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The Representation of Surveillance in Dystopian Fiction of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

Jade Louise Hinchliffe

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by research in English Literature

The University of Huddersfield

February 2019
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**Word Count: 24,806**
Abstract

Over the last few decades, scholars from a variety of disciplines have come together to contribute to the field of Surveillance Studies, which explores the relationship between humans and surveillance technology. Traditionally, this field has been dominated by the social sciences with little contribution from the humanities. In the last few years, however, this has begun to change as the importance of the humanities, and literature especially, to the discipline has been acknowledged. The relationship between humans and surveillance has been continually explored in dystopian literature and film since the twentieth century, as surveillance technology has become an important part of human existence. Dystopian fiction frequently engages with the subject of surveillance as this genre is inherently political and concerned with issues such as autonomy, identity and power struggles. This thesis will bring together dystopian fiction, surveillance theory, critical posthumanism, biopower and spatial geography. In the following analysis, it will become apparent how dystopian fiction can provide original ways of conceptualising how the human body and society as a collective can be controlled and manipulated through surveillance methods, which collapse the boundaries between the public and private spheres. Dystopian fiction from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries will be analysed in chronological order, alongside surveillance theory, in order to establish how each text builds on images and metaphors from previous novels to create a palimpsest of dystopian references regarding surveillance. The literary texts will also be examined using a spatial framework that investigates the portrayal of surveillance technology in public spaces (the city and the workplace) and private spaces (the home and the body). This will establish how the boundaries between the public and the private spheres, as well as the societal body and the individual body, are collapsed, in the novels, through surveillance methods, which result in individuals being increasingly monitored and controlled. Contrary to what many surveillance theorists suggest, this thesis will argue that digital technology did not cause surveillance methods to become more fluid, decentralised and participatory; it did, however, cause an intensification of these surveillance methods which were already in place. The frightening conclusion, in the novels, that surveillance technology results in humans becoming more susceptible to control and manipulation through their participation in surveillance practices causes the reader to examine the role of surveillance technology in their own lives; this examination, paradoxically, suggests hope for a future that does not resemble a dystopian nightmare.

Keywords: Surveillance Studies, Dystopian Fiction, Spatial Theory, Critical Posthumanism, Biopower
Introduction

Surveillance Studies is new. That is to say, until very recently something called surveillance studies did not exist [...] over the past 20 years or so, surveillance has become an increasingly important topic within both academic and public debate (Ball, Haggerty and Lyon, 2012: p.1).

While surveillance scholars have regularly alluded to [utopian and dystopian literature], they have yet to interpret them fully or systematically (Marks, 2015: p.6).

As the opening quotation states, in the last few decades scholars from the social sciences, law and humanities have come together to create a new interdisciplinary field called Surveillance Studies to explore what it means to live in a surveillance society and how this affects our species. Thus far, this field has been largely dominated by the social sciences with literature, and the humanities more broadly, side-lined as Peter Marks (2015: p.6) bemoans. David Lyon, a sociologist and arguably the most influential figure in this field, claims that ‘it is clearly a mistake to assume that the imaginative world of film or TV exists in an entirely separate realm from everyday reality. They feed off and inform each other increasingly in a media-saturated environment’ (2007: p.157). Whilst there has been a clear recognition amongst academic theorists from a variety of disciplines concerning the merit of literature in relation to Surveillance Studies, the focus on literature as an important medium through which surveillance can be explored is yet to gain significant momentum.¹

In the following analysis, the relationship between dystopian literature and surveillance, from the early twentieth century up to the present day, will be examined in order to establish the importance of dystopian fiction to the field of Surveillance Studies. The thesis will be divided into two sections. In section one three of the most famous dystopias of the twentieth century will be analysed: Aldous Huxley’s Brave New World (1932), George Orwell’s Nineteen Eighty-Four (1949) and Margaret Atwood’s The Handmaid’s Tale (1985). In section two, three contemporary dystopian texts will be examined: China Miéville’s The City & The City (2009), Juli Zeh’s The Method (2009)—translated by Sally-Ann Spencer—and

¹ Notable exceptions to this are David Rosen and Aaron Santesso’s The Watchmen in Pieces (2013) and Peter Marks’ Imagining Surveillance (2015).
Dave Eggers’ *The Circle* (2013). *Brave New World* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* have captured imaginations and influenced debates concerning surveillance and privacy for many decades and both have enjoyed numerous screen and stage adaptations. Since the 2016 American presidential election, sales of both novels have soared (Wheeler, 2017) and sales of *The Handmaid’s Tale* have also increased because, according to *The Guardian*, the novel has ‘gained a new readership in recent years, because of its perceived relevance amid global discussions of sexual harassment, abortion rights and the rise of populist politicians’ (Cain, 2018). Unsurprisingly, the growth in sales and the popularity of the 2017 Hulu television adaptation of *The Handmaid’s Tale* have encouraged Atwood to write a sequel to the novel, *The Testaments*, which will be published in September 2019 (Cain, 2018). It is not only the canonical dystopian texts which have proved to be popular in recent years, however, as the three contemporary novels I will be using have also been adapted for stage or screen despite only being published in the last decade. In 2017, only four years after its publication, Netflix streamed a film adaptation of *The Circle* starring famous Hollywood actors such as Tom Hanks and Emma Watson and, in 2018, the BBC screened a miniseries adaptation of *The City and The City*. Zeh’s novel *Corpus Delicti*, *The Method* in the English translation, was itself adapted from her 2007 play of the same title (McCalmont and Maierhofer, 2012: p.375). These adaptations suggest that there is a growing interest amongst the general public in canonical and contemporary dystopian texts that discuss the increasing prevalence of surveillance, which is one of the reasons why popular art forms that address surveillance, such as literature and film, need to be examined by surveillance theorists.

Literature is not just important to Surveillance Studies because of its popularity, however; there are a number of reasons why literature needs to be examined alongside surveillance theory. Firstly, as Lyon states, ‘novels are an important source of metaphor and simile [...] [which] help to alert us to significant dimensions of surveillance as well as helping the reader imaginatively to get inside the characters who are either the surveillors or, more frequently, the surveilled’ (2007: p.145). Literature and film, therefore, provide the language and imagery, which we use to describe and understand surveillance. For example, Orwell’s depictions of ‘Big Brother’ and the ‘Thought Police’ are often referenced with respect to topics of surveillance, as is Huxley’s *Brave New World*. Secondly, literature influences the way surveillance is perceived, as the imaginative frameworks of the novels shape our
understanding of surveillance. Kristin Veel claims that ‘narrative fiction can be seen as giving voice to intangible dynamics at work in our present culture [...] [because] they are at the same time mirroring and forming our relationship to surveillance’ (2013: p.36). As Veel states, fiction does not just reflect the contemporary attitude towards surveillance but also shapes it through our critical engagement with literature. Similarly, Dietmar Kammerer states that ‘fictional narratives of surveillance can help us understand our present society by comparison. By presenting alternative worlds, novels and films aid us in the reflection of our own situation’ (2012: p.105) and often these alternative worlds are worse than our own so they paradoxically suggest hope as we have time to prevent these situations. Also, as Kammerer claims, ‘works of popular culture offer bridges between academic discussions and popular perception [because] the public is far more likely to gain its understanding of surveillance from fiction than from academic studies’ (p.104). Whilst the academic field of Surveillance Studies is only a few decades old, surveillance has been portrayed in literature and film for centuries. Finally, it has been argued that literature by its nature shares similar philosophical goals to surveillance practices. David Rosen and Aaron Santesso claim that ‘[whilst] surveillance [...] is not the same thing as literature [it does] share some of literature’s interests—most notably discovering the truth about other people’ (2013: p.10).

They go on to explain that ‘each asks what it means to be a person; more than that, each examines how abstract models of personhood—the fictions generated by literature and politics—might relate to the inner lives of real people’ (p.10). As Rosen and Santesso suggest, literature raises questions about what it means to be human and tries to get inside the characters’ minds by employing techniques such as ‘third-person omniscient, free indirect discourse, and (the natural endpoint of this logic) stream-of-consciousness narrative and interior monologue’ (2013: p.96). Surveillance techniques, such as social sorting, are implemented not just to observe people but to be able to ‘know’ more about people in order to predict their actions. Whilst the goals of surveillors, writers and readers are not the same, all attempt to get inside the minds of the people they study whether they are real or fictional. It is apparent, therefore, that literature has a strong relationship with Surveillance Studies. Firstly, literature provides the language and imagery which we use to discuss surveillance, it also bridges the gap between academic and public debates, by both providing narrative techniques that help the reader to imagine being under surveillance and provoking questions about how surveillance operates in our society. Finally, literature
shares with surveillance studies the philosophical goal of trying to understand people better.

The genre of dystopian fiction, in particular, needs to be understood as an important and valuable vehicle through which the study of surveillance can be approached and considered, especially given the proliferation of digital surveillance. Darko Suvin argues that when reading science fiction we experience ‘cognitive estrangement’ (1972: p.372) where ‘by imagining strange worlds we come to see our own conditions of life in a new and potentially revolutionary perspective’ (Parrinder, 2000: p.4).² Dystopian fiction often features either a fictional world that closely resembles our own world or it portrays our own world with notable alterations and extrapolations. This genre is inherently political and the novels act as a warning to society. As Krishan Kumar states ‘it was never the function of dystopias to give a complete picture of the world. What dystopias—like utopias—aimed to do was to pick out the most distinctive and novel features of the time and to present them in the form of an imaginatively realised society’ (2013: p.22). The ways that surveillance technology, a ‘distinctive’ and ‘novel’ (ibid) part of contemporary life, is extrapolated in the dystopian texts will be analysed. Marks states that ‘no single genre depicts and assesses surveillance with the creative vitality, social engagement and historical sweep of utopian texts’ (2015: p.5).³ Marks (2015: p.140) goes on to explain why surveillance and dystopian fiction are strongly intertwined:

By exploring outside what is now possible, but which might soon be reality, [dystopian fiction] unsettle(s) our conversations about what constitutes

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² Science fiction and speculative fiction are disputed terms with conflicting definitions. Science fiction can be defined as ‘a hybrid, not quite ordinary fiction, not quite science, yet partaking of both. Beneath the label, we might find utopianism/dystopianism, fantasy, horror, or books on UFOs’ (Birch, 2009). Speculative fiction has been defined as ‘a term used by Robert A. Heinlein in 1947 to describe what science fiction did, extrapolating from known facts; now used to suggest a broader range of exploratory genres (including fantasy) or to establish a class distinction between so-called ‘literary’ fiction and science fiction’ (Birch, 2009). Some regard speculative fiction as a subgenre of science fiction whereas others suggest the opposite; speculative fiction is a broad genre that encompasses science fiction. I define all the literary texts in this thesis as dystopian texts which can be covered by either definition.

³Marks (2015: p.4) uses the term ‘utopia’ to describe texts that can be defined as utopian or dystopian; however, a utopia is generally agreed upon to be ‘a place where all is well’ (Cuddon, 1999: p.957) or a paradise, whereas a dystopia is a nightmarish society produced by ‘the seeming impossibility of utopia’ (Cuddon, p.959). I agree with Kumar that ‘dystopia is not so much the opposite of utopia as its shadow’ (2013: p.19) as the two are closely intertwined. Whether one defines a place or a literary text as utopian or dystopian depends on their perception and their ideology; for the purpose of this thesis, I define all the literary texts in this thesis as dystopian because they all depict a society which I consider to be nightmarish.
identity, causing readers and viewers to question and to debate the role played by surveillance in establishing and maintaining categories.

As Marks implies, dystopian fiction is concerned with identity and what it means to be human. It is unsurprising, then, that many dystopian novels are concerned with surveillance technology and the way it affects human relationships as surveillance technology has become increasingly important in our daily life. Our relationship with surveillance technology complicates the idea of the stable, self-contained individual and calls into question where, if anywhere, the boundaries between the individual and their environment are.

The concepts of space and boundaries are significant to the genre of dystopian fiction as well as Surveillance Studies. This discussion will therefore employ space as a key focus in its analysis of surveillance in the chosen text. Atwood claims that in literature ‘every landscape is a state of mind, but every state of mind can also be portrayed by a landscape’ (2014: p.75). This is especially true of utopian and dystopian fiction as Marks notes: ‘utopian texts have inherent spatial concerns, the root word “topos” designating a “place” which might be attached to prefixes with positive or negative connotations’ (2015: p.104). Boundaries, barriers and borders are also important to this genre; surveillance methods are used in each novel in this thesis to monitor, control and restrict access to places. Each section of this thesis will employ a spatial framework that examines the spaces of the city, the workplace, the home and the body in each novel; this will reveal how a combination of surveillance methods converge to break down barriers between these spaces, which enables the individual body and society as a whole to be monitored intensely. I have chosen this order because each space is typically perceived to be more private than the previous one; however, the interpretation of the home and the body as ‘private’ spaces, which we have ownership of, as opposed to the ‘public’ spaces of the city and the workplace, which do not belong to us, is complicated by the use of surveillance in the novels.

This spatial analysis will show that, although digital surveillance methods today are fluid, decentralised and participatory, as shown by the novels in section two, surveillance practices before digital technology also required the convergence of multiple surveillance systems and the cooperation of those under surveillance, which is indicated by the novels in
section one. This thesis will demonstrate that digital technology did not revolutionise the way that surveillance methods operate from traditionally being centralised and top-down to now being fluid and participatory. Indeed, the argument will be made that digital technology caused an intensification of surveillance methods that were already in place. As Simon Willmetts suggests, ‘comparing [the portrayal of surveillance in] contemporary dystopias with the dystopias produced in the previous historical epoch remains important, for it is through this comparison that we can develop a diachronic understanding of the differences and developments from one system to another’ (2018: p.268). Although this thesis does not provide a large enough sample to demonstrate the continuations and changes in surveillance methods across time, this thesis does provide new insights that can be built upon in a larger project which would be able to show a ‘diachronic understanding [of surveillance methods]’ (ibid) through a comparison of dystopian texts from the twentieth century to the present day. Whilst the literary texts in section one have often been analysed through a Foucauldian reading of surveillance as outlined in Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (1975), this thesis will read the texts in light of new surveillance theories as well as Foucauldian readings. The literary texts in section two will then highlight the ways in which surveillance methods and the human relationship with surveillance have evolved. The literary texts in section two have been chosen because they engage with discussions regarding surveillance technology and critical posthumanism and they also each represent one part of the spatial framework: surveillance in the city is represented in The City and The City; surveillance in the workplace is represented in The Circle; and surveillance in the home is represented in The Method. Taking into account historical context and the development of surveillance technologies and practices, the comparative and chronological structure of the thesis aims to develop a ‘diachronic understanding’ (ibid) of the ways the relationship between humans and surveillance technology changes over time.

The dystopian texts in this thesis will be analysed in chronological order, not just because surveillance technologies and practices evolve but also, to establish how this genre uses intertextuality; each author follows particular genre conventions by building on images, metaphors and narrative techniques from previous dystopian texts, thereby creating a palimpsest of dystopian references. Tom Moylan (2000: p.148) notes that dystopias usually
open ‘in medias res within the “nightmarish society,” […] [and] the counter-narrative develops as the “dystopian citizen” moves from apparent contentment into an experience of alienation that is followed by growing awareness and then action that leads to a climatic event that does or does not challenge or change the society’. As well as this, Christine Lehnen (2016: p.18) states that ‘a lack of privacy’ and ‘isolation’ are also commonplace in dystopian fiction. Surveillance technology is often used in dystopian novels to isolate and alienate the characters by taking away their right to privacy. The intertextual and dialogical nature of the genre is evident in the many contemporary texts which clearly draw on earlier dystopian novels—such as those discussed in the first section of this thesis—in their depictions of heavily-surveilled societies. These include: Kazuo Ishiguro’s *Never Let Me Go* (2005), Cory Doctorow’s *Little Brother* (2008), Lauren Beukes’ *Moxyland* (2008), Gary Shtenygart’s *Super Sad True Love Story* (2010), Sabrina Vourvoulias’s *Ink* (2012) and Mohsin Hamid’s *Exit West* (2017). Thus, a chronological approach is important to this thesis because it reveals the changes in perceptions of surveillance at the same time as it acknowledges the dialogical and intertextual development of the dystopian genre.

In this section, I have explained the importance of analysing dystopian fiction alongside surveillance theory as well as the usefulness of reading each novel in chronological order through a spatial framework, which highlights both the convergence of surveillance methods and the changes and continuations in surveillance across time. In the next section, the theoretical fields which will be utilised in the readings of the literary texts will be outlined. The main theories that will be employed in the analysis are: surveillance theory, critical posthumanism, transhumanism, biopower and spatial geography. When these theories are brought together through the analysis of the literary texts they will establish the relationship between the control and manipulation of spaces and the control and manipulation of the body.
Theory Chapter

There are three main theoretical fields that will be utilised in the analysis of the dystopian texts in this thesis; surveillance theory, critical posthumanism and spatial geography. When synthesised, these three theoretical fields reveal how our relationship with surveillance technology influences the ways in which we interact with each other and our external environment. The ways in which surveillance technology is used to break down barriers between public and private places, as well as the individual and social bodies, in order to monitor and manipulate the human race will be shown through critical engagement with the aforementioned theories and the literary texts. In this section, I will begin by explaining the key surveillance theories that are important to this thesis and I will then move on to explain the concepts of critical posthumanism, transhumanism and biopower thereby showing how surveillance can be seen as influencing and manipulating the body. Finally, I will provide an overview of spatial geography focusing on the way humans interpret and conceptualise their surroundings in order to show how surveillance disrupts the boundaries between humans and the environment.

Surveillance Theory

‘Surveillance is driven by the desire to bring systems together, to combine practices and technologies and integrate them into a larger whole’ (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000: p.610).

‘New technologies permit a relaxing of centralized, bureaucratic management supervision and monitoring. But they simultaneously make possible a new intensity of surveillance, penetrating much more deeply into the daily routines of workers’ (Lyon, 1994: p.128).

As Kevin Haggerty and Richard Ericson note, it is through the convergence of a number of different surveillance methods that people and places can be monitored to build a complete picture from fragments of information. In this thesis, it is argued that privacy is being eradicated through a ‘new intensity of surveillance’ (ibid), which is made possible by the convergence of surveillance methods across multiple places resulting in the monitoring and
control of bodies, often through the creation of the ‘data double’.⁴ Through analysing the literary texts in light of surveillance theory, it will be suggested that, contrary to Lyon’s argument, the idea that now there is a ‘relax[ation] of centralized, bureaucratic management supervision’ (ibid) is challenged. Both the literary texts in section one, which predate modern surveillance technology, and section two demonstrate ways in which the main characters are monitored through a combination of surveillance methods, which they often participate in. Furthermore, the literary texts in section two also show that there is a vertical, top-down power dynamic at the centre of surveillance systems, which involve government administrations, behind the apparent relaxation of ‘centralized bureaucratic’ (ibid) systems. Rather than showing a linear progression of surveillance methods becoming less centralized and more inclusive and participatory over time, the literary texts suggest that, whilst individuals are increasingly monitored and controlled now through multiple surveillance methods, these surveillance practices are not new but more thorough.

Haggerty and Ericson’s concept of the ‘surveillant assemblage’ (2000: p.606) will be used throughout the thesis to explain how different surveillance systems overlap to monitor individuals closely. Haggerty and Ericson (p.606) state: ‘we are witnessing a convergence of what were once discrete surveillance systems to the point that we can now speak of an emerging “surveillant assemblage” [...]which operates by abstracting human bodies from their territorial settings and separating them into a series of discrete flows’. They go on to state that the assemblage operates ‘across both state and extra-state institutions’ (p.610). Through the convergence of data systems from governments and large companies, which monitor everything from our whereabouts to our shopping habits and social media accounts, a data double is created and the individual’s body is also monitored more intensely. Haggerty and Ericson use the image of the rhizome, borrowed from Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987), which refers to a plant ‘which grow[s] in surface extensions through interconnected vertical root systems’ (2000: p.614). Haggerty and Ericson argue that surveillance is rhizomatic because ‘it has transformed hierarchies of observation, and allows for the scrutiny of the powerful by both institutions and the general population’ (p.617) because ‘groups which were previously exempt from routine surveillance are now

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⁴ The data double is the ‘electronic profile, compiled from personal data fragments, of an individual person [...] which] takes on increasing social significance as assessments and judgements are made in various contexts based on it’ (Lyon, 2007: pp.199-200).
increasingly being monitored’ (p.606). Whilst the rhizome and surveillant assemblage metaphors demonstrate the ways in which surveillance systems overlap and connect, these metaphors suggest that there is a ‘flatten[ing] of power relations’ (Ellis, Tucker and Harper, 2013: p.718). The idea that the convergence of surveillance systems and the participation of those under surveillance results in individuals having more control is challenged by the literary texts in this thesis, which suggest that through a combination of vertical and lateral surveillance practices, which converge, governments and corporations are able to monitor individuals more closely and have more control over them. Vertical surveillance refers to a hierarchy where those in positions of power monitor those below them without being monitored to the same extent; an example of this type of surveillance is CCTV cameras. Lateral surveillance, by contrast, is 'not the top-down monitoring of employed by employers, or citizens by the state, but rather the peer-to-peer surveillance of spouses, friends, and relatives' (Andrejevic, 2004: p.481) through for example social media and neighbourhood watch schemes. Lateral surveillance can be and often is used to supplement vertical surveillance: for example, reporting someone to the social media company or police for posting an offensive statement. It is apparent, therefore, that the surveillant assemblage does not just involve the convergence of different surveillance data systems but also the convergence of multiple surveillance practices, which are used to monitor and control populations.

Whilst, in my opinion, Haggerty and Ericson’s concept of the surveillant assemblage is a more accurate representation of surveillance practices than Michel Foucault’s panopticon metaphor, the concept of the panopticon is still valuable to Surveillance Studies as it demonstrates the ways in which surveillance can operate in controlled spaces. Foucault’s interpretation of Bentham’s panopticon prison is an example of vertical surveillance that demonstrates how surveillance and space have an impact on human behaviour. The panopticon prison is a circular building that is split into small cells which are illuminated, forcing the prisoners to live in a constant state of visibility (Foucault, 1995: p.197). In the middle of this building is a large, dark watchtower where the keeper can observe the prisoners without been seen, assuming of course that he is even there (ibid). As the prisoners are unaware whether they are being observed or not they begin to self-discipline and behave as though they are being watched (ibid). For Foucault, ‘the panopticon is a
machine for dissociating the see/being seen dyad: in the peripheric ring one is totally seen, without ever seeing; in the central tower one sees everything without being seen' (Foucault, 1995: p.198) which is an example of vertical surveillance. Whilst surveillance methods operate through the convergence of different systems across multiple places, the panopticon is an example of surveillance that operates in a controlled space such as a prison, workplace or school; these spaces are part of the wider surveillant assemblage.

Many surveillance scholars have adapted the panopticon model to include lateral surveillance and participation, which reflect the ways that surveillance operates through the convergence of different systems. Steve Mann and Joseph Ferenbok argue, ‘we do not live in virtual prisons, at least not ones without some form of agency [...] imagine that prisoners in Foucault’s panopticon could look back—imagine they could see their guards and be able to record their interactions’ (2013: p.24). They go on to coin a new concept ‘sousveillance’ which means ‘watching from below’ (p.19) and they suggest that the combination of surveillance and sousveillance changes the dynamic between the observed and the observed into ‘a continual dialogue between prisoners and guards, politicians and citizens, bureaucrats and people’ (p.25). Similarly, Thomas Mathieson coined the term ‘synopticon’ which ‘stand(s) for the opposite of the situation where the few see the many’ (1997: p.219). The terms ‘synopticon’ and ‘sousveillance’ will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis to refer to a situation where the many from below, the general public under surveillance, see the few who are above, those governments and organisations that monitor populations. Mathieson, like Mann and Ferenbok, sees ‘bottom-up surveillance’ as existing alongside ‘top-down surveillance’ suggesting that there are multiple different layers of surveillance, as shown by their adaptation of the panopticon model. Mann, Ferenbok and Mathieson’s adaptation of the panopticon is similar to the rhizome model and the surveillant assemblage. Mann and Ferenbok imply that there is a ‘dialogue’ between those under surveillance and those monitoring others, suggesting that by involving ourselves in surveillance methods we are given a degree of control. Similarly, Mark Andrejevic claims that ‘the possibility of total surveillance is portrayed as power sharing: by providing
information about ourselves, we supply valuable inputs to the production process and thereby help to shape it' (2004: p.6) through the dialogue that Mann and Ferenbok suggest.5

This thesis argues, however, that there is a vertical top-down power dynamic behind more inclusive surveillance practices as governments, companies and organisations make use of participatory surveillance in order to monitor people more closely. In his article, 'You are the product', John Lanchester (2017) argues that Facebook uses all the information it collects to advertise products and states that 'even more than it is in the advertising business, Facebook is in the surveillance business. Facebook, in fact, is the biggest surveillance-based enterprise in the history of mankind’. When we focus on sharing our information with peers and focus on the horizontal level of surveillance, there is a danger that we may forget about the company that is watching and collecting information on us and the potential power that this gives them. Andrejevic claims that participatory surveillance has been overtaken by productive surveillance (2004: p.2) whereby people share information online and are targeted with advertisements. Therefore, participatory surveillance is a marketing ploy which promises to give people a more personalised, tailored online experience but in reality uses personal information to target people with products. It is also worth noting that not all types of surveillance which require the involvement of others are voluntary; therefore, whilst these practices are participatory they are more reminiscent of vertical surveillance than lateral surveillance, and these practices shall be known henceforth in this thesis as ‘coercive surveillance’. ‘Coercive surveillance’ is a concept taken from the ideas of Rosen and Santesso who suggest that “surveillance as coercion” is ‘watching people [...] in order to influence or control’ (p.234). The concepts outlined in this section will be utilised in the analysis of the literary texts to demonstrate the ways in which multiple surveillance methods converge in the novels to monitor and control humans and to show how the monitoring of bodies becomes more intense over time. The next section on critical posthumanism and control of the body will give an overview of the ways in which surveillance technology and the aforementioned surveillance methods complicate the concept of the stable, self-contained human who is separate from its environment.

5 This type of surveillance is known as ‘participatory surveillance’ which is a concept ‘first developed by Mark Poster (1990: 68), [referring] to surveillance that is consensual’ (Flanagan, 2014: pp.135-136).
Critical Posthumanism and Control of the Body

‘Technology has exerted such a profound effect on human existence and experience, new theoretical paradigms are needed to explain what it means to be human in an era where the previously sacrosanct boundaries of the humanist subject are constantly being redrawn’ (Flanagan, 2014, p.29).

‘Boundaries between one place and another, or even between the inside and outside of the body itself, are more indeterminate, which means that surveillance comes to depend on dispersed power’ (Lyon, 2001: p.19).

As Victoria Flanagan suggests, technology is now a fundamental part of human existence and has changed the way that we interact with others meaning that boundaries that were once clear are now ‘more indeterminate’ (Lyon, p.19). By extension, surveillance technology affects the way we behave, perceive the world and interact with others. Critical posthumanism, biopower and transhumanism will be explored in this next section demonstrating the ways in which surveillance technology is used to both monitor and control the individual body and, by extension, the entire human race.

Posthuman theory is critically important to Surveillance Studies as it raises the same questions that both dystopian fiction and surveillance theory pose about what it means to be human and how our relationship with technology affects our perception of this. As Lyon suggests, our bodies have become ‘a source of surveillance data’ (2001: p.17) through the creation of our data double through digital surveillance technology; however, even before digital surveillance, our bodies had already become a ‘source of surveillance data’ (ibid) through record keeping and census data. Pramod Nayar (2013: p.13) explains that critical posthumanism is a theoretical approach that studies what it means to be human and claims that:

As a philosophical, political and cultural approach [critical posthumanism] addresses the question of the human in the age of technological modification, hybridized life forms, new discoveries of the sociality (and ‘humanity’) of animals and a new understanding of ‘life’ itself. In a radical
Reworking of humanism, critical posthumanism seeks to move beyond the traditional humanist ways of thinking about the autonomous, self-willed individual agent in order to treat the human itself as an assemblage, co-evolving with other forms of life, enmeshed with the environment and technology.

Critical posthumanism puts forward the argument that humans are not unified beings apart from their environment; humans are simultaneously influencing their surroundings and are influenced by them. As humans are constantly adapting to changes it is not surprising that surveillance and communication technologies have an impact on human behaviour. According to Flanagan and Nayar, the idea of the stable, self-contained human subject that exists independent of its environment is called into question through the relationship between humans and technology.

Some theorists, such as Foucault, suggest that surveillance technology can be used to control and transform the human race in order to make it more productive. Foucault’s concept of ‘biopolitics’ (1998: p.140) connects ‘the body as a machine’ (1998: p.139) and ‘the species body’ (1998: p.139) which are controlled through surveillance methods. The body as a machine refers to the physical body and ‘its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility [and] its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls’ (1998: p.139). The species body refers to the collective body of society and its ‘propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity’ (1998: p.139). Foucault (1998: p.140) theorizes that:

During the classical period, there was a rapid development of various disciplines—universities, secondary schools, barracks, workshops; there was also the emergence, in the field of political practices and economic observation, of the problems of birthrate, longevity, public health, housing and migration. Hence there was an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations, marking the beginning of an era of “biopolitics”.
The development of universities, schools, barracks and workshops suggests that surveillance of the body is connected to spaces where they can be controlled and disciplined, connecting to Foucault’s ideas in *Discipline and Punish*. In these spaces, humans are disciplined to obey rules, trained to achieve their biological and intellectual potential and made useful for work, which means that they will be able to contribute to the economy. Keeping records of birthrate, longevity, health, housing and migration means that governments and organisations can implement measures to monitor and control their people. Similarly to Foucault, François Guéry and Didier Deleule argue in *The Productive Body* (1972) that capitalism created a new body, the ‘productive body’ (Barnado and Shapiro, 2014: p.11), to control both the ‘biological body’ and the ‘social body’ (ibid) which Foucault defines as the ‘body as machine’ and the ‘species body’ respectively. The ideas of Foucault, Guéry and Deleule imply that whilst the human body is inseparable from its surroundings and is both influencing and influenced by technology, as posthumanism suggests, this relationship between technology and the human body is not equal as surveillance technology can be used to control and manipulate the body. Whilst the era of biopolitics can be traced back to the classical period, biopolitics is increasingly relevant today as modern surveillance technology allows for more sophisticated monitoring and control of bodies. Although *The Productive Body* was published in 1972, Philip Barnado and Stephen Shapiro claim that the book ‘speaks anew to today’s readers, who face the convergence of economic regimes that dictate austerity and the normalization of precarity, alongside the rise of new technologies of data surveillance [...] and medical advances that seek to redesign the body’ (p.6). Barnado and Shapiro imply that the relationship between surveillance technology and the human body is exploitative as technology is used to make the societal body more productive at the expense of individual autonomy.

Nevertheless, whilst some theorists suggest that surveillance technology can be used to control and discipline the body, transhumanist theorists see the potential of surveillance technology to improve the human body. According to Nayar, transhumanists believe in the ‘perfectibility of the human, seeing the limitations of the human body (biology) as something that might be transcended through technology so that faster, more intelligent, less disease-prone, long-living human bodies might one day exist on Earth’ (p.16). The concepts of transhumanism and biopolitics are closely related as they both reference the
importance of technology in improving the human body; however, transhumanism does not refer to improving the body for productivity or for capitalist industry. Therefore, transhumanism is more ambiguous in its outlook, than biopower, and can be seen as negative or positive depending on its interpretation. The theories of biopower and transhumanism both show that the human body is inseparable from surveillance technology and that we are living in the post-human era. Foucault, Guéry and Deleuze’s theories indicate that the relationship between the human body and surveillance technology predates digital surveillance technology and contemporary surveillance practices. Nevertheless, transhuman theory and Barnado and Shapiro’s revisiting of biopower suggest that this relationship between the body and surveillance technology is more relevant today than ever before.

The theoretical fields of critical posthumanism, transhumanism and biopower all suggest that surveillance methods have a clear influence on human behaviour and actions. The influence of surveillance on humans calls into question traditional humanist ideas of the individualistic, self-contained human subject and forces us to examine the connections humans have with each other and with the external environment. These questions will be examined further in the next section on spatial geography which analyses the way the spatial layout of a place can shape the way we interpret it. Our interpretation of different spaces as private or public is affected by surveillance and this determines our subsequent actions.

Spatial Geography:

The concept of space is important to both Surveillance Studies and dystopian fiction as spaces are created through the interaction between people and place, which means that the ways in which spaces are interpreted, function and are controlled and monitored are constantly negotiated. Firstly, spaces are open to interpretation and dependent on individuals; whether we interpret a space to be utopian or dystopian, for example, depends on the individual’s idea of what denotes a ‘good’ or ‘bad’ place. Secondly, as Doreen Massey argues, space ‘cannot be seen as static’ (1994: p.265) and ‘there is no choice between flow (time) and a flat surface of instantaneous relations (space)’ (1994: p.265) as spaces and their meanings change depending on who is control of these spaces. Finally, the way humans
behave is dependent on space and privacy; Massey claims that ‘place, in other words does – as many argue – change us, not through some visceral belonging (some barely changing rootedness, as so many would have it) but through the practising of place, the negotiation of intersecting trajectories; place as an arena where negotiation is forced upon us.’ (2005: p.306). Similarly, Thania Acaron claims that ‘the body, as the nexus of experience, acts as both a receiver and actor, producing and being produced by spatial relations’ (2016: p.139). In the literary texts, the protagonists both perform their behaviour, as they are ‘practising place’ (ibid), and negotiate the meanings of different spaces through challenging authority figures. The protagonists also ‘produce’ (Acaron, p.139) spaces by creating heterotopias and claiming ownership of spaces that did not originally belong to them.6 Through the analysis of spatial negotiation of both public and private spaces in the literary texts, it will be shown how the protagonists lose their autonomy and individuality by being denied the right to private spaces and ownership of their body, which is enabled by the convergence of multiple surveillance systems.

I will be using surveillance theory, critical posthumanism, transhumanism, biopower and spatial theory in my analysis of the literary texts in both sections one and two. The value of revisiting Brave New World, Nineteen Eighty-Four and The Handmaid’s Tale will become clear when these texts are compared with the literary texts in section two. Many of the theories are applicable to the literary texts in both sections but some, like transhumanism and the surveillant assemblage, are even more applicable to the contemporary texts. This shows the continuation and intensification of the use of surveillance technology on the human body across time and the collapsing of the boundaries between humans and technology.

6 ‘Foucault gave a lecture in Paris to a group of architects called the Cercle d’études architecturales, in which he defined heterotopias as sites which are “outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality”, and as places which constitute a “simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live”. Examples include the mirror, the cemetery, the prison, the library, the museum, the garden, the zoo, the theatre, the brothel and the ship’ (Knight, 2017: p.143).
Section 1

In this section, a spatial analysis of surveillance practices in the city, workplace, home and on the body in Brave New World, Nineteen Eighty-Four and The Handmaid’s Tale will illustrate the ways in which multiple surveillance systems converge in order to monitor and control the protagonists. Although much has been written on these literary texts before with regards to the panopticon model, this reading will reveal that there are examples of vertical, lateral and self-surveillance in each novel which overlap to create a surveillant assemblage. The comparison of the literary texts in section one and two will show how the body becomes increasingly monitored and manipulated across time through its integration into the surveillant assemblage and the use of biopower, which intensifies with digital surveillance practices in the twenty-first century. This argument, therefore, challenges the view that digital surveillance methods caused surveillance practices to converge by suggesting that this began much earlier.

Brave New World’s portrayal of multiple levels of surveillance, which converge through the surveillant assemblage, and its suggestion that surveillance technology can be both pleasurable and addictive are remarkably prescient. It is important to revisit this novel, therefore, as it provides valuable insights into the ways surveillance, biopower and participation operate in the more recent literary texts. The novel is clearly influenced by technological changes that were happening at the time it was written. Andrzej Gasiorek (2016: p.213) suggests that:

The rapid changes brought about by processes of technologically driven modernization [in the early twentieth century] led to two twinned, but opposed responses[:] [...] hopes that the new future would transform the present in an entirely beneficent way [...] [and] anxieties about the ways in which modernity in fact might produce the deepest forms of alienation.

Brave New World portrays a society which is full of scientific possibilities and technological innovation but it also reveals darker sides of science such as eugenics: the novel presents a race of people who are made, not born, in test tubes without parents or a family unit. They are put into castes (Huxley, 2014: p.3), raised in ‘conditioning centres’ (p.1) and are trained to work in a factory until they die at sixty (p.95). The society has a clear hierarchy and the
people are under constant surveillance through vertical and lateral surveillance meaning that they are never alone. Yet, most of the characters are happy as they have been conditioned to enjoy life by being promiscuous, using a recreational drug, ‘soma’ (p.46), watching entertainment and attending group activities. Laura Frost comments that ‘it is precisely Huxley’s balance of fearsome and exciting elements that account for the novel’s affinity with today’s aspirational technologies’ (2016: p.71) which both restrict privacy and are pleasurable, such as social media in The Circle. As Krishan Kumar suggests, the development of new technologies in the early twentieth century led to the creation of the surveillant assemblage as ‘work and leisure, private and public, flowed into each other, the boundaries erased [meaning] the space for privacy, the time for reflection, vanished almost altogether’ (2013: p.22) which is seen in this novel and in the contemporary texts. These developments also allowed workers to be exploited through the creation of the ‘productive body’ (Barnado and Shapiro, 2014: p.11) which can be monitored better due to the spatial layout of factories and the collapsing boundaries. It is no surprise, then, that Moylan claims that the novel is the first dystopian novel that evaluates the exploitative nature of consumerism and technology (2000: p.xii) and it is clear to see how this novel sheds light on the creation and development of the surveillant assemblage when compared to the contemporary texts.

Nineteen Eighty-Four has been read in light of the panopticon model many times however my reading of the novel will suggest that there are examples of vertical, lateral and self-surveillance which converge to create a surveillant assemblage and it will also reveal that there are similar surveillance methods portrayed in this text and in Brave New World. This is important as the novels are often portrayed as opposing dystopias due to the ambiguous tone of Brave New World which often shows the addictive and pleasurable aspects of surveillance, as opposed to the overwhelmingly critical stance taken on surveillance in Nineteen Eighty-Four. This is due in part to the historical context in which both novels are situated. Nineteen Eighty-Four was written a few years after World War Two so it is unsurprising that surveillance is associated with fear and oppression rather than abundance and consumerism, as it is in Brave New World. As Rosen and Santesso note, ‘Orwell had before him the examples of Hitler and Stalin [so he did not need] to search far for “economic exploitation,” “power hungers,” or “sadism”.’ (pp.180-181). Whilst the tone and
atmosphere of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* are in direct opposition to *Brave New World*, the way surveillance technology is used to divide and alienate people is strikingly similar. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is set in London in the fictional state of ‘Oceania’ (Orwell, 2004: p.5). There is a clear hierarchical order, just like in *Brave New World*: ‘Big Brother’ (p.3) is the omniscient figure at the top; secret agents of the state—the ‘Thought Police’ (p.4)—are directly below him and police those below them in the party. These include the ‘inner Party’ (p.13) who have more privileges and are less monitored than the constantly surveilled ‘outer Party’ (p.13). The ‘proles’ (p.61) who make up the majority of the population are at the bottom of the hierarchy: however, they are free from surveillance, unlike the populations in the other novels in this thesis who are all under surveillance.

The final novel in this section, *The Handmaid’s Tale*, is important to this thesis as its portrayal of surveillance is influenced by the previous novels and it also demonstrates more obviously how surveillance technology can be used to control and manipulate the body as it is narrated from the point of view of a woman whose body is the property of the state. Atwood describes writing *The Handmaid’s Tale* whilst living in ‘West Berlin, which was still encircled by the Berlin Wall’ (2017: p.ix) and comments that this experience influenced the novel (p.ix). The novel is set in the former USA which is now a futuristic republic known as ‘Gilead’ (Atwood, 2017: p.33) that is ruled by an extreme religious group that has overthrown the government, overturned the constitution and taken away people’s human rights after an infertility crisis. The novel is narrated by a ‘handmaid’ (p.32) known to the reader as Offred; a name given to her as she is owned by Commander Fred. Handmaids are fertile women who are given to wealthy Commanders (p.19) and their wives, to produce children for them. Women who refuse to become handmaids and disobey are sent to the ‘colonies’ (p.20), where they will ‘starve to death and Lord knows what’ (p.20), or are sent to a brothel. Law enforcers—‘Guardians of the Faith’ (p.30)—monitor everyone and police borders and there are also secret police—‘Eye[s]’ (p.28)—just as is in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Although the relationship between the body and surveillance is important to all the novels in this section, this relationship is at the forefront of *The Handmaid’s Tale* and this was a conscious decision made by Atwood, who notes that ‘the majority of dystopias—Orwell’s included—have been written by men, and the view has been male’ (2014: p.146). Atwood’s departure from the male viewpoint is significant as it allows for greater discussion
concerning the female body and surveillance methods. It is important to note, however, that Atwood borrowed many images, references and even narrative techniques from Huxley and Orwell, such as adding an appendix to the end of the novel just as Orwell did (Atwood, 2014: p.147). This intertextuality is not new: Orwell was himself influenced by Huxley as he was his pupil at Eton (Crow, 2015). By revisiting these novels and analysing them together in light of new surveillance concepts beyond the panopticon, this analysis will show that surveillance before the digital revolution was more fluid and participatory than it appears on first glance and this analysis will demonstrate the ways in which these texts reflect and shape discussions surrounding the influence of surveillance on our bodies.

The City:

In the city landscapes portrayed in Nineteen Eighty-Four and The Handmaid’s Tale, surveillance technology is used to maintain borders. There are multiple levels of surveillance in operation in the city: there is the vertical, panoptic gaze of the state as well as lateral surveillance through peers spying on each other. The governments, in the novels, make use of both vertical and lateral surveillance in the city landscape to monitor and control the movement of people. In the novels, the protagonists—Winston and Offred—frequently conform to the rules of the city by performing their behaviour and self-disciplining through the ‘practising of place’ (Massey, 2005: p. 306). Winston and Offred only know where they are allowed to go and are largely unaware of what lies beyond the boundaries and are frightened by what they have been told is beyond them. As the novels are written from Winston and Offred’s perspectives, the reader experiences the feeling of being surveilled and sympathises with the protagonists as the reader sees everything from the protagonists’ point of view. Although Offred is aware that the city space is constantly changing and borders are being negotiated all the time, she is unable to participate in this negotiation. This means that the city, like the workplace, is perceived in the novels as a place where characters are under total surveillance and have no agency to negotiate what happens within that space; whereas the home and the body can be negotiated by the protagonists to a certain degree.

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7 As Brave New World is set in a factory which encompasses the city landscape, the workplace and the homes of the characters’, the novel will only be analysed under the ‘workplace’ and ‘body’ categories in this section.
The way that space is organised and controlled in the city in Nineteen Eighty-Four reflects both the panopticon model, through the top-down, vertical surveillance of the Party members by the Thought Police, and the surveillant assemblage, as a combination of vertical and lateral surveillance methods are in operation. The protagonist Winston, an outer-party member, describes that his workplace, ‘The Ministry of Truth’ (p.6), and the other ministries can be seen from anywhere in the city (p.6):

The Ministry of Truth [...] was startlingly different from any other object in sight. It was an enormous pyramidal structure of glittering white concrete, soaring up, terrace after terrace, three hundred metres into the air [...] Scattered about London there were just three other buildings of similar appearance and size. So completely did they dwarf the surrounding architecture.

Just as churches were built in medieval times to be taller, grander and more imposing than any other building in each town and city, the Ministries are made with the same intention. No matter where a person is in their city they will be able to see the buildings and internalise the idea that they can be seen by Big Brother, which represents the same dynamic as the watchman and the prisoners in the panopticon prison. A combination of vertical surveillance and lateral surveillance in the city ensures that the whereabouts of Party members is always known. Winston mentions that ‘Party members were supposed not to go into ordinary shops’ (p.8). When Winston visits a prole area of town the proles react with astonishment and anxiety (p.96):

The women studied him in hostile silence as he went past. But it was not hostility, exactly; merely a kind of wariness, a momentary stiffening, as at the passing of some unfamiliar animal. The blue overalls of the Party could not be a common sight in a street like this.

Winston maintains that even though it is not a crime to walk home via another route, it raises suspicion and the Thought Police would watch you more closely afterwards (p.96). The clothing of the Party members reveals them as outsiders in prole areas, making them more visible to proles and the Thought Police which demonstrates one way that the body is manipulated and relationship dynamics between different groups are controlled. This is an
example of both vertical surveillance, through the gaze of the Thought Police, and lateral surveillance as Winston is afraid that the proles, who are below him in terms of social status, will report on him. Until Winston begins an affair with his co-worker, Julia, he only occasionally visits prole areas and rarely walks a different route to and from work because he self-disciplines as he has been conditioned to do so through biopolitical methods. A combination of both vertical surveillance and lateral surveillance in the city space can be seen to represent the surveillant assemblage as profiles of people can be built through these fragments of information. Nevertheless, the architecture of London in the novel also represents the panopticon as Party members live in a constant state of visibility in the city and believe that they are always been watched.

In *The Handmaid’s Tale*, borders are strictly controlled through vertical surveillance methods to ensure that handmaids cannot escape. Offred describes being encircled by the borders as she states that whilst she and her walking partner, Ofglen, often ‘vary the route [...] there’s nothing against it, as long as [they] stay within the barriers’ (p.174). Although it is suggested that there are strict barriers, Offred is aware that the city landscape is always changing: ‘where the edges are we aren’t sure, they vary, according to the attacks and counterattacks’ (p.33). Offred never knows where the borders are, however, because she is kept in the centre ‘where nothing moves’ (p.33) and the reader never finds out where the boundaries are either. This demonstrates that borders are man-made and are always changing as space is not static (Massey, 1994: p.265); however, Offred does not participate in the negotiation of the city space. As Offred proclaims, ‘a rat in a maze is free to go anywhere, as long as it stays inside the maze’ (p.174). This metaphor is apt as Offred describes that there are barriers everywhere and the handmaids need to show identification to pass: ‘Behind the barrier, waiting for us at the narrow gateway, there are two men, in the green uniforms of the Guardians of the Faith’ (p.30). In order to cross the barrier they need to show their ‘passes’ (p.31) which are kept in their pockets of their uniform (p.31). As a handmaid, Offred wears a red uniform which is immediately recognisable as coloured clothing is used as a visual signifier to identify the different groups of people, just as it is in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The choice of red clothing for handmaids is significant as it represents their fertility: the uniform reminds the handmaids of their function—their usefulness to the state and their only purpose—in order to dehumanize them. Raj Shah notes that ‘one
notable epiphenomenon of panopticism is the control of the body’ (p.710) and suggests that there is a ‘complex layer of visibility and invisibility’ (p.710) which is demonstrated through the clothing that makes people’s social status immediately recognisable, when they are in public spaces, but makes the individual disappear.

The state also makes use of lateral surveillance in *The Handmaid’s Tale* by ensuring that handmaids cannot enter the city alone and must always be accompanied by the same person. Whenever Offred goes outside the house she is accompanied by Ofglen and Offred states ‘the truth is that she is my spy, as I am hers’ (p.29) as Offred is aware of peer-surveillance and knows that she must discipline herself and outwardly conform. As handmaids wear the same outfits, are named after their owners and can only speak to each other using the accepted phrases, such as ‘Blessed be the fruit’ (p.29), they have no personal connections to each other and, consequently, are suspicious of each other. The control of language in the novel, through the renaming of the handmaids and the implementation of prescribed sayings, is another example of the way the mind is disciplined and the body is conditioned to respond in a particular way. Offred is unsure whether Ofglen has been brainwashed as she describes that she ‘has never said anything that was not strictly orthodox, but then, neither have I […] I can’t take the risk’ (p.29). Offred is intelligent and notes that although Ofglen has not done anything to show that she is a rebel, neither has she and this is a consequence of lateral surveillance; both people perform their behaviour and manage to convince the other that they are not performing. This is also a type of coercive surveillance as Offred participates in spying on her partner as she has little choice. Whilst Winston is never sure who is spying on him or if he is being spied on at all in the city, Offred knows someone who is watching her; both surveillance methods have the same consequence for Winston and Offred, however, as they both self-discipline.

The governments of Oceania and Gilead deter their people from escaping by perpetuating frightening rumours about what lies beyond the boundaries of the city; not knowing where the boundaries are and what lies beyond prevents citizens from rebelling. Winston describes the ‘Ministry of Love’ as being ‘the really frightening one’ (p.7) as it has ‘no windows’ (p.7), ‘steel doors’ (p.7) and is surrounded by ‘a maze of barbed-wire entanglements’ (p.7). Few people have been inside the Ministry of Love and Winston only goes inside when he is captured by the Thought Police and tortured, never to re-emerge. Similarly, the threat of
the brothels and the colonies, in *The Handmaid’s Tale*, convinces many women to become handmaids as these places are perceived as being worse. In the brothel, women are owned by the male clients and are threatened with being sent to the colonies for misbehaviour (p.261). When the Commander takes Offred to the brothel for an evening he gives her a revealing dress to wear, instructs her to wear make-up and makes it clear that she is his property by putting on her wrist ‘a tag, purple, on an elastic band, like the tags for airport luggage’ (p.245). The tag makes it clear that she ‘belongs’ to someone and it makes her identifiable. The women are monitored closely by both the men who ‘rent’ them and by the Aunts who ‘supervise entrances and exits’ (p.265) with ‘cattle prod[s]’ (p.265). Offred describes wishing that the Commander’s wife, Serena, was present in the room because she does not ‘want to be alone with him’ (p.266). This visit to the brothel makes Offred realise that there are worse places that she can be sent to and this encourages her to behave. Offred’s friend Moira informs her that she saw Offred’s mother in a ‘film’ about the colonies she was shown after she tried to escape and chose to stay at the brothel instead of being sent to the colonies (p.264). The fact that Moira would choose to be in a brothel rather than the colonies implies that the colonies are worse. The function of these ‘other’ places beyond the borders, or out of bounds, in the novels encourages the protagonists to conform to the rules and stay within the boundaries for a certain amount of time, even if they do eventually rebel. The combination of vertical surveillance, lateral surveillance and the threat of not knowing what lies beyond the borders of the city acts as a deterrent and ensures that the whereabouts of the protagonists are always known. The reader is also made aware of the process of self-discipline and how this operates psychologically from having access to the protagonists’ thoughts and through the protagonists’ interpretation of the spatial layout.

**The Workplace:**

The workplace environments in the novels are all highly monitored and a combination of different surveillance methods are employed by those in charge to make sure the employees are visible, controlled and alienated from other workers. As the factory in *Brave New World* encompasses the city space, the workplace and the home, the way that surveillance is used by the ‘World Controllers’ (Huxley, p.28) to control how the characters spend their time will be evaluated. Although Party members in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* have homes, they are encouraged to spend most of their time working and to participate in group
activities in their ‘spare time’. The way that participatory group activities are used in the workplace environments of all three novels to discipline and alienate employees will also be explored in this section; this will demonstrate how a combination of vertical and lateral surveillance ensures that the employees’ bodies are disciplined. The centre where the handmaids are trained and disciplined will be analysed in this section, rather than Offred’s home where she is employed because this is where her conditioning and interactions with others takes places. Finally, the ways in which surveillance technology is utilised by the World Controllers (ibid) in *Brave New World* will be discussed to highlight how the factory workers are made into ‘productive bod[ies]’ (ibid).

The architectural design of the factory in *Brave New World* mirrors the panopticon prison, which allows the workers to be monitored and controlled at all times through vertical surveillance methods. Lyon suggests that real factories, like Henry Ford’s factory which the novel satirises, are structured in such a way as to make the workers visible at all times. Lyon states that ‘Foucault argued that surveillance in the capitalist workplace is just one instance of the rise of the kind of disciplinary society that characterises the modern world […] the very architecture of the workshop made workers highly visible and thus amenable to attempts at complete control by their supervisors’ (1994: p.122). As previously mentioned, Foucault references the ‘workshop’ (Foucault, 1998: p.140) when discussing the rise of biopower, suggesting that the workshop or factory is one example of a space where bodies can be controlled and disciplined through monitoring. Lyon goes on to say that the factory town was organised to make the workers visible with the factory at the centre: ‘the row of workers’ houses, stretching up the street, was punctuated by slightly larger dwellings on the corners, occupied by those same foremen and their families. The bell that summoned the workforce could be heard from every corner of the town’ (p.121). Similarly, in the novel the workforce can hear the trumpet instructing them wherever they are: ‘in the four thousand rooms of the Centre the four thousand electric shocks simultaneously struck four. Discarnate voices called from the trumpet mouths. “Main Day-shift off duty. Second Day-shift take over”’ (p.28). Everything runs like clockwork in the factory with the workers as components of the machine, which can be seen by the way the workers are described at the beginning: ‘the overalls of the workers were white, their hands gloved with a pale corpse-coloured rubber. The light was frozen, dead, a ghost’ (p.1). The workers are given no
individual characteristics and are described as lifeless beings who work monotonously. Lyon suggests that ‘Fordism attempted to make production predictable, and in management, to ensure certainty through surveillance [...] Fordism was felt to have put everyone in little boxes, just the same’ (1994: p.126). Just like the panopticon prison where everyone is in their own individual cell that is visible to the watchmen in the tower, in the factory everyone is assigned a place to be at a specific time so that they can always be seen and controlled.

Similarly, in Nineteen Eighty-Four, Party members are made to work long hours so that they spend less time alone and can be monitored closely by both their supervisors, through cameras, and by their peers through lateral surveillance, as the employees work in close proximity to each other. It is stated in the novel that ‘in principle a Party member had no spare time, and was never alone except in bed’ (p.94). In the Records Department, Winston’s workplace, the Party members are close enough to see each other from their cubicles and monitor each other but they cannot connect with each other as their work is confidential. Winston’s job is to destroy any information that reflects badly on the Party and falsify records, which is also the job of everyone else in his department. Although falsifying records is done in practice, in theory the Party members are not falsifying but ‘correcting’ the records, which means that they are unable to relate details of their work to each other. Winston reflects that ‘people in the Records Department did not readily talk about their jobs. In the long, windowless hall, with its double row of cubicles and its endless rustle of papers and hum of voices murmuring into speakwrites, there were quite a dozen people whom Winston did not even know by name’ (p.49). Having to constantly keep his thoughts to himself and not being able to communicate private emotions makes Winston paranoid about all of his colleagues. Winston even considers that Julia, who he later learns is against the Party, could be part of the Thought Police because she outwardly conforms to the Party (p.13). Party members are also subjected to vertical surveillance practices through the presence of the ‘telescreen’ (p.44), an ‘oblong metal plague like a dulled mirror’ (p.4) that ‘received and transmitted simultaneously’ (p.5) and continuously meaning that Party members can be ‘seen as well as heard’ (p.5) at all times. As Shah asserts, ‘while the Party members in Nineteen Eighty-Four are all subject to Big Brother’s ubiquitous “eyes [that] follow you about when you move” (3), they in turn scrutinize one another with “hostile spectacle flash[es]” (52)’ (p.704). Winston and his colleagues are isolated from each other
and live in fear because the combination of vertical surveillance and lateral surveillance, through the group activities and the presence of the telescreen, causes them to be paranoid of each other and makes them conceal their true thoughts.

In each novel, the employees are made to participate in group activities which divide the workforce through lateral surveillance and which ensure that employees are always monitored. By using a combination of different surveillance practices that connect to each other, through the surveillant assemblage, there are very few times, if any, that employees are unmonitored. In *Brave New World*, one of the main characters, Bernard, attends ‘Solidarity Service’ (p.67) every fortnight where in a seemingly spiritual service the employees can see, feel and hear ‘Our Ford’ (p.69). During the service when everyone begins to shout and jump, claiming that they can feel something, Bernard fakes a response because he felt ‘that it was time for him to do something’ (p.72). In this gathering, the characters are forced to participate, which is a form of coercive surveillance, and they are subjected to the lateral surveillance of their peers, who may judge them and report them if they do not respond appropriately. These events are intended to divide people; after the service Bernard describes feeling ‘more isolated by reason of his unreplenished emptiness, his dead satiety. Separate and unatoned, while the others were being fused into the Greater Being’ (p.74). Participatory events are clearly an effective form of surveillance as it is made apparent that the employees spy on each other and clearly feel no loyalty to each other. It becomes clear that Bernard is the subject of effective lateral and vertical surveillance when the Director tells him that he is ‘not at all pleased with the reports I receive of your behaviour outside working hours’ (p.84). This demonstrates how the World Controllers use a combination of vertical and lateral surveillance practices, through participatory events, which ensure that the whereabouts of the workers are always known.

Likewise, in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* Winston is coerced into participating in group activities where he is subject to the lateral surveillance of his peers and is disciplined into responding involuntarily. Winston states that ‘it was assumed that when he was not working, eating or sleeping he would be taking part in some kind of communal recreation: to do anything that suggested a taste for solitude, even to go for a walk by yourself, was always slightly dangerous’ (p.94). Events are organised during the working day that it is compulsory for employees to attend, such as the two minutes hate, where employees are expected to
react violently to a video of a supposed enemy of the state, Emmanuel Goldstein, condemning the state (p.14). Antonia Mackay and Susan Flynn point out that ‘unlike the inmates of Bentham’s prisons, Winston Smith is fully aware of the potential control wielded over him by the all seeing eye of Big Brother, and rather than behave, he merely performs correctly’ (2017: p.2). Nevertheless, although Winston does frequently perform his behaviour, during the two minutes hate he describes being taken over by his emotions and not needing to perform (p.17):

In a lucid moment Winston found that he was shouting with the others and kicking his heel violently against the rung of his chair. The horrible thing about the Two Minutes Hate was not that one was obliged to act a part, but that it was impossible to avoid joining in.

His inability to control his emotions reflects Mackay and Flynn’s argument that ‘what we witness with Orwell’s form of surveillance is not only panopticism, but also how the gaze of surveillant technologies can shift identity within spaces of visibility’ (p.2). In the group activities, Winston starts to believe and conform despite his better judgement. This group activity produces an involuntary, physical response in Winston and temporarily takes over his mind which demonstrates how the body can be disciplined through repetitive activities where the person is conditioned to behave in a particular way. When we compare this to Bernard’s group session in Brave New World, it becomes apparent that whilst Bernard only performs his behaviour Winston does sometimes succumb to the Party’s ideology through these group events. It is significant that in Bernard’s group event everyone is meant to express their love for their situation and feel positive; whereas in Winston’s group event everyone is supposed to express hatred for their common enemy and feel angry. As Winston spends most of his time repressing his feelings towards the state, the two minutes hate acts as an outlet for his rage.

Similarly, in The Handmaid’s Tale group activities are arranged to monitor the handmaids’ reactions, through vertical and lateral surveillance, and to provide an outlet for their anger which they direct towards each other rather than the state, just as in Nineteen Eighty-Four. Offred describes that each handmaid participates in ‘testifying’ (p.81) where they take it in turns to confess something terrible they have done. Another handmaid, Janine, informs the
group that she was ‘gang-raped at fourteen and had an abortion’ (p.81) and they respond by chanting ‘her fault, her fault, her fault’ (p.82) and ‘Crybaby. Crybaby. Crybaby’ (p.82). Offred reflects on the way that they responded to Janine’s horrific story and confesses that they ‘meant it’ (p.82) and comments that ‘for a moment, even though we knew what was being done to her, we despised her’ (p.82). Through coercive surveillance, Offred momentarily forgets herself, as Winston does in the two minutes hate, and Offred internalises the ideology of the state as she later finds herself feeling ashamed at wearing revealing clothes in the past (pp.72-73). The handmaids react similarly to another participatory event called ‘Particicution’ (p.290) which means a participatory execution. The handmaids are supposed to beat a Guardian to death and Offred states that she felt her hands ‘clench’ (p.290). Offred describes the handmaids’ reaction to the Guardian (p.291): ‘There’s a surge forward, like a crowd at a rock concert in the former time [...] the air is bright with adrenaline’. The handmaids transfer their anger and frustration at those in power onto an innocent person. The image of the crowd at a rock concert and the word ‘surge’ suggests that, like Winston, the handmaids do not pause to think before they act and ‘mob-mentality’ takes over as the handmaids respond as if conditioned just as Winston does. Ofglen justifies her barbaric reaction to Offred, however, by claiming that they need to participate because ‘they’re watching’ (p.292) referring to the Wives, daughters, Aunts and Guardians. Even if handmaids do not want to participate, they will do so as they are being watched by each other and those in charge. Through a combination of vertical, lateral and coercive surveillance in the workplaces of all three novels, employees are monitored, controlled and disciplined.

Finally, in *Brave New World* surveillance technology is used to discipline the employees into becoming ‘docile bodies’ who will generate profit for the factory (Foucault, 1998: p.139). In the novel, people are ‘made to order’ and separated into castes: members of each caste have to dress think and act in the same way in order to fulfil their role in the factory. The reader is informed that Alphas wear grey, Gammas wear green, Deltas wear khaki and Epsilons wear black (p.22). Coloured clothing is used to highlight difference, which means that characters immediately recognise if someone is from the same caste without speaking to them and will avoid those who are different; just as coloured clothing is used in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *The Handmaid’s Tale*. This lack of individuality and belonging to a group is
also reflected in the way that many characters share the same last name and genetic features. As each person has been made to fit into a caste and a role, there is no individuality and emphasis is placed on being a ‘part’ of the body of society, which is also mirrored in the narrative structure as the story follows many characters through an omniscient narration with no clear protagonist. Joanne Woiak argues that Huxley satirises the way that surveillance methods are used to control the workforce and make them productive because he ‘witnessed the effects of high unemployment and monotonous work (including the assembly line method introduced by one of his favourite satirical targets, Henry Ford), and, like George Orwell later in *The Road to Wigan Pier*, sang the praises of the labouring man and lamented his oppression’ (2007: p.112). According to Woiak, Huxley is taking aim at capitalist industry and the way it reduces the workforce to their function. Andrejevic argues that factories ‘depended on surveillance of workers assigned to perform homogenized tasks [...] [because] the role of the worker was to participate without controlling’ (Andrejevic, 2004: p.33). This novel reflects the way surveillance operates in factories where the workers are involved in part of the process but do not have any control because they are only made to suit their role and do not have the mental capacity to think about the wider implications of the production process and the effects it has on them. Parrinder claims that Huxley was ‘satirizing both the behaviourist psychology and assembly-line production techniques pioneered in the USA’ (2016: p.17). The employees are disciplined, in the novel, using conditioning techniques and through their constant visibility. Gasiorek suggests that Huxley imagines ‘what could happen when an entire society is modelled on the logic of the machine, its subordinate parts (the people that live in it) existing to service its needs’ (2016: p.215). The employees in *Brave New World* have been dehumanised as they have been made into docile, productive bodies which are disciplined and controlled through surveillance methods. Thomas Horan claims that ‘World State has realized a concept of controlled human development [...] which Foucault (1975/1995) calls the manufacture of docile bodies’ (2018: p.72). As Horan claims, the workers in *Brave New World* have been ‘manufacture[d]’ and therefore have a ‘use by date’ which is shown in the novel as the employees all die at sixty when they have finished their work. In this way, surveillance technology is used in *Brave New World*, as it is in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *The Handmaid’s Tale*, to monitor, control, discipline and alienate the population through their work.
The Home:

Just as we are aware that the city and the workplace are public spaces which are monitored, we assume that our homes are private spaces, which we have ownership of and where we can behave differently. It has been suggested that ‘set in opposition to public and semi-public places, the home is perceived as an enclave of privacy and retreat, a bastion of seclusion and isolation’ (Rapoport, 2012: p.320). Acaron suggests that as the home is associated with privacy and retreat, as Michele Rapoport notes, the home is therefore an extension of our body—an ‘embodied space’ (Acaron, p.143). Acaron goes on to state that because of this an invasion of the space of the home feels like a violation of our bodies as well as the space (p.143):

The idea that our embodied space extends beyond the skin’s perimeter also gives insight into the relationship between extensibility and intrapersonal notions of safety [... ] someone entering our home or taking our personal belongings feels like an invasion of our personal space and a transgression of our bodies as transposed into the space.

Winston and Offred both create homes in other spaces as they feel disembodied when they do not have ownership of a private space. However, whilst Winston and Offred believe they are alone in the heterotopias they have created, they are mistaken. As Shah argues, heterotopias are ‘not independent of the omnipresent Panopticon and, consequently, are precarious and dangerously unreliable’ (2014: p.703) as characters often mistakenly believe that they are not being monitored in these spaces. Winston and Offred’s need for a private space, which is an extension of their embodied self, implies that total surveillance has dehumanising effects.

Winston is made painfully aware that he is always monitored in his home through vertical surveillance methods; this means that Winston is required to self-discipline his body at all times. Winston describes not knowing whether he is being watched and heard at all times or not by the telescreen and because of this he self-disciplines because Party members ‘had to live—did live, from habit that became instinct—in the assumption that every sound you made was overheard, and, except in darkness, every moment scrutinised’ (p.5). Just like the watchman in the tower of the panopticon, the Thought Police could potentially be watching
all the time. Winston describes performing for the camera: ‘He had set his features into the expression of quiet optimism which it was advisable to wear when facing the telescreen’ (p.7). Winston reflects that at ‘any moment the tension inside you was liable to translate itself into some visible symptom’ (p.73). It is not enough to show outward conformity; the Party wants everyone to genuinely believe in the ideology of the Party. As Michael Yeo remarks, ‘the Party’s project is the total control not just of what citizens do and say, but what they think and believe. What makes this project conceivable is the development and centralized control of technologies of both surveillance and propaganda, as represented by the telescreen’ (2010: p.57). The propaganda ensures that the Party members’ thoughts and ideas are controlled whereas the telescreen makes it possible for everyone to be watched and scrutinized at all times including in people’s homes; their restless sleep can be construed as a manifestation of their traitorous thoughts which are being repressed. In the book that O’Brien, the inner Party member who tortures Winston, gives Winston it states that ‘a Party member lives from birth to death under the eye of the Thought Police. Even when he is alone, he can never be sure that he is alone. Wherever he may be, asleep or awake, working or resting, in his bath or in bed, he can be inspected without warning and without knowing that he is being inspected’ (p.240). As Winston knows that people have ‘disappeared’ and it is rumoured that this usually happens at night, he believes that it is possible that the Thought Police could always be watching and he disciplines himself accordingly. The home is therefore not a place of privacy and retreat for Winston; it is just another place where he is monitored and controlled.

Conversely, Winston is also led to believe that there are times and places, including in his bedroom, where he is not seen and he can let down his guard; this is revealed to be untrue as the Party perpetuates the idea that there are private places so that the true thoughts and feelings of Party members can be discovered. Yeo suggests that there are two types of surveillance methods operating simultaneously in the novel, ‘panoptical and surreptitious’ (p.52). Yeo explains that surreptitious surveillance ‘works on the opposite belief [of the panopticon]: believing that one is in a private space not under surveillance, one is disinhibited and acts and thinks freely, thus making it possible for an unsuspected spy to detect what one really believes’ (p.53). An example of this in the novel is the room above the shop, which Winston and his girlfriend Julia rent. Winston describes the room as a
‘sanctuary’ (p.174) and compares the room to his paperweight: ‘the paperweight was the room he was in, and the coral was Julia’s life and his own, fixed in a sort of eternity at the heart of the crystal’ (p.169). The spatial metaphor of the paperweight implies that Winston and Julia see the room as a place independent of the surveillance state; it is a place where time and space are ‘fixed’. This is an illusion, of course, as unbeknown to them the room contains a telescreen and is owned by a member of the Thought Police. Winston also mistakenly believes that the telescreen in his bedroom has a blind spot and that he can write in his diary without being seen but it is later revealed that O’Brien knows the contents of Winston’s diary. It is implied that the Party want people to believe that there are times when they are not seen so that they let their guard down and reveal their true thoughts. It seems suspicious that Winston’s telescreen is in ‘an unusual position’ (p.8) as the reader is informed that ‘instead of being placed, as was normal, on the end wall, where it could command the whole room, it was in the longer wall, opposite the window’ (p.8). This seemingly allows Winston a place where he can hide from the telescreen in the room. Therefore, it can be inferred that the Party deliberately dupes people into thinking that certain spaces are not monitored when this is not the case; the prole areas supposedly do not have many telescreens yet the room above the shop has a telescreen disguised behind a painting. This validates Shah’s point that heterotopias can be ‘a space of alternative control’ (p.719) because they are part of the surveillant assemblage. By employing panoptic, surreptitious and lateral surveillance, the Party seemingly covers all eventualities and the different surveillance methods are connected through the assemblage.

Like Winston, Offred is made aware that her room is being monitored; however, she tries to negotiate this space and make this room her own. Offred believes that by claiming ownership of a space and existing in it she is legitimised as a human. Offred’s door is unlocked and she states that ‘it doesn’t shut properly’ (p.18) because she is not allowed any privacy. The door not shutting properly serves to remind Offred that she is never alone because anyone could enter the room. At first, Offred refuses to call the room hers but when she thinks the Commander has been in the room she says ‘Was he invading? Was he in my room? I called it mine’ (p.59). The Commander entering her room feels like a violation to Offred and she reacts in this way because, as Acaron notes, ‘someone entering our home or taking our personal belongings feels like an invasion of our personal space and a
transgression of our bodies as transposed into the space’ (p.143). Even though Offred knows she is a temporary resident in the Commander’s house and the room will not always be hers, she acknowledges that she needs to claim ownership of somewhere even if it is not permanent; this implies that Offred feels legitimised as a human when she has ownership of a space because if she can own property then that means she is not property. The Commander entering Offred’s room reminds Offred that the room, like her, belongs to him.

Offred creates an alternative home for herself, like Winston, and takes comfort from this; this reinforces the idea that, by having a private space that we have control over, we are humanised. Offred begins a relationship with the Commander’s Guardian, Nick, and frequently visits his room above the garage. Offred describes feeling safer in Nick’s room than any other place (pp.281-282):

Being here with him is safety; it’s a cave, where we huddle together while the storm goes on outside. This is a delusion, of course. This room is one of the most dangerous places I could be.

Just as Orwell uses the spatial metaphor of the paperweight to describe the room about Mr Charrington’s shop, Atwood uses a spatial metaphor, describing the room as a ‘cave’. It is significant that Atwood chooses the cave as a spatial metaphor as this conjures up images of a primitive time before scientific and technological advancements, implying that this private spatial arrangement is more natural. The cave metaphor also conjures the image of Plato’s cave which implies that this space is illusive. Nevertheless, as noted earlier, the heterotopia is not independent of the surveillant assemblage and the room above the garage is not even independent of the Commander’s home. As Offred states, this room is ‘one of the most dangerous places’ she could be in and she should not feel safe in or feel in control of this space; whereas, Winston does not realise that he is in a dangerous place above the shop until it is too late. Even though Offred does acknowledge that her presence in Nick’s room is dangerous she also acknowledges that she feels safe suggesting that she sometimes gives in to this delusion and tells herself that she is free from surveillance just as Winston does in the shop. The fact that Winston and Offred both gain comfort from creating homes for themselves suggests that the violation of privacy in the home is just as significant as the
monitoring and control of the body if we take into account Acaron’s theory of the home being an ‘embodied space’ (p.143).

The Body:

In all three novels, surveillance methods are implemented by the state to control the protagonists’ bodies by interfering with their sexual relationships and reproductive rights. Foucault states that sexual relations are both ‘tied to the disciplines of the body’ (1998: p.145) and are also important to the ‘regulation of populations’ (ibid). This means, therefore, that as sexual relations fit into ‘both categories [of ‘body as machine’ and ‘the species body’] at once’ they are monitored and controlled by governments. Foucault goes on to state that this monitoring of the body ‘[gave] rise to infinitesimal surveillance, permanent controls, extremely meticulous orderings of space, indeterminate medical or psychological examinations [...] [and the] entire micro-power concerned with the body’ (1998: pp.145-146). Although sexual relationships and reproductive rights are controlled in all three novels they are controlled using different methods. Frost (2016: p.72) claims that, ‘writers have often made use of the idea that sex, a seemingly intimate and private zone of life, might be shaped by external, imposed social influences such as policing, surveillance, or an internalized panopticon effect’ which is especially true of dystopian texts as they are concerned with issues of autonomy, agency and privacy.

Promiscuity is encouraged in *Brave New World* so that people will remain alienated from each other; this is controlled, in part, through lateral surveillance. In the novel, sexual relationships are under surveillance as characters discuss their sex lives with each other and chastise their friends for not being with many partners. This can be seen when two of the main female characters discuss their relationships and Fanny tells Lenina ‘I really do think you ought to be careful. It’s such horribly bad form to go on and on like this with one man [...] you know how strongly the DHC objects to anything intense or long-drawn[...] he’d be furious if he knew’ (pp.34-35). Lenina decides to have sex with other men because she has been coerced into doing so through her conversation with Fanny, who reminds her that there will be consequences if she gets found out. Lateral surveillance is the main reason why Lenina is polygamous in the novel as it is difficult for her to have an intimate relationship without it being seen by her peers. The words ‘marriage’, ‘family’ and ‘parents’ have no
meaning in this world, as children are made not born, and characters are discouraged from forming a close bond with one person as ‘everyone belongs to everyone else’ (p.34) so they must be polygamous and use contraceptives. As familial bonds are eliminated and people are not allowed commit to each other, the inverse of this statement is also true: ‘nobody belongs to anybody’.

In contrast to *Brave New World*, sexual desire is stifled in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *The Handmaid’s Tale* so that characters will not form close bonds with each other and rebel against the system; in both novels, sex is only for the procreation of children and reproduction is monitored and controlled. Winston claims that ‘the only recognised purpose of marriage was to beget children for the service of the Party’ (p.75) and describes how he dreaded having sexual relations with his wife Katharine because he did not feel connected to her as she viewed sex as ‘our duty to the Party’ (p.77). Even though the Party discourages relationships whereas polygamy is expected in *Brave New World*, the outcome is the same: sexual relationships are dictated by those in power and make people feel more isolated.

Whilst the family unit is maintained in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, familial bonds are destroyed as the children are trained to worship Big Brother before their parents and to spy on their families. Winston describes how his neighbour’s children scare their mother: ‘With those children, he thought, that wretched woman must lead a life of terror. Another year, two years, and they would be watching her night and day for symptoms of unorthodoxy [...] by means of such organisations as the Spies they were systematically turned into ungovernable little savages [...] [who love] the Party’ (pp. 28-29). Whilst the children belong to their parents genetically, Big Brother and the Party replace parents and the children’s loyalty is towards the Party. Similarly, in *The Handmaid’s Tale* sexual relationships are only for the procreation of children and are not private or intimate. When the Commander rapes Offred in the ceremony, Serena watches and holds Offred. There is also no romance or intimacy as Offred states: ‘this is not recreation, even for the Commander. This is serious business’ (p.105). The ceremony is just for the procreation of children and Offred’s body is just a vessel for the child. The child will also belong to Serena and Commander Fred, not Offred. The lack of intimacy and affection leaves Offred feeling empty as she describes feeling a ‘hunger to touch something [...] to commit the act of touch’ (p.21). Like Winston and Bernard, Offred feels more alone from having sex without intimacy.
Surveillance methods are also used in *The Handmaid’s Tale* to reinforce the idea that the handmaids’ bodies are the property of the state and to remind handmaids that their bodies and their offspring do not belong to them. Offred describes that she is ‘taken to the doctor’s once a month, for tests: urine, hormones, cancer smear, blood test; the same as before, except that now it’s obligatory’ (p.69). When Offred is examined by the doctor, the doctor can only see Offred’s body not her face: ‘At neck level there’s another sheet, suspended from the ceiling. It intersects me so that the doctor will never see my face’ (p.70). This serves to remind the handmaids that it is only their bodies that matter; not the individual. The handmaids’ food is also strictly controlled to make sure that they produce healthy children. Offred claims that ‘it’s good enough food, though bland. Healthy food. You have to get your vitamins and minerals, said Aunt Lydia coyly. You must be a worthy vessel. No coffee or tea though, no alcohol’ (p.75). Aunt Lydia calls the handmaids ‘vessel[s]’ reminding them that they are just a body and that body is important to the state; it does not solely belong to them. Handmaids are also made to feel ashamed of their body and to feel detached from it. When Offred bates she can see her identification tattoo which she calls ‘a passport in reverse’ (p.75) as this means that she can always be identified and escaping is almost impossible. The tattoo also reminds her that she is property; she is a thing that belongs to someone else. Whilst bathing, Offred also feels ashamed and detached from her body (pp.72-73):

> My nakedness is strange to me already. My body seems outdated. Did I really wear bathing suits, at the beach? I did, without thought among men, without caring that my legs, my arms, my thighs and back were on display, could be seen. *Shameful, immodest.*

Offred has internalised the teachings of the Aunts at the red centre and the participatory events have caused her to rethink her relationship with her body. One of the reasons why Offred is ashamed of her nakedness is because she has become used to being fully clothed and showing no flesh. Offred describes the red uniform as making handmaids simultaneously more visible and less visible (p.18):

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

Clothing is used in *Brave New World* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to make people easily recognisable and visible; however, it is also used in *The Handmaid's Tale* to make handmaids ashamed of their bodies; their uniform hides their individual features as their faces are obscured by their ‘wings’ and the uniform masks their body shape. In all three novels, the surveillance of sexual relations and reproduction disembodies people and makes them feel isolated and alienated, which makes them easier to manipulate.

The control of sexual desire also makes the protagonist more docile as Horan (2018) argues. Horan suggests that in *Brave New World* ‘there is no envisioned space where sexual freedom and political liberty coalesce because when people get a surfeit of sexual activity without any effort, exertion, or chance of disappointment, sexuality itself is thoroughly desubliminated’ (p.74). Horan claims that sexual desire and frustration lead to rebellious sentiments, which is why characters in *Brave New World* are encouraged to be promiscuous as this makes them passive. Horan goes on to argue that the two minutes hate in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and participation in *The Handmaid's Tale* ‘release otherwise dangerous sexual energy’ (p.193) which is another reason why these activities take place. By controlling sexual desire, the states in all three novels make their subjects docile. Through the surveillance of sexual relationships and reproduction in the novels, the states are able to control each individual body and the entire population.

The analysis of *Brave New World, Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *The Handmaid's Tale* in this section has demonstrated that dystopian texts from the twentieth century have represented the control and monitoring of bodies through the convergence of multiple surveillance methods and the control of spatial relations. Although these novels have traditionally been used as examples of vertical and panoptic surveillance, this section revealed many examples of lateral and participatory surveillance in these texts. By revisiting these novels and evaluating them in light of new and old surveillance theories, the relationship between surveillance, space and bodily control has been established. The ways in which surveillance methods can be used to control and discipline the body through the manipulation of spatial relations will also be explored in the next section. Analysis of the
contemporary texts will reveal an intensification of the surveillance methods evaluated in this section and not only the control of but also the convergence of spaces and how this convergence leads to greater manipulation of the body.
Section 2

The way that surveillance technology is used by governments and large companies, in the novels in this section, to monitor and manipulate the body in order to make it more productive will be explored in following analysis. Like the previous section, the use of surveillance technology in the spaces of the city, the workplace, the home and the body will be examined. Miéville’s novel *The City and The City* will be analysed in ‘the city’ category as this text demonstrates the ways in which we have been taught to ignore those who are different from us and those who are abandoned by society, such as the homeless and refugees. This novel reveals how the city space is organised in order to monitor some people and ignore others; this perpetuates the idea that some people are deemed worthier than others. This novel, like *The Circle* and *The Method*, constantly reminds the reader of how they participate and cooperate with surveillance methods. Eggers’ novel *The Circle* will be evaluated in ‘the workplace’ category as this text criticises neoliberalism and the way that social media companies exploit people by getting them to reveal personal information in order to monitor and control them. Zeh’s novel *The Method* will be examined under ‘the home’ category as this novel satirises the relationship between surveillance technology and healthcare, revealing how the monitoring of the home and the body are connected. Finally, the way surveillance technology is used in *The Circle* and *The Method* to make the body more productive; thereby achieving the transhumanist dream of ‘faster, more intelligent, less disease-prone, long-living human bodies’ (Nayar, p.16). This will reveal how the use of surveillance technology on the body has moral and ethical implications as certain mentalities and body types are encouraged and valued more than others, which is also shown in *The City and The City*. The argument will be put forward that these literary texts reveal how a combination of surveillance methods, which converge through the surveillance assemblage, cause the body to be increasingly monitored and manipulated through our involvement in these practices; this is shown to be more intense than in the novels in the previous section.

The City

Miéville’s novel *The City and The City* combines the genres of detective fiction and science fiction in order to, firstly, explore how space is socially constructed to create divisions
between people and, secondly, to explore how we participate in surveillance practices which maintain these divisions by imagining a spatial arrangement whereby two separate cities, Besźel and Ul Qoma, exist in the same place at the same time. Marks explains the complex spatial geography of both cities (2013: p.223):

There are ‘total zones’ (fully the world of either Besźel or Ul Qoma); those seen as ‘alter’ (fully the world of the other city), areas referred to as ‘crosshatched’ (points of intersection); and those designated ‘dissensi,’ disputed sectors claimed by both city-states.

It is explained in the novel that it is unhelpful to compare the geographical space of Besźel and Ul Qoma to split cities such as East and West Germany before the fall of the Berlin wall because both cities exist in the same place at the same time; they are not divided by just physical borders but also social constructed boundaries. Within each city there are further divisions between those who are made to live in ghettos or camps and the homeless. The spatial arrangements in the novel which result in particular groups of people, namely the homeless and refugees, being ignored whilst other citizens are intensely monitored reveals how surveillance methods can discriminate and prioritize particular groups over others. The narrative structure also mirrors the spatial organisation of the cities as it is divided into three parts: Besźel, Ul Qoma and Breach. Those who are in Breach can see both cities and their residents at the same time but cannot be seen by residents of Besźel or Ul Qoma. Through this structure, the reader is able to get a sense of how the different groups interpret the same space and how this is determined by the surveillance methods.

Miéville demonstrates how ordinary citizens participate in lateral surveillance methods which exclude others. Citizens of Besźel and Ul Qoma are conditioned through biopolitical training methods to ‘unsee’ (p.21) each other using visual clues such as: ‘key signifiers of architecture, clothing, alphabet and manner, outlaw colours and gestures [...] [and] supposed distinctions in national physiognomies’ (p.93). The protagonist, Inspector Tyador Borlú, often sees the other city by mistake as it is difficult even for those who have grown up in Besźel and Ul Qoma to be able to tell if people are in their city or not (p.21):

Most of those around us were in Besźel so we saw them. Poverty deshaped the already staid, drab cuts and colours that enduringly characteristics Besź
clothes [...] some we realised when we glanced were elsewhere, so unsaw, but the younger Besź were also more colourful.

From this it is clear that seeing and unseeing is learned and that Borlú is aware that this is socially constructed. It is also apparent that ‘unseeing’ does not work because you have to first ‘see’ something in order to then notice you should not be seeing it and ‘unsee’ or ignore it. ‘Unseeing’ is not the same thing as ‘not seeing’; therefore, the residents of both cities need to participate in this form of surveillance. Marks argues that ‘the conscious and constant seeing and unseeing by members of both Ul Qoma and Besźel constitute a crude form of social sorting in which cultural biases are critical’ (2013: p.230). As with the novels in the previous section, clothing is used as a visual signifier however the surveillance of the body is taken further in this novel as gestures and manner are also used to distinguish between national identities. Borlú suggests that it is becoming increasingly difficult to separate the residents of both cities as the younger generation are not conforming to the rules about clothing and this surveillance method does not fully work. Nevertheless, when people in each city ‘see’ each other by mistake they immediately ‘unsee’ as they have been conditioned to do so which means this is still an effective surveillance method.

Social sorting has ethical implications in the novel as immigrants, refugees and the homeless do not belong in either city and are subsequently unseen by both sides. Borlú states (p.177): ‘I could see the homeless dosing down in side streets, the Ul Qoman rough sleepers that we in Besźel had had to become used to as protubs to pick our unseeing ways over and around’ (p.171). As the person is Ul Qoman they cannot be seen by Besźel citizens but as they are living in Besźel they cannot be seen by Ul Qoman citizens. Therefore, not only do the homeless not have a place to call their own, they also seem to lose their status as a human as they are not ‘seen’ by citizens of either city. This reinforces the idea that certain groups of people are more valued than others. Similarly, the reader is informed that some refugees that come to Besźel and Ul Qoma are relocated to ghettos (p.25) or to camps on the outskirts of both cities (p.188). The reader is informed that the ‘Besźel ghetto was only architecture now, not formal political boundary [between the cities]’ (p.26) implying that the Jewish and Muslim population who live in the ghettos have been integrated into society (p.25). Nevertheless, it is stated that the ‘two minority communities in Besźel had traditionally allied, with jocularity or fear, depending on the politics at the time’ (p.25)
suggesting that the status of the Jewish and Muslim communities in either city is not stable. Therefore, the Jewish and Muslim communities in both cities are monitored in a different way from the rest of the population as they are first seen or unseen as a resident of Besźel or Ul Qoma and then are treated differently depending on the political climate. The homeless, however, are completely ignored all the time by everyone. This shows how lateral surveillance methods can be used to discriminate and sort people into groups of varying levels of importance.

Whilst the novel focuses on the ways in which citizens participate in surveillance practices, the involvement of the state in maintaining boundaries is acknowledged as vertical surveillance methods are used in *The City and The City* to ensure that residents of both cities cooperate. The residents of Besźel and Ul Qoma learn at a young age to be afraid of ‘Breach’ (p.63), a force who police residents of both cities and who remain a mystery for most of the novel. An exchange between Borlú and an informant, Drodin, reveals the power of vertical surveillance on behaviour (p.63):

“Watching us out there is...you know. Breach.”

“You’ve seen it?”

“Course not. What do I look like? Who sees it? But we know it’s there!”

Although Borlú does not see members of Breach until he has committed Breach, like every other resident he fears that he is being watched because everyone has been told from a young age that Breach polices both cities and everyone knows people who have disappeared. Therefore, the citizens of Besźel and Ul Qoma participate in seeing and unseeing because they believe there is an outside force monitoring them and are coerced into participating. Through a combination of vertical surveillance and coercive, participatory surveillance in *The City and The City*, divisions between different groups are maintained. It is made clear throughout the novel that surveillance practices can result in discrimination as certain people are intensely monitored and others are ignored. This shows how surveillance practices can be used to sort people into groups and prioritise and value particular groups over others depending on their national identity, race, religion and class. The ways in which
surveillance is used to manipulate and control the individual body and society as a whole is further explored in *The Circle* and *The Method*.

**The Workplace**

In *The Circle* the ways that social media companies and tech giants manipulate their staff and users into disclosing their private information and participating in their own surveillance, which includes paying for services and new technologies, is critiqued. Timothy Galow explains the Circle, the social media company in the novel, ‘subsumed Google, Facebook, and Twitter by uniting Internet search and social media capabilities under one “Unified Operating System”’ (2014: p.116). This means that most activities such as communicating with friends, online shopping and searching for information are done through users’ Circle accounts; therefore, the company knows almost everything that a user does online. Users need to sign up using their real names and identities, which makes online anonymity impossible and it means that ‘your devices knew who you were, and your identity—the TruYou, unbendable and unmaskable— was the person paying, signing up, responding, viewing and reviewing, seeing and being seen’ (Eggers, 2014: p.21). This idea of seeing and being seen online is central to Eggers’ novel, which interrogates the idea of voluntary participation and the social conditions that could lead to a surveillance society. In the novel, the founders of the Circle brainwash their staff into relinquishing their privacy and then use their staff and the example of the surveillance in the Circle headquarters to promote the company’s philosophy of openness and transparency to Circle users. Eggers explores the role of social media and digital technology in our world by demonstrating the ease with which the company is able to eventually monitor everyone and every place in the world with the consent and participation of its users. It soon becomes apparent, in the novel, that social media companies are able to not only influence the purchasing habits of their users but also the opinions of their users, as privacy quickly becomes associated with crime. Marks argues that the novel ‘addresses the place of social media and the Internet in the exponential rise of monitoring in contemporary lives, of a sort that connects not to fears of state oppression or violence, but with eutopian attractions of instant access, virtual sociability and prosperity’ (2015: p.161). In this way, the novel has much in common with

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8 According to Daniel Hager, ‘eutopia’ can be defined as a place that is ‘eminently attainable in the real world’ (2003) unlike a utopia which is a fantasy that often turns into a dystopian when enacted (2003).
Brave New World as the surveillance society has many benefits. Finally, the ways in which social media companies exploit people by involving them in surveillance thereby giving them a sense of control is also interrogated; the novel demonstrates how the company is able to manipulate its staff and users whilst seemingly giving them control.

Employees of the Circle are coerced into spending most, if not all, of their time on the company’s campus where they can be monitored and manipulated into accepting total surveillance. The novel opens with the young, female protagonist, Mae Holland, entering the ‘vast and rambling’ (p.1) Circle campus, which is ‘wild with pacific colour’ (p.1) and has ‘soft green hills’ (p.1) and a ‘fountain’ (p.1), on her first day of work ‘on a sunny Monday in June’ (p.2) under a ‘spotless and blue [sky]’ (p.1). The idyllic summer setting reflects the hopefulness of the company’s ethos and the blossoming of the new company which is ‘less than six years old’ (p.2) and full of ‘young, gifted minds’ (p.2) like Mae. The opening image of the novel sharply contrasts with the opening of Nineteen Eighty-Four (p.3) which follows a thirty-nine year old man with a ‘varicose ulcer’ struggling to walk into his home which smells like ‘boiled cabbage and old rag mats’ and avoid the ‘vile wind’ and ‘gritty dust’ on a miserable day where despite the fact that the ‘sun was shining and the sky a harsh blue, there seemed to be no colour in anything’ (p.4). Although the use of pathetic fallacy in The Circle sets this imaginary world in direct opposition to the dystopian nightmare of Nineteen Eighty-Four, the imagery of the Circle campus is as disconcerting as the opening of Nineteen Eighty-Four because it seems too perfect, alerting the reader to both the dystopian potential in the seemingly utopian environment as well as Mae’s unreliability as a narrator as she describes the company as ‘heaven’ (p.1) and later describes it as a ‘utopia’ (p.30). The description of the Circle also describes a ‘campus’ with ‘a picnic area’, ‘tennis courts’ and ‘a volley ball court’ (p.1). The reader is not informed until line ten that this is ‘a workplace’ (p.1). The blurring of work and leisure is hinted at from the spatial layout of the company. Just as in Brave New World the campus has places to sleep, shops and entertainment twenty-four hours a day to encourage employees to remain where they can be monitored and controlled. Furthermore, Mae’s online activity is given a ‘participation rank’ (p.100) so she needs to be present on the campus often to document this on her social media page. When Mae first arrives at the company, she is chastised by her supervisor for leaving the campus early in the evening and not coming in at the weekend; she is informed that it is not
a ‘clock in, clock out type of company’ (p.176). Through this exchange, the use of surveillance technology to blur the boundaries between work and leisure as well as public and private spaces is acknowledged and similarities between the use of biopower in the Circle and in the factory in *Brave New World* can be seen.

The Circle is able to manipulate and brainwash Mae by making her feel that her input is valued and that her voice matters, which encourages her to embrace the online surveillance systems and participate: As Andrejevic states, ‘the promise of the internet, in short, is not just that it increases the chances of an obscure outsider to make it big but that it allows everyone to gain greater participation[...][and] control’ (2004: p.5). There was a clear hierarchy at Mae’s previous job where she was aware of her position and how to gain promotion whereas words such as ‘supervisor’ (p.213) are not understood as part of the lexicon at the Circle. This supposed lack of hierarchy is what Mae likes about the company and is one of the advantages of social media as everyone can express their opinion and be heard. Mae’s boss Dan tells her ‘you’ve seen the signs that say Humans Work Here—I insist on those. That’s my pet issue. We’re not automatons... this is a place where our humanity is respected, where our opinions are dignified, where our voices are heard[... ] does that sound corny?’ (p.47). Mae is delighted to hear that her opinions matter and that she can help to shape the company she works for; everything down to where Mae’s office is located is chosen with her preferences in mind (p.6) and her tablet is personalised with her name engraved. The ‘corny’ (ibid) speech, however, prompts the reader to be critical of Dan’s argument and ask why he needs to emphasise the fact that they are human. Dan’s insistence that employees are valued as humans, who have free will and autonomy, makes the reader question whether this is the case and see beyond Mae’s delusional, idealistic view of the Circle and everything it represents.

The founders of the Circle manipulate their staff into giving up their privacy using transhumanist philosophy to argue that total surveillance will lead to the advancement of the human race. Eamon Bailey, one of the three founders of The Circle, introduces ‘SeeChange cameras’ (p.66), which are tiny cameras that can be easily hidden as they ‘look like weeds’ (p.63), to his staff arguing that ‘ALL THAT HAPPENS MUST BE KNOWN’ (p.67). The simile could not be more appropriate: for every tiny camera that is seen and destroyed, another camera will replace it. Eggers suggests throughout the novel that the noxious weed,
surveillance, will be much harder to destroy than anticipated. Bailey believes that the relationship between humans and technology can lead to the ‘second Enlightenment’ (p. 67), clearly invoking post-humanist philosophy as the enlightenment was the dawn of humanism whereas the second enlightenment, according to Bailey, is the dawn of a new age where ‘we don’t allow the majority of human thought and action and achievement and learning to escape’ (p.67). The unbreakable connection between the human body, the societal body and technology is achieved through ‘ultimate transparency’ (p.69) enabled by surveillance methods that are overseen at the company. Bailey goes further and suggests that surveillance can be used to transform the human race, invoking transhumanist philosophy which goes beyond posthumanist philosophy by suggesting that technology can be used to make the human race “better”. Bailey asks the protagonist, Mae Holland, ‘what if we all behaved as if we were being watched? It would lead to a more moral way of life’ (p.290) and goes on to state (pp.291-292):

I’m a believer in the perfectibility of human beings. I think we can be better. I think we can be perfect or near to it. And when we become our best selves, the possibilities are endless. We can solve any problem. We can cure any disease, end hunger, everything, because we won’t be dragged down by all our weaknesses, our petty secrets, our hoarding of information and knowledge.

Bailey directly links morality with the advancement or the evolution of the human race. Michael Hauskeller suggests that transhumanism ‘promotes the use of biotechnologies to modify and improve our nature, to transform us into a different kind of being. Guiding ideas are the desirability of human self-design, the elimination of all suffering and expansion of human autonomy, immortality, and ultimately the complete defeat of (human) nature’ (2016: p.3). Although there are many, often conflicting definitions of transhumanism it is clear that this ideology concerns not just the evolution of the physical human body but also an evolution in the human mind-set. Some transhumanists see the potential of technology for changing human behaviour. Ingmar Persson and Julian Savulescu argue that biotechnology has the potential to ‘change our nature’ (2010: p.667) and suggest that surveillance could be used to create a more moral society (p.666). Matthew Eagleton-Pierce, who discusses the relationship between neoliberalism and surveillance, warns that ‘because
appeals to openness often envelop agendas with a warm glow of ‘the common good’ or ‘the public’, there exists a risk of not understanding how power relations are actually operating’ (2016: p.132). In the novel, there is clearly a hierarchical nature in this type of surveillance as the company is watching its users and is not subjected to the same level of monitoring by its followers. Virginia Pignagnoli suggests that ‘the ethical dimension of The Circle is not only conveyed by the idea that technological progress leads to surveillance societies, but also through the creation of a sense of claustrophobia, the system The Circle is creating is a system ruled by sousveillance’ (Pignagnoli, 2017: p.155) through installing miniaturised, portable cameras everywhere. Using the cameras in the workplace is just the first step for Bailey who plans to use these cameras in every location on the planet so that everyone is monitored at all times and will behave better.

Circle users are manipulated into buying the SeeChange cameras and other products, which enable the company to monitor them through participatory surveillance. Bailey suggests that, ‘You can buy ten of them for Christmas and suddenly you have constant access to everywhere you want to be—home, work, traffic conditions. And anyone can install them’ (pp.63-64). Whilst the company installs the cameras in public places, ordinary citizens can install them in their private spaces and share this information with the followers and, of course, the company. This is an example of what Andrejevic calls ‘productive surveillance’ which he argues has taken over ‘participatory surveillance’ (p.2) as companies like the Circle only want their users to participate in order to make money. Only with the cooperation and participation of its followers is the Circle able to potentially monitor every space on the planet, control people through their social network and advertisements and get people to spy on each other and not only do Circle users cooperate with this, they also pay money to be monitored.

It is made apparent that whilst the company founders advocate openness and transparency, they keep information about the company private, which demonstrates a hierarchical power structure and vertical surveillance practices behind supposedly more inclusive surveillance methods. The founders of the company have meetings with the ‘gang of 40’ (p.73) which are kept private for most of the novel. Although Bailey states that everyone should behave as though they are being watched, the founders of the company seem to be above this as they have a private library and meeting rooms (p.18) that are architecturally and
aesthetically different to the other buildings on campus as they are not made of glass. This goes against the ideology of sharing, openess and transparency that the company stands for and demonstrates that Bailey’s speech to Mae, about the need for everyone to behave as though they are being watched, is just an excuse for the company to monitor its users as the founders have private spaces. Despite the image of the company being a circle suggesting equality and connectivity, the structure of the company is the traditional triangle of hierarchy. It is also significant that Mae begins to consider Bailey to be a father figure to her (p.462) and that the founders of the company are three ‘wise men’ (p.18) alluding to a patriarchal structure of surveillance that links to the watchman in the watchtower, the world controllers of *Brave New World*, Orwell’s Big Brother and the commanders in *The Handmaid’s Tale*. This novel cautions the reader to be sceptical of large companies which monitor our data by revealing the power these companies have to control and manipulate people through having access to their private information. Like *The City and The City*, this novel encourages the reader to examine their role in participating in particular surveillance practices.

**The Home**

In 2007, Juli Zeh wrote a play entitled *Corpus Delicti*, which portrays a futuristic surveillance state where healthcare is strictly monitored and controlled. Zeh subsequently developed this into a novel of the same name. I will be using the English translation by Sally-Ann Spencer entitled *The Method*, named after the totalitarian government that runs the state in the novel. The novel is set in 2050 in an unnamed state, although the protagonist is stated to be a German citizen like Zeh. In the novel, pain and disease have been eradicated but every citizen is required to submit medical data, have a healthy diet and exercise regime and have a chip inside them monitoring their health. Zeh examines how the transhumanist dream of humans being ‘faster, more intelligent, less disease-prone [and] long-living’ (Nayar, p.16) could be exploited by governments, who may use the excuse of creating a healthier society to monitor their citizens through evermore scrutinising methods which are focused on the body. The protagonist, Mia Holl, is responsible for monitoring her own health and submitting data to the state like every other resident as the surveillance practices depend on the citizens cooperating with the surveillance systems. The ways in which surveillance methods are implemented in the home are explored in this novel as Mia
spends most of her time at home trying and failing to gain some privacy whilst she grieves for her recently deceased brother, Moritz. Mia’s home is monitored through lateral and coercive surveillance methods which means her home, like Winston and Offred’s, is not a place of ‘privacy and retreat’ (Rapoport, p.320) and is also part of the surveillant assemblage as her health is monitored through various surveillance methods in the home, giving a whole new meaning to the home being an ‘embodied space’.

Mia’s apartment is monitored through a combination of vertical and lateral surveillance methods as she lives in ‘monitored housing’ (2014: p.15) which means that she is not the owner but the temporary custodian of the apartment. It is stated in The Method that monitored houses ‘have the privilege of carrying out prophylactic measures otherwise performed by the hygiene board’ (p.15) which makes citizens feel part of the system and through this ‘individuals learn the value of community spirit’ (p.15). Residents are entitled to ‘cut-price water and power’ in exchange for them keeping the houses clean and tidy; however, if they fail inspections, they can lose their license as a monitored household (p.120). Although Mia has her own apartment that is not monitored by cameras, unlike Winston and Offred, she is responsible for making sure her home meets hygiene standards and is therefore subjected to vertical surveillance, through the inspections, and the lateral surveillance of her house mates. Driss, Lizzie and Pollie live in apartments in Mia’s block and they pressure Mia to find a new home after her rebellious actions put the status of the house in jeopardy (p.120). Mia is forced to self-discipline and cooperate with the surveillance methods employed by the state through the lateral surveillance of her housemates as her actions affect them too.

Mia’s home is an embodied space in more than one way as her health and internal body are monitored in this space. Mia has sensors in her toilet as she describes that ‘most nights, instead of sleeping, she vomited into a bowl and went outside to pour the contents down the drain: the slightest increase in stomach acid would be detected by the sensor in her toilet’ (pp.27-28) which would result in her being examined by a doctor. Mia also has an exercise bike in her flat that she must ride for a certain number of miles each week (p.70) and she has to submit ‘nutritional records and sleeping patterns’ (p.11) as well as ‘home blood pressure readings and urine samples’ (p.11). Mia feels compelled to hide and repress the grief she feels for Moritz’s death because any detectable change in her physical health
will result in consultations with her doctors. Mia has no private place where she can grieve because at Mia’s trial Judge Sophie states: ‘there can be no room for personal matters when the general good and individual interests are connected in this way’ (p.50). Thus, the state in The Method prioritizes the societal body over the individual body in order to create a race of people that are ‘better’ in accordance with transhumanist philosophy. The concepts of privacy and ownership of the individual body are alien in the novel, which is why Sophie does not grant Mia the right to make decisions regarding her own body. Jeanne Gaakeer suggests that ‘linguistic subversion of reality generally is the first sign of totalitarian tendencies’ (2013: p.146) as seen in all of the novels in this thesis. Mia is, therefore, left feeling trapped in her home as she imagines fighting her duvet, screaming without making a sound, running to the window and smashing the glass whilst lying awake on her bed (p.48). The home is not a place of privacy and retreat in the novel as her body is monitored through a combination of vertical surveillance practices, through the sensors in her apartment, lateral surveillance through her housemates monitoring her and also through coercive surveillance practices as Mia monitors her blood pressure and urine.

The Body

In The Method and The Circle the protagonists are literally transformed into cyborgs, which are ‘hybrid creature(s), composed of organism and machine’ (Haraway, 1991: p.1), using surveillance technology which monitors them internally as well as externally to ensure their bodies conform to the transhumanist philosophy of humans being ‘faster, more intelligent, less disease-prone [and] long-living’ (Nayar, p.16). Haraway uses the image of the cyborg as a metaphor to explain how humans are connected to their surroundings. Margaret Grebowicz and Helen Merrick suggest that ‘the cyborg is a figure that serves to provide a “cognitive estrangement” in theoretical terms’ (2013: p.113) and state that Haraway uses science fiction as ‘both methodological tool and source of creative inspiration’ (p.112). Thyrza Goodeve sums up the effectiveness of using the cyborg metaphor by saying that Haraway is ‘not just doing one layer of analysis- say of critique or unmasking relationships- but [is also] involved in building alternative ontologies, specifically via the use of the imaginative’ (Haraway and Goodeve, 2000: p.120). By using science fiction and metaphors in her theoretical work, Haraway demonstrates the importance of literature and imaginative

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scenarios to post-human theory. Haggerty and Ericson (p.611) reference the cyborg in their surveillance theory stating:

A great deal of surveillance is directed toward the human body. The observed body is of a distinctively hybrid composition [...] the monitored body is increasingly a cyborg.

Both Mia and Mae can be called cyborgs because the surveillance technology is literally a part of their bodies; a chip in Mia’s arm monitors her health and Mae swallows a sensor which monitors her health. Both novels demonstrate how the ‘body as a machine’ and the ‘species body’ (Foucault, 1998: p.139) can be controlled by those in powerful positions by influencing people to police their own behaviour. The ways that surveillance technology is used in the novels to transform the body and improve it will be interrogated in the following analysis.

Zeh takes aim at organisations, such as the World Health Organisation, that monitor and control the health of populations by setting an ideal body image which to aspire to. The content of the foreword at the beginning of The Method outlines the principles which each citizen must abide, the first line of which is directly lifted from the first line of the WHO’s constitution as Sabine Schonfellner has noted (2013: p.6) which is: ‘health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity’. In the novel, transhumanism is heavily criticised because creating a body image which everyone must aspire to perpetuates the idea that certain bodies are more valuable and that mental and physical disabilities make a person unworthy. Kramer, the fictional journalist who has written the foreword, defines health as ‘a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being’ (p.1) and ‘biological energy achieving its fullest potential’ (p.1). He also makes it clear that there is no such thing as individual concerns or private matters as he claims health is ‘the optimisation of the individual for the optimal social good’ (p.1) and everyone is required to be ‘mentally vigorous and emotionally balanced’ (p.1). Schonfellner has noted that ‘creating an ideal or standard by which one must live his or her life; a guide (which the WHO’s constitution is to be understood, without a doubt) could lead to dangerous consequences’ (2013: p.6). This standard means that it is a criminal offence to smoke (p.55) and drink too much caffeine (p.7). Kramer invokes transhumanist philosophy
just as Bailey does by suggesting that the species body or the social body is more important than the individual as it is up to the individual to be the best person they can be for their species in order to create a “better” race of people through the use of surveillance methods. Therefore, when Mia neglects to monitor herself and stops exercising because she is grieving for Moritz, the state intervenes and warns Mia to start behaving again. Emma Rich and Andy Miah suggest that in contemporary society ‘recent fears about a growing obesity epidemic in western society have been accompanied by an assemblage of policies and interventions, which seek to alter people’s lives’ (2009: p.7). The assemblage Rich and Miah refer to includes international bodies such as the World Health Organisation (WHO) which influence state governments to make legal changes, such as the new sugar tax, and influence people through media campaigns such as advertisements about keeping fit and eating healthier. Although the state in The Method has, arguably, well intentioned ideas for helping their citizens keep healthy, the way these methods are carried out using intrusive surveillance technology that takes away the citizens’ rights to their bodies is extreme.

The responsibility to self-monitor the body is put upon both Mia and Mae who are pressured through a combination of vertical and lateral surveillance methods. Paul Verhaeghe and Eline Trenson (2015: p.159) argue that

The contemporary myth tells us that if we buy the right stuff, do the right exercises, and work hard enough, we will have a perfect enjoyment [...] [and] if that is not the case, the sole explanations are that you did not put enough effort in it or made the wrong choices. Juli Zeh has depicted this world in her novel Corpus Delicti.

When Sophie insists that Mia cannot grieve in private and must recover, Mia blames herself for not functioning properly and starts eating healthily and exercising again. As she cycles she tells herself that ‘she must teach herself to think of Moritz at the same time as going about her normal life, not instead’ (p.71). There is no outlet for Mia’s thoughts so she tries to repress them and to focus on the upkeep of body and her home in the hope that the proverb ‘a tidy house will lead to a tidy mind’ works. Sarah Koellner argues that ‘the “soul training” through repression and discipline of the natural body, which Michel Foucault describes in Discipline and Punish, becomes the central component of the healthcare dictatorship’ (2016: p.412) and as Mia has lived under this oppressive regime her whole life...
it takes a long time for her to realise that she is being manipulated. Similarly, Mae takes responsibility for her healthcare when she ingests a sensor that connects to a wrist monitor which measures ‘heart rate, blood pressure, cholesterol, heat flux, caloric intake, sleep duration, sleep quality, digestive efficiency, on and on’ (p.154) as required by the Circle’s healthcare policy and starts to modify her behaviour to be healthier. When SeeChange cameras are placed everywhere in the Circle headquarters, Mae self-disciplines by modifying her behaviour: ‘Normally, she would have grabbed a chilled brownie, but seeing the image of her hand reaching for it, and seeing what everyone else would be seeing, she pulled back [...] she did without. Every day she’d done without things she didn’t want to want. Things she didn’t need. She’d given up soda, energy drinks, processed foods’ (pp.328-329). Regina Schober suggests that Mae ‘naively engages in what Foucault describes as the self-regulatory mechanism of the panopticon’ (2016: p.371) by self-policing. Although she is aware of changing her behaviour, she sees this as a positive thing and feels connected to her followers: ‘It was a good kind of thinking, a good kind of calibration’ (p.242). Verhaeghe and Trenson argue that ‘patriarchal society is shifting toward a society of siblings, where the horizontal level is far more important than a vertical one’ (2015: p.163). Mae makes adjustments to her lifestyle because her followers are watching however she is also aware that the company is keeping track of her healthcare and will adjust her workload accordingly, therefore she is aware that she needs to take responsibility for her healthcare for her job. Although both Mia and Mae self-discipline because they are ultimately accountable for their healthcare, there are also a combination of different surveillance types working together to ensure that they self-discipline: the combination of vertical surveillance, through the top down monitoring by the company/state, and lateral surveillance, in the form of peer pressure, ensure that the individual is monitoring themselves.

Nevertheless, whilst Mae chooses to have her health monitored, Mia is forced into participating in the monitoring of her body as bodies are legally the property of the state in *The Method*. Mia is taken to court for the first time because she does not provide the state with her medical data and has not been exercising (p.11). As a consequence, Mia is subjected to a physical examination; she is taken to the doctor by ‘two guards in grey uniforms’ (p.41) and then the doctor ‘passes a sensor over Mia’s upper arm as if he were
scanning a tin of beans’ (p.41). Mia’s feelings of being objectified are clear as she implies that the doctor is not seeing her but her chip. Koellner suggests that the state ‘controls, disciplines, and manages all aspects of its citizens’ lives. Similarly, to “snails” which “carry their homes” on their bodies, the METHODE’s citizens carry their own “personal panopticons” through an implanted chip in the upper arm’ (p.413). As the surveillance technology is part of Mia’s body she cannot escape or choose not to be surveilled, unlike Mae. The description of Mia as she is being examined also invokes the image of the cyborg: ‘Mia, naked from the waist up, is in the examination chair. Her eyes are empty and expressionless. Wires run from her wrists, back and temples’ (p.41). The description of Mia’s eyes as ‘empty and expressionless’ implies that through the fusing of human and machine something is lost; in this passage, Mia is existing but does not appear to be living as the surveillance technology has taken part of her humanity and rights away.

The society portrayed in The Method also uses surveillance technology to control sexual relations and procreation, as they are controlled in Brave New World, Nineteen Eighty-Four and The Handmaid’s Tale; however, it monitored in this novel to ensure that the population is as healthy as possible, which corresponds with the transhumanist philosophy of the state. People can only have sexual relations with certain people who are the same genetic type (p.24) which is overseen by the ‘Central Partnership Agency’ (p.11) and it is stated that ‘individuals with non-complementary immune systems can’t fall in love’ (p.99). Although it is not explained in detail what this means as there is no pain, disease or disabilities in the novel, this implies that those with ‘non-complementary immune systems’ may have children who will develop an illness. There are underlying ethical concerns raised with the process of dating only those who are a genetic match to us; as Elizabeth Bridges suggests, the novels ‘radical pro-health politics and rhetoric echo the Nazi obsession with health and hygiene and the characterization of “Other” elements of Germany society as a metaphorical as well as literal disease agent... as in Nazi Germany residents of [The Method’s] Germany must undergo genetic counselling before choosing a mate’ (2014: p.10). It is not clear how transhumanists interpret Max More’s idea that transhumanism is the ‘continuation and acceleration of the evolution of intelligent life’ (Pilsch, 2017: p.1) but the interpretation in the novel is clearly that it is unethical. It is clear that the state is not just concerned with health but also with creating the ‘best’ human race it can using surveillance. In the novel,
people are free to choose their partner and can find out if they are a genetic match; however, it is their responsibility to make sure that they do not have a sexual relationship with someone who is not a match.

Finally, Zeh condemns surveillance of the physical body and the use of biopower through Mia’s rebellion. Mia rejects the use of surveillance on the body and the relationship between the individual body and the species body. In a short two-page chapter, that was most-likely influenced by a monologue in the original play, Mia makes a defiant stance as she tells herself: ‘I refuse to trust a body that represents a collective vision of a normalized body rather than my own flesh, my own blood. I refuse to trust a definition of health based on normality’ (p.165). Barnado and Shapiro argue that ‘as the body becomes conceived as like a machine through new quantifications of sight, touch, and so on, humans begin to compete against one another in order to do ‘better’ on these scores, as if achieving higher ratings than others might help us escape death and human demise’ (pp.36-37). Mia refuses to be treated like a machine which must adhere to certain standards by suggesting that a definition of ‘health based on normality’ (p.165) is wrong because it excludes those who do not fit this definition. Mia removes her chip using a needle: ‘She rolls up her left sleeve, pats her upper arm and raises her right hand [...] blood is coursing down her arm, forming crimson pools on her paper suit’ (p.215). Koellner suggests that ‘the removal of her implanted chip symbolises the ultimate rupture with the surveillance mechanisms of the METHODE, and is a figurative call for an end to the rationalization of the natural body’ (p.421) as Mia ‘disconnects’ herself from the species body and from the surveillant assemblage as her data is no longer available. Mia’s reclamation of her physical body and her condemnation of the way surveillance can be used to control and manipulate the human race is symbolised by the removal of the chip. This rebellion fails however because Mia is subsequently overseen by a counsellor and put in a home under medical supervision (p.229) meaning that while she has successfully disconnected herself from the societal body, her individual body is still monitored and her delusion that she has released herself from the surveillance entirely is short-lived.

This section has examined the way that the individual body and the societal body can be controlled and manipulated through a combination of surveillance methods that converge through the surveillant assemblage. The Method and The Circle suggest ways in which digital
surveillance technology can become a part of the human body and the potential, dystopian consequences of this. Nevertheless, all the literary texts in this thesis have shown ways in which surveillance methods can be used to monitor and manipulate both the physical body and the opinions of those under surveillance. By comparing the dystopian texts of the twentieth century with these contemporary texts, it has become apparent that the relationship between the body and surveillance goes back further than may have first been conceived. It has also become clear that there are some disturbing reoccurring sentiments in the contemporary texts regarding the ways surveillance technology can be used to create an idealised version of the human race. This advancement of the human race through surveillance technology excludes particular groups, as seen in *The City and The City*, and taking away our rights to the ownership of our body. In the contemporary texts, surveillance technology is used to advance the human race in accordance with transhumanism; this suggests that this is a contemporary issue which needs to be examined in order to prevent the dystopian consequences outlined in the novels.
Thesis Conclusion

As this thesis demonstrates, discussions concerning surveillance and its impact on privacy, autonomy, identity and individuality are increasingly relevant, which is why it is important that the field of Surveillance Studies encompasses many different academic disciplines. The research that is being completed by arts and humanities scholars regarding surveillance is just as relevant and valuable as the work being done in the social sciences and law because it provides a different critical lens through which to evaluate the impacts of surveillance technology. This analysis establishes that literature, and the dystopian fiction genre in particular, is important to this field. What further proof can there be that dystopian fiction influences opinion and sparks public debates about human rights and autonomy than the fact that women wore handmaid’s costumes and displayed signs quoting from The Handmaid’s Tale whilst marching for women’s rights in many countries around the globe in 2017 and 2018? (Bell, 2018). It is also no coincidence that sales of Nineteen Eighty-Four, Brave New World and The Handmaid’s Tale have skyrocketed after the 2016 American Presidential election and the subsequent disputes over ‘alternative facts’ and ‘fake news’ (ibid). Whilst I do not want to overstate the role that literature has played in provoking debates regarding privacy, autonomy and power, the influence of literature on these movements cannot be denied.

This thesis has demonstrated the importance of revisiting dystopian texts from the twentieth century and comparing its portrayal of surveillance technology with contemporary texts. In doing so, it has been revealed that the idea that surveillance practices and our involvement with them drastically changed with the invention of digital technology is not accurate. Nevertheless, it is obvious that surveillance technology has progressively become an important part of our lives over the last few decades as surveillance technology has become increasingly focused on the human body. Through reading the novels in light of surveillance theories, it has become apparent that contemporary surveillance practices are not as inclusive as they may seem because behind participation there is often vertical surveillance methods. This thesis therefore cautions against associating participation and lateral surveillance with autonomy as these surveillance methods can be used to control and manipulate the body in order to make it more productive and docile.
Having established the importance of dystopian fiction to Surveillance Studies and showed the changes and continuation of surveillance methods through the comparison of dystopian texts from the last century to the present day, further analysis of contemporary dystopian fiction regarding specific issues such as nationality, immigration, race, gender and class would be valuable to this discipline. As Willmetts states, ‘we need to examine contemporary utopian and dystopian fiction [...] to help properly understand the latent dangers inherent within our present synchronic system [with regards to surveillance]’ (p.268). Willmetts goes on to claim that the ‘Orwellian (and Foucauldian) metaphor for understanding surveillance is in need of updating [...] [because] it tend(s) to ignore the differential effects of surveillance on different sections of society’ (p.269). Whilst issues regarding social sorting and discrimination are being explored in Surveillance Studies from a social science base, there has not been a detailed exploration of these matters with regards to fiction as yet. As previously mentioned, dystopian fiction explores topics such as identity and otherness, often through its portrayal of non-human or hybrid creatures. An analysis of surveillance, social sorting and contemporary dystopian fiction, therefore, would be highly relevant to the field. Likewise, research into the relationship between contemporary fiction, surveillance and neoliberalist capitalism, which builds on this thesis and the idea of the productive body, would also be beneficial. Now is the time to thoroughly explore contemporary, dystopian fiction and the insights it provides concerning surveillance and the autonomous human-being, whilst its warnings can still be heeded.

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