they should stop Xan. Julian approaches Theo, as he is Xan's cousin and, once, adviser, and persuades him to meet the group to discuss the wrong things happening in Britain. The members inform Theo by telling him Xan's position as a tyrant and despot, uselessness of the Local and Regional Councils, semen testing programme, gynaecological examinations, the situation of the Sojourners, the conditions of the Man Penal Colony, and the Quietus. Before acting, they want him to talk to Xan if he would do anything to change those wrong things. When Theo's conversation with Xan and the Council results in failure, the Five Fishes decides to take action. Theo becomes frustrated believing they are unequipped to confront the state and worrying about Julian, to whom he feels a sense of affinity:

You've no money, no resources, no influence, no popular backing. You haven't even a coherent philosophy of revolt. [...] You're doing it because you're married to Rolf. He's dragging you into dreadful danger to satisfy his own ambitions. He can't compel you. Leave him. Break free.²⁴⁰

Their motives are all different: Rolf wants to be the Warden, Miriam wants to take revenge for her brother, Gascoigne's problem is the misuse of the Grenadiers, etc. However, it is understood later that the most significant motive of the Five Fishes is Julian's pregnancy.

The Five Fishes gets to work by secretly disseminating pamphlets remarking that they make some demands on the Warden of England. What they demand is that a general election should be called, the Sojourners should be given full civil rights, the

²³⁹ James, 82.

²⁴⁰ James, 156.

Quietus should be abolished, convicted offenders should stop being deported to the Isle of Man Penal Colony, the compulsory testing of semen and the examination of women should stop, and the porn shops should be shut down. After the dissemination of these pamphlets, some of the recent Quietus are interrupted when someone blows up the ramps from which boats embark. The last repatriation of the Sojourners in the quay is also interrupted especially after these pamphlets are also circulated in the camps for Sojourners. All those incidents and the pamphlets concern the Council and the State Security Police, who begin to make investigations in order to find the dissidents. In relation to the investigation, Theo is visited by two members of the SSP, being informed about the incidents and dissidents, and asked if he has seen any of the pamphlets. Theo admits that a pamphlet has already been left at his door, but does not reveal that he knows about the dissidents. One of them tells Theo that they look for a group of five dissidents who might be related to Christianity since the fish is a Christian symbol. Even though they leave without asking too many questions, Theo knows that they might keep him under secret surveillance from then on. His attempts to warn Julian that the SSP are about to find them fail since she tells him that they will not stop. Theo decides to let it be and not to interfere in what they will do.

Theo's decision is reversed when Miriam comes and asks him to help them expressing that the SSP have got Gascoigne and it is just a matter of time before they find Julian and others. It turns out that it is Gascoigne who blew the embarkation stages at the Quietus and got caught at one of them. Miriam says that they have to flee before Gascoigne gives their names because "Neither of them doubted that Gascoigne would break. Nothing as crude as physical torture would be necessary. The State Security Police would have the necessary drugs and the knowledge and ruthlessness to use them."²⁴¹ Both of them know that the SSP can get at any minute as soon as they break Gascoigne and make him confess. Theo points out that the SSP could have caught them a long time ago if Xan had really wanted them to be imprisoned. The reason why they have lasted this long is probably that he wants

the pretence of an internal threat to good public order. It helps buttress his authority. All tyrants have needed that from time to time. All he has to do is tell the people that there's a

²⁴¹ James, 201.

secret society operating whose published manifesto may be beguilingly liberal but whose real aim is to close down the Isle of Man Settlement, let loose ten thousand criminal psychopaths on an ageing society, send home all the Sojourners so that the rubbish isn't collected and the streets are unswept, and ultimately overthrow the Council and the Warden himself.²⁴²

They are eventually are caught in a shorter time than they think when Rolf betrays them after he learns the real father of the baby. Gascoigne and Rolf cannot get away from being killed by the SSP although Gascoigne breaks and Rolf informs on others and tells about the baby. The news of the baby shocks Xan and gives him hope that there may be other fertile males, so that he decides to redouble the tests and to test everyone including "the epileptic, deformed – every male in the country."²⁴³ He tells his plans to marry Julian, who is the mother of the baby, namely the hope for human beings, and asks Theo to reassure Julian that she will be taken care of. However, Theo rejects and kills Xan before him, partly because he knows that Xan is evil in the eyes of Julian, partly because he himself considers Xan evil, or because he himself has feelings for Julian and wants to protect her.

It is not very easy for Theo to embrace his feelings for Julian, which he thinks to be "a romantic impulse, childish and ridiculous, which I hadn't felt since I was a boy. I had distrusted and resented it then."²⁴⁴ However, as he keeps worrying about and caring for Julian, he comes to the realisation that he loves her, which is not a convenient situation: "Fifty is not an age to invite the turbulence of love, particularly not on this doomed and joyless planet when man goes to his last rest and all desire fades."²⁴⁵ Love and sex are, in this sense, actually significant issues that should be analysed in that the novel is the depiction of an infertile and endangered world. Without the hope of procreation, people begin to lose their interest in sex and sexual pleasure which romantic love overrides. Even though people continue to love each other and to fall in love, love has also lost its former strength and charm. People need someone to love for "the comfort of responsive flesh, of hand on hand, lip on lip", and search for someone, "preferably younger but at least of one's own age, with whom to face the inevitable

²⁴² James, 206.

²⁴³ James, 336.

²⁴⁴ James, 186.

²⁴⁵ James, 188.

decline and decay.”²⁴⁶ Theo even admits that people feel a sense of admiration and surprise when they read the love poems written in previous ages. The loss of the pleasure that sex gives does not mean that people do not have sex any longer. They still have sex probably not to feel pleasure or be in an ecstatic state, but to have a feeling of comfort. Actually, it is interesting that sex has lost its charm without hope or risk of procreation because, at first it was assumed, as Theo expresses, that men would feel freer and more relaxed while having sex if they knew women do not have the risk to get pregnant, which would eventually result in the increase of pleasure and desire. Instead, sex has come to be “among the least important of man’s sensory pleasures”:

One might have imagined that with the fear of pregnancy permanently removed, and the unerotic paraphernalia of pills, rubber and ovulation arithmetic no longer necessary, sex would be freed for new and imaginative delights. The opposite has happened. Even those men and women who would normally have no wish to breed apparently need the assurance that they could have a child if they wished. Sex totally divorced from procreation has become almost meaninglessly acrobatic.²⁴⁷

It is also surprising that those who do not normally want to have a child have become crazy about children, which eventually influences their sex life. Women have begun to complain more and more that men cannot give them pleasure or children but rather they give pain. This even influences people’s matrimonial lives as they do not marry as often as they used to and generally not with the opposite sex. In order to encourage people and stimulate their “flagging appetites”²⁴⁸, the state opens government-sponsored porn shops and increases the production of sexually explicit literature and movies, which all do not work.

Sex and sexuality are indeed very significant for the state, sex being “the hinge between anatomo-politics and bio-politics” and “the intersection of disciplines and regulations”²⁴⁹. Sex is both an instrument for both disciplining the body and a key point for regulating the reproduction of the population. Accordingly, it is crucially important for the state to interfere in and regulate the issues of sex and sexuality including

²⁴⁶ James, 164.

²⁴⁷ James, 163-164.

²⁴⁸ James, 9.

²⁴⁹ Michel Foucault, “The Meshes of Power”, Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Eds.), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, Ashgate Publishing, Farnham 2007, 162.

reproduction, marriages and sexual lives of individuals. It is because of this reason that national porn shops are opened and explicit literature and media are produced. Besides, the state also increases the services of “sensual substitutes”²⁵⁰ when sex becomes one of the least significant physical pleasures. The National Health Service is responsible for providing these state-provided services, where they manicure, pedicure, massage, stretch, stroke, caress, pummel, and anoint the bodies of individuals. Although all these services are free for all the citizens, some privileged people make others keep out of these services. As well as this state-provided indulgence, people are also measured and weighed with records kept, which is a way of controlling the individual bodies. In regard to biopower, recordkeeping and documentation in hospitals, for instance, are important in terms of acquiring knowledge about the individuals and keeping them under control and a kind of surveillance. Similarly, the state wants to control individuals through their sexual lives by stimulating sexual desire through porn shops. The control is, thus, as Foucault explains, provided not with repression but with stimulation of desire and pleasure through, for instance, “exploitation of eroticisation, from sun-tan products to pornographic films.”²⁵¹ Porn shops and explicit literature then, actually, become more than a way of pleasure, maybe entertainment, and turn to one of the instruments of control.

For the Five Fishes, the porn shops, as well as other ways to stimulate desire, are disgraceful and should be closed down. When Theo asks Xan why there are state-provided porn shops and whether they are necessary, he answers that they are harmless anyway. They attempt to ensure that people continue to have sex by stimulating desire:

‘Then there are the pornography centres. Are they really necessary?’

‘You don’t have to use them. There has always been pornography.’

‘State-tolerated but not State-provided.’

‘There’s not so great a difference. And what harm do they do to people without hope? There’s nothing like keeping the body occupied and the mind quiescent.’

Theo had said: ‘But that isn’t really what they’re set up for, is it?’

²⁵⁰ P. D. James, *The Children of Men*, Faber and Faber, London 2010, 9.

²⁵¹ Michel Foucault, “Body/Power”, Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, Vintage Books, New York 1980, 57.

‘Obviously not. Man has no hope of reproducing himself if he doesn’t copulate. Once that goes totally out of fashion we are lost.’²⁵²

Xan implies that without hope of reproduction again, one day at least, people would become hopeless and lost, which would cause them to be more difficult to govern and control. In order to control them, the state should make people believe that one day they will have children again, that the state struggles to find solution. And, in order to keep alive the hope that human beings will reproduce again, the state must ensure that people have sex.

The medical tests and examinations, accordingly, continue to be carried on to keep people feeling hopeful for the future of the human race though they become useless and a waste of time. Furthermore, most of those who are responsible for carrying out them like lab technicians do not care any longer so it will not be a problem if people miss some of their appointments. However, the Council is insistent that the test and examinations should continue. Except those tests, the whole medicine serves “improving health in old age and extending the human lifespan” and there are “drugs to improve short-term memory, drugs to raise mood, drugs to increase appetite.”²⁵³ When there is not an apparent possibility for reproduction, the other biological processes should be taken in to consideration such as longevity, mortality and morbidity. In an infertile world, biopolitical regulations are focused on controlling the remaining population. The state makes some people live by improving their lives while it lets the others die by increasing the risk of their deaths.

3.3. THE PANOPTICON SOCIETY: BEN ELTON’S *BLIND FAITH*

Biopolitical regulations concerning the population and reproduction are, doubtless, one of the key points of *Blind Faith* (2007) written by Ben Elton, as well as other post-apocalyptic novels. However, this novel does not revolve around the human race that is not able to reproduce or that struggles to remain pure. Reproduction gains significance in a society with falling population growth rates due to the death of almost half of infants as a result of epidemics or “plagues” as they are popularly known within society. One child out of two die before they reach the age of five because of such

²⁵² P. D. James, *The Children of Men*, Faber and Faber, London 2010, 146.

²⁵³ James, 147.

plagues as “pustules”, “the running sores”, “the hacking rip”, “the dead shivers”, which are indeed measles, smallpox, whooping cough and meningitis, and many more. Although these epidemics are described by the Temple, a church-like organisation that is superior to the government and controls everything in the country, as the cost people should pay “for the sins of their faithless forefathers”²⁵⁴, they actually result from environmental factors like heat and damp and relating unhygienic conditions, as well as other factors, due to rising water levels. Apart from these factors, the main reason for the high mortality rate among infants is perhaps that they cannot develop immunity to these diseases as they are not vaccinated against them. Vaccination is considered a sin and heresy together with science, which is said to be forbidden. Science along with other arrogant productions of human beings in the “Age of Lies” is accused by the Temple of causing God to send the “flood”, or as it is sometimes called “the second flood”, upon the world.

Nearly a century ago, the world was devastated by the flood, which resulted in the destruction of a big part of the world and caused almost half of the world population to be drowned. The excessive and unrestricted use of oil and other fossil fuels led to the more serious damages in the atmosphere than ever before, which triggered the global warming in an irreversible way. The extreme rises in world’s temperature caused the polar ice to melt and the sea levels to rise flooding many countries. Though Britain is one of the lucky countries which managed to survive this cataclysm, people now have to live in increasingly smaller, more crowded and unhygienic places because of the rising water levels in the country. However, the scientific explanation of the flood is dismissed by the Temple claiming that the reason was simply God’s vengeance caused by human beings’ arrogance:

What could be more clear? Man was wicked, God punished him. Hey, it’s that simple. But no, the so-called scientists of this Godless age had a different idea. They said that the floods came from polar ice melted by the heat of the Sun, trapped upon the Earth by the exhaust from oil-fired engines. Yeah, right. That’s exactly what happened, I don’t think.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ Ben Elton, *Blind Faith*, Black Swan, London 2008, 14.

²⁵⁵ Elton, 167.

The Temple calls global warming a big lie and accuses human beings Before The Flood (BTF) of causing, in their vanity, the destruction of the world, of which only God is capable. The Temple divides the history between the current period and Before The Flood, that is, between “Age of Faith” and Age of Lies.

The Temple informs people that the world was a wicked and sinful place Before The Flood, full of “ignorance, heresy and dark, dark sorcery.”²⁵⁶ In this period, also called “Monkey Time”, some people claimed that human beings had evolved from the apes, and Christians believed that God was not a real person. Thus, BTF or the past is a matter that should be handled with caution and not be favoured, missed or showed sympathy towards. Things related to the past such as habits, books, names are not favoured, if not completely forbidden at all. For instance, when Trafford, the protagonist of the novel, tells Confessor Bailey, who is Trafford’s community spiritual guide, that he has named his new-born daughter Caitlin, which is indeed a traditional name, the confessor gets frowned, and he is satisfied only upon hearing her full name will be Caitlin Happymeal. Thus, people also avoid traditional names and generally prefer names in accordance with elements of popular culture like Barbieheart, Fanta, Tinkerbell, Gucci KitKat, Heavenly Braveheart, Madonnatella, Princess Lovebud, Ninja, Caramel Magnum, Ice Blade, Phoenix Rising, etc. It can be concluded that people believe what the Temple tells about Before The Flood, assuming the flood to be God’s punishment because all people who witnessed the flood are already dead, and the Temple distorts the information related to BTF:

‘You don’t *know* that the flood was a result of God’s anger with man. You’ve only been told it.’

‘We know there was a flood. We know half the world drowned. We know the Muzzies got it worse than we did. Who else do you think sent it but God? And why, if not to punish man for forgetting and denying him?’

‘The world got warmer, that’s all we know. It’s still getting warmer. Ice melted, the seas rose. That is *all we know*.’

‘We know that we deserved to be punished.’²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ Elton, 26.

²⁵⁷ Elton, 103.

Trafford thinks that even intelligent people like his wife Chantorria are made by the Temple to believe what they tell about the past, the present and everything. God, the Temple asserts, punished humanity not only because they supported the theory of evolution, but also because they tried to prevent “the purpose of the Lord by sticking needles full of poison into their children like the witches they were!”²⁵⁸ According to the Temple, sticking poisoned needles into their children could not prevent them from dying from epidemics. Furthermore, the infant mortality is told to be as bad in that age as it is now, as it is seen in the statistics of BTF, which are obviously manipulated by the Temple.

Vaccination is not only called heresy but also forbidden and illegal, which means that parents who try to get their children vaccinated or Vaccinators should be denounced. Vaccination is claimed by the Temple to be “an attempt by man to deny God his prerogative over fate.”²⁵⁹ What is sinful and unacceptable about the vaccination, for the Temple, is the idea of immunization. While treating diseases with medicine is acceptable since it is regarded as a reaction to what God sends people, vaccinating people means attempting to change or prevent what God would do. As only God knows and makes the future, it is unacceptable for human beings to interfere with the future. Accordingly, Vaccinators, blasphemous people, are told to be “a sinister secret sect, who practised dark arts that could be traced back to the Age of Lies” and “an unholy brotherhood who believed in brutalizing children in the name of ancient and discredited ‘science’.”²⁶⁰ They are burned alive whenever they get caught by the Inquisition after they are tortured and made to confess. Trafford therefore gets frightened when he is approached by one of his colleagues, Cassius, who turns to be a Vaccinator. Cassius tells Trafford that he has approached him because he believes Trafford seems to have enough reason to try to save his daughter even if he knows vaccination is forbidden. Cassius offers to help Trafford by vaccinating his daughter Caitlin Happymeal, adding that he has offered his service to many other families. Trafford becomes afraid and even suspects Cassius of being a secret policeman who tries to entrap him by testing his faith. However, having already lost a child to tetanus,

²⁵⁸ Elton, 102.

²⁵⁹ Elton, 65.

²⁶⁰ Elton, 64.

Trafford is scared that he could also lose Caitlin because of one of those never-ending epidemics.

Although the Temple denounces vaccination as blasphemy, Cassius says that he believes the elders of the Temple use vaccination in order to protect their own families. Trafford tries to imply that vaccination does not work, mentioning the statistics which show that lots of infants also died BTF despite the use of vaccines. However, Cassius proves him that the Temple juggles with them in order to manipulate people. When Trafford asks where Cassius and other Vaccinators get the vaccines, Cassius answers that some of them are made in kitchen laboratories and some of them are smuggled from other countries. Trafford, though he wants to save Caitlin, continues to question Cassius and has suspicions about vaccination, stating that science is forbidden. Cassius informs Trafford that science is required in cosmetic medicine as in implant surgery. Moreover, science is everywhere since it is necessary for the running of the country from the Underground lines to trains and buses; it “packages and preserves the food, runs the microwaves and freezers.”²⁶¹ However, as Trafford remarks, this is what the Temple prefers calling wisdom instead of science, which serves for goodness of the population, because they cannot admit that they need science:

They may claim to despise all that was known and discovered in the time Before The Flood but in fact they rely on that learning absolutely. The surgery they force upon women; the physics that keeps the remaining aeroplanes aloft and guides the missiles that they fire at migrant infidels; the chemicals which grow and preserve this foul mess we’re eating; above all, the microtechnology that delivers what they call information to everybody, everywhere, every second of every day. All this was the work of that very same intellectual community which they condemn and despise, that same community which once developed vaccines and put a man on the Moon²⁶²

It seems that one of the reasons why the Temple discredits and despises science and outlaws vaccination is that they want to monopolise their benefits. While hundreds of children die with each epidemic in London, and people are subjected to diseases, pollution, crowds and poor quality of life, the elders of the Temple and their families live in luxury and health.

²⁶¹ Elton, 155.

²⁶² Elton, 156.

In addition to their weak immune system, children are exposed to the increasing severity of the diseases that kill more and more children each time. Though the Temple calls them God's vengeance, there are people who discuss in serious chat shows and health websites the factors that contribute to this severity. They argue that these factors include the worsening water and air quality due to environmental issues, poor public hygiene, malnutrition and overuse of antibiotics. They also state that children who are able to survive these epidemics somehow develop immunity from these diseases. However, as they cannot discredit God and people's faith, those people do not absolutely mean that these factors are not arranged by God, and also punishment or survival of those children is not God's work. Nevertheless, most people choose to avoid these relatively reasonable explanations, believing their children die because God wants to take those children into his presence. Unlike them, Trafford decides that Caitlin should be vaccinated though it is illegal and brings up this matter with his wife Chantorria. Yet, Chantorria strictly objects to vaccination protesting those needles are "filled with the same poison they are supposed to protect the child from!"²⁶³ What Chantorria says reflects the ideas of all those people who truly believe or prefer believing in the approach of the Temple to vaccination as black magic, witchcraft or voodoo. Despite her violent objections, Trafford plans to get her daughter inoculated by Cassius against diseases whose vaccines are available to Cassius.

With one in two infants dying, "the first and foremost spiritual duty"²⁶⁴ of people is to reproduce as much as they can do in order to prevent the decrease in population growth rate. The Temple expects people to find more sexual partners with whom they can procreate and marry as much as possible since marriage is thought to be the most appropriate way of reproduction. However, as it is important to have many sexual partners, people get married more than once, and extramarital affairs or having sex with people more than one at the same time is not offensive at all, even they are occasionally supported, as long as the person who cheats on defends herself/himself well in accordance with the precepts of the Temple. Besides, the Temple notifies that the government must enable people, who are able to work from home, to interact much more and thus must organise "Fizzy Coffs", short for "physical office". Fizzy Coffs

²⁶³ Elton, 102.

²⁶⁴ Elton, 16.

refer to the days in which people go to their actual workplace, and it is required that a person should spend a quarter of her/his working hours in the workplace with her/his colleagues. This is believed to improve people's motivation by enabling them to more regularly interact with people in physical, psychological, and perhaps, sexual ways. As marriages are the sanctified ways of reproduction, "the more of them a person had, the better, more holy and more filled with love that person was."²⁶⁵ Therefore, serial marriage becomes such a significant norm in the society that long marriages get suspicious "since they seemed to deny the natural duty of every man since Adam to spread the Love."²⁶⁶ In these serial marriages, mothers and children stay at their homes while fathers as less significant members of marriage and family move on as they get divorced and married to another woman. On the other hand, it is interesting to state that the elders of the Temple, unlike the public, do not have to get divorced for their serial marriages because they have the right of polygamy. For example, Confessor Bailey has currently eight wives.

While the elders of the Temple have as many wives as they want at once, they want ordinary people to marry for many times. However, the process of divorcement is a long and complicated one consisting of various steps. Partners have to attend a public event called the "Community Confession" and headed by their community spiritual guide, where such couples are expected to express their emotions and views regarding their marriage, and "every detail of the marriage, every reason for the separation"²⁶⁷ is discussed with the participation of the congregation. The event is recorded and its video is broadcast on the web, which enables people who do not attend to comment about and rate the marriage. Before the event, partners go to the "Spirit House" where their confessor lives in order to request him to divorce them explaining their reasons for the divorcement. The confessor ensures the organisation of the confession event with the "break-up banns" that announce the event to the public, and divorce the couples some time after the event if he wishes. At the end of such a complicated process, people are able to get married again if they have someone available, which is actually expected of them in terms of the sanctity of marriage. It is believed that Jesus blessed marriage at

²⁶⁵ Elton, 160.

²⁶⁶ Elton, 50.

²⁶⁷ Elton, 196.

Cana, a small town where Jesus is said to have attended a wedding feast and performed a miracle by changing water into wine. What is more significant, as the Temple asserts, is not to stay married but to get married because they assume Jesus did not celebrate a marriage but a wedding at Cana. Thus, the most important part of the marriage is the wedding which becomes a central issue in the lives of people. Since the wedding as the announcement “of unity between a man and a woman, that children might be created and family life perpetuated, lies at the very heart of a peaceful God-fearing society”²⁶⁸, it is organised carefully with each detail planned one by one. People generally prefer big, flamboyant, and if possible, expensive and luxurious weddings, which are indeed a sign of loyalty to faith because

What could be better than a wedding? What could be better than food, wine and the pleasures of the flesh? These are gifts from God! At a wedding all three are in abundance, all consumed in solemn observance of our spiritual vows. What’s not to like about that?²⁶⁹

Trafford considers weddings one of the contradictions the Temple imposes on people, and thinks that making a great deal of effort on weddings of marriages that are expected not to last long is preposterous. Yet, as the Temple puts forward, weddings have the potential of almost all worldly pleasures: more food, more drink and more sex.

Since it is impossible to “produce children without sexual partners”²⁷⁰, sex and sexuality gain great significance in regulating the population, as a result of which the Temple encourages and imposes excessive sexuality from relationships to clothes. It is a norm that people should have sex, at least regularly, enjoy it and share it so that others could enjoy it too. Through the screens at homes, people share what they do at their homes and, at the same time, watch what others do, especially sex. Moreover, people are required to upload their videos, in which they have sex with their partners, on their “WorldTube” pages. The upload of these sex videos are obligatory as well as other types of videos concerning a person’s life, which enables other people to watch them, enjoy them, like them and comment on them. Among them, videos called Cherry Pop, which show women’s first experience of sex, are perhaps the most interesting ones. Of

²⁶⁸ Elton, 160.

²⁶⁹ Elton, 161-162.

²⁷⁰ Elton, 16.

course, women are obliged to share their Cherry Pop videos because “no young woman could afford to defy convention by keeping private their sacred and celebratory, life-enhancing, God-respecting moment of ‘losing it’.”²⁷¹ No matter how embarrassing and humiliating their first experiences are, people have to pretend to enjoy them and support and applaud a woman if they watch her video with others in public. And, the more people watch and enjoy a woman’s sex videos, the more that woman is liked and desired and the better it is for her: “What’s not to like?” asks one of the women in the novel, “Isn’t that what every girl wants? To be watched, all the time? To be lusted after and thought *hot*?”²⁷² Everybody likes sex after all, or at least it is expected from people to like sex, have sex, watch sex, read about sex, talk about sex, think about sex and enjoy sex.

Similar reactions are also expected when people watch their neighbours having sex in their tenement chat room. People should pay attention and emote when they see in the chat room that one of their neighbours is “sorting out” their partners. Trafford wonders how many people really enjoy every time they have sex and how many of them fake it as there is a pressure over the couples to have a regular sex life in order to prove that their relationships and marriages do not have any problems, and that women are not frigid and men are not impotent:

How much of the sex that was streamed on the community webcast was actually a pantomime? The social pressure to be an obsessively sexual being was all-encompassing. Every advert, every song, every reality show seemed to be about almost nothing but sex. Sometimes it seemed to Trafford as if, with the exception of some of the news, nothing was broadcast at all that was not about sex. All comment, all discussion, all marketing appeared to be based on the assumption that there were only two proper states for a person to be in, either ‘up for it’ or ‘at it’, and if they weren’t one of those two things then something was very wrong.²⁷³

Accordingly, a woman who is married or has an affair is expected to want to have sex “big time” with her partner and to be able to seduce her partner too. If she cannot manage to do it she is labelled as frigid and her husband or partner has the right to cheat

²⁷¹ Elton, 115.

²⁷² Elton, 238.

²⁷³ Elton, 179.

on her and “get it” from other women. Such women also have difficulty in finding another husband when their husbands get bored and leave them, which is actually inevitable in such a case. Knowing that “if ever the community noted that he had not been sorting out Chantorria on an appropriately regular basis she was the one most likely to be stigmatized”²⁷⁴, Trafford notices that being highly sexualised is a pressure much more on women rather than men. Therefore, Trafford tells Chantorria that he will fake it when she approaches him in sexy clothes. He realizes the fact that they have not had sex since Caitlin was born will draw attention both of people in their community and Confessor Bailey, and may cause Chantorria to be seen as frigid. After all, he thinks, no man can remain indifferent to the seduction by his wife: “Why would any man object to the world seeing his wife in her sexiest attire? Wasn’t he proud? Wasn’t he proud that she was proud? Wasn’t she beautiful?”²⁷⁵ Trafford, though he is angry with all those people eagerly ready to watch them having sex by cheering them, cannot say and do anything to show his anger.

Sexuality is also a way of disciplining the individual bodies as well as the regulation of the population since it is a bodily construct. Through sexuality and bodily practices related to sexuality, the Temple finds it easier to keep people under surveillance, discipline their bodies and control them in this way. The Temple wants everybody, who is capable, to have an active and regular sexual life with serial partners and reproduce many times. Although it is forbidden, the Temple sometimes, in case of women with lots of children, chooses to overlook ways of contraception such as condoms or, for rich people, morning after pills that mean actually a kind of chemical abortion for the Temple. The Temple does not make a difference between abortion, which is undoubtedly illegal, and contraception, which is another version of abortion and murder and one of the factors “causing the Love in his anger to bring forth the flood.”²⁷⁶ On the other hand, it is unacceptable for a woman to avoid getting married and pregnant unless she is celibate. The Temple accepts “non-sexed-up women” if they abstain from sex and marriage for genuine reasons of faith and they practice celibacy in a way approved by the Temple. If a woman, who is not celibate, is found to avoid

²⁷⁴ Elton, 177.

²⁷⁵ Elton, 178.

²⁷⁶ Elton, 82.

getting pregnant, she becomes the target of both official and public rage. After she is tortured by being whipped and placed in the stocks, she is bullied and punished by other people to the extent that she may be raped. Moreover, it is strictly forbidden that a woman has a relationship with someone of the same sex. “Sapphic sex” for the Temple is “the lust of the Devil’s whores”²⁷⁷ other than that in sex games played by men for their pleasure. Lesbianism is a big crime, and it is very likely that any woman who does not conform to sexual and bodily norms set by the Temple may be accused of practising lesbianism. It is interesting that women are more prone than men to the sexual pressure and accusations, and have numerous sexual and bodily rules that they are expected to obey.

One of the sexual and bodily norms that both women and men are expected to conform is nakedness to a certain extent that is approved by the Temple. People should expose and show off their bodies, believing that they are made in God’s image. They should be proud of the body in God’s image and accordingly share their pride with other people. Women generally wear bikinis or crop tops and panties or thongs, even some remain naked at the bosom. On the other hand, men typically wear short shorts and vests or prefer no top at all. Trafford is annoyed with this level of nakedness especially in excessively crowded places like tube stations with “so much tide to push against. So many people and so *much* of each person. And almost all of it on display. So much flesh. So much sweating near-naked flesh.”²⁷⁸ Trafford hates seeing exposed bodies of people, especially those who are huge, fat and paunchy, and he himself prefers to wear modestly. However, he knows that stepping out of these norms of clothing usually draws attention and arouses suspicion, which mostly results in accusations:

It was dangerous enough that he was himself excessively modest in his dress. Declining to expose his own body an inch more than the heat and stern social convention dictated, he always wore a T-shirt rather than a vest and his shorts stretched almost halfway to his knees. Indeed so overdressed was he in comparison to the norm that it was not uncommon for people to accuse him of being a Muslim and tell him to get back to the ghetto or better still, to where he came from, if it was still above water.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ Elton, 172.

²⁷⁸ Elton, 23.

²⁷⁹ Elton, 34-35.

Finding this obsession with nakedness irritating rather than sexy or erotic, Trafford avoids exposing his body too much and takes the risk of suspicion. In this society “where near-nudity was ubiquitous”²⁸⁰, it is almost impossible for a person, especially a woman, to keep a great part of her/his body covered. Furthermore, although it is required that a person’s genitals should be covered in public, they should be exposed in a proper and complete way on websites, blogs, Face Space, WorldTube, etc. Even, confessors, elders of the Temple, expose their bodies as much as their position in the society allows and wear hot pants and jerseys. Trafford gets surprised when he realizes that one of his colleagues called Sandra Dee defies the norm by wearing relatively modest clothes such as long tops and skirts or dresses with hems to almost her knees. Thus, Sandra Dee often becomes the target of accusations of the mob in the workplace, who upbraided her for lack of pride in her body.

The reluctance to expose one’s own body or feeling uncomfortable with other people’s bodies means that a person has a problem with her/his or others’ bodies and appearance. And if someone has a problem with a person’s body or appearance, they also must have a problem with God because human beings are created in God’s image. In this sense, sexual harassment is strictly inappropriate despite perpetual nudity and sexual obsession. “The merest touch could so easily be”, as Trafford expresses, “wilfully misinterpreted”²⁸¹, so he should be careful, especially in crowded tube stations, not to accidentally touch someone’s breasts or bottom. Generally women accuse people who accidentally touch them of disrespecting their bodies and being a pervert. This could even result in an angry mob ready to take action due to the fact that disrespect to other people is forbidden. Similarly, as they are all in God’s image and there is nothing to be ashamed of their bodies, those who are indifferent to and careless about their body or appearance like Sandra Dee arouse suspicions of the “lack of pride in one’s body”, “an absence of self-respect and proper piety”²⁸² and defying the Temple. Sandra Dee tries to defend herself by explaining that she has an excuse not to expose her skin too much since she is prone to freckles and sunburns as a pale-skinned person. However, despite the risk of cancer, extreme suntans are one of the bodily trends among

²⁸⁰ Elton, 142.

²⁸¹ Elton, 23.

²⁸² Elton, 143.

white women because tanned skin is considered one of such features that make people sexy, which all cause her to draw more attention.

In addition to her modest clothes and untanned skin, Sandra Dee also refuses breast enlargement, which is also one of the bodily norms women are expected to conform. Even though breast enlargement is not legally obligatory for women, it is a norm for women with small breasts, which should not be crossed in accordance with the expectations of the Temple. Sometimes women who do not want breast enlargement are forced to have surgery by male members of their family. Their fathers, uncles, brothers, etc., drug and take them into hospital where they get their breasts enlarged while they are unconscious. They find themselves with “enormously increased breasts”, which are called “honour enlargements”²⁸³, when they wake up. Another female colleague of Trafford, called Cresta Fiesta, is cheered as she had her breast enlargement surgery as early as at the age of sixteen in order to be as beautiful as she could. What is interesting is that she and other women assert that they do such things as breast enlargement and bodily practices for the sake of God they believe in:

‘They’ve really empowered me as a woman,’ Cresta Fiesta said, ‘and taught me to love myself and to grow and believe in myself and my Creator even more and give him big respect.’

‘Way to go, girl! Way to go!’ Princess Lovebud shouted. ‘Because remember! We are the face and body of the Lord and when people look at us, they are looking at God!’²⁸⁴

While Cresta Fiesta is applauded, Sandra Dee becomes again the target of a mob because she says that God wants her to remain as she was created when she is questioned about her refusal of breast enlargement. Even she is accused of insulting God and being a lesbian, which is actually a serious condemnation. Nevertheless, declining breast enlargement is just one of many things that could lead to being stigmatised as lesbian.

Another such norm concerning the female body is removing body hair which is not again illegal, but is strictly unacceptable. The appearance of body hair in adolescence refers to, as the Temple decrees, the loss of childhood purity, thus getting

²⁸³ Elton, 74.

²⁸⁴ Elton, 73.

rid of it makes a woman pure again. If a woman does not want to shave or wax herself, then it means that she does not want to be pure and defies God, and after all, “what was a woman if she was not pure? A slag or, worse, a lesbian.”²⁸⁵ Trafford despises this belief claiming that God would not give women bodily hair if he really regarded it as an act of defiance. Yet, as he cannot express or tell other people his ideas concerning the human body, he has to help his wife Chantorria to shave herself though he hates it. Chantorria herself hates doing it, but she has to conform to the norms, especially when she gets ready to go to the gym, where she has to expose her genitals while using a communal shower. She also hates the gym but she pretends to look forward to it since going to the gym is another thing that women, especially those who have just given birth, are expected to do. Besides the gym, there are other facilities that are funded by the Temple for women after the birth of a child, which involve “massages, steam baths, inspirational seminars, mass holistic ‘treatments’ and extravagant communal declarations of faith”.²⁸⁶ However, the gym activities consist of not exercises at all but eating, drinking and chatting, which actually causes women to get heavier than they were before going to the gym. What is more important is not to exercise but to pretend to exercise so that going to the gym, as well as nakedness and cosmetic surgeries, becomes a sign of self-respect and self-love, and thus love of God.

All these bodily norms are ways of disciplining the bodies of individuals and keeping them under control and surveillance. Yet, discipline of people does not only consist of making them conform to those norms, which is actually a small part of it. The Temple has succeeded in creating some kind of panopticon society that enables an omnipresent surveillance and control. According to faith imposed by the Temple, privacy is a blasphemy and heresy while sharing everything is valued above all. “Only perverts do things in private”²⁸⁷ because either they assume themselves to be better than other people or they are ashamed of something, which is unacceptable. As people are created in God’s image and thus are expected to be proud of every aspect of their appearance, there should not be anything to be ashamed of and everything should not be hidden but shared:

²⁸⁵ Elton, 107.

²⁸⁶ Elton, 106.

²⁸⁷ Elton, 30.

Everything we are, everything we do, everything we say is the creation of the Lord and the Love. Therefore, when we talk about ourselves we are *actually* talking about God! Each thought we have, each word we say, each part of the bodies in which we exult is a gift from the Love and should be held up high for all to see! A desire for privacy is a denial of the Love and he who denies the Love *has no faith!*²⁸⁸

In this sense, people are expected to share not only their bodies but also everything about themselves like their thoughts, their experiences, their emotions and their daily lives including every minute detail. All people are watched and all this information is recorded through cameras, screens, technological devices, “NatDat” and various virtual platforms like blogs and websites. In this panopticon society where privacy is illegal and everything about everyone is known, people are kept under control both through surveillance and voluntary sharing.

The panopticon society created by the Temple contributes to surveillance through CCTV cameras, screens whether they are wallscreens in houses, or communitainment screens in lifts or tube stations, or screens on the lamp posts, on travel cards or on the back of “Rice Krispies” boxes, personal communitainment devices such as phones or laptops, and NatDat. On the communitainment screens, news and infotainment loops play, on all screens there are channels with “*Entertainment News*”, which shows celebrities who talk about God and faith, “*News News*”, which presents more important news like war, bombings, or instances of People’s Justice, which refers to mobs, “*Weather News*”, which is about rising sea levels and floods everywhere, karaoke videos, adverts for video games or blockbuster movies, reality shows, competitions, etc. The wallscreens in houses enable connection to the tenement chat rooms with a moderator, where all houses can be watched and all neighbours can communicate with one another. The Temple allows couples at evenings to log out of the chat room, which mutes the sounds coming from an apartment while it is still possible to watch and speak to people living there. This little bit of privacy is seen by the Temple as “socially and spiritually acceptable, even desirable”²⁸⁹ for the benefit of the relationship between couples, specifically newlyweds. Apart from this, it is forbidden to log out of the system continuously or for such a long time that would arouse suspicion.

²⁸⁸ Elton, 39.

²⁸⁹ Elton, 93.

Trafford explains that it is not often possible to sleep at nights because of all this noise coming from chat room, screens, laptops, phones and other devices, in addition to the shouts and screams of neighbours as they fight or have sex, which are heard due to the plasterboard walls:

But all there was on all the channels and on every MyTube podcast was more shouting and more screaming. And the night rang to the sound of sex, violence, reality cop shows, talent competitions and endless, endless karaoke – a cacophony of human excess from the slum suburbs of Reading in the west across the whole London archipelago to the shores of Kensington in the east.²⁹⁰

These noises are mostly added with the sounds of whingeing, coughing, sneezing and crying babies and children in the tenement, which grows Trafford's desire for silence and privacy. It is interesting that such a person as Trafford, who works for NatDat, seeks privacy and keeps secrets though he knows this makes him a heretic.

NatDat, short for "National Data Bank", is a system where all information about everybody is collected and stored. Every minute detail, including "every financial transaction, every appearance on a CCTV camera, every click on every computer, every quirk of every retina, every filling in every tooth"²⁹¹, about every single person is recorded in this massive system, which is a branch of the Home Office. All this information is not only recorded and archived in the system, but also encrypted on to the Temple membership cards of people. Trafford works in the "DegSep" Division, short for "Degrees of Separation", of NatDat. DegSep is used to find and list the links among every single person and every single thing, like the link between people who prefer a particular drink and people who watch a particular TV show. New links are established as new programs that include various criteria are written by employees such as Trafford and his colleagues. NatDat is connected to satellite positioning, which means that a person's location on Earth is continuously tracked and recorded in the system as long as they carry a communication device. Thus, it is easy to find out not only a person's current location but also where they have been at any time during their lives. Despite all this tracking and recordkeeping, Trafford thinks NatDat is not

²⁹⁰ Elton, 104.

²⁹¹ Elton, 18-19.

an exercise in mass observation, nor was it sinister evidence of an all-knowing police state. The police had their own data bank with which to combat terrorism [...] In fact the vast majority of the population (including most potential terrorists and random killers) published every possible detail of their lives on their Face Space pages anyway and lived in hope that somebody would read them. In a world where a desire for privacy was proscribed as a perversion and a denial of faith, there was little point in government-sponsored mass observation.²⁹²

This does not mean that the Temple or government does not observe the citizens and keep them under surveillance. On the contrary, they are constantly kept under surveillance and information about their lives are obtained by the Temple and its lackey government through watching and tracking technologies like recording devices and storage systems. Yet, this surveillance turns into a voluntary panopticon as people already share everything about themselves on social networks in a free and wilful way.

Convinced that privacy is perversion, people post and update every detail in their lives through various platforms built up for sharing such as websites, blogs, diaries, or more specific networks like Face Space, Community Space, Tube Space and WorldTube. Although many people regularly update their information on those platforms, it is obligatory to share at least certain things in case there may be those who dare not to be willing to share. For instance, everyone is expected to, as “an act of faith, a reaffirmation of pride in oneself and in one’s significance as an individual”²⁹³, write about their experiences, emotions and thoughts on their blogs every day, which also emphasises God’s significance. They are also expected to post videos of at least significant events and experiences like Cherry Pop videos, birthing videos of new-born babies, birthday videos, surgery videos, etc. Community confessors regularly check video history of people in their congregation just to be sure that they do not commit the sin of privacy. As no one “no matter how anonymous, could afford to deny the community access to significant digital documentation of their lives”²⁹⁴, people even regularly post their sex videos on their “Tube Space” pages, which enables other people to “Goog” and “Tube” them. When a confessor checks and finds out that someone from his congregation has not posted a significant video, he warns that person lest the

²⁹² Elton, 19.

²⁹³ Elton, 113.

²⁹⁴ Elton, 115.

same thing should not happen again. Accordingly, Confessor Bailey questions Trafford about the birthing video of Caitlin Happymeal, and asks him why there is no video posted on his pages of social network. He accuses Trafford if he is not happy to share this special moment given by God with other people and celebrate the Lord and the Love. Confessor Bailey cannot find out any reason why Trafford does not want to share this special moment that would make him nothing but proud. Trafford's answer that he has announced the birth on his blog and described it does not satisfy but angers the confessor:

The Lord has blessed us with digital recording equipment with which we can capture, celebrate and worship in diamond detail the *exactitude* of every nuance of his creation and yet you, you in your vanity, think that your *description*, the work of your lowly, humble, inadequate *imagination*, can somehow do the job better! You believe your description, your *fiction*, to be a better medium for representing God's work than digitized reality!²⁹⁵

Since fiction is a production of imagination and an act of creation, which must be special only to God in his highness not to human beings, it is a blasphemy. Trafford becomes scared that the confessor considers his description fiction because it is actually a serious allegation. He tries to explain that it is not fiction but a description of reality not in digital ways but in words, which does not please the confessor who waits for an appropriate explanation on why Trafford chose to write a description instead of broadcasting the video. However, as Trafford cannot confess that he has not posted a video because he wants to keep it private, he mumbles something like being busy. The confessor gives a sermon about privacy as a blasphemy, and orders him to immediately share the video without an excuse.

Trafford posts a birthing video that actually belongs not to Caitlin Happymeal but to a completely stranger baby. He searches for a video of girl baby's birth on Goog', in which the face of the woman who gives birth resembles Chantorria's face. Trafford knows that it is almost impossible to understand that the video belongs to someone else since no one would ever carefully watch and examine the video. He takes pleasure in sharing someone else's video because he knows this becomes his secret among many.

²⁹⁵ Elton, 28.

He does not post the birthing video of his daughter due to the same reason as he chooses to share a stranger's video as his own: keeping secrets. Besides keeping his secrets, Trafford likes assuming that other people have also their own secrets. When he discovers that Sandra Dee's entries on her blog and videos on her Tube space do not belong to her, and instead they are copied from other people's pages, he gets amazed and feels an immediate attraction towards her because secrets give him a sensual pleasure, than which "nothing could be more magnificent, more bold, more original or more deeply, truly, dangerously *erotic*".²⁹⁶ He begins to keep secrets by not expressing the inconsistencies that the Temple's teachings contain, or by not telling about dreams in which a virtual tsunami drowns people in their virtual versions. He thinks that he does not tell about his dreams not because he considers them insignificant but because he enjoys the "pleasure of *having* a secret. Of not emoting. Any secret was exciting to Trafford, no matter how banal. Something which he alone knew. Something which he did not share."²⁹⁷ Nevertheless, Trafford keeps more significant and dangerous secrets, in addition to those trivial ones, as the novel progresses. Firstly he gets his daughter vaccinated, and then he joins a secret group of people called "Humanists" who are dedicated to thinking and reason unlike the Temple.

The Temple most likely emerged as a kind of church that probably practices a strange, distorted version of Christianity, as it involves the belief in Jesus. However, what the Temple practices is not absolutely Christianity or any specific religion, it is, instead, simply called faith. What the Temple imposes concerning faith is the belief in the Temple version of God and in "Baby Jesus". Their version of God, called the Lord and the Love, is related to the concept of love, yet, at the same time, he is vengeful enough to take revenge on human beings as they try to discredit him:

Without the Lord who is the Love we have no love and since we have love, we have the Lord who is the Love, for the two are one, immortal and indivisible. It is so now, was so in the beginning and shall be so evermore. The Lord and the Love is kind and he is merciful and whosoever doubteth that shall be wiped from the face of the Earth and suffer hellish torment for all eternity. Such are the ways of the Love.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ Elton, 142.

²⁹⁷ Elton, 20.

²⁹⁸ Elton, 292.

In addition to this, the Temple also supports a faith that seems to be a mixture of evangelism, Roman mythology, astrology, tarot, magic, faith healing, spiritualism, Buddhism, etc. As all faith is believed to be “simply a faith in the Love by another name”²⁹⁹, The Temple considers all these faiths consistent with their teachings, except those “false faiths” that include Islam, Jews and that “great other” or “Chris-lams” who, as the Temple claims, pretend to love Baby Jesus but “in the shameful, shame-ridden, life-denying manner adopted by those who worshipped the anti-God of Islam.”³⁰⁰ People try to organise their lives in accordance with their star charts, which show the positions of stars, planets, sun and moon when a person is born, or they decide whether they should end their marriage or keep it going with the help of their tarot readers and spiritual gurus. They believe “kiddies” who die from epidemics are not completely dead, instead they are “with Jesus, safe in the Love and nestling in the tender arms of Diana”³⁰¹, goddess of hunting and virginity. Mothers, thus, try to get into contact with their kiddies through psychics who channel them and learn that they are happy where they go. All of these faiths are used and practised by people to the extent that they serve the teachings of the Temple.

Through time, the Temple becomes superior to the government and makes it a lackey by seizing the right to make laws. When making laws was still the duty of the government, members of the High Council of the Temple came to the conclusion that the lawmakers, namely the members of the parliament, did not take the “will of the people” into consideration. It was thought that lawmaking system was a problem that had to be solved so that the will of the people was given necessary attention. The first solution was that important issues that would be laws were voted online by people who also could suggest necessary amendments they wanted. However, elders of the Temple realised that it was not the will of the people that was actualised through this system, but it was the will of the individual. As they understood that “while crowds can be controlled, individuals often act independently,”³⁰² they knew well it would result in a disaster. Thus, the actual solution was that laws would be made through gatherings of vast amounts of people. As the Temple had the access to lots of people that gather

²⁹⁹ Elton, 45.

³⁰⁰ Elton, 131.

³⁰¹ Elton, 48.

³⁰² Elton, 40.

together through the weekly “Faith Festivals” at Wembley Stadium, it was decided that the Temple would make the laws, while the government would be responsible for issues of administration. The laws made by the Temple are called “Wembley Laws” or “People’s Statutes”, and they are actually made in accordance with the norms established by the Temple because biopower allows operation of the judicial system to the extent that it becomes a part of the norms and normalisation. The first of these laws are “Faith Laws”, the most important one of which is the obligation to have faith, which means it is illegal to have no faith. The Temple believes that having faith is legally obligatory because “if a person had no faith themselves then clearly that person did not believe in the faith held by others, and if you did not believe in something then how could you possibly respect it?”³⁰³ Thus, a person must have faith under the law in order to avoid religious hatred and ensure respect to faith of others. Even if there are people who question or doubt faith and the teachings, though they are laws, the Temple makes those people believe them through fear because the Temple wants people to believe or feel, rather than to think and understand.

As it is illegal to have no faith and to disrespect other people’s faiths, it is also legally forbidden to despise their ambitions or “dreams” and to doubt possibilities of the actualisation of them, which is another law: “*Any person who is prepared to dream the dream can be whatever they want to be.*”³⁰⁴ The Temple wants everybody to believe that they are all special, as they are in God’s image, and so are their dreams. Trafford observes that although living conditions get increasingly worse by each day, it seems that people continue to believe that their dreams will come true one day. Just like this one, another similar Wembley Law is made, after it is proclaimed by the Temple and ordained by thousands of people who attend a Faith Festival “mega gig”, where Trafford and Chantorria also go. The concerts are events where people not only listen to music, but also they scream, cheer, emote, sing, dance and enjoy their faith to the extent that they are entranced. Faith Festivals are organisations held by the Temple each week for people not only from London but also around the world to gather and celebrate faith. They are life-changing events that aim to change the world and improve everything making people think about their faith, about God and about each other. Big bands play

³⁰³ Elton, 42.

³⁰⁴ Elton, 44.

big hits, between each of which celebrities and pop stars make exhorting speeches that they can change the world.

The Temple announces that this week's concert called "Big Love Live", as many previous ones, is much bigger and more important than the one held last week, and shows people that they can improve anything if they want it. Celebrities exhort people to believe that they are able to change the world: "Each individual can make a difference! Poverty, war, crime, drugs and intolerance can change! They *will* change if *we* want them to! Every one of us is important! Every journey starts with a single step."³⁰⁵ Trafford thinks that it is not possible that something happens just because a person wants it to happen though the Temple tries to make people believe the opposite. The world, as much as he sees, does not change or improve, rather it gets gradually worse, warmer, more crowded full of diseases, war and crime. After songs and speeches, senior figures of the Temple including evangelists, preachers, healers, confessors and Bishop Confessor Solomon Kentucky, a member of the High Council and the "High Prophet of the London diocese" gather at the stage. Solomon Kentucky proclaims a new law that enables everyone to be famous:

As of today, should you wish it, every single one of you is famous! By law! By statute! By holy writ and by divine right you are famous! Full stop, no argument. No backpedalling. No false witness and no Devil-born trickery. Famous. Short and sweet. Famous. Simple and to the point. Famous. Nothing more and nothing less. Do you want it? [...] Do you believe that you have enough love, enough beauty, enough FAITH to be famous?³⁰⁶

The crowd answers yes by screaming so loudly that ears hurt, as people have enough faith to believe that they are famous. It seems that this law, like other Wembley Laws, is actually another drop in the Temple's sea of propaganda. The Temple wants to make people believe by stressing that each of them is created in God's image and thus special. It is because of this reason that people should respect each other's faiths and dreams, they can change anything they want, they share everything about their lives, expose their bodies, women get themselves beautified, tan, have breast enlargement surgeries, etc.

³⁰⁵ Elton, 126.

³⁰⁶ Elton, 128.

The norms that the Temple establishes are strengthened by discourse produced again by the Temple, which is based on faith, and actions of feeling and believing rather than thinking and understanding. The Temple knows that it is easier to control masses of people who do not think and understand but feel and believe. Similarly, those who believe that they are special are easier to be kept under control and do whatever they are required. As every single person is special, they all have faith in order to respect each other's faiths, dreams, bodies, etc. Concordantly, there are no ranks or official hierarchy among Trafford's colleagues in order not to damage self-esteem of people or make them uncomfortable. At Fizzy Coffs all the colleagues should do the "Gu'ug", short for "Group Hug", which is a necessary working ritual. Hugging is so significant for colleagues that they should show "fervent, near-hysterical joy" when they hug because "any individual's lack of enthusiasm was seen as damaging the positivity of the whole group and deeply resented."³⁰⁷ Showing a sign of lack of joy while hugging or talking or listening to people means disrespect to others, which is against the norms thus laws of the Temple. In addition to respecting others, people should also show such signs of self-respect and self-love as showing off their bodies or other bodily norms. Even a detail as small as the volume of one person's voice is significant in terms of respecting to and loving oneself as well as others. The Temple expects people to "make a joyful noise unto the Love" and speak very loudly when they especially emote as high "volume was a reliable benchmark of sincerity".³⁰⁸ Therefore, as the Temple asserts, people should be careful about the volume of their voice as well as other issues concerning their bodies since they are the face of God on Earth and therefore special.

When people hear that they should do something as they are special, it is more likely that they will do it without the need of force. In this sense, they share every detail of their lives through social networks because they, as special people, believe that they should do it. The Temple encourages them to share whatever they can, and emote not only on blogs, podcasts, chat room, but whenever it is possible. The Ministry of Well-being promotes slogans such as "*How do you feel?*", "*Tell someone right now!*" or "*Sharing. What's not to like?*"³⁰⁹ Trafford thinks that all this obsession with sharing and

³⁰⁷ Elton, 69-70.

³⁰⁸ Elton, 48.

³⁰⁹ Elton, 38.

emoting puts such an exhausting pressure on people that he is sure there are others like him who desire for privacy. In addition to virtual sharing, mothers constantly emote how they feel about the loss of their children, couples to get divorced emote their reasons for break up at Community Confessions, celebrities who turn to the light of faith emote their spiritual journeys at Faith Festivals, and terrorists try to defy faith and the Temple emote before they are executed. Moreover, people are asked by others to emote every day and all day. The DJs on TV and radio ask their spectators or listeners to call them and tell about what makes them happy, sad, angry, etc. Similarly, spiritual advisers want those whom they give advice to emote: “Deal with your issues. Be proud of your feelings. Confront your demons. *Talk about yourself!*”³¹⁰ Trafford wishes that people would shut up just for even five minutes and would stop continuously talking about themselves. He knows that most people are not interested in anybody’s posts but theirs and popular ones. Trafford realises that he and Chantorria are not popular in their community though they are not notorious, either. Chantorria is not happy about the fact that only three people watch her breastfeed Caitlin, knowing that unpopular people are more likely to be bullied by a mob if a popular neighbour has a problem with them. Thus, she tries to avoid isolation, which is dangerous for their community, by making much more contact with and pleasing other people. When Trafford confesses to her that he has uploaded a birthing video of a stranger instead of Caitlin’s, Chantorria becomes horrified and accuses him of doing stupid things that would cause them to look weird, which would get them into trouble. However, Trafford tries to convince her that nobody would carefully look at it because they are nobodies:

‘I’ve told you, nobody’s going to look at it. [...] Who could possibly want to see Caitlin being born apart from you and me? Nobody. We *are* nobodies. Isn’t that good? Doesn’t that make you feel just a little bit more free? More liberated?’

Chantorria clearly took no comfort from Trafford’s bleak analysis of their social position. ‘Nobodies?’ she said, suddenly more sad than angry.

‘Well, aren’t we?’

‘No! Nobody is a nobody. We’re all special. Everybody is special.’

‘Well, if everybody is special then special must be pretty ordinary.’³¹¹

³¹⁰ Elton, 39.

³¹¹ Elton, 121.

Chantorria, like many people, seems to be convinced that they are all special as the Temple teaches them although she is aware that almost nobody is interested in her family. However, she does not want to think in a way that would challenge what the Temple imposes, regarding everybody as important and special.

In a society where everybody believes they are all special and is obsessed with self-love and self-respect, people necessarily become conceited and self-centred. Therefore, it is possible that any word said to others, any behaviour towards others, any touch by mistake could be misunderstood and any person could be easily accused of something they do not mean. There are words in the Temple's discourse that are used to accuse people such as pervert, paedo, heretic, lesbian, racist, which all have the strength to draw the anger of a mob. For instance, Trafford is called "pervert" when he accidentally touches a woman's breast in a crowded tube station. He states that although the word "pervert" is not much significant, it is "a short step from the word 'paedo', and once that word was uttered in a restive, sullen crowd the stakes mounted."³¹² "Paedo" is the short form of a paedophile who commits paedophilia, which is one of the greatest sins and crimes and biggest problems in Britain. Lesbianism, as it is stated before, is another important crime, which is also used to accuse a woman who does not conform to the bodily norms. Such a woman could also be called "heretic", which is an accusation for anyone who defies any norm of the Temple. Racism is also a serious crime that may cause a person who is accused of it to be sent to the "tribunal". Though tribunals are courts that seem to serve employees who feel uncomfortable by the attitudes of their colleagues, they are actually "kangaroo courts transparently manipulated by office bullies [...] in which Temple favourites could destroy anybody they wished to"³¹³. If anyone is sent to the tribunal, it is impossible for them to prove their innocence no matter how much they try, especially in cases of accusations of racism and sexism. All those accusatory words, though they are different, may be sufficient to be bullied and even physically attacked by an outraged mob. Any sign of disrespect concerning anything could result in "People's Justice", which refers to the violence by an outrageous mob that wants to take action against disrespect. Such mobs

³¹² Elton, 24.

³¹³ Elton, 225-226.

generally attack when they see someone being accused of disrespecting kiddie death and the mourning mothers who have lost their kiddies.

“Kiddie death”, which is “the burning cross that branded the souls of the nation”³¹⁴ and one of the biggest problems, has thus a significant place in the Temple’s discourse and propaganda. The Temple tells that children, who die from epidemics most probably as they are not vaccinated against these diseases, do not survive because God calls them. Parents, specifically mothers continuously mourn for their lost children because fathers, according to the Temple, do not have a significant place in family. Mothers form shrines with flowers, photographs of their children, and cards on which are names of and messages for those children. They try to ease their pain and grief by thinking that their children go to a better place, namely heaven, and are warm and safe in the arms of the Love and Lord and Jesus and Diana. Like other mothers, Chantorria also says that she believes children die for a reason. Trafford confronts her when she tells him Caitlin will go to heaven if she dies:

The truth is that secretly in your heart of hearts you doubt that, were Caitlin to die, she actually *would* be transported into the arms of Diana. You know that all those pictures and paintings on the walls of the faith centre cannot truly be real. Kiddies die every day, they can’t *all* be in Diana’s arms, she wasn’t an octopus.³¹⁵

Trafford thinks that mothers have no choice but to believe that dead children go to heaven because they are constantly told by the Temple so. He sees that there is also a pressure to emote, especially for mothers, in terms of children’s death as well as other matters. They are expected to constantly emote how they feel about the loss of their children at pavement shrines made of memories and flowers, on their podcasts, on tenement chat rooms, on every occasion they have the opportunity to emote. At the end of the Faith Festivals, “a mass keening for the born-again babies”³¹⁶ takes place in order to provide an opportunity to emote and in order to emphasise that these babies die on Earth and go to Heaven where they become alive again. At this tribute for dead children, pictures and paintings of the faces of babies and children, who must be probably dead, are shown on the big screen with agitating music. The event reaches its

³¹⁴ Elton, 14.

³¹⁵ Elton, 138.

³¹⁶ Elton, 129.

goal as everybody starts to weep, scream, sing, dance, tear their clothes, which are already few, beat their chests, hug and kiss each other, and of course have sex, at the end of which they stress that they will change the world, accomplish their dreams and do everything for the Love, for Jesus, for each other and for kiddies.

The mourning and tributes for dead children lead to such explosions of sensations that it seems that the Temple takes advantage of dead children. Cassius asks Trafford: “Don’t you think it’s the government and the Temple that celebrate it? Glory in it? *Do nothing about it?*”³¹⁷ In fact, the tributes organised by the Temple look like celebrations and glorifications of the deaths of children. The Temple not only forbids vaccination and does nothing about the death of these children, but also they take advantage of this problem in accordance with their teachings and interests. They always remind people that children die to show God’s anger with human beings for what they did Before The Flood and for what sinners are doing now. On the other hand, children go to heaven and live in the arms of Diana, and some children also survive the plagues to show that God is also merciful and full of love. This kind of discourse of the Temple is everywhere from confessors’ speeches to their congregations to various campaigns and adverts planned by the Temple concerning child death. Such a campaign is organised by the Temple focusing on Caitlin Happymeal when she survives measles and mumps epidemics that devastate the community where Trafford and Chantorria live. While every single infant and toddler dies in these epidemics, Caitlin survives as she has been vaccinated against these diseases among others. Yet, since no one except Trafford, Chantorria and Cassius knows that she has been vaccinated, she is considered a miracle. The news of Caitlin Happymeal’s miraculous survival spreads quickly not only in their community but also in the whole London. Confessor Bailey addresses to his congregation and tells how the Lord has wanted one baby girl to survive, reminding mourning parents that “all the lost children live on in her.”³¹⁸ When they see Caitlin, according to the confessor and the Temple, they will become hopeful that God is able to save all children if he is able to save one, and he already saves all children as he gathers them to his arms.

³¹⁷ Elton, 62.

³¹⁸ Elton, 218.

It is really interesting to see how Trafford and Chantorria's position in the community changes with this news. They, especially Chantorria, become very popular among their neighbours who want to go and see Caitlin, "a miracle angel". Mothers bring their sick children so that they play with her and somehow they can survive too. Chantorria, as the mother of a living miracle, begins to consider herself a holy human among other women of the community, who tell stories about extraordinary events happening around her. Some claim their headache is cured just because they sit near Chantorria, others say food is more delicious if it is eaten in Chantorria's house, others believe their skin seems softer and brighter, even their breasts get bigger in Chantorria's presence. Not only the level of their popularity crazily increases, but also they become the Temple's favourites. Confessor Bailey always talks about miracle baby Caitlin as a sign of God's greatness:

'He leaves us this one child,' the Confessor thundered, 'to show us that there is hope! He has not forsaken us. He has not washed his holy hands of his children, as we deserve that he should. He's still there for us! Caitlin Happymeal is here today to show us that the love that the Creator holds for all his children still lives! Just as all the children live! They still live! They live in Heaven and the live here in this child!'³¹⁹

The more people talk about Caitlin, the bigger influence it has on Chantorria, who is seen now as a saint. Interestingly, she herself believes to be "the madonna who gave birth to an angel baby"³²⁰ although she knows that the reason why Caitlin survives is the vaccines. She does anything what she assumes her new position requires her to do: she dyes her hair golden, she wears only white, she carries a cross with a Gaia symbol and a headpiece with a halo, and she spends much more time with Confessor Bailey who regularly touches her breasts in order to feel the Love.

Unlike Chantorria, Trafford gets really frustrated with all this going on, being aware that what has saved Caitlin is not a reason planned by God, but the work of man's science. His frustration grows bigger when Caitlin's miraculous survival makes it to the news and Bishop Confessor Solomon Kentucky has a meeting with them, where he tells that they will use Caitlin's face for a media campaign called *Miracles Do Happen*.

³¹⁹ Elton, 266.

³²⁰ Elton, 301.

Solomon Kentucky explains that after two big plagues that devastated the community, it is necessary to give traumatised people a symbol of hope in the personality of Caitlin. In fact, the Temple understands the need to channel people's emotions of grief and devastation into correct reactions:

People were used to the pain of bereavement, but each natural holocaust seemed to grow in scale and the dull horror that had settled on the nation had been in danger of turning to sullen anger. There was no question of people openly doubting their faith; the grip of the Temple and the fear of its Inquisition were too strong for that. Nonetheless, as each child died the blind acceptance of the spiritual status quo had received a tiny dent, and it was these dents that the Temple intended to hammer out with its message that *Miracles Do Happen*.³²¹

Lest the pain and grief people feel do not turn into anger with the Temple, they should make people emote and throw up their grief which would be turned into hope through this campaign. The Temple prepares commercials, posters and videos with Caitlin's face on them and a hit song which all give the same message: *Miracles Do Happen*. Furthermore, Trafford, Chantorria and Caitlin are invited to a Faith Festival concert where they will testify about the miracle that happened to them, and mourning parents will celebrate the passing of the plagues and survival of Caitlin, the chosen one. As she is the living evidence that *Miracles Do Happen*, she would give hope and happiness to those mothers, fathers and all faithful people. However, the whole campaign becomes wasted as it is understood that Caitlin Happymeal is not a miracle angel when she dies from cholera, against which she was not vaccinated. The Temple acts quickly to remove all traces of the campaign in the streets and on the web so that their prestige would not be damaged because it seems that miracles do not happen. Not only Trafford and Chantorria get devastated by grief due to their daughter's death, but also they are ostracised and bullied by the community. Besides, Trafford's plans to defy the Temple, by testifying in favour of vaccination, science and reason at the Faith Festival concert, fail as Caitlin dies before the concert.

At the beginning of the novel, Trafford is just a man who seeks for privacy and has secrets. Even though he sees the inconsistencies of the Temple and does not want to

³²¹ Elton, 300.

conform to many norms, he does not have enough courage either to express what he thinks or to stand against the Temple. His transformation to a rebel begins when Cassius approaches him and offers to vaccinate his daughter. Cassius tells him that he and other Vaccinators belong to a group of people called Humanists pursuing thinking, reason, science and the theory of evolution, and invites Trafford to be a Humanist. Hoping that he would be intellectually liberated by Humanists, Trafford promises Cassius to believe what they believe. Yet, Cassius reminds him they “are not interested in what you believe”, rather they “are interested in what you *understand*.”³²² He explains that the Temple imposes on people a faith that transcends all understandings, which Humanists absolutely object to. According to Humanists, although it is true that there are lots of things human beings do not understand, this gap can be filled with knowledge through time because there is nothing that cannot be understood. Cassius warns Trafford that he will be firstly tortured and then burned by the Inquisition, a part of the Temple that is responsible for punishing criminals, in the end if he gets caught. He is about to cross the Rubicon, a river, which Roman general Caesar crossed with his army so that he “defied law, convention and superstition”³²³ and which symbolises a point of no return. However, starting to realise the Temple’s lies, Trafford says he cannot keep living in this way:

Every thought I have I must keep secret. Everything I claim to believe I actively despise. [...] I am aware of my ignorance. I am aware of the pointless banality of my existence. It’s a curse to have a mind if it is illegal to use it. It’s a curse to have intelligence if you are forced to cloak it in a lifetime of wilful stupidity.”³²⁴

Trafford, assuming that being a Humanist will bring a light into his ignorance, becomes a part of Humanists, whose number does not pass a few hundred in the country. They have secret libraries, to one of which Trafford is invited, full of printed books of the past on various fields such as literature, science, history, philosophy, etc. In these libraries, Humanists do not only read books, but also they give secret lectures that will educate each of them in various fields, among which there are certain “names and areas

³²² Elton, 158.

³²³ Elton, 186.

³²⁴ Elton, 187.

which every Humanist is pledged to study and to understand.”³²⁵ It is interesting that they give the same importance to literature and fiction as they give to science and thinking. As it is stated before, fiction is blasphemy and one the reasons of man’s corruption because “once man had begun inventing stories his pride and vanity grew so great that he thought he could write the story of life itself” and eventually “man wrote the story of the Earth and left out God!”³²⁶ Fiction, like science, is one of the ways people defy God, as the Temple asserts, and play arrogantly his role, which actually caused God to punish man and brought the flood:

Everybody knew that Before The Flood it was fiction that had been the principal corrupter of men. Confessor Bailey reminded them of it week in, week out. Of that terrible time when society had been colonized by *made-up people*. When the television channels had teemed with people *pretending* to be people that they were not! People who were the creation of a third party, *fictional characters*.³²⁷

The Temple makes people believe that only God is able to create reality while human beings can only create lies, stories or people that are not real, with which they become obsessed. They eventually come to believe that what they create is better than the reality created by God, which causes them to move away from reality and God.

Therefore, the books approved by the Temple are generally religious ones about faith and enlightenment, and self-improvement manuals and pamphlets written by spiritualists, healers, psychics, astrologers, tarot readers and celebrities that tell people, for example, how to be rich or successful, have good sex, make more friends, etc. These all, in contrast to the books written Before The Flood, are written in such a simple and easy way that does not need concentration because, according to the Temple, there is no “need to concentrate: God knew everything and you did what the Temple told you to do. What was to concentrate on?”³²⁸ After the flood, many books were lost, many were wet and rotten, and the remaining ones were used to produce pamphlets and burned as fuel. Humanists grab printed books everywhere they can find them, clean, dry and repair them without digitising them. Trafford, upon entering the library, gets so influenced by

³²⁵ Elton, 190.

³²⁶ Elton, 60.

³²⁷ Elton, 59.

³²⁸ Elton, 189.

the atmosphere of the library that he wonders why they keep printed books and do not digitise them. Cassius expresses that paper is safer because the Temple continuously scans on the net to make sure that people do not read the digitised versions of these literary and fictional works as well as other texts written Before The Flood, all of which are forbidden and considered sedition by the Temple:

The internet was supposed to liberate knowledge but in fact it buried it, first under a vast sewer of ignorance, laziness, bigotry, superstition and filth and then beneath the cloak of police surveillance. Now, as you know, cyberspace exists exclusively to promote commerce, gossip and pornography. And, of course, to hunt down sedition. Only paper is safe.³²⁹

Cassius explains it is significant that internet emerged to enable people to grab knowledge more easily and to liberate them, but then it has become just a part of the panopticon society of the Temple as it is another way to keep people under surveillance. Since everything a person does on the internet can be traced back to them through NatDat that records their every single action, it is wiser not to use the internet for reading books. Even though it can be sometimes difficult to detect literary ones as authorities may not know or understand, for instance, a poem of Shakespeare, nothing remains undetected for a long time. Additionally, the Temple specifically watches for certain writers, works and key terms like Darwin, the theory of evolution, *Origin of Species*, Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man*, Galileo, Newton, George Bernard Shaw, etc. that are essentials for Humanists.

Accordingly, it is every Humanist's duty to protect printed books and, above all, to read and study them. Since Trafford is now a member of Humanists who "defy the forces of blind faith and ignorance" and who "piece together the science of the past, the history of the past, and the imagination of the past."³³⁰ Cassius gives him certain books both fictional and nonfictional weekly so that he can educate himself, firstly simple ones such as *A Child's Guide to the Wonderful World of Science and Nature* and later more significant ones including Darwin's *Origin of Species* which is the core of the resistance. The more Trafford reads and gets enlightened, the better he realises that

³²⁹ Elton, 191.

³³⁰ Elton, 191.

other people must be also enlightened and the Temple must be defeated as soon as possible. He understands that the only way to spread the light of Humanists is to find new recruits that are aware of the Temple's lies and inconsistencies, and to start a revolution. He informs Cassius that he has a plan to find new recruits like them so that their number can increase. He says, in this sense, he firstly wants to approach and make Sandra Dee, his colleague who he knows has secrets too, a Humanist. However, Cassius warns him that they need not a revolution but an evolution, advising him that they should be patient and cautious because hurry can cause them to wrongfully take their steps and to be scrutinised by the Temple, and scrutiny can result in the risk of getting caught and questioned by the Inquisition. He also reminds him that each new recruit should wait one year to approach a new person so that they could protect the organisation. Yet, Trafford protests that it is necessary to find new people in order to spread the light of Humanists and defy the Temple.

'It *is* urgent,' Trafford pleaded. 'Every second counts. I had to wait thirty bloody years to find you. To find this library. That's almost half a lifetime wasted! [...] The day I became a Humanist was the day I was born. Until then, my mind was in *utero*, an embryonic consciousness. If I deserved this chance,' Trafford exclaimed, 'so do millions of other people.'³³¹

Despite Cassius' suspicions whether Sandra Dee is trustable, as she is too impulsive in her actions like copying the blogs and videos of strangers, having no breast enlargement and fearlessly standing against the mob in the workplace, Trafford claims that they can trust her as a keeper of secrets. Apart from her keeping secrets, another reason Trafford trusts Sandra Dee is that he is in love with her as he finds the signs of privacy, which she shows, attractive. Not only he invites her to the library to be a Humanist, he also forms a secret affair with her and tells her everything from the vaccination of Caitlin Happymeal to his plans that would help them to defeat the Temple.

Meanwhile, Trafford improves his plan that would enable Humanists to reach lots of people like themselves and presents it to the Humanist Senate consisting of four members one of whom is Cassius. Trafford's plan is to find such people through NatDat and DegSep, who have some certain characteristics which almost all Humanists, at least

³³¹ Elton, 230.

people who are not pleased with the Temple, have. He builds a search program that finds people who desire privacy, who do not talk too much about trivial things, who avoid Gr'ugs, emoting and using faith words, who have special interests other than those imposed by the Temple, and who are relatively polite. After finding these people, if there are any, the next step is to contact them through emails and to form a secret "network of people who want to *think for themselves*."³³² Trafford plans to make a self-generating cycle of emails which will continue without stopping once it is triggered by a code even if he is caught by the Temple. He thinks that the code should be the word "evolve" as it is the symbol of the movement, "a call to arms. A simple instruction to rise out of the swamp, to become a sophisticated organism, a creature capable of independent thought."³³³ Yet, he knows that he cannot use the word evolve as it will lead to scrutiny due to its relation to forbidden and illegal issues. He notices that when it is written backwards, it spells "evlove" that recalls to him a faith phrase of the Temple: "Ev Love", the short for "Everlasting Love". The Temple uses such faith words and phrases as Everlasting Love, "Hallelujah", "Thank the Love" and "Praise the Love", which the elders of the Temple want people to repeat after them as slogans on various occasions:

'Let me hear you say Yeah!' Kentucky shouted.

'Yeah!' the crowd shouted back.

'A'let me hear you say Yeah yeah!' Kentucky demanded.

'Yeah yeah!' roared the people.

'A'let me hear you say Yeah yeah yeah!' Kentucky insisted.

'Yeah yeah yeah!' came the emphatic response.³³⁴

Trafford is pleased that the reverse of Ev Love, one of the phrases the Temple uses to describe God, is evolve, one of the words they fear. He decides to use it as the code of the email program since both it is a sign of faith and it does not have the risk of scrutiny. The emails will contain informative articles or explanations on essential issues like the theory of evolution or the reason of the flood, global warming and excessive use of fossil fuels. They also should have seductive titles that will make the recipients open

³³² Elton, 261.

³³³ Elton, 290.

³³⁴ Elton, 129.

and read the emails like *“If God is so clever why does he choose such arseholes to run his Temple? Ever take a really critical look at your Confessor?”*³³⁵, which looks so interesting that Trafford assumes he would open it if he got an email with such title.

Trafford informs the Humanist Senate that the search program has found millions of people having the aforementioned characteristics, and explains that besides sending the emails, they also should encourage them to display the phrase Ev Love, as the reverse of “evolve” and the symbol of the resistance, for example, on their clothes, so that they will see there are lots of people like themselves and find courage when they gather, if they ever, in specific places at specific times settled by the Senate. Trafford also tells about another plan of his that he would make testify at the Faith Festival that vaccination and science saved his daughter’s life, which seems to fail because of Caitlin’s death. Her death does not only prevent Trafford from testifying, but also it leads to a sequence of events that result in deaths of Chantorria, Trafford, Cassius and possibly many other Humanists. After Caitlin’s death, with the influence that Trafford and Chantorria are ostracised by the community and even Confessor Bailey, Chantorria begins to believe Caitlin died because they committed blasphemy by getting her vaccinated. She goes to the confessor and confesses that her husband got their daughter vaccinated and she did nothing about it. She and Trafford are captured by their Community Inquisitor named Brother Redemption who tortures and questions them. At first, Trafford relatively gets relaxed when he understands that he has been captured as the Temple has learnt only about the vaccination, they do not know anything about Humanists, and only Cassius killed himself not to be interrogated. However, he soon realises that the Temple is also aware of the existence of Humanist movement and they have already captured many of them, if not all, because of Sandra Dee. She turns out to be a police spy working for the government and sent to their office to track down a Vaccinator, who turns out to be Cassius. Trafford becomes horrified when she tells him also that they killed Caitlin by adding cholera virus into the water of Trafford’s tenement. Upon hearing Trafford’s plan to testify at the Faith Festival that Caitlin’s survival was because of vaccination not because of a reason sent by God, Sandra Dee reported this plan to his superiors who killed Caitlin to prevent Trafford from testifying. Despite his anger, Trafford immediately makes a final plan to trap Sandra Dee to open

³³⁵ Elton, 289.

the file called Ev Love in his office computer by telling her she should open the file and read his love letter for her, which would actually trigger the cycle of emails.

Trafford's plan to reach people who hate the Temple and to show them they are not alone is accomplished when he sees at his public execution people with banners saying Ev Love. These people are not like those who have a blind faith and wait for the punishment of a terrorist with excitement. They rather, with a serious look on their faces, listen to Trafford's last sentences about recovering from ignorance and being enlightened. When he is wrapped up by the flames from the burning books, he is not sad or angry or scared to get burned. Instead, he experiences such a satisfaction that causes him to smile because he knows "in his heart of hearts that one day the Temple would be defeated."³³⁶ The panoptic society built by the Temple, where everyone is kept under constant surveillance, where they are made to internalise power exercised by the Temple by thinking they are constantly watched, where they are therefore made to share everything they do, where they are made to conform to the bodily norms the Temple sets to discipline them, where they are turned into docile bodies that are easily controlled, will be defeated as the truths come to the light.

3.4. R FOR RACISM: ANDREW HUNTER MURRAY'S *THE LAST DAY*

The struggle to reveal the truths forms the foundation of *The Last Day*'s plot, which revolves around a scientist Ellen Hopper in a post-apocalyptic Britain of 2059. *The Last Day* by Andrew Hunter Murray, on the one hand, follows Ellen's search, through flashbacks, for those truths that have the impact to change the country's destiny, and, on the other hand, it pictures a Britain that has turned into a racist state to justify its killings. Racism in the novel goes beyond the perception of racism which is understood as the superiority of one race or nation over its political enemies that are from other races or nations. Foucault's conceptualisation of racism is based not on "an adversarial relationship between enemies" but on "a biological relationship of abnormality", which makes it "biological racism".³³⁷ This means that not only enemies of one race or nation but also anybody within a race or population that threatens the survival or improvement of the population poses a risk that should be eliminated, as

³³⁶ Elton, 367.

³³⁷ Johanna Oksala, "From Biopower to Governmentality", Christopher Falzon, Timothy O'Leary and Jana Sawicki (Eds.), *A Companion to Foucault*, Blackwell Publishing, Chichester 2013, 322.

with the Nazis who killed not only Jews, whom they regarded as the inferior race, but also homosexuals, whom they saw as the inferior group within the population. Foucault points out that racism functioning as the elimination of the biological threats to the population, whether through direct or indirect killing, justifies the murderous actions of the states. Accordingly, the government in *The Last Day*, specifically the prime minister Richard Davenport, makes regulations and takes actions that lead to the deaths of millions of people and the suffering of more on behalf of the survival of the country and well-being of the population.

The Last Day is set thirty years after the earth stops rotating, called the Stop, and its position to the sun is locked, which causes one part of it to constantly face the sun. The earth rotation begins to slow down gradually in 2020, and the duration making up a day increases slowly to the extent that the last night in Britain lasts six month before “the boundaries of day and night locked for ever.”³³⁸ After the Slow, people look for those who are responsible for it to accuse them, while scientists search for the reasons of this catastrophe. It is understood that neither Russia, nor China, nor North Korea is responsible for the Slow, rather it results from a dwarf star travelling through the Milky Way. The Slow and the Stop trigger other disasters such as earthquakes, fissures, volcanic eruptions and gales, as if the stop of the rotation does not devastate the world enough. Now half of the earth, the Warmside, consisting of Europe, the east of North America, the top of South America, some part of Africa, the Middle East, some part of Russia, faces the sun, the other half, the Coldsides, is subjected to constant darkness and cold. At the centre of the Warmside lies the Hotzone, the closest part to the sun, where it is so hot that it is not inhabitable. On its edges near the Coldsides, for instance America, the sunlight is not sufficient to provide necessary conditions for survival. Britain is one of few inhabitable countries since it is located in a small area that is “far enough in to raise crops but far enough out to still be habitable”³³⁹, which becomes an excuse for the country’s actions.

Britain’s location as an inhabitable place causes it to be seen as a land of hope and survival for those who live in and want to escape from the Coldsides after the Stop, which is also referred to as the collapse, and also for those from the countries in the

³³⁸ Andrew Hunter Murray, *The Last Day*, Hutchinson, London 2020, 40.

³³⁹ Murray, 44.

Hotzone during the second collapse, the sudden increase in the heat which kills millions of people. However, the government prefers to close the gates of the country in order to prevent those people from coming to the country for their own people's well-being and security. Actually, Britain, although it survives the catastrophe, is also devastated by it and its consequences like floods and diseases, and the government still considers foreigners a threat for the survival and improvement of the country and the population. In this sense, General Richard Davenport, who later becomes the minister for security and the prime minister as a consequence of his deeds and achievements, makes regulations not only in the name of his country's security but also for the improvement of his people, starting a new era called the "Reconstitution", "Regeneration" or the "Great British Resurgence":

He had been responsible for the very first sinkings, the boats from the Coldside immediately after the Stop, but his next drive had been far larger. And he had established the Breadbasket [...] It had worked. Food supplies had improved. Water supplies had grown cleaner. The cholera epidemic had slowed and eventually stopped. Britain had reindustrialised.³⁴⁰

The Reconstitution, also known as the Davenport project, is primarily based on eliminating the factors that threaten the survival of the population. This initially involves getting rid of surviving people who would come from other countries and share the country's limited resources, and regulating foreigners who have already arrived in the country. The Davenport project also concerns itself with the regulations of Britain's own people in order to improve the population and balance it in accordance with the biological processes such as birth and death rates. At this point, Davenport receives help from and recruits one of his friends, Edward Thorne, a scientist specialised in crop production, and makes him one of his chief advisers. Together, "they were reorganising the hospitals, re-planning the cities, starting the population programme"³⁴¹ in the context of the Davenport project. Perhaps, the most murderous one of those actions taken by Davenport for the sake of the country's security, which are questionable and problematic, is the sinkings of foreign ships and boats with millions of people inside them.

³⁴⁰ Murray, 131.

³⁴¹ Murray, 149.

In the year of the Stop the government begins sinking ships and boats that come from the Coldside, first container ships and then passenger ships. This first phase of the sinkings is not very detailed and efficient when it is compared to the subsequent sinkings during the second collapse. When the countries in the Hotzone begin to collapse six years after the Stop, Davenport establishes a great security plan “to protect Britain’s shores from chaos”³⁴². The second phase of the sinkings is well-prepared to the extent that it aims to terminate any vessels that approach the island other than those of the British navy. This plan headlined “*Channel Closure and Instructions to the Fleet*” suggests

the requisitioning of all civilian boats around the coast for the duration of the ‘Immigration Emergency’, and that the navy fit any seaworthy vessel with guns. And it proposed that the newly engorged Royal Navy should sink any foreign vessels that entered within a ten-mile zone, irrespective of the nature of the boat. Civilian, military, industrial, trafficker, refugee. Everything. Including any boats flying colours of allies, and any non-military British ships.³⁴³

Sinking those vessels approaching the island is, however, not sufficient for Davenport and his government to ensure the protection of the country from threats and dangers. Davenport orders the bombings of many ports in northern Europe and northern Africa, whether they are big and important like Rotterdam and Zeebrugge, or small, in order to destroy all ships and block people’s escape from surviving countries in these continents. The RAF (Royal Air Force) and the USAF (United States Air Force) attack those ports in Europe and Africa and the vessels in these ports, which are all also bombed with rockets. In order “to minimise the number of vessels that would survive”³⁴⁴, the attacks continue for three days without any warning to civilians about the attacks.

During both the first and second sinkings and the attacks on the ports, almost ten millions of people die, one of whom is the mother of Ellen Hopper, the protagonist of the novel. Ellen’s mother is a doctor who helps those people who try to escape to the north of Europe after the collapse of the Hotzone, by healing them and giving medicines. In order to return to Britain, she eventually finds a Greek-flagged ship that

³⁴² Murray, 178.

³⁴³ Murray, 328.

³⁴⁴ Murray, 329.

carries two thousand survivors from the Middle East, and that is allowed to pass without being sunk. However, Ellen's mother is never able to arrive since the ship which she gets on is probably sunk like any other foreign ships. Ellen later learns that the sinkings are originally a part of the plan that is prepared by Edward Thorne, who is also her tutor during her second year at Oxford University. Thorne goes to Oxford to teach geography when he is dismissed from his post in the government, and impresses Ellen as a very intelligent and successful scientist and teacher. Thorne persuades Ellen, who loses her interest in learning after she is disappointed by courses and teachers, not to leave the college. She trusts Thorne who also listens to and evaluates her theories about the currents, which may contribute to agriculture. However, when it turns out that Thorne is responsible for the sinkings, she feels a great disappointment and rage for Thorne as her mother is one of those people who died during the sinkings. Above all, she cannot imagine how a person like Thorne caused the death of ten million innocent people. Thorne tries to defend himself explaining that it is for security of the population:

‘The country was on the brink of collapse. Right on the brink. For six months it seemed probable we would be totally overrun. What do you do if you’re in a full lifeboat and there are thousands more in the water?’

‘It wasn’t a lifeboat. It’s a country. We could have taken more people.’

‘I’m sorry, Ellen. I really am. But people were starving. It was the only way. If we had failed to act, the whole country would have collapsed.’³⁴⁵

It can be seen that Thorne is remorseful for what he did about the sinkings, but he is still able to explain what he did in reason, and says what was done was done for the country and the population.

Indeed, the sinkings begin as a part of a project known as the “TDZ” (Tidal Defence Zone), which is “the ring of coastline around the country, two miles out from shore”, namely a chain of barricades “imprisoning the country – safeguarding it, as Davenport and his ministers would say, from foreign invasion.”³⁴⁶ After the first ships are sunk, their wreckage is used as the first level of the barrier while the passengers and crews who board the ships are either sent to the Breadbasket or allowed to stay in the country because of their “Special Skills”, if they are not dead. The government plants

³⁴⁵ Murray, 330-331.

³⁴⁶ Murray, 44.

mines, pours concrete, and builds floating defences and platforms around the wreckage of those sunken ships. The most significant part of this chain is the “Channel Barrier”, referred to as the “great asset of the British, the great crime, perpetrated in the name of security”³⁴⁷, which is studded with jetsam and scrap. The only crossings along the TDZ are left for military ships and boats carrying crops from the Breadbasket and the Fishing Fleet. Another barrier that is built for security like the TDZ is the Roadblock that separates London from the rest of the country. The Roadblock is built when London is made the first key defence zone by Davenport after he takes the control of the country, and it is made up of, like the TDZ, different levels:

A ragged line of soldiers at first, soon supplemented by rows of concrete blocks, mushrooming in erratic patterns to halt truck and car bombs. And then, eventually, proper brick huts, and extra concrete emplacements, and all the paranoid paraphernalia of a state in retreat from its own people.”³⁴⁸

The buildings that are built for the Roadblock spread over such a large area that a distorted kind of town is formed outside London, which makes it difficult to enter the city, and easy to leave it. Anyway, there are checkpoints at the entrances of the cities, where soldiers control people entering a city and their papers to find out if they are criminals, refugees, etc.

Despite Davenport’s extreme regulations to ensure security, there are places, especially outside the cities, where the government has difficulty in maintaining the control, and where there are “riots, wearily suppressed; every so often the corpse of some blameless agricultural inspector might be left in a public square with a sign asking for collection by the authorities.”³⁴⁹ Thus, it is still dangerous to travel between the cities, and many people carry guns while travelling. Ellen’s father, who is a connector, a government officer whose work is to take resources to remote places between the cities, dies while going to one those places. On one of his trips, he and the inexperienced soldiers escorting him are attacked by men with guns, who kill most of them including Ellen’s father and appropriate the resources. In the places between the cities, there also live the woodsmen who include outcasts who are banished from the society, criminals

³⁴⁷ Murray, 44.

³⁴⁸ Murray, 50.

³⁴⁹ Murray, 18.

who escape from their punishment, which is transportation to the Breadbasket, criminals who are not sent there but exiled to live in the woods. The woodsmen, who are not only men but also women and children, forage, attack some places in towns, and steal food and livestock. Sometimes they build their own “fragile settlements in the wooded spaces between towns. Like a tumour, a new kind of tissue pushing outwards and testing the limits of the host body.”³⁵⁰ And, they try to raise their own crops, which are not as good as the ones raised by the government. When the woodsmen are caught, they are arrested and either sent to the Breadbasket or executed.

The Breadbasket that refers to the lands in the western Europe, mainly France, is one of the greatest achievements of the Davenport project. Davenport turns these lands into some kind of colony of Britain, where the British government establishes giant farms and plantations that supply most of country’s need of food. Actually, Davenport does not only establish the Breadbasket in the ruins of what was once known as Europe in order to solve the food shortage and starvation, he also orders the transformation of parks and the playing grounds of universities, mostly closed, in Britain into the lands for crops. People also try to raise crops in their limited gardens of their houses without much accomplishment. As these struggles are not, of course, enough to feed the whole population in Britain, Davenport takes the control of western Europe to ensure the improvement of his population

imposing order on the old Europe with a simple push just as the continent fell apart. First the border had moved two hundred yards into France, then half a mile, then ten miles. Today Davenport governed more of continental Europe than any Englishman since the Hundred Years War.³⁵¹

Anyway, through the establishment of the Breadbasket and the Fishing Fleet, the Davenport project, or the Reconstitution, becomes successful, or it is claimed to become successful as a part of propaganda in favour of the prime minister, when the food supplies appear to increase and the problem of starvation seems to be solved. The Breadbasket is significant in accordance with biopolitics not only because it is set up for the well-being of the population, but also because it is a control mechanism regulating

³⁵⁰ Murray, 141.

³⁵¹ Murray, 131.

both foreigners and such people as criminals and prisoners within the population, who are not considered worthy to live.

The criminals, prisoners, escapees are all sent to the Breadbasket, if they are not executed, to work like slaves in the farms and fields. Before they are sent to Europe in prison-like ships, the government bring them to centre of the city, where they are caught, and march them through the streets. The ceremony, which is designed by Davenport “to keep people quiescent by reminding them what waited for anyone who committed a serious enough crime”, is called “the Winnow”.³⁵² Ellen sees such a ceremony when she comes to London, but she does not understand why a group of people march in the streets under the control of soldiers as she has not seen one before. A group of almost ten people consisting of different men, women and children at various ages, with ragged and dirty clothes walks down the street without speaking. Suddenly, a boy in the group falls to the ground probably because he has not taken pills for his heart three days according to his mother, who is also in the group. Ellen’s attempts to help the boy, is blocked by one of the soldiers who warns her to leave the boy, explaining this is a matter that does not interest her. However, when she insists that the boy should be transported into hospital and wants to get some water for him, she is hit probably by one of the soldiers. Ellen does not really understand why the government makes those people march if they are transported as a punishment.

‘Why do they march them through here?’

‘To show other crooks what’s coming to them.’

‘It’s horrible.’

He grinned. ‘You don’t like it, you can join them. The foreigners all cheated their own people to get here. Left their families behind, most of them. And without them working away, you don’t get your food, miss. You don’t look like you refuse your bread.’³⁵³

It is interesting that most people, even those who appear to be as poor as those prisoners, think they deserve this kind of treatment as they are criminals or foreigners, without caring about whether they are innocent or not. Additionally, the woodsmen are also paraded in the streets of their towns before being transported when they get

³⁵² Murray, 98-99.

³⁵³ Murray, 99.

arrested. All these people who are to be sent to the Breadbasket are thought to deserve everything by the rest of the population, they are also regarded, within the context of biopower according to Foucault, as the inferior groups that threaten the improvement of the population; therefore, the government allows them to die by increasing their risk of death. Besides their poor clothes, most of them having no shoes at all, they are deprived of the basic needs such as medicines or a proper treatment, which subjects them to the risk of death.

The government asserts that the living and working conditions in the Breadbasket are pretty good despite the rumours that not only criminals and foreigners sent there but also the locals are employed like slaves, working for very long hours. Nobody actually knows anything about the Breadbasket other than what the government tells, which does not probably reflect the truth:

‘Is it true about the Breadbasket?’

‘Is what true?’

‘They keep them working eighteen hours a day, the convicts. The locals too. And if they don’t work, they get shot. That’s what I heard. And when they die, they get fed to the soil, to grow the crops they’ve been picking.’³⁵⁴

Although it is not known whether those who do not work are killed or not, it is highly likely that they are made to work too much under the constant sunlight and heat, and starve as they are not sufficiently fed with the crops they themselves raise. David Gamble, Ellen’s ex-husband, who works for *The Times*, tells Ellen his experience during his visit to the Breadbasket. David with some other journalists from the other two surviving newspapers, namely the *Mail* and the *Post*, though the latter is later closed, goes to a farm in Normandy following the invitation of the government in order to write how well the Breadbasket operates. David initially gets surprised to see that everything seems to be alright: “A few farmers in their smartest clothes. Chickens around the place – scrawny but, Jesus, alive. And the farmers seemed genuinely proud of what they’d done.”³⁵⁵ They are also given information by some people working there about the scientific methods like genetic modification that enable five harvests a year,

³⁵⁴ Murray, 182.

³⁵⁵ Murray, 274.

and a possible sixth one. Although David knows much of this does not reflect the whole situation in the Breadbasket, he gets hopeful that things will gradually improve, thinking “maybe this is how we start the road back.”³⁵⁶ Maybe, there will, David thinks, be enough land and enough food for everyone, not only for British but also for the continentals one day.

Nevertheless, this atmosphere of hope disappears upon seeing a skinny and exhausted child when David and other journalists are about leave the farm. This child looks “no more than five years old. Half naked. Starving. Little belly poking out. So thin you can’t tell if it’s a boy or girl.”³⁵⁷ Then, the child is taken back indoors by a woman, possibly the mother, who is in a worse condition than her child, looking frightened that they have seen the child. The authorities in the farm do not notice that the journalists have seen the child and its mother, and, thus, do not say anything to justify the situation. The journalists do not talk about what they have seen, and they write about the farm as they are supposed to write in favour of the government.

But it made the whole thing clear. If even the kids on the show farms look like that, firstly, where the fuck is the grain going, and secondly, what’s it like everywhere else? I know that was when things were bad, but honestly, even if it’s a lot better than that, it’s still pretty fucking awful out there.³⁵⁸

Even in the farm, which the government chooses to show the journalists and tries to show off, people look starving and exhausted by overwork. It is quite likely that people in other farms are subjected to living and work under worse conditions, which the government does not think to improve. The government does not actually care about the well-being of people working in the Breadbasket as these people, criminals or escapees, do not conform to certain norms and they risk the improvement of the population. In accordance with biopolitics, those people are subjected to death, either directly or indirectly. On the one hand, they are killed aboard, in the case of foreigners, and they are executed, in the case of criminals, on the other hand, the risk of their death is increased when they are sent to the Breadbasket. However, it is not only the

³⁵⁶ Murray, 274.

³⁵⁷ Murray, 275.

³⁵⁸ Murray, 275.

Breadbasket where those people considered a threat are subjected to living and working conditions that risk their death.

Foreigners living in the country, and even Britain's own people, experience lots of difficulties despite the government's progress propaganda. People in the cities may have more opportunities to live a life of average quality, "but it's", as David says, "a lot worse further out. Everyone's got a reason to hate this lot, and things aren't getting any calmer."³⁵⁹ Foreigners, especially Europeans from France, Germany, Spain, etc., who are not sent to the Breadbasket, and are allowed to reside in Britain, have to work as serfs "in the fields for the right to survive, cringing to make themselves useful enough to avoid eviction."³⁶⁰ In addition to being employed in the fields, they, except those who possess Special Skills, are also employed to do the works that generally nobody wants to do, and need much workforce. It is striking that those foreigners allowed to enter the country, whose number is very limited, feel content to live in Britain despite the difficult conditions they have. Since their home countries are nothing more than a ruin, they come to Britain to survive rather than die there:

She wondered sometimes how bad it must be on the continent to prompt so many people from those areas to stay in Britain, living cramped and miserable lives of constant work without prospect of respite. Those permitted to stay were here on sufferance, as though the host nation was granting them the enormous favour of letting them work fourteen-hour days in solar fields or fertiliser pits. Nor were they secure. All it would take was a tweak of bureaucracy and the guarantees of the past would vanish like the foam lapping at the country's shores.³⁶¹

With long working hours, crowded and poor accommodation, foreigners do not have the right of citizenship, and the right of ownership as well due to the Law 12, which allows the government to seize property and forbids foreign-born people to inherit it. This deprives foreigners of any kind of guarantee and makes it easier for the government to deport them or transport them to the Breadbasket at any time. It is significant that these regulations concerning foreigners are similar to current regulations on immigrants in modern states.

³⁵⁹ Murray, 276.

³⁶⁰ Murray, 236-237.

³⁶¹ Murray, 202.

Life is not easy also for the British, apart from “the manufacturing chiefs and the senior politicians and the rest of Davenport’s gang”³⁶² who live in luxurious houses in the countryside far from all crimes and problems. Most people have to live in small houses under the constant sunlight, and unfortunately, they cannot find enough food to live on healthily. There is shortage not only of food, but also of lots of other things such as water, fuel, clothes, medicine etc. Generally, the needs of people, like food, are given to them on certain rations with ration cards, which are almost always not sufficient to the extent that people often commit ration fraud. A woman who is caught committing fraud claims that it is not her fault because the government does not give her family their need: “I got three kids. They only give us two lots of rations. I told them again and again, we need an extra ration. They told us no, that we should put our eldest in the army. But he doesn’t want to go. He’s only fifteen.”³⁶³ However, the government does not admit that they give people insufficient rations of food because if they do, it means admitting that there are shortages the government cannot control, as well as diseases that cannot be cured, partly because of the shortage of medicine.

The diseases include epidemics such as smallpox spreading with the melted glaciers in Siberia after the Stop. Though most of these epidemics are gradually brought under control, new diseases resulting from sunlight like skin cancer begin to appear much more often than ever. The number of patients with such diseases as skin cancer increases quite a lot due to unavailable drugs, many of which decay “in long-dead factories on the other side of the earth, at the other end of cauterised supply chains”³⁶⁴, despite the government’s campaigns concerning sun protection. The government tries to solve this shortage of medicine by bringing foreign pharmacists and scientists to the country, but it does not suffice. So, thousands of people suffer from various diseases, some of which are incurable and contagious. The government regards those patients who cannot be treated as an inferior part of population that is not worthy to live and must be eliminated. Therefore, those patients are placed by the government in the “plague houses”, which are some kind of hospitals for incurables. The staffs of these hospitals from doctors to people responsible for cleaning and other chores are all

³⁶² Murray, 160.

³⁶³ Murray, 180.

³⁶⁴ Murray, 66.

criminals who are not transported to Europe. “It’s an easier life”, as a doctor on the plague house says, “than on the continent. Most people there would trade, given the chance.”³⁶⁵ When the city authorities bring such patients to the plague houses, the staff has to take the patients whether their disease is contagious or not. Although they do not manage to heal them, they try to make them feel comfortable until they die. It is quite interesting that the government hits two birds with one stone through the plague houses. On the one hand, they get rid of the incurables, who threaten the improvement of the population because of the risk of contagion; on the other hand, they make the criminals do a work that no one would want to do, and keep them under control in a place from which they cannot escape.

The government cannot take the risk of the incurables infecting other people in the society and allow them to stay among others. Because this, no doubt, contradicts the propaganda of the Davenport project, which always tells people that there is order and control in the country and the population improves each year:

Regeneration. A new factory each month, she read in the bulletins. Each week more farmland under the harrow, each year more schools, more roads, more food. Two years ago, a new railway line. The Great British Resurgence was well under way [...] the dispatches remained optimistic.³⁶⁶

Ellen knows that most of it is not true, and it is a part of the government’s discourse concerning progress and advancement in order to control people. Because if people are convinced that the population is constantly improving, that everything is good and controlled, they will not easily question the government’s deeds, and therefore will become easier to be kept under control. Davenport thinks that convincing people that they live in a good country is not enough to ensure their control. They also must be made to think that the alternative to living in Britain, even under difficulties, is the transportation to the Breadbasket: “Do people want to live like the poor bloody slaves on the continent? No. So they’ll support him. Even if he’s wrong.”³⁶⁷ Assuming that those who do not conform to the norms concerning living or working will be transported, people become docile bodies that are easily controlled.

³⁶⁵ Murray, 269.

³⁶⁶ Murray, 17.

³⁶⁷ Murray, 286.

The propaganda of the Davenport project made by the government is supported by the surviving newspapers that are only *The Times* and the *Mail*. While the rest of the newspapers are closed in time, these two newspapers are allowed to operate by being under some kind of supervision by the government since the editors have close relationships with the government. So, the two newspapers continue to survive “in a curious state of limbo; neither an official organ of propaganda nor a newspaper in the former sense of the word.”³⁶⁸ David, working as the news editor in *The Times*, explains that there are moles among the staff, who tell everything that happens in the newspaper to the government, but who are not known. Even if the identities of the moles are revealed, as David states, they cannot be fired, because firing them means that the newspaper will be closed. Accordingly, the newspapers write whatever the government wants them to write, but they are also constantly reminded that they are free to write anything:

‘You wouldn’t believe some of the stuff we’re not printing, El. Chaos outside London. Army running low on people, weapons, you name it. Patchy, everywhere. As soon as one blotch of civil disobedience settles down, another bit of the country goes bright red.’

‘Seriously?’

He nodded. ‘And that’s not all. Everything in short supply. Right now Britain’s manufacturing base is making an enormous surplus of bullshit and not much else.’³⁶⁹

Nevertheless, in order to prove that there is freedom of press and expression in Britain, the government occasionally arranges news that is partly negative. This condition of the newspapers as an unofficial mouthpiece of the government is not accepted by some members of their staffs, who criticise and object to this intervention by the government. Yet, those people are immediately dismissed from their positions in the newspaper, and are replaced by those who seem to be close to the government. This is why David positively writes about the Breadbasket farm he visits despite the truths he realizes.

David tells Ellen about the rumours that this tense atmosphere resulting from the shortages in the country would ease off with an achievement of the prime minister Richard Davenport, which is the acquisition of something Davenport wants to seize for

³⁶⁸ Murray, 109-110.

³⁶⁹ Murray, 107-108.

years from the Americans, who reside in the southern counties of the country: nuclear weapons. When the scientists discover, during the Slow, the parts on the earth that would constantly face the sun and those that would be left in constant darkness, the nations to be swallowed by darkness begin to migrate to places likely to survive. Though many people choose not to move on, almost a billion people leave their countries in hope of survival. The most organised one among those migrations is the one of the Americans from the USA, where only “a slim crescent of New England would remain just about lit by a weak sun”³⁷⁰, which is not sufficient for survival. They plan to send only a small percentage of the population to selected places in the Warmside: a group to the south of Britain, smaller groups to France, West Africa and the Middle East. People who are left behind do not manage to run effective riots due to crop failures in the country, so those groups of selected people sail into those specific places to begin a new life. However, all groups other than that in Britain cannot hold on, and probably die as they are not heard of again.

In return for a part of Britain where they can settle, the Americans have to make some sacrifices like leaving the control of their navy to Britain. Their ships, damaged too badly to be repaired, are sunk and contribute to the TDZ while the rest of their forces suffice to make the British navy stronger. However, the real reason why Davenport, who does everything in the name of protecting the countries from foreigners, accepts giving some counties to the Americans, and why he later tolerates their existence in the country and does not invade those southern counties where they reside is most probably “their enormous stockpile of nuclear weapons, shipped over with great care, complete with the capacity to launch them.”³⁷¹ Similarly, Davenport voluntarily accepts thousands of the Swiss, who have to leave their country when glaciers melted by the constant sunlight damage it, probably in return for guns. Unlike other Europeans, the Swiss are welcomed in the country as a result of this agreement between them and Davenport’s government.

Although the Americans refuse to hand the nuclear weapons over to Davenport’s government for years, the news concerning a new agreement between Britain and the Americans signals their retreat. It is announced that the plans for a “Bill of National

³⁷⁰ Murray, 122.

³⁷¹ Murray, 124-125.

Unity”, through which America will have the opportunity “to acknowledge its increased debt to Britain”³⁷², are given their final form. According to this bill, the Americans will be represented in the House of Commons and protected by the British state, and the British and American armed forces will be formally united in return. This means that

The Americans are caving, at last. They must be starving. We guessed they were pretty hungry for a few years, but it must be much worse than we thought. Either way, it’s huge. No more Divided Kingdom. They’ll get citizenship, the border into the American Zone will come down, the whole thing. [...] Don’t you see? Davenport’s getting the lot. A massive glut of manpower, whether for the fields or the army, all that land... He’s been wanting this for years, and it looks like the Americans are finally willing to accept it. It also means he’s got something to threaten the Scandis with, and the Russians. Christ, he’ll be able to blow up half the planet when he gets his hands on the nukes.³⁷³

It seems that although the Americans, while migrating, bring with them what they may need for survival including “whole factories, even some of the new hydroponic works devoted to growing food without soil”³⁷⁴, they suffer from shortage of supplies as, unlike Britain, they do not have a Breadbasket that would feed them. So, they agree to make an agreement with the British government, which will result in the acquisition of nuclear weapons for Davenport to use them in order to maintain control over his own country or to invade the countries he sees as a threat. However, Davenport fails to take those weapons from the Americans, or it can be deduced that he fails since the novel ends with their learning a secret that the British government tries to hide. This ending enables the reader to comment on what could happen after the revelation of this secret.

In 2044, Edward Thorne, a major figure in Davenport’s government then, and five fellow scientists produce and send a satellite into space, aimed for civilian benefits, by keeping it a secret from everyone but themselves. While moving across the earth, the satellite takes photographs of numerous areas with lights scattered across America and Asia, the Coldside, which reveal human activity. The scientists think that the lights might survive after all people died, yet it is seen that the pattern of the lights changes between the photographs taken from different angles at different times. According to the

³⁷² Murray, 239.

³⁷³ Murray, 239-240.

³⁷⁴ Murray, 124.

scientists, there might be also other human settlements underground whose lights are not visible to the satellite. They assume, according to the estimations, that there might be tens of millions of people living in these settlements. Actually, these results of the satellite's movement across the earth are quite striking in that they reveal the existence of millions of surviving people, or survived until fifteen years ago, in the Coldside, who are believed to be dead. Nonetheless, one of those scientists, named Thomas Gethin, betrays others and reports to Davenport all about the satellite and its observations. Davenport fires all of them including Thorne and people working under them as he cannot take the risk of revelation of this secret among the British people, among the Americans and other people in the world. The truth revealed by the photographs taken by the satellite conflicts with the whole myth created by Davenport's government that Britain is the only strong surviving country:

This place, this wonderful island, this precious stone, is the world's last hope, and the best. All I need is a little more time, as I think you know. But if you upset the scale now, our whole mission here could fail. [...] This is the only place that can survive. And I confess, Teddy, it could not cope with the images you have sent me.³⁷⁵

Thus, Thorne and his whole team are dismissed from the government, and Thorne later goes to Oxford to teach, where he becomes Ellen's tutor. He is amazed by Ellen's intelligence and plans concerning the possible influence of currents over crops and agriculture, and helps her to find a post in the government. Despite their close relationship based on mutual admiration of intellect, Thorne never tells Ellen about the satellite project or why he has been fired from the government. This relationship ends when Ellen learns that he is responsible for the sinkings, death of millions of people including her mother, and he leaves Oxford.

Over time, Thorne excessively regrets what he did while working as Davenport's adviser, especially being responsible for the sinkings, and wants to atone for his wrong deeds by trying to ensure that the information of surviving people in America will be transferred to the Americans settled in Britain, who are about to hand nuclear weapons over to Davenport's government. Thorne plans to do this through a man who has an illegal transmit radio and communicates with the Americans. However,

³⁷⁵ Murray, 382-383.

Thorne, though he is not killed in case he sends the reports of the satellite project to someone else, is continuously watched by the inspectors from “Security”. When they discover Thorne’s contact with that man and kill him, Thorne has to get in contact with somebody else he trusts: Ellen Hopper. After she refuses Thorne’s calls for help, she is forced to visit him by the inspectors, who think if Ellen agrees to help Thorne and finds the reports, they might seize and get rid of them. Ellen is, undoubtedly, kept under constant surveillance by the Security while searching for the proofs and trying to reach the truth. What is interesting is that she learns she has been watched, actually spied on by one of people she worked with, for years before she came to London to visit Thorne. Also, she finds out that inspectors of the Security, one of whom is Ellen’s brother, watch those people whom they suspect of posing a threat for the population. So, the Security is responsible for searching and detecting those threats and dangers to the population, and, indeed, for discovering and catching people, whom they suspect of being dissidents. When the Security catches those dissidents, whose aim is to defy Davenport and his government, they torture them until they learn about the truth, and get rid of them. It would not be wrong to express that some characters in the novel, such as the man having contact with the Americans, get eliminated, mostly killed, by the Security. Consequently, though the surveillance technologies are not quite advanced, the government tries to keep the individuals under surveillance and control them either through these inspectors or secret police working for the Security, and through, typically, security cameras, and through curfews.

Ellen suspects that the security cameras, though there are a bunch of them on the streets, do not record most of the time, and stay there “simply to intimidate, sightless eyes long cut off from an atrophied brain.”³⁷⁶ It is highly possible that the government wants to make the individuals believe that they are constantly watched through the security cameras, and internalise surveillance and power. She sees that the cameras do not actually record, or nobody watches what they record when she walks by one, but does not get caught during the curfew. The curfew refers to a regulation that forbids the individuals to go out and makes them stay indoors between certain hours at night. It is one of the regulations made by Davenport’s government for control because it becomes “much easier to govern if you could recreate the hours of darkness and re-establish

³⁷⁶ Murray, 307.

control over your cities while the lawful slept.”³⁷⁷ It comes to mean that since Britain constantly faces the sun and there is no night anymore, Davenport aims both to control the individuals by keeping them in a single place, mostly their houses, at night, and to regulate the population by making them stay indoors so that they can sleep as they are supposed to do at night. Though there are not many people who violate the curfew other “than teenage partygoers or furtive adulterers”³⁷⁸, another measure taken against possible criminals, in addition to the security cameras, is that the police drives curfew wagons. Though Ellen runs into one of them during the curfew while she is going after Thorne’s secret, she manages to elude the police.

At the end of the novel, Ellen, with David’s help, is able to reveal the truth, to reach the reports and proofs concerning the satellite, and to tell all about this to an American authority through the transmit radio. On their way to the American Zone to take those proofs to the Americans, Ellen and David talk about what will happen in the future now that it is known Britain is not one of few places that survive. The Americans are likely to cancel their agreement with Davenport and to riot against the British government. On the other hand, the Davenport project “based on the idea that we’re the world’s last hope”³⁷⁹, will crumble when all people learn that there are surviving people in America and China, and Britain has ignored them. It is also very likely that British people and foreigners both in Britain and in Europe will riot when all the murderous actions taken by Davenport are proven.

In this way, *The Last Day*, as many other post-apocalyptic novels, leads readers to think about the current issues like environmental and migration problems through “questions about who we are and what we are willing to do when the end of the world arrives, and we are offered a chance of survival.”³⁸⁰ As a response to such questions, Richard Davenport with his government, through all these years, has seen all foreigners as the risk factors who have the potential to threaten the well-being of the nation and improvement of the population, and has made every regulation necessary for eliminating, getting rid of these risks. He has sunk their ships and killed them aboard in

³⁷⁷ Murray, 288.

³⁷⁸ Murray, 288.

³⁷⁹ Murray, 384.

³⁸⁰ AB Endacott, “Review: The Last Day by Andrew Hunter Murray”, *The Nerd Daily*, 28 January 2020, Retrieved 1 June 2020, <https://www.thenerddaily.com/the-last-day-by-andrew-hunter-murray/>

order to prevent them from coming to Britain. He has sent most of them to the Breadbasket to work like slaves, and has welcomed a very small number of them, like the Americans and the Swiss, in return for weaponry. He has also tried to eliminate the inferior groups such as criminals within his own population by employing them to do bad and risky works. All these regulations have been made in the name of survival and improvement in accordance with biopower, which makes biological racism a condition for killing.



CONCLUSION

This study strives to analyse British post-apocalyptic novels, which are set many years after different catastrophes, from the perspective of Foucauldian biopower. Foucault's conceptualisation of biopower is closely related to, therefore requires a look at, his examination of the concept of "power". Power, having a crucial place in Foucault's literature, seems to be a concept that is related to almost every issue he handles from madness to sexuality. He expresses that the question "what is power?", or more specifically, "how is it exercised, what exactly happens when someone exercises power over another?" lies at the centre of his studies.³⁸¹ What Foucault means by power seems to be different from the term's conventional meanings, which generally limit it to repression and prohibition. Power is generally described as "the capacity of powerful agents to realise their will over the will of powerless people, and the ability to force them to do things which they do not wish to do"³⁸², which is the influence of juridical model of power. This model approaches power as something negative which always prohibits, represses, rejects, censors, etc., as, according to this model, power functions only through laws and legislation. From a juridical perspective, power comes to mean "a law that says no"³⁸³ Typically, this conventional conceptualisation identifies power with the state and the government, and therefore considers it centralised and monopolised emanating from a definite singular point in a homogenous hierarchy from top to down. This makes it possible to think power as something that is got a hold of, something that can be seized from those who are "powerful" or something that can be given to those who are "powerless".

Foucault objects to all these considerations resulting from the juridico-political or juridico-discursive model of power. For him, power is neither a thing that is given, taken or shared nor it only consists of repression and prohibition. Foucault asserts that power is a heterogeneous net of force relations diffused into every corner of society, which makes it omnipresent. There is no single individual who is independent of the operation of power since power relations exist not only in the relationship between the

³⁸¹ Michel Foucault, "On Power", Lawrence D. Kritzman (Ed.), *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984*, Routledge, New York 1988, 102.

³⁸² Sara Mills, *Michel Foucault*, Routledge, New York 2004, 34-35.

³⁸³ Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power", James D. Faubion (Ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 3*, Penguin Books, London 2002, 120.

ruler and the ruled but also inside all other relationships within society. Foucault also rejects the perception of power as such things as repression and prohibition; rather, he suggests that these things, “far from being essential forms of power, are only its limits, power in its frustrated or extreme forms.”³⁸⁴ Power relations are productive in that power produces knowledge, discourse, bodies and individuals. Foucault believes that juridical conceptualisation of power is primarily linked to sovereignty and sovereign power. Sovereign power, whose “characteristic privilege, since Roman law, was the right to decide life and death”³⁸⁵, was based on the right to kill, and functioned through deduction of wealth, goods, service, etc. However, sovereign power had its own limitations and problems, which made a new form of power necessary. This new form of power called biopower, which focuses on life instead of killing, as Foucault explains in *The History of Sexuality*, came into being in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Biopower aims to foster and maximise life by controlling both the single individuals and the whole population with “two distinct technologies of knowledge, formations of power and experience, which have been coextensive through the past 200 years.”³⁸⁶ Foucault explains that, on the one hand, the anatomo-politics of the human body seeks to discipline the individual bodies; on the other hand, the biopolitics of the population hinges on the regulation of the population as a whole. Disciplinary power targets the total control of an individual and her/his body, and becomes an individualising power. Foucault examines, in *Discipline and Punish*, the diverse techniques concerning time and space, through which not only the bodies of individuals, but also their actions and behaviours are disciplined. According to him, discipline increases the capacity and productivity of the human body, and makes the individuals docile and useful by imposing on them norms and keeping them under continuous surveillance to make sure that they conform to those norms. It can be expressed that as a consequence of this constant surveillance, individuals gradually internalise both power and the norms, and eventually become their own watchers, which makes the operation of power more efficient and economical, and therefore less risky and inconvenient. In

³⁸⁴ Michel Foucault, “Power and Sex”, Lawrence D. Kritzman (Ed.), *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984*, Routledge, New York 1988, 118.

³⁸⁵ Johanna Oksala, “From Biopower to Governmentality”, Christopher Falzon, Timothy O’Leary and Jana Sawicki (Eds.), *A Companion to Foucault*, Blackwell Publishing, Chichester 2013, 321.

³⁸⁶ Claire Blencowe, *Biopolitical Experience: Foucault, Power and Positive Critique*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2012, 56.

this way, discipline becomes much more than methods of punishment and correction in the army, and spreads to firstly other institutions such as schools and hospitals and then the rest of society, so that modern societies become disciplinary ones where individuals are responsible for their own disciplining. Although Foucault considers discipline a part of biopower, which complements biopolitics, he, through time, revises his analysis concerning discipline, biopower and biopolitics and, in his lectures called *Security, Territory, Population* and *The Birth of Biopolitics*, moves “away from the idea of discipline as the prevalent structure of modern societies.”³⁸⁷ However, it is clear that discipline is a breaking point from sovereign power, and aims at, like biopolitics, reinforcing life rather than killing.

Foucault states that biopolitics targets the control and administration of the population, seeing it as a living organism. Actually, Foucault was neither the one who coined the term “biopolitics”, nor one of the first people who used it. However, Foucault’s contribution to the conceptualisation and analysis of biopolitics through his lectures, books and interviews seems to be undeniable and an inspiration to the contemporary biopolitical studies. Biopolitics, in general, points out that there is “a tight connection between the operations of the state and the phenomena of life, such as health, death, reproduction and so on.”³⁸⁸ Similarly, Foucault claims that biopolitics controls the population by trying to improve its health through numerous regulations concerning rates such as birth, death and longevity. The improvement of the population, as Foucault puts forward, requires eliminating the risks and the factors that would be a threat for the population, whether these factors are inside or outside it. Those groups within a population that biologically threaten its existence or improvement must be eliminated, must be disallowed to the extent of death, which results in biological racism. Within biopower, a power whose primary characteristic is its focus on life, killing becomes legitimised and acceptable with racism. Foucault asserts that those threats for the population do not have to be people from a different race, as in typical racism; rather, they may be any type of group of people like homosexuals as they may form a

³⁸⁷ Sven-Olov Wallenstein, “Introduction: Foucault, Biopolitics, and Governmentality”, Jakob Nilsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein (Eds.), *Foucault, Biopolitics, and Governmentality*, Södertörns högskola, 2013, <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:615362/FULLTEXT03>, 11.

³⁸⁸ Catherine Mills, “Biopolitical Life”, Jakob Nilsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein (Eds.), *Foucault, Biopolitics, and Governmentality*, Södertörns högskola, 2013, <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:615362/FULLTEXT03>, 73.

risk for reproduction and therefore survival of the population. Accordingly, since not only sex is the tool for reproduction, but also disciplinary power concerns itself with issues about sexual practices, sexuality is quite significant for the operation biopower.

The novels that have been selected for this study are all set in a post-apocalyptic world having a fixed and strict order where individuals and the populations are kept under control through disciplinary and biopolitical techniques in an almost perfect way. Because of this quasi-perfect order that also enables disciplining and surveillance of the citizens, it is also possible to read these novels as dystopias. In these works, as in most post-apocalyptic novels, “the aftermath of the destruction of the world as we know it is preponderantly dystopian.”³⁸⁹ However, it does not mean that all post-apocalyptic novels are dystopian, or all dystopias are set in post-apocalyptic worlds. Although both types of novels often overlap and share many points such that “they imagine our world changed, for the worse, almost beyond recognition”³⁹⁰, it is not right to approach them as the same genre. After all, the post-apocalyptic fiction features elements of not only dystopia but also other genres like science fiction and young adult. Similarly, it is possible for four novels in this study to be examined from numerous different perspectives as well as their post-apocalyptic characteristics. These four novels, namely *The Chrysalids*, *The Children of Men*, *Blind Faith* and *The Last Day*, have the potential for an analysis of Foucauldian discipline and biopolitics.

The Chrysalids by Wyndham focuses on the functioning of discipline through norms and normalisation and the biopolitical practices done for the sake of the purity of the population or the race through biological racism and eugenics. All living beings are categorised according to norms: “normal” ones and others. The norm is the image of living beings in which they are assumed to be created by God, and results from religious fundamentalism, which makes the novel resemble “the popular image of Puritan England, with hunts for deviation in lieu of hunts for witches”.³⁹¹ In the novel, those who do not fit into the category of the “normal” are believed to degenerate the purity of

³⁸⁹ Diletta De Cristofaro, ““Time, no arrow, no boomerang, but a concertina”: *Cloud Atlas* and the anti-apocalyptic critical temporalities of the contemporary post-apocalyptic novel”, *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*, 59 (2), 2018, 243.

³⁹⁰ Benjamin Kunkel, “Dystopia and the End of Politics”, *Dissent*, (Fall 2008), 90.

³⁹¹ Frederic Krome, Gregory Loving and C. Phoebe Reeves, “The Concept of the Human in John Wyndham’s *The Chrysalids*: Puritanical Imagery, Female Agency, and Theistic Evolution”, *Interdisciplinary Humanities*, 32 (2), 2015, 54.

the human race and, thus, form a biological threat for its existence. Those “abnormal” people are eliminated by being first sterilised and then subjected to death in the midst of the wild. It can be expressed that while they are not allowed to reproduce, those who are “normal” are encouraged to reproduce many times as long as their children are born in the true image. Individuals are kept under surveillance to make them internalise the norm and watch themselves and others for any deviation from the norm. It is interesting how different groups of people in the novel consider themselves “normal”, and see others as a threat for their survival.

While both disciplinary techniques and biopolitical regulations are at work in *The Children of Men* by James, the focus of the novel is the operation of biopolitics. It is important to regulate and ensure the health of the remaining population in a world where people cannot reproduce. With no reproduction, other biological processes of the population must be balanced for its improvement and health although it is also necessary for the state “to take control of the critical situation by examining and supervising people’s bodies in order to try to find some hope, some fertile individuals.”³⁹² In accordance with biological racism, the inferior groups of people in the population, namely the old, criminals and young foreigners, are regarded as unworthy to live because biological racism “is not limited to skin color and can include sexual orientation, level of ability, socio-economic status, and even political persuasion.”³⁹³ Those inferior groups are subjected to an indirect death by increasing their risk of death such that old people are encouraged to commit suicide; criminals are sent to an island, which they cannot escape from, and subjected to living there until the end of their lives; young foreigners are lured into the country, work like slaves and live in camps.

On the other hand, *Blind Faith* by Elton depicts such a surveillance society that people are not only watched by the authorities, but also it results in their self-surveillance. As in *The Chrysalids*, norms play a significant role in this novel, yet the norms here do not simply divide human beings into the normal and others. There are

³⁹² Jessica Aliaga-Lavrijsen, “A Feminist Perspective on the End of Humanity: P. D. James’s *The Children of Men*”, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 8 (11), 2019, 62.

³⁹³ Brad Elliott Stone, “Power, Politics, Racism”, Christopher Falzon, Timothy O’Leary and Jana Sawicki (Eds.), *A Companion to Foucault*, Blackwell Publishing, Chichester 2013, 365.

norms concerning almost every single detail about the bodies and lives of individuals, which are established to discipline them and their bodies. These norms are visible when, for example, someone who does not conform to the norm of clothing is criticised or warned about their clothes. However, norms become “less conspicuous when they are unspoken, what we may even take to be natural or understand as our own”³⁹⁴ as they get internalised. The fact that norms are internalised is ensured through surveillance technologies like screens and mobile devices diffused throughout the society. Feeling that they are continuously watched, individuals begin to keep themselves under control through self-disciplining. However, *Blind Faith* moves ahead of Foucault’s idea of panopticon society, and presents privacy and sharing as a norm imposed on individuals, who know they are expected to share everything. In this sense, individuals post on various social platforms, as they “are under the impression that anyone can see them, and therefore may produce certain behaviors”³⁹⁵ in accordance with the norms.

Last but not least, *The Last Day* by Andrew Hunter Murray puts forward biopolitical regulations in order to control the population, and forms an example of the concept that Foucault calls “biological racism” and how killing functions within biopower. Since death, according to Foucault, is the limit of biopower, a modern state, like Britain in the novel, must be racist in order to perform the ancient right to kill of sovereignty. The British government, in the novel, under the prime minister Richard Davenport performs this right with regulations that would ensure the elimination of such groups either by directly killing them or disallowing them to live to the extent of death. Accordingly, foreigners are employed as serfs in the Breadbasket, criminals are also sent there after they are marched through the streets in a ceremony called the Winnow, and many other “sacrifices have to be made for the survival of the group”³⁹⁶, namely the population as a whole.

Many post-apocalyptic novels including the four ones examined in this thesis have the potential for an analysis of Foucault’s understanding of power over life and the concepts concerning this type of power. It is possible to find out the examples of two

³⁹⁴ Ellen K. Feder, “Power/Knowledge”, Dianna Taylor (Ed.), *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*, Acumen Publishing, Durham 2011, 62.

³⁹⁵ Simon Purdy, “Surveillance, Knowledge and Inequality: Understanding Power Through Foucault and Beyond”, *The Hilltop Review*, 8 (1), 2015, 7.

³⁹⁶ Andrew Hunter Murray, *The Last Day*, Hutchinson, London 2020, 391.

poles of biopower – disciplinary techniques and biopolitical regulations – in these novels which show how various states control their citizens, both as individuals and population, years after a catastrophe strikes the world but people manage to survive. What makes these novels post-apocalyptic is that life goes on, no matter how big the catastrophe is, and surviving people adapt themselves into circumstances resulting from this catastrophe, whether it is a nuclear one in *The Chrysalids*, global infertility in *The Children of Men*, flood in *Blind Faith*, or a solar one in *The Last Day*, just as in the real world. Because of the resemblance between real life and this genre, “it is in the real world history of horrors that we find the true ‘world ending’ events of post-apocalyptic fiction.”³⁹⁷ What is notable here is that both post-apocalyptic worlds in these novels and our own real-life post-apocalyptic versions require the exercise of biopower as focusing on and fostering life becomes much more important after a catastrophe. It is perhaps this resemblance that makes post-apocalyptic fiction a popular and interesting genre for readers. Just as the readers keep reading post-apocalyptic novels with characters surviving different catastrophes, humanity keeps experiencing such different catastrophes as World Wars, the Holocaust, nuclear bombings, diseases, environmental disasters and, recently, the Coronavirus pandemic, and surviving.

³⁹⁷ Tynan Drake, “Change the Narrative: Empathy in Post-Apocalyptic Fiction”, *Digital Literature Review*, 5, 2018, <https://openjournals.bsu.edu/dlr/article/view/2697>, 25.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aliaga-Lavrijsen, J., "A Feminist Perspective on the End of Humanity: P. D. James's *The Children of Men*", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 8 (11), 2019, 59-63.
- Berger, J., *After the End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1999.
- Berger, J., "Introduction: Twentieth-Century Apocalypse: Forecasts and Aftermaths", *Twentieth Century Literature*, 46(4), 2000, 387-395.
- Blencowe, C., *Biopolitical Experience: Foucault, Power and Positive Critique*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2012.
- Booth, R. A., "Organisms and Human Bodies as Contagions in the Post-Apocalyptic State", Barbara Gurr (Ed.), *Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Post-Apocalyptic TV and Film*, (pp. 17-30), Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2015.
- Bunnin, N., and Yu, J., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden 2004.
- Campbell, T., and Sitze, A., "Biopolitics: An Encounter", Timothy Campbell and Adam Sitze (Eds.), *Biopolitics: A Reader*, (pp. 1-40). Duke University Press, Durham 2013.
- Curtis, C. P., *Postapocalyptic Fiction and the Social Contract: "We'll Not Go Home Again"*, Lexington Books, Plymouth 2010.
- Curtis, C. P., "Post-Apocalyptic Fiction as a Space for Civic Love", *English Studies in Africa*, 58(2), 2015, 4-14.
- De Cristofaro, D., "Critical Temporalities: *Station Eleven* and the Contemporary Post-Apocalyptic Novel", *Open Library of Humanities*, 4(2): 37, 2018, 1-26.
- De Cristofaro, D., "'Time, no arrow, no boomerang, but a concertina': *Cloud Atlas* and the anti-apocalyptic critical temporalities of the contemporary post-apocalyptic novel", *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*, 59 (2), 2018, 243-357.

- de Marques, E. M., "I Sing the Body Dystopic: Utopia and Posthuman Corporeality in P.D. James's *The Children of Men*", *Ilha do Desterro*, 65, 2013, 29-48.
- Elton, B., *Blind Faith*, Black Swan, London 2008.
- Esposito, R., *Bíos: Biopolitics and Philosophy*, Timothy Campbell (Trans.), University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 2008.
- Feder, E. K., "Power/Knowledge", Dianna Taylor (Ed.), *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*, (pp. 55-68), Acumen Publishing, Durham 2011.
- Foucault, M., "Body/Power", Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, (pp. 55-62), Vintage Books, New York 1980.
- Foucault, M., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan (Trans.), Vintage Books, New York 1995.
- Foucault, M., "Interview with Michel Foucault", James D. Faubion (Ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 3*, (pp. 239-297), Penguin Books, London 2002.
- Foucault, M., "On Power", Lawrence D. Kritzman (Ed.), *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984*, (pp. 96-109), Routledge, New York 1988.
- Foucault, M., "Power and Sex", Lawrence D. Kritzman (Ed.), *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984*, (pp. 110-124), Routledge, New York 1988.
- Foucault, M., "Prison Talk", Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, (pp. 37-54), Vintage Books, New York 1980.
- Foucault, M., *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the Collège de France 1973-1974*, Jacques Lagrange (Ed.), Graham Burchell (Trans.), Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2006.

- Foucault, M., *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*, Michel Senellart (Ed.), Graham Burchell (Trans.), Picador, New York 2007.
- Foucault, M., “Sex, Power, and the Politics of Identity”, Paul Rabinow (Ed.), *Ethics, Subjectivity and Truth: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 1*, (pp. 163-174), The New Press, New York 1997.
- Foucault, M., “Sexuality and Power”, Jeremy R. Carrette (Ed.), *Religion and Culture*, (pp. 115-130), Routledge, New York 1999.
- Foucault, M., *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (Eds.), David Macey (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 2004.
- Foucault, M., *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*, Michel Senellart (Ed.), Graham Burchell (Trans.), Picador, New York 2008.
- Foucault, M., “The Birth of Social Medicine”, James D. Faubion (Ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 3*, (pp. 134-156), Penguin Books, London 2002.
- Foucault, M., *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, A. M. Sheridan (Trans.), Routledge, Oxon 2003.
- Foucault, M., “The Eye of Power”, Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, (pp. 146-165), Vintage Books, New York 1980.
- Foucault, M., *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, Robert Hurley (Trans.), Penguin Books, London 1998.
- Foucault, M., “The Meshes of Power”, Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Eds.), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, (pp. 153-162), Ashgate Publishing, Farnham 2007.

- Foucault, M., "The Subject and Power", James D. Faubion (Ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 3*, (pp. 326-348), Penguin Books, London 2002.
- Foucault, M., "Truth and Power", James D. Faubion (Ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 3*, (pp. 111-133), Penguin Books, London 2002.
- Foucault, M., "Two Lectures", Colin Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, (pp. 78-108), Vintage Books, New York 1980.
- Foucault, M., *Wrong-Doing, Truth-Telling: The Function of Avowal in Justice*, Fabienne Brion and Bernard E. Harcourt (Eds.), Stephen W. Sawyer (Trans.), The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2014.
- Gurr, B., "Introduction: After the World Ends, Again", Barbara Gurr (Ed.), *Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Post-Apocalyptic TV and Film*, (pp. 1-14), Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2015.
- Heffernan, T., *Post-Apocalyptic Culture: Modernism, Postmodernism, and the Twentieth-Century Novel*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2008.
- Hicks, H. J., *The Post-Apocalyptic Novel in the Twenty-First Century: Modernity beyond Salvage*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2016.
- Hoffman, M., "Disciplinary Power", Dianna Taylor (Ed.), *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*, (pp. 27-40), Acumen Publishing, Durham 2011.
- Hoffstadt, C., and Schrey, D., "Aftermaths: Post-Apocalyptic Imagery", Tobias Hochscherf and James Leggott (Eds.), *British Science Fiction Film and Television: Critical Essays*, (pp. 28-39), McFarland & Company, Jefferson 2011.
- James, P. D., *The Children of Men*, Faber and Faber, London 2010.
- Kermode, F., *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction*, Oxford University Press, New York 2000.

- Krome, F., Loving, G., and Reeves, C. P., "The Concept of the Human in John Wyndham's *The Chrysalids*: Puritanical Imagery, Female Agency, and Theistic Evolution", *Interdisciplinary Humanities*, 32 (2), 2015, 52-64.
- Kunkel, B., "Dystopia and the End of Politics", *Dissent*, (Fall 2008), 89-98.
- Lawrence, D. H., *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Wordsworth Editions, London 2005.
- Lemke, T., *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*, Eric Frederick Trump (Trans.), New York University Press, New York 2011.
- Link, M., "'A Very Primitive Matter': John Wyndham on Catastrophe and Survival", *The Irish Journal of Gothic and Horror Studies*, 14 (Summer 2015), 63-80.
- Lisboa, M. M., *The End of the World: Apocalypse and its Aftermath in Western Culture*, Open Book Publishers, Cambridge 2011.
- Martin, R., "Truth, Power, Self: An Interview with Michel Foucault", Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, Patrick H. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, (pp. 9-15), The University of Massachusetts Press, U.S.A. 1988.
- McWhorter, L., "Sex, Race, and Biopower: A Foucauldian Genealogy", *Hypatia*, 19 (3), 2004, 38-62.
- Mills, C., *Biopolitics*, Routledge, Oxon 2018.
- Mills, S., *Michel Foucault*, Routledge, New York 2004.
- Murray, A. H., *The Last Day*, Hutchinson, London 2020.
- Oksala, J., "From Biopower to Governmentality", Christopher Falzon, Timothy O'Leary and Jana Sawicki (Eds.), *A Companion to Foucault*, (pp. 320-336), Blackwell Publishing, Chichester 2013.
- Purdy, S., "Surveillance, Knowledge and Inequality: Understanding Power Through Foucault and Beyond", *The Hilltop Review*, 8 (1), 2015, 3-13.

- Pylypa, J., "Power and Bodily Practice: Applying the Work of Foucault to an Anthropology of the Body", *Arizona Anthropologist*, Vol. 13, 1998, 21-36.
- Rabinow, P., and Rose, N., "Biopower Today", *Biosocieties*, 1 (2), 2006, 195-217.
- Revel, J., "Power", Leonard Lawlor and John Nale (Eds.), *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon*, (pp. 377-385), Cambridge University Press, New York 2014.
- Schirato, T., Danaher, G., and Webb, J., *Understanding Foucault: A Critical Introduction*, (2nd edition), SAGE Publications, London 2012.
- Smith, M. J., *Power and the State*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2009.
- Stone, B. E., "Power, Politics, Racism", Christopher Falzon, Timothy O'Leary and Jana Sawicki (Eds.), *A Companion to Foucault*, (pp. 353-367), Blackwell Publishing, Chichester 2013.
- Taylor, C., "Biopower", Dianna Taylor (Ed.), *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*, (pp. 41-54), Acumen Publishing, Durham 2011.
- Taylor, D., "Normativity and Normalization", *Foucault Studies*, 7, 2009, 45-63.
- Weiss, R., "Limitations of Solidarity in P. D. James' *The Children of Men*", *Beyond Philology*, 15 (3), 2018, 149-161.
- Wyndham, J., *The Chrysalids*, Penguin Books, London 2000.
- Yar, M., *Crime and the Imaginary of Disaster: Post-Apocalyptic Fictions and the Crisis of Social Order*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2015.

Internet Sources

- "An interesting new twist on a post-apocalyptic tale.", *Kirkus Reviews*, 25 November 2019, Retrieved 30 May 2020, <https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/andrew-hunter-murray/the-last-day-murray/>
- Atwood, M., "Chocky, the Kindly Body Snatcher", *Slate*, 8 September 2015, Retrieved 29 May 2020, <https://slate.com/culture/2015/09/margaret-atwood-chocky-the-kindly-alien-invader-in-john-wyndhams-last-book.html>

- Barry, A., “‘Britain has pride about not succumbing to fascism in the 20th century - I’m suggesting it could happen in the 21st’”, *TheJournal.ie*, 7 March 2020, Retrieved 30 May 2020, <https://www.thejournal.ie/andrew-hunter-murray-interview-the-last-day-novel-5031116-Mar2020/>
- “Coronavirus: What measures are countries taking to stop it?”, *BBC*, 1 April 2020, Retrieved 11 May 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-51737226>
- Crown, S., “A Life in Writing: PD James”, *The Guardian*, 4 November 2011, Retrieved 30 May 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2011/nov/04/pd-james-life-in-writing>
- Di Filippo, P., “There’s no shortage of novels about what happens when the Earth stops spinning. ‘The Last Day’ may set a new standard.”, *The Washington Post*, 10 February 2020, Retrieved 30 May 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/books/theres-no-shortage-of-novels-about-what-happens-when-the-earth-stops-spinning-the-last-day-may-set-a-new-standard/2020/02/10/e60a847a-4c32-11ea-bf44-f5043eb3918a_story.html
- Drake, T., “Change the Narrative: Empathy in Post-Apocalyptic Fiction”, *Digital Literature Review*, 5, 2018, <https://openjournals.bsu.edu/dlr/article/view/2697>
- Endacott, AB., “Review: The Last Day by Andrew Hunter Murray”, *The Nerd Daily*, 28 January 2020, Retrieved 1 June 2020, <https://www.thenerddaily.com/the-last-day-by-andrew-hunter-murray/>
- Gardner, E., ““What’s on your mind?”: A Critical Reflection of Facebook”, *Critical Reflections: A Student Journal on Contemporary Sociological Issues*, 2014, <https://ojs.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/index.php/SOC/article/viewFile/4490/4327>
- Guppy, S., “P. D. James, The Art of Fiction No. 141”, *The Paris Review*, 135 (Summer 1995), <https://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/1627/the-art-of-fiction-no-141-p-d-james>
- Jewish Encyclopedia, Retrieved 14 May 2020,

<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/1642-apocalypse>

Mills, C., “Biopolitical Life”, Jakob Nilsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein (Eds.), *Foucault, Biopolitics, and Governmentality*, (pp. 73-90), Södertörns högskola, 2013, <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:615362/FULLTEXT03>

Sutton, H., “Ben Elton: Is the former stand-up comedian the new Orwell?” *The Independent*, 11 November 2007, Retrieved 30 May 2020, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/features/ben-elton-is-the-former-stand-up-comedian-the-new-orwell-399527.html>

Wallenstein, S. O., “Introduction: Foucault, Biopolitics, and Governmentality”, Jakob Nilsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein (Eds.), *Foucault, Biopolitics, and Governmentality*, (pp. 7-34), Södertörns högskola, 2013, <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:615362/FULLTEXT03>

“Writing the end of the World: Charting trends in apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic fiction”, *The Economist*, 12 April 2017, Retrieved 17 October 2019, <https://www.economist.com/prospero/2017/04/12/charting-trends-in-apocalyptic-and-post-apocalyptic-fiction>

CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Information	
Name Surname	Gonca KARACA
Birth Date and Place	Erzurum / 18.09.1988
Educational Background	
Undergraduate	Atatürk University / English Language and Literature
Graduate	Atatürk University / English Language and Literature
Foreign Languages	English
Work Experience	
Institutions	Atatürk University Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University
Contact	
E-Mail	gonca.karaca@erdogan.edu.tr
Date	2020