DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY
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DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE
AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE PROGRAM
MASTER'S THESIS

POWER AND RESISTANCE:

THE HUNGER GAMES TRILOGY AS A SOCIAL CRITICISM

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İZMİR- 2017

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled as "Power and Resistance: *The Hunger Games* Trilogy as a Social Criticism" has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resourses in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

…../…../2017

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ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

Power and Resistance: *The Hunger Games* Trilogy as a Social Criticism

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In Suzanne Collins' trilogy *The Hunger Games* which has turned out to be a worldwide phenomenon, the setting is a post-apocalyptic country newly recovered from a disaster, and ruled by a group of privileged people living in the Capitol. The Capitol is the supreme power that enforces its orders and restrictions in order to preserve the importance and well being of the ruling class throughout the story. The readers encounter a far reaching citizen control and a great oppression caused by the cruel government of the Capitol via the means of constant surveillance and observation. After seeing Katniss being able to break the rules of the Capitol in the Games and still survive, the people who are already aware of the flaws of the Capitol see it no more as unchangeable. The spark Katniss gives to the citizens of Panem becomes bigger in time; she becomes "the face of the rebellion" eventually leading a revolutionary war.

Each society and individual has a certain attitude towards power and reacts rather differently. In the thesis, I aim to demonstrate an analysis of a dystopian society in which children are forced to fight against each other to survive, and the privileged people of the country watching them for pleasure, as a portrayal of present state of global society, which appears to be indifferent to the sufferings of other people.

Keywords: Social criticism, critical dystopia, power, resistance, hope, revolution.

ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Güç ve Direniş: Sosyal Eleştiri Modeli olarak *Açlık Oyunları* Üçlemesi

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Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Amerikan Kültürü ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı

Amerikan Kültürü ve Edebiyatı Programı

Suzanne Collins'in dünya çapında büyük bir ilginin odağı olan *Açlık Oyunları* Üçlemesi, felaket sonrası Kapitol'da yaşayan ayrıcalıklı grup tarafından yönetilen bir ülkeyi betimler. Kapitol yönetimi en üstün güçtür ve üçleme boyunca yönetici sınıfın önemini korumak ve sürekliliğini sağlamak için yasaklar uygular. Okuyucular, sürekli baskı ve gözetim altında tutma yöntemiyle vatandaşlarını ülkenin en ücra köşelerde bile kontrol edebilen bir güce şahit olurlar. Katniss'in Açlık Oyunları'nda Kapitol'ün kurallarını bozmasını ve buna rağmen hayatta kalmayı başarmasını gören ve Kapitol'ün yanlışlarının zaten farkında olan halk, Kapitol'ün değiştirilemeyen bir güç olmadığını görür. Katniss'in Panem halkında yol açtığı direniş kıvılcımı zamanla büyür ve Katniss isyanın öncüsü olarak devrim savaşında görev alır. Bu tezde, gençlerin hayatta kalabilmeleri için birbirleriyle savaştıkları ve ülkenin ayrıcalıklı insanlarının onları zevkle izledikleri bir toplum modeli analiz edilerek, Collins'in diğer insanların çektikleri eziyetlere karşı kayıtsız kalan toplumu ve totaliter hükümetlerin sebep olduğu savaşların toplumu insanlıktan uzaklaştırmalarını eleştirmesi günümüz toplumlarına benzetilmiş, güç ve direniş başlıkları altında irdelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Eleştiri, Eleştirel Distopya, Güç, Direniş, Umut, Devrim.

POWER AND RESISTANCE:
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INTRODUCTION

Following Thomas More's timeless work Utopia (1516), a considerable number of literature has been published on utopian studies. Since utopia is an appealing concept by promising a hope for the better, it tempts people's hidden desire to question their lives and find a way to reach ideal life. Investigating utopia has been a continuing concern within different branches of academic research areas. In contemporary society, Utopian and Dystopian studies have become one of the central issues for literary studies, along with other branches of academic research. In time the concept of ideal world, the meaning of which varies from people to people, has started to be questioned since it is unrealizable and placed in nowhere. Some utopian ventures, ideal society structures which were initiated with good intentions, brought unexpected results and turned out to be dystopian.

In recent years, works of contemporary fiction such as Harry Potter series, Twilight and Lord of the Rings depict a quite different environment than the setting in *The Hunger Games* trilogy. The world in *The Hunger Games* trilogy is a new type of a setting in young adult literature which used to include supernatural and fantastic elements. Starting from the nineteenth century, the interest in supernatural elements like magical powers, flying dragons, or vampires have faded away and a more down-to-earth novels set in a socially possible setting has started to replace them in young adult literature. By constantly giving clues of possible future of modern life, *The Hunger Games* trilogy implements the idea of how people's careless actions may bring them unhappiness and turning their world into a dystopia.

The Hunger Games trilogy is a work of American author Suzanne Collins who has started her professional career working on children's television in 1991. The trilogy consists of three books: *The Hunger Games*(2008), *Catching Fire* (2009), and *Mockingjay* (2010). The first book, which was first published in the United States in 2008, immediately became famous not only among teenagers-who were the initial target audience of the author but also among older people. The book gained worldwide fame and has sold millions of copies until now. Following the success of the first book, the second book was released in 2009. The final book of the trilogy, *Mockingjay* was published one year later, in 2010. The trilogy has been translated into twenty-six different languages and has sold thirty million copies

worldwide.[1]Moreover, in August 2012, an online shopping website Amazon declared *The Hunger Games* as its top seller because it sold even more than Harry Potter series did.

In an online article, Susan Dominus investigates the childhood influences of Collins while choosing the setting and themes of her books. Her father was a military pilot having a role in Vietnam War, he influenced her when she was young. In the trilogy, Collins adopts her father's desire to show the wrong being and consequences of war (Dominus). In an interview, Suzanne Collins clarifies her other inspirations while she was writing her trilogy. She states that her inspiration comes from the Greek myth of Theseus and the Minotaur (Blasingame, J., & Collins, S., 2009: 727). In the myth, the punishment in ancient Athens is described. Seven youths and seven maidens were used to be sent to Crete, locked into a labyrinth and "devoured by the monstrous Minotaur". She continues her speech, "In keeping with the classical roots, I send my tributes into an updated version of the Roman gladiator games, which entails a ruthless government forcing people to fight to the death as popular entertainment".[2] The Roman Gladiator Games and the Hunger Games have significant similarities: a destructive authority power, fighting for life, and public amusement during the games. These similarities probably add to the success and popularity of the trilogy. Fighting for survival and regarding one's own life as a priority were the key elements both in the Roman Games and the Hunger Games.

Why and how did this work become popular? What is so alluring about *The Hunger Games*? It has familiar elements like romance, adventure, and rebellion. In other words, the trilogy consists of two rounds of Games, a love story, a rebellion and an ultimate war of revolution. It is perhaps not dealing with new themes, but the way Suzanne Collins sets the plot, the way she shapes the characters and the way she depicts the events put her trilogy one step ahead of its contemporary rivals. The first reason of its becoming popular might be its narrative point of view, which is the first person narrative. The protagonist, Katniss Everdeen, is a common character whom one can encounter in every society and in everyday life. She is tested with her family

[1] Goldstein, Jack and Taylor, Frankie. *101 Amazing Facts about The Hunger Games*.AUK Authors.May 2014. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/deulibrary/detail.action?docID=10873864. (21.06.2016).
[2] Eby, Douglas. Suzanne Collins on Writing The Hunger Games and More. http://theinnerwriter.com/325/suzanne-collins-writing-hunger-games/. (24.07.2016).

ties, hunger, and finally with love. Everybody could identify with her easily. A teenager giving importance to family relations and morals of the society may feel herself close to Katniss. Katniss' self-sacrifice for her family arouse sympathy, on the other hand, her rebellious and questioning character arouse awareness of the social issues in the readers. While the reader pities her when she volunteers in place of her sister in the Hunger Games, s/he is also attracted by her rebellious character - when she offers eating the poisonous berries and turns the tables on the gamemakers. In short, Katniss is both vulnerable when her emotional side is considered, and outstanding when her courage is considered.

Dystopian novels have been gaining popularity in recent years. Seeing their popularity among people from different ages and cultures, most of these novels have been shot in the last decades. The interest in this genre has arisen due to the controversial issues it deals with. The topics which dystopian novels call forth are the topics which people try either to avoid or not prefer discussing in their lives. In *The Hunger Games* trilogy, Suzanne Collins introduces her readers a futuristic dystopian society and the story takes place in a post-apocalyptic world. A breathtaking adventure in an imperfect world, some controversial issues, a victim that tries to run away from his current unhappy situation and an oppressive authority power; gathering these dynamics, *The Hunger Games* offers its readers an evocative thriller. The story takes place in a world which can also be regarded as a falsified mirror of our own world. The reader encounters many contemporary and everyday themes in the story, and sees how the character welcomes all the hardships. Waiting to see how the character is going to get out of the situation, at home and in a safe environment, the readers experience "catharsis" which might be a way of "purgation" according to *Poetics* written by Aristotle. Thrilling stories like *The Hunger Games*, "redirect our fears towards something external, grotesque, and finally ridiculous, in order to puncture them. On the other hand, fear might have a secret allure, so that what we need to purge is the desire for the thrill that comes with fear". Moreover, these types of stories also supply "a secure way to indulge and satisfy the longing to feel afraid, and go home afterward satisfied, the desire is purged, temporarily, by being fed".[3] The thrilling stories act like a cure to the feeling of fear and make the people feel

[3]Sachs, Joe. Aristotle:Poetics. http://www.iep.utm.edu/aris-poe/. (20.04.2017).

relieved. This purgation also happens when people are watching dramas on stage. When a character undergoes a tragic situation, at the beginning the audience feels pity for him, but later they feel relieved that they are not the real subjects of the situation. Even Aristotle linked catharsis with "the tragic pleasure", which means the readers also get a hidden pleasure from what they have read. The situation is the same in *The Hunger Games* trilogy, one of the significant reasons why *The Hunger Games* is so alluring is the feeling of relief and pleasure caused by the things do not literally affect the readers. Whatever the tributes experience in the arena, the readers keep reading to fulfil their inner relief and secretly they may also get pleasure from reading and watching these scenes.

In the twentieth century people are accustomed to the reality television shows which are shot for the sake of the entertainment of the audience. In these kinds of shows, the participants are expected to behave naturally, and not as actors following a script. Watching the people just being themselves may sometimes be boring and the programme may not get enough rating. Thus, most of the times, the television people take the turn and to increase the ratings, they rotate the things happening in the programme. By this way, they can adapt the current popular themes into the programme. A programme, which has real characters and popular or controversial topics of the time, is being watched by more people and is provided support by more sponsors. The Hunger Games is also a reality show, in the beginning not fictional, but later in order to get more sponsors, the tributes are asked to act out a scenario written by the gamemakers. What is real and what is fictional are sometimes confusing. The modern-day media is highly fascinated by constructed reality along with humankind's hidden interest in violence. The evil which characters encounter in the Hunger Games tempts the audience of Panem to watch the games, as it tempts the readers to read and learn more.

The romantic subplot of the books is also another trivial theme to attract the readers' attention. The love story between Katniss and Peeta –fictional at the beginning but later turns out to be real– makes the story more appealing. Especially, maintanence of life concept becomes more severe regarding their love affair. They have to appear in love or show their love to the audience in order to survive the tough conditions in the arena. The more they are in love, the more they get the sympathy of

the audience of Panem, which means they eventually get more sponsors in the games. In real life, people tend to attach more importance to be liked by others. Social media provides a platform where they can be anyone they want to be and do the things they do not do normally, just to be liked by their followers.

While writing about *The Hunger Games*, mentioning about the film versions is inevitable. Suzan Collins' trilogy started to be shot by a prospering director Gary Ross in 2012. Suzanne Collins was actively in the process of the film making, she was one of the screenwriters and the scenes in the movies were approved by her. Jennifer Lawrence was selected to portray "Katniss Everdeen" whereas Joshua Ryan Hutcherson was selected for "Peeta Mellark". Jennifer Lawrence is an "academy award-winning" actress born in 1990, in Kentucky. Finding a life chance with The Hunger Games sequels, she won various awards, including "Saturn Award- Best Actress" for her acting in 2013. In "Broadcast Film Critics Association Awards", she won "Critics Choice Award" as the best in actress in an action movie with The Hunger Games (2012). Furthermore, in "Empire Awards-UK", she was selected as the "Best Actress" in 2013.

While shooting the first movie, director Gary Ross tried not to lose the links with the book because he wanted his audience not to feel themselves as watching a movie, instead he wanted them to feel as if they were in the arena with Katniss. When Ross was asked during an interview if he had thought about "voiceover narration" to give the audience a feeling of Katniss' "internal dialogue", he replied as following:

> *No, never. Because I never wanted you to feel like you were in a movie. I wanted you to feel like you were in the games. I wanted you to feel like you were in her world. I wanted you to feel like you were in the Capitol. And the minute I engage in voiceover, I shatter that and I tell you that you're in a movie and I create a distance I don't want. I want engagement not distance. And I felt that I could convey everything, especially with an actress like Jen (Lawrence). I mean, I don't need to articulate in text what Jen is more than capable of doing in subtext, you know?*

He was devoted to doing his best to adapt the book to a movie:

> *The idea of Katniss fighting for her own humanity in a system that wants to strip her of humanity, who wants her to be complicit in these games, to play the game, and the evolution of her own sense of ethics and her empathy and her compassion and her sense of who she is and her own moral line that leads to*

this act of defiance that is the thing that sparks the revolution, I thought that was fantastic.[4]

This study provides an important opportunity to advance the understanding of the roots and the means and ultimate consequences of oppressive power in various societies, especially in dystopian societies. The power and authority relationship in dystopian novels will be portrayed in detail. Showing how power becomes invisible in time and focusing on the mind of the subject rather than the body of the subject, this thesis concentrates on utopian and dystopian modes of writing discussing its interest in exercise of power, control of the people and resistance to the power.

In *The Hunger Games* trilogy, Collins attempts to criticise today's society. In her work, she highlights the corruption of purity of people and morals. Through this thesis, my objective is to give examples and show how the trilogy functions as a social criticism of our present world. The way humans treat the other humans and the environment they live in has changed unfavourably. Collins refers to controversial subjects; she depicts the games as a punishment for the oppressed citizens whereas it is an entertainment for the upper class in the society. Food is a way of control by which the authorities threaten the poor whereas food comes at a touch of a button for the privileged elite. There is a sharp difference between the lifestyles of people in the districts and the Capitol, there are various thought- provoking examples in the trilogy that emphasize the inequality and inhumanity. Moreover, the trilogy also criticises the effect of media upon people. By portraying a constantly surveilled country, and people who avoid opposing to authority, Collins refers to today's society which is always controlled by cameras put by state or social media. For instance, appearance is highly important for the tributes since the better and stronger they are perceived the more sponsors they get in the games. It can be resembled to the social media use in everyday life, the perception of people's lives which are controlled by social media via their personal electronic hand-held devices. The same devices are also used for surveillance of individuals, like the citizens from Panem.

The thesis is going to start with describing the idea of Utopia with giving some examples of Utopian thinking in famous works. Later it will continue with the concept of Dystopia and how the utopian venture turned out to be dystopia. Focusing

[4]Cornet, Roth. Director Gary Ross Talks 'The Hunger Games,' Katniss & Politics. http://screenrant.com/hunger-games-interviews-gary-ross-rothc-162268/. (24.07.2016).

on literary archetypes of the target work *The Hunger Games* trilogy in American Literature, the thesis will dig out through the roots of the genre. Background information will be given and the motivations of the writer will be portrayed. The genre will be analysed deeply, and other significant classic or contemporary examples of the same kind will be gone through. The claim that *The Hunger Games* trilogy is a critical dystopia will be proven with the links to power and resistance in the society. In the chapter titled "Power and Control", the exercise of power, the means of punishment and the consequences of the power will be analysed through the lens of a well-known French philosopher and thinker Michel Foucault and discussed by various examples from *The Hunger Games* trilogy. The roots of punishment will be given with how penal processes come to exist in their present form and what consequences follow them. Punishment's role in today's world is not recognized well enough, it is a highly ambiguous concept in some societies. It is not regarded as a result of the hidden effect of ratified institutions, instead it is regarded as a result of penal practices themselves. The taken-for-granted methods of punishment takes the responsibility of our thinking on the punishment itself, there are certainly set ways that we do not need to consider or question. By this way, people's thoughts are guided and framed by the institutions. The institutions give us all the answers: what is offense against the law, who should be punished, how people should show their emotions... all staying within the given borders by the authorities. Then, no more questions are asked. Here, the idea that the Hunger Games is a punishment for the citizens will be proven by striking examples from the trilogy. The Hunger Games plays two roles in Panem society: to constantly show the power of the Capitol to the citizens and to entertain the upper class living in the Capitol. The viewers of the telecasted program of the Hunger Games enjoy watching people suffer in the games arena and suppor the violence by being sponsors to the successful tributes.

The government of Panem can be described as a sublime power causing a great oppression and control on people via the means of surveillance and observation. The most effective surveillance always involves visibility, because the more one can see, the more one can control. With the transition from the early modern monarchy to the late modern capitalist state, the understanding of power-punishment relationship has

altered. Previously, power was visibly exerted, mostly by the destruction of the body of the criminal. However, lately power becomes invisible and focuses on the mind of the subject. In the twenty first century, people are under surveillance in every stage of their lives. Nothing escapes from the law, everything is captured by the cameras or other people and can be easily traced with the help of internet. While mentioning the altering ways of controlling power, twentieth century surveillance of the authority will be resembled to Panopticon Project designed by Jeremy Bentham. Bentham's Panopticon design will be compared with the government and citizens' relationship in *The Hunger Games* trilogy.

In the third and last chapter, the roots of resistance to power are going to be discussed. Following questions are going to be answered: What initially lead to the rebellion of the citizens of Panem and what is the significance of Katniss' role as a face of the rebellion? Katniss is the only person that foils the Capitol by breaking down its game rules and still stays alive walking away without having any serious injuries. The resistance she ignites will later cause a war of revolution in the country, in which she becomes the figure head and driving force.

CHAPTER ONE
THE ORIGIN OF UTOPIAN THINKING AND THE EMERGENCE OF DYSTOPIA

1.1 THE ORIGIN OF UTOPIAN THINKING AND LITERARY ARCHETYPES

Opposite to René Descartes' separation of rationality and emotions, humans do not only think and decide with their minds, but also their bodies and emotions have a great role in the way they decide. In his book *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain* (1995), Antonio Damasio says that "the body...contributes a content that is part and parcel of the workings of the normal mind…the mind is embodied, in the full sense of the term, not just embrained" (216). "The somatic marker hypothesis" presented by Damasio portrays the idea of brain and emotions working together in decision making, especially in rapid decisions and unexpected situations. These somatic markers are believed to be placed in the frontal lobe and in case of damage in this part, patient suffers from the inability to organize his behaviours for the future and take lessons from his previous experiences. Defined in Damasio's own words, the "process of deriving logical consequences from assumed premises, the business of making reliable inferences which, unencumbered by passion, allows us to choose the best possible option, leading the best possible outcome, given the worst possible problem" (167), and biologically humans are capable of imagination. In view of all that has been mentioned so far, somatic markers help humans to think and make decisions, to make reliable inferences from their past experiences and ultimately to find the best to have a better life. Imagination leads the human beings into thinking critically about their personal and social space, and this may be the biological starting point of utopian thinking.

One can trace the footprints of utopian thinking and description of a possible ideal place in the Bible. According to the Bible, Adam was created to take care of the Garden of Eden. In the same sense, the ancient Hebrew Sages claimed that the purpose of humanity was to take good care of God's creation. Garden of Eden was accepted as a reminder of mankind's holy purpose. Again according to the Bible

"God created mankind in his own image" (Genesis 1:27), separating humanity from animals and setting humankind closer to the creator than the other species. In the book of Genesis, Adam and Eve were living a utopian life in a garden which was given by God. Garden of Eden was a place free from suffering, sin, hardships and health problems. There was only God's justice and law, which required good morals and devotion to work for the well being of the garden. However, Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit and they committed a sin which was a sign of anarchy in God's realm. As a result of this corruption, they were excluded from the utopian grounds of the Garden and their new world is that of dystopia (Lapouge, 16-17). After that, mankind longed for and worked hard to reach the perfect world again (16-17). Utopian philosophy and literature has been observed as a vehicle which helped humankind search for the possibility of this future improvement (16-17).

Regarded as the first utopian work of the times, Plato's *The Republic* (380 BC) portrays an ideal society in which every citizen is equal. For him, an ideal society relies on the relation between its three opponents, producers (artists, craftsmen), warriors, and rulers. Every part of society is supposed to fulfil its own responsibility and not interfere with the others': producers must create with the skills they have derived from the Mother Nature, rulers must govern the society, and the warriors must perpetuate the peace of society. Kings have descended from philosophers, and their work is to examine the existing governments. While *The Republic* was criticised for its social structure, it gave a spark to think about a better world. Plato's society established the idea that "humanity should aspire to the ideas of justice, friendship, and morality that it discovers in this unseen realm" (Murfin and Ray, 385). The unseen realm depicted in Plato's world is the world of ideas. People must struggle to get to this realm and seek for further knowledge to live a better life (Lapouge, 18). Plato was not the only philosopher that claimed humankind was different from other species and humankind should seek for the best, with reason -the gift of God (18). Also Aristotle, in his book *Nicomachean Ethics: Book I*, supported this idea by following words: "We must not follow those who advise us to have human thoughts, since we are [only] men, and mortal thoughts as mortals should, on the contrary, we should try to be as immortal as far as that is possible and to do our utmost in

accordance with what is highest in us". These philosophers formed the foundation ideas of utopian thinking in the society.

There is no doubt that, not only nowadays but also in the history, perfect and imagined worlds have a significant place. Even though the name of "utopia" was used firstly in a written source in 1516 by Sir Thomas More, utopia and utopian thought had been known for hundreds or even thousands of years before it was coined as a term, and this makes "utopia" even more appealing. Utopia is a dreamed place where people are ultimately happy, living in a peaceful atmosphere with abundance of food (Davis, 1983). Regarding these, it is obvious that people seek for this kind of perfection– a much better way of living. More's *Utopia* was initially published in Latin as "Libellus…de optimo reipublicae statu, deque nova insula Utopia (1516), Concerning the highest state of the republic and the new island Utopia" (Britannica Academic). The term "utopia" was formed by More from the Greek words for "not" (ou) and "place" (topos) and together they mean "nowhere" (British Library). Playing with words, he also means "eu-topos" or "good place", and in his work he portrayed an imaginary society. Greek equivalent of the word "utopia", which is also "eu-topia", means good place or ideal society. However, the spelling of "u-topia" comes to meaning of noplace, which suggests that eutopia is impossible, and nonexistent (British Library, Learning Dreamers and Dissenters). The word utopia can be described as a perfect but unobtainable society in which social, economic, environmental and scientific features are ideal.

Since the world is changing so quickly that our smugness and built methods for intuition are ceaselessly tested, humans need to be inventive and open to development. In this case, utopia can be regarded as a signal of motivation and a "guide to action" (Mayor, 11). Utopian thought has penetrated almost into every segment of human life. Human experience –whether in science, religion or justice– is manifestation of utopian thought. Ideal world can draw a profile of a better future. It can change the course of present reality by raising human desires, and promoting the welfare of humankind. Utopia does not have to be "practically possible […] it merely needs to be believed to be so to mobilise people to political action" (Levitas, 1990: 221). Possibility of utopia is very significant, it sets apart "desire" and "hope".

> *Utopia expresses and explores what is desired, under certain conditions it also contains the hope that these desires may be met in reality, rather than merely in*

fantasy. The essential element of utopia is not hope, but desire- the desire for a better way of living. (191)

People regard the idea of utopia as a "controversial" concept. For some people, it is a kind of fairytale-like place made of sugar or chocolate, for some people it is a place where everything is made of gold or precious stones. At the beginning people looked for this dreamy land; however, soon they agreed that it is an imaginary land and they might find its equivalent in the future. Some group of researchers argue that it is a "beacon of hope for the future", while some others see it as "the unwitting accomplices of totalitarianism" (Mayor: 11). A further idea on utopia is that: utopia can never be literally practiced; however, it provokes "a fruitful quest for knowledge" (12). Furthermore, Lyman Tower Sargent defines "Utopianism" as "social dreaming" (Sargent, 1994). Utopianism ought to be viewed as a freeing element, power for prompt, universal activity, a support to bold considering (Mayor: 11). Increasing the power of the imaginary world and strengthening the human yearning for going further to better life conditions would help humans to look at the present conditions and react to the unexpected.

Considering the original idea behind the utopian works; the inspiration of the historical events cannot be underestimated. Fernando Ainsa gives examples to the utopian works which mirror the period they have been written in. Historical facts lead people consider critically about their present conditions (Ainsa, 13-16). For instance, Thomas More was accepted to be inspired by England in the era he was living. England at those times was suffering from poverty and taxation problems. Apparently, in his work *Utopia*, More wished to create a magnificent island in abundance of everything and full of happy citizens, just opposite to the current situation in his own country, England. Another example is the Italian writer Tommaso Campanella who was behind bars, and tried to come up with the ideal society of *City of Sun* (1602). Published in 1656, Harrington's *Oceana* "was a challenge to the England of Oliver Cromwell, while the philosopher and statesman Francis Bacon, in his *New Atlantis* of 1627, drew up a programme of political action for an enlightened monarch" (13). *City of the Sun*, *Land of Cockaigne* and *Metamorphosis* can be given as significant examples of background of utopian literature. In the history of literature, quite a few authors have focused on these

fictional ideal communities (13-16). On the other hand, this tendency also created other beliefs, such as anti-utopia or dystopia (fallen utopias, societies which are ruled by oppressive state control), which will be depicted in detail later in this chapter.

The ideal place for each society differs from one another according to their needs. Thus, there have been a variety of utopias in the history of literature. Ecological utopias came to life with the rise of the industry in the Western countries. A kind of ecological movement started in the 1970s, by the awareness of the limitedness of the natural resources and how they are being used thoughtlessly (Sargent, 1988). A few utopias that urged to build an ecologically aware society have come to the surface. Ecological utopias describe societies living in ideal balance with nature, without destroying environment and causing contamination. A significant example of this kind is given an American novel, Ernest Callebach's *Ecotopia* (1975). The book is consisted of diary notes and reports of a journalist who investigates a country called as Ecotopia. Together with the journalist, readers get valuable information about social structure, lifestyle that has redefined gender roles and freedom of sexual life. The citizens give great significance to environmental stability, and in addition artistry. In short, *Ecotopia* investigates the dilemmas with which an ecologically aware civilization would confront. Economical utopias started to be seen with the nineteenth century industrial revolution. These utopias were influenced mainly by the rise of poverty, commercialism and capitalism. Economical utopias focused on equally shared goods, unimportance of money and working places where everyone did the jobs they liked.

Scientific utopias describe a future when citizens have incredible living standards with the help of advanced science and technology. These utopias provide long life, developed artificial brain functions, immortality, absence of illness/suffering, and ability to make artificial human body parts to use in different purpose for their comfort. For scientific utopias, one of the greatest examples is Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1992). In *New Atlantis*, Bacon says that science and technology can be used for the wellbeing of humanity. Written by Donna Harraway in 1986, "A Cyborg Manifesto" can be regarded as a utopian work. It is an essay which investigates what cyborg is and how the future will be with them. According to Harraway,

> *Cyborg imagery can suggest a way out of the maze of dualisms in which we have explained our bodies and our tools to ourselves […] This is a dream not of a common language, but of a powerful infidel heteroglossia... It means both building and destroying machines, identities, categories, relationships, space stories. Though both are bound in the spiral dance, I would rather be a cyborg than a goddess.* (150)

Since utopia is considered as revealing the desire to have a better way of living, it is supposed to be in all cultures in different forms. The strongest function of utopia should be to investigate alternative ways to support and catalyze social transformation. The transformative character of utopia depends on placing it in the future, on serving the process of changing from the present, and defining the potential result of that transformation. Indeed the exploration of alternatives creates changes in the ways we think about the world and also as a result, helps changing the way of behaving.

Literature as a means of discussing or suggesting alternative communities goes back as long as literature itself. Most of the academic resources accept that Plato's *The Republic* was the first example of utopian literature as mentioned and described in previous pages. *De Re Publica* by Marcus Tullius Cicero (52 BC), is another example which based on Plato's ideas. In his work, Cicero discussed different kinds of governments and claimed that state should be based on reason and justice. Without stating his preference of governmental system, he suggested that whoever has natural superiority should have the opportunity to govern the inferiors. Next example of early utopias is St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (*City of God*). St Augustine criticizes immoral Roman lifestyle under the belief of Pagan Gods and advises a Christian way of life where love of God is more significant than love of self. Dante in his *De Monarchia* (1308) discussed the contradictions between Popes and emperors. He prefers a Holy Roman Empire led by elected emperors who are not affiliated to Popes (Lapouge, 16-20).

Sixteenth century utopias were established with Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), continuing with Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590) and Phillip Stubbes' *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583). The characteristics of the utopias in sixteenth century can be regarded as "emphasizing authority and religion" (Sargent, 1976: 2). Lyman Tower Sargent continues his explanation by describing the main attitude of these utopias, "people are weak and must be constantly supervised and must know their place in

order to behave as the author thinks they should" (2). Briefly, for the well-being of a society, its citizens should know their roles and obey the rules. If not, it will be considered right to punish them. Without dispute, the most well known utopia of all times is Thomas More's *Utopia* which was written during the great change in the Renaissance period. The Renaissance was the time of surpassion of limits, critical thinking and questioning of the society. In that period, with the invention of the printing press, the information and inventions were relayed easily. Meanwhile, it was the era of geographical discoveries; America was newly discovered, humanist scholars started to appear and Protestant Reformation was on the way. With the help of the expansion of wisdom, people started to question religion and society. Written in Renaissance period, the book *Utopia* "shares certain fundemantal doctrines: a faith in man's educability; a conviction of his potential goodness, rationality, a willingness to cooperate with his fellows; and a belief in social planning and the transformation of social institutions as the best means both to improve society as a whole and to raise the individual to the heights of human possibility" (Rebhorn: 140). In his work, More depicts a human made society which is set apart from the rest of the world. *Utopia* portrays an isolated island society that maintains its existance by its inhabitants, who are devoted to each other, and he implies that reliability and interconnectedness between people in a society leads to a better life. However, More does not aim to give us an example of an ideal society, in the second part of the book, the readers infer that an ideal society is not possible, the idea of an ideal society drives people forward.

The utopias of the seventeenth century are known by a great amount of people. The main characteristics of the works of this century are similar to the previous century, only some changes occurred like "less emphasis on punishment as the major means of social control and somewhat more concern with education as a means of avoiding the necessity of punishment" (Sargent, 1976: 2). It was the age of reason, a new mode perception called as rationalism gained importance. Rationalists believed that knowledge could be only obtained by reason not emotions or religious beliefs. *Mundus Alter et Idem* (1605) by Joseph Hall, later published as *The Discovery of a New World* is an early dystopia criticising the Catholic Church of that period. The narrator of the book travels through various lands and met different societies. Some

of these places parodies Catholic traditions. Another outstanding example of the works of this century is Sir Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*. On a famous Pacific Island by learning and justice, especially by scientific means common wellness was investigated. Contrary to utopian tendency, love of precious stones and metals was given importance. Unfortunately, Bacon's ideas on community and government system were not expressed clearly because the book could not be completed. In *The Commonwealth of Oceana* by James Harrington, Oceana was described as an ideal England. The book was initiated to influence the government of Crownwell. Limiting the ownership of lands, setting rules for sharing these lands and electing the senate members were some of his proposed ideas. By the electing system he proposed, sustaining the authority power for a long time would be avoided. Also during the seventeenth century, "positive statements about democracy" emerged as seen in the works: *Chaos* (1659) and *The Free State of Noland* (1696). In both of the works, "a democratic eutopia is presented, but, as if expressing doubt, the democracy is limited and hedged with restrictions" (Sargent, 1976: 2). An example from *Chaos* is given: in the annual elections, voting is given high regard. For the last remarks, the seventeenth century can be regarded as a shift from more to less domineering models of government.

The eighteenth century utopias offered various reforms. One of the leading themes of this century is the same with Thomas More's themes: "a distrust of lawyers and the whole system of laws". In *A Trip to the Moon*, governmental system is established on plain and easily understandable laws. Another significant theme of the eighteenth century is the importance of reason. Some works expressed the importance of self disciplining against nature. On the contrary, in Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, a life of pure reason was portrayed and negative sides were shown. *Gulliver's Travels* is a travel book which is also the most famous satirical work. In the first part, after a shipwreck he is captured by very small but hostile people. He teases the court of King George I by using these tiny people. Then, he finds himself among giants, according to Jonathan Swift, they are the embodiment of the European society. In the third part, he finds himself rescued by the flying island of Laputa, where the people are fond of music and mathematics. However, they are not able practice them for any benefit. In the last part, he is at a race of intelligent

horses who ruled beast-like humans. In conclusion of the book, Gulliver claims that there is no perfect government, each governmental system has good or bad features, but the English governmental system is the worst. Another satirical novel of this century is Voltaire's *Candide* (1759) and it criticizes European lifestyle. Candide finds himself in a South American city called El Dorado, where streets are covered with gold and precious stones, and where there is no poverty. Although there is no regular government system or religion, every citizen lives in harmony and equality. He compares this city with European cities, where there is poverty and greed. Through most of the eighteenth century, most of the utopian works do not focus on economical issues until Thomas Spence releases his utopian works which are directly answering the questions arisen by industrial revolution. According to Sargent, Thomas Spence's "proposals for local control of land and industry sound modern even today" (Sargent, 1976: 3).

The American Revolution and the French Revolution raised awareness of the nineteenth century intellectuals to think about new societies and better ruling systems. According to Sargent, the nineteenth century utopias are gathered around three themes: focusing on equal economic system, attraction of communitarian movement, "women question" which is based on the rule of women in the society (1976). *Equality, of A History of Lithconia* (1802) was a depiction of social economy and accepted as the first completed "American utopia". In this utopian work, there were no money issues, nobody had a private land, and people were supposed to work until a certain age, only after that age they became a member of the government. It portrayed hesitancy toward both urban and rural life which was also another significant subject matter of the century (Sargent, 1976). The dilemma between urban and rural life was solved in the book by positioning houses equally in every part of the country without regard to rural or urban lands. By this way, the rural areas were not left deserted. One of the examples of the nineteenth century utopias is *Three Hundred Years Hence* (1836) by Mary Griffith. It was the first utopian novel written in the United States of America. The chief character wakes up after a long period of sleeping and witnesses a utopian community in a well developed social environment in Pennsylvania, New York. Edward Lytton's utopian work *The Coming Race* (1870) is one of the early examples of science fiction novel in utopian literature. The

protagonist of the novel unexpectedly finds out an extraordinary and spiritual race named Vril-ya living in the caves of the countryside. The Vril-ya has supernatural powers to cure, transform or destroy things as they wish. It has an ideal society without poverty, envy, conflict and hard work. In another example of this century, *Erewhon* (1872) by Samuel Butler, the narrator discovers a remote kingdom called Erewhon during his travels. Erewhon is written backwards meaning nowhere. Life in Erewhon is not different from contemporary European society, there is monarchy, lawyers, judges, money issues, prisons, wealthy and poor people. Nevertheless, people seem happy and contented with their lifestyle. In time, two conflicting religions appear and duplicity causes a stressful atmosphere. Looking at life becomes ambiguous, for instance, illness is considered as a crime and crime is accepted with sympathy. The book fundamentally becomes a dystopia satirizing contemporary morals of the western civilization. *Looking Backward* (1888) by Edward Bellamy, is another significant nineteenth century utopian work. In *Looking Backward*, a young Bostonian wakes up in an ideal city of grace, beauty, prosperity and happiness. Again a peaceful imaginary world is described in this work. The last example given about nineteenth century utopias will be a feminist utopia, *New Arizonia* (1889) by Elizabeth Burgoyne Corbette. *New Arizonia* pictures Ireland in the year of 2472. The country is populated mainly by Amazon women who could live for hundreds of years with huge bodies. Their system is state socialism where men were prohibited from political issues since they have caused a lot of corruption. A large majority of the people are vegetarian and they have the system to eliminate unhealthy babies and criminals. In brief, nineteenth century utopian works centre on the equitable economic system which is a kind of socialism, the communitarian actions and women rule issues.

There is a great social change in the early twentieth century. Western Industrial Revolution produced a transformation of small industries to modern large scale industries. While machines took place of human beings, people started questioning their place in the new world full of technology. Thus, some movements came out as a result of this questioning: a group of people focusing on keeping their old lifestyles, others focusing on preserving human rights in this drastic change and entirely new social order. Initials of these movements were not surprisingly utopian thinking. The

technological and social developments influenced mankind to deal with social, ethical, political and structural side of these changes. Technological progress was seen as good news for some people but for some others it was seen as a danger for mankind. The path which directs people to a better future, starts with technological developments, however, these developments are the embodiments of people's hidden lust. The technological advancements had social advantages whereas causing negative impacts. These conflicting reactions caused a new kind of "utopianism" (Aldridge, 1984: 1-18). Considering the possible advantages of technological developments and also with their negative effects, writers created the opposite of the historical utopia, dystopia (1-18).

1.2 THE EMERGENCE OF DYSTOPIA AND LITERARY ARCHETYPES

The first person to use the term "dystopia" was John Stuart Mill. In one of his Parliamentary Speeches (1868), he used the term for the first time while he was criticising the government's policy on Irish land by stating: "It is, perhaps, too complimentary to call them Utopians, they ought rather to be called dys-topians, or caco-topians. What is commonly called Utopian is something too good to be practicable, but what they appear to favour is too bad to be practicable". Dystopia is an imaginary world in which oppressive government control and the false appearance of an ideal society are kept under control by a totalitarian political system (Baccolini & Moylan, 2003: 1-12). Major characteristics of the dystopian society can be listed as follows: information, thinking and free choice are prohibited, the leader is idolised by people, people are kept under constant surveillance either by members of authority or by technological devices, propaganda is a way of keeping people united, citizens are afraid of running away from the oppressive state. Furthermore, there is no more individuality, free will is limited by the authorities, citizens have to perform their own given roles in society to meet the expectations of the government.

Dystopian works gather around different major themes as: family, social class division, religion, identity, nature and technology (Baccolini & Moylan, 2003: 1-12). Throughout this chapter, all of these themes and the significant examples of

dystopian works including the leading themes will be given briefly. Different dystopian societies have different control mechanisms. While one society is controlled by technological devices as computers or robots, the other dystopian society may be controlled by a religious ideology supported with an oppressive religious government. Furthermore, there are many dystopian societies that are controlled by senseless bureaucracy and kept under control by merciless prohibitions. There are also some dystopian societies which are controlled by big corporations connected to the media.

From the 1960s, Dystopian Literature has become a prominent genre in popular culture, which might have come about as a result of the Cold War. Around the world, worries about the future, war and anxiety, terror themes highly aroused due to the discomfort caused in the society (Baccolini & Moylan, 2003: 1-12). This genre of literature mainly focuses on future predictions about social changes and new world descriptions, by this approach dystopian literature has become more appealing and interesting. Dystopia is regarded as a significant contribution to utopian theory since it has given way to socialist actions. It deals with justice concept, human rights, women's liberation, ecological sensitivity, and wide social possibilities (1-12). Contemporary utopian works are mainly dystopian and they do not only represent existing reality, but also future ideas, human experiences in the powerful dictatorial governments, frightening societies and technological advancements that previous authors had foretold. According to Gregory Claeys and Lyman Sargent's definition of literary dystopias in *The Utopia Reader*: imagined dystopian society is considerably worse than the society in which the author writes, whereas anti-utopian function is a criticism of attempts to achieve various concepts of utopia.

With the technological enhancements, access to information has become easy and fast. Previously, the transfer of information was done by limited ways, the conditions were harsh. Recently, the spread of information and news are at the touch of a button. This is why technological developments have both positive and negative aspects. Authorities may tend to use the technology for their own benefit to spread their propaganda in order to manipulate their citizens. Even technology gives them a chance to visually control their citizens' behaviours. Technological advancements which has started with good intentions, as a kind of utopian ideals, to make people's

lives easier, has turned out to be a potential threat to humans. Authorities have the power, and it is unfortunately in their hands to use technology for good or bad intentions.

M. Keith Booker defines dystopian literature as a literature "which situates itself in direct opposition to utopian thought, warning against the potential negative consequences of arrant utopianism" (Booker, 1994: 3). Meanwhile, dystopian literature generates criticism of current social situation and ruling system, either by presenting satirical examples of utopian grounds or by applying these conditions and systems to various imaginary contexts to display their imperfections and conflicts. According to Booker, the primary literary strategy behind dystopian literature is 'defamiliarization'(3) . By being based on the critique of various imaginary contexts, dystopian fiction supplies new points of view on problematic social and political systems by revealing clues that they should not be taken for granted. In brief, the flawed social or political systems are not neutral, people should be critical when considering them.

Dystopia or inverted utopia is generally thought of a modern literary genre. Satiric utopia, anti- utopia and dystopia are often used terms for this kind of writing mode (Booker, 1994). This mode of writing is generally thought of being a modern type, however, in fact it has a long and appealing history. It is assumed that Greek utopian satire is the ancestor of twentieth century modern dystopian novel whereas "the myth of the Golden Age is the proto-utopic ancestor of Thomas More's work" (Aldridge, 5). In his studies on the links between utopia and satire, Robert T. Eliot gives examples by quoting Telecides:

> *First there was peace among all things like water covering one's hands. And the earth bore neither fear nor disease, but all needed things appeared of their own accord. For every stream flowed with wine, and barley cakes fought with wheat cakes to enter the mouths of men... And fishes, coming to men's houses and baking themselves, would serve themselves upon the tables... and roasted thrushes with milk cakes flew down one's gullet.* (Qtd. in Aldridge, 5)

In his satire, Telecides criticises the long lasting tendency towards simple solutions. Similar to the dystopian writers of his time, he addresses utopian ideals by regarding them disreputable. Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* is a better known and evolved

example of Greek utopian satire which criticizes Plato's utopic ideas calling attention to illogical actions in the real world.

From the second A.D. Greece to late Victorian England, considerable number of works can be listed as utopian satire. In Aldridge's work, the list of utopian satires constitute Lucian's Icaromenippus, Voltaire's *Micromega*, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and Samuel Butler's *Erewhon*. Most of these examples except *Gulliver's Travels*, appear obscure, out of date or bound to their times. They satirise particular manners, morals, historical figures or socio-political conditions. However, most interestingly, they have one feature in common, they are dependent on technological devices or themes. *Icaromenippus* is the first known fiction about a journey to the moon on mythological bird's wings. In *Micromegas*, Voltaire describes a visit to other planets where the creatures are aware of cosmic laws and use these laws to fly. *Erewhon* deals with civilization which refuses the use of machine and changes some practices of a technologically aware society. "Laputa" and *Erewhon* can be shown as the early examples of transition from anti-scientific utopian satire to dystopias of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, which was mostly driven by anti scientific tendency. In short, it can be said that, in the nineteenth century American dystopian works, "we recognize intention first through the perspective of the narrator, secondly, through the ironic stance of the author, a stance which signifies a society inferior to the reader's own, and thirdly, through the parody of a closely related genre" (Pfaelzer, 62).

The emergence of dystopia is considered as the result of disagreement with utopian practice in the real modern world. "Dystopias are narrated histories of the future which generally portray a society of entropy and obedience, satiation and decadence, ironically justified as more egalitarian, healthy, and attractive than the present"(62). Both utopias and dystopias are "extended metaphors" of "contemporary tendencies" (62). In *Brave New World* (1932) written by Aldous Huxley, Nicholos Berdiaeff's famous warning that life in the twentieth century is moving toward utopias is repeated,

> *Utopias seem much more likely than we have thought in the past. And now we are faced with far more distressing question: How can their ultimate establishment be avoided? [...] Utopias are possible. Life marches toward utopias. And yet a new age may be dawning, an age in which intellectuals and*

> *the educated classes will dream of ways to avoid utopias and to return to a nonutopian, less 'perfect', freer society.* (Qtd. in Aldridge , 11)

Aldoux Huxley's *Brave New World* (1931), is regarded as one of the major works of a literary mode of writing, dystopia. In his work which is an alternative world of 1930s of London, Huxley depicts a world in which citizens are controlled under a totalitarian state rule and there is no place for emotions, suffering and illnesses. People live in a stable environment maintained by the World State through the means of capitalism, persuasion, pills and remarkable use of biogenetics. Leisure time, material abundance and bodily pleasure are granted to the citizens. There is a caste system consisted of groups named as: Alphas, Betas, Gammas, Deltas and Epsilons. World Controllers are dedicated to avoid any improvement on identity of the citizens, people should be kept in their current caste to maintain the stability. Rejection of the past is a very significant factor in the successful authority of the government since history gives us lessons. Knowledge of the past provides citizens to think critically by making assumptions, makes individuals strong and independent. Not only past is rejected, but also family ties are disregarded. When the knowledge of the past and family ties are taken out of its citizens, an inorganic society without emotions shows up.

William Golding wrote his work *Lord of the Flies* (1954) in the aftermath of the World War II. The story is about a group of English boys who are leaving their country due to the beginning of a nuclear war. After they have an airplane accident, they are trapped in an island. At first, they tried to unite and live in peace. However, without any authority power and rules in their new environment, day by day the boys become wild and cruel. In brief, the novel depicts the conflict between civilization and savage impulses. "Theme and moral are worked out through an adaptation of the Christian myth of the Fall of Adam, which has been overlaid with what may be termed the myth of the desert island" (Bufkin, 40). *Lord of the Flies*, by portraying young people who might be quite innocent than adults, Golding tries to explore the idea of evil in human nature.

An iconic work of dystopian literature George Orwell's *1984* is a political dystopia in which a totalitarian society is depicted. It is a harsh representation of a government rule with a supreme power. Orwell portrays a government rule that

monitors its citizens in every situation and keeps its authority by constant surveillance. The people are not only under surveillance all the time even at their private houses by telescreens, but also they are prohibited to have opposing thoughts towards the state. The ruling Party has several methods to keep its citizens under control by: technology, manipulation, physical control, and use of language. In every house there are telescreens which is always working and recording as well as spreading propaganda. By this way of constant recording, the Thought Police can watch or hear what the citizens are doing or thinking.

In this chapter, definitions and the starting ideas of utopian and dystopian literature have been analyzed and criticised by giving examples from some major works in the fields. To conclude the given ideas, it can be said that utopia is a dream of an ideal world and the dream alters between societies. Whereas dystopia can be described as fallen utopia, as a consequence of various factors causing a utopian ideal to become a devastating element for society. Since the starting ideas differ from society to society due to their needs, the dystopian works alter by theme. In my thesis, I am going to focus on the theme of power of Capitol over the citizens and resistance of the citizens towards the authority in *The Hunger Games* trilogy.

1.3 *THE HUNGER GAMES* TRILOGY AS A CRITICAL DYSTOPIA

With various arguments which support the idea, *The Hunger Games* Trilogy is classified as a dystopia. Dystopia represents a world which is worse than the world we live in as so Panem is worse than our world. "Dystopia (…) is a utopia that has gone wrong, or a utopia that only functions for a particular segment of society" (Gordin, Tilley, and Prakash, 2010: 1). This definition describes the ruling power in Capitol which lives regardless of its citizens, whereas the people in the districts have to work in harsh conditions to supply food and materials for the sake of ruling class.

The Hunger Games is a dystopia since while reading the readers can develop in their minds a better Panem, a utopian Panem. Readers are aware of the mistakes and try to imagine better possible choices. Collins gained success by writing the story as a dystopia, by this way she could easily direct her readers to utopian thinking, thinking a possible alternative for Panem. Writers are inevitably putting

their ideas about the society they live in, sometimes in a positive way and sometimes in a negative way. Since the aim of utopian and dystopian works is to arouse awareness in the readers, these modes of writings give vivid reasons and prompt the readers to social criticism. In *The Hunger Games,* Collins gives either direct or hidden attributions to the contemporary world, readers can sense her thoughts about the society from the tone of her writing. She gives life to her character Katniss Everdeen as a voice of questioning mind in a dystopian society, and by writing in first person narrative from the viewpoint of Katniss, Collins portrays her ideas and criticism on her own world.

In his work *Scraps of the Untamed Sky: Science Fiction, Utopia, Dystopia*, Tom Moylan defines the main elements of utopia and dystopia in modern science fiction. Following his definitions, he offers a new concept "critical dystopia" to describe the twentieth century science fiction works. Moylan states that "dystopian narrative is largely the product of the terrors of the twentieth century," (xi) basically the authors of this century struggled to portray a world full of illnesses, wars, hunger and give reaction to the oppressive and restricting political regimes of their times. Before these types of works, readers were not shown the alternative or the possible changes of the ruling systems. "This is not a failure of imagination so much as a consequence of the intellectual and political conditions of the late capitalism", writers tried to react to the rise of the imperialist states and their repression, and globalization (Baccolini and Moylan, 2003: 15). When thinking critically on the situations around, "the critical dystopia is the dark side of hope, and hopes for a way out" (26). "We can be helped by this image: as a critical or open dystopia, with its disasters and representations of worse realities, retains the potential for change, so we can discover in our current dark times a scattering of hope and desire that will arise to aid us in the transformation of society" (235). Critical dystopias consist of a spark of resistance and hope. They urge to see the light at the end of the tunnel. The critical dystopias are significant "to show us that the opening of hope toward Utopia (not as attained and finished, but rather as reachable and in process) is a way to make Utopia part 'of the process which must be entered into now, rather that postponed always beyond the horizon' (Levitas)" (235).

It is therefore this thesis' intention to identify some key signifiers in *The Hunger Games* trilogy by focusing on main themes and motives, which establish it as a work of "critical dystopia". It is agreed commonly that *The Hunger Games* is not just a story about two young heroes who face different challenges and at the end fall in love but it is obvious that Suzan Collins' successful commentary on today's society. Suzan Collins through her trilogy is commenting on our society. She does not give answers to all the challenges in the books but she opens up the readers' eyes to the problems of the contemporary world.

Suzanne Collins introduces her readers a futuristic dystopian society which is ruled by a totaliterian government. Being set in a post-apocalyptic country called Panem, *The Hunger Games* trilogy symbolizes a utopian venture started with good intentions and turn out to be an evil place. "After the dark days" which means the upheaval of the people living in the District 13, Panem is started to be governed by a group of people living in the Capitol. The country now consists of 12 districts, each of which is particular in one industry, the people living in these districts are kept away from each other. Class divisions and non-communication between the people in the districts help the Capitol in its mission of maintaining its strength and ruling. Authority control and a great oppression caused by the totalitarian government of the Capitol via the means of surveillance and observation.

The protagonist of the story is a sixteen-year old girl Katniss Everdeen who lives in the District 12. She is the pivotal member in her small family of three: her mother, her sister and she. The story starts when she volunteers in the place of her younger sister, Prim, in the Hunger Games. The laws in the country of Panem are very harsh. Around the districts, there are electrified fences which are supposed to be built for keeping the people safe from the wild animals and dangers which might be waiting in the woods, but throughout the story we explore that they are there mainly to keep the people isolated from the rest of the country and keeping them unaware of the real situation of the other districts. Not only people are not allowed to go out of the district, but also it is forbidden to be armed in the Seam. Katniss mocks the harsh rules in every possible opportunity, she depicts district 12 as "where you can starve to death in safety" (Collins, 2009a: 6). However, while doing this mocking she is also afraid of being heard by the cameras and she tries to avoid discussing tricky

topics in public. The district rules are certain and should be obeyed rather than being questioned. The person who questions the rules becomes the enemy of the Capitol. People can feel the threat of the Capitol and they are constantly kept in suspense throughout the story. The Capitol holds the annual Hunger Games, a competition in which each of twelve districts must choose one male and one female tribute between the ages of twelve and eighteen to be delegated to an arena to participate in a death game. The survivor of the game becomes the victor, who will live his/her entire life in abundance. The games are telecasted nationwide, they are entertainment for the Capitol, and for the districts, they are punishment for a past attempted rebellion and a reminder of the wrath of the Capitol. It is not only an open threat of the Capitol to its citizens but also showing the people how trivial they are in front of the power of the government. At the beginning of the Reaping Day, the mayor comes to the front and starts reading the history of Panem, "the country that rose up out of the ashes of a place that was once called North America" (20). He lists all the disasters and terrible events, concluding his speech with the result that a bright Capitol brought peace and welfare to its citizens living in the districts. He also mentions the Dark Days, the upheaval of the districts against the Capitol. Twelve of the districts were defeated and kept under control, only the thirteenth district was exterminated at the end. After these incidents new laws were set to guarantee peace and the annual Hunger Games was initiated to be the reminder that the Dark Days must never be seen again. In short, the Hunger Games were started as a punishment for the uprising of people in the districts.

It is vivid that *The Hunger Games* trilogy has had a great influence on both young and adults in our society. The heroine Katniss as a female character has encouraged many girls to be more independent. She also influences women to resist injustices and male cruelty both in the society they live in and in the whole world. Her critique of the society she lives in has great impact on many readers to take action against anything unjust they find in their own society. Although the novels are criticising the contemporary popular culture, it is a part of it.

The Hunger Games trilogy is a harsh criticism of society and unfair discrimination of citizens. People are divided not only by threat of severe punishment but also by diverting the society from witnessing the obvious injustice in their

community. At the end of the trilogy, the characters have learned from their experiences, and they are thankful to the life they now have, they have faith in the maintenance of the peaceful and favourable situation they have at the end. Accordingly, dystopian works do not merely warn people against the treats of ruling powers but they also have a significant role in highlighting the need to maintain peace and stability.

CHAPTER TWO
POWER AND CONTROL

2.1 POWER

Power is allocated in various forms in a society. There are always power conflicts in daily life either within the smallest unit of the society, family, or between citizens and the ruling system. “Almost the entire adult population has been subjected to some degree of indoctrination through the schools” (Dahl 317). Power refers to the different forms of “domination and subordination” and unequal “balance of forces” that function in every place and all the time in a social environment. Power can be vivid and highly effective in society as it is a negative concept that can be used to control other human beings. Steven Lukes, in *Power: A Radical View* (1974) states that, “A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants” (23). The capability of a person or a group controlling other people is open to misuse and exploitation since the person or group can use this power for his own sake. Certainly, the supreme power gets authority’s wishes fulfilled by making other people work for their wellbeing, and “secure [the ruling class’] compliance by controlling [other people’s] thoughts and desires” (23). The supreme exercise of power aims to avoid people from having “grievances” by reshaping their thoughts, understandings and choices, so that they can acknowledge “their role in the existing order” (24). They do so because either they believe that this is the best option, or they think there is no alternative to it.

John C. Turner’s *Explaining the Nature of Power: A Three-Process Theory* (2005), gives the definition of power as “the capacity to cause effect, to have an impact on or change things” (6). There is not a perfect definition of power, it has various meanings depending on the society exposed to it but it is generally about the influence and the authority connection. However, as Bruce K. Berger puts forward in his essay, there are two expressions that should be kept in mind while thinking about power: “power to” and “power over” (Berger, 2005: 5-28). According to Berger, “power over relations refer to a traditional dominance model where decision making

is characterized by control, instrumentalism, and self-interest" (6). Basically, it is the strength of dominating people and influencing them to do things for the authority's sake. This kind of power highly depends on fear and obligation. The authority urges people to do what he wants and if they cannot accomplish the task given by the authority, then the authority has to use force. However, "power to relations represent forms of resistance that public relations practitioners may use to try to counter a dominance model" (6). This kind of power is the ability of a person to do things on his own by using his knowledge, mind or courage. By analyzing two types of power, people can get assumptions of the role of power in the society. On the other hand, "Power over" includes struggle and control, so it is more vivid in the twentieth century works. In *The Hunger Games* trilogy, the Capitol's power over the districts is intense, it urges the citizens to do what it wants them to do. The Capitol uses power over the citizens by implementing harsh rules on them and giving severe punishments. As for the "power to" theory, Katniss' behaviours and ability to fight with the oppression of Capitol portrays her resistance to the Capitol's power (Collins, 2009a: 9).

2.2 THE GAMES AS A MEANS OF CONTROL AND PUNISHMENT

Panem is governed by a group of elites who have control over the people in districts and they live in Capitol, which is a technically developed and prosperous city. Capitol keeps most of the wealth of the country to control all the districts of Panem by means of this power. Through the trilogy, the government shows its authority and it is sensible that the games are organized to warn the people against any kind of rebellion. In the games, the competitors are insignificant, and at the end only one of them win by killing the other district's tributes and even one tribute from his district. The main reason behind the games is to keep people in districts from joining and rebelling since they are forced to be divided and fighting among themselves.

> *Taking the kids from our districts, forcing them to kill one another while we watch- this is the Capitol's way of reminding us how totally we are at their mercy. How little chance we would stand of surviving another rebellion. Whatever words they use, the real message is clear. "Look how we take your children and sacrifice them and there's nothing you can do. If you lift a finger, we will destroy every last one of you. Just as we did in District Thirteen.* (Collins, 2009a: 21)

In Katniss' words, Capitol is a supreme power and by the games it reinforces its authority once more annually. To make it more disgracing and tormenting, Capitol urges people to look upon the games as a "festivity" and "a sporting event" that puts the districts in a battle.

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it "excludes", it"represses", it "censors", it "abstracts", it "masks", it "conceals". In fact power produces, it produces reality, it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production (Foucault, 1977: 194).

While analyzing the Collins' trilogy, it is inevitable to make references to the French philosopher Michel Foucault who has published works on power subject. Foucault is a radical thinker seeing power not as a negative concept, but an efficient and productive push in the society. He states that, "Power produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (Foucault, 1977: 194). He supports the idea that freedom of individual is essential. According to him, people react to situations in different ways. His main focus is on the nature of power in the society, in his words "power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (Foucault, 1980: 30). He links power with knowledge putting forward the idea that knowledge is a form of power and knowledge can be obtained from power. Power is everywhere and it is a kind of relation between people with the ability to shape behaviour of other individual. He does not focus on power itself but focuses on the effect of power on networks, practices and human behaviours. Foucault's perception of the disciplinary power highlights the agreement and balance in the society without using violence and strength, by means of social rules and surveillance. His ideas can be linked to Steven Lukes' statements as in previous pages. People are afraid of surpassing socially formed limitations, and by these norms people can be kept under

authority's control easily. Power is different than force of violence, which focuses on body physically. Power involves making a person do something that he would not do normally. Therefore, power involves changing people's will and limiting them. David Garland summarizes Foucault's ideas as follows:

> *Some institutions- such as forced labour- master the body from outside, as it were, using physical force and restraint to make the individual do their bidding. Others, however, aim to have their commands internalized, producing an individual who habitually does what is required without need of further external force.* (Garland, 1995: 137*)*

In *The Hunger Games* trilogy, citizens of Panem are strictly tied to the social norms of the society. Citizens avoid being different than the others and act accordingly to the social limitations put by Capitol.

In the chapter of "Punishment and the Technologies of Power", David Garland gives an explicit introduction to Michel Foucault's power and punishment perspective. He defines punishment as a "system of power and regulation which is imposed upon a population and his account has little to say about the sources of this power or the constituency of its popular support" (Garland, 1995: 132). According to Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, penal control and punishments in modern society are the results of the effects of 'Enlightenment' in the Western culture. People start looking from a different perspective, there is more freedom and democracy, and the concept of justice has altered. With these changes the power concept also has altered, and people are "paying for ways of life that are cherished in the modern world" (134). In *Discipline and Punish*, while Foucault gives a history of punishment, he also does an analysis of power. "Discipline" means "a modern form of exercising power", and he tries to find answers to the questions of the "how domination is achieved" and "how the individuals are socially constructed in the modern world" (131-156).

The public execution plays a major role since it is a kind of ceremony and manifestation of the sovereign in front of his citizens. It is a kind of ritual in which the audience is essential to the process. It aims not so much "to re-establish a balance as to bring into play, as its extreme point, the dissymmetry between the subject who has dared to violate the law and the all-powerful sovereign who displays his

strength" (Foucault, 1977: 49). The public punishment does not mean to bring back justice, but it "reactivates" power (49).

In the modern world, after the beginning of nineteenth century, the exhibition of physical punishment has vanished, the body torture has been refrained and 'the theatrical representation of pain' is taken out of the punishment processes. It is of course not for the wellbeing of the prisoners but for making power function without any difficulty. The punishment processes have started to be less harsh. With this new penal system, the body is captivated in a group of requirements, restrictions and rules. "Physical pain, the pain of the body itself, is no longer the constituent element of the penalty" (Foucault, 1977: 11). Penalty no longer addresses itself to the body, now it is dealing with "soul". The exercise of power "once focused on body must be replaced by a punishment that acts in depth on the hearth, the thoughts, the will, the inclinations" (19). The law starts judging something other than the crime, the soul of the criminal is taken into consideration. It is no more as easy as just finding the act wrong and punishable. Penal judgement works to find answers to deeper questions as: how did the act happen, what were the initiatives, what stimulated the "offender" (his instincts or surroundings), and what would be the appropriate way of curing him? (22-23). In brief, people can regard the penal processes as political tactics. The ways of exercising power shows the strength of the ruler. Even though it is not publicly seen, the presence of a certain power is sensed.

At the beginning of the story, readers are informed about the 'dark' history of Panem. The living conditions are poor, while some people were living in luxury most of the people were suffering. Imagining the conditions, an uprising was inevitable and the thirteenth district was the one. Their uprising was soon crushed by the military force and resources of the Capitol, and they had a severe punishment for this district. In other words, the Capitol used "power over" the district thirteen by punishing them with extreme physical punishment. However, the living conditions of citizens and Capitol's way of treating its people never changed. As Katniss states, "The Treaty of Treason gave us the new laws to guarantee peace and, as our yearly reminder that the Dark Days must never be repeated, it gave us the Hunger Games" (Collins, 2009a: 21). Capitol uses the story of 'the dark days' to threaten the people for any future uprising and the Hunger Games reinforces the threatening of Capitol.

The reaping system is not fair to every citizen, the poor "getting the worst of it" (Collins, 2009a:14). Every child becomes eligible for reaping when they are twelve years old. Their names are written on pieces of papers and enter the reaping pot. Until they become eighteen years old, every year the entry of their name increases. Moreover, the poor are allowed to add their names for more times in exchange for "tesserae", which is equal to a year's need of grain and oil for a person. Moreover, the name entries are cumulative, for example Katniss' name will be in the reaping pot twenty times when she turns sixteen. In brief, the children of poor are more in danger of being selected from the pot on the reaping day.

Even though shaping people's thoughts by social norms and keeping them under surveillance are effective ways of punishment in the trilogy, still physical punishment has its place. For instance, as for a punishment of a crime like running away from a district, the criminals are arrested by hovercrafts. The Capitol names these people as Avoxes, and their tongues are cut. They are prohibited from social interaction with people, they work as servants. They are coined as 'traitors' and 'rebels' (Collins, 2009a: 96). Another example of a physical punishment can be capital punishment given for stealing.

2.3 THE GAMES AS AN ENTERTAINMENT FOR THE SOCIETY

> *The attack is now over. The Gamemakers don't want me dead. Not yet, anyway[...] The real sport of the Hunger Games is watching the tributes kill one another. Every so often, they do kill a tribute just to remind the players they can.* (Collins, 2009a: 207)

The Hunger Games has two functions in Panem: to remind the districts how powerful Capitol is and to entertain the elite living in the Capitol. Each year the games should be designed in a way that it is as more entertaining and frightening as to make Capitol appear more powerful. In order to keep the audience excited and engaged in the games, each year Capitol tries to create a game in different game arenas with stunning surprises inside. The more the tributes grieve, the more the games are glorious and entertaining.

On the day of reaping all the people try to wear nice clothes since they are going to be telescreened and they are mindful of their appearance in front of the

cameras. The mayor's daughter's name, even if she is not at high risk, is still in the reaping pot. She wears "an expensive white dress, and her blonde hair is done up with a pink ribbon", she has her nicest clothes, ironically her reaping clothes (Collins, 2009a: 13). Katniss's mother wears a fine dress while Prim is in "[Katniss's] first reaping outfit, a skirt and ruffled blouse" (13). Katniss also cleans herself up and puts on a "lovely" dress and "matching shoes" (13). The game day is celebrated as a festivity. A presenter from Capitol, Effie Trinket, greets people of the district twelve by saying, "Happy Hunger Games! And may the odds be ever in your favour!" (22). Citizens of Panem accepted the Hunger Games as an annual ritual, "winning the reaping is such a great honour, people are eager to risk their lives" (25).

The Hunger Games is a mass entertaining event presented by Capitol and so attracting the audience matters for the 'gamemakers'. The audience wishes to see a more challenging game and it is important to keep the attention alive. Thus, the tributes fighting should not die immediately, they should struggle. The longer the battle lasts, the more attention it gets from the audience. Wealthier districts train their children for their whole lives, the kids are fed well and taught various strategies to kill enemies. However, district twelve is a poor one. Katniss describes herself and Peeta as unlucky, and possibly they will "weed out before the real fun begins" (Collins, 2009a: 42). She gives an example from previous years' games which was quite boring since the tributes had 'quiet' and 'bloodless' deaths (45). That year, the game arena was extremely cold, so half of the tributes passed away because of the cold. Therefore, there was not much entertainment for the audience.

Moreover, it is not just that the tributes of the district twelve are "underfed" and not trained enough, but also they hardly get sponsors. The rich people who bet on the tributes for entertainment wish to see "classier" tributes. "[T]he best-looking tributes always seem to pull more sponsors", so the stylists try to make the tributes attractive enough (Collins, 2009a: 67). In the opening ceremonies of the games, all the tributes have to wear clothes that represent their district's principal industry. Katniss and Peeta are coming from a coal mines zone and they should represent their district accordingly. In order to make the district twelve tributes unforgettable and attract the sponsors' attention, the stylist Cinna prepares Katniss a costume which looks like living flames. Cinna states that "I want the audience to recognize you

when you are in the arena" (77). The audience will remember her as "the girl who was on fire" (77).

Apart from the selected costumes and applauses, the Hunger Games is an entertaining show by presenting interesting scenarios to the audience. When Katniss and Peeta are taking advices from their mentor Haymitch, he guides them to be "amiable to each other" which is the first in the games history (Collins, 2009a: 106). He asked them to "act like a happy pair", so the audience will think they are friends and they will be interested in this new concept occurs in the games (143). Moreover, just before the start of the games, as a surprise, Peeta declares his love to Katniss. By this event, he gets "the sympathy of the crowd", the scenario of "unrequited love" attracted the audience's interest, which also means to attract more sponsors' attention (151).

2.4 FOOD AS A WAY OF CONTROL

The Hunger Games trilogy portrays abundance of food and absence of food in different parts of a country, and this make food as a very precious source of power in poverty stricken districts. By depicting its readers a society whose ruling class' worries are mainly gathering around food and entertainment, Collins directs them to think about the past. Not only the name of her fictional country Panem has connections with the past but also the society she portrays in *The Hunger Games* trilogy represents the society in the ancient Rome. The name Panem "refers to both the gladiatorial slaughters in the arena and the Silver Age poet Juvenal's satire on panem at circenses, 'bread and circuses' Rome's empty form of appeasement that Juvenal condemned in his Tenth Satire" (Clemente 21). In his satire, he warned the Roman people about "the price paid for the abdication of social responsibility by the Roman populace" (21). "Panem et circenses" is the phrase that was used to describe the society of ancient Rome, and this phrase summarizes the Capitol's way of approaching to its citizens, especially having great joy with their struggling. By seeing the food as a way of controlling people, readers can make assumptions about the ruling system of Panem. If the citizens are supplied with their fundamental needs

like food and joy, the ruling class thinks that they are free to play with the people as they wish.

The Capitol offers food to the people in need, the poorest people can get more food by increasing their chances of selection in the reaping. Citizens who sign up for "tesserae" are entitled to get a quota of grain and oil every month (Collins, 2009a: 59). However, this is not enough for a family to get by, Katniss has to keep hunting and gathering. Although it is forbidden to pass the electrified fence, Katniss and Gale find a way to pass it and hunt in the wild zone. It is dangerous, not only the risk of getting arrested by the peacekeepers is high but also they can encounter wild animals. In the arena, necessities for existence are always in Katniss' mind and she gathers all the food she can find. She collects roots of plants and even tree leaves to survive hunger.

Although it is against the rules, some wealthier districts feed and train their kids. Katniss calls them with the name "Career Tributes", they are possible winners since their district invests in them (Collins, 2009a: 109). Some of them are twenty to forty kilos more than Katniss. At first glance, Katniss feels bad about their presence: "I look around at the Career Tributes, who are showing off, clearly trying to intimidate the field. Then at the others, the underfed, the incompetent, shakily having their first lessons with a knife or an axe" (109). Not only the living conditions in the districts are different than each other, but also the advantages of their tributes are not equal. However, Katniss is also advantageous, she is smaller, very strong and able to run fast.

The food in the arena is also in control of the gamemakers. Capitol gives the supplies of food in the name of "cornucopia". Cornucopia is placed in an apparent part of the arena and tributes have to fight each other in order to get to it. The need for food makes the tributes take action in the arena. For instance, Katniss and Rue destroyed a group of tributes' food to make them weak. Even if there is not a lack of food in the District thirteen, Collins calls the food as "tasteless", "dependable" and flourished in "underground farms" in Mockingjay (2010). In the thirteenth district, all the citizens get enough food for survival. However, a person needs more than food to live an invaluable life. People need human connections and sharing to have a good life. For instance, the relationship with Rue and Katniss is developed by sharing

food and they become friends. When Rue dies her district send Katniss a loaf of bread to show expression of their gratitude. Katniss owes to Peeta since he threw a loaf of bread to her when she was desperately in need. His giving of food established their connection and they shared food continuously in the story. Katniss shares her food with Rue and Peeta, which shows her kind and at the same time rebellious character since "sharing resources as food is one of the few ways to resist a government that uses scarcity to control the population" (Henthorne, 2012: 117).

2.5 PANOPTICISM AND SURVEILLANCE AS A SYSTEM OF POWER

In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault urges the panopticon, a different system to regulate society which was mentioned by Jeremy Bentham in the nineteenth century. It was a penal system first used in prisons, asylums, schools, hospitals and factories. This system is quite different than the previous ones, it is preferred to be used in place of violent methods in rather modern democratic states. The panopticon mechanism supply a powerful and effective control system obtained through a continuous observation of subjects, separating from each other, permitting no interaction and no communication. This modern mechanism makes the guards able to watch the prisoners continually from a high control tower without being seen. Continuous observation, in other words, consciousness of constant surveillance is obtained by means of the new method. Through panopticon, Foucault is able to see the relationship between system of social control and the power-knowledge concept. He claims that power and knowledge comes from observing others, and observing others means transition to disciplinary power. This surveillance may cause the acceptance of regulations and obedience as a result of threat of discipline (71-228).

Cambridge Advanced Learners' Dictionary and Thesaurus gives the definition of surveillance as "the careful watching of a person or place, especially by the police or army, because of a crime that has happened or is expected". After 1980s, information based society showed up due to the changes in social conditions as a result of the advancements in computers and technology. Every information about human life, not only personal dates like birth, marriage, and death have started

to be recorded, but also workers' performances and bank account operations have been traced.

> *Surveillance denotes what is happening as today's bureaucratic organizations try to keep track of increasingly complex information on a variety of populations and groups. Yet it is more than just 'bureaucracy'. Surveillance is strongly bound up with our compliance with the current social order, and it can be a means of social control.* (Lyon, 1994: 5)

In today's world most of the surveillance is out of sight, it is in digital media. This means that people rarely know that they are being traced and kept under surveillance.

Accepted behaviour of the society is obtained not only by surveillance but also by panoptic discipline. The more the observer observes the more powerful he becomes. According to Foucault, being repressed by the social order is not the real danger for the individuals but being "carefully fabricated in it" is alarming. This way, the individual is influenced and reformed socially (Foucault, 1977: 217). Oppression is a result of some people or group's controlling knowledge and information. Foucault draws a line between security and freedom when individuals are under control all the time by increasingly used technology. He asks who determines what the society's rights are or can individuals organize the rules together. Is it possible for the citizens to form a resistance against the observance of uninvited electronic society? He encourages the citizens to develop their own system of power to resist the oppression refusing to surrender to the unseen power that controls them from afar. It is possible that by coordinating and cooperating smart technologies, people may obtain new kind of social power to defend democratic liberties and individual rights.

According to Foucault, surveillance supplies the raw material for a discourse. "One can speak of the formation of a disciplinary society in this movement that stretches from the enclosed disciplines, a sort of social 'quarantine', to an indefinitely generalizable mechanism of panopticonism" (Foucault, 1977: 216). Even though "Panopticon: the inspection house" is a project by Jeremy Bentham, Panopticism is the name given by Foucault to the type of power where every behaviour of the individual done is exposed to "the gaze of an observer who watches… without anyone being able to see him" (Foucault 170-184). He then called

the societies as “Disciplinary Societies” in which people fear all the time from the eye of the law. “Discipline fixes, it arrests or regulates movements, it clears up confusion, it dissipates compact groupings of individuals wandering about the country in unpredictable ways, simply it establishes calculated distributions” (Foucault, 1977: 219). Disciplinary punishment has a “corrective” function. “The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes” (183). In brief, this penalty ‘normalizes’ the actions of a person. Together with surveillance, normalization becomes one of the significant apparatus of power (180-183).

In dystopian literature, especially in post-apocalyptic settings, surveillance and monitoring is used by the governments in order to maintain the conformity of the people. *The Hunger Games* trilogy mirrors panoptic power and a major use of surveillance for threatening the citizens. Thus, it is possible to parallel Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon with the ruling class of Panem in *The Hunger Games* trilogy. Panopticon is one of the means of power mechanisms which depends on visibility. It is an architectural figure where people are under surveillance in their cells. It is an annular building, where a tower is placed at the centre. In this tower there stays an inspector. All the cells are full of light. Full lighting and the eye of a supervisor capture better than darkness in prisons. The supervisor sees everything happening in the cells, the prisoners are under constant surveillance by the inspector. The government resembles to the inspector in the tower and its citizens resemble to the prisoners in the cells. It is a fact that a single watchman cannot observe all the prisoners/citizens at once but all of them must act as if they are being watched and controlled constantly. People living in Panem are constantly watched by the cameras and they know that they are being observed, always they have to be cautious about their personal activities. There is a constant reminder of the presence of the guards, so there is always a threat of punishment. By this way the citizens have to behave at all times. Throughout the story, readers feel the pressure of the Capitol government on the citizens. In *The Hunger Games* trilogy, the primary panoptic mechanism used by President Snow was the Hunger Games itself. Its visibility and constant reminders of its existence is applied by compulsory televising. Panem’s government also make

it a point to threaten the daily existence of its citizens with The Hunger Games by making it a huge production. The gamemakers have cameras hidden everywhere so that they can monitor the tributes and broadcast it as a live television show and there is no way the tributes to see their controllers. This system is much like the panopticon. Throughout the story you get a strong sense of surveillance, a key example would be the moment when the president shows Katniss a recording of her and Gale's kissing as a means to threaten her, a recording of something that was perceived to be in private.

> *I thought no one saw me sneak under the fence, but who knows? There are always eyes for hire. Someone reported Gale kissing me in that very spot. Still, that was in daylight and before I was more careful about my behavior. Could there be surveillance cameras?* (Collins, 2009b:172)

Katniss, like the rest of the people in Panem, is under constant government surveillance. She assumes that everything she says and does is being recorded by government officials. When she was younger, she was afraid of being heard by the government. Eventually, she learns to "hold her tongue" so that "no one could ever read her thoughts" (Collins, 2009a: 7). Since everything is televised in the story, Katniss always tries to hide her rebellious character. She states her feelings as following: "District Twelve. Where you can starve to death in safety, I mutter. Then I glance quickly over my shoulder. Even here, even in the middle of nowhere, you worry someone might overhear you" (Collins, 2009a: 6). The Peacekeepers are always observing and listening to the citizens to see if there is any talk of rebellion which would cause a person to be "publicly executed".

Under constant surveillance, people choose how they present themselves. In his work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Erving Goffman states that there are two aspects of each person, one is his true character and the other one is the illusion of this character. Every person chooses the emotions and characteristics he wants the other people to know about himself. Being socially accepted and also in order to obey the rules of the government, one has to leave aside his real character and perform accordingly. Thus, appearance is highly important in the games. As a tribute, Katniss tries to avoid being seen as an emotional and weak person in front of cameras. She has to hide her emotions and fears: "the station is swarming with

reporters with their insect like cameras trained directly on my face. But I've had a lot of practice at wiping my face clean of emotions and I do this now" (Collins, 2009a: 46). As a tribute, to appear weak and frightened means to say the other tributes that she is not a rival at all. Thus, she tries to set some game strategies. In fact she is not the only one who thinks about new strategies, but Peeta and Haymich also prepared a plan for getting more sponsors. After Peeta declares his love to Katniss, they both gain the sympathy of the people as being called "star-crossed lovers". The game is a big show, their real emotions are not trivial: "who cares? It's all a big show. It's all how you're perceived" (158). Creating an impression and performing a role accordingly to the created character in front of the audience is highly important.

During the Hunger Games, the tributes are on screen on and off to show the audience if they are alive, wounded, or combating. The cameras in the arena catch the actions of each tribute and reflect them at any time. The tributes are aware of being watched and this eventually affects their behaviours. Referring back to Foucault's point of view, this kind of surveillance does not directly portray the exercise of power but alternately the sponsors who support tributes with food and necessities exert power on the tributes. Katniss is aware of the fact that she can also use the surveillance for her advantage in the games. "I am glad for the cameras now. I want sponsors to see I can hunt, that I am a good bet because I won't be lured into traps as easily as the others by hunger" (Collins, 2009a: 192) . She gives the cameras what the audience may be wishing to see.

> *As I hike along, I feel certain I'm still holding the screen in the Capitol, so I'm careful to continue to hide my emotions. But what a good time Claudius Templesmith must be having with his guest commentators, dissecting Peeta's behaviour, my reaction. What to make of it all? Has Peeta revealed his true colours? How does this affect the betting odds? Will we lose sponsors? Do we even have sponsors? Yes, I feel certain we do, or at least did*. (192-193)

Since the Hunger Games is presented as a big television show in Capitol, presenter Claudius and the guests in the programme make comments on the behaviours of the tributes. They try to analyze the tribute's real thoughts by watching their actions several times. The more a tribute is reappeared on the screen and commented on, the more he becomes popular, which means more sponsors and more help. The sponsors control the actions of the tributes by assigning them gifts for their

performances. For instance, in order to get the medicine for Peeta, Katniss has to perform her role of a lover in a good way. She has to perform her role as convincing as possible to get support. After they give the audience what they wish to see, which is an emotional scene, a silver parachute arrives to save them from starving.

In order to see more bloodshed, the gamemakers have the right to alter the situation in the arena. To end the boring minutes on screen, they put out a fire which makes the tributes change their places and come face to face. "The fire was just to get us moving, now the audience will get to see some real fun" (Collins, 2009a: 204). In brief, when the audience in Capitol is bored, the gamemakers find a way to attract their attention. However, the gamemakers do not aim to kill the tributes, they only want them to move instead of hiding somewhere. In other case, it would not be enjoyable for the viewers. When they are going to Victory Tour, Katniss wishes to forget all about the Hunger Games and regards them not a reality but just a bad dream. However, the Victory Tour is placed between the annual games and it makes people remember the games all the time. By this way Capitol keeps 'the horror fresh and immediate'. In Katniss' words, "Not only are we in the districts forced to remember the iron grip of the Capitol's power each year, we are forced to celebrate it" (Collins, 2009b: 4). Capitol thinks that this surveillance sustains its citizens' welfare and prevents any possible rebellion. People are not only inspected by cameras, but also the Capitol breeds Jabberjay-a type of bird which are able to remember and echo human dialogues. By using these birds, Capitol can gather information of any illegal activity beforehand.

Capitol presents itself as a supporter of its obedient citizens. Victors of the Hunger Games are rewarded and live their entire life in abundance, and the districts which obey the rules of the government get more favour than the other districts. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Hunger Games is not only an entertainment for the people living in the country but also a way for the government to carry out its propaganda via television and radio. Thus all kinds of human behaviours which may later lead to a rebellion are censored before it is broadcasted. The high level of censorship also prevents the citizens of the Capitol to witness the sufferings of people in the districts.

Surveillance provides social control over citizen's behaviours. Surveillance aids "subjects" to adopt social positions, thus changing their behaviour (Foucault, 1977). Censorship and excellent timing help Panem conceal what the government is really doing. Nearly nobody in the Capitol sees the Hunger Games as a means to punish the Districts and keep everyone in line. It's the prison structure that is described above without giving a name. The consequences of this are dreadful at the end of the trilogy, and ultimately contribute to the collapse of President Snow's control. Things don't go as expected in the Hunger Games, Katniss' behaviours give courage to the other people. People do not stay passive towards the surveillance, but they take action to find their way out of the controlling system.

CHAPTER THREE
RESISTANCE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

As soon as there is a power relation, there is the possibility of resistance.
(Foucault, "The End of Monarchy of Sex", 1980b: 153)

3.1 RESISTANCE AND POWER RELATIONS

Resistance is essential for a study of power relations and "irreducible to the concept of power" (Barbalet, 1985: 531). Resistance builds up "the outcome of power" by confining power (531). In broad definition, the term resistance refers to

> *A wide variety of actions and behaviours at all levels of human social life (individual, collective, and institutional) and in a number of different settings, including political systems, entertainment and literature, and the workplace. Indeed everything from revolutions to hairstyles has been described as resistance.* (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004: 534)

There are various other definitions that describe the term as: "active efforts to oppose, fight, and refuse to cooperate with or submit to [...] abusive behaviour and [...] control" (qtd. Holander and Einwohner, 2004: 534). C. Lynn Carr briefly explains it as: "engaging in behaviours despite opposition" (qtd. 534).

In the article titled "Conceptualizing Resistance", various "modes" of resistance are explained. "Material" or "physical resistance" are the use of subject's body for resisting instrument, which is the most common mode (535). For instance, "Protest", "marching", establishing organization, slowdown strike, "wearing particular types of clothes" or "stealing" from the executive person appear in material resistance category. On the other hand, except from material resistance, resistance can be pursued by "talk" and "other symbolic behaviours" such as people use language as "a counter weapon to the authorities" (536). While reading through the pages of *The Hunger Games* trilogy, readers encounter both of the two modes of resistance described above. Examples for material resistance in the trilogy can be listed as follows: Katniss and Peeta unintentionally wear clothes alike by the instruction of their stylists, Katniss protests the indifference of the gamemakers by shooting an arrow at their dinner table, Katniss and Peeta form unity –united with the

other tributes in order to foil the Capitol during the Quarter Quell, by eating poisonous berries and committing suicide they protest the rules of the games, they protest the inhumanity of the Capitol by holding hands and pretending to be lovers instead of enemies. Another mode of resistance is achieved through "symbolic behaviours" such as the use of language and symbolic gestures. As in most of the critical dystopian works, the protagonist "is always ready in the world in question", despite "a counter-narrative develops as the dystopian citizen moves from apparent contentment into an experience of alienation and resistance" (Baccolini, 2004: 5). The combat between the narratives "turns on the control of language" (5).

> *Language is a key weapon for the reigning dystopian power structure. Therefore, the dystopian protagonist's resistance often begins with a verbal confrontation and the reappropriation of language, and, when s/he does, it means nothing but empty propaganda.* (Baccolini and Moylan, 2003: 5-6)

Mastery of language is an essential "weapon" and "strategy" to "move dystopian resistance from an initial consciousness to an action that leads to a climactic event that attempts to change the society" (6). When Katniss volunteers in place of her sister, expectation from the district was to clap her brave action and celebrate it. However, everybody in the district knows Katniss and loves Prim, so they keep being silent, which is quite unusual. "Silence. Which says we do not agree. We do not condone. All of this is wrong" (Collins, 2009a: 27). All of a sudden, people one by one start to 'touch the three middle fingers of their left hand to their lips and holds it out to [Katniss]'. This salute is barely done at ceremonies for the dead, meaning "thanks, admiration and goodbye to someone you love" (28). Katniss feels herself "precious" by seeing the citizens of district twelve disagreeing the justice of the government silently.

Core elements of resistance are "action" and "opposition", there is some sort of "active behaviour whether verbal, cognitive or physical" and the words of opposition such as "counter", "contradict" or "challange" in most of the works focusing on resistance (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004: 538). Resistance involves "activity", which happens with "opposition to someone or something else" (539). "Recognition" and "intent" of the resistance are the concepts that differ the types of resistance. Some researchers argue that a resistance should be recognized by the society to be accepted as a resistance. By this way, it can lead to social change and

have social consequences. The author's way of approaching to the topic, his intent is crucial in accepting an action as resistance. Moreover, as quoted in the article, "the intent is a better indicator of resistance than outcome" (542). In the trilogy, Katniss' unintentional resistance to the rules of the Capitol is highly recognized by the people of Panem and the intent of Suzanne Collins –which is to show people the possibility of change for better in a society– add up to the consequences of resistance.

3.2 REBELLION

> *If a man can only obey and not disobey, he is a slave, if he can only disobey and not obey, he is a rebel (not a revolutionary), he acts out of anger, disappointment, resentment, yet not in the name of a conviction or a principle.* (Erich Fromm, 1984)

Uprising or rebellion means refusing to obey the orders of authority. However, people in power see obedience as a requirement whereas they see disobedience as a treat. Looking from the power perspective, obedience of citizens is essential for an authority to keep the society in balance. On the other hand, some researchers believe that rebellion is needed for growing and self development. Realization of self makes the person aware of the things he might be trying to avoid thinking or talking about. It guides you to choose your path in life rather than choosing it for you.

Erich Fromm states that "human history began with an act of disobedience, and it is not unlikely that it will be, terminated by an act of obedience". He continues his claim with a reference to Adam and Eve. They were living in total peace and harmony until they disobeyed the rules and committed a sin. Their disobedience made them wake up and see the things from a different perspective. Fromm puts forward that "Original sin" was more than perverting humankind but opening a new page in front of it. "Man had to leave the Garden of Eden in order to learn to rely on his own powers and to be fully human" (Fromm). To conclude his thoughts, obedience to a person or a ruling system is surrendering and means admitting an outsider wish rather than yours.

In *The Hunger Games* trilogy, the new history of Panem begins with Katniss and Peeta's act of disobedience. They want to stay alive, be freed from the fatal

games, feed their families with enough food and live a happy life without the oppression of the Capitol. For the sake of this dream, they have to commit a sin – which is quite similar to Original sin– they eat poisonous berries at the end of the games. By eating them, both Katniss and Peeta would die bloodlessly and ultimately there would not be a victor of the games. "Without a victor, the whole thing would blow up in the Gamemakers' faces. They'd have failed the Capitol" (Collins, 2009a: 402). The gamemakers are surprised by this act and immediately change the rule of the games not to lose power, even pretend as if the whole scene is a creation of theirs. Just before Katniss and Peeta eat the berries, the presenter announces that there are two victors of the Seventy-fourth Hunger Games: Katniss Everdeen and Peeta Mellark. Like how Adam and Eve's disobedience opened up their eyes, Katniss and Peeta's disobedience makes them aware of the possibility of changing the situation, which will soon lead to a rebellion throughout the country.

3.3 THE PROTAGONIST AND SPARK OF REBELLION

Critical dystopias offer people a spark of resistance and hope. They criticise the government and social norms to find a possible and better alternatives of them. These kinds of dystopias raise people's awareness to the anxieties of the society and urge to find a way to end social worries. Dystopia focuses on the difference between human identity and shared ideals of the ruling system. Collective ideals are set by the government and its enforcements cause pressure on the citizens. Actions of citizens are surveilled, all people are aware of the social norms and rules of the government. A person has to suppress his emotions, which means puts his identity aside for the sake of conformity.

The trilogy is about scarcity, starving and worry that captured the lives of the citizens of Panem. Katniss and Gale break the law and hunt in the restricted area just to find enough food for their families. "Gale and I agree that if we have to choose between dying of hunger and a bullet in the head, the bullet would be much quicker" (Collins, 2009a: 19). They have no other option than disobeying the rules to get enough nourishment for their families, which can be regarded as the beginning of

anarchist behaviours. The Hob, which is a black-market where all the illegal trade operations are done, is a place Katniss goes often. She sells the goods she collects or hunts in the woods there. “If it attracts a somewhat criminal element, then I belong here, I guess”, even if the hunting in the woods is prohibited and has severe punishment, people like Katniss has no other choice than going to feed their families (Collins, 2009b: 10). However, the Peacekeepers ignore their illegal hunting beyond the fence because they need citizens’ cooperation: “Most of the Peacekeepers turn a blind eye to the few of us who hunt because they’re as hungry for fresh meat as anybody is” (Collins, 2009a: 6).

The Capitol is a magnificent city full of colours. The people in the Capitol are self centred, they merely think about their own pleasure and food disregarding the pathetic lives of the citizens in the districts. When she first enters the city, Katniss is amazed by the city’s glory. “Glistering buildings in a rainbow of hues that tower up into the air” and “shiny cars that roll down the wide paved streets” catches the interest of her. She depicts the Capitol people as “the oddly dressed people with bizarre hair and painted faces who have never missed a meal” (Collins, 2009a: 68). She questions the inequality of the conditions between the Capitol and the districts: “what must it be like, I wonder, to live in a word where food appears at the press of a button? How would I spend the hours I now commit to combing the woods for sustenance if it were so easy to come by?” (75). People in the Capitol’s main concerns are to “decorate their bodies” and “wait for tributes to die for their entertainment”, while the people in the districts have to work in harsh conditions to maintain supplies to the Capitol (75). Even if the Capitol prohibits the citizens’ communication with other districts, soon with the initiative of Katniss, people react to the inequality between the life in districts and the life in the Capitol.

During the private session of the tributes, Katniss fires an arrow at the gamemakers’ table since they are so busy with eating food and are not interested in watching her performance, which is the first in the Hunger Games history. After that incident, she “walked out without being dismissed” by the Gamemakers, she “dismissed” herself (Collins, 2009a: 123).

Being a couple and uniting with other tributes are new concepts in the Hunger Games. Haymitch and Cinna try a new tactic for the games and they ask Katniss and

Peeta to "appear amiable to each other", which is highly controversial in a competitive survival game (Collins, 2009a: 106). For the first time in the Hunger Games history, two tributes wear clothes alike and appear before the audience holding hands. Haymitch calls this as "just the perfect touch of rebellion" (91). In Katniss' words, their presentation of "not as adversaries but as friends has distinguished [them] as much as the fiery costumes" (91). Later on their "[their] romance became a key strategy for [their] survival in the arena" (Collins, 2009b: 10). They gain sympathy of the citizens by disobedience towards the rules, and by this way they show the people a possibility of breaking the rules and still surviving. However, President Snow is very furious and comes to see Katniss just before the Victory Tour, in order to warn her against future disobedience. As Katniss describes her feelings at that moment of her encounter with President Snow for the first time, "I'm in serious trouble [...] Will always despise me. Because I outsmarted his sadistic Hunger Games, made the Capitol look foolish, and consequently undermined his control" (20-21).

> *All I was doing was trying to keep Peeta and myself alive. Any act of rebellion was purely coincidental. But when the Capitol decrees that only one tribute can live and you have the audacity to challenge it, I guess that's a rebellion in itself.* (21)

President Snow is aware that they are pretending to be lovers. Katniss and Peeta merely try to stay alive and continue their lives, however, either consciously or unconsciously they inspire people to resist the Capitol. Katniss and Peeta's eating poisonous berries in the arena and somehow threatening the Capitol's rule sets a spark of rebellion in the citizens of Panem. Since there is no communication between people in districts is allowed, Katniss is not aware of the results of their act which has been accepted as inspiration. She becomes a beacon of hope: if a girl from District Twelve challenges the Capitol and wins the games being untouched, how can the Capitol prevent "uprisings"? (24).President Snow accuses Katniss of creating a spark to rebellion: "Katniss Everdeen, the girl on fire, you have provided a spark that, left unattended, may grow to an inferno that destroys Panem" (26). He warns her about the cost of resistance, the small acts of uprisings may lead to a revolution by the death of many people. Moreover, he urges Katniss to convince people that she

was not trying to challenge the Capitol's power but instead she was merely madly in love.

In the Victory Tour around Panem, Katniss' appreciation speech about Rue and Tresh impresses the people of district eleven, and the people living in difficulties are also ready to follow the spark lit by Katniss. While she is trying to convince the Capitol that she is not a rebel, she accidentally causes not only distress in the district but also acts of resistance which has to be stopped by punishments of Peacekeepers. Katniss experiences that media does not only function in helping the authority to preserve its power but also it links citizens and activates "mobile and transitory points of resistance" (Foucault, 1980b: 96). Control of thought in the society is directed by the help of media.

3.4 MOCKINGJAY AS A SYMBOL OF REBELLION

A type of bird, jabberjays, was bred by Capitol as weapon in the time of the district thirteen's uprising. Since they had the capability of memorizing and echoing human dialogues, they helped Capitol in recording secret dialogues between people and collecting information about the rebellion from the districts. After the rebels learned about the use of these birds, they used them to deceive Capitol by sending false information to the authorities. With the help of the Capitol's creation spy birds, the rebels had chance to mock the Capitol. This led the Capitol to abandon breeding the jabberjays, and then they were released to their natural habitat. Mockingjay is a kind of bird that has been brought into life unintentionally by jabberjays' mating with mockingbirds. They are not skilled in echoing human conversations as jabberjays, they can only "mimic human vocal sounds and recreate songs" (Collins, 2009a: 50). Katniss associates these birds with his father, because as a child she used to listen to her father singing to them and they were singing back. She is always pleased to hear this bird's sound, and states: "it is like a piece of my father with me, protecting me" (50). These birds, once deceived the Capitol, portray Capitol's imperfection and become the symbol of rebellion. Thus, when Katniss puts on mockingjay pin, she is perceived as a figure of resistance.

Katniss sings the forbidden song called “The Hanging Tree” which will be regarded as the song of resistance. The lyrics of the song portray a call to arms for rebellion:

Are you, are you
Coming to the tree
Where they strung up a man they say murdered three.
Strange things did happen here
No stranger would it be
If we met at midnight in the hanging tree.

Are you, are you
Coming to the tree
Where the dead man called out for his love to flee.
Strange things did happen here
No stranger would it be
If we met at midnight in the hanging tree.

Are you, are you
Coming to the tree
Where I told you to run, so we’d both be free.
Strange things did happen here
No stranger would it be
If we met at midnight in the hanging tree.

Are you, are you
Coming to the tree
Wear a necklace of rope, side by side with me.
Strange things did happen here
No stranger would it be
If we met at midnight in the hanging tree. (Collins, 2010: 138-139).

In personal interpretation, the song may be depicting the story of a man who is hung in a tree and his calling for his lover to come closer to him. It is sensible that he warns his lover to run away when she still has time. It is possible that “Strange things did happen here” line refers to killing of blameless people. He urges his lover to come to the tree where all the executions are done to see the exercise of power to being corrupted. By seeing this she will also take part in the rebellion and fight for her own freedom. However, there is always a risk of being “wearing a necklace of rope” after having a role in a rebellion. In any case, the line of “No stranger would it be”, may be meaning that it will not be worse than their current situation of bad living conditions. The song can be a fruit of utopian thinking, it shows the false things in the society and works as a guide to take action for the subjects of power. At

least, they should meet “at midnight in the hanging tree” –which might stand for collaborating in rebellion– and try to change the situation. This song is identified with Katniss’ resistance, as Katniss becomes the face of the rebellion The Hanging Tree song becomes the melody of the rebellion.

Nearly every citizen in the districts admires Katniss’ spirit. In the first book of the trilogy Katniss is unaware of her inspiration on the people, however, in *Catching Fire* and *Mockingjay* she becomes aware of her position as a symbol of resistance. At the Quarter Quell, the other tributes and the head of gamemakers, Plutarch, struggle to keep Katniss alive for the future of the rebellion: “while [Katniss] lives, the revolution lives” (Collins, 2009b: 433). She is the embodiment of survival against the Capitol’s ultimate power. After she unites with rebels and destroys the arena in Quarter Quell, the entire country finds itself in chaos. She admits that things are no more in her control “[Katniss] had already set something in motion that [she] had no ability to control”, since there happens a massacre including the death of ninety percent of the people in the district twelve (Collins, 2010: 6). The rebels and the district thirteen officials wish her to “truly take the role of The Mockingjay”, which is the symbol of revolution, ultimately becoming “the face of the rebellion” (11-12).

Chaos is a significant element in dystopian culture, without a social chaos, there will not be order and peace. The society in *The Hunger Games* is a chaos based society, it is an enslaved society in which escaping –which also means a revolution– does not seem possible. In a chaotic environment, there will always be either hidden or visible struggle of citizens to find a solution to go out of this situation. Katniss is a revolutionary figure who leads people out from the totalitarian chaos based dystopia to a better ruling solution.

In the battle between the rebels and the Capitol, there are a lot of people killed. President Snow is taken captive and he is going to be executed. However, the rebel President Coin’s proposal of performing another Hunger Games “using Capitol children in order to eliminate the entire Capitol population” make Katniss and Peeta furious (Collins, 2010: 415-416). It is supposed to give punishment to the children of the Capitol since they have punished the children in the districts. This is the turning point of the trilogy, Katniss has been thinking that the rebels are fighting to rescue

the citizens from the inhumane conditions and punishments set by the Capitol. If there will be another Hunger Games, then it means the cruel behaviours will continue in another form. To avoid this Katniss shoots President Coin instead of President Snow. She believes that President Coin is not the right person to be the head of authority since she is not willing to put an end to the cruelty of the power holders.

The use of mass media has a significant role in the revolution. It is "a powerful tool to control, manipulate, and ultimately, free the population of the fictional state Panem" (Strimitzer 2015). Without the help of the mass media, the symbol of Mockingjay would not be as successful as it is. Media both reflected and advanced the growing antiwar sentiments (Hayes 2015). The Capitol uses media to warn the districts against the consequences of a war. However, President Coin smartly uses the media to deliver the news and instructions about the revolutionary war and does propaganda against the Capitol by showing its vicious acts. Rebels use the media in order to drive the Capitol's attention to another way, so that they can rescue Peeta.

Throughout the trilogy, "Katniss alternates between awareness, understanding, and manipulation of media" (Matos, 2013: 2). "Being simply told something does not have the same impact on us as seeing it for ourselves", if it is imposed on the citizens by the media, people tend to believe in it more (6). Even if quite a significant amount of people in Panem are aware of the immorality of the Capitol's rules, they have not seen a person to fail the Capitol and survive its threats (6). The people who attempted to resist were either killed while the society was watching, or their tongues were cut off (6-7). With Katniss, it is the first time for Panem to see "the true possibility of rebellion" (7). As Matos sums up briefly, "[b]e it from one centralized, government-controlled form of media, or be it through a wide variety of channels, if our television is on, the manipulation game is being played... and chances are, you do not even notice it"(7).

Katniss shows a spark of rebellion and hope for the citizens in the districts. No matter how discouraged and hopeless a man is, even a small act of resistance may be worth in the struggle of being independent and happy individuals. *The Hunger Games* trilogy gives its audience motivation and inspiration of the hope for resistance to oppressive government control. Revolution aims to change the established

authority power, and it implanted in dreams of being independent and achieving absolute potential of the society.

CONCLUSION

> *Knowledge is power. Power to do evil...or power to do good. Power itself is not evil. So knowledge itself is not evil.*
> ― Veronica Roth, *The Divergent Series: Allegiant*

Utopia was first coined as a term by Thomas More, and it stands for an imaginary society which is placed in nowhere. As utopia is imaginary and different for each person according to his dreams, it is placed in nowhere, which means it is ambiguous and unattainable. The quest to find utopia has been a continuing interest of various academic research areas. For centuries, utopia has been an appealing concept due to its offering a hope for better alternatives. Most of the researchers accepted that utopia is unattainable; however, the searching for utopia –searching for the better– leads people to take a political action. They agree that utopia is a "guide to action" and makes people think critical about their situation. Actually, it is not only searching for the imaginary land utopia, but it is the utopian thinking that opens people's eyes to look for better and to do something to change the conditions. However, as "ideal" differs according to human viewpoints, utopia maintains its ambiguity and subjectivity. In time, this ambiguity has given rise to a new genre, dystopian literature.

From 1960s, dystopian literature has emerged as a consequence of utopian thinking and scientific developments. Dystopian works have portrayed imaginary worlds which started with good intentions and mild governments turned out to be oppressive authorities causing discomfort in the society. There was a chaotic environment, regarding the time period –just after the Cold War– there were worries about the future, people were restless and anxious. How the individual functioned in a community, which social norms were imposed on him? Individual was torn between being himself and being the person the state wanted him to be. He felt the pressure of acting accordingly to the social norms set by authorities. A place may be a utopia for a person but it can be a dystopia for another one. In brief, dystopian works function as a warning against the potential negative outcomes of failed utopian ideals.

This thesis presents the analysis of the power relationship between a totalitarian state and its subjects, and the consequences of authoritarian oppression within the framework of social criticism. Thus, all three books of *The Hunger Games* trilogy are examined in terms of power and resistance concepts and various significant examples are taken to prove the thesis argument. Throughout the trilogy, the Capitol is the supreme power, and it enforces its orders, restrictions and preserves the importance of the ruling class headed by President Snow. By the restrictions and punishments, the Capitol becomes a sublime power. However, power is a productive process, provoking its subjects' capacity to act to find a better life. So ultimately, when the people in the districts see a spark, a light of hope, to be freed from the chains set by the Capitol, they follow the freeing sound of "the Mockingjay".

The revolutionary war of Panem finishes by costing a number of people's lives. At the end of the trilogy, the Capitol is defeated, President Coins is killed by Katniss and President Snow dies on his own. There is a voting for emergency election to select a new president. After her trial Katniss returns to the district twelve, marries and settles down. In the Epilogue, some hints of the current situation of people and the system are given. "The arenas have been completely destroyed, the memorials built, there are no more Hunger Games. But they teach about them at school."(Collins, 2010: 437). Since knowledge of history will guide the society while going through future difficult times. At first, Katniss does not want to have kids, however, Peeta convinces her. Katniss has nightmares which "will not ever go away" since she has seen a lot of bad things and afraid of losing the ones whom she loves again-her family (438). Their children roam in the gardens freely, without the limitations of electrified fences around districts. The trilogy finishes by leaving questions in the readers minds: whether the new government be humanitarian regarding the happiness of its citizens or peace be really settled for a long time is not mentioned. Collins leaves the door open for her readers to think on the possibility of a better Panem, at the same time a better world of their own.

The Hunger Games trilogy does not try to show a battle of virtue versus sinful, instead, Suzanne Collins portrays a valuable display of war. A presentation of war "with a questionable regime change, tainted motives, and the corruption associated with power" (qtd. in Hayes, 2015). As her father was a war pilot and she

grew up listening to violent war memories, Collins wishes to attract the audience's attention to war and its consequences. There are various scenes in the trilogy that make the readers ask the question of: "is the war justifiable or unavoidable?" (qtd. in Hayes, 2015). While reading through the pages of the trilogy, analyzing the authority power and also the resistance to that power, readers can find their own answers to the question: is the revolutionary war of Panem "justifiable or avoidable"?

In one of her interviews, Collins stated that, "The sociopolitical overtones of The Hunger Games were very intentionally created to characterize current and past world events, including the use of hunger as a weapon to control populations" (Blasingame & Collins, 2009: 726). Throughout *The Hunger Games* trilogy, Katniss realizes that she is not the only one who has opposing thoughts about the Capitol, but there are a lot of people who cannot express their feelings in fear of punishment. By seeing people ready to take part in changing the situation, she becomes more enthusiastic about being the leader of the revolution.

The elements in the trilogy can be linked to "social injustices" in our present world and the trilogy can be used to show children the realities of the world: "violence and brutality toward children is not a fiction but fact" (Richards and Zenkov, 2015: 105). The longing for proper food and poverty in the districts can be referring to the problem of finding enough food (or nutritious food) in the United States while the Capitol's abundance of food resembles to "the wastefulness of the United States population" (105). Citizens living in districts do not have the opportunity to work in the jobs they want, which can be related to the people's "involuntary employment" in today's world (105). People in the districts work in harsh conditions in different branches of industry –such as coal mine work– to supply goods for the elite living in the Capitol, likewise the majority of the people living in our contemporary world do not earn enough money to live on but struggle to supply products for the upper class people. Children's fighting to death can be related to the "child soldiers" in African countries or the third world countries (105). By reading the trilogy, children may gain another perspective for social issues, their understanding of humanity and empathy may change in a good way. By portraying a country under oppressive power, Collins both arouses interest and awareness of people by leading her readers to think critical about the social problems starting from

their society and coming to a universal deduction. Even little steps of social action in their surrounding may cause difference, it is important that people do not lose faith in change. Giving the necessary interest in the history, learning from the past mistakes, being thoughtful towards other humans' ideas, humanity will find the best way out of every difficult situation.

The Hunger Games trilogy also draws attention to normalization of violence and wicked rituals in mass culture. The Hunger Games is a television program which is a portrayal of mass violence ritual, the tributes selected are sacrificed for the sake of the maintenance of the Capitol's power. Audience is a part of this mass entertainment, they enjoy watching young people kill each other. This can be resembled to ancient paganistic religious rituals, which were in favour of human sacrifice or blood sacrifice for the sake of the community ideal.

Rationalism is a mode of perception and thinking which has come with the Age of Reason. Rationalists believe that a person cannot have faith in his feelings, he can only have trust in capability of his mind. The common belief in rationalistic movement is that people are equal and there is no need for a governing authority. Thomas More is one of the most prominent writer among rationalist writers, and utopian thinking has been deeply rooted in rationalism. However, after the revolutions and reformations around the world, self-reliance and the idea of freewill have gained importance. Thus, a counter movement to rationalism, Romanticism has been formed as a reaction to the concepts of rationalism. "Man is born free and yet we see him everywhere in chains" is a significant statement in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *The Social Contract,* and he supports a type of education focuses on individual not the whole community. Rousseau also doubts that humans need a governing authority. As in *The Hunger Games* trilogy, Katniss can be regarded as a symbol of the idea of freewill. She represents the clash of two concepts: society/rationalism and self/romanticism. Her rebellion to authorities is a romantic rebel, she goes after her own will (emotions) rather than going after the will of community. In this case, she is a romantic hero by rejecting the social norms but also she can also be a Byronic heroine by being rebellious and aware of her power.

In this thesis, Foucauldian approach is applied and the texts have been examined in terms of Foucault's ideas on power subject. The aim of this thesis is to

show that there are different representations of power in every society, and every society and individual has a certain attitude towards authoritarian power. Critical dystopias, like *The Hunger Games* trilogy, portray a chaotic world full of wars, diseases, hunger, and disasters. However, these kinds of dystopias are hopeful and see the potential for change for better alternative. They lead people to resist the norms of authorities and seek for the light at the end of the tunnel by trying to transform the society. There will always be a light of hope for the humanity and this light can only be seen by utopian thinking. It can only be achieved by looking for a better alternative and being open to change.

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