



A COMPARISON OF MARGARET ATWOOD'S *THE HANDMAID'S TALE* AND CHARLIE BROOKERS' AND KONNIE HUQ'S *15 MILLION MERITS*: SURVEILLANCE FROM PANOPTICON TO SUPER-PANOPTICON AND SYNOPTICON

2020

MASTER'S THESIS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Deniz KOTANCI

Thesis Supervisor

Assist. Prof. Dr. Nazila HEIDARZADEGAN

**A COMPARISON OF MARGARET ATWOOD'S *THE HANDMAID'S TALE*
AND CHARLIE BROOKERS' AND KONNIE HUQ'S *15 MILLION MERITS*:
SURVEILLANCE FROM PANOPTICON TO SUPER-PANOPTICON AND
SYNOPTICON**

Deniz KOTANCI

T.C

Karabuk University

Institute of Graduate Programs

Department of English Language and Literature

Prepared as Master's Thesis

Thesis Supervisor

Assist. Prof. Dr. Nazila HEIDARZADEGAN

Karabük

2020

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	1
THESIS APPROVAL PAGE.....	3
DECLARATION	4
FOREWORD	5
DEDICATION	6
ABSTRACT.....	7
ÖZ.....	8
ARCHIVE RECORD INFORMATION	9
ARŞIV KAYIT BİLGİLERİ (in Turkish).....	10
SUBJECT OF THE RESEARCH	11
PURPOSE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH	11
METHOD OF THE RESEARCH.....	11
HYPOTHESIS OF THE RESEARCH / RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	11
INTRODUCTION	12
CHAPTER ONE	30
DESCRIPTION OF PANOPTICON, SUPER-PANOPTICON AND SYNOPTICON.....	30
1.1. Panopticon	34
1.1.1. Michel Foucault and Panopticism.....	37
1.2 Super-panopticon	41
1.3. Synopticon.....	43
1.3.1. Thomas Mathiesen and Synopticon.....	45
1.3.2. Similarities between Panopticon and Synopticon from Mathiesen’s Perspective.....	46
CHAPTER TWO	49
A COMPARISON OF MARGARET ATWOOD’S <i>THE HANDMAID’S TALE</i> AND BLACK MIRROR’S <i>15 MILLION MERITS</i>	49
2.1. Analysis of <i>The Handmaid’s Tale</i> from Panopticon, Super-Panopticon, and Synopticon Perspectives.....	49
2.1.1. Analysis of Social and Historical Construct of Surveillance Culture in <i>The Handmaid’s Tale</i>	66
2.2. Analysis of <i>Black Mirror’s 15 Million Merits</i> from Panopticon, Super- Panopticon, and Synopticon Perspectives.....	68

2.2.1. Analysis of Social and Historical Construct of Surveillance Culture in <i>15 Million Merits</i>	90
2.3. Comparison of two works in the Context of Surveillance from Panopticon to Super-panopticon & Synopticon	93
2.3.1. Control mechanisms: Fear, Manipulation, and Surveillance.....	94
2.3.2. Classification and Social Class Discrimination.....	100
2.3.3. Alienation and isolation	102
2.3.4. Restrictions.....	104
2.3.5. Concept of Freedom	107
2.3.6. Resistance	110
2.3.7. Discipline and Normalization	117
CONCLUSION	123
REFERENCES.....	128

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that in my opinion the thesis submitted by Deniz KOTANCI titled “A COMPARISON OF MARGARET ATWOOD’S THE HANDMAID’S TALE AND CHARLIE BROOKERS’ AND KONNIE HUQ’S 15 MILLION MERITS: SURVEILLANCE FROM PANOPTICON TO SUPER-PANOPTICON AND SYNOPTICON” is fully adequate in scope and in quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assist.Prof.Dr. Nazila HEIDERZADEGAN
Thesis Advisor, Department of English Language and Literature

Examining Committee Members (Institutions) Signature

Chairman : Assist.Prof.Dr. Nazila HEIDERZADEGAN (KBU)

Member : Assoc.Prof.Dr. Muayad ENWIYA JAJO AL-JAMANI (KBU)

Member : Assoc.Prof.Dr. Kerem Nayebpour (AİÇÜ)

07/09/2020

The degree of Master of Science by the thesis submitted is approved by the Administrative Board of the Institute of Graduate Programs, Karabuk University.

Prof. Dr. Hasan SOLMAZ
Director of the Institute of Graduate Programs

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and all information included has been obtained and expounded in accordance with the academic rules and ethical policy specified by the institute. Besides, I declare that all the statements, results, materials, not original to this thesis have been cited and referenced literally.

Without being bound by a particular time, I accept all moral and legal consequences of any detection contrary to the aforementioned statement.

Name Surname: Deniz KOTANCI

Signature :

FOREWORD

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Assist. Prof. Dr. Nazila HEIDARZADEGAN, for her continuous support of my MA study and related research, for her patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. There is not enough space here to thank her great efforts and wise comments. Her guidance helped me at every stage of the research and writing of this thesis

In addition, I am indebted to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Vahdet Yasin AKYÜZ for his feedbacks and proofreading assistance as well as his invaluable guidance and inspiration and friendly approach that have kept me going. His passion for academia sets an inspiring role model for the future literature-loving generations.

Moreover, I would like to thank all my thesis committee members, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Muayad ENWIYA JAJO AL-JAMANI and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kerem Nayebpour for their hard work and contribution to the success of my studies.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family members for supporting me throughout the writing of this thesis. Life would be more challenging without their unceasing support and encouragement.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my dad İlhan KOTANCI, for his endless love, support, and encouragement.

ABSTRACT

The concept of power has evolved with technological, social, and political developments that have emerged from past to present. With reshaping of the concept of authority thanks to the developing information technologies, the panopticon, super-panopticon, and synopticon model surveillance cultures occurred. These surveillance models were effectively used by totalitarian regimes aimed at creating an ideal society. The effects of the surveillance culture on society have been the subject of future predictions of the works of dystopian or speculative fiction. Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits* script, which is written by Charlie Brooker and his wife Konnie Huq, are speculative fiction or dystopian works. In both works, where the concepts of discipline and chastening, which are the main basis of the surveillance culture, are seen, as panoptic, super-panoptic, and synoptic universes are created by the new regimes to control society. Although these works which are constructed on surveillance culture differ in approach, they have similarities in many contexts, such as totalitarian regimes, control mechanisms, class separation, individualization, limitation, concept of freedom, forms of resistance, discipline, and normalization. In this thesis, development of panopticon, super-panopticon, and synopticon model surveillance culture in two works were studied from two different genres which are *The Handmaid's Tale* as a novel and *15 Million Merits* as a TV series.

Keywords: *The Handmaid's Tale*, *15 Million Merits*, Surveillance, Panopticon, Super-panopticon, Synopticon

ÖZ

Geçmişten günümüze iktidar kavramı, ortaya çıkan teknolojik, sosyal ve politik gelişmelerle evrimleşmiştir. Otorite kavramının gelişen enformasyon teknolojileriyle yeniden şekillenmesi sayesinde panoptikon, süper-panoptikon ve sinoptikon modeli gözetleme kültürü ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu gözetleme modelleri ideal toplum yaratmayı amaçlayan totaliter rejimler tarafından etkili bir şekilde kullanılmıştır. Gözetleme kültürünün toplum üzerindeki etkileri distopik veya spekülative kurgu türündeki eserlerin geleceğe yönelik kestirimlerine konu olmuştur. Kanadalı yazar Margaret Atwood'un *The Handmaid's Tale* adlı romanı ve Charlie Brooker ve karısı Konnie Huq tarafından kaleme alınan *Kara Ayna* adlı televizyon dizisinin *15 Milyonluk Hak* senaryosu gözetleme kültürünü konu alan spekülative kurgu veya distopya türünde eserlerdendir. Gözetleme kültürünün temel dayanağı olan disiplin ve ıslah etme kavramlarının görüldüğü her iki çalışmada da, toplumu kontrol etmek için yeni rejimler tarafından panoptik, süper panoptik ve sinoptik evrenler yaratılmıştır. Gözetleme kültürü temelinde kurgulanan bu eserler totaliter rejimler, control mekanizmaları, sınıfsal ayırım, bireyselleştirme, sınırlandırma, özgürlük algısı, direniş biçimleri, disiplin ve normalleştirme gibi birçok bağlamda ortaklık gösterirken işleniş bakımından farklılıklar göstermektedirler. Bu tezde panoptikon, süper-panoptikon ve sinoptikon modeli gözetleme kültürünün gelişimi bir roman olarak *Damızlık Kızın Öyküsü* ve bir televizyon dizisi olarak *15 Milyonluk Hak* olmak üzere iki farklı tür üzerinden incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Damızlık Kızın Öyküsü*, *15 Milyonluk Hak*, Gözetleme, Panopticon, Super-panoptikon, Sinoptikon

ARCHIVE RECORD INFORMATION

Title of the Thesis	A Comparison of Margaret Atwood's <i>The Handmaid's Tale</i> and Charlie Brookers' and Konnie Huq's <i>15 Million Merits</i> : Surveillance from Panopticon to Super-panopticon and Synopticon
Author of the Thesis	Deniz KOTANCI
Supervisor of the Thesis	Assist. Prof. Dr. Nazila HEIDARZADEGAN
Status of the Thesis	MA
Date of the Thesis	07/09/2020
Field of the Thesis	English Language and Literature
Place of the Thesis	KBU SBE /KARABUK
Total Page Number	129
Keywords	<i>The Handmaid's Tale</i> , <i>15 Million Merits</i> , Surveillance, Panopticon, Super- panopticon, Synopticon

ARŞİV KAYIT BİLGİLERİ (in Turkish)

Tezin Adı	Margaret Atwood'un <i>Damızlık Kızın Öyküsü</i> ve Charlie Brooker ve Konnie Huq'un <i>15 Milyonluk Hak</i> adlı Senaryosunun Panoptikondan Süper-panoptikona ve Sinoptikona Gözetleme Kültürü Bağlamında Karşılaştırılması
Tezin Yazarı	Deniz KOTANCI
Tezin Danışmanı	Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Nazila HEIDARADEGAN
Tezin Derecesi	Yüksek Lisans
Tezin Tarihi	07/09/2020
Tezin Alanı	İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı
Tezin Yeri	KBÜ SBE /KARABÜK
Tezin Sayfa Sayısı	129
Anahtar Kelimeler	<i>Damızlık Kızın Öyküsü</i> , <i>15 Milyonluk Hak</i> , Gözetleme, Panopticon, Süper-panoptikon, Sinoptikon

SUBJECT OF THE RESEARCH

In this study, development of panopticon, super-panopticon, and synopticon model surveillance culture in Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* and Charlie Brookers' and Konnie Huq's *15 Million Merits* are studied.

PURPOSE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of the study is to clarify development of surveillance and its effects on *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits*. Surveillance models are used to create an ideal society and an ideal individual from past to present. In *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits*, panopticon, super-panopticon and synopticon models are used to define ideal society.

In this study, it is examined that surveillance dynamics in the works and their effects on the society and characters. While identifying the similarities and differences between the control mechanisms, it aims to analyse behaviour and emotional states of characters in the works. At the same time, this study underlines that human nature is dominated not only by the oppressive regimes but also by technology and society.

METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

The Handmaid's Tale and *15 Million Merits* were deeply read and examined using many other related books, journals, reportage literature, databases, and online studies. In both works, the effects of surveillance on society and individual, and the method of surveillance mechanisms in both works were studied.

HYPOTHESIS OF THE RESEARCH / RESEARCH PROBLEM

The surveillance culture has spread around the world in different ways and has conquered the individuals' body, mind, and soul from past to present. *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits* portray the effects and methods of the surveillance with the aim of warning the individual to avoid this control mechanism. These mechanisms' devastating effects will most possibly turn individuals into machines, useful tools, or resources for the benefit of systems.

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of surveillance, which is as old as the history of humankind according to some researches, starts with the invention of the writing and keeps its existence by keeping up with the economic cultural, and technological developments that have changed from past to present. *Since prehistoric times, people had watched those who other than themselves to control their activities and to regulate their organisational activities.* (Lyon, 1994: 39). There are positive and negative approaches to surveillance. According to Giddens (1981), Surveillance is divided into "*surveillance that is collecting data about individuals*" and "*surveillance controlling to individuals.*" Whereas one of these divisions means collecting data to use for the sake of society, the other one includes controlling of society by the state. The second definition of surveillance will be scrutinized, and the established surveillance mechanisms will be emphasised.

Surveillance phenomenon converted to bureaucratic supervision provide convenience to sovereigns by expanding the area of domination over the society. The phenomenon of surveillance, which has become one of the primary conditions to be able to achieve social control, has become one of the basic requirements with the necessity of order and discipline of the industrial society, which started to be formed since the 16th century. Various perspectives have been developed on this phenomenon, and the term of panopticon has arisen from this necessity. Panopticon, a prison model, designed by British Philosopher Jeremy Bentham in 1785 to provide discipline and self-control over prisoners; it can be explained as a method of providing mental control over individuals. The panoptic prison model is defined as a building with circular cells isolated from each other and a watchtower rising in the middle of this structure. In this prison, the prisoners are alone, and their communication with each other is blocked. The prisoners, who are aware of the possibility of being watched from the observation tower at any time in glass designed cells, are obliged to provide their self-control. Since the guard in the tower is not appear to the prisoners, the inmates in the cells did not know whether they have been watched or not. This enables one to see without appearing and thus, the prisoners become the object of power.

In 1975, Michel Foucault broke new ground in the field of social sciences with his sociological researches and discoveries on discipline, power, surveillance, self-control, and prisons and made panopticon a current issue again. Foucault has developed

the panopticon in concept with his own philosophy by including not only prisons but also insane asylums, hospitals, factories, and schools. In his book *The Birth of Prison*, Foucault mentions the existence of three types of power: absolute power, disciplinary power, and bio-power, and analyses these terms in the frame of the panopticon. Mark Poster created super-panopticon as he found panopticon insufficient to explain the surveillance mechanism that entered the public living spaces with the development of technology by security camera systems. Super-panopticon was used by Poster first but David Lyon made it improve and widespread. According to Poster (Lyon, 2001), the phenomenon of surveillance has now crossed the boundaries of the walls and went out of the prisons. In this form of surveillance, where freedom of movement exists, the uncertainty of the surveillance mechanism raises a constant suspicion as to whether the individual is supervised by everyone.

Unlike panopticon, surveillance in the super-panopticon, which is not only concrete individuals, but also pre-collected data of individuals are observed is more extensive and based on multiple precautions. Rather than being controlled by the expert or the power, individuals have self-controlled unconsciously. Data collection, duplication, merging, and analysis has become much easier in super-panopticon; therefore, the ease of surveillance turns both an entire state and a nation into a prison. Furthermore, every individual living in this prison has a constant state of captivity and paranoia. In addition, Mathiesen's synopticon is another concept which consists of these concepts and plays an active role in explaining the surveillance society. Unlike panopticon and super-panopticon, in the case of synopticism, which participation in surveillance is voluntary, the majority is constantly watching and following the minority through mass media. Although it is a voluntary act, the aim of synoptic is to direct and control a broad community through mass media. In synopticon, which surveillance is universal, prying society severs their connections completely from locality because of the media they watch. In synopticon, the perception of surveillance, which is especially useful for the global consumer markets, transforms into a global area by leaving individuality and nationality. The people who are manipulated according to the community they watch becomes very easy to manage and misdirect. According to the minority they watch, this community loses their ability to question in proportion to the pleasure they receive while building their prisons.

In this study, Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*, as a feminist dystopia or a speculative fiction, and script of *15 Million Merits* of the *Black Mirror* and its series adaptation will be studied in the context of surveillance from panopticon to synopticon. As the examination method, the effects of the methods used in the surveillance culture on the individual will be examined by comparing the two works. In the study, in which the surveillance culture theme is examined in totalitarian regimes, selecting the dystopic works and the approaches will be revealed through similarities and differences.

In the first chapter, brief information is given about the concept of power and state from past to present, and the development of the concept of the modern state from Machiavelli to Hobbes will be briefly summarized. The development of the concept of power and the concept of the power of Foucault are briefly explained. In addition, the surveillance culture caused by the perspective of the modern state is explained, and the development of the surveillance culture is detailed as Michel Foucault's Panopticon, David Lyon's Super-panopticon and Thomas Mathiesen's Synopticon. In the same chapter, the emergence of the Panopticon model surveillance method and the process of becoming widespread with the French philosopher Foucault's Panopticism is explained. With the changing world structure, the panopticon model, which was insufficient in explaining the surveillance phenomenon, has evolved into the super-panopticon model. In the surveillance culture of the super-panopticon model, the concept of volunteering has been clarified.

With the development of information technologies, the surveillance culture that evolved from panopticon to super-panopticon has turned into synopticon by taking a new shape. The synoptic model is explained within the framework of the views of Thomas Mathiesen. In the same section, similarities between panopticon and synopticon are examined according to Mathiesen, and it is explained that these surveillance mechanisms serve in contexts similar to totalitarian regimes. While the body and mind of the individual are under control with panopticon and super-panopticon, in Mathiesen's synopticon model, it has been observed that the soul of the individual is controlled and discipline. Panopticon, super-panopticon and synopticon model surveillance concepts are among the control mechanisms used to create an ideal society and ideal individuals. These control methods will be used to compare *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits*.

In addition to the social and political situation of the 1980s quoted by Atwood, the world order and form of power that have changed today with the presence of technology will be examined. Considering the development in modern societies, the *15 Million Merits* universe has been seen to be constructed as a voluntary and entertainment-based version of mass exploitation. The impact of information technologies from past to present will be summarized briefly and analysed the 21st-century society. By examining the effect of control methods, which are facilitated by the spread of information technologies, on the characters, their similarities with individuals in today's societies will be determined.

Additionally, examples of panopticon and super-panopticon model surveillance mechanisms will be clarified, and the control and discipline mechanisms that the characters have been exposed to have been detailed. The usage of the panopticon model surveillance system of Foucault by totalitarian regimes will be examined, and the effects of this method on individuals will be emphasized. While examples of surveillance culture will be revealed, the emotional states and thinking structures of the characters will be examined. Thus, the concept of panopticon and super-panopticon surveillance, which controls both the body and the mind, is revealed through the events and people in the novel.

In addition, *15 Million Merits* script and its series adaptation will be examined in the context of surveillance culture, and examples of surveillance culture will be clarified. Unlike the surveillance system used in the novel, the behaviour, emotions, and discourses of the characters exposed to the synopticon model surveillance system will be analysed, and examples of the synopticon model surveillance concept will be exemplified by quotations from the series. Since the discipline system in the synopticon model is based on volunteering and entertainment, it creates a virtual reality on individuals. The effect of this virtual reality on individuals will be explained in detail. The examples of panoptic and synoptic surveillance will be found by analysing the enforcements of the totalitarian regime in *15 Million Merits* that is a scenario built on the synopticon model controlling not only the body and mind but also the soul.

In the last chapter of the study, the works will be examined from panopticon to super-panopticon and synopticon in the context of surveillance culture. While examining the works, the concepts that are widely used in both works will be discussed in the functioning of the surveillance culture. These concepts are going to be examined under

these subheadings: Control mechanisms: fear, manipulation, surveillance, classification, and social class discrimination, alienation and isolation, restrictions, the concept of freedom, resistance, discipline and normalization. These discipline methods, which serve the purpose of creating an ideal society by disciplining the individual of the totalitarian regimes, are mostly used in both works. The way these methods, which have the same objectives, are handled in the works differs. The reason for this is that while the novel is a work constructed in the context of panopticon and super-panopticon, the script is constructed in the context of the synopticon model.

Totalitarian regimes have used similar methods in each period to idealize society, but these methods have been developed over time and become more productive, given the distinctive political and social structure of each period. While the discipline methods applied by the regime in *The Handmaid's Tale* are explained by Foucault's panopticon model or Lyon's super-panopticon model, the panopticon is insufficient to explain the discipline methods used in *15 Million Merits*. Considering the periodic differences of both works, the developing social structure and technology, and control mechanisms in the script could be revealed with the synopticon model. In addition, the information obtained as a result of the analyses in the same section will be interpreted, and the similarities and differences of both works were revealed under the subtitles mentioned above.

Dystopian universe created by Margaret Atwood in *The Handmaid's Tale*, can be read as a mirror of today's society. In our changing society, Atwood's 'Eyes' have been replaced by millions of different surveillance mechanisms, which includes volunteerism. Whereas there was a single power or a community in the minority that oversaw everything in the panoptic universe, the people involved in the phenomenon of surveillance in *15 Million Merits* universe turned the panoptic universe into a super-panoptic, a synoptic universe by using power support. Contrary to the fact that those living in Atwood's universe are aware of the surveillance and surveillance mechanisms. However, they are forced to be in this mechanism. On the other hand, the surveillance mechanism in *15 Million Merits* universe is fully known and conscious by the inhabitants. Atwood's panoptic universe is seen as a synoptic reflection in *15 Million Merits*. According to the dynamics of the society, people exist without being able to suppress their desire to be watched. Hence, they are also not uncomfortable with being watched. Human nature can be dominated not only by power but also by technology. In

this thesis, which will be evaluated on the basis of this fact, by comparing the management mechanisms in Atwood's universe with the management dynamics in the universe of *15 Million Merits*, the changes in the instinct of managing human nature through years have been examined. It is going to be analysed how the society controlled by a dominant force in Atwood's panoptic universe is voluntarily controlled by the majority in the synoptic universe of *15 Million Merits*. Besides, the change in the instinct of managing human nature over the years is going to be examined.

Margaret Atwood, one of the most respected writers in recent literary history, is also a critic, essayist, poet, activist, and feminist. In spite of having fifteen poetry books today, she is mostly known as a novelist. By combining the concepts of Utopia and Dystopia, she has become famous as a novelist with her unique speculative fiction novels called 'Ustopia'. Speculative fiction is a lesser-known genre in literature. Unlike science fiction, it contains real-life plots that are likely to happen in near future. Margaret Atwood is one of the most successful speculative fiction writers. Margaret Atwood won the Arthur C. Clarke (1987) and Prince of Asturias (2008) literature awards. She was also nominator on the Booker Prize five times, won one (2019), and seven times became the finalist of The Governor General and won twice (1966). She won the 2000 Booker Prize with her novel *The Blind Assassin* as well and also wrote short stories in different magazines. *The Handmaid's Tale*, which is her best-known novel and takes place in a dystopian universe, was published in 1985. This novel is her most known novel because the theme of the novel which deals with an attempt to create a new world and a free woman in the mind of a female character (Offred) who tries to survive under pressure.

The Handmaid's Tale takes place in a universe where pollution and chemical spills led to declining fertility rates. Suffering from the drop-in birth rates and the course of the country, a radical group called Sons of Jacob Think Tanks takes the country's administration by making a military coup. They declare martial law with the death of the prime minister, by eliminating the parliament in America with a terrorist attack. After this military coup, they establish new Christian fundamentalist management called 'The Republic of Gilead'. In this order, the constitution is suspended, and the form of management is determined as a theocracy. The novel focuses on what happened to Offred, the main character that the regime bereft of all her rights.

With a law enacted, women are prohibited from owning property and their properties and real estate are transferred to their closest male relatives. Women are dismissed from their jobs without any justification, their bank accounts are confiscated, and laws concerning that women cannot obtain wealth are enacted. With these laws and regulations, the regime gradually makes society accustomed to the new order. The presence of a brutal army against protesters and activists who oppose the regime's orders causes many groups to submit to what happened quietly. The regime classifies society sharply. Each class has a different style of same colour clothing designed for them. These classifications cover gender and class distinctions. Each class has specific tasks and responsibilities to be fulfilled. The discrimination affects women the most. Many women have lost their fertility because of the adverse development of technology and chemicals. Those who are still fertile are trained in "Rachel and Leah Centres", where they are under control and discipline, or in "Red Center" as girls call it (Atwood, 2014: 92). These women, who have been separated from their families and trained for two years under the supervision of women called 'Aunt', are called 'Handmaid'. Their mere duty is to learn to be Handmaid and give birth to a child. The woman who revolts during the training is severely punished and exposed to everyone. The advice of Aunts to stud girls who are exposed to unbearable difficulties is as follows:

You are a transitional generation, said Aunt Lydia. It is the hardest for you. We know the sacrifices you are being expected to make. It is hard when men revile you. For the ones who come after you, it will be easier. They will accept their duties with willing hearts. She did not say: Because they will have no memories, of any other way. She said: Because they won't want things they can't have (Atwood, 2014: 110).

For the first generation of handmaids, who are trained to obey and give up their freedom, this process is complicated, but for the next generation it will not be difficult since they do not have a past to question. Thus, they will never want the freedom they do not have. These women, whose education has ended, are sent to Commanders, who are top government officials, for two years in order to give a child. As the wives of these commanders are infertile, they use handmaids to have children. Women are also categorised among themselves. 'Handmaids', who are obliged to give birth, 'Wives' who are infertile women and Commander's wives, 'Aunts' who are in charge of training handmaids, 'Marthas' who are maids to commander's wives, 'Econowives' who are proletarian women and 'Unwomen' who have protested against the regime and excluded from society.

The regime categorised both women and men. Men are classified as ‘Guardians’ and ‘Commanders’. The commanders, along with their infertile wives, continue their lives under the control of the armed forces named ‘Eyes’ with their servants called ‘Martha’. In addition, almost every Commander has a handmaid to increase the low birth rates in the country. Commanders use the Eyes to control the regime and severely punish those who oppose the regime. Their aim is to impregnate them by having sexual intercourse with handmaids in the control of their wives with the ritual they call ceremony on the fertile day of every month. This sexual intercourse is determined entirely according to religious teachings. Before this ceremony, the households gather in a room, the Commander reads a few verses from the Bible, and then goes to the room with handmaid. The lights must be on, pleasure, eroticism, undressing, or touching is strictly prohibited during the ceremony. This ritual, which takes place under the control of their wives, is more of rape for women who are the regime’s reproductive machinery, than sexual intercourse. Handmaids’ mere duty is to give birth to a child, they are not interested in housework, and they do not have any respectability. Their lives depend on bearing a child for the system. The only way they can be respected as a human is to be pregnant.

It’s forbidden for us to be alone with the Commanders. We are for breeding purposes: we aren’t concubines, geisha girls, courtesans. On the contrary: everything possible has been done to remove us from that category. There is supposed to be nothing entertaining about us, no room is to be permitted for the flowering of secret lusts; no special favors are to be wheedled, by them or us, there are to be no footholds for love. We are two-legged wombs, that’s all: sacred vessels, ambulatory chalices (Atwood, 2014: 128).

In this dystopian society, the status of men and women varies depending on their fertility. Commanders can also be despised by the society if they do not have biological competencies and are subject to sarcastic conversations of gynaecologists who control women. In the novel, biological competence is presented as a demonstration of dignity for both women and men. However, in this regime, it is forbidden to imply or even think that the commanders are infertile. Although the perception of efficiency is evaluated over women, men have also become victims of the regime they have created. Parallel to the depiction of women as “two-legged wombs” (Atwood, 2014: 128), commanders are also defined as “seedpods” (Atwood, 2014: 235). Offred states that the commanders are also uncomfortable with this situation in the following quotation: “Possibly he feels used. Possibly he wants something from me, some emotion, some acknowledgment that he too is human, is more than just a seedpod (Atwood, 2014: 235)”.

Pregnant women are respected by being declared saints during the pregnancy process. So much so that even the wives of the commanders sometimes fulfil their wishes. These women, who are expected to have children within two years, cannot have the child they gave birth to. The child is seen as the child of the Commander's wife. The baby belongs to the system, and as a source of pride for the Commander and his wife. Commanders' wives maintain their status with the baby they have, and the baby is prevented from establishing emotional bonds by not showing the handmaids except breastfeeding. The handmaid is kept in the same house as long as they breastfeed babies, and after this period, she is sent to another commander's home to have children again. Handmaids, who once had children, will never be declared 'Unwomen'. That is a reward for them. Even if they do not have children, they are rewarded by not being sent to the colonies, "...to see if she can do it again, with someone else who needs a turn. But she'll never be sent to the Colonies, she'll never be declared Unwoman. That is her reward (Atwood, 2014: 118)"

People who oppose the regime and some handmaids who could not fulfil their duties are sent to the camps called Colony where the radioactive substances are cleaned. Since the living conditions in these camps are burdensome, most of those who go there lose their lives from excessive exposure to radiation within two years. The regime, which aims to create a new pure Christian race, bases all of its practices on the Bible. As most of the laws are determined according to the Bible, judgments are made according to the Bible. Therefore, handmaids are presented as devoted saints to society. Since handmaids are national sources used by the system, their safety is ensured as well. Handmaids are taken to the doctor with the guardians once a month. It is strictly forbidden to talk to the doctors. Between them, there is a curtain that closes their faces and divides the body in two. The regime legitimises their order in which religious arguments are established, but although these religious arguments are widely used in daily life, they are not internalised by any class of society. These can be some examples of hypocrisy in the society; it can be observed that the commanders frequently go to places called *Jesebels*, where drugs, prostitution, drinks, and gambling are common, handmaids contact the guardians in order to have children and the commanders' wives help this, and doctors offer sexual intercourse to handmaids.

After training and health checks, numbers are assigned to handmaids in the Red Centre. These women, who are even prohibited from using their own names, are firstly alienated to themselves. In *The Handmaids Tale*, the names such as Alma, Janie, Dolores, Moira, and June which assign identities to people are no longer used. Instead of their own names, the girls are called Offred, Ofglen, with the names of the commanders they belong:

My name isn't Offred, I have another name, which nobody uses now because it's forbidden. I tell myself it doesn't matter, your name is like your telephone number, useful only to others; but what I tell myself is wrong, it does matter. I keep the knowledge of this name like something hidden, some treasure I'll come back to dig up, one day. I think of this name as buried (Atwood, 2014: 80).

In addition, a tattoo consisting of four numbers and shape is made on the ankles of the girls; the purpose of this tattoo is to prevent the handmaids from escaping,

I cannot avoid seeing, now, the small tattoo on my ankle. Four digits and an eye, a passport in reverse. It's supposed to guarantee that I will never be able to fade, finally, into another landscape. I am too important, too scarce, for that. I am a national resource (Atwood, 2014: 65).

These women, who have to always wear red clothes made for them, become embarrassed by their own bodies. So much so that the only place where they can see themselves is the bathrooms. Therefore, these women, who no longer see their bodies, have no control over them and some cannot tolerate seeing their bodies anymore:

My nakedness is strange to me already. My body seems outdated. Did I really wear bathing suits, at the beach? I did, without thought, among men, without caring that my legs, my arms, my thighs and back were on display, could be seen. Shameful, immodest. I avoid looking down at my body, not so much because it's shameful or immodest but because I don't want to see it. I don't want to look at something that determines me so completely (Atwood, 2014: 63).

Women who have almost forgotten how they talked, how they were dressed and thought before the regime, internally scorn them when they saw women wearing jeans or skirts on the street. Offred, the protagonist of the novel, first looks with admiration at the clothes of the women of the Japanese delegation coming to their country and then watches them with disgust, because she unintentionally faces clothes that did not suit the teachings in his new dystopia:

It's been a long time since I've seen skirts that short on women. The skirts reach just below the knee and the legs come out from beneath them, nearly naked in their thin stockings, blatant, the high-heeled shoes with their straps attached to the feet like delicate instruments of torture. The women teeter on their spiked feet as if on stilts, but off balance; their backs arch at the waist, thrusting the buttocks out. Their heads are uncovered and their hair too is exposed, in all its darkness and sexuality. They wear lipstick, red, outlining the damp cavities of their mouths, like scrawls on a washroom wall, of the time before. (...) We are fascinated, but also repelled. They

seem undressed. It has taken so little time to change our minds, about things like this. Then I think: I used to dress like that. That was freedom (Atwood, 2014: 34).

The regime has managed to make these women forget their past. Nevertheless, Offred forces herself to think and dream about her past, home, family, and clothes when she is alone at night. There is still hope that Offred can create her own utopia. She forces herself to think to take back the control of her own body from the regime,

I think about laundromats. What I wore to them: shorts, jeans, jogging pants. What I put into them: my own clothes, my own soap, my own money, money I had earned myself. I think about having such control (Atwood, 2014: 31).

These women are “national resources” (Atwood, 2014: 65). Moreover, they started to see their bodies as a resource for the good of the regime. In dystopian universe, no cosmetic products are sold, and cosmetic shops are closed and destroyed. Everything about women’s care is forbidden and women’s magazines have been banned (Adams, 2011). Handmaids are prohibited from purchasing properties, reading magazines, Bible, writing something and taking notes, or even purchasing any personal items. They have been deprived of all communication sources to prevent their awareness. It is an obstacle to access communication tools such as radio and television. Besides, even signs indicating directions on the roads are removed so that they do not try to escape. Taking photos or talking to a stranger is the same as to be raped, and these women are trained as spies of each other. They were forbidden to speak against the regime, even among themselves. The atmosphere of fear is dominant. Because those who talk or act against the regime are executed, and then kept on the wall for days as a warning or deterrent to others:

We stop, together as if on signal, and stand and look at the bodies. It doesn’t matter if we look. We’re supposed to look: this is what they are there for, hanging on the Wall. Sometimes they’ll be there for days, until there’s a new batch, so as many people as possible will have the chance to see them. What they are hanging from is hooks. The hooks have been set into the brickwork of the Wall, for this purpose. Not all of them are occupied. (...) It’s the bags over the heads that are the worst, worse than the faces themselves would be. It makes the men like dolls on which the faces have not yet been painted; like scarecrows, which in a way is what they are, since they are meant to scare (Atwood, 2014: 38-39).

In this system, everything has to be strictly rationed. Handmaids are sometimes shipped out with their vouchers to get the house’s needs. Since these girls are forbidden to walk alone, they are accompanied by another handmaid going out. When the main character Offred goes shopping, she has to go with Ofglen, the other Commander’s handmaid. They are allowed to change their routes once in a while, provided that they

do not waste much time. Nevertheless, they cannot stay out long, as they know they will be punished if Eyes notice that they are wandering aimlessly. They are also forbidden to consume harmful things such as coffee, liquor, and cigarettes. Because they are national resources and their bodies are protected as obstetric machines to give new babies to society, and they have to eat healthy food. Even if they are not hungry, they have to eat to keep their body healthy. Otherwise, they will be reported,

A baked potato, green beans, salad. Canned pears for dessert. It's good enough food, though bland. Healthy food. You have to get your vitamins and minerals, said Aunt Lydia coyly. You must be a worthy vessel. No coffee or tea though, no alcohol. Studies have been done (Atwood, 2014: 66).

One of the most critical elements that ensure the regular functioning of the system is Eyes, which is the secret service of the government. They can come unexpectedly by a black minibus to take rebels. These rebellious people are either executed on the wall or sent to the colonies to work. However, it is alleged that there is an underground organization called "Mayday" (Atwood, 2014: 272) that will instill hope in this surveillance and fear universe. Existence of this organization is not known exactly, but it is auricular knowledge.

The world founded by Offred is a completely utopian fiction in a dystopian society. The rumour of the existence of such an underground organization also gives Offred hope. Offred, constructing the future in order to maintain her own control in her own mind, always hopes that she will get rid of this situation in the future:

I would like to believe this is a story I'm telling. I need to believe it. I must believe it. Those who can believe that such stories are only stories have a better chance. If it's a story I'm telling, then I have control over the ending. Then there will be an ending, to the story, and real life will come after it. I can pick up where I left off. It isn't a story I'm telling. It's also a story I'm telling, in my head, as I go along. Tell, rather than write, because I have nothing to write with and writing is in any case forbidden. But if it's a story, even in my head, I must be telling it to someone. You don't tell a story only to yourself. There's always someone else (Atwood, 2014: 44).

The narrator of the novel, Offred, is a Handmaid who lost her husband and daughter while trying to escape from the regime. She is one of the few characters that are able to think in the system. Although the regime uses various kinds of torture to make them forget their past, Offred continues to tell her story in order not to forget her past and herself, despite these pressures. In this way, she begins to think and question the situations she was afraid of even thinking before. After her arrestment, she stays at the Red Center for a while and then starts to work as Commander Fred Waterford's handmaid. Offred, despised by The Commander's wife Serena Joy, gets closer to The

Commander day by day. The Commander, who allows Offred to break some prohibitions, actually uses Offred to entertain himself, although he seems to do a favour to Offred. Commanders are, as it is known, lawmakers and people at the top of the regime, but Commander Fred endangers Offred by letting her escape his laws. He first invites Offred to play Scrabble in his room, then takes her to an illegal club, Jezebel. Commander Fred represents the hypocrisy of the patriarchal society in the novel. Serena Joy, the commander's wife, was a famous singer and feminist activist before the regime. But she helped her husband in legislating brutal laws. She represents women who live under the guise of intellectuals in society and who do not oppose injustice, especially gender inequalities, and also supports sexist discourses.

Looking at the conditions of the time, it is likely that Serena Joy represents Margaret Thatcher, Britain's first female prime minister. Despite being a prime minister, Iron Lady, who cannot go beyond the boundaries of patriarchal management and even has sexist rhetoric, is identified with the character of Serena Joy in many aspects. Serena Joy tries to protect her status by making good and sometimes evil in order to reach the child she desires and to adapt to the regime. When she realizes that the commander will not get Offred pregnant, she forces Offred to a relationship with her driver, Nick, and a close relationship starts between Nick and Offred. While Serena Joy accuses Offred of betrayal, a black-glass van comes to pick up Offred. Nick tells Offred that they came from Mayday, who was heard as the underground resistance system, and she should go. Offred, who has no choice except for relying on Nick, gets out of The Commander's house quietly and gets on the van. Many things about Offred, the regime, the underground resistance organization of Mayday, and Nick, remain unknown. Thus, unlike the classical dystopian endings that prevent hope, the novel is left open-ended not to destroy the hope of the utopia formed in the novel, thus giving the reader a chance to hope.

15 Million Merits is written by Konnie Huq and Charlie Brooker, who is an English TV presenter, author, satirist, humorist, screenwriter, and producer, is known with his popular science fiction drama *Black Mirror*. Charlie Brooker has won the 2009 Columnist of the Year award at the British Press Awards for his Guardian column. His TV programme called *Dead Set* was nominated for the 2009 Best Drama Serial BAFTA. Brooker was given the Best Entertainment Programme Award for Newsweek from the

Royal Television Society in 2010. He has received three British Comedy Awards. As a successful author, Brooker has won two awards for Outstanding Writing for a Limited Series, Movie, or Dramatic Special for his work *Black Mirror* and three Primetime Emmy Awards for Outstanding Television Movie. Charlie Brooker and his wife, Konnie Huq, wrote *15 Million Merits* together.

The English series *Black Mirror*, which started broadcasting on December 4, 2011, consists of 21 episodes in total with five seasons and one New Year special series consisting of 22 episodes. In addition to contributing to the series by different screenwriters, Charlie Brooker is involved in all the scenarios. The name of *Black Mirror* can be considered as a mirror that hits the viewers' weaknesses and decays of society to audiences' faces. In the series, where the subjects, places, and characters are not connected, the directors and actors also differ in each episode. In general, *Black Mirror* is a speculative fiction that focuses on the effects of technological developments on humanity. *15 Million Merits* shows how society is controlled using technology and surveillance methods such as synopticon. Synoptic universe is deeply handled in the script and its TV series adaptation.

15 Million Merits, published as the second episode of Season 1 of the series, begins with the awakening of the character Bing, who sleeps in a room surrounded by digital screens. The episode has an entirely digital and depressive world expression. A digital rooster appears on one of the screens to wake Bing. He opens his eyes in an interwoven universe where Bing is logged into the virtual world and the real world as soon as it makes eye contact with the screen. In this universe, where there is a huge virtual system that controls everything, everyone has a virtual reflection similar to themselves. These virtual reflections are like a hologram of the person.

Everything that people do in this digital universe has a material equivalent. People use these points, called 'merits' which are used instead of money by riding a bicycle. They spend these points on eating, drinking, cleaning needs, or entertainment activities such as television programs and computer games in a completely closed area. Bing, who goes to the bathroom to brush his teeth, pays with these 'merits' when he gets a toothpaste. While brushing his teeth, spam ads appear in the mirror, and the lead character can close this ad by paying the points he does not want to watch. When Bing gets on the elevator to go to work, it is seen that all of the people in the elevator wear the same colour uniforms. Bing first enters a hall that looks like a gym, but this is

actually a workplace where people have to pedal. People who continuously pedal with a typical overtime system earn merit points. Hall's surroundings are wholly covered by digital screens, and all of them are watched by these screens all day. In the Bing room, which has no other option after his work, he plays video games on these big screens. On these screens, a talent show program called 'Hot Shot' appears suddenly. Participating in this competition and winning is the only way for Bing and people who do the same job to get rid of this dystopia. Bing, who does not want to watch the ad, closes his eyes. However, when Bing does not want to watch the ad, the system notices this and sends a warning to Bing to make a choice. Choosing to close the ad, Bing has to spend merits points to get rid of the ad. Hearing the voice of a woman singing in the toilet one day, Bing wants to talk with this woman (Abi). Bing insists that Abi will participate in the Hot Shot competition shown in commercials and says that the voice of Abi reflects reality in this universe where everything is fake and artificial. "Almost the only real thing in there and even that's probably grown in a petri dish. Y'know?" (Brooker, 2011: 5)

However, the cost of participating in this contest is 12 million merits. Bing, who knows that Abi does not have that much, suggests her to use the points transferred to him from his deceased brother. However, Abi rejects this offer. Bing, on the other hand, has 15.009.407 points with the points inherited from his deceased brother. Bing buys a golden ticket for Abi, whom he likes and thinks she has a real talent. Abi goes to the program with Bing and is called first among many candidates waiting to go on stage. Before she gets on stage, she is given a drink that is reported to be for compatibility and drinks that beverage, and then she gets on the stage.

The jury contains three people who are Judge Charity, Judge Hope, and Judge Wraith. When the jury asks what she will do, Abi says she will sing; however, Wright who is a reflection of media bosses that prioritize the use of the female body as a marketing tool in today's societies and plays a vital role in imposing the technological and capitalist sanctions of sexual abuse on society, asks Abi to take off her jacket and show her breasts. Abi is embarrassed by this request. Other jury members intervene and ask Abi to sing her song, and she starts singing. Hope, who knows the human psychology and marketing logic of the system and is felt to represent authority, interrupts the song and says, "That was, without doubt (...) probably the best piece of singing we've had

this season” (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 37). With Hope’s hegemonic discourse, the audience starts applauding Abi. The viewers that appear in this scene are all virtual reflections (holograms).

The only person physically present in the hall is Abi, Jury, Bing, and officers. Hope tells Abi that “Good though your voice is, and it is good, not the most magical sound in the world, just good... I don’t think anyone really hears it. Certainly not the guys in the audience” (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 34). He criticizes that the scene does not make her erotic, and says, “getting pretty turned on if I’m honest” (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 35) and states that there is no place for a new singer since there are enough singers. They offered to be a porn star to Abi. Hope says the jury member Wraith, who is a porn movie maker and joined to show in this season, is here because of the pornographic contents. Judge Charity supports Hope even if she is a female. Charity sees life from a male-centred perspective. She does not bother with this system where women are transformed into sex objects; on the contrary, she supports this system. Abi tries to understand what is happening and why. The jury members realize that she has no intention of working in the porn industry and remind Abi that, if she refuses the offer, she will return to her dull and miserable life. Hope tells Abi that she disrespects the cyclists and women working in the porn industry every day for the sake of a better world, but he pushes Abi to work in the porn industry:

Millions of people, that’s who. All out there right now, putting in an honest day on the bike, giving back to the world, while you stand in the light they’re generating and dither. And you know what? They would give anything, do anything to be where you are now, to have what you have. (to audience) Am I right? (...) Well you know what, maybe you belong on the bike, because you don’t seem willing to step off it (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 36-37).

The jury puts pressure on Abi by encouraging the audience to support with these words. Against the pressure of the jury members and the intense public demonstrations, Abi cannot resist, and accepts the offer. Abi is a demonstration of how the woman is commodified by the system in the consumer society. The fact that advertising and marketing companies advertise on the female body today is due to the fact that women are turned into commodities in surveillance societies. Although Abi is talented, she has attracted attention to the beauty of her body, and the capitalist system sees Abi as a marketing product. Abi, who could not oppose the jury who said that she would attract the attention of many men with her beauty, everyone would be in line to watch her, and

that not only men but women would also envy her, is a representation of female exploitation that is not far from today. Bing, watching everything behind the scenes, is detracted from the scene by the officials before he can see that Abi has accepted the offer.

While Bing lies in the room by subsiding into silence, Abi's porn advertisement is shown. Bing tries to close the ad, but he cannot because he has spent all his points for Abi to buy a gold ticket. It is forbidden even to close his eyes when there is no merit to close ads. Bing has a nervous breakdown, smashes the screens, and tries to remove the tattoo they stick on their hands when they go to the program with the glass piece that he takes from the broken screens. Afterwards, Bing cycles almost without eating and accumulates 15 million points again, buying the gold ticket for himself. Bing goes to the competition by taking the empty box of the beverage, which they gave for compatibility when they come with Abi and broken glass. By showing the empty box, he does not have to drink it and goes on stage and starts the dance show. While Bing continues dance show, he suddenly stops the show by putting the piece of glass on his throat. The audience and the jury stop. Realizing that the security guards are coming, Bing escapes with the threat that he will cut himself off. The jury asks Bing what he wants. Bing answers that he wants to speak. Judge Hope says, "Speak!" (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 51) to Bing, not letting go of his authority. He shouts. Bing cries out all his rebellion and all the nonsense of the system in the face of the audience:

All we know is fake fodder and buying shit. That's how we speak to each other, how we express ourselves; buying shit. "I have a dream"? The peak of our dreams is a new hat for our doppel. A hat that doesn't exist, that's not even there. We buy shit that's not even there. Show us something real and free and beautiful? You couldn't. Cos it'd break us. We're too numb for it; our minds would choke. We've grown inside this machine, breathed its air too long. There's only so much wonder we can bear. That's why when you find any wonder whatsoever, you dole it out in meagre portions – and only then when it's been augmented and packaged and pumped through ten thousand pre-assigned filters till it's nothing more than a meaningless series of lights to stare into while we ride, day in, day out: going where? Powering what? Powering the whole distraction engine. All tiny cells and tiny screens and bigger cells and bigger screens and FUCK YOU. Fuck you! That's what it boils down to, is fuck you! Fuck you for being part of this landscape, fuck you for sitting there slowly knitting things worse, fuck you and your spotlight, and your sanctimonious faces and – Fuck you, fuck you all for taking the one thing I ever came close to feeling anything real about, anything -- for oozing round it and crushing it into a bone, into a joke, one more ugly joke in a kingdom of millions of them. Fuck you for happening. Fuck you from me, for us, for everyone. Fuck you (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 52-54).

Bing has achieved his goal. He insults the members of the jury, whom he considers as representatives of the system, or the system itself. There is a deep silence in the hall. The jury and the audience consisting of holograms hang their heads in shame

because of the influence of the facts that are hit to their faces. Hope, again, breaks the silence telling, “That was without a doubt, the most heartfelt thing I’ve seen on this stage since Hot Shot began” (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 53) he shouts. After Hope’s praise, the audience’s silence turns into screams and applause. Hope proposes to Bing to make a program by saying, “...I’d like to hear you talk again (...). With a slot on one of my streams. Where you can speak just like that” (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 54-55). Charity joins this offer with the words “Beats the bike” (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 54), Hope supports Charity by saying, “She said it” (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 54).

Bing, who believes that everything is fake since the beginning of the episode and attempts to fight against this falsehood, is transformed into a fake television program. His real rebellion is a resource for the jury any longer. While the system continued where it left off, Bing has become part of the system it has resisted. He thinks that by shouting this to everyone, he will break the system or get answers to his questions. However, the jury provides Bing with an opportunity to continue his life by doing the same show on a television channel. He accepts this offer without any pressure, although he does not drink the obedience drink previously given to Abi. Although he gets on the stage to disrupt the system, he turns into a deformed form of the system. In this episode of the series, it is striking that Bing, who is trying to fight the system, becomes part of the system through the door he entered to demolish the system.

The character of Bing is just one of the reflections of the middle class, which became evident after the Industrial Revolution. Bing character is an example of the awakening of the middle class, which is the cornerstone of a society that does not have any work or friendship, working in the same routine for days. He produces energy aimlessly by cycling under challenging conditions; in return, he spends his merits on ads, games, a virtual world, buying new toys for simulation characters. Bing, who lives in a vicious circle, is compelled to do so. He does not even know why he is employed under these conditions and by whom. He is a character who has lost his ability to question and thinks that it will be useless to rebel against the system. The system evaporates and reuses people who oppose the system in order not to lose power. Bing’s situation shows how the system can tolerate even opposition as long as it can be packaged and commodified.

CHAPTER ONE

DESCRIPTION OF PANOPTICON, SUPER-PANOPTICON AND SYNOPTICON

In order to discipline and rule society, governments use different discipline models, and these models affect literature throughout history. Before modern states, governments used brutal methods to create an ideal society, but in modern states, discipline and control are preferred. In *The Handmaid's Tale*, the order is kept by panopticon and super-panopticon. In *15 Million Merits*, the order is kept by synopticon. In this study, development of these discipline models and their effects will be studied in two works.

With the development of modern states, discipline methods are reshaped. Because, from Plato and Aristotle to the Middle Ages and Renaissance, power was explained in moral, religious, cultural, and metaphysical terms. Since power was thought to be bestowed by God, kings and churches had absolute and indivisible sovereignty. The modern state understanding that emerged with the overthrow of the kings, the church, and feudalism, who had absolute and indivisible power, continued until the French Revolution. The French Revolution is the second stage of modern state understanding. The first stage of democracy emerged by giving sovereignty, which belongs to the king, and society. The people who were in a previously managed position achieved the right to comment on government. But over time, a limited comprehension of sovereignty has emerged, unlike absolute sovereignty, it has limited the powers that the public can use. Modern state theory began to be discussed in 15th and 16th centuries. The most significant theorists of this period are Niccolo Machiavelli, Jean Bodin, and Thomas Hobbes. In pre-modern times, it was believed that power originated from God and that all power was bestowed by God. In that period, power was supported based on religious, mythological, and traditional sources. Thanks to Machiavelli, Bodin, and Hobbes, the idea came to the agenda that governments are socially sourced, and their legitimacy is determined by society. Thus, the source of sovereignty was taken from God and given to people and became rational.

This process firstly; started with a secular/worldly political power/state fiction of Machiavelli, free from divinity. Then Bodin introduced the concept of sovereignty and revealed its qualities

(absolute, single, indivisible, permanent). Hobbes developed the social contract theory and enabled modern state thought to become competent (Beriş, trans. 2006: 9).

According to Machiavelli, the only obstacle to political unity is the church. Therefore, he removed the church from the management mechanisms and made a significant change in the scholastic thought of the Middle Ages. Thus, Machiavelli, who strictly separates religious rules and metaphysics from politics, established the government on secular foundations. According to Machiavelli:

The main criterion in politics is to grab the power, and the ruler must be able to act hypocritically for the sustainability of power. The actions and behaviours in politics should not be evaluated according to religious and moral rules; it should be evaluated within the framework of the moral and ethical rules that are unique to politics. (Machiavelli, 1998: 194-196).

Another theoretician who plays an important role in formation of modern state thought is B. Jean Bodin. Bodin is the first philosopher to define the concept of sovereignty and make it a theory by systematising it. In his work entitled *The Six Books of the Republic (Commonweale)* published in 1576, Bodin defined sovereignty as the highest, absolute and most permanent power over the citizens. In his work, Bodin described sovereignty as absolute, unlimited, permanent, unit, indivisible, and nonassignable. (Bodin, 1962). According to Bodin (1962), the origin of the state is family, and the paternal authority in the family and the ruling authority in power are identified. While Bodin establishes the government based on the law, he builds the power entirely on secular foundations that do not include God. The greatest contribution of Jean Bodin to modern state theory is that he introduced the principle of state sustainability. In this context, Bodin referred to the phenomenon of sovereignty, not to the sovereign for the continuity of the political power/state. Unlike the sovereign who was mortal, sovereignty is immortal. This is an essential step in the context of institutionalisation, legitimacy seeking, and sustainable social consent of the modern state (Bodin, 1962).

Thomas Hobbes is among the theorists who also contributed to the shaping of modern state thought and developed secularism. Hobbes explains the absolute obligation of the state with an assumption that he calls the natural condition of mankind. According to this assumption, nature created people physically and mentally equal. Although there are physical or mental differences between people, weak people can kill those who are stronger by cheating them or being a group. Therefore, people are equal to nature (Hobbes, 1967). This will of the people has revealed the power. While the state and power have been considered a natural phenomenon since ancient times, according to

Hobbes (1894), the state was born with a contract among nationals. Power is not a gift endowed by god, but a product of the social contract. Hobbes' greatest contribution to the modern understanding of the state is that the origin of the state is based on the social contract. As a source of legitimacy with the social contract, society emerged instead of God. Thus, the source of sovereignty descended from the sky to the earth. In other words, the source of sovereignty has been secularised. The concept of secular power, which started with Machiavelli thanks to Hobbes, was completed on a theoretical basis (Ebenstein, 1960).

At the beginning of the 17th century, the modern understanding of power has continued to develop with the discrediting of absolute authority and giving sovereignty from God to human beings. The right of sovereign power over life and death has gained a legal dimension, and positive power mechanisms have emerged instead of the system of sovereignty (Rousseau, 1947). The productive governments that support life have taken steps to bring the individual to society, and the bio-power period has begun by taking a right to life from power. Bio-power is a disciplinary and regulatory power mechanism that treats the body as a machine. With bio-power, the law started to function as a norm. This transformation is the reason why Foucault says (1979), "we live in a normalised society". While discipline society and normal and abnormal individuals are categorised and improved, there is no mention of such a distinction in control societies, which are the result of discipline society. The most important reason for this is that there is a mechanism of power in control societies that manifests itself in every area of life. Agamben explains the difference between the disciplinary society and the control society in his book *Homosacer* as follows:

The discipline society is based on the management of the structure it has established with the normal / non-normal separation through institutions such as factories, prisons, and hospitals. In the control society, there is an understanding of power that can no longer be pointed out in such centres and that has infiltrated all the details of life. (...) power now works directly with the mechanism that organises the brains and bodies by organising them into an autonomous alienation from their sense of living and the desire to create. The control society means that it can be defined as the strengthening and generalisation of normalising disciplinary devices that internalise our common and everyday practices internally, but unlike the discipline, this control mechanism can well extend beyond the structured area of social institutions through flexible and variable networks (Agamben, 1995: 47-50).

According to Foucault (1979) with the law and punishment system that took place in the 18th and 19th centuries, the aim of the criminal system has been the supervision and surveillance of the society rather than defending society. It was aimed not to torture bodies, but to tame them. Beginning to be used for the benefit of society

by Disciplining of the abnormal individuals was used for the benefit of society at the beginning and created a less costly form of power. It is possible to transform the body from being a tormented thing into a consumable resource by the disciplinary regime. The most significant mechanism used to discipline the individual is panopticon coined by Foucault. The super-panopticon and synopticon models that are developed forms of the panopticon are essential discipline systems, as well.

The different judicial system which depends on penal law has been developed to improve and manage societies from past to present. This system of punishment, which was based on physical punishment of the criminal in ancient times, caused severe controversy towards the end of the 18th century. The most striking of these discussions was on the punishments given by the judges who deemed appropriate verdict of the same brutality to a criminal who committed a brutal crime and the executioners who applied these punishments. The punishments imposed on a notorious criminal were as follows, stripping the skin from a body, breaking the body into pieces, burning the criminal with hot oil, and carving his eyes. While these punishments were carrying out, sentences were followed with interest by all the public as a festivity. Considering all of these and other punishments, judges have seemed as murderers, and executioners have as cutthroats. Voluntary accompaniment to these dark festivities was also one of the biggest reasons for criticising the criminal justice act.

In the late 18th century, the traditional judicial system, that is, the physical punishment of the criminal began to be replaced by an effort to punish the criminal psychologically and even reintroduce criminals to society. One of the most important developments of this period is the idea of less cruelty, less pain, and more respect for humanity. The gradual easing of the harshness of punishments has improved the understanding that the soul should be interfered with, not the body. According to this perspective, the application of punishment should penetrate deeply into the heart, the soul, the mind-set, and the will.

With the spread of the idea that the punishments should be a school rather than a festivity, radical changes were made in the criminal law. These new developments, which aim to cure rather than punish the criminal, have started to become widespread, and the crimes committed have been examined in a cause and effect relationship. The idea of healing and rehabilitating criminals brings up the issue of reducing crime. With this new criminal justice system aimed at reducing crime, the question of how the

individual can be controlled has been raised. The idea of preventing crime evolved into the desire to manage the will of the individual, and this approach brought a new breath to the method of using power on the individual. While this new pale tries to heal criminals, it constitutes obedient and disciplined individuals.

The punishment systems based on the torment of the body were left behind, and the new criminal law was directed towards psychology that caused body to be the object of power. Practice on the human body, which has become the target of compulsions, manipulations, and prohibitions in every society, is more detailed and mechanical. It is a well-known fact that a meticulous discipline required to control the human body. The repressive power before the 18th century was replaced by disciplinary power which is focused on predicting and taking measures against incoming threats and integrating the criminal into the system which has been developed to maintain the current order and control the activities of individuals, information has become the most powerful control tool. Therefore, it led to the birth of the concept of the panopticon.

All powers and thinkers concerned with the systems of normalisation and correction of the individual's behavior are aware of the concept of surveillance and panopticon. The phenomenon of surveillance, which dates to ancient times, developed after using writing for recording. Because writing enables one to recommend the information at different times and different environments, for instance, the men who were recruited to the army in ancient Greek and China were chosen according to the data collected. Ancient Egypt and China have similar surveillance samples about population census. *English Doomesday Book*, which includes 13.000 data, is a clear example of surveillance collecting data from whole society, which was written in 1086 by the government.

1.1. Panopticon

Panopticon or Greek Panaptos means "seen by everyone and *Panaptes*; It derives from all-seeing words and actually describes a unified telescope and microscope" (Macey, 2005). The word panopticon means self-controlling with the perception that a society or individual is watched from outside by an eye or a force. This term first emerged in 1785 with a prison model drawn by the British philosopher Jeremy Bentham but not built. Bentham developed the panopticon model, inspired by the control house designed by his sister, to work as a prison. He explained all the details with *Panopticon Letters* series and sent it to England. However, this model, which was

rejected in London, failed. In his letters, he mentions the physical structure of the Panopticon model as follows:

The building is circular. The apartments of the prisoners occupy the circumference. You may call them if you please, the cells. These cells are divided from one another, and the prisoners by that means secluded from all communication with each other, (...) The apartment of the inspector occupies the centre; you may call it if you please the inspector's lodge. It will be convenient in most, if not in all cases, to have a vacant space or area all round, between such centre and such circumference. (...) To cut off from each prisoner the view of every other, the partitions are carried on a few feet beyond the grating into the intermediate area: such projecting (...) both the windows in the cells, and those corresponding to them in the lodge, should be as large as the strength of the building, (...) To prevent thorough light, whereby, notwithstanding the blinds, the prisoners would see from the cells whether or no any person was in the lodge, that apartment is divided into quarters, by partitions formed by two diameters to the circle, crossing each other at right angles. For these partitions the thinnest materials might serve; and they might be made removeable at pleasure; their height, sufficient to prevent the prisoners seeing over them from the cells (Bentham, 1995: 29-95).

The Panopticon model can be thought of as a laboratory or inspection house. The reason for being considered as a laboratory is due to the application of experimental systems to control the bodies and minds of individuals within and for being considered as a house of inspection is that the method, which emerged primarily to treat criminals, was adopted by the governments and used as a tool to control and manage societies. With this model, which becomes a permanent and insurmountable suspicion in the mind of the individual, the observer is able to observe without being seen. He explained the advantages of using this model in breeding studies in Bentham letters as follows:

A collateral advantage it possesses, and on the score of frugality a very material one, is that which respects the number of the inspectors requisite (...). so far from it, that a greater multitude than ever were yet lodged in one house might be inspected by a single person; for the trouble of inspection is diminished in no less proportion than the strictness of inspection is increased. Another very important advantage, (...) is, that the under keepers or inspectors, the servants and subordinates of every kind, will be under the same irresistible controul with respect to the head keeper or inspector, as the prisoners or other persons to be governed are with respect to them. (...) Another advantage, still operating to the same ends, is the great load of trouble and disgust which it takes off the shoulders of those occasional inspectors of a higher order, such as judges and other magistrates, who, called down to this irksome task from the superior ranks of life, cannot but feel a proportionable repugnance to the discharge of it. (...) The cells or apartments, however constructed, must, if there be nine hundred of them (as there were to have been upon the penitentiary-house plan,) be opened to the visitors, one by one... (Bentham, 1995: 29-95)

With the introduction of the panopticon in prisons, the punishments have become higher in psychological depth. In this punishment system, which avoids tormenting the body, an enormous amount of pressure has been put on human psychology which caused individuals to drift into paranoia. Imprisonment is no longer

merely a matter of removing from society but has become the rule of the criminal's brain by establishing full control over the prisoner. The system of self-control of individuals has made it impossible to think about doing evil to someone. Criminals who have to provide indifferent self-discipline are compelled to comply with all the rules imposed by the system. According to Bentham recommends the Panopticon model to be applied not only in prisons but also in hospitals, mental hospitals, factories, garrison houses, and schools. Therefore, panopticon, which provides efficient production, emending, improvement, education, and discipline without wasting time, is the only system needed by the government and the society. However, compared to today's democracy, the panopticon model, which can be defined as establishing mental power on the mind, is against individual rights and freedom, since it is built on the phenomenon of surveillance that almost always causes totalitarianism with restriction of freedom by the watchers. Rights such as individual privacy and freedom of expression are among the essential rights that governments should protect in democratic societies. While the panoptic model completely denies these rights, it violates freedom of thought of the individual.

In addition to negative approaches to surveillance and panopticon, there are also neutral approaches. Despite the negativity of the consequences of collecting power, pressure management, control, and totalitarianism, surveillance is necessary for societies and systematic information gathering is beneficial for people. However, the only common point of these approaches is that the surveillance phenomenon is appropriate for abuse if it is perceived as a force by the watchers.

Obviously, thinkers such as Samuel and Jeremy Bentham, Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Michel Foucault formed the basis of surveillance efforts, but the widespread use of panopticon is owed to Michel Foucault. Considering that panopticon is the most appropriate term to define disciplinary power, Foucault (1979) underlines that all institutions in which the individual is imprisoned in his life are based on supervision. In addition, Karl Marx (2002) interprets surveillance as a struggle between labour and capital. Workers who are modern slaves in the capitalist system need to be kept under control to be able to produce more. To keep workers subordinate, they should be kept under surveillance and feel the presence of power realised with the phenomenon of surveillance. Marx (2002) argues that the concept of management comes entirely from the concept of surveillance and disciplined workers. Keeping the working class under control is vital for the imperialists. Unlike Marx, the German philosopher, Max Weber

(O'Neill, 2007-2008) argues that it is not correct to examine the surveillance phenomenon only in the context of the class relationship. According to Weber, it should also be associated with the surveillance bureaucracy. Suggesting that one of the main features of bureaucratic governments is data collection and filing, Weber argues that surveillance has been developed to increase management power over the individual. According to him, it is the definition of a management bureaucracy based on knowledge. Knowledge means power and provides management that retains power.

1.1.1. Michel Foucault and Panopticism

Foucault, who was one of the greatest thinkers of the 20th century, focused on psychopathology and published his first book *Psychology and Mental Illness* in 1954. He earned his doctorate with *Madness and Civilisation* between 1955-1960 and advanced his work under three main headings in general. These are archaeology, forms of power, and ethical analysis. He analysed the forms of power in 1975 in his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (1975) which he studied in detail.

Foucault's concept of the panopticon is analysed in *History of Madness* (1961). In the 17th century, the mental institution was one of the most common places where people were closed, tried to be kept under control, isolated from society, and to be disciplined. Until this date, apart from the common discipline methods, which are called the modern punishment method, punishments based on brutality and tormenting, were being imposed. Because of these criminals being exposed to the public in public places, there was arising a dark carnival atmosphere. The sole purpose of these dark festivities was to restore the power of government. While aiming at strengthening the power by staging punishments publicly, it started to have almost the opposite effect on the people. Suffering torment of criminals in front of everyone publicly and murdering brutally caused to resemble the executioner to a felon and the judges to murderers. The system of brutal punishment, which led to the reversal of the roles, commuted the severity of the crime committed, and this brutal punishment system came to the forefront rather than the crime itself. With the realisation that this process caused the deterioration of the power, dark festivities were ended in order to change the punishment systems. The punishment process has ceased to be a ceremony and has been implemented as a secret process. With the decrease in the hardness of the punishments, less brutality, less pain, more softness, and respect for humanity came to the fore. It was decided that the

punishments applied should be aimed at emending the soul rather than making the body suffer. The punishment methods aimed at interfering with the criminal's mind and soul were also aimed at keeping the force of power in balance or even increasing it more. One of the methods that serve this purpose is the panopticon model which has enabled the ability of power to rule both the soul and brain of the criminal and played an essential role in controlling society in specific periods of history, for example it was used in the Middle Ages to prevent the spread of the plague epidemic. The officials responsible for the closure of a big city, prevention of entry and exit, prohibition of the communication of inhabitants of a city, and the implementation of this ban are among prototypes of the panopticon model. At that time, there was no one on the streets, except soldiers and gravedigger. Apart from mandatory situations for going outside special permissions were needed. Continuous inspections obliged the public to obey, and the public, who is aware of the cost of disobedience, is turning into masses that are easier to control. In this way, the power of the rulers became more absolute, and theft, looting, and irregularity were prevented more easily. Surveillance and quarantine retention system also utilised a recording mechanism. With the excuse of this disease, the ruling power increased by keeping the people under discipline, and the spread of the disease was prevented to some extent. The quarantine was intended to individualise people and surveillance of society was for controlling it rather than to treat the unhealthy ones. Leprosy, which became widespread in the same period, was an example of the supervision and surveillance mechanism. However, unlike the plague, leper people were excluded and sent out of the city and imprisoned in a place far from society. From this perspective, leprosy identifies with the example of "exclusion", while the plague is an essential example of the concept of "discipline" (Foucault, 1979).

Unlike Bentham, Foucault considered panopticon as an ongoing discipline phenomenon in all areas of history including not only criminals but also patients and individuals who were marginalised by society. Therefore, Foucault has updated his philosophy by incorporating the concept of panopticon into prisons and institutions such as mental institutions, hospitals, factories, and schools. Founded in Paris in 1656, L'Hopital General hosted more than half of the city under surveillance within a few months without a medical ethic. In the first stage, people with a mental health condition who are incompatible with social norms, were marginalised in society, disabled and unhealthy people who cannot be used as labour force, were taken under surveillance.

However, in a few months, almost all loafers, prostitutes, homeless people, and homosexuals were incarcerated in detention camp without any discrimination between men and women. The concept of surveillance was revised under the influence of this event, which is called Great Lockdown by Foucault (1988). Suggesting that this process is based on economic reasons, Foucault underlined that this method, which is adopted to correct the disorganised behaviour, is seen as an easily controllable and cheap labour resource in the newly formed capitalist order. Implementation of this new system started by gathering all those considered alienated and then, different surveillance areas were built, in which criminals and others in the same category were closed to the same places. Towards the end of the 18th century discipline and control of the individual's mind was strengthened since this method left the government in a difficult situation. Thus, it was aimed to prevent crime in advance and to create an easy-to-manage mass in society. People began to act according to the information provided by the government and had to obey the legal and moral rules. People who obeyed the controlling power which was trying to create monotype individuals, could not go beyond being a cog in the machine. Managing and controlling these uniform people more easily led to the widening of the application areas of disciplinary power. Psychiatrists, psychologists, and trainers who interfere with social life are few tools of power. While describing panopticon, Foucault (1979) says that not only the prisons but also all the social institutions are a means of power.

According to Foucault (1979) determining what the individual will learn, which lessons to take, and which profession to choose, is a demonstration of the control mechanism of the government. In addition, the fact that school is seen as a necessity in society educational system is a propaganda tool and an advertising agency that teaches how to obey the social norms we live in. Students are taught to be part of the system and eventually graduate from schools as a victim of the same system. Diploma is a type of written agreement between power and reshaped individuals. The school prepares individual for the consumer society as a new religion created by expert hands in the modern world. With positive sciences education in schools, normality criteria are determined, and individuals who fall outside of these criteria become easier to control and inspect. Despite the existence of this excessive control, Foucault expresses power not as a repressive authoritarian force, but in a positive and productive discourse. According to Foucault, the principle of violence was replaced by disciplinary power,

reproduction, and profit, “The production here refers not only to real production, but also to the production of knowledge and skills at school, healthcare in hospitals, and destructive power production by the army” (Foucault, 1979: 321).

Thanks to these processes that tame the body of the individual, the highest efficiency is obtained from the individual, and the individual is easily adapted to the control mechanism. In this way, the will of the community is managed more easily and systematically. One of the main obeying procedure is taking individuals from nursery and school, passing over to the barracks, threatening with prison or a mental hospital, and eventually bringing them to the alms-house. This plan perfectly matches dream of creating a perfect community. With the development of discipline techniques and its settling in every institution of a society that provides self-control, it is easy to control its members. While defining the concept of Panopticon, Foucault says that (1979), “the 20th-century world is a huge prison, and the rulers are watchtowers”. According to Foucault (1979), “Each member of the society lives with the fear of being unaware of each other and individualised in cells built by these observers for them. As these powers, which resemble a giant eye, are invisible, the individual tries to keep every moment under control in particular”. Stating that the belief in the existence of an invisible eye and the desire to be controlled based on ancient times, Foucault (1977) claims that “being watched by one eye and believing that he is aware of everything is a common point of religious beliefs that we believe in today and it is the belief that makes us comfortable”. According to Foucault (1979) who thinks that modern power is different from that of the classical rulers, the modern society needs bodies to make machines to be used in the capitalist society instead of punishing them with death. This need leads to the phenomenon of discipline and surveillance. Surveillance, which not only includes prisons and clinics, is also practised in daily life.

According to Foucault (1977) who divides society into two groups as abnormal and normal, those who are disciplined as criminals in prisons are abnormal, while those who are watched at work, restaurants, school, or even in their own homes are called normal. Calling the normalisation of surveillance as Panopticism, Foucault cites the surveillance of normal individuals as an example. Foucault (1977) argues that the function of power as the control power is beneficial, and emphasises that the increase in production in every field is one of the facts of panoptic control which facilitates the

control mechanisms of obedient individuals created by the disciplinary power. The need to be watched and disciplined by the 20th-century people in all areas of life is a result of the 'Giant Eye' which the rulers built with their own hands, and it is this surveillance technique and discipline power that provides the most benefit in the capitalist society.

In *The Handmaid's Tale*, The Republic of Gilead aims to create an obedient society to increase the population. For this purpose, the Gilead regime uses the concept of normalization and makes the country a huge prison. In order to control and discipline people in this prison, the Gilead regime uses different discipline models and one of these models is the panopticon.

1.2 Super-panopticon

Panopticon, whose primary purpose was to provide discipline and to create monotype people, was a weapon that can be used easily in the face of choice and diversity. The concept of super-panopticon is a concept that came to exist from the insufficiency of the panopticon in explaining the surveillance phenomenon with its changing world structure (Lianos, 2003). Surveillance in Lyon's super-panopticon is more extensive and based on multiple measures, more intense and widespread. The knowledge that individuals know about themselves is limited and not only individuals but also technology, which facilitates surveillance with the development of databases, allows individuals to record their previously recorded data. Receiving, sending, combining, and analysing this data has become much more comfortable than in the past. Thus, the self-control mechanism replaced the expert supervision seen in the panopticon. The uncertainty of surveillance location in super-panopticon has been added to the fact that the observer and time of surveillance in panopticon are uncertain. In super-panopticon, anyone can watch or be watched by anyone, anytime, anywhere, in any form, and for any purpose. One of the crucial points here is that not only does anyone know if someone is being watched, but everyone knows that there is a possibility that they can watch it. Surveillance is now done by anyone, not by a specialist. The person who is aware of this can watch another person at any time for any purpose. One who is watched by someone is also a probable observer.

In the super-panopticon, both the majority group of people can watch the minority groups, and the minority group of people can watch the majority groups regardless of time and place. Therefore, surveillance is bivious. Super-panopticon has

three functions. These are defined as describing, classification, and evaluation (Gandy, 1993). When these functions are examined in the context of consumer culture, they are determined according to the products that the consumer has bought, then it is classified according to the classes determined in accordance with the data received from other consumers, and finally it is aimed at evaluating the consumer. Thus, the personal information of the individual is used, and advertising campaigns are organised in the light of this data. Individuals who do not know that they are being watched fall into an illusion of freedom and think that they have free decisions and think completely free. Individuals that panopticon calls to discipline are now disciplined wherever they are and without any closure, the ones who knew that they were under surveillance in panopticon were making efforts to improve their inner lives and ensure self-control. However, the individuals in the super-panopticon live with the illusion that they are free and live without realising that they are configured by computers and mass media. The phenomenon of surveillance, which has become more comfortable with the spread of technology, manifests itself everywhere in daily life. Examples of super-panopticon are watching of every street with security cameras, classification and evaluation of individuals with personal data recorded on phones, and implementation of advertising policies in line with these evaluations. The fact that cameras in the shopping centres increase the auto-control effect on the individual and the personal data they give with the credit cards used or the discount cards of the stores are only a few examples of super-panopticon. With the information given by the individual within his consent, both his own supervision is provided, and his private life is commodified. Making visibility a trap, controlling the individual with uncertainty, creating rules with classification is done by routine and efficient use of computer databases. Individuals are not aware that mind controls are made not by power or force they are aware of, but by a surveillance mechanism that exists invisibly, anytime, and anywhere. Individuals who think that they exist in a life far from real life are much more prone and ready to be directed, controlled, and manipulated. As another example of discipline models, the super-panopticon is used in *The Handmaid's Tale* because of the insufficiency of the panopticon to control and discipline the whole country. Gilead regime uses super-panopticon to cause suspicion among people. Thus, people in *The Handmaid's Tale* become more obedient because of the conscious of being watched and controlled.

1.3. Synopticon

The concept of surveillance, which has been applied in different ways from time to time, has undergone several changes with the development of enlightenment, modernity, the industrial revolution, capitalism, and information technologies. With the transition to modern society and state structure over time, the phenomenon of surveillance has gained much more importance for the mass control by the rulers. The discipline form of surveillance, which is included in every area of people's daily life, has created the need for new practices and control tools. With the development of technology and involvement of mass media, which provided great convenience to the method of surveillance, the panoptic model used to explain the concept of surveillance required revision.

In the panoptic surveillance approach, individuals were forced into the surveillance position, and they were questioning this surveillance mechanism by being aware of their surveillance. The main purpose of detention was to solve technical problems. In this way, incompatible individuals are detected by the governments, normalised, and returned to society. One of the most basic features that distinguish synoptic surveillance from panopticon is that surveillance and supervision are voluntary. In the synoptic surveillance where mass media play an active role, the majority follow the minority. As an example, the observed minority are those who have accepted the norms of society and are in harmony with the governments. These individuals, who voluntarily participated in the surveillance action, are raised to follow the norms of the society and lose their ability to question the living world by the minority they watch and take as a role. Since synoptic surveillance is based on volunteering and entertainment, the individual who is an object in surveillance feels as the subject of surveillance and is not disturbed by his position.

According to Mathiesen, control of the soul in the capitalist age is as important as control of the body. Thus, in modern societies, it is aimed to create self-controlling individuals that are aimed at the control of soul. In the modern era, mass communication tools are used to normalise bodies and souls, to create individuals who accept the norms of society and to create a society that is easy to manage. With mass media, ordinary people constantly watch the minority determined by the rulers, and surveillance is becoming global. Within the minority watched, there are individuals from the world of

sports, politics, science, and show. Today, the point where technology has reached, there is a high possibility to both watch and be watched by televisions and phones used at any time, every second, and anywhere. One of the reasons that synoptic observation spreads in such a wide frame is that the watcher always knows that he has the power to watch every time and everywhere or is encouraged to think in this way. Information, which is very precious for every age, is synonymous with power and management in the modern age as well. The fact that the supervisor possesses information and is in a state of power may cause existing governments to be in danger. Therefore, the government ensures that surveillance is carried out as passive surveillance rather than active.

In other words, the power prompts individuals in the minority to act as their own will. The minority, acting as the government wants, encourage ordinary people to watch them and instil a general lifestyle to those who follow. The fact that the power directs a minority group to act as it wishes enables it to manage large masses more easily thanks to that minority. Thus, the majority, who do not realise that power is in their hands, cannot go further than passive surveillance. In addition, they accept the norms of life imposed on them by all mass media and the minority and admire the minority. Individuals who are aware of this synoptic control in society are marginalised or left alone. With the mainstream media, the watching rate of ordinary people on the minority increases gradually, and this causes the synoptic discipline to become more widespread day by day, and its effect increases. Ordinary individuals volunteer while watching the media. The observed minority also live with the awareness that they are being watched by ordinary people. In this case, ordinary people who are under constant surveillance, are virtual realities.

Unlike panopticon, synoptic observation creates an important disciplinary effect not only on the body but also on the soul. Furthermore, while this discipline is created, the individual enjoys this observation. This eliminates the questioning problem of panopticon in synopticon. A dictatorial power that wants to have a constant impact on memory in the panopticon forces and the individual thinks and reveals the need to question the past continually. Since there is no force in the synoptic supervision that requires a connection with the past, the individual thinks he and his mind are free. While allowing their souls to be supervised unaware that they voluntarily give their power, soul, and mind to the administration of power, they continue their lives with pleasure

and do not even think about complaining about it. Supporting synoptic control by governments, as management strategies and decisions to be taken by the society can be easily intervened by mass media, because the observation is based on entertainment and volunteering. The individual, who has nothing left to be questioned, is obliged to accept norms within the framework of power, to admire the minority, to observe without being aware that they are supervised and controlled, and to feel free while doing all this and continuing life.

1.3.1. Thomas Mathiesen and Synopticon

Foucault's concept of panopticon has been reviewed by Western academics who think it is inadequate in defining the modern society's discipline system. The most important of these academics was Norwegian social scientist professor Thomas Mathiesen who wrote *The Viewer Society, Michel Foucault's "Panopticon Revisited"* in 1997. Mathiesen accepted that Foucault made significant contributions to the concept of surveillance and alleged that the concept of the panopticon was insufficient to explain the surveillance mechanisms applied by today's disciplinary powers. According to Mathiesen, Foucault "ignored the massive media, especially the television, which has the ability to bring together 100 million people at the same time, to watch and fascinate the minority" (Mathiesen, 1997: 215). According to Mathiesen, capitalist societies are focused on controlling the soul, not the body of the individual, and explaining this control mechanism is the task of synopticon, not panopticon.

Mathiesen reproduced the word Synoptic combining the words 'Syn' meaning synchronous, and 'optic' meaning vision in Greek (Mathiesen, 1997:6). Unlike panopticon, in Synopticon "the majority can easily follow the minority with the influence of mass media" and "admires them and identifies with them" (Mathiesen, 1997: 219). This situation causes the majority of the mass media to 'normalise' (that is, to comply with the norms and rules of the existing system) by following the selected people and taking them as examples (Mathiesen, 1997: 219). According to Mathiesen, Foucault's panopticon is for solving a technical problem. It is a system built to rehabilitate criminals, patients, untrained, and deviationist that exist in society and to reintegrate into society. Thus, a new society was tried to be created. This society is a surveillance society, not a show society. In modern societies where visibility is at the forefront, people are "not in a stage or an amphitheatre, but in a Panoptic machine

developed by power and aiming to make people a part of the system” (Mathiesen, 1997: 217). The main goal is to normalise individuals and to make them conform to community norms. This aim stems from the desire of the ostensible democratic capitalist systems to use the workforce more effectively and at the maximum level. In Mathiesen’s synopticon model, it is aimed to tame the body and soul in the modern era with mass media. The living standards and normality criteria set by the minorities and admired by ordinary people are adopted by large masses. With the globalisation of tools such as television and the internet, this normalisation takes place at a global level. This social change first started with the spread of newspapers. With the development and advancement of technology, movies became the second step in the spread of surveillance. The great audience interest in watching movies is one of the first stages of the minority being watched by large audiences. According to Mathiesen, who propounded the spread of radio and television as the next step, current societies gained a synoptic structure with television. Synoptic surveillance has become more and more effective as the television enters individuals’ homes where they are their most private places.

According to Mathiesen, it has been returned to “with the development of mass media, the situation where the majority watch over the minority”, but Foucault has not noticed these developments. Mathiesen stated this situation as follows, “Foucault could not have predicted the developments in the 1980s and 1990s (occurring in media), but these major developments were visible in 1975 (when Foucault published his book *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of Prisons*)” (Mathiesen, 1997: 221). According to Mathiesen, who tried to prove that Foucault was wrong, “no longer, surveillance has become a voluntary discipline, not necessarily. Society consciously makes individuals’ minds and spirits open to control. Thus, both the criminal systems and the management styles have been changing” (Mathiesen, 1997: 221).

1.3.2. Similarities between Panopticon and Synopticon from Mathiesen’s Perspective

According to Mathiesen, who thinks that Panopticon and Synopticon operate in parallel, the primary purpose of both systems is to provide maximum control and discipline on individuals in “pseudo-democratic capitalist societies” (Mathiesen, 1997) According to him, not only panopticism but synopticism can define modern societies.

These two parallel processes make the modern societies of today the “Viewer Society” (Mathiesen, 1997: 218). Mathiesen suggests that the task of disciplining the individual’s spirit and way of thinking is fulfilled by synopticon. Unlike Foucault’s panopticon, this inspection is possible with mass media’s synopticon.

According to Mathiesen, Panopticon and Synopticon are in parallel and he defines these parallelisms as follows:

1. Panopticon and Synopticon emerged in the 1800s and continued to develop in the 2000s.
2. Both have been presented as potential tools of power since ancient times. For example, while reconciliation and tax records are the first sign of panopticon, demonstrations, and ceremonies organised by the strong are the first signs of Synopticon.
3. Both have been technologically improved and strengthened in the 20th century.
4. Both systems interact very closely and deeply, perhaps even fused together (Mathiesen, 1997: 219 - 225).

Panopticon and synopticon are invisible weapons used by governments to control society, and both mostly serve governments. The structure of both systems is based on controlling the individuals. The important thing is to govern the individual or to recreate obedient individuals for society. Panopticon is the first step in this system. Synopticon, on the other hand, created its own sphere of influence by feeding panopticon. In the panopticon, besides controlling and disciplining the body and mind of the individual, the main thing in Synopticon is to be able to manage the soul of the individual. Unlike panopticon, the spirit of the individual can be disciplined and directed more easily with the fun-based, in synopticon.

Unlike panopticon, the aim of synopticon is touching and directing the individual’s soul. Therefore, panopticon is insufficient to explain the discipline and control mechanisms of modern societies. Another main reason for this stems from the fact that mass media can directly affect the consciousness of the individual. Mass media, which are among the indispensable elements of modern societies, play an essential role in making the individuals feel free. The individuals who are consciously involved in the surveillance mechanism enjoy being audiences. Individuals lead their lives by following role model minorities determined by governments and ruling powers. Therefore, they think that they are free. The individuals who are subjects to compulsory supervision in panopticon are aware of the applied discipline system. They can criticise, question, or talk about this system. However, the individuals who exist in a synoptic universe are

unaware of the surveillance applied. They lose their ability to inquire over time, continues to live under the guidance of the messages processed by the mass media through the subconscious. In Synopticon, this method is not criticised or questioned, since individuals are not aware of being controlled. The main thing is to enjoy, and it is much easier to dominate individuals who enjoy it while being controlled by governments. Therefore, Synopticon is a much more dangerous and invisible surveillance system than panopticon.

People as resources for the benefit of the system will be studied for investigation of synopticon as discipline model in *15 Million Merits*. And women as reproductive resources of the Gilead regime will be analysed for the investigation of panopticon and super-panopticon in *The Handmaid's Tale*. Since panopticon and super-panopticon were not found sufficient to define surveillance models in the Technological Age, synopticon model surveillance will be used in *15 Million Merits*, which is defined as a dystopia because of the technological developments. Panopticon, super-panopticon, and synopticon will be investigated to find out and underlined the effects of these surveillance models on characters and society in *15 Million Merits* and *The Handmaid's Tale*.

CHAPTER TWO

A COMPARISON OF MARGARET *ATWOOD'S THE HANDMAID'S TALE* AND BLACK MIRROR'S *15 MILLION MERITS*

In this chapter of the study, *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits* will be analysed from panopticon to super-panopticon and synopticon in the context of surveillance culture. In order to analyse the works, control mechanisms that are widely used in both works will be discussed in the functioning of the surveillance culture. These control mechanisms are fear, manipulation, surveillance, classification, and social class discrimination, alienation and isolation, restrictions, the concept of freedom, resistance, discipline and normalization. Furthermore, the different effects and reflections of these control mechanisms in the panopticon, super-panopticon and synopticon will be compared in both works.

2.1. Analysis of *The Handmaid's Tale* from Panopticon, Super-Panopticon, and Synopticon Perspectives

The Handmaid's Tale is a feminist speculative novel written by Margaret Atwood that contains many features of the surveillance phenomenon. In this novel, Margaret Atwood depicts a new dystopian universe founded by The Republic of Gilead. A panoptic universe is created by the new regime where the concepts of discipline and emending are the primary basis of the surveillance culture. The reason for the establishment of this new regime is to implement a new population policy resulting from decrease of the white race. Women play the leading role in Gilead's policies. The Gilead government, which has turned an entire country into a huge supervision house, almost precisely overlaps Foucault's definition of Panopticism. Unlike Bentham, Foucault's concept of panopticon, which is applied not only in prisons but in all areas of society, enables the Gilead government to implement population policies easily. Panoptic surveillance throughout the country and for every class make life unbearable. Like any oppressive government, the Gilad government has classified society. At the top of the hierarchy are commanders as the ruling class. Although these commanders have authority and power, they cannot easily withdraw from surveillance mechanism like other classes. Also, every class in society has certain limits. In this panoptic universe,

women are sent to the commanders' homes as handmaids, and they are subject to surveillance both in the houses and throughout the country. Offred, who is the protagonist of the novel, is one of these women who are always under surveillance even when going shopping, sitting at home, going out to the garden, or having rape called ceremony.

The culture of surveillance has penetrated deep into all areas of life. This universe, which is based on fear-based power, aims to facilitate the use of women as a reproductive machine. However, Gilead's regime, which is a Christian-based power, aims to create a religion-based society. In this society where oppression, torture, and surveillance are common, even individuals' pasts are taken under control. Individuals whose thinking skills are tried to be blunted are managed by being corrected in the oppressive management they live in. The pressure exerted by power is profoundly physical and psychological. Power, which aims to control the mind of the individual, uses the phenomenon of fear, oppression, and surveillance for this purpose. Just as no totalitarian regime can be established in a single moment, the Gilead regime is not a regime which emerges in a single moment and penetrates into the mind of individuals. Such disciplinary regimes are built through a long process. When this process is well analysed by society, it becomes difficult for totalitarian regimes to conquer a country. It is one of the factors that facilitate the work of the totalitarian regimes that society is negligent and turns them back on other people who have difficulties. The reason they do not react to the violation of human rights is due to the tiredness and indifference of people.

"Ignoring is not the same as ignorance" (Atwood, 2014: 58), as Offred said. It is one of the main ideas of totalitarian regimes to accustom the individual to the terrible events that take place in daily life. Every horrible event becomes ordinary day by day because of its repetition. This ordinariness ends one day when an oppressive regime ignores all human rights. This regime, which gradually imposes itself over time, reaches its goal. A society which is not aware remains silent for every suffering, and this silence helps totalitarian regimes to easily discipline a society. Like every totalitarian regime, the Gilead regime did not emerge at once. It is the product of long and public unresponsiveness. Individuals who are adapted to live in an order that is changing from day to day are unaware of this situation; but some people enjoy it, and a specific group does not care. All their efforts and resistance are Sisyphean challenges when the state

structure and order eventually undergo a drastic change. This situation is called boiling frog syndrome in the literature (Heupel, Juterzenka, 2015). The Gilead regime feeds this syndrome and takes control of people's lives. Offred, the protagonist of the novel, describes this process as follows:

Is that how we lived, then? But we lived as usual. Everyone does, most of the time. Whatever is going on is as usual. Even this is as usual, now. We lived, as usual, by ignoring. Ignoring isn't the same as ignorance, you have to work at it. Nothing changes instantaneously: in a gradually heating bathtub you'd be boiled to death before you knew it. There were stories in the newspapers, of course, corpses in ditches or the woods, bludgeoned to death or mutilated, interfered with, as they used to say, but they were about other women, and the men who did such things were other men. None of them were the men we knew. The newspaper stories were like dreams to us, bad dreams dreamt by others. How awful, we would say, and they were, but they were awful without being believable. They were too melodramatic, they had a dimension that was not the dimension of our lives. We were the people who were not in the papers. We lived in the blank white spaces at the edges of print. It gave us more freedom. We lived in the gaps between the stories (Atwood, 2014: 58)

The society is disciplined with the rules and prohibitions set in time, and even the individual's ability to question is under the control of the regime. On the country, individuals, which are managed with limited resources, are under surveillance at every moment of daily life. The individuals, who are aware of being watched by Eyes, are obliged to pay attention to their sayings and actions. In addition to shopping centres, hospitals, or restaurants are also under surveillance. To enter such places, they have to use pass cards to go out or go to the doctor. As a Handmaid, Offred is one of the most exposed to these restrictions and surveillance. The passcard that Offred uses when going shopping is an example of the surveillance, "We produce our passes, from the zippered pockets in our wide sleeves, and they are inspected and stamped (Atwood, 2014: 27)."

These women, who cannot go out without permission, are punished when they act otherwise. One of the essential rules taught to Offred at the Red Center is to obey unconditionally. Explaining that the universe she lived in since the beginning of the novel was unbearable, and Offred mentions that there are a lot of abstruse things to think. Additionally, she conveys to the reader in a cynical language that since everything in the country is rationed, thinking must be rationed, too. Offred expresses the limitations of the system and the oppressive attitude as follows, "I try not to think too much. Like other things now, thought must be rationed. There's a lot that doesn't bear thinking about (Atwood, 2014: 14)."

In this regime where strict discipline is applied, Offred likens Red Center to the military. In this order, where every handmaid wears the same colour and model clothes, eats the same food, sleeps, and wakes up at the same time, even the toilet permits are numbered, everyone has to have things equal:

Flowers are still allowed. Does each of us have the same print, the same chair, the same white curtains, I wonder? Government issue? Think of it as being in the army, said Aunt Lydia. A bed. Single, mattress medium-hard, covered with a flocked white spread. Nothing takes place in the bed but sleep; or no sleep (Atwood, 2014: 14).

In class distinction created, each class has its own clothes and responsibilities. The clothes of the handmaids, who are responsible for giving birth to healthy children in the Gilead government, are red. Besides, there is a white cap called the wing that they wear on their heads. These caps serve both not to see someone and not to be seen by others. The clothing style of the handmaids was determined by the government. As with all totalitarian regimes, this regime also specifies the class difference and create awareness of class responsibilities:

Everything except the wings around my face is red: the color of blood, which defines us. The skirt is ankle-length, full, gathered to a flat yoke that extends over the breasts the sleeves are full. The white wings too are prescribed issue; they are to keep us from seeing, but also from being seen (Atwood, 2014: 15).

In the Gilead regime, women sent to the commanders' homes as handmaid are deprived of many rights, and are forbidden to have private property. A room is allocated for these women in the commanders' home which never gives a sense of belonging as Offred says, "The door of the room — not my room, I refuse to say my (Atwood, 2014:15)" which is an example of how individuals refuse to have sense of belonging in a totalitarian regime.

In the Gilead regime, where surveillance culture is a part of everyday life, individuals have to maintain auto-control. The fear of the regime's secret intelligence agency, Eyes, to be everywhere is sufficient to discipline the individual. Eyes can be anyone, and they can punish someone for any action against the regime at any time. In this panoptic universe where daily routines turn into fear, the individuals are afraid of any humanistic behaviour in order not to endanger themselves, because everyone lives with the fear of being always watched. For example, Offred, who returns from shopping, asks whether she puts herself in danger when she comes across and greets with Nick, who is commander's Guardian and helps him with gardening. She cannot decide whether

Nick's behaviour is a friendly greeting or a test. Whereas Nick may report Offred because of this act, Offred may also report Nick because he is a member of the Guardian class who is forbidden to contact handmaids. These people who watch each other are not free to report or not. It is also a crime to witness anti-regime behaviour and not to report it. Being a spy of each other in a society is an example of super-panopticon:

He looks at me, and sees me looking (...) He takes a final puff of the cigarette, lets it drop to the driveway, and steps on it. He begins to whistle. Then he winks. I drop my head and turn so that the white wings hide my face, and keep walking. He's just taken a risk, but for what? What if I were to report him? Perhaps he was merely being friendly. Perhaps he saw the look on my face and mistook it for something else. Really what I wanted was the cigarette. Perhaps it was a test, to see what I would do. Perhaps he is an Eye (Atwood, 2014: 25).

Apart from giving birth to a child in the house where they started to work as a handmaid, these girls have some small responsibilities like helping Marthas, who are the servants of the house, in daily work. The handmaids, who are given a list to go shopping, have to carry their permission pass to go out. These women, who are not allowed to wander alone when they go out, must be accompanied by another woman with a handmaid. The claimed reason for not allowing the handmaids to wander outside alone is protection. They do not need any other handmaid to protect them, who are always observed everywhere. In fact, these women were trained in the Red Centre to be each other's spies. An anti-regime discourse or behaviour is reported by them and the idea of opposing the regime is considered crime; if one of them goes astray, the other is held responsible for it. These women watch over each other and are watched by others. The system, which does not leave a place of trust even among themselves, prevents allying against the regime. While Offred, who feels that they are being watched by the Eyes at all times, is an example of the panopticon and super-panopticon that every handmaid spies each other like Eyes:

We aren't allowed to go there except in twos. This is supposed to be for our protection, though the notion is absurd: we are well protected already. The truth is that she is my spy, as I am hers. If either of us slips through the net because of something that happens on one of our daily walks, the other will be accountable (Atwood, 2014: 25-26).

Handmaids, who are obliged to go out in pairs, must attend the ceremonies with a military attitude. One of the aims of these ceremonies is to show how individuals are obedient to the regime. The women whose permits are approved at the checkpoints enter the area where the ceremony will be held. No one dares to commit any crime, as this area is protected by armed guards. Individuals who are aware of the fact that they are

continuously monitored by the guards and they can be punished for any wrong behaviour, are obliged to obey orders as a herd. Offred describes the pre-ceremony atmosphere at the venue as follows:

We line up to get processed through the checkpoint, standing in our twos and twos and twos, like a private girls' school that went for a walk and stayed out too long. (...) Instead we are checked through, in our twos, and continue walking. (...) On either side of the doorway stand the inevitable Guardians, two pairs, four in all, arms at their sides, eyes front. They're like store mannequins almost, with their neat hair and pressed uniforms and plaster-hard young faces. No pimply ones today. Each has a submachine gun slung ready, for whatever dangerous or subversive acts they think we might commit inside (Atwood, 2014: 192-193).

Even thoughts are tried to be taken under control in this system where the surveillance culture is evident everywhere. Both handmaids and guardians must maintain self-control in this system. Since women are not allocated to Guardians, they are forbidden to experience sexuality, to look at a woman, to touch, or even think about a woman. Despite the fact that thought cannot be put under surveillance, people control themselves while thinking. Offred conveys that she is not sure if the Guardians are thinking of kissing a woman and talks about the rifles that fire into their minds when they dream it,

If they do think; you can't tell by looking at them. But more likely they don't think in terms of clothing discarded on the lawn. If they think of a kiss, they must then think immediately of the floodlights going on, the rifle shots (Atwood, 2014: 28).

The regime controls every individual anytime and anywhere. For instance, when Offred goes shopping or the doctor she is under control. In addition, for the purpose of finding any behavior and gesture against the regime, everyone watches each other. In this control mechanism, everyone might be a criminal or a police officer. It is a crime to think, question, fall in love, or even look into the eyes of someone of the opposite sex in the Republic of Gilead, where mind control has accomplished successfully. Scepticism, as the most prominent feature of Foucault's Panopticon, is the cornerstone of the Gilead regime. In this regime, where everyone is sceptical and has to provide self-control, Gilead has established unlimited fear management. Offred explains the Gilead administration as follows:

This is the heart of Gilead, where the war cannot intrude except on television. Where the edges are we aren't sure, they vary, according to the attacks and counterattacks; but this is the centre, where nothing moves. The Republic of Gilead, said Aunt Lydia, knows no bounds. Gilead is within you (Atwood, 2014: 30).

As in every totalitarian regime, definition of freedom has also changed in the Gilead regime. Because of handmaids' training that dictates they work for a sacred duty, their bodies are considered as something sacred to be protected. So, they have to avoid looking at anyone on the street. These women, who have to provide their own control, avoid committing the crime of thinking. In the Gilead regime, where pressure is mostly on women's shoulders, freedom is defined in two types. Before the regime, there was freedom to do something, but after the regime, the freedom to avoid doing something emerges. Freedom of avoidance is an indication that the individual is kept under control at any time. Choosing to speak for the regime or to avoid speaking against the regime is an example of freedom to avoid, "There is more than one kind of freedom, said Aunt Lydia. Freedom to and freedom from. In the days of anarchy, it was freedom to. Now you are being given freedom from. Don't underrate it (Atwood, 2014: 31)."

In the Gilead regime, many concepts have changed over time and even have been destroyed. While Offred returns from shopping, she comes across Japanese tourists and looks at the women's clothing in amazement. Although she looks at these women with envy at first, she later realizes that she blames them. This style of clothing, formerly known as freedom, has now turned into a disgusting phenomenon. It can be understood from this situation that how deeply the regime affects the individual's mind and how quickly they change their views. When Japanese tourists' interpreter wants to take pictures of Offred and another handmaid Ofglen, Offred rejects this offer using her freedom of avoidance. Although this was originally described as the freedom to avoid this offer, the main reason is that there are rumours that most of the interpreters are Eyes, and the forces of the regime. Even the existence of this rumour obliges her to pay attention to Offred's behaviour and speech. That she answered yes to the question "Are you happy?" asked by Japanese tourists for fear of being reported by interpreters, is an example of panopticism controlling Offred's mind. Offred expresses her situation as follows,

"He asks, are you happy," says the interpreter. I can imagine it, their curiosity: Are they happy? How can they be happy? (...) There is a silence. But sometimes it's as dangerous not to speak. "Yes, we are very happy," I murmur. I have to say something. What else can I say? (Atwood, 2014: 35-36)."

The Republic of Gilead also manages to discipline the individual with panopticon. However, one of the most critical factors in the implementation of the

panopticon is the concept of fear. In order for the surveillance culture to be widely applied and to function according to the regime's wishes, the penalty element must be a deterrent. The penalties applied in the Gilead regime are of two types; Those who do not obey the regime, especially handmaids, are sent to the colonies when they commit a crime and are used for the removal of toxic substances there and are declared as "Unwomen" (Atwood, 2014: 111) or used to satisfy the sexual needs of the commanders in a club called Jezebel.

The other and more deterrent penal system is that they are executed. It is a requirement for the deterrence of the punishment system that the bodies of executed people should be hanged on the hooks on the wall for days. Offred who is likely to be exposed to such penalties is always obliged to act cautiously in the panoptic universe in which she lives. An example of this is the situation that Offred experienced when she went to the doctor's control. Offred tells that this situation is perilous when the gynaecologist tries to seduce her. She refuses this offer because she knows that they will both be killed if caught, "I hesitate. He's offering himself to me, his services, at some risk to himself. (...) "It's too dangerous," I say. "No. I can't." The penalty is death (Atwood, 2014: 62)."

That Offred's fear of the consequences of doctor's rejection and trembling of her hands is an indication of how intense the panoptic surveillance is. Offred thinks she is watched even when she is alone. Although she has not violated any prohibitions or made any promises, she becomes anxious; the thought of committing a crime while under the intense pressure of the regime is a big mistake for Offred. As a result of panoptic oversight, Offred cannot dare committing a crime, "I put on my clothes again, behind the screen. My hands are shaking. Why am I frightened I've crossed no boundaries, I've given no trust, taken no risk, all is safe (Atwood, 2014: 62)."

The most significant element of fear in the Gilead regime is the 'Wall', the massive wall of an institution which used to be a university. However, it is used in the Gilead regime for non-educational and brutal purposes such as hanging people on. The success of the Gilead regime to discipline society derives from its fear-based power and the application of deterrent punishments. Individuals who see the fate of war criminals or opponents of the regime, are obligated to provide self-control. The wall that the

regime wants everyone to see has increasingly strengthened the regime. Anyone who has to seem obedient in the regime must go to the wall and watch the corpses hanging there. People are aware of being watched at all times therefore they are cautious to act in line with the regime's wishes which is a demonstration that Foucault's panopticon is very useful in the Gilead regime. Offred explains how they stand in front of the Wall, even though there is no pressure:

We stop, together as if on signal, and stand and look at the bodies. It doesn't matter if we look. We're supposed to look: this is what they are there for, hanging on the Wall. Sometimes they'll be there for days, until there's a new batch, so as many people as possible will have the chance to see them (Atwood, 2014: 38).

Accessing and writing books is strictly prohibited in this dystopian universe where individuals' minds are controlled. Keeping society ignorant, is one of the best ways to dominate society used by the Gilead regime. Although it is a religious regime, reading the Bible is also prohibited. The Bible is placed in a locked box at commanders' homes, and the commander is the only person who has the keys of the box in the house. Besides the prevention of awareness, they do not want the legitimacy of the regime which is based on religious grounds to be questioned. Even though it is said that the regime is founded on the stories in the Bible, they make decisions against the Bible when it conflicts with their benefits interests. Although she is not a religious woman, Offred conveys the prohibition of reading Bible to the reader in a sarcastic language:

He crosses to the large leather chair reserved for him, takes the key out of his pocket, fumbles with the ornate brass-bound leather-covered box that stands on the table beside the chair. He inserts the key, opens the box, lifts out the Bible, an ordinary copy, with a black cover and gold-edged pages. The Bible is kept locked up, the way people once kept tea locked up, so the servants wouldn't steal it. It is an incendiary device: who knows what we'd make of it, if we ever got our hands on it? We can be read to from it, by him, but we cannot read. Our heads turn towards him, we are expectant, here comes our bedtime story (Atwood, 2014: 84).

Having lived under challenging conditions, Offred hides behind the stories she has set in her own mind to rid escaping this dystopian universe. The stories about Offred's longing for her past stems from utopia that is the main feature of every dystopia (Gray, 1964). Offred, who cannot share or write what she thinks and feels, is to create something that Offred can control. The only place that cannot be watched by Eyes in this panoptic universe is Offred's mind. Offred's dreams of her salvation in the future, can be considered a passive resistance to the panoptic regime, "It isn't a story I'm telling. It's also a story I'm telling, in my head, as I go along. Tell, rather than write, because I have nothing to write with and writing is in any case forbidden (Atwood, 2014: 44)".

The concept of panopticon, revised by Foucault as the Great Lockdown which is a method of correction of disorganized behaviour, is frequently seen in the novel. It, can be applied in small or large scales: in a house, a room, or in the whole country. Panoptic surveillance allows easy control of workforce. The individual is aware that she is surrounded on all sides and therefore tries to choose her behaviour and words carefully. Restriction, another element of panoptic surveillance, deprives the individual from his freedom. The windows of Offred's room are made of unbreakable glass. This precaution is used to prevent the window from breaking and committing suicide with a piece of glass. For the same reason, the chandelier in her room was also removed. Offred is a national resource, breaking the window, throwing himself out of the window, or hanging herself from the chandelier can cause decrease of resources for the regime. Offred, who still has not lost her ability to think, is aware of these preventions, "I know why the glass in the window is shatterproof, and why they took down the chandelier (Atwood, 2014: 53)".

Offred sometimes sings to herself to protect her mental health in the regime and hesitates even to use any prohibited word in the lyrics of the song. Speaking words such as freedom or love are hazardous, Offred is perturbed even in her own mind because of the control mechanisms of the panoptic universe:

Sometimes I sing to myself, in my head; something lugubrious, mournful, presbyterian:

Amazing grace, how sweet the sound
Could save a wretch like me,
Who once was lost, but now am found,
Was bound, but now am free.

I don't know if the words are right. I can't remember. Such songs are not sung anymore in public, especially the ones that use words like free. They are considered too dangerous. They belong to outlawed sects.

I feel so lonely, baby,
I feel so lonely, baby,
I feel so lonely I could die.

This too is outlawed... (Atwood, 2014: 56).

Although the handmaids are not generally allowed to watch television, The Republic of Gilead uses mass media to create the ideal society. All of the TV channels broadcast that the Republic of Gilead is in a war, but no defeat is mentioned in any channel. Since nobody would want to hear about the news of the defeat, propagandas supporting the regime is usually distributed. Offred is sceptical about whether the news is correct and questions whether the announcer shown on TV is an actor. Besides, the collapse of anti-regime organizations by Eyes is also mentioned in the propaganda.

While the propagandas for the ideal social order ensures that the regime is legitimized by individuals, it completely destroys efforts to oppose or resist:

They only show us victories, never defeats. Who wants bad news? Possibly he's an actor. The anchorman comes on now. (...) What he's telling us, his level smile implies, is for our own good. Everything will be all right soon. I promise. There will be peace. You must trust. You must go to sleep, like good children. He tells us what we long to believe. He's very convincing. (...) Now he's telling us that an underground espionage ring has been cracked by a team of Eyes, working with an inside informant. The ring has been smuggling precious national resources over the border into Canada. "Five members of the heretical sect of Quakers have been arrested," he says, smiling blandly "and more arrests are anticipated." Two of the Quakers appear onscreen, a man and a woman. (Atwood, 2014: 79-80).

Offred, who has to live within certain limits even in the house she is in, starts to walk in the house to get some breath by getting out of her own room. Taking a walk is dangerous for her. Knowing that she will be reported as soon as she is spotted by Rita or Cora, Offred feels that there is someone behind her as she moves forward with the cowardly steps. Offred encounters Nick when she turns around. But remains calm during this encounter because Nick knows that he was not allowed to be inside the house at that time. Occupying a place is forbidden for both which means that none of them can report the other. The fact that they follow each other and are responsible for each other is an indication that they are actually spies of each other. It is an example of the concept of super-panopticon that not only the power but also everyone in the society is under supervision:

But there's someone in the room, behind me. I hear the step, quiet as mine, the creaking of the same floorboard. The door closes behind me, with a little click, cutting the light. I freeze: white was a mistake. I'm snow in moonlight, even in the dark. Then a whisper: "Don't scream. It's all right." As if I'd scream, as if it's all right. I turn: a shape, that's all, dull glint of cheekbone, devoid of color. He steps towards me. Nick. "What are you doing in here?" I don't answer. He too is illegal, here, with me, he can't give me away. Nor I him; for the moment we're mirrors (Atwood, 2014: 94).

Foucault's Panopticon is primarily based on the concepts of closure, surveillance, and correction. These concepts are necessary to create an ideal society. It is seen that the education of Handmaids in the novel are very concentrated on these concepts. The policy of correction first begins with deteriorating the past. Aunts, who used the birth control pill in the past or instilled women to think of abortion were sinful, try to legitimize their practices. 'Correction of women' means that they accept to be reproductive machines without questioning anything. They can be an ideal individual if

they are not against the system, control their actions, and most importantly, if they do not yearn for the past. These women, who are reproductive machines, are imposed to be as valuable as a pearl. Freedom is conceived as mistakes and shame for the regime. Aunt Lydia's speech to handmaids clearly explains this process:

They made mistakes, says Aunt Lydia. We don't intend to repeat them. Her voice is pious, condescending, the voice of those whose duty it is to tell us unpleasant things for our own good. (...) A thing is valued, she says, only if it is rare and hard to get. We want you to be valued, girls. She is rich in pauses, which she savors in her mouth. Think of yourselves as pearls. We, sitting in our rows, eyes down, we make her salivate morally. We are hers to define, we must suffer her adjectives. I think about pearls. Pearls are congealed oyster spit. This is what I will tell Moira, later; if I can. All of us here will lick you into shape, says Aunt Lydia, with satisfied good cheer (Atwood, 2014: 106).

In panoptic surveillance, those who watch or are watched, are conscious of it. They are able to resist leaving their minds under the control of power. Individuals are aware that they live in a dystopian universe and dream of their salvation with longing the past. Despite the pressure of the Gilead regime, Offred, who opposes the regime only with the stories she has created in her mind, hopes that she will not stay in this dystopian universe forever. Offred expresses her hope to escape the Gilead regime one day, which is a panoptic prison,

Let's stop there. I intend to get out of here. It can't last forever. Others have thought such things, in bad times before this, and they were always right, they did get out one way or another, and it didn't last forever. Although for them it may have lasted all the forever they had (Atwood, 2014: 123).

In the Gilead regime, all segments of society and not a specific class are under surveillance. Marthas, who are responsible for the tasks such as cleaning and cooking in the commanders' homes, are also under surveillance. In addition to these classes, the system includes ruling class commanders and their wives, as well. It is illegal for commanders to be alone with Handmaids. Commander Fred calls Offred to his office, although he is aware of this prohibition. Offred has no chance to refuse this offer because she is the property of Commander Fred. However, if Serena Joy learns this situation, she can punish Offred for not having the courage to ask the commander. When Offred is reported as an anti-regime, she can be categorized unwoman or executed. Nevertheless, Offred is obliged to meet the commander at this risk. Assessing the possibilities of getting caught in her mind, Offred explains the situation as follows:

My presence here is illegal. It's forbidden for us to be alone with the Commanders. We are for breeding purposes. (...) So why does he want to see me, at night, alone? If I'm caught, it's to Serena's tender mercies I'll be delivered. He isn't supposed to meddle in such household discipline, that's women's business. After that, reclassification. I could become an Unwoman. But to refuse to see him could be worse. There's no doubt about who holds the real power (Atwood, 2014: 128).

Offred, who went to the commander's office and put herself in danger, was anxious because of her illegal situation. Both Offred and the commander put themselves at risk. In this limited universe, a forbidden meeting has become desirable for both. Offred is possessed by fear, although there is no one spying on them in the Commander's office. One of the prominent features of panoptic surveillance is the fact that the individual is afraid of being watched even when she is alone, and this feature is clearly seen in Offred's behaviour:

Now of course it's something different. Now it's forbidden, for us. Now it's dangerous. Now it's indecent. Now it's something he can't do with his Wife. Now it's desirable. Now he's compromised himself. It's as if he's offered me drugs. "All right," I say, as if indifferent. I can in fact hardly speak (Atwood, 2014: 130).

The other class under surveillance is Wives, such as, Serena Joy, the commander's wife who commits a crime by sending Offred to Nick. Realizing that she is doing something illegal, Serena Joy errs on the side of caution. When she allows Offred to go out at midnight, she does not go with her. Her whispering to Offred is because she is afraid of being heard by someone, in spite of her higher status than Handmaids. Serena Joy's fear is an indication of panoptic surveillance applied to all segments of society.

I won't go outside with you," she whispers. Odd, to hear her whispering, as if she is one of us. Usually Wives do not lower their voices. "You go out through the door and turn right. There's another door, it's open. Go up the stairs and knock, he's expecting you. No one will see you. I'll sit here." She'll wait for me then, in case there's trouble; in case Cora and Rita wake up, no one knows why, come in from their room at the back of the kitchen (Atwood, 2014: 234).

According to Offred, The Republic of Gilead resembles a rat maze. The handmaids, who have the freedom to go somewhere for a certain period of time, are aware that they are always watched by someone. Offred, who had to walk within the boundaries determined by the regime, describes the outside world as follows, "Now and again we vary the route; there's nothing against it, as long as we stay within the barriers. A rat in a maze is free to go anywhere, as long as it stays inside the maze (Atwood, 2014: 152)".

Strolling around is also a crime, although they are allowed to be outside within certain limits. Walking outside, chatting with other handmaids, or sitting somewhere is also illegal if they do not have any reason to do. A long stay in a place without purpose is sufficient reason to be arrested. For fear of being reported by someone, Offred takes care not to stay out for a long time. The possibility of being reported by anyone at any time is one of the demonstrations of super-panopticon, “After this ritual viewing we continue on our way. (...) We can never stand long in any one place. We don’t want to be picked up for loitering (Atwood, 2014: 182)”.

People who have the ability to question the regime are suppressed in societies disciplined by panoptic surveillance because they are aware of the surveillance. Despite the pressure imposed by the government, those, who are able to think, can defeat the power by critical thinking. Offred is a character with these features, but the effect of the panopticon is also evident on her. Having an opportunity to talk with Ofglen, who goes shopping every day with her, Offred states that she takes risks and she is anxious about this situation. Speaking in a whisper Offred mentions that this is a habit from the Red Center. When Ofglen questions whether there is a microphone on the street, Offred wants to move away or warn her and this is an indication that Offred accepts the rules of the regime, although she wants to resist. Offred, argues that outside is the safest place, because no one would dare to oppose the regime. Offred and Ofglen are very cautious about the anti-regime discussions between themselves. They know that no one can hear them, however they are aware of committing a crime, and because of fear from punishment, they cannot speak by looking at each other’s faces. This precaution is an indication that panoptic surveillance forces the individual to take control of others by occupying their minds:

There’s a shock in this seeing; it’s like seeing somebody naked, for the first time. There is risk, suddenly, in the air between us, where there was none before. Even this meeting of eyes holds danger. Though there’s nobody near. At last Ofglen speaks. “Do you think God listens,” she says, “to these machines?” She is whispering: our habit at the Center. (...) . I could scream. I could run away. I could turn from her silently, to show her I won’t tolerate this kind of talk in my presence. Subversion, sedition, blasphemy, heresy, all rolled into one. (...) Only now do we stop looking at one another. “Is it safe here?” I whisper. “I figure it’s the safest place,” she says. “We look like we’re praying, is all.” “What about them?” “Them?” she says, still whispering. “You’re always safest out of doors, no mike, and why would they put one here? They’d think nobody would dare. But we’ve stayed long enough. There’s no sense in being late getting back.” We turn away together. “Keep your head down as we walk,” she says, “and lean just a little towards me. That way I can hear you better. Don’t talk when there’s anyone coming.” We walk, heads bent as usual. I’m so excited I can hardly breathe, but I keep a steady pace. Now more than ever I must avoid drawing attention to myself (Atwood, 2014: 154-155).

Offred seeing two Eyes and their vans after the anti-regime conversations with Ofglen, feels the real fear in her mind and body. She is no longer sure that no one has heard them. She begins to think that Eyes are coming for her. Suspecting that microphones are hiding outside, Offred, is frozen with fear of punishment. Offred, who continues to walk with the warning of Ofglen, cannot keep her eyes off the van. Seeing that Eyes catch other ones and put them in the car, feels a great relief when she realizes that she is not the one who will be arrested. The extensive hysterical and paranoid experience of Offred shows how significant the effect of panoptic surveillance is:

I look up quickly: it's a black van, with the white-winged eye on the side. (...) I freeze, cold travels through me, down to my feet. There must have been microphones, they've heard us after all. Ofglen, under cover of her sleeve, grips my elbow. "Keep moving," she whispers. "Pretend not to see." But I can't help seeing. (...) What I feel is relief. It wasn't me (Atwood, 2014: 156).

Despite all the pressure and punishment imposed by the government, freedom is an indispensable phenomenon for people. Although there are many characters in the Gilead regime who are accustomed to prevention from their freedom, there are also characters who resist obeying the oppressive regime. Offred and Ofglen are some of these characters. The feeling of trust, which is the most challenging thing in terms of surveillance culture, has developed between them over time. Thanks to the trust, they both try to join the underground resistance organization called Mayday. Nevertheless, in this regime, where communication is minimal, they have to camouflage their voices in order to speak. Knowing that it is dangerous to speak and make eye contact, Offred and Ofglen use the voice of the crowd to camouflage their talks. However, as soon as the crowd's voice stops, they stop talking. The fact that they have to control themselves for not being heard and noticed is an indication of Foucault's panopticon,

We're on the sidewalk now and it's not safe to talk, we're too close to the others and the protective whispering of the crowd is gone. We walk in silence, lagging behind, until finally she judges she can say, "Of course you can't. But find out and tell us (Atwood, 2014: 201).

In the Gilead regime, where an active resistance is impossible, contravening on small insignificant prohibitions, confronting someone, talking, or trusting someone are types of effective passive resistance strategies. Offred acts against the regime by trusting Ofglen. Besides, Offred, who is intimate with Nick, violates the rules once more, and against Serena Joy's will, she goes to Nick's room frequently without any permission. Although it is a negligible behaviour under normal conditions, the attitude of Offred can be described as a significant revolt in the panoptic universe. The regime was not able to fully control the mind and body of Offred. Committing crime liberates Offred. However,

despite this revolt, Offred cannot stop herself from thinking about the terrible things she will experience caught with Nick. Though she feels safe beside Nick, her brain is overflowing with gnawing thoughts. This psychological tension experienced by Offred shows that panoptic surveillance has dramatically achieved its goal:

Being here with him is safety; it's a cave, where we huddle together while the storm goes on outside. This is a delusion, of course. This room is one of the most dangerous places I could be. If I were caught there would be no quarter, but I'm beyond caring. And how have I come to trust him like this, which is foolhardy in itself? How can I assume I know him, or the least thing about him and what he really does? I dismiss these uneasy whispers (Atwood, 2014: 240).

Every member of society is a threat to others in Gilead Regime. Illegal behaviour can be detected at any time and reported to the authorities. The Gilead regime, where individuals had to be spies of each other, spreads not only panoptic but also super-panoptic surveillance throughout society. Revealing the relationship between Offred and Nick can have dire consequences for both. Therefore, Offred, who is constantly careful, always lives in fear. They avoid looking or speaking to each other and stay away from others for fear of the disclosure of their relationship. Even though there is no one around, they act carefully which indicates panoptic and super-panoptic surveillance effective on both Nick and Offred,

I go out the back door, along the path. Nick is washing the car, his hat on sideways. He doesn't look at me. We avoid looking at each other, these days. Surely we'd give something away by it, even out here in the open, with no one to see (Atwood, 2014: 252).

Foucault's panopticon is one of the most remarkable methods used by totalitarian and disciplinary regimes to manage society and create their ideal society easily. The essential elements in panoptic surveillance are fear and doubt. These deterrent punishment methods applied to redress society make it easier to accept the regime. Suspicion, which is an outcome of panoptic surveillance, forces the individual to maintain self-control due to the suspicion of being watched at any time. Any behaviour or word that is anti-regime is punished. Therefore, the surveillance forces used by the government punish any opposing discourse detected. Panoptic surveillance is a power-based concept. The individual is aware that they are always watched by the Eyes who undertook this task in the Gilead government.

Offred, the protagonist of the novel, behaves cautiously at every moment of her daily life. She is selective in choosing her behaviours and discourses. Panoptic surveillance creates a paranoia that is observed in the individual at any time. Because of this paranoia, the individual tries to choose her thoughts carefully. Offred is frightened

many times because of his anti-regime thoughts. The fear seen in Offred is a demonstration of unlimited panoptic surveillance.

In addition to panoptic surveillance, which is common in the novel, super-panoptic surveillance also attracts attention. Unlike the concept of surveillance applied by the ruling powers, super-panopticon, which is applied to everyone in a whole society, causes the individual to be careful even sleeping. Anyone can practise super-panoptic surveillance; anyone who wants to curry favour with the power can report others.

The concept of trust is destroyed for all people. These people who are spies of each other are the result of super-panoptic surveillance. Offred's turning to her mind as a result of suspecting everyone around her is the consequence of super-panopticon. Offred's failure to trust another handmaid, Ofglen, her relationship with Nick, and her effort to question Nick or not, are some examples of the effects of super-panoptic surveillance. The universe that Offred lives in is a vast prison dominated by panoptic and super-panoptic surveillance. She is obliged to choose not only her behaviours or discourse but also her thoughts correctly. This universe in which the disciplinary administration exposes the individual to paranoia and fear becomes stronger day by day. Real power is to make the individual forget her past and deprive her of the ability to question and think. The regime has almost achieved this goal with its panoptic and super-panoptic surveillance. In the context of surveillance, the relation of the individual to the power is that of watching and being watched. The constructed super-panoptic universe forces the individual to spy. In this universe, while the government uses the phenomenon of surveillance to correct its members' misbehaviour, the individual uses the concept of surveillance to seem obedient to the regime. The fear created by panoptic surveillance directs the individual to the super-panopticon. While the individual is totally alone and full of paranoia, she suspects everyone and everything. This suspicion forces the individual to obey the regime; thus, the individual becomes a surveillant for everyone else by the pressure of the regime. In *The Handmaid's Tale*, the panoptic universe built by the regime has evolved in a direction where the individual is both victim and responsible.

2.1.1. Analysis of Social and Historical Construct of Surveillance Culture in *The Handmaid's Tale*

Margaret Atwood wrote *The Handmaid's Tale* in 1984 in West Berlin; in the period when the Berlin wall was not collapsed. About those years she says:

The Soviet empire was still strongly in place and was not to crumble for another five years. Every Sunday the East German Air Force made sonic booms to remind us of how close they were. During my visits to several countries behind the Iron Curtain — Czechoslovakia, East Germany — I experienced the wariness, the feeling of being spied on, the silences, the changes of subject, the oblique ways in which people might convey information, and these had an influence on what I was writing. So did the repurposed buildings. This used to belong to (...), but then they disappeared (Kalorkoti, 2017: 1)

Considering Margaret Atwood's explanations, it can be said that it is an involuntarily evolving expression of writing a dystopia by depicting such a future under the influence of her period. Although such a future is thought to be exaggerated, the book was written by feeding on period policies. *The Handmaid's Tale*, a feminist dystopia, has many features of the period during which it was written.

The Soviet Union, which lost its power in the last quarter of the 1980s, was collapsed. Thus, the communist regime was deteriorated, and the capitalist regime became powerful. The period also overlaps with the collaboration of Ronald Reagan (1981-1989), who conducted a policy against the Soviet Union in the United States, and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990), the Iron Lady in England. Although Thatcher was an important icon for the feminist movement in this political period as Britain was the first to have a female Prime Minister, she acted against the feminist movement and carried out practices that increased gender inequality day by day. The period known as Second Wave Feminism (1960s), although women secured their equality with men by law, they differed from them in terms of vital practices such as gender equality or labour rights. This discrimination is an indication that the current state of norms is not implemented according to biological gender; quite the contrary, they are the norms of a purely patriarchal system. Social change was progressing against women. Almost all over the world, the value of women was ignored, and patriarchal structures were maintained. Second-wave feminism, which is divided into two separate ideological movements as "equal rights feminism" and "radical feminism" (Hanisch, 1969), have sought radical solutions to the social problems that women face. Second-wave feminism has taken on a more radical philosophy, as it realized that it is not just the unachieved

rights, but problems that are unresolved. In this context, the aim of second-wave feminism is not merely political freedom but “liberation of women” and the discourse of “personal is political” was formed in this period (Hannam, 2007).

In this period (1960s) when technological developments emerged child delivery with the least death toll of mothers increased. Women had difficulties in accessing and using these technological or manufactured alternative treatment methods/medicines. Feminist groups were engaged in a struggle to offer these alternative opportunities to all women and eliminate the oppressive and conservative laws in many countries. The patriarchal structure of the family institution causes an increase in sexist exploitation. In the West, the demand to expand birth control became the current issue to distinguish between sexuality and fertility. With this request, the woman claimed her own body. Since women exposure to practices of contraception in unlawful conditions, these practices caused congenital disability and death during abortion. For this reason, the second-wave women’s movement focused especially on abortion rights. In Italy, where abortion, methods of contraception, and divorce were forbidden for many years, feminists had mobilized both women’s organizations and left-wing political parties to abolish these laws. When the abortion law was adopted in the Italian assembly in 1977, hundreds of thousands of women held a march in Rome to get the approval of the senate as well. Following this mass action by hundreds of women, the legalization of abortion has been completed. In the early days of publication of *The Handmaid’s Tale*, Atwood had interviews with newspaper clippings that addressed the real events inspired by her writing of the book. In these interviews, according to Atwood, the increasing influence of the Christian lobby groups and Ronald Reagan’s election were examples of the conservative US. Although Atwood is Canadian, she provides examples of social and political developments in the US in her novel. During this period, the political power of Christian fundamentalists, and environmental concerns were growing, attacks on women’s reproductive rights, and anti-abortion were increasing.

"Offred is the product of feminism of the 1970s, and this character found herself in an environment in which attacks on women’s rights increased in the 1980s," according to English professor SC Neuman’s article, 'Just a Backlash': Margaret Atwood, Feminism, and *The Handmaid's Tale*, at the University of Toronto in the university magazine in 2006. *The Handmaid’s Tale* is a feminist warning feature, as well as an

interpretation of sexist approaches in sacred books. In *The Handmaid's Tale*, Atwood addressed the consequences of the strengthening of the right-wingers of the USA and the developments elsewhere in the world. For instance, in Romania, Nikolay Ceausescu banned contraception and abortion from increasing fertility and the military junta, which took power in Argentina in 1976 with a military coup, 'lost' the objectors, and gave their children to some elite families to raise for the regime. In *The Handmaid's Tale*, the thought of giving birth to the lower-class women for ruling classes was inspired by this situation. At the same time, American Puritanism is one of the main reference points in Atwood's novel. Atwood, in her novel, deals with sexist judgments against women by establishing parallelism between the 1980s and the 17th-century Puritan New England colonists.

2.2. Analysis of *Black Mirror's 15 Million Merits* from Panopticon, Super-Panopticon, and Synopticon Perspectives

15 Million Merits reflects a dystopian universe written by Charlie Brooker and his wife, Konnie Huq. In this universe, technology is used abundantly, and the discipline of individuals is done under the control of advanced technology. This dystopian universe created by Charlie Brooker overlaps with Mathiesen's synopticon definition in many ways. Both in series and in the script, effects of synoptic model surveillance are observed. This synoptic universe is reflected using music or lights in its TV series adaptation, it shows itself in character's lines in the script. It aims at making normal individuals a part of the system, in addition to including patients, criminals, or uneducated people into society, which is one of the basic features of Foucault's panoptic and Mathiesen's synoptic model surveillance.

Synopticon is a surveillance system that shapes individuals within society, like a panoptic machine powered by technology. In this constructed universe thanks to the developing technology, many elements of panoptic and synoptic surveillance are intertwined. In the series where the class difference is clearly processed, individuals are controlled by force. This is not a government or community under the name of power. In this universe, where there is a particular upper class, it is accepted as normal by everyone. The chain of events in a virtual universe reveals the functioning of control mechanisms and severe psychological effects on the individual. The episode, which

started with the awakening of Bing, the protagonist of the series, shows us the reflections of a panoptic universe from the first seconds. In a room surrounded by giant screens on four walls, Bing wakes up with a virtual rooster alarm and finds himself in the edited panoptic dystopia opening his eyes.

There are very few real things in this universe. People is defined by their holograms not physical presence in the eyes of the system. Everyone has a hologram, which is used to follow their individual movements. It is the system which decides for Bing to wake up, and his hologram appears on the screen to confirm the login to the system. On the right side of this hologram the points earned by pedalling is shown, which are used to meet their daily needs (Brooker & Huq, 01:05-01:10). For example, in the room covered with giant screens, when Bing goes to the bathroom, he has to buy toothpaste using his points called merits. 'Wraith Babies' ads appear on the screen. Bing, who wants to close the ad, must spend the points he earns for this service Brooker, 02:02-02:05). Bing is subjected to the impositions of the system as soon as the day begins, and his unhappiness with the system draws attention at first sight. Bing selecting music on the screen, wears his chip-shaped headphones which can also be used as a mirror. The name of the song is "ABBA I have a dream to help me through reality ..." (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 3). Bing's preferred song gives clues about the progress of the series, and his unhappy image is shown to the audience with this song, which represents his longing for utopia, as the main feature of every dystopia. After completing his preparation, Bing gets on the elevator to go to work, where he comes across with the stereotyped people who are indicators of totalitarian regimes. People in the elevator are almost in the same age group and wear the same grey clothes. All of them are sulky like Bing, and there is no communication between them.

Classification policy, which is widely applied in totalitarian regimes, is also of considerable importance in this scene. As the episode progresses, it depicts Bing's universe more clearly. Getting off the elevator, Bing enters a hall that looks like a gym. One of the most remarkable features in this hall is the presence of a lot of bicycles lined up, side by side. A group of people dressed in grey clothes like Bing, pedals by watching the screens on them. There are many people in the same age group on these bicycles, without the distinction between men and women. It is shown that a man who is overweight is exhausted from fatigue (Brooker & Huq, 02:48-02:50). This person, who has difficulty pedalling because of his weight, looks at Bing with a sorrowful facial

expression. The 'Leader board' and 'Current Leader' tables draw attention on the screen behind Bing entering the hall (Brooker & Huq, 02:49). Those people who earn credits by pedalling in this hall with bicycles are also competing with each other. The leader board is defined as a source of pride for these people. While Bing is heading for his bicycle, the bicycle number is 324. As it is understood from this scene, individuals protect their existence in the system not by their own names but by their bicycle numbers (Brooker & Huq, 03:23). These numbers, which are used as one of the control mechanisms, perform the same functions as the ID numbers used in today's societies. Unlike ID numbers, these bicycle numbers are for those who are available for use and are valuable for the system as a resource.

These people who produce energy by pedalling during working hours are free to choose a program they want from the screens in front of them. However, there are not many options other than talent competitions, entertainment programs, or virtual games determined by the system. This system, which provides limited access to information, can impose any program on the individual. Having multiple options makes the individual feel free while making these choices. Passive surveillance, which is one of the main features of synoptic surveillance, makes the individual believe that he/she is free to choose something. All programs are shown when Bing tries to choose one but they are intended to control the soul of the individual, which is an essential element of synoptic surveillance (Brooker & Huq, 03:35-03:35). The only thing limited in this universe is inaccessibility of information. In addition, access to fresh food is also restricted and is purchased from the food vending machines and the menu has already been chosen by the system. Individuals are aware that they live in a virtual and constrained universe. The conversation between Bing and Swift in the snack area emphasises this situation:

SWIFT: Almost the only real thing in there and even that's probably grown in a petri dish. Y'know?

BING: Thank you (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 5).

Bing and Swift represent the middle class in this system. By pedalling in grey clothes, they produce the energy system needs, and they use the merits they earn to meet their daily needs, to purchase virtual clothes or accessories to their holograms, or to skip ads that appear suddenly on the screens. There are also cleaning workers representing the lower class in the system. These people, who wear yellow clothes, are charged with cleaning because they are too overweight to turn a bicycle. Pedalling means being in a

better position than cleaning. The lower-class cleaning workers are scorned and humiliated by others. Individuals who are not fit enough to pedal are eliminated by the system, and no one wants to fall down from the level they are in. One of the games played on the screens is virtual video games where cleaning workers are killed. These games are a demonstration of the grudge against the lower class. The individual who does not work in the system is worthless and can be humiliated. In addition, there are entertainment programs that make fun of overweight people. The main purpose of these programs and games is to ensure that the ideal society that the system wants to create is quickly adopted by everyone. Such programs, admired by ordinary people, determine the normality criterion, and these criteria are accepted by the masses, thanks to technology.

The character of Dustin is one of the individuals who accepted the norms of the system. He is satisfied with his life and does not question the conditions he is in. While continuing his life within the framework of normality criteria determined by the system, it degrades the cleaning workers who were marginalized by the system. The concept of controlling the individual's soul, which is the main goal in synoptic surveillance, is clearly seen in the character of Dustin. Since people are involved in the forced control mechanism of individuals in panoptic surveillance, they can question the system without losing their right to question. However, in Mathiesen's synopticon, the concept of surveillance is based on entertainment and volunteering, the individual does not feel uncomfortable with the situation he/she lives in and does not feel the need to question his/her conditions. That Dustin accepts everything imposed by system without questioning and thinks that he has decided on his own will, is demonstration of synoptic surveillance affecting the individuals deeply. Since synoptic surveillance is based on entertainment and volunteering, Dustin feels as the subject of surveillance, while he is an object in the system, therefore, he does not think of questioning the system. Dustin is one of the submissive individuals to the system. He represents the ideal man of synoptic surveillance, with his behaviours and words to cleaners:

DUSTIN: Oh for Christ's sake. (turns to address her) Way to moodkill, blubbernaut. Cheers for the reflection. (The cleaner just looks at him.)

DUSTIN (CONT'D): One minute I'm in slitsville, the next there's a haunted pig gawping at me. They may as well have cut to a war crime.

(...)

DUSTIN: Told you. Gone lemon, the lazy fuck (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 7-11)

In the synoptic universe, living conditions are determined by power. Although entertainment programs, working hours, competition programs, food, and drinks are chosen by the system, there are several options given to the individual as the freedom of choose, which will not be problematic because everything preferred is within the scope of system' approval. Therefore, individuals feel free. Competition programs designed by the system are an example of the system approved option. Advertisements of competition program are based on the fact that everyone pedalling might become famous one day participating in *15 Million Merits* competition program. Minority people are determined by the system are used to show as an example of better living conditions to the audience. Although they think they are participating in the contest on their own will, the system continually forces them to do it. Thus, the hope of utopia seen in dystopias is instilled into the individual. The winners in these competition programs are determined by the audience, but the jury in the program can manipulate the audience as they wish. Control system, which indicates the individual's submission to the system, overlaps with the concept of passive surveillance of synopticon:

BOOMING MAN (V.O.): Selma Telse!
(Whoosh! And Selma is replaced with a wiry young man singing.)
BOOMING MAN (V.O.): Howie Mandelbrot!
(Whoosh! And now we're watching a pair of early twenty somethings robot-dancing.)
BOOMING MAN (V.O.)
Toy Soldiers!
(Now we see they're performing on a stage in front of several Judges.)
BOOMING MAN (V.O.)
Today each headlines their own tentpole content on one of your eight daylight streams. But they started here. Like you. Putting their back into giving back – for a brighter now.
BOOMING MAN (V.O.): Each paying their dues – like
(...)
VOICEOVER
YOU decide the victors! YOU control their fates! YOU make the call on – (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 8-9)

Minority people who tell their living conditions encouragingly on screens and that they live in better conditions in the system have actually become an object of the system. Because they are satisfied with their living conditions, they do not even consider objecting or questioning the system. On the contrary, they give interviews about the competition advertisements where they describe how happy they are from their own lives. These people, who are commodities in the system, think that they are free while acting as the system wants. The concept of surveillance based on entertainment prevents the individual from realizing that he/she is in surveillance. Thanks to the fact that ordinary people admire and follow these famous people determined by the system, the

determined lifestyle and life criteria are instilled in the individual. Celebrities who are constantly watched by ordinary people have to live a life worth watching. These individuals who live with the anxiety of being watched are only virtual reality created by the system. Selma Tesle can be shown as an example to these individuals. Selma, who is a famous singer and praises her life in the advertisements of the Hot Shot competition program, is just one of the objects determined by the system. When talking about the clothes she wore, the food she ate and where she lived, defines these as some privileges for her, Selma is actually a character who is not aware that she lives within specific criteria. The method of encouraging in the synoptic universe to the minority is carried out through Selma. Selma, who does not realize that she is used as an object by the system, is satisfied and happy with her life. One of the essential features of Mathiesen's synopticon is that the individual feeling free while being the object of the surveillance culture is clearly seen in Selma:

SELMA: (on screen, pondering question she's been asked) The best thing about my new lifestyle...? Uh... where do I start... I love choosing my own clothes, I love red, I think it really expresses a truth about who I am... I love looking out over (the outside) (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 12).

Thanks to technology, the surveillance culture applied at higher levels affects the manipulation, discipline, and punishment system. Technology-based surveillance, applied in synopticon system, monitors every movement of the individual. Not only controlling the physical movements of individuals but also mental control is carried out with manipulations, as an essential concept of synopticon. The fact that everywhere in *15 Million Merits* universe is covered with giant screens and that system propaganda is broadcasted continuously from these screens makes individuals apt to manipulation. Ads, which are propagated on the living conditions imposed by the system, can appear to the individual at anytime and anywhere, suddenly appear on the screens are examples of this manipulation.

While Bing plays games in his room, Hot Shot commercial, which turns out suddenly is an example of surveillance. This advertisement is imposed on the individual by covering all screens. Bing has a choice of whether to watch the ad or not. If he wants, he can stop watching the advertisement, but it comes at a price. Bing, who wants to pass the advertisement, must spend his points on this service. He can continue to play his game if he has enough points. As a matter of fact, while continuing his game passing the advertisement, another advertisement determined by the system appears. The ad that

appeared this time is the advertisement of the erotic program “Wraithbabes” (Brooker & Huq, 09:13). When Bing closes his eyes, the system that analyses it gives the warning to open his eyes. “Resume Viewing” (Brooker & Huq, 09:18) text appears on the screen with a loud siren sound; warning demonstrates that Bing does not have an option to choose what he wants if he does not have enough points. The system can impose these programs and propaganda on its own in unexpected moments. The only way to avoid this imposition is by paying credit and passing the ads. Otherwise, the individual must watch those advertisements on the screen to the end. Manipulation of individuals carries out using these compulsory advertisements. Individuals who do not have sufficient merits have to watch these advertisements. Because even if the individual closes his eyes, they are detected by the system. In addition to emulating to the minority, synoptic surveillance controls the soul of the individual through the consistently imposed advertisements:

BOOMING MAN (V.O.): Today each headlines their own tentpole content on one of your eight daylight streams. But they started here. Like you. Putting their back into giving back – for a brighter now.

BOOMING MAN (V.O.): Each paying their dues - like you -- hoping to become a Hot Shot.

VOICEOVER: YOU decide the victors! YOU control their fates! YOU make the call on

(...)

INSISTENT VOICE: Resume viewing. Resume viewing. Resume vi--

VOICEOVER: New! From Wraithbabes! The hottest girls in the nastiest situations. Select ‘VIEW’ now to see fresh babes do the foulest things. Exclusively on Wraithbabes XL! Hey! What else are you planning to do with that hand?

In *15 Million Merits* universe, the system controls individuals both physically and mentally. However, the individual does not question this control mechanism, and he/she is willing to give control of his/her own mind to the system within this imposed mechanism. By considering the working conditions, it is necessary to be weak enough to pedal. Overweight individuals are excluded and demoted to the status of cleaning workers. In order to get the highest efficiency from pedalling individuals, the system has previously determined what individuals will eat. However, if the individual wishes to eat healthy food, he can choose one of the conceptual behaviour development programs and allow it to direct his mind. Mind control has reached the highest level, thanks to technology. The Cognitive Behavioural technique that Bing and Abi talk about in the snack area is an example of this control mechanism which can change thoughts to choose healthy foods, and provide a healthy diet by affecting the individual’s selection mechanism while sleeping. The individual can purchase this application by paying a certain fee and think that he does it voluntarily. In fact, what is expected of employees

like Bing in the synoptic universe is the acceptance by the individual and submission to the system. In order to produce energy in *15 Million Merits* universe, it is necessary to be fit enough. These individuals have to eat healthy food, otherwise they will be demoted to a lower level and work as a cleaning worker. The system imposes eating healthy diet by the advertisements shown in daily programs:

BING: That's the right way round. When you get the cheap lardy gunk you end up having to pedal it off. Then you want more sugar and you're playing catch up... Been there. Vicious circle.

ABI: Can't you just use that CBT app?

BING: What's that?

ABI: (as she sits) This Cognitive Behavioural thing which realigns your thinking so you pick healthy food. Whispers you into it while you sleep.

BING: Yeah I should try that (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 15-16.)

15 Million Merits universe is purely technological and a fiction in which reality is forbidden. Individuals long for reality in the virtual universe they live in such as fresh air or sunlight. However, individuals are also prohibited from owning personal belongings. Everyone living in this community has the same things; a small room with four walls covered with screens, virtual holograms, a bike to pedal, and the same colour-model clothes. Not only individual items, but also the penguin made by Abi from the paper is considered as garbage in this universe and is prohibited. There is no possibility of possession or living; the prohibitions are determined, and those who do not obey are punished. The fact that Abi makes paper penguins after each meal and can only keep them for a while means that she is still yearning for something real. But this penguin is thrown away by the cleaner since it is banned by the system:

OLIVER the cleaner, potters past ABI's bike -- he flips the penguin into his cleaning sack. ABI looks at him, slightly shocked.

OLIVER (apologetically) 'Detritus'. Sorry (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 14).

In this universe, where everything is prohibited, friendship relations are limited as well. People who can spend time during working hours can communicate using their holograms in their rooms. However, this communication is prevented by shutting down the systems after a specific time. For preventing real and sincere friendship, the system has a solution. By creating a chat application called Wallbuddies, they produce holograms that people can use while alone. These holograms have artificial intelligence and can communicate like an average person. These holograms with skills such as problem solving, and guidance can be purchased. In this system, where individuals are isolated, there is no real concept left. While these virtual guides support people, all real

human relations disappear. Bing, who needs something real, says that these guides are just a fake, and useless item and have no meaning:

ABI: Buy one of those wall buddies; the new ones talk to you after shut-in and solve your problems. They guide your dreams, like gurus. It's amazing what they (can do these days).

BING: A mirror plugin that shows me how I'd look as a werewolf? What's the point.

ABI: Well it (can be quite funny) --

BING: But that's all just stuff. It's stuff. It's confetti (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 19).

Hearing Abi while she is singing in the toilet, Bing discovers that there is something real in this virtual, false universe he lives in. Thinking that Abi's voice is precious, he tries to persuade her to participate in the Hot Shot talent contest. Bing, who has enough Merits, offers to purchase the contest ticket for Abi. After Abi denies this offer, she tells Bing that he should spend his merits for himself, and Bing tells that there is no place to spend these merits, as he is aware that he cannot buy anything other than his basic needs. Using the merits accumulated in the universe where Bing lives, they can buy different clothes, shoes, or accessories for their holograms. Nevertheless, all of them are virtual and fake. Bing, who has nowhere to spend the merits, buys Abi the contest ticket hoping that something real will happen. Bing's longing for reality stems from this virtual dystopia. Bing, who is relatively more aware of synoptic surveillance than other characters, is not a conscious character. Bing's longing for reality leads him to a false perception of it, which is also within the framework of the system. The contest that he insisted on Abi's participation is a virtual reality organized and dominated by the same system. Although Bing is aware of the false nature of his universe, he is unable to go beyond the limits set by the system:

BING: You thought of trying out for Hot Shot? (He gives her a look.)

ABI: What, me?

BING: Why not?

(...)

ABI: Why aren't you spending it on you then?

BING: And buy what? Some new shoes for my doppel to wear?

ABI: I don't know; upgrade your room OS...

BING: But that's all just stuff. It's stuff. It's confetti. You've got something real. What better to spend it on?

ABI: You heard me singing in a toilet, and that's real?

BING: More than anything that's happened all year.

BING (CONT'D): I look around here, and I want something real to happen. Just once (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 17-20).

After Abi accepts Bing's offer, he purchases her contest ticket and sends it to Abi as a gift using the screen with his own hologram. Bing, who goes to the contest with Abi, is given a permanent tattoo in order to enter the backstage for two months; this tattoo is for control purposes. Bing and Abi enter backstage where tens of people wait

to participate in Hot Shot. People who are here have accumulated *15 Million Merits* and have bought tickets to participate in the contest and are waiting for the jury to call them. Looking at the backstage, it is seen that synopticon has a profound effect on majority of people. Everyone waiting in the backstage aims to be like celebrities with better living conditions. They try various ways in order to be able to reach these living conditions. People chosen by three jury members can continue their lives as one of the elected individuals. They are waiting in the backstage hoping that they will have a relatively real life and will not have to pedal. The manipulation of a minority determined by the system has worked well for many. Everyone waiting in the backstage has accumulated points by pedalling for months in order to be part of the life that is advertised, and they spend these points only for a hope. In fact, it is impossible for so many people to achieve the life they hope for, but the hope that system always keeps alive enables individual to work and produce energy and spend the merits she/he has gained for the benefit of the system. While living under the imposed rules by the system, individuals are not aware of the control mechanism they are exposed to. They are crucial resources for the system. Synoptic surveillance has managed to discipline the individuals and can guide them as it wishes in line with its own rules. These people, who have to wait in backstage until the jury calls them to stage, are unaware of how long they will wait. This waiting also causes many people to exhibit aggressive behaviours. Because, at the request of the Jury, they have to wait until the time they are called from the backstage:

BING: Where do we go now?

GUARD: You wait here.

BING: How long?

The guard shrugs. ABI and BING move into the area, looking at all the dancers and singers.

ABI: (to BING) So what do we do?

BING: I don't know.

At which point a dancer practicing some Jacko-style moves nearly cracks ABI in the mouth.

BING (CONT'D): (not aggressive) Hey.

DANCER: Fuck off (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 25).

Abi is called to the stage by the jury without waiting for a long time. Compared to other competitors, she takes stage almost without waiting, and this disturbs the long waiting contestants. Since Glee is one of the contestants waiting a long time in the backstage, she objects aggressively, saying that Abi is new. The officer gets rid of Glee, saying "I don't pick the order" (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 26). Though Glee says it is not fair, she is aware that there is nothing to do. Glee's situation as one of the examples of how jury members represent the upper class decide the fate of individuals. Although she

has been waiting in the backstage for weeks, she has not been called by the jury, which shows the control of the individual's life to be in the hands of the system:

GLEE: (badgering HAMMOND) That's not fair. She's new. That's not fair.
HAMMOND: (autopilot response) I don't pick the order.
GLEE: I've been waiting all week -- she's just walked in...
HAMMOND: Everyone gets seen eventually; I don't pick the order.
The girl stands in front of him.
GLEE: But I'm a good singer, I can sing, I'm a good singer, I am...
HAMMOND Step aside.
GLEE (almost crying) But it's not fair! (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 25-26).

Called to the stage without waiting, Abi drinks compatibility beverage called 'cuppliance' while going on stage. Although the drink is said to reduce stress, its primary function is to control Abi's mind not to object to the juries' suggestions. Abi, who feels strange and dizzy after drinking beverage, is unaware of this situation. She ascends the stage with cowardly steps, and is harassed by the jury on the stage:

JUDGE WRAITH: (out of nowhere) Would you mind lifting your top for me?
JUDGE WRAITH: Can you take your top off? I wanna check out your titties. (clapping) Come on, mucho pronto. (...) (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 30-31).

Although she says she is coming to sing, the jury asks her to take her clothes off to see her boobs. Rejecting this offer with a shy attitude, Abi starts singing. When the song ends, jury likes it, and say it is the best performance. However, the jury has different plans for Abi, they tell her that the contest is falling short of singers' quota, and he can be a star in erotic programs on the channel of other jury, Wraith. This offer is supported by jury members and most of the audience:

JUDGE HOPE (CONT'D): Good though your voice is, and it is good, not the most magical sound in the world – just good... I don't think anyone's really hearing it. Certainly not the guys in the audience.
JUDGE HOPE (CONT'D): These looks you've got going on kind of get in the way. Men'll want you; women'll hate you. All the time you were performing, I couldn't help picturing you in an erotic scenario, and getting pretty turned on if I'm honest.
ABI: Right...
JUDGE HOPE: What can I say? It's honesty. You've got a pure beauty, what seems to be a knockout figure, and this sort of interesting innocence thing going and that's something I think Wraith's erotica channels could really play with.
JUDGE WRAITH: Absolutely what I thought the moment I saw you. The moment.
JUDGE HOPE: I'd watch. Not a man here who wouldn't.
JUDGE CHARITY: To be honest some of us girls might join you.
JUDGE WRAITH: You'll never have to pedal again, not one minute. We could really work with you (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 34-35).

Because of this offer, it is understood that why Abi did not wait for a long time in the backstage. The jury chose Abi for her beauty, and she is surprised at this offer and her gestures show her reluctance. Judge Wraith, who realizes that and asks Abi to be a

star in his program. If she refuses this offer which is a perspective of moving from upper class towards middle class, she will return to pedalling bicycles and continue her life as an object to the system. Charity, another jury member, supports this offer even though she is a woman. She does not feel uncomfortable about using Abi as a sexual object; on the contrary, she supports it. Her attitude is a demonstration that woman is commodified in the synoptic universe. Commoditization is also accepted by women. Although Charity is aware of the influence of the system on women, she ignores and tolerates because the only essential thing is finding new resources for the system. Charity is one of the people who are responsible for finding and choosing exploitable resources. The audience begins to accompany the jury's pressure. The situation experienced by Abi in synoptic surveillance, in which community pressure and manipulation play a vital role, consists of determining the living conditions of minority people with the pressure of the majority groups. The fact that the audience forces Abi to accept the offer is due to the so-called control power imposed on the majority groups:

JUDGE HOPE: Do we have a decision?

(The crowd starts chanting "come on, come on / do it, do it"... Abi blinks into the lights; looks in vain for Bing in the wings.)

ABI: I suppose.

(Virtual fireworks explode behind her, to the strains of triumphant music. The judges applaud. The crowd gets to its feet.) (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 39).

The commodification of Abi is for the benefit of the system and is required by the upper class. Nevertheless, pressure of the audience is the result of passive surveillance of the synopticon on the individual. Unable to withstand pressures, Abi accepts the offer, and the audience and jury begin to applaud her happily which means that the control mechanism works vigorously and systematically in the synoptic universe. Since synoptic surveillance is based on entertainment, everyone is happy with this situation:

JUDGE HOPE: Who do you think's powering that spotlight?

ABI: I --

JUDGE HOPE: Millions of people, that's who. All out there right now, putting in an honest day on the bike, giving back to the world, while you stand in the light they're generating and dither. And you know what? They would give anything, do anything to be where you are now, to have what you have. (to audience) Am I right?

JUDGE HOPE (CONT'D): And you want to cock a snook at that, as though it's nothing. As though they're nothing. And that makes me sick. Well you know what, maybe you belong on the bike, because you don't seem willing to step off it.

ABI: I do want to. But I... (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 36-37).

Bing, who was defeated by Abi's acceptance of the offer, is seen lying in his room in his former hopeless state. Bing, who wants Abi to get rid of this dystopia with

the beauty of her voice, leads her to become a toy of the system. He loses his only hope about reaching reality. Bing, believing in defeat of system as a result of acting against it by doing something real in his life, is defeated by the system. Suddenly, WraithBabies ads appear on the screen while Bing lays in his bed, and he wants to close the ad, but he does not have enough points. The person acting in the advertisement is Abi, and she praises the life she lives like other celebrities. She gladly tells that her life is a dream:

BOOMING MAN: New! From Wraithbabes! A Wraithbabes reality special. The image is replaced with footage of Abi backstage at Hot Shot.

ABI: I'd guess I'd like to be as big as Selma one day.

BOOMING MAN: Millions watched her glide through the Hot Shot curtain of dreams to sing her heart out. Images of Abi in mid-song (...)

BOOMING MAN: Now! Watch her stunning erotic debut.

(Bing stands up and starts pacing up and down, muttering under his breath.) (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 41-42).

Bing, who does not want to watch this advertisement, closes his eyes, but when the system starts warning him to watch the ad, he has a nervous breakdown and breaks one of the screens in his room. Breaking the screen by punching, he tries to scrape the tattoo on his hand with a piece of glass he takes. In this scene, the pain of Bing's regret and defeat come to the fore. In synopticon, individuals can be easily manipulated and transformed into toy of the system. Even though Bing struggles to experience something real, he is defeated by the system which means that the effect of synoptic surveillance is successful by reaching a broad mass:

BING: (scarcely audible) No. No. No. No. No. (...)

(He puts his hands over his eyes. The advert falls silent, but the walls turn red. The low klaxon starts sounding.)

INSISTENT VOICE: Resume viewing. Resume viewing. Resume viewing.

BING: No!

INSISTENT VOICE: Resume viewing. Resume viewing. Resume viewing.

(The walls turn darker red. The klaxon grows louder.)

INSISTENT VOICE (CONT'D): Resume viewing. Penalty imminent. Resume viewing. Penalty imminent.

BING: No no no no no

BOOMING MAN: See purity fucked asunder in the relative privacy of your lifepad. Every which way, in High Definition.

POLITE VOICE: Portal disabled during commercial.

JUDGE WRAITH: Take it in. Take it.

(Bing screams and throws himself against the wall, against this horror show.

He smashes his whole body against the wall. Slams it hard. The glass starts to crack. Finally, with an almighty thump, he crashes his full weight against one of the wall-screens. (...) There is silence. Bing slides down to the floor, whimpering, crying (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 42-43).

In the synoptic universe, the unconscious realization of the surveillance phenomenon and its perception as a normal situation is accepted by many individuals. Unlike panoptic or super panoptic surveillance, synopticon takes the ability to question

or object from people who become victims of surveillance unconsciously, but synoptic surveillance is not a viable method in all societies. The virtuality of the synoptic universe can cause depression for a conscious individual. In *15 Million Merits* universe, Bing is a conscious character, but Abi is an opportunist who participated in the competition hoping to achieve something non-artificial in the synoptic universe. This universe, which is the utopia for many people, is just a dystopia for Bing. When Abi accepted the jury's offer, Bing becomes more anti-system and decides to participate in the contest. But the main purpose of Bing, who is more conscious this time, is not to get rid of this artificial universe, but to raise awareness by shouting at the fake universe he lives in before the audience.

In the system, everything has a price, and there is a price to participate in the competition. Bing does not have enough points to participate in the contest, as he spends all his merits on purchasing tickets for Abi. He starts pedalling in the early morning and restricts all his expenses. Pedalling continuously during the day, Bing tries to dance in the room at night to be prepared for participation in the competition. He is not a dancer, but has no other talent to participate in the competition. For this reason, he practices to dance professionally. Exhausted with working every day, Bing does not spend his points even for eating. He pedals for months without eating in order to accumulate points. When finally reaching *15 Million Merits*, Bing gets off the bike and purchases the competition ticket. He, who has a short time to reach his goal, takes a piece of the broken glass with him and goes to the competition with the first lights of the day. Since he leaves early, there is no one backstage. After waiting for a while, backstage starts to fill up. The characters waiting in the backstage are not foreigners. Many people who are waiting in line, are those who were waiting with Abi and are still in the backstage. These people content to wait for several months in the hope of becoming famous. These people, who had the opportunity to go to the pre-screen at the request of the jury, have already given all control of their lives to the jury. Success of the synopticon in the long term is understood from the scene at the backstage. Tens of people are waiting for a step forward in the system for months, and maybe for years. The step they will take is a process constructed by the system and has its rules. The serious effect of incentive propaganda for the minority imposed at any time of the day is shown to the audience with the backstage environment.

Bing, who is called to the stage in a short time by the jury because of his skin colour, gets on the stage saying he has already drunk compatibility drink ‘cuppliance’ that he took from Abi when they went to contest for Abi. The primary purpose of Bing is to show that he is aware of the system as an individual and therefore, does not want to let the jury direct his mind. Although Abi is a shy woman, she accepts the jury’s offer under the influence of the drink. In order to avoid the same situation, Bing gets on the stage without the drink given before the stage. Although this drink tames the individual on stage, it is not effective in itself. Manipulation systems applied by the synoptic universe provide physical and mental control of the individual at any time. The minds of these individuals, which are under the supervision of the system, have been captured by the system while working, playing games in their rooms, eating, or even going to the toilet. Nevertheless, an example of resistance in a program broadcast publicly may be adopted by the whole society. Because of that, before going on stage, contestants drink a beverage for not being able to reject the jury’s offer, which means that the system is operating in a controlled manner and not susceptible to risk:

ANNA: Before you go on I’ll need you to drink a ‘cuppliance’--

(Bing produces the crushed ‘cuppliance’ can. He has a slightly beatific smile.)

BING: They gave me one back there.

ANNA: Really? Oh. Okay well you’re good to go (Brooker & Huq, 2011:48).

When Bing goes on the stage, he gathers attention by saying that he will have a performance. Starting his performance, Bing dances on stage for a while, and then threatens the jury by putting the piece of glass he has removed from his waist to his throat saying that he wants to talk and if they do not allow him, he will kill himself. While security tries to enter the scene, Bing repeats his threat again and asks permission to speak. Judge Wraith says “let him kill himself”, but Charity intervenes saying “let him speak” (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 50). The jury members become anxious because the audience shouts. Judge Hope tells Bing that he has managed to draw his attention and can speak. When they ask Bing if he has prepared a speech, it becomes clear that he has not. Bing’s only purpose is to catch jury’s attention, and his only plan was being on stage.

The jury represents upper class, and control of the system is in the hands of the upper class. Bing represents middle class, and is aware of its insignificant in the system and nobody cares. The primary purpose of Bing is to see the jury members who are in a high status listening to him. For this reason, he did not even prepare any speech and did

not dream of it. This situation explains inferiority and worthlessness felt by individuals in the synoptic universe:

JUDGE HOPE (CONT'D): Well come on, you've got our attention, as requested. So what do you want to say? Have you prepared a speech, is that it? (shouting) Speak!
BING: I haven't got a speech. I didn't plan words; I didn't even try to. I just knew I had to get here, to stand here, now, and I knew I wanted you to listen... (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 51).

Analysing Bing's sentences on the stage, the function of the synopticon and its profound influence on the individual is revealed. After the jury allows him to speak, Bing's response is an example of the effects of synopticon. In response to the jury, Bing shows that he is looking for a real feeling that is destroyed in the synopticon, saying "...to really listen, not just pull a face like you're listening, like you do the rest of the time. A face like you're feeling instead of processing" (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 51). Returning to the jury, he says that they do not listen to any of the people who show their talent to sing and dance every day on this stage. People who use various ways to recommend themselves to the jury in the system are not important for them. The primary purpose of the jury is to find a new source of profit in the capitalist system. People's hopes or living conditions are not crucial to them. Synopticon creates worthless individuals who are not deemed essential and taken into consideration or really listened to by the Jury, that is, the upper class:

BING (CONT'D): (addressing Hope directly) -- to really listen, not just pull a face like you're listening, like you do the rest of the time. A face like you're feeling instead of processing. You pull a face and poke it toward this stage and lah di dah we sing and dance and tumble around and all you actually see and hear -- it's not people, you don't see people up here... It's all fodder, and the faker that fodder is, the more you love it, because fake fodder's the only thing that works any more. Fake fodder is all we can stomach (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 51).

Bing's speech is a severe criticism of the synoptic system. He speaks about worthless individuals and humanized concepts that are worthless, saying that they have created a society which can consume not only fake food but also immorality and pain. Bing reacts to the fact that the cleaning workers, who are considered as subclasses, are ridiculously accepted, and excluded from the society Bing says why we question the jury. He says that as long as they do their job to fill the batteries, they have the right to make fun of the lower class, humiliate, and ignore their suffering. People who pedal regularly are the most important power source in the system, so cleaning workers are considered unimportant. In this synoptic universe, where class conflict is prominently processed, the middle class is also humiliated by the upper class. The superiority of each class to the other is the sufficient reason for humiliation and negligibility for the lower

class. The middle class, which can produce enough energy, has the right to make fun of the lower class that is sleeping on the job. The individual who does not work in the system is marginalized and humiliated. Bing shouts the pain of living in a society without human communication to the jury and the audience:

BING (CONT'D): Actually not quite all. Real pain, real viciousness: that we can take. Stick a fat man up a pole and we'll laugh ourselves feral because we've earned the right. We've done saddletime and he's slacking, the scum, so ha ha ha at him. We'll happily meld with the sheer callous madness of it because we're so out of our minds with desperation we don't know any better (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 52).

In the synoptic universe, where the perception of reality is almost completely destroyed, the individual does not need to question the reality of the universe he/she is in. Bing is a character different from the ideal individual concept of synoptic surveillance. The need for inquiry and awareness brought about by the Panoptic surveillance on the individual is widely seen in Bing. He is an outlier in synoptic surveillance, who lives consciously in the fake universe. *15 Million Merits* universe, as a panoptic prison, has walls reinforced with synopticon. Thanks to his awareness, Bing aims to reach behind these walls. Trying to get rid of the fictional dystopia he is in, Bing cries to the jury that they do not represent reality and freedom. The fact that Bing continued his words by saying that, "the truth would break us" (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 52) reflects the importance of reality in the synoptic universe. In this artificial universe, the desire of most people to reach the truth jeopardises the system. Virtual reality is one of the most critical aspects of creating an ideal society in synopticon. Because of the fact that virtual reality is felt intensely in all areas of life, Bing's desire to reach the truth is pretty strong:

...The peak of our dreams is a new hat for our dopple. A hat that doesn't exist, that's not even there. We buy shit that's not even there. Show us something real and free and beautiful? You couldn't. Cos it'd break us. We're too numb for it; our minds would choke. We've grown inside this machine, breathed its air too long. There's only so much wonder we can bear (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 52).

One of the most striking points of Bing's speech against the jury is the sentence that, "when you see anything surprising to the jury, you split it into pieces until it becomes meaningless" (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 52). This sentence reveals how synopticon is related to the concept of consumption. The main thing in synopticon is to find an unusual source. These sources are used and exploited until they are ended in the synoptic system. The famous singers, who are shown in the competition programs, the physical beauty of Abi, and fat people as the subject of entertainment programs are some

examples of these sources. All these examples are resources for synopticon, and the middle class is working harder to achieve this status. The only way to keep the individual in the system under synoptic and panoptic surveillance is to show him/her as an achievable goal. The goal in *15 Million Merits* universe is the hope of becoming one of the few minority people and the dream of achieving better living conditions. However, Bing, who cannot be manipulated by the system, knows that these goals are also meaningless. When he cries out the meaninglessness of his life to the jury, he talks about his mind being desperate and unable to imagine better because it does not know any other better life. Bing's situation shows that the synoptic and panoptic control attempts to destroy and forget the individual's past:

BING: ...That's why when you find any wonder whatsoever, you dole it out in meagre portions – and only then when it's been augmented and packaged and pumped through ten thousand pre-assigned filters till it's nothing more than a meaningless series of lights to stare into while we ride, day in, day out: going where? Powering what? Powering the whole distraction engine. All tiny cells and tiny screens and bigger cells and bigger screens and FUCK YOU (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 52).

Bing yells at the jury that his life is a lie, everything is just a joke, his words are insignificant for the jury, and that every moment he lives is a vast illusion. Bing uses bad language by considering the jury responsible for the destruction he has experienced towards the end of his speech. For Bing, the reason for being in depression is living in a synoptic universe. The jury, as the creator of this universe, is a despicable nightmare not only for Bing but for everyone. He screams not only for himself but for everyone on stage who is exploited by the system and viewed as a resource. There is a working system and rules that everyone is obliged to follow. These rules completely destroy the individual's human characteristics, emotions, and morals. The only responsible one for created universe is the jury. Everything that Bing experiences is a bad joke and the jury is making another bad joke in front of millions of people. All of Bing's anger is to the jury and the living conditions compelled by the system. He expresses his anger as follows:

Fuck you! That's what it boils down to, is fuck you! Fuck you for being part of this landscape, fuck you for sitting there slowly knitting things worse, fuck you and your spotlight, and your sanctimonious faces and – Fuck you, fuck you all for taking it and crushing it into a bone, into a joke, one more ugly joke in a kingdom of millions of them. Fuck you for happening. Fuck you from me, for us, for everyone. Fuck you (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 53).

Bing, who did not prepare any speeches when he first gets on the stage, participates in the contest to shout the terrible situation he lives in front of everyone. He works only for this purpose, without even thinking about the jury's reaction. In fact, he does not know what he expects from the jury. Bing gets tired after shouting all his anger at the jury. While the audience and the jury are looking at Bing in amazement, Judge Hope unexpectedly says that it is the sincerest show he has seen from the beginning of the competition. With this discourse of Hope, all of audience stand-up and start applauding Bing enthusiastically. Rumours that this is a very clever show demonstration are heard through the crowd. All the discourses of Bing are still seen by the audience as an entertainment show, and according to them, Bing is very successful. Judge Hope says that Bing expresses a phenomenon that everyone agrees on, while at the same time saying that he could not understand all of Bing's speech. The reason for Hope not being able to understand Bing adequately is that he is not in the same conditions, and because Hope is not exploited; he is the exploiter. Hope is aware that Bing looks like a creature in his eyes and considers Bing's cries as "stuff" (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 53). When Bing says that these are not just 'stuff', Hope interrupts Bing's word by saying, "these are the truths but just for you" (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 53). According to Hope, Bing is right, but it is not possible to prove the truth of what he says:

JUDGE HOPE: That was without a doubt... (He glares at Bing.)

JUDGE HOPE (CONT'D): ... the most heartfelt thing I've seen on this stage since Hot Shot began. (The audience goes nuts, standing up and applauding wildly.)

JUDGE HOPE (CONT'D): You're semi-articulating something I think we all -- and I mean everyone in this hall -- something we all agree on, even though we may not comprehend all of it, I think I'm right in saying we do feel it; even me, I know you've got me down as this creature, but you know. Hey. I get where you're coming from. I like your stuff.

BING: It's not stu--

JUDGE HOPE: Bad choice of words. It's truth, am I right? (Bing looks wary)

JUDGE HOPE (CONT'D): Your truth, admittedly, but truth nonetheless, and you're right, authenticity is in woefully short supply. I'd like to hear you talk again. (Bing is almost deflated -- he wasn't expecting this.) (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 53-54).

In fact, the reason for this calm attitude of Hope is to prevent the awareness Bing is trying to evoke in society. For this purpose, Hope tells Bing that he wants to listen to him again and that there is a space in his channel where he can include him. Bing, who looks at the jury with surprise when other juries support Hope, encounters intense pressure from the audience. Millions of people cheer for Bing to accept the offer. With Judge Charity saying, "beats the bike" (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 54) the threat part, which is the last step of manipulation, is completed. With the pressure of both the jury and the

audience, Bing accepts the offer. Like every individual, Bing decides under the influence of synopticon. The mind of Bing is also controlled by the system and its preferences are changed:

BING: How so?

JUDGE HOPE: With a slot on one of my streams. Where you can speak just like that, (Bing is so stunned and bewildered he can't speak.)

JUDGE CHARITY: I'd watch it. Great passion. (Judge Wraith shrugs.)

JUDGE WRAITH: He's okay. A little 'out there' but hey. The throat cutting thing's a neat gimmick.

JUDGE HOPE: What do you say? 30 minutes, twice a week? (Bing stares into the lights. The crowd starts slow-clapping, chanting, "do it".)

JUDGE CHARITY: Beats the bike.

JUDGE HOPE: She said it (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 54-55).

In the later stages of the series, everything continues as usual. Dustin laughs at entertainment shows; some of them purchase fake accessories for their holograms, and the ads of the competition shows appear on the screens. On one of these screens, Glee finally gets on stage and sings her song. However, her song is cut by the jury, and she is dismissed from the scene with heavy insults. After waiting for weeks and months, Glee, who comes to the scene with the hope of reaching her dreams, is exposed to the insult of all jury members. She is not a resource that can be consumed by the jury, so she is sent off the stage, saying she is worthless and unlovable. The reason Judge Charity thinks Glee is worthless is that because, in this synoptic system, women are supposed to have physical appeal to be famous and valuable as a commodity. Sending Glee from the stage is a demonstration that the system resumes from where it left. Glee is one of the characters who wants to be a consumer commodity voluntarily. The volunteerism and entertainment focus of the synopticon can be clearly seen in her. But there is a more critical element in synoptic management: people who are always in front of society are essential resources for the system to continue flawlessly. Therefore, the individual to be consumed is selected by the system. Glee is not considered a resource that can be consumed in synopticon. In fact, Glee is a character who is subjected to severe criticism by the jury to show how moral values are destroyed and worthless in the system where human emotions are ignored. Since every jury's action and discourse guide the society, the definition of a worthless individual is determined according to the decisions of the jury. Since Glee is not a character who can contribute to the system, she is declared worthless by the jury, and this determines the criterion of the worthless individual in society:

JUDGE HOPE: (on screen) That was achingly terrible. You don't just sing badly; you molest the music in a manner I find personally offensive. You have the magnetism of a towel and an inherent allergy to anything approaching even basic talent. Awful. I don't even want to look at you.

JUDGE CHARITY: Have to agree: sorry love but you came across as fundamentally unlikeable and quite worthless really.

JUDGE HOPE: Wraith?

JUDGE WRAITH: Does nothing for me. Fill that cunt with honey and I still wouldn't fuck it.

JUDGE HOPE: Three nos. Bye bye.

GLEE: You're wrong! You're all wrong! I'm a good singer. I can sing. It's my destiny, I'm a good singer Fuc... (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 55-56).

In next scenes, it is seen that Bing broadcasts from his own room. Advertising his program, he mentions that the system is focused on consuming everything. Bing says that even if he kills himself, he has nothing to change, while the system can find a field to use his corpse. Everyone has a role in the system, and everyone is responsible for the functioning of it. Bing, despite mentioning the synopticon's deficits and the prison in which the individual is, does not intend to produce any solution to be free from the terrible universe in his program. He fulfils the role given to him in the best way in his own interests. Everything can be used in this system. The human body or emotions are the only commodities that are for profit. In the synoptic system, just like the aimlessness of the individuals' life, their resistance has no meaning. While Bing's rebellion cannot even create a minor crack in the system, it becomes a new source for it. After the broadcast is over, Bing, who is in a larger room, is seen to put the glass piece carefully in a box. Although this piece of glass may seem like a symbol of Bing's resistance, in fact, it is the most obvious evidence that Bing was commodified. It is seen that Bing's living conditions have changed; his room is bigger than the old one. With fresh orange juice and a penguin figurine made of wood, he has the real-life he yearned for. In addition to these, the sky and a forest view can be seen from Bing's window. He, who still lives as a commodity of synoptic control despite jumping a step forward in the system, is happy with his life and no longer needs to question or resist. On the contrary, he has become a bigger resource for the functioning of the system:

BING (O.S.): 15,000 new doppel wardrobe options launched last week alone, which effectively translates as 15,000 new ways to kill time in your cell before you explore an afterlife which doesn't exist anyway. But with any luck it'll take your mind off those saddlesores, eh?

BING (CONT'D): You know the only thing stopping me slashing myself open right now? I might not die right away. (with dry humour:) And before I went they'd find a way to charge my twitching half-dead cadaver 20,000 merits for swabbing the walls clean.

BING: Anyway, till next week: hang on in there. If you must. And you must. Because what else are you going to do? We're all in this together they say. Yeah right. Farewell forever - till the same time next week (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 57-58).

The common point of panoptic, super-panoptic, and synoptic surveillance is to adapt the individual to society by correcting them with control mechanisms. Due to the easily controllable societies created by these control mechanisms, the emergence of totalitarian regimes becomes easier. For these surveillance systems, which adapt the individual with the phenomenon of manipulation and surveillance, opposing individuals can also be reintegrated into society. According to the system, individuals who disrupt the order of the society or are sick are treated in the system and used as a new source.

In *15 Million Merits* universe, Bing is an oppositional character, and the system must reintegrate him into society. Expressing all the impositions of the system in front of the jury and the audience, Bing is an individual who needs to be controlled and made submissive. The jury members are composed of people who know and apply the control mechanism and manipulation methods very well. Therefore, Bing leaves succumbing from the scene where he came to change or destroy the system. While Bing is a conscious individual who endangers the functioning of the system, he turns into a resource that can be used for the benefits of the system.

The conscious individual poses a great danger to the system, and therefore, Bing is adapted to the society by the jury on stage. Bing is an individual who is aware of the jury's manipulation power before going on stage and therefore comes on stage without drinking the beverage of compatibility. Even though he thinks that he is in control of his own mind, it is seen that Bing's mind and soul are governed by the system on the stage. Although Bing is an opposing character, he is not fully aware of the functioning of the system. Therefore, the jury can easily control Bing, who initially threatens the system, becomes part of the system. The power of synoptic surveillance is more clearly comprehended with Bing's character development. Individuals who are monitored and controlled at any moment leave not only their bodies but also their brains and especially their souls under the control of the system. The resistance of these individuals, unaware of a better life and true freedom, can be quickly stifled in the system. The danger posed by synopticon as a result of controlling the soul is strikingly seen in *15 Million Merits* universe. Despite all his human emotions, pursuit of freedom, and resistance, Bing is not aware of his defeat. Though Bing is one of the victims of the system at first, he becomes responsible for its continuation of dominance. Synopticon corrects and heals Bing, and the ideal social order continues from where it left off.

2.2.1. Analysis of Social and Historical Construct of Surveillance Culture in *15 Million Merits*

In the second half of the 19th century, the concept of progress and enlightenment began to be evaluated thanks to advances in technology. The idea of flying, which used to be the most powerful symbol of freedom, was replaced by a technology network that removed all geographical obstacles. These developments forced to change future depictions and became topic for science fiction. Along with the technological developments and the enlightenment process, people have begun to set up dystopian depictions by getting out of the utopias that are unreachable and always excellent.

With the First World War, unlike a rational and egalitarian world, humanity starts to live in a world where millions of people die, and totalitarian systems are dominant. Dystopia as a revolt against these systems, where fear of the future is the main theme, was born as a result of the idea of Enlightenment. Because Enlightenment is a movement towards the self-control, understanding, and disciplining oneself with logical mind, rather than submission to the control of myths or religion that are dominant and the individual can attain the intended freedom, in this sense, dystopia does not need to look at the future, as utopia did in the past, because industrial and technological developments in the 20th century are all once unattainable imaginary phenomena which became realized today. Just as utopia concentrates on the positive and enjoyable aspect of prospective changes, dystopia focuses on the negative side.

World Wars erupted because of Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution, industrialization, advancement of technology, and that atmosphere aroused fear and depression in human being. For this reason, utopia, reflecting the rational, egalitarian and happy dreams of the people which began with Enlightenment in the 17th century, human being turned the utopic world into dystopia with wars, oppressive regimes, and destructions in the early 20th century. Media, which became a widespread tool with the advancement of technology, is used in all fields.

In the 21st century, technology is used extensively in the production and consumption processes of capitalism. Technological systems, which are used to control societies, manage to discipline society. These developments reveal the concept of surveillance. Transformation of social life into a prison becomes accessible through

technology. One of the best reflections of this dystopic universe is George Orwell's *1984*. *1984* is a dystopia written about the totalitarian regime using the term of 'Big Brother' who persecutes and directs each member of the society. In this context, another important dystopia, which describes a universe where individuals transform into a commodity and are produced thousands of almost identical human embryos, is *Brave New World*, written by Aldous Huxley.

One of the most famous dystopias of the 21st century is the British television series *Black Mirror*. The black mirror, a modern metaphor of the world and dream, portrays pessimism of dystopia. The screenwriter Charlie Brooker, who interprets the radical changes in communication tools along with technological developments from different perspectives, clearly reflects the dystopic reality of the age to the audience. It tells how technology that allegedly facilitates people's lives controls these lives in reality. The fact that today's world is not different from dystopia, makes this series seem real. In a world where society is easily manipulated by mass media and black screens discipline every segment of society, the episode called *15 Million Merits* should be considered as a different version of reality rather than a fiction. *15 Million Merits* reflects the 21st-century society while describing a dystopian universe where the individual is commodified, and everything that does not turn into energy is considered completely unnecessary and everywhere is covered with screens. The idea is that technology will be a path to a new enlightenment, and freedom has been replaced by today's dystopias. With the introduction of new communication technology into our lives, the *Black Mirror* series presents the effects of the innovations on modern society, individuals' lives, and the problems faced by the audience. The movie also criticizes relationship between power, media, art, and everyday life in transformed with technology. It creates a dystopia that covers modern society by making use of science fiction elements within the series.

In the modern age, when addiction to technology is at the highest point, it is used as a weapon to manipulate people and deprive them of their freedom. The capitalist system in the series turns the whole world into a prison using technology. This situation is similar to more speculative fiction than a dystopia. *15 Million Merits*, where the ideological effects of technological developments are discussed, depicts a society not different from modern society. In *15 Million Merits* universe, the most popular television programs are reality show programs and pornographic broadcasts. Participating in reality shows is something that those who pedal are interested in, but not everyone can

do it because it needs *15 Million Merits* to participate. The aim is to skip class, become famous, and earn money by easy way. While the taste of entertainment of ancient times is gladiator fights, at the last point of technological achievements, a sense of entertainment is competition programs. Physical conditions have changed, but actors and motives have not changed. The middle class, which is the cornerstone of a society and spends its life in working, the lower class that tries to earn its life by working under more severe conditions, and the criticism of the upper class that dominates the two social classes, coexist in technological universe. With massive exploitation of *15 Million Merits*, the society completely overlaps with today's societies. This script explaining that achieving freedom is almost impossible in a technology-led world shows the modern caste system.

Considering the technological developments coming from the past, in *15 Million Merits* episode of *Black Mirror*, mass media, which have the most significant portion in the deformation of the society, are used for ideological purposes. In this universe, not far from present-day societies and management systems, science creates a dystopia dominated by pessimism, not a utopia. *15 Million Merits* criticizes the use of scientific technologies that have horrible effects on people, living things, the world, and science itself. The barbarity and irrationality produced by science are opposed in *15 Million Merits*, which is a wide-ranging critique of the consumer society, and tackles the problems posed by new communication technologies. Undoubtedly, new communication technologies have many positive innovations and applications that make life easier. Also, if these technologies are used consciously, even utopias can be constructed for the future. However, due to the use of technology as a consumption object in a capitalist society, it creates dystopias that are not far from the present day life. People in the series are now creating a new simulation by mixing virtual life with real-life and new communication technologies. This situation causes identity confusion as it makes the line between reality and virtually invisible world. The sequence of events that takes place in a universe completely remote from reality leads to suicide and hatred. People in a rigid system are indexed to live within specific rules. They were disengaged with nature and sentenced to live in closed buildings. Although the individual who revolts in this system tries to escape from being a wheel in the machine of this system, is obliged to live in the same system. Introducing a fictional universe where freedom is impossible, *15 Million Merits* can be read as a dark reflection of today's societies,

although it is based on the concept of surveillance and technological advances from the past to the present.

2.3. Comparison of two works in the Context of Surveillance from Panopticon to Super-panopticon & Synopticon

Totalitarian regimes have used various methods to create an ideal society and determine its criteria. Fear and violence are some of the basic methods used by all totalitarian regimes to create an ideal society throughout history. Dystopia or speculative fictions are works in which totalitarian regimes aim to create an ideal social order, and relations of these regimes with individuals are discussed. In the medieval scholastic mentalities, the obedience of the individual to the system was provided by pressure and torture. The individual was seen as an object, not a subject in the system. With the emergence of modernity formed around concepts such as universality, observation, and reality the individual, who became the subject of the system, not the object, forced the totalitarian regimes to change the management mechanisms. However, the control mechanisms developed with modernity have turned the individual who is the subject of the system into a useful resource for the system.

In times when the ideal society was controlled by fear and violence, inhuman punishment methods applied to rebellious individuals in front of the society started to be questioned by the public. This interrogation led the governments to develop new control mechanisms for social order. Panoptic, super-panoptic, and synoptic models are concepts born out of this need. These control mechanisms used by totalitarian regimes throughout history have been the subject of dystopic works. In such works, relationship between power and individual is closely examined, and effects of the control mechanisms used on the individual are emphasized. *The Handmaid's Tale* described as a speculative fiction by Margaret Atwood and *15 Million Merits* episode of *Black Mirror* series written by Charlie Brooker and his wife Konnie Huq are speculative fiction and dystopic works that center around the relationship between individual and power. Although these works, which are constructed on the basis of surveillance culture, differ in terms of their approaches, have similarities in many contexts such as totalitarian regimes, control mechanisms, class separation, individualization, limitation, perception of freedom, forms of resistance, discipline, and normalization.

2.3.1. Control mechanisms: Fear, Manipulation, and Surveillance

One of the methods used by governments to create an ideal society is the control mechanism. Control mechanisms are described as:

Society uses certain sanctions to enforce a standard of behavior that is deemed socially acceptable. Individuals and institutions utilize social control to establish social norms and rules, which can be exercised by peers or friends, family, state and religious organizations, schools, and the workplace. The goal of social control is to maintain order in society and ensure conformity in those who are deemed as deviant or undesirable in society (Carmichael, 2012).

These mechanisms consist of both written legal rules and verbal rules that develop over time in society. The culture of surveillance is one of the control mechanisms used by the rulers in the modern era to discipline the individual, correct it, and restore it to the society. While Foucault's panopticon, which is the basis of surveillance culture, is based on pressure and keeps the individual under the supervision and control by power, super-panopticon is a mechanism that occurs with the mandatory inclusion of each individual member of the society in the surveillance mechanism. With developing technology, the culture of surveillance has become more comprehensive and changed shape. The pressure and power structure of panopticon and super-panopticon have become voluntary and fun-based over time. Mathiesen's synopticon model was born because of an insufficient explanation of Foucault's panopticon and Lyon's super-panopticon in surveillance culture. In Mathiesen's synopticon, where the surveillance culture is based on volunteering and entertainment, each individual is voluntarily involved in the surveillance mechanism. Although these surveillance mechanisms have changed shape and developed, they basically aim to create the ideal society and discipline the individual by providing self-control. Therefore, these surveillance mechanisms have common points in many contexts. The ideal community order was created by using panopticon, super-panopticon, and synopticon elements, both in *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits*. One of the similarities found when these works are examined in the context of surveillance culture is the control mechanisms used.

While *The Handmaid's Tale* is a speculative fiction genre based on panoptic and super-panoptic surveillance mechanisms, *15 Million Merits* reflects the universe of a TV series shaped by a synoptic surveillance mechanism. In *The Handmaid's Tale*,

Foucault's panopticon concept and Lyon's super-panopticon concept are covered, and the ideal individual is created using fear, suspicion, and manipulation methods. The concept of surveillance, which is the main basis of the panopticon, causes the individual to live with fear and suspicion of being reported at any moment. In this dystopic universe created by the Gilead government, women with biological competence are forced to become handmaids. This policy, which is organized to increase the declining population, takes all the human rights of the individual and uses panoptic surveillance to prevent objection. In this type of surveillance, the individual thinks that the regime's intelligence service is always watching by Eyes. Any anti-regime discourse or behaviour causes the individual to be sent to colonies, declared Unwomen, or executed. The most effective control mechanism in the novel is the fear of being executed by hanging. The cost of anti-regime rhetoric is to be hanged on the wall. Therefore, panoptic surveillance is very effective on the individual and facilitates functioning of the system. The sentences of Offred, the protagonist of the novel, who learned that Ofglen hangs herself, is an example of the fear of execution imposed by the regime:

Everything they taught at the Red Center, everything I've resisted, comes flooding in. I don't want pain. I don't want to be a dancer, my feet in the air, my head a faceless oblong of white cloth. I don't want to be a doll hung up on the Wall, I don't want to be a wingless angel. I want to keep on living, in any form. I resign my body freely, to the uses of others. They can do what they like with me. I am abject. I feel, for the first time, their true power (Atwood, 2014: 256).

Other fear element that emerged as a situation which Moira confronts is working at colonies and declared Unwomen. Maria, who was caught after escaping from the Red Center, is offered two options because she is dangerous to be a handmaid again for the system. One of these options is to go to the colonies and work there, and the other is to be a prostitute who meets the sex needs of the commanders in the club called Jezebel. Since Maria knows the oppressive working and living conditions in the colonies, she chooses the relatively better Jezebel. Moira, a rebellious character in the regime, is regenerated by it and used as a new resource. This situation that Moira experienced is an example of the totalitarian regimes' methods of rehabilitating rebellious individuals using control mechanisms,

So after that, they said I was too dangerous to be allowed the privilege of returning to the Red Center. They said I would be a corrupting influence. I had my choice, they said, this (Jezebel) or the Colonies. Well, shit, nobody but a nun would pick the Colonies (Atwood, 2014: 225).

Similar to the fear of being Unwomen used by the regime or being sent to colonies in *The Handmaid's Tale*, the fear of falling into the lower class is used to control

society in *15 Million Merits*. Individuals producing energy to the system by pedalling must be healthy and fit. Those who are overweight to pedal can be sent to a lower class and used as a cleaning worker. Cleaning workers representing the lower class are considered worthless and useless by both the middle class and the upper class. Some of the middle-class characters exploited by the upper class see themselves as subjects in this system, despite their position in the surveillance mechanism, and their behaviour towards the lower class. Dustin's behaviour toward the cleaning workers is an example of this illusion,

Christ's sake! I pay for this! I! Pay! For! This! I pump my arse off and you -- fuck you (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 38).

Pedalling people, representing the middle class, have to pay attention to their health and weight in order to become an ideal individual as the system wants, for fear of falling into a lower class. Pedalling is a better option in this system, where cleaning workers are despised and mocked. In *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits* universes, the individual is forced to fulfil the requirements of the system in order not to fall into a lower class. They are forced to see the life they have as a privilege. The Gilead regime and *15 Million Merits* universe force the individual to obey. Both systems use the fear mechanism to create the ideal individual. Individuals learn to obey their current living conditions as they see more terrible and poor practices.

Another control mechanism used in the Gilead regime and *15 Million Merits* universe to create an ideal society of the individual is manipulation. It is one of the examples of manipulation used in *The Handmaid's Tale* is to be made propagandas of the Gilead regime from televisions continuously. In addition, Aunts humiliate women who were free in the past training Handmaids in the Red Center. It is imposed on handmaids that these women are sinful. The ideal female criterion is defined by Aunts as individuals acting within the norms of the system. From time to time, documentaries about Unwomen are watched at the Red Center. The purpose of these documentaries is to enable defiant handmaids to obey the system by showing the severe conditions. The manipulation methods cause women to be both alienated from their past and to easily accept the system. These women, who are represented valuable as long as they are ideal individuals in the system, know that they will be punished for their anti-system behaviours or discourses. Therefore, they always pay attention to their behaviour and discourses:

Sometimes the movie she showed would be an old porno film, from the seventies or eighties. (...) Once we had to watch a woman being slowly cut into pieces, her fingers and breasts snipped off with garden shears, her stomach slit open and her intestines pulled out. Consider the alternatives, said Aunt Lydia. You see what things used to be like? That was what they thought of women, then. Her voice trembled with indignation. (...) Sometimes, though, the movie would be what Aunt Lydia called an Unwoman documentary. Imagine, said Aunt Lydia, wasting their time like that, when they should have been doing something useful. Back then, the Unwomen were always wasting time. (...) We would have to condone some of their ideas, even today. Only some, mind you, she said coyly, raising her index finger, wagging it at us. But they were Godless, and that can make all the difference, don't you agree? (Atwood, 2014: 111).

Unlike pressure-based manipulation methods in *The Handmaid's Tale*, manipulation methods used in *15 Million Merits* universe are made by encouraging of the minority, which is the main foundation of synopticon. In the panoptic and super-panoptic model, manipulations are based on fear, while manipulative discourses are imposed on the basis of entertainment in synoptic supervision. Therefore, while the individual is aware that he is being manipulated in the Gilead regime, the propaganda imposed on the individual in *15 Million Merits* universe is not considered manipulation. The advertisements used continuously in the series, explaining the celebrities' lives with an encouraging language and imposing the competition programs on the individual as hope, are examples of the manipulations that the system applies to the individual. In these advertisements, Selma Tesle talks about her life in an interview, without being aware that she is used by the system. The reason why Selma Tesle was not aware that she was exploited as a commodity is due to the functioning of the synoptic surveillance, the best thing about my new lifestyle...? Uh... where do I start... I love choosing my own clothes, I love red, I think it really expresses a truth about who I am... I love looking out over (the outside) (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 12).

The reason why programs like *Hot Shot* or *Wraithbabies* evokes hope of salvation in individuals is to control their soul. The fact that the audience manipulates Abi in accepting the proposal of the jury of Abi shows that the minority affects the decisions of the majority. Thus, they think that they are able to direct celebrities' lives. In fact, individuals who are always under surveillance and control have been manipulated to exhibit this behaviour, and therefore, they manipulate Abi as the system wants. The success of synoptic surveillance is clearly observed in Abi's situation. As a result of the *Hot Shot* contest shown as a salvation for the individual, Abi's participation in the contest and the fact that there are tens of people waiting at the backstage indicate that these manipulations have had a profound effect on individuals. Another example of

manipulation is broadcasting programs that make fun of overweight people and subject them to a computer game. In these games, overweight people attack the screens as enemies, and the person who plays the game shoots them with a gun to get rid of the enemies. These individuals are unable to produce energy because they are overweight; therefore, they are described as useless and ridiculous by the system. The purpose of the programs and video games shown on the screens is to ensure that the individual who does not work in the system is despised or hated. Manipulative discourses used in panoptic and synoptic surveillance easily control individuals and make them easier to be used for the benefit of the system. There is little difference between the manipulation methods used in the novel and those used in the series. However, manipulation in both works is one of the effective control mechanisms used to create an ideal individual and causes significant sanctions on individuals.

Surveillance culture is one of the essential methods used to create an ideal society. Surveillance culture, which is explained with Foucault's panopticon, Lyon's super-panopticon and Mathiesen's synopticon models, is the essential way to control body, mind, and spirit. There are different examples of surveillance culture in both works. While *The Handmaid's Tale* used panoptic and super-panoptic models, *15 Million Merits* used a synoptic model to create an ideal society. Panoptic and super-panoptic surveillance compel the individual to achieve self-control. These individuals, who are subjected both to power-based surveillance and to each other, live with fear and suspicion at any time. Control mechanisms processed in *The Handmaid's Tale* consist of a panoptic and super-panoptic surveillance framework. While the Eyes of intelligence organization, which enables detection of anti-regime individuals and discourses in the society by the government, is an example of panoptic surveillance, and an example of super-panopticon that individuals watch over each other and especially handmaids are spies of each other. This panoptic and super-panoptic surveillance is one example of an individual's objectification by power:

The Eyes of God run over all the earth. Because they were ready for us, and waiting. The moment of betrayal is the worst, the moment when you know beyond any doubt that you've been betrayed: that some other human being has wished you that much evil. It was like being in an elevator cut loose at the top. Falling, falling, and not knowing when you will hit (Atwood, 2014: 176).

In *15 Million Merits* universe, the surveillance culture is more developed compared to *The Handmaid's Tale*. Due to the widespread use of technological devices,

surveillance is done by cameras and huge screens. Small rooms, bathrooms, work areas, and a snack area where individuals live are covered with giant screens. Thanks to these screens, every movement of the individual is monitored by the system. Each individual has his own hologram, and as soon as the person wakes up in the morning, he has to activate these holograms from the system on the screen. This activation is an evidence of the individual's existence. The holograms that individuals have to activate are examples of applying surveillance in a more advanced dimension. With these holograms, all physical movements of individuals logged into the system are perceived and simulated by their holograms. In this way, physical movements and thoughts of the individual are also controlled through holograms. This supervision mechanism obliges the individual to provide self-control. The individual is warned by the system when he develops a behaviour that can be perceived as a threat. Individuals must watch the ads that the system broadcasts on the screens. The individuals who do not want to watch these ads can pass the advertisement by using their merits. However, it is perceived as a threat to the system to close the eye and avoid watching the advertisement. The pressure exerted by the system on Bing is an example of it. When Bing, who does not want to watch the advertisements, closes his eye, the system detects this behaviour and warns Bing. This warning is a demonstration of synoptic surveillance:

INSISTENT VOICE: Resume viewing. Resume viewing. Resume vi— (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 10)

In *15 Million Merits* universe, where surveillance is more technological and based on entertainment, the synoptic mechanism prevents individual from questioning the surveillance mechanism. The individual is a person who can watch someone and being watched by everyone. Although the individual is subjected to surveillance by the system and objectified, he defines himself as the subject in the system. It is thought that in *15 Million Merits* universe, the majority is watching and directing the minority. Individuals who are voluntarily involved in the surveillance mechanism think that they are free when acting on the request of the system. This surveillance mechanism is based entirely on entertainment and volunteering, and in this universe, they do not question mandatory surveillance mechanism, since everyone forgets their past and the definition of true freedom.

2.3.2. Classification and Social Class Discrimination

Other factors used in both works by the totalitarian regimes to create an ideal social order are classification and social class discrimination. Social class is defined as:

A social class is a set of concepts in the social sciences and political theory centered on models of social stratification which occurs in class society, in which people are grouped into a set of hierarchical social categories the most common being the upper, middle and lower classes (Grant, 2001: 161).

These created social classes bring about class discrimination, as well. Class discrimination is defined as:

It includes individual attitudes, behaviors, systems of policies and practices that are set up to benefit the upper class at the expense of the lower class. Social class refers to the grouping of individuals in a hierarchy based on wealth, income, education, occupation, and social network (Kadi, 1996).

Classification and class discrimination mostly serve ruling class while restricting other classes' rights. Systematic classification of the society by totalitarian regimes facilitates management. Giving certain responsibilities to people is one of the critical ways to idealize individuals who are divided into classes over specific roles. Class discrimination and classification in *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits* universes discipline the individuals and transformer them as new workforce.

In *The Handmaid's Tale*, society is managed by dividing it into multiple classes based on biological competence, gender, age, and physical characteristics. The commanders who founded The Republic of Gilead and their wives represent the upper class. In the society classified by the upper class on a need basis, each group has been given a role for the benefit of the system. These groups include guardians responsible for security, Eyes as the intelligence agency, Wives, who are the wives of commanders, Marthas, who are responsible for home affairs of commanders, Aunts, who are tasked with training handmaids, Handmaids used as reproduction machines, and Unwomen who are excluded from society forced to work in colonies. In addition, Econowives, which are not included in any class, represent proletarian women in the novel. The purpose of this classification, created in the Gilead regime, is to ensure that everyone in the community obeys and serves the system in order to protect the interests of the upper class. In this way, society is managed more quickly, and the rebellion against the system is prevented. The Gilead regime, as a totalitarian regime, aims to discipline individuals by alienating everyone. In Panopticon-based administrations, it is essential to re-classify

the individuals into classes to re-include them in society. The Gilead regime has created different classes for the ideal society it has built. With this system, it is more accessible and sustainable to discipline and direct society. Defined clothes, colours, tasks, and the prohibitions by the regime show the classification dimension in *The Handmaid's Tale*:

There are other women with baskets, some in red, some in the dull green of the Marthas, some in the striped dresses, red and blue and green and cheap and skimpy, that mark the women of the poorer men. Econowives, they're called. These women are not divided into functions. They have to do everything; if they can. Sometimes there is a woman all in black, a widow (Atwood,2014: 31-32).

That handmaids serve as a reproductive machine of regime, Aunts practice strict disciplining to train handmaids, commanders systematically rape handmaids, which show that the society is divided into classes and is more easily managed. This classification also causes discrimination among classes. In the Gilead Regime, the other classes do not have any of the upper-class' freedoms. These discriminations include controlling Handmaids' eating habits, preventing everyone except for commanders from accessing books and magazines and using permits to go outside.

In *15 Million Merits* universe, the above-mentioned class distinction and social classes are observed as well. In this universe, it is divided into classes according to community age, weight, and qualifications. Each class has its own responsibilities, clothing styles, and a specific profile. Those in the middle class wear grey clothes and produce the energy the system needs by turning the pedal. The lower-class cleaning workers wear yellow clothes, and because they are not fit and healthy enough, they clean instead of pedalling. The jury members representing the upper class do not have a particular style of clothing, but their task is to manipulate society and find new resources for the system to commodify. These created social classes also have different privileges. While the jury members have privileges to access everything real, those who are pedalling representing the middle class cannot access anything that is real, such as sky, nature, and natural food. The middle class living in a virtual universe is controlled by the upper class and deprived of the privileges of the upper class. In addition to these two classes, cleaning workers representing the lower class are deemed useless by the system and are despised. These people, both physically and psychologically led by the upper class, are indicators of how useful the classification is in controlling the individual in totalitarian regimes. An individual in the middle class is trying to be beneficial to the system by performing the duties given by the upper class, while the lower class is trying

to rise to the middle class. Classification provides easy control of individuals. Bing, the protagonist of the series, is a character who is aware of this class discrimination and classification. Therefore, he does not remain silent about discrimination and expresses the injustices that not only himself but also the lower-class face in front of millions of people on the stage:

BING (CONT'D): Actually not quite all. Real pain, real viciousness: that we can take. Stick a fat man up a pole and we'll laugh ourselves feral because we've earned the right. We've done saddletime and he's slacking, the scum, so ha ha ha at him. We'll happily meld with the sheer callous madness of it because we're so out of our minds with desperation we don't know any better (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 53)

2.3.3. Alienation and isolation

The concept of alienation, which was first introduced by Hegel but widespread by Marx, is one of the common methods used to control individuals. Since alienated people lose their purposes in life and feel powerless, totalitarian regimes use alienation to shape and rule society easily. The alienated individual can be defined as an unhappy person who has no purpose in life, works like a machine, and does not know why he does it. Eric and Mary Josephson define alienation as follow:

...an extraordinary variety of psycho-social disorders, including loss of self, anxiety states, anomie, despair, depersonalization, rootlessness, apathy, social disorganization, loneliness, atomization, powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, pessimism, and the loss of beliefs or values (Josephson, 1962: 12-13).

Another method that totalitarian regimes frequently use is isolating the individual. While isolation of the individual as a result of fear from the ruler ensures better management of the society, it prevents any unity and resistance. These two methods, which are frequently used by panoptic, super-panoptic, and synoptic surveillance, are found in *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits*.

With the panopticon and super-panopticon, which dominate *The Handmaid's Tale*, the individual becomes alienated and isolated both from the society and himself/herself. This system, which prevents the individual from establishing intimate relationships, destroys the concept of trust. The individual tries to adapt to the terrible dystopia he/she lives in fearing from being reported at any moment. Handmaids have to act in couples with what is defined as friends, but the real reason is to be able to spy each other. Also, the individual isolates himself/herself from society with the fear of being reported, therefore s/he becomes alienates from himself and society. Being aware of the fact that she can be reported by other handmaids at any time, Offred pays attention to

her speech and behaviour. The loneliness and alienation of Offred, which is watched by other handmaid who is her partner and by everyone in the society, is an example of the consequences of panopticon and super-panopticon:

We aren't allowed to go there except in twos. This is supposed to be for our protection, though the notion is absurd: we are well protected already. The truth is that she is my spy, as I am hers. If either of us slips through the net because of something that happens on one of our daily walks, the other will be accountable (Atwood, 2014: 25-26).

Another example of the alienation of the individual is the removal of the names of women used as a handmaid. These women are called by the names of the commanders they belong to. The name, as an essential proof of the existence of an individual, is taken away from the individual causing him/her to become an object or resource in the system. Thus, the individual who is bereft of her individuality becomes easy to control,

My name isn't Offred, I have another name, which nobody uses now because it's forbidden. I tell myself it doesn't matter, your name is like your telephone number, useful only to others; but what I tell myself is wrong, it does matter (Atwood, 2014: 82).

Unlike *The Handmaid's Tale*, in *15 Million Merits*, isolation and alienation are mostly handled through technology in a consumer society, where individuals are continually working. Those who work and become lonely are undoubtedly alienated from themselves and society. In this classified universe, the lower class of the cleaning workers, is marginalized by the middle and upper class, and although there are individuals who do not work, they are degraded and devalued. Thus, cleaning workers become alienated from society. Communication between individuals, and classes is limited. Although they have the opportunity to communicate with each other during working hours, they prefer pedalling. These individuals, who regularly and aimlessly work, isolate themselves from society. Outside working hours, they can communicate with each other via their holograms, but the systems are closed after a particular time. Lack of communication makes the individual alone. The lonely individual fulfils the requirements of the system without questioning the living conditions. Thus, the society consisting of individuals who are alienated from each other is easily directed. The system develops Wallbuddies holograms as a solution to the individual's isolation. These holograms, which can be used by the individual while alone, are one of the system's methods of restricting human relations:

ABI: Buy one of those wall buddies; the new ones talk to you after shut-in and solve your problems. They guide your dreams, like gurus. It's amazing what they (can do these days).
BING: A mirror plugin that shows me how I'd look as a werewolf? What's the point.
ABI: Well it (can be quite funny) (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 18).

Unlike panoptic and super-panoptic surveillance, individuals are not prevented from speaking to each other or to other classes in synopticon. However, in synopticon, the individual is monitored at any time and is constantly manipulated. Therefore, the individual turns into a machine which works continuously without question. Furthermore, the individual who becomes isolated and alienated does not feel the need to communicate. Because of this alienation and isolation, individuals are manipulated with advertisements that are always imposed on the screens. Individuals who work more to become famous are more isolated and work harder to escape this situation. The individual, who is in a vicious circle, can be easily managed. Abi and Bing's acceptance of the jury's offer can be examples of an effort to get rid of this vicious circle. In both cases, it is observed that the isolated and alienated individual is used by the system.

2.3.4. Restrictions

Another method that totalitarian regimes use to control a society is restriction of the rights of individuals. In *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits*, the individual is restricted in many ways. These restrictions, implemented within the framework of panopticon and synopticon, facilitate the discipline of the individual and create the targeted ideal society.

Spatial restrictions, as one of the most critical methods of the Foucault's panopticon, are found in *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits*. In *The Handmaid's Tale*, handmaids cannot go out of the places determined by the system, and these places are specified by barricades and protected by guardians. Entry and exit depend on special permissions. Handmaids are restricted both outside and in their homes. A small room is allocated in the commander's home where they serve each handmaid. A handmaid who has to spend almost all day in the room with painted windows cannot walk around the house outside of certain hours. In Gilead hegemony, individuals are restricted both psychologically and physically. These rules that handmaids have to follow are due to the implementation of the panopticon in certain places. These women, who have to use a permit to go out, cannot even go to the market alone. They must have another handmaid along with them. The reason for this imperative order is to ensure that both handmaids are spies of each other and impose the fear on the individual that anti-system behaviour or thoughts can be reported at any time.

This is an example of the fact that the super-panopticon always confines the individual to suspicion, depriving the individual from freedom of choice.

Another example of the restriction is about eating habits of the handmaids. These women who have to eat even if not hungry are forced to eat healthy food. These women, who are forbidden to consume harmful food such as coffee, alcohol, and cigarettes, are prohibited from consuming anything other than the food specified by the system. In the Gilead regime, strict rules have been established especially for handmaids. These women, who are a reproductive source for the system, are aimed to be disciplined and meet the needs of the system. Therefore, all prohibitions and restrictions are determined in order not to harm the fertility of these women. Apart from basic needs, it is unnecessary to use hand lotion, books, magazines, a different outfit, or make-up, and therefore personal items and private properties are strictly prohibited. The colour and model of the clothes are determined by the system, and everyone has to wear specified clothes. Therefore, monotype individuals are created for an ideal society which is controlled by panopticon and super-panopticon and is subject to restrictions in every area. Unlike synopticon, the individual exposed to panoptic surveillance is aware that he is restricted and can develop a mechanism of resistance. An example of this questioning and resistance is that the handmaids care for their skin using butter despite the prohibition of hand lotions. In addition, Offred's strolling out of her room at night and walking in the hall is an example of the behaviour of an individual who is conscious of being restricted, and knowing that it is forbidden:

I rub the butter over my face, work it into the skin of my hands. There's no longer any hand lotion or face cream, not for us. Such things are considered vanities. We are containers, it's only the insides of our bodies that are important. The outside can become hard and wrinkled, for all they care, like the shell of a nut (...) I walk, one foot set carefully down, then the other, without creaking, along the runner, as if on a forest floor, sneaking, my heart quick, through the night house. I am out of place. This is entirely illegal (Atwood, 2014: 92-93).

Restrictions are planned on every class of society, not just Handmaids. For example, Commanders are required to carry a pass card to enter Jezebel, and their wives are prohibited from entering this club, and Guardians are banned from entering the Red Center. Neither the Guardians nor the handmaids can enter or exit this centre unless they are allowed. Communication between the groups is very limited in *The Handmaid's Tale* universe, where a hierarchical structure is constructed, and individuals cannot comfortably speak and share their thoughts even with the groups they belong to. Examples of these restrictions and hierarchical structure are that handmaids are not

allowed to speak to the guardians, and they must behave politely when talking to wives. Handmaids, who are forbidden to talk to each other, communicate by reading lips and whispering. Such prohibitions make it easier to control the individuals:

The guards weren't allowed inside the building except when called, and we weren't allowed out, except for our walks, twice daily, two by two around the football field, which was enclosed now by a chain-link fence topped with barbed wire. The Angels stood outside it with their backs to us. They were objects of fear to us, but of something else as well (...) We learned to whisper almost without sound. In the semidarkness we could stretch out our arms, when the Aunts weren't looking, and touch each other's hands across space. We learned to lip-read, our heads flat on the beds, turned sideways, watching each other's mouths. In this way we exchanged names, from bed to bed: Alma. Janine. Dolores. Moira. June (Atwood, 2014: 12).

In *15 Million Merits* dominated by synoptic surveillance, examples of restrictions are encountered, as in *The Handmaid's Tale*. Examples of spatial restrictions applied by each totalitarian regime are seen in the technological context at *15 Million Merits*. In this universe, visiting natural environments such as nature and sky are entirely prohibited for everyone except the jury members representing the upper class. It is forbidden to go outside the building, which resembles a considerable factory covered with screens all around. Simulation of natural environments such as sky and forest are shown on giant screens in small rooms where individuals have to live. Similar to the rooms of handmaids, these rooms do not have windows. Individuals cannot go to any place other than the snack area, working hall, and their own rooms. They lead their lives in a virtual space filled with screens. These places are examples of the restrictions created by the synoptic mechanism.

Private property and personal belongings are also restricted in *15 Million Merits*. Individuals can only buy personal virtual items for their holograms. Apart from that, they have to wear uniform clothes and use same items. Like Gilead regime, individuals' eating habits are also controlled. In this universe, where there are no natural food and beverages, individuals have to be fit to pedal. Therefore, there is no option in the snack area, except artificial food that prevents weight gain. Like handmaids, the middle class pedalling people are restricted from accessing harmful food. In synopticon, which contains relatively more options, individuals can choose the music or programs they want from the screens. However, the music or programs have been previously determined by the system, and individuals have no choice but to watch the programs that the system has already chosen. In addition, individuals do not feel the need to question because the synopticon generally does not realize that individuals have limited options. The system shapes the individual as it wishes and with the restrictions it has

planned. Bing's purpose of reaching real-life in this artificial universe, stems from these restrictions:

BING: But that's all just stuff. It's stuff. It's confetti. You've got something real. What better to spend it on? (...) I look around here and I want something real to happen. Just once (Brooker & Huq, 2011, 19-20).

2.3.5. Concept of Freedom

The concept of freedom, which is one of the main focus points of totalitarian regimes, can be defined in different ways to create an ideal society. Definition of freedom shaped with the rights of individual and society is almost entirely ignored by oppressive regimes. These regimes, which deprive the individual from acting and thinking as they wish, become influenced by the concepts of fear and suspicion. In disciplinary management based on panopticon, super-panopticon, and synopticon, freedom is defined in different ways and imposed on the individual. Definition of freedom was changed by the system in *The Handmaid's Tale* which was dominated by panoptic surveillance and in *15 Million Merits* based on synoptic surveillance.

Forcing the individual to act under control system by ignoring the free will is one of the most effective methods used to discipline the individual in panoptic and super-panoptic systems. Due to the dominance of panopticon-based management in *The Handmaid's Tale*, freedom is defined in two different ways as doing something and avoiding something to do (Atwood, 2014). There are different criteria of freedom set for each individual of the society, but the most oppressed group is handmaids. Handmaids are considered as national resources; therefore, they have to be an ideal individual for the system. Handmaids, deprived of freedom, are reproductive machines. They do not have the freedom to do, but to avoid something, and are aware that this definition of freedom is a consolation. The freedom to avoid anything taught to Handmaids at the Red Center is a result of the individual disciplined with fear. The freedom to avoid something implies that they are free to avoid talking, acting, or even thinking against system. Considering the true meaning of freedom, this so-called definition of freedom that individuals know is a clear indication of their being doomed to accept the norms of the regime. Offred defines freedom as, There is more than one kind of freedom, said Aunt Lydia. Freedom to and freedom from. In the days of anarchy, it was freedom to. Now you are being given freedom from. Don't underrate it (Atwood, 2014: 31).

Handmaids are prohibited from going beyond specified rules. A person who violates the rules is punished severely and therefore individuals use their free will to

obey rules in order not to be punished which indicates the freedom to avoid something. Behaviours of Offred and Ofglen, who met a Japanese delegation, show limits of the defined freedom. While Offred and Ofglen refrain from showing themselves, they bend their heads to hide. Answering “Yes” to the interpreter’s question of “are you happy” is an example of the freedom to avoid doing anything.

They’re asking if they can take your picture.” I look down at the sidewalk, shake my head for no. What they must see is the white wings only, a scrap of face, my chin and part of my mouth. Not the eyes. I know better than to look the interpreter in the face. (...) “He asks, are you happy,” says the interpreter. (...) Ofglen says nothing. There is a silence. But sometimes it’s as dangerous not to speak. “Yes, we are very happy,” I murmur. I have to say something. What else can I say? (Atwood, 2014: 35).

Another so-called definition of freedom, which is handled in *The Handmaid’s Tale*, is to impose on the handmaids that they are free to go anywhere they want within the boundaries. Handmaids are free to use different ways to go to the market. They can go to the market or home by choosing any of these ways, provided that they do not stay out too long. Freedom of choice is a manipulation technique used to make the individual think that she is free. In panoptic surveillance, the individual who is aware of being under surveillance and supervision knows that right of choice is not a real freedom. Offred expresses that,

“Now and again we vary the route; there’s nothing against it, as long as we stay within the barriers. A rat in a maze is free to go anywhere, as long as it stays inside the maze (Atwood, 2014: 152)”.

The definition of freedom in synoptic surveillance differs from panopticon. Unlike the definition of freedom used in systems dominated by panoptic surveillance, freedom in synoptic surveillance is used almost entirely in accordance with its correct definition. In synoptic surveillance, where the individual has the right to choose, every choice to be made is within the knowledge of the system and has already been determined. The synopticon creates an utterly virtual reality on individuals and convinces them to be free in this virtual universe (Çoban, 2009). Several different options of food, drinks, working hours, or programs to be watched are created by the system. Providing individuals with more than one option makes them think that they are free to do something in that virtual life. Thanks to manipulation, every option preferred by the individual is for the benefit of the system. The individuals do not need to question the system, imagining that they are free within a giant control mechanism. The most crucial benefit of synopticon based on entertainment and volunteering is that the

individual does not question the system, and if they do, the system will manipulate them and drag them into desperation.

There are several examples of the definition of freedom in synopticon in *15 Million Merits*. In the snack area, where individuals are offered more than one option, they can buy the food they want from the vending machines. But all of the options are limited to those in the snack area, and none are natural food. Even if the individuals think that they choose food on their own will, they are approved before by the system. Several designated products are available among options, making the individual feel they have made a choice. In fact, there is no choice or right to choose. Swift and Bing, who are more conscious individuals than other characters, are aware that there is nothing natural in the universe they live in and express this situation as follows:

SWIFT (to Bing) (indicating apple and vending machine) Almost the only real thing in there and even that's probably grown in a petri dish. Y'know? (...)

BING (to Abi): Most natural thing in there and it's probably grown in a petri dish (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 6-16).

Freedom in synopticon means that individuals think they have freedom. In fact, the body, mind, and spirit of the individual are in control of the system, and everything offered as an option has been determined by the system. Another example of this definition of freedom is the development of Abi and Bing characters. With the hope of achieving better living conditions, which are imposed continuously on the screens, Bing convinces Abi to participate in the competition. Bing thinks that thanks to the voice of Abi, she can get rid of dystopia and have a chance. However, these competition programs, which are shown continuously, have been determined within the system, and the individual is continually being manipulated to participate in these competitions. Bing's persuasion of Abi shows that the concept of freedom in synopticon is unconsciously adopted even by the so-called conscious individual, Bing. In addition, Abi is offered two options by the jury. Both options are for the benefit of the system, but Abi is manipulated by the jury and the audience since being in an erotic program is a more excellent source of income for the system. Although Abi thinks she is free in making decision, she still cannot go beyond the limits set by the system. Abi's decision indicates that synopticon controls the soul of the individual and compels him/her to choose from among the options of the system.

The most obvious example of the so-called freedom concept in synopticon is observed in the character of Bing, who questions the system due to the commodification

of Abi and wants to get rid of the system, gets on the stage and performs his resistance. Bing, who aims to get rid of the system to be free, is under pressure in the system and is re-adapted to the system, as he is an opponent character. Bing gets on the stage knowing that the conditions he is in are determined by the system and is not free, but jury members turn the resistance of Bing into a bigger resource for the system. The jury offers two options to Bing: either pedalling or making television programs on Hope's channel. Like those offered to Abi, both options are determined by the system and are useful for the functioning of the system. Bing accepts the jury's proposal which is an obvious example of manipulation by the system. Bing's decision shows that free will has been completely destroyed as a result of successful manipulation methods of the synopticon. Bing is one of the individuals whose mind and soul are controlled under the influence of synopticon. Thus, it is understood that the so-called definition of freedom in synopticon penetrates into the mind of every member of society.

2.3.6. Resistance

According to Foucault, the basis of resistance is not to discover what is happening but rejecting what we are (Foucault, 2000). Opposing all forms of subjectivity imposed on the individual is resistance, Foucault argues that, "Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault, 1990: 95). According to Foucault, who argues that power is composed of micro-mechanisms that rise from the bottom up, attention should not be directed to ruling power, its legal structure, and ideologies in power analysis (Foucault, 2004). Focusing on sovereignty, its concrete strategies, and the ability to make these strategies possible, attention should be paid to micro-operational mechanisms and information tools (Foucault, 2004). It is possible to encounter resistance mechanisms wherever there is power. While the form of resistance aimed at overthrowing the will of power by using force and violence is defined as active resistance, passive resistance that rejects the use of violence and force is exercised by individuals who advocate justice and freedom (Gandhi M.K., 2001). According to Henry Thoreau, passive resistance can be realized by just and brave people (Thoreau, 2014). In totalitarian regimes, negligible rule violations, the desire to carry out criminal acts in the regime, and even thinking and questioning are examples of passive resistance. In *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits*, where power is felt everywhere and intensely,

examples of passive resistance are found, which are different in the way they are handled.

In *The Handmaid's Tale*, Gilead applies an oppressive and disciplinary regime. It classifies individuals and restricts their rights and freedoms. In accordance with Foucault's definition of resistance, both the active and passive resistance examples are found everywhere since the existence of power is felt everywhere. Offred The protagonist of the novel, Maria, Nick, and Ofglen are among the characters involved in resistance actions. These characters, who live in a dystopian universe, show examples of small insignificant, and sometimes considerable and effective resistance because of longing for utopia. In the Gilead regime where communication is completely prohibited, Offred opposes authority by making minor rule violation, which seems ignorable, indicates Offred's freedom to act disobediently within the system. An example of passive resistance is that Offred makes eye contact and greetings with Nick, steals butter to use as a hand lotion, goes out of the night room without permission, singing and telling a story to herself, and meeting Nick without permission. The reason why rule violation is of serious importance is due to the fact that the individual can think and question which is threatening to the system. In Foucault's panopticon, individuals are aware that they are disciplined, therefore, they resist against leaving their mind under the control of power. Offred's thinking of committing crimes means that panopticon does not have an in-depth effect on the individual. Offred, completely alienated to her body, passively resists against giving control of her mind to the system. She tries to protect her mental health by telling her past stories at night hoping to survive from the dystopia she has to live in:

If it's a story I'm telling, then I have control over the ending. Then there will be an ending, to the story, and real life will come after it. I can pick up where I left off. (...) As long as we do this, butter our skin to keep it soft, we can believe that we will someday get out, that we will be touched again, in love or desire. We have ceremonies of our own, private ones (Atwood, 2014: 44-92).

Offred thinks of activating her passive resistance, started with minor rule violations, with resistance organization called Mayday that secretly saved rebel individuals from the regime. It is not clear who founded the organization and how it operates. She thinks Mayday is an impossible childish dream. The reason why she considers this organization as a spy novel is her belief that active resistance to power cannot be accomplished. Ofglen tells Offred with information she received from a

network called the Whisper newspaper, but due to the pressures of Gilead regime, the organization plots every move and is known to few. Mayday is also a password to hide what is spoken, and only people who know this password can speak about the resistance. Like every individual living under pressure, Ofglen lives with the hope of utopia, and Mayday is tangible form of this hope. She sees Mayday as a salvation, and the existence of the Mayday organization means active resistance:

The grapevine," she says. She pauses, looks sideways at me, I can sense the blur of white as her wings move. "There's a password," she says. "A password?" I ask. "What for?" "So you can tell," she says. "Who is and who isn't." Although I can't see what use it is for me to know, I ask, "What is it then?" "Mayday," she says. "I tried it on you once." "Mayday," I repeat. I remember that day. M'aidez. "Don't use it unless you have to," says Ofglen. "It isn't good for us to know about too many of the others, in the network. In case you get caught (Atwood, 2014: 182-183).

Another important character who resists against the regime is Moira. She, who does not bow to the dictators she is exposed to in Red Center, with Offred's help takes Aunt Elizabeth hostage in the sink. While threatening Elizabeth with the crowbar in her hand, she manages to escape from the Red Center by wearing Elizabeth's clothes. Offred, who helped Moira, plays an active role in this resistance. Moira's resistance includes violence and she eventually succeeds. Her ability to escape from the Red Center becomes a symbol of the hope of salvation for all women there. Moira, who threatens the system by changing the pre-dominant perception of system's invincibility, and proves that not only passive resistance but also active resistance is possible. Offred expresses sprouting of the hope for freedom after Moira's brave act:

Nevertheless, Moira was our fantasy. We hugged her to us, she was with us in secret, a giggle; she was lava beneath the crust of daily life. In the light of Moira, the Aunts were less fearsome and more absurd. Their power had a flaw to it. They could be shanghaied in toilets. The audacity was what we liked (Atwood, 2014: 125).

In the panopticon, power controls and monitors the individual everywhere, and they are aware of surveillance acts done deliberately. Every movement, discourse, and thought against the existing dictators can be accepted as an example of resistance. Those deprived of freedom question their past which provides an opportunity to think about their current conditions. Individuals who have the chance to compare their previous lives with their current lives can question the system. Although the system controls the body and mind of everyone, it cannot manage to completely control the soul. Offred's uncertain hope of returning to her utopia is conveyed to the reader at the end of the novel, where Nick tells Offred that those who come to her are all from Mayday which gives the reader a clue that Offred has survived.

In the novel, although the hope to escape from the totalitarian regime is conveyed to the reader by Offred, but it is wholly destroyed for another character, Moira. Caught by the system her resistance is questioned, then two options are offered to her: to work in a club called Jezebel or to be sent to colonies. Moira, who chose to work in Jezebel, was captured and turned into a resource for the system. Her resistance has improved her living conditions to a certain extent but is not considered real salvation.

Moira's objectification is a demonstration of totalitarian regimes' ability to make opposing individuals submissive. The concept of chastening which underlies the Foucault's panopticon model is conveyed primarily through the character of Moira. However, in panopticon dominated regimes, there is always a hope of getting rid of the system entirely, as in Offred's case. Awareness of the presence of an imposed pressure and power at any time, leads to conscious and always present resistance everywhere.

Similar examples of resistance mentioned in *The Handmaid's Tale* are also found in *15 Million Merits*, although there is no example of active resistance in the series due to the creation of a universe constructed under the rule of synopticon. Active resistance is fully conscious and violence and force is used to destroy the system. In *15 Million Merits*, individuals are not aware of the dystopia they live in, and their ability to question is also insufficient. In *15 Million Merits*, there is no trace of the individual's past. The individual who does not know his/her past does not have the opportunity to compare it with present situation. However, individual's search for instinctive freedom is observed. Those who exist in an artificial system represent the consumer society in a synopticon model universe and are considered as a resource of power, and those who work for the system are rewarded. Since individuals are not fully aware of existence of such a system, do passive rather than active resistance acts. The negligible rule violations are found in *15 Million Merits* as well.

That Abi makes origami penguin and Bing stores 'cuppliance' beverage box, are example of passive resistance. In addition, unlike *The Handmaid's Tale*, in this universe, system continually impels the individual to produce power in order to live in better conditions. Advertisements based on the propaganda of the system, which is always broadcast on the screens at any time, to instil hope of salvation in individuals' heart. Those who can accumulate 15 million merits by working hard can become a famous dancer, singer, or actor/actress if they participate in the competition programs mentioned in advertisements. Manipulation of the system increases the hope of eliminating the

vicious circle which has a profound effect on many individuals, who are aware that they are not living in a real universe, and see manipulative discourse of the system as an obstacle to reaching reality. For example, Bing is conscious of the artificial universe he lives in and is guided by manipulations of the system, although he hopes to do something real and live. He realizes that by pedalling, he can obtain virtual things which seem useless to him. Hearing Abi's voice, he realizes that it is the most real thing he has experienced all year round. Bing persuades Abi to participate in the contest and believes that Abi will achieve the perception of reality imposed by the system. The system determines achievable targets for individuals to produce energy by pedalling more and controls both their minds and souls. For Bing, Abi's participation in the competition is a form of resistance, and escaping this universe is equal with reaching the real universe. Bing uses the expression "I want something real to happen" (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 19) while he wants Abi to help herself out of this system. This statement shows that Bing aims to keep his hope of reaching real system alive:

BING: But that's all just stuff. It's stuff. It's confetti. You've got something real. What better to spend it on?

ABI: You heard me singing in a toilet and that's real?

BING: More than anything that's happened all year (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 18).

In Mathiesen's synopticon model, individuals are not entirely independent. Their bodies, minds, and even souls are always under control and discipline by the system. Although the individual is engaged in a resistance action, which can be easily ruled out by the system. Abi, who participates in the contest at Bing's request and insistence, faces another offer by the jury after singing her song. The jury, who says that her voice is appealing but not perfect, adores her body. The system has another plan for Abi who has been subjected to harassment by the jury from the moment she first got on the stage. Abi states that she wants to sing despite the Jury's harassment and sings her song. When she finishes her song, the jury tells her she can become a star on Wraith's adult channel and access anything she wants. They see her as an excellent resource for the system and give her two choices: either pedalling or working in the pornography industry. Abi, a shy woman, is not willing to accept this offer at first and tries to resist them. But in the synopticon model, the majority can control the minority, and with the jury's provocation, millions of people manipulate her to accept the offer. There is no opportunity for Abi to resist because of the beverage she had to drink and community pressure. Unable to resist pressures, Abi accepts the offer, although she is not sure:

JUDGE CHARITY: Realistically sweetheart, it is that or the bike.

ABI: I don't think I want to --

JUDGE HOPE: Okay. Know what, this is starting to annoy me.

JUDGE HOPE(CON'D): Millions of people, that's who. All out there right now, putting in an honest day on the bike, giving back to the world, while you stand in the light they're generating and dither. And you know what? They would give anything, do anything to be where you are now, to have what you have. (to audience) Am I right? (The audience cheers)

JUDGE HOPE (CONT'D): And you want to cock a snook at that, as though it's nothing. As though they're nothing. And that makes me sick. Someone boos loudly. Abi looks startled.

JUDGE HOPE (CONT'D): Well you know what, maybe you belong on the bike, because you don't seem willing to step of it.

ABI: I do want to. But I.

JUDGE HOPE: Do we have a decision?

ABI: I suppose (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 36-37).

Abi has many similarities in common with Moira in *The Handmaid's Tale*, such as choosing from among the offered options. Abi prefers to be the used as a commodity in the system, rather than pedalling, which seems to be the worst. Both female characters are commodified within the system, and they choose the best conditions according to their options. However, while Moira escapes from the Red Center by actively resisting the imposition of the system she is in, Abi decides to participate in the competition at Bing's insistence. Unlike Moira's choice, Abi's is not an active resistance. Whereas Moira is a completely conscious and harmful individual for the system, Abi is a harmless one under the control of the system. While the influence of the society is not observed in Moira's choice of Jezebel, Abi, who is in the synopticon model, chooses to be a commodity because she is exposed to manipulation of the society. These differences show that panopticon and synopticon model regimes have different effects and results on body, mind, and soul control.

Another example of resistance can be studied on Bing, who insists on Abi's participation in the competition, to realize his hope of achieving something real in the artificial universe. But even though Bing's desire arises from his instinctive search for freedom, manipulation of the system is also significantly effective. The propaganda of more beautiful lives on the screens steadily increases hope in him. Realizing the power of the system with Abi's situation, Bing shows the first example of resistance as anger. He does not want to watch Abi's porn ads, but he does not have enough merits to close the ad and tries to skip the ads by breaking the screens.

Although this scene is not considered an utterly active resistance, but it is the first time that a resistance action is performed by resorting to violence. Afterwards, Bing decides to participate in the contest because of his unhappiness, and he has to pedal for days to collect the necessary merits. Although Bing's perseverance seems to aim at

creating a gap in the system, in fact, it is a purposeless act. Bing wants to go on stage to tell everyone about the false universe he lives in and the jury that he sees as responsible for this universe. When the jury asks Bing whether he has a speech when he gets on stage he says that he has not prepared any and only worked to get on the stage which signifies being under the system's control.

Describing the artificiality of the universe in which he lived, by shouting to both jury and audience, he cannot escape being a victim of the system. The jury offers Bing a broadcast because they liked his speech and it is an example of controlling active resistance within the system, but Bing is not aware of what he can change in the system. The jury, who fully knows disciplinary mechanisms, finds a way to tame Bing. They offer options to both Abi and Bing, to manipulate them. Bing, who thinks he will be conscious by not drinking 'cuppliance' is entirely wrong. It is imposed on individuals that the only way to get rid of the artificial universe they live in is to perform well by participating in the competition program. That Bing spills out his hatred against the jury in the same competition program shows that Bing's soul and mind are still under the control of the system. Although Bing knows that Abi has been manipulated by the system, he still considers the competition as a way of resistance and salvation which demonstrates that the resistance is realized in the synopticon model as much as it is guided and limited by the system. Resistance possibilities are given to the individual consciously, and all of these possibilities are under the control of system, and the rebellious individual can be turned into a new source for the system. Indeed, Bing is objectified as a more significant resource in the system, by accepting the jury's offer. He thinks that he has accepted this offer with his free will, but he was manipulated like Abi. The manipulation was imposed on Bing by the jury, the community, and advertisements displayed on the screens at any time of the day. Bing voluntarily decides to become another wheel of the system, and his resistance is refuted by the system:

JUDGE HOPE: With a slot on one of my streams. Where you can speak just like that.

JUDGE CHARITY: I'd watch it. Great passion. Judge Wraith shrugs.

JUDGE WRAITH: He's okay. A little 'out there' but hey. The throat cutting thing's a neat gimmick.

JUDGE HOPE: What do you say? 30 minutes, twice a week? (The crowd starts slow-clapping, chanting, "do it")

JUDGE CHARITY: Beats the bike.

JUDGE HOPE: She said it (Brooker & Huq, 2011: 55).

Unlike *The Handmaid's Tale*, the spirit of the individual is controlled in *15 Million Merits*. Every movement and thought of the individual is controlled based on

entertainment and volunteering. Individuals with opposing thoughts are manipulated within the system and brought back to the system. Most importantly, the hope of the individual to get rid of the system is not a freely taken decision, but a method of manipulation imposed on the individual by the system to produce more power. Therefore, the individual tries to find a way to get rid of the system within the framework of the rules determined by the system. This shows that the individual's resistance is as meaningless as living and working in a synoptic universe controlled by virtual reality.

2.3.7. Discipline and Normalization

Since the 17th century, understanding of modern power has continued to develop with the unsettling of absolute authority and sovereignty bestowed from God to man. The right of power over life and death has gained a legal dimension; thus, positive power mechanisms have come into prominence instead of the system of regnancy. The productive governments that support life have taken steps to prepare the individual for society, and the bio-power period has begun by taking a right to life from power (Agamben, 1995). Bio-power is the disciplinary and regulatory power mechanism that treats the body as a machine. With bio-power, the law started to function as a norm. This transformation is the reason why Foucault says “we live in the normalization society” (Foucault, 2009).

While in disciplinary society, normal, and abnormal individuals are categorized and developed, there is no mention of such a distinction in control societies which are the consequences of a disciplinary society because there is a power mechanism in control societies that manifests itself in all aspects of life. Thanks to the changing law and punishment system in the 18th and 19th centuries, “the aim of the criminal system has been the supervision and surveillance of the society rather than defending society. It is intended not to torture bodies, but to tame them” (Foucault, 1977). Beginning to be used for the benefit of society by disciplining, the abnormal individual has created a less costly form of power. It is possible to transform the body from being a tormented thing into a consumable resource with the disciplinary regime.

One of the most important mechanisms used to discipline the individual is the panopticon model that Foucault brought to the literature. Super-panopticon and Mathiesen's synopticon models, which are defined as advanced forms of the panopticon, are also essential in the surveillance culture. The common aim of these management

systems is to create an ideal society by normalizing the individual according to the determined social norms. The ideal society consists of people who serve the benefits of the system without any question. The society is idealized to make control easy in *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits*, using panopticon, super-panopticon, and synopticon models. Every individual in the society in *The Handmaid's Tale* disciplines with the panopticon and super-panopticon models and the bio-policy required by the system is realized. In the Gilead regime, where fertility is low, women with biological competence are disciplined to be used as a breeding machine. In these methods, the panoptic model is applied predominantly. The system has defined the 'normal' individual criterion within its own interests. According to the Gilead regime, the 'normal' individual is who plays the role that is given to him without questioning the methods of the system. This normalization mostly deals with women. Women who are infertile are called handmaid, and they are disciplined in Red Center. In training women, black propaganda discredits the individual's past. Women start to adopt normality set by the system watching documentaries in which the prior understanding of freedom is questioned or despised. Every individual who does not serve the system in the Gilead regime is defined as a sinner. The Gilead regime, based on religious foundations, classifies individuals with different roles and discipline them. Those who behave inappropriately or disobediently step out of the system's lines and can be sent to the colonies or executed by the system. In this fear-ruling system, individuals are forced to control themselves. Since power has infiltrated every layer of life and makes its presence felt at every moment, the individual is obliged to provide self-control.

In addition, there are different control mechanisms created by the government. The most obvious example of these control and surveillance mechanisms is Eyes. The Eyes consists of men tasked with finding and punishing individuals against the regime. Anyone who goes beyond the normal individual criteria set by my system is detected by Eyes, and the necessary penalty is applied. Eyes is a visible surveillance mechanism in the Gilead regime. The Eyes represents the guardian identified in the Panopticon model. But there is another control mechanism that can be felt at any moment that does not appear in *The Handmaid's Tale* universe. In Gilead regime, which is built on fear and suspicion, everyone has the potential ability to become a spy of power. Handmaids who belong to the same class can become spies of each other and when they witness any anti-regime action, they may report it to the authorities. Not only handmaids but Aunts,

Marthas, Guardians, Commanders, and Wives also live with this suspicion, but since the handmaids are a vital source for the regime, the pressure is on them. This universe constructed with doubt obliges the individual to control and be controlled anywhere, and anytime. In an atmosphere of suspicion, everyone can become Eyes, and therefore every individual is obliged to act according to the normality criteria set by the regime.

Handmaids have to fulfil their responsibilities to the system. A normal handmaid is defined as obedient, and self-controlling who does not go beyond the red lines of the regime. Offred makes special effort, despite having difficulty in conforming to this definition. Handmaids are not allowed to show their eyes and cannot make any anti-regime speech. Offred who is aware of the rules, provides her own control to obey these rules. As examples of this control are Offred's behaviours when she encounters Japanese tourists, and her inner thoughts about the interpreter reveal control mechanism:

“They're asking if they can take your picture.” I look down at the sidewalk, shake my head for no. What they must see is the white wings only, a scrap of face, my chin and part of my mouth. Not the eyes. I know better than to look the interpreter in the face. Most of the interpreters are Eyes, or so it's said. I also know better than to say yes. Modesty is invisibility, said Aunt Lydia. Never forget it. To be seen—to be seen—is to be—her voice trembled—penetrated. What you must be, girls, is impenetrable. She called us girls (...) we are secret, forbidden, we excite them. Ofglen says nothing. There is a silence. But sometimes it's as dangerous not to speak (Atwood, 2014: 35).

In panopticon and super-panopticon, not every individual fully accepts the role imposed by the regime. This is due to the fact that the individual is conscious in panoptic systems and has a history to compare his/her presence with. Therefore, manipulative discourses are widely used to discipline the individual. Offred is not compatible with the regime's normality criteria. She makes great efforts to hide her anti-regime thoughts, and tries to seem as an obedient individual who has accepted all norms of the system and she has adopted many structures of thought imposed by the system.

Another abnormal character is Moira. She manages to escape from the Red Center because she cannot tolerate the pressure and bullying, but after she is busted, she is commodified within the system. Moira is sent to the club named Jezebel, and the system has turned her into a reasonable individual working in this club. Nick, Serena Joy, Cora, and Rita are also dissatisfied with the system, but the effects of the panopticon and super-panopticon cause them to act obediently.

In order to be a useful person, many handmaids try to have babies. Being useful to the system is one of the essential criteria of normalization. Over time, Janie fully abide with the normality criteria set by the system. Janie becomes an important person

for the system because she has a baby and lives as a valuable handmaid, because she is fertile. She is disciplined, and normalized by the system, and becomes a useful breeding machine. Janine's feeling proud of her pregnancy indicates the effect of the discipline and normalization mechanism within the system on the individual's mind:

As I pass she looks full at me, into my eyes, and I know who she is. She was at the Red Center with me, one of Aunt Lydia's pets. I never liked her. Her name, in the time before, was Janine. Janine looks at me, then, and around the corners of her mouth there is the trace of a smirk. She glances down to where my own belly lies flat under my red robe, and the wings cover her face. I can see only a little of her forehead, and the pinkish tip of her nose (Atwood, 2014: 33).

Unlike *The Handmaid's Tale*, the method of discipline in *15 Million Merits* is provided by the synopticon model. The individual is normalized and controlled under synoptic supervision. In *15 Million Merits*, the criterion of normality is determined over the middle class. As in every totalitarian regime, in *15 Million Merits*, society is classified and then disciplined, and the middle class is used as a power source within the system. The normality criterion in the middle class consists of people who are constantly pedalling. The ideal individuals are those who pedal without questioning, consume artificial nutrients, buy virtual items to their holograms, and most importantly, accumulate merits to participate programs that are propaganda for the system. In addition, having a certain weight and having a dynamic body for pedalling is a criterion of normality. When these criteria are considered, Bing, Dustin, and Abi are the individuals who have internalized the system. These individuals live under surveillance and control at any time with the synopticon discipline method. These individuals, who show the behaviours imposed by the system at every moment of their lives, are disciplined based on fear. The basic motivation of these middle class individuals, who continue their lives by pedalling, is not to fall into the lower-class. The normal and acceptable individual in the system is the one who is healthy, fit enough to pedal, and produces energy continuously. The lower-class cleaning workers are despised by propagandas on the screens. Individuals adapt to the criteria imposed by the system without questioning the system due to fear of falling into a lower class. For example, Dustin, who is completely disciplined with the propaganda on the screens humiliates the cleaning workers and makes fun of them. He is a normalized character in the synoptic system disciplines:

DUSTIN: Oh for Christ's sake. (turns to address her) Way to moodkill, blubbernaut. Cheers for the reflection. (The cleaner just looks at him.)
DUSTIN (CONT'D): One minute I'm in slitsville, the next there's a haunted pig gawping at me. They may as well have cut to a war crime.

(...)

DUSTIN: Told you. Gone lemon, the lazy fuck.

DUSTIN (to cleaner): Christ's sake! I pay for this! I! Pay! For! This! I pump my arse off and you-- fuck you (Brooker & Huq 2011: 39).

The system controls the individual's soul not only with the fear of falling to the lower class but also with the hope of reaching to the upper class. The propaganda of the system is made continuously in the advertisements shown on the screens to impose the hope of getting rid of the artificial and virtual universe in which the individual lives and it makes the individual easily adapted to the standard criteria of the system. Also, since individuals living in this synoptic universe have no memory of their past, they do not know what it means to live in a real universe. Therefore, individuals can question their conditions to the extent permitted by the system. Bing defines his aim in offering Abi to participate in the contest as his desire to achieve something real in his life. However, the life condition, which is described as real for Bing, has been already determined by the system. Bing cannot imagine anything outside the system. His insistence on Abi's participation in the contest indicates that the propaganda has normalized him. Individuals who accumulate more merits in the hope of becoming famous are more important than others. They have the potential to turn into a more significant resource by the jury. As a matter of fact, Abi has accepted to work in an adult content channel with jury and community pressure and has become a bigger resource for the system. Abi is a disciplined character both in the middle-class and the upper class categories. She became objectified as a resource at the request of the system.

On the other hand, although Bing is aware of the pressure and manipulation applied on Abi, he tries to find a way out of the system again by going on stage which indicates individual's disciplining by synopticon. After witnessing the events, Bing starts to question the artificial universe in which he lives. In the synopticon model, not only the body and mind of the individual but also the spirit is disciplined. Bing as a disciplined one wants to create a gap in the system, but turns into a more significant source for the system, because he does not have the ability to think independently and apart from the system. That has profoundly affected him both in the soul and mind and he accepts the 'real' life promised to him on the stage, although he does not drink the 'cuppliance' drink. Bing is a rebellious individual, his performance on stage appeals to the jury, but it is the consequence of a propaganda that disciplines the individual at every moment of life. Bing, who cannot think independently, considers himself an independent subject but he is objectified by the system. The method of discipline in the

synopticon is to make the individual feel free under limited conditions. Although Bing thinks that he accepts the jury's proposal at his own will, it is the system which has the power to use individual and discipline as it wants. Mathiesen's synopticon aims to create obedient and system-dependent individuals whom are emulated by the minority. All the characters mentioned above are normalized individuals who adapt to disciplining criteria in different aspects. The normalization demonstrates that the synopticon model surveillance mechanism is more successful than the panopticon and super-panopticon models.

CONCLUSION

Different discipline methods such as fear, manipulation, surveillance, classification, and social class discrimination, alienation and isolation, restrictions, the concept of freedom, resistance, discipline and normalization were mostly used in both works. The way these methods, which have the same objectives, are handled in the works differs. The reason for this is that while the novel is a work constructed in the context of Foucault's panopticon and Lyon's super-panopticon, the series is constructed in the context of Mathiesen's synopticon model. Totalitarian regimes have used similar methods in each period to idealize society, but these methods have been developed over time and become more productive, given the distinctive political and social structure of each period. While the discipline methods applied by the regime in *The Handmaid's Tale* can be analysed by Foucault's panopticon model or Lyon's super-panopticon model, however, the panopticon is insufficient to explain the discipline methods used in *15 Million Merits*. Considering the difference of historical period of the works, the developing social structure and technology, and control mechanisms in the series could be revealed with the Mathiesen's synopticon model. In addition, the information obtained as a result of analyses in the same section was interpreted, and the similarities and differences of both works were revealed under the subtitles mentioned above.

The control mechanisms used in the works have common aspects. When examined in the context of surveillance culture, fear, manipulation, and surveillance are among the most prominent of these mechanisms. In both works, these control mechanisms serve the same purpose, but their application on society varies. While these mechanisms are applied to the individual within the framework of the panopticon and super-panopticon model in *The Handmaid's Tale*, in *15 Million Merits*, they are applied within the framework of the synopticon. As the oppressive and tyrannical attitude of panopticon turned into volunteering in the synopticon model, the way society was idealized has changed. While the individuals examined in the novel reflect a conscious and questioning character despite fear, manipulation and surveillance, the individuals in the series have lost their ability to question completely in virtual reality. While the concept of fear in the novel threatens the life of individuals, the concept of fear in the series threatens their status. Thus, fear-based discipline is effectively implemented in both works. In addition, the crucial reason for the effective functioning of the fear

mechanism is that the surveillance culture is widely used in both works. The surveillance system, which is explained with panopticon and synopticon models, obliges the individual to obey the regime's rules in both works.

Another method used to create an ideal society is the classification of society. In both works, it is seen that society is classified in different ways, and these classes must hold to the regime's wishes. In *The Handmaid's Tale*, the handmaids are the most exposed class to manipulation and discipline as a national resource, while in *15 Million Merits*, the pedalling class individuals who are more beneficial for the regime are exposed to similar manipulations and discipline methods. It is seen that the classification used in both works leads to class distinction. The commanders represent upper class in the novel as privileged class, in the series the jury members represent this privileged class. Because of the hierarchical structure, the social order has been designed with a pragmatist approach which means those who are beneficial are privileged in both works.

As another example of social classification, gender inequality is evident in both works. In *The Handmaid's Tale*, it is observed that women are deprived from their rights and turned into source, or commodity, while a woman trying to move to upper-class in *15 Million Merits* is turned into a sexual object and commodity by the system. In both works, women are commodified and used for the benefit of the system.

The subject of alienation and isolation has a great place in both works. The individual is controlled by being isolated, and it is seen that the individuals who become isolated are alienated from society and themselves, and from their own body and dreams. Both works have similar alienation examples, but the subject of isolation differs. In *The Handmaid's Tale*, while the individuals are condemned to loneliness by power, they mostly prefer loneliness despite the limited possibilities in *15 Million Merits*. This difference arises from the phenomenon of volunteering, which is different in panopticon and synopticon models.

In both works, it was found that individuals are exposed to restrictions of private property rights, eating and drinking habits, spatial, and even mental restrictions. Since the pressure of the regime is noticeably felt in the novel, these restrictions attract considerable attention. However, in *15 Million Merits* the boundaries determined by the regime are not questioned which attract many characters' attention because of the virtual reality created.

The concept of freedom has been changed by regimes in both works and gained a new form. In the novel, concept of freedom was redesigned, and individuals have the freedom to avoid something. It is clear that this definition does not reflect the concept of real freedom. Individuals are free to act for the benefit of the system; otherwise, their behaviour is severely punished. Considering this definition of freedom, it is not possible to talk about real freedom in the novel. Unlike *The Handmaid's Tale*, freedom defined in *15 Million Merits* is arranged almost in accordance with its meaning and individuals continue their lives believing that they are free. While this fallacy takes away the questioning skill of the individual, it also facilitates functioning of the system. The virtual reality created on the basis of synopticon convinces the individual to be free. Thus, it is not possible to talk about the existence of real freedom in both works.

Considering Foucault's sentence that, "there is resistance wherever there is power" (Foucault, 1989), examples of resistance are found in both works as in totalitarian regimes. Examples of resistance were generally found to be passive resistance in both works. In the novel, resistance actions that are usually exemplified in Offred are passive but effective. The desire for resistance arising the longing for utopia was handled as minor rule violations, anti-regime discourses, and behaviours. In addition, the presence of a resistance organization called Mayday and the act of escaping the Moira character from the Red Center are examples of active resistance. The reason for finding active or passive resistance examples in the novel is due to the implementation of a panopticon discipline system. Individuals who are conscious of the panopticon model can question the regime and aim to get rid of the dystopia in which they live yearning for utopia. Unlike Foucault's panopticon, unconscious individuals in Mathiesen's synopticon do not define the situation they are in as dystopia, and they do not show a real example of resistance with longing for utopia. Due to the construction of a synopticon model system in the series, resistance examples were found as passive actions. In *15 Million Merits*, unlike Offred, Bing's resistance does not create a serious impact. Since the resistance and objection rights of individuals are taken under control in the series, Bing has demonstrated his anti-system actions within limits determined by the system. Although similar examples of resistance are found in both works, while the resistance in the novel is put forward effectively and in accordance with its purpose, the resistance actions in *15 Million Merits* cannot be removed from the system. Thus, despite the pressure and fear mechanism created by panopticon in *The Handmaid's Tale*

resistance is effective, but in *15 Million Merits* synopticon is dominant, and resistance is a virtual reality that is based on volunteerism like anything else.

Surveillance culture was used as a method of discipline and normalization in both works. In *The Handmaid's Tale*, panopticon and super-panopticon models were used, while in *15 Million Merits*, the synopticon model is used to discipline society. Both works have criteria for normality set by the regimes and societies are disciplined to comply with those criteria. Different surveillance models affect normalization process in different ways. While the individual who is conscious in Foucault's panopticon model has difficulty in accepting the norms determined by the system, the volunteers in the synopticon model accept these norms. Analysing both works, it was found that method of discipline and normalization worked more successfully in Mathiesen's synopticon model, because synopticon can control body, mind, soul of the individual. People, whose only bodies and minds are controlled, become conscious of the control mechanism they are in. Since Foucault's panopticon is a surveillance model that tyrannizes people to obey the system, people can resist, being aware that they are being watched and controlled. On the contrary, people whose spirit is under control cannot realize that the system they are in controls them. Since Mathiesen's synopticon is a surveillance culture based on volunteering and entertainment, individuals are aware of neither control nor surveillance. People whose spirit is controlled continue their lives unaware of the existence of a power and oppression and live in the virtual reality that the system offers them.

Analysing *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits* in the context of surveillance culture reveals the profound impact of panopticon, super-panopticon, and synopticon model surveillance systems on the individual and society. These systems, which serve the aims of totalitarian regimes to create an ideal society, have the same result although they are handled in different ways. The society is disciplined and exploited continuously with a pragmatist approach. The reason that surveillance systems have changed over the years and gained new forms is the desire of the power to rule and exploit. Considering modern societies, it is seen that these discipline systems manipulate and govern societies in all areas of life. Technological developments of the 21st century, paved the way for the governments to use synopticon, panopticon, and super-panopticon models. Considering these evaluations, it is understood why Atwood preferred to use definition of speculative fiction rather than dystopia for *The Handmaid's Tale*. Because

almost all the control mechanisms used by Atwood and Brooker are applied by today's governments to rule people. The examples of control and management systems used in *The Handmaid's Tale* and *15 Million Merits* are common in today's world. In other words, the represented surveillance mechanisms in both works have different examples in real life.

REFERENCES

- Adam, J. (2011). *Braue New Worlds*. San Francisco: Night Shade Books Publishing.
- Agamben, G. (1995). *Homosacer Sovereign Power Bare Life*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi.
- Atwood, M. (2014). *The Handmaid's Tale* . United States: Brilliance Corporation.
- Bentham, J. (1995). *The Panopticon Writings*. (London: Verso: Ed. Miran Bozovic .
- Beriş, H. E. (2006). Egemenliğin Dönüşümü: Tarihsel ve Siyasal Açından Egemenlik. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 56-80.
- Brooker, C., & Huq, K. (2011). BLACK MIRROR - 15 Million Merits.
- Brooker, C., & Huq, K. (2013, May 15). Black Mirror 15 Million Merits. New York City, USA.
- Carmichael, J. (2012, June 26). Social Control. *Oxford Bibliographies*.
- Çoban, B. (2009). Yeni Panoptikon, Gözün İktidarı ve Facebook. *Yeditepe Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*, Sayı: 10.
- Ebenstein, A., & Ebenstein, W. (1960). *Book Reviews: Great Political Thinkers: Plato to the Present*. New York: Western Political Quarterly.
- Foucault, M. (1977-1978). *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin Print.
- Foucault, M. (1988). *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1990). *The History of Sexuality Vol I* . New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (200). *Özne ve İktidar*. (I. Ergüden, & O. Akınhay, Trans.) İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yatınları.

- Foucault, M. (2004). *Naissance de la biopolitique. Cours au Collège de France (The Birth of Biopolitics)*. (G. BURCHELL, Trans.) Paris: Seuil/Gallimard.
- Gandhi, M. K. (2001). *Non-violent Resistance (Satyagrah)*. New York: Courier Corporation.
- Gandy, O. (1993). *The Panoptic Sort: A Political Economy of Personal Information*. California: Avalon Publishing.
- Giddens, A. A. (1981). *Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. California: University of California Press.
- Grant, J. A. (2001). "Class Definition Of". In B. R. Jones, *Routledge Encyclopedia of International Political Economy: Vol: 1 Entries A-F* (p. 161). London and New York: Routledge.
- Gray, A. (1946). *The Socialist Tradition*. London: Longmans Green.
- Hanisch, C. (1969). *Kişisel Olan Politiktir: Radikal Feminizm Üzerine*. (H. Aliefendioğlu, & A. Nazar Erişkin, Trans.) İstanbul: Kült İletişim. Retrieved 2013
- Hannam, J. (2007). *Feminizm*. Harlow, England ; New York: Pearson/Longman.
- Heupel, , T., & von Juterzenkab, M. (2015). From a Weak Signal to a boiling frog syndrome Opportunities and Threats of legal boundaries in the paper- based packaging supply chain! *ScienceDirect, 4th WCBEM, 722-728*. doi:DOI: 10.1016/S2212-5671(15)00829-1
- Hobbes, T. (1894). *LEVIATHAN, The Matter, Form and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil* (Fourth Edition ed.). Manchester and New York: George Routledge and Sons.
- Josephson, E., & Josephson, M. (1962). "Introduction" *Man Alone; Alienation In Modern Society*. New York: Dell Pub. Co.
- Kadi, J. (1996). *Thinking Class: Sketches from a Cultural Worker*. Michigan University: South End Press.

- Kalorkoti, E. (2017, March 10). *google.com*. Retrieved from The New York Times:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/10/books/review/margaret-atwood-handmaids-tale-age-of-trump.html>
- Köse, H. (2011). *"Synopticon" Evresindeki İletişim ya da Küresel Gözetim Toplumunda 'İktidar Görünmezliği'nin Sonu', Medya Mahrem*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Lianos, M. (2003). "Social Control After Foucault". (D. Wood, Ed.) *Surveillance & Society*, 1(3), 412-430. doi:<https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v1i3.3348>
- Lyn, E. (Director). (2011). *Black Mirror, 15 Million Merits* [Motion Picture].
- Lyon, D. (1994). *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of Surveillance Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press; Malden MA: Blackwell.
- Lyon, D. (2001). *Surveillance Society : Monitoring Everyday Life*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Macey, D. (2005). *Michel Foucault*. (Z. Okan, Trans.) İstanbul: Güncel Yayıncılık.
- Machiavelli, N. (1961). *The Prince*. Toronto: Penguin Classics.
- Marx, G. T. (2004). What's New About the "New Surveillance"?: Classifying for Change and Continuity. *Knowledge, Technology, & Policy*, 18-37. doi:DOI: 10.1007/BF02687074
- Mathiesen, T. (1997). The Viewer Society: Michel Foucault's 'Panopticon' Revisited. *Theoretical Criminology*, 215-234. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480697001002003>
- McRae, K. D. (1962). *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale A Facsimile Reprint of the English Translation of 1606, Corrected and Supplemented in the Light of a New Comparison with the French and Latin Texts*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Neuman, S. (2006). 'Just a Backlash': Margaret Atwood, Feminism, and The Handmaid's Tale. *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 75(3), 857-868. doi:<https://doi.org/10.3138/utq.75.3.857>

O'Neill, J. (2007-2008). Disiplin Toplumu: Weber'den Foucault'ya. *Doğu Batı Dergisi*, 43.

Orwell, G. (1950). *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. New York: Signet Classics.

Rousseau, J. J., & In Frankel, C. (1947). *The Social Contract*. New York: Hafner Publishing Co.

Thoreau, H. D. (2014). *Civil Disobedience*. United States of America: Cover Design by Ben Jenkins.