

## **The Link between Ideology and Power in Naomi Alderman's *The Power***

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### **Abstract**

*The Power* is a feminist dystopian book that deals with how society might change if women were to hold more power than men. The book has an investigatory nature to it. It examines how the psyche of women might change and how a new ideology is bound to be born out of the new change. The author introduces a sudden ability in women to generate electrical shocks that can inflict severe injuries. The fact that men are physically stronger than women crumbles down suddenly and women start all over the world to re-examine their roles in society making sure that they emerge now as the dominant sex. The book deals with how power influences behaviour and how it dictates a new ideology. Also, the book serves to clarify how feminist dystopian fiction is function-based in the sense that it serves a purpose. This is done through relying on the technique of defamiliarization that helps the author to bring back to the forefront the injustice with which women have been treated since the dawn of time by patriarchal societies that such practices have become unfortunately normalized.

**Keywords:** Feminist, Dystopia, Patriarchy, Defamiliarization.

### **Introduction**

Dystopian fiction is currently one of the most debatable terms in literary studies. So much research has been done to explore this comparatively new genre in literature. The term dystopia is a counterpart of utopia with which people are more familiar since it emerged in much earlier writings such as Plato's Republic (Abdelbaky 18). In contrast to utopia, dystopia can be described as the worst situations human beings can be reduced to. These situations are located in the near future most of the time in dystopian fiction. Dystopia as a term is derived from Greek and it means 'a bad place.' It depicts the tragic outcomes of current situations in which the writer goes so far in depicting the worst scenario possible. These negative and gloomy representations of the future are a direct outcome of the two World Wars and their destructive effects on the human condition. Lyman Tower Sargent argues that dystopia became the most popular type of utopian fiction after the catastrophic events of the 20th century such as World War I and

the Flu Epidemic. Maria Varsam in her *Concrete Dystopia: Slavery and its Others* argues that

whereas ... utopia is a manifestation of desire and hope for a better world and an unalienated order that upsets the status quo ... dystopia delineates the crushing of hope and the displacement of desire for the purpose of upholding that status quo. (209)

Varsam claims that when the ideals of utopia are frustrated and when the dreams of the people living in this society are crushed, the utopia turns into a dystopia. In other words, the sudden change in society from being utopian to dystopian can be seen as a kind of disappointment with the desired outcomes of a utopian society.

This paper attempts to engage with Naomi Alderman's dystopian novel *The Power* in order to show how feminist dystopian fiction offers an alternative to reality in which the writer is able to escape patriarchal restrictions and indulge in a critique of society. Also, I aim to examine the link between power and ideology and the impact of power on the party that holds it and the party subjected to it. Finally, I examine the functions of feminist dystopian fiction and how it helps to sensitize the numb audience to the horror of rape through defamiliarization.

### **An Alternative Situation**

In her essay "What Can a Heroine Do? Or Why Women Can't Write," Joanna Russ offers the reader an alternative to famous literary narratives in which she swaps the roles of the female and the male characters. For example, a young and chaste man is seduced by an older woman who makes a pact with the devil in which she sells her soul in exchange for knowledge. Russ continues her own version of *Faust* in which she reverses the roles of the male and female. The older woman gets pregnant from the young man after seducing him and she announces to the whole world the identity of the father of her child causing the young man to lose his reputation and live in shame. The young man, stigmatized and troubled by the course of events, loses his mind, murders the child, and is taken to prison where he repents there and dies in the presence of an angel. This is only one example of eight other literary works in which Russ reverses the roles of the male and female characters. Russ does this tantalizing reversal of roles in order to show the reader that in almost all eight narratives, the female

character is passive when it comes to action. It is always the male character who pro-generates the action. Russ argues that female characters are heavily stereotyped in fiction; a woman can be a motherly figure, a chaste young girl, or a “bitchy” character with a bad reputation. She argues that this process of stereotyping of female characters is directly influenced by the patriarchal society that prescribes certain roles for women. Russ argues that due to the negative impact of the patriarchal system that prescribes certain roles for women, writers adhere to a set of cultural norms and beliefs when they write where the roles women can play are very restricted and stereotyped. However, the male character enjoys a far greater versatility, breaking free from role prescription. This is because, as Russ puts it, “our literature is not about women. It is not about women and men equally. It is by and about men” (81).

Female writers along with male writers adhered to the cultural conventions and norms in order to present works of fiction that were relevant to society and accepted by its members. The limited and stereotypical roles for female characters can be seen in almost all works of fiction written by female authors in the nineteenth century such as Jane Austen and the Bronte sisters. This is because writers were always restricted. Female writers in the Victorian Age were widely regarded as inferior to male authors, and that is why they felt more comfortable using pseudonyms in hopes of being taken seriously by the public readership. Also, they felt the need to imitate the way male writers wrote in terms of characterization and gender roles so that their works got culturally accepted. However, with the emergence of utopian fiction, writers acquired more freedom in portraying out-of-the-box characters in narratives very radically different from what members of society are familiar with. Utopian fiction acquired its liberating power from its ability to break away from norms and conventions through portraying more hopeful situations where humans move closer towards a better society such as Thomas More’s *Utopia*. However, with the advancement of technology and the catastrophic events of the 20th century, utopian literature took a radical turn and writers started to view the future of humanity with so much pessimism and gloom in what became known as dystopian fiction. This gloomy vision of the future of humanity was depicted in many famous literary works of the 20th century such as *1984* by George Orwell and *Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley. Female writers were very quick to embark on this literary genre as they saw in it a space where they could subvert current narratives in which patriarchy prevailed and women were stereotyped. For female writers, utopian writings provided them with a space in which female characters are free

from the limited roles imposed on them by society. Krishan Kumar argues in his book *Utopianism* that what makes the utopian text special is its “subversive nature.” Kumar links this subversive nature of the utopian text to its unique space of estrangement. He argues that by providing an estranged setting, utopia challenges established norms and conventions by “supplying alternatives” (87). Lucy Sargisson articulates in her book *Contemporary Feminist Utopianism* that “Feminism too has radically subversive potential, and for this reason it finds in utopia a comfortable position from which to critique” (41). In other words, female writers who embarked on the task of utopian writing had to escape the present situation and create a space that did not adhere to conventions and norms of society in order to supply the reader, who had hitherto been aware of only one possible narrative, with a variety of alternatives.

This paper deals mainly with *The Power*, a feminist dystopian book by British author Naomi Alderman. Unlike most utopian works that estrange the setting by depicting a world located in the near future such as that of Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale*, Alderman’s narrative opens up in the world as we live in right now; a world where men lead and women follow, where women are always subordinate to men, where man is associated with physical power and woman with fragility. Alderman presents the readers with something they relate to without questioning the long-established norms and conventions of society. *The Power* follows the stories of four main characters, three females (Roxy, Margot, and Allie) and a male character, Tunde. The book opens with scenes in which female characters are physically abused and psychologically bullied. This comes as no surprise to today’s readers who witness this in our modern world on the daily news, social media, and newspapers. In the first scene in the book, Roxy, one of the book’s main female characters and who lives in Britain, finds herself locked up in the cabinet under the sink by two men while hearing her mother being brutally beaten up and killed as an act of vengeance. This follows a dispute between her father, who is involved in mafia-like activities, and some of his enemies. The second scene takes us to Nigeria where we see a teen girl being verbally harassed by a man in his thirties. The book’s third protagonist is Margot, an American woman holding the position of mayor in a metropolitan city in Wisconsin, The United States of America. Margot is a clear example of the psychological bullying that women suffer from at the hands of their male superiors at work, and how men almost always display misogynistic behaviour in the work environment, something that employed women

can certainly relate to. The last main female character is a teen girl named Allie. She is repeatedly beaten up and raped by her foster father in her bedroom while her foster mother is downstairs listening to the polka on the radio and sipping sherry knowing exactly what is going upstairs but showing no signs of interest. All three main female protagonists are victims to male's abuse of power at different degrees. All these scenes that Alderman chooses to open her narrative with are familiar to a certain degree to all people. In other words, women have always been victims of rape, physically abused, verbally and psychologically bullied since the dawn of time. This is something that Lucy Sargisson stresses on where she argues that

all feminist utopias are political ... all are concerned to some extent with power relations, all with sexual power, some also with the exploitative relations between patriarchy and nature. Their concerns are with diverse manifestations of sexual power relations (17).

The scenes that Alderman begins her book with depict disturbing but not shocking incidents. This is because to shock someone, something unfamiliar and unprecedented must take place. However, soon after portraying this familiar setting in our modern world where women are abused both physically and verbally, raped, and looked down on as men's subordinates, Alderman disturbs the norms and conventions where men hold the power by introducing a sudden ability in women to inflict severe and deadly electrical shocks from an organ called the skein, which springs into function suddenly, located on the collarbone of all girls. Now all girls have this new power. Baby girls are all born with it and teen girls can awaken this power in older women by delivering a tiny electric shock to the wrist. Alderman's narrative abruptly subverts the long-established truth of men being physically stronger than women. Then, she sets on a journey of exploration where she tries to explore how this new power impacts society, the long-established gender roles, and female's psyche and behaviour.

Whereas most utopian writings are concerned with supplying alternatives to the present-day situation, *The Power* does not, upon further scrutiny, adhere to this utopian convention. In "Varieties of Literary Utopias," Northrop Frye argues that one particular convention of utopian thought is "the explicit presence of imaginative and inventive thought" (329). He goes on to distinguish between two words: imaginative and imaginary. For Frye, utopian thought is imaginative since it deals with "visualizing possibilities" (329). It is not imaginary since for

him imaginary refers to something that does not exist. Alderman's *The Power* does not adhere to Frye's convention of utopian thought since it deals with imaginary power that does not exist. However, by breaking away from this utopian convention, Alderman achieves two things; Firstly, she explores the inextricable relationship between ideology and power. Secondly, she indulges in a long process of defamiliarization that serves as an eye opener and an exposé to violations against the female body and psyche that have been present since the dawn of time that all people have become normalized with.

### **Power and Ideology**

Alderman's introduction of the new power in women serves to do two main things: firstly, it subverts the long-established gender roles in society. Secondly, it provides a space in which female characters finally break away from the prescribed roles sustained by the patriarchal order. *The Power* opens with the three main female characters in roles approved of by the patriarchy: a daughter, a foster child, and a mayor with a male superior. Shortly after the introduction of the new power in women, all three female characters undergo a radical change. All three female characters; Roxy, Allie, and Margot, start to redefine themselves, breaking free from the roles prescribed to women in all patriarchal societies. Roxy is Bernie Monke's illegitimate child from an affair he had outside marriage. She does not live with her dad's family as she does not fully belong with them. She is aware of the fact that she is "Half in and half out." The book starts with Roxy being inferior to her brother siblings and left out of any process of decision making. She reflects throughout the narrative on incidents where she has been treated with disdain by her father's wife. Also, she recollects scenes from her early childhood where she was left out and denied any real involvement with her father's family. Roxy is aware of the fact that her brothers are superior to her as they are legitimate; a fact that seems to have scarred Roxy's childhood. However, Alderman soon makes the reader reconsider Roxy's inferior status as being mainly a result of her being a love child. Shortly after Bernie Monke finds out about Roxy's new power, her status in the family seems to get higher immediately to the point where she is now involved in the process of decision making:

There is a look that passes around in the room, between Ricky and Terry the middle son, between Terry and Darrell the youngest one. Three sons from his own wife, and then there's Roxy. She knows why she's been living with her granny this past year and not with them. Half in and half out, that's what she is...

Roxy says, 'We should kill him'

Terry laughs.

His dad gives him a look, and the laugh cuts off halfway through a breath. You don't want to mess with Bernie Monke. Not even if you you're his full-born son. 'She's right,' says Bernie. 'You're right, Roxy. We should probably kill him.' (47-48)

This extract from early on in the narrative marks a completely different attitude towards women. Roxy, the illegitimate daughter who has always been left out, acquires a voice. The female voice is now listened to whereas the male voice, the legitimate child's, is hushed and dismissed. We now discover that the inferior status Roxy was born into was directly influenced by her being weaker than her brothers. Once she is perceived as dangerous and powerful, she receives better treatment from her father. In this sense power redefines characters and the way society views them.

We witness also in the narrative a change not only in the way society starts to view women but also a change in how women start to perceive themselves. This change in self-perception in women is evident in Allie. Allie, a foster child, also experiences a change in the way she perceives herself. Being brutally and repeatedly raped by her foster father, Allie was silent and passive all the time. She accepted the sexual violation as she was defined by her foster father as "Filthy. Little. Whore" (Alderman 30). Introducing the new power in female characters helps them escape the role that has been assigned to them by the patriarchy. Also, it helps the female character redefine herself. The radical change in self-perception marks a subversion in gender roles. The female character undermines the long-established norms and conventions in a patriarchal society that is no longer perceived as a threat: "She thinks, as she drops down from the trellis and crosses the back lawn, that maybe she should have tried to filch a knife from the kitchen before she left. But then she remembers and the thought makes her laugh - that aside from cutting her own dinner she really has no need for a knife, not at all" (Alderman 33). This scene follows a rape scene where Allie reaches her hand to her foster father's forehead and delivers an electrical shock that crumbles him down and kills him. This marks a realization on the part of the female characters that they are no longer the fragile sex who needs protection. This passage and many similar other passages in *The Power* serve to highlight the inextricable link between power on the one hand and sense of

security and superiority on the other hand. This inextricable link between power and superiority can be seen clearly in the process of homicidal ideation that Margot indulges in in numerous scenes in the narrative:

Margot's hands are flat against the underside of the table ... she knows she can control this, it's the control that gives her pleasure ... she has enough power within her to take Daniel's throat in her grip and pinch him out with one blast. She'd have plenty left to deliver Arnold a blow to the temple, knock him cold ... she could kill them both ... she is in a high and lofty realm ... she could kill them. That's the profound truth of it... It doesn't matter that she shouldn't, that she never would. What matters is that she could, if she wanted. The power to hurt is a kind of wealth. (70-71)

This passage is a very clear example of the inextricable link between power and superiority. All female characters start to experience this in what appears to be a moment of epiphany. The long-established truth of men being physically stronger than women is suddenly subverted. *The Power* goes on to engage the reader with the impact of the new truth of women being superior to men physically on both society and religion. Society in *The Power* undergoes a radical change in how the two sexes are perceived. We witness a re-examination of gender roles as the newly emerged power starts to reshape norms and conventions that have been preserved since antiquity. This re-examination of gendered power relations reveals that the superiority of one gender over the other results in a set of conventions and norms that tries to undermine the other gender. This set of conventions and roles is always created by the physically superior gender that tries to reinforce its ideology through all aspects of life such as religion, codes of conduct, and culture. The inferior or undermined gender always embraces the new prescribed identity created by the superior gender and becomes part of the agenda that propagates the ideology of the superior gender by simply complying with the new set of conventions and norms. *The Power* investigates this process of spreading and propagating a new ideology from the point of view of the superior gender (female) and the inferior gender (male). The process of spreading a new radical ideology result always in chaotic transitional periods. This is something that humanity has witnessed throughout history in numerous events such as the French Revolution and the two World Wars. The chaos is a result of the clash between a declining old power and the emerging new power. The old power always refuses to accept the new ideology of the emerging power as the

new ideology always marks the end of the old power. The transition of power is a chaotic process where there is no room for compromise. This notion is stressed upon in Alderman's narrative as the two genders find themselves fighting for supremacy and dominance; males trying to clutch hard to their long-established status of power resulting in a defensive attitude, while women embracing the new status, they find themselves in and feeling an urgent need to subvert male dominance. This results in a chaotic and turbulent transitional period in which history, religion, and culture are reread and re-examined in order to shroud the new superior gender in legitimacy and shake off the old set of norms and conventions. The newly emerged power of women starts to formulate a new ideology that offers us an insight into the mechanism of replacing an old ideology with a new one. A new ideology should demonstrate power in order to take hold. The demonstration of female power in Alderman's narrative is scattered abundantly. There are scenes where women take down whole cities like Riyadh in Saudi Arabia. These same women start indulging in activities that were deemed illegal for them by the patriarchy such as driving cars, holding hands with men, and most importantly having premarital sex. We see the germs of the new ideology in Allie. Allie, one of the book's main protagonists, starts a kind of spiritual group for women where they have regular meetings in which she undermines the patriarchy and paves the way for the reign of women. This is done through going back in time and reviving important female figures that were overshadowed by male figures:

'God loves all of us,' she says, 'and She wants us to know that She has changed Her argument merely... But She calls your attention to that which you have forgotten. Jews: look to Miriam, not Moses, for what you can learn from her. Muslims: look to Fatimah, not Muhammad. Buddhists: remember Tara, the mother of liberation. Christians: pray to Mary for your salvation.

You have been taught that you are unclean, that you are not holy, that your body is impure and could never harbour the divine. You have been taught to despise everything you are and to long only to be a man. But you have been taught lies. (114-115)

In this extract, Allie who has acquired a spiritual status among the women and who has changed her name into Eve, is seen undoing the ideology that the patriarchy created and women internalized. She revisits the past and rewrites it by bringing into the forefront female figures who were marginalized in religious

texts. The new ideology is seen working towards replacing the declining male status represented by prophets and religious leaders with the new emerging female power. By revisiting the past, the new ideology tries to lay claim to legitimacy. In a way, it is reclaiming a right that has been confiscated by the authority of the patriarchal society. By establishing a right to a lost status, the newly emerged power of women acquires legitimacy. God is no longer a He. Rather, God becomes a She. This extract is a clear example of how power impacts social conventions and norms. The gender who has the power rereads the past undermining prominent figures and glorifying overshadowed figures in an attempt to legitimize dominance.

Legitimizing the superiority of women over men in *The Power* is a process in which both women and men are involved. I have discussed so far how women, having found themselves physically superior to men, try to revisit the past in order to revive female figures and undo the patriarchal reign. However, we see in Alderman's narrative that when it comes to introducing a new ideology both men and women cooperate in this process of turbulent rewriting of conventions and norms. Women take an assertive role in which they subvert the patriarchal ideology by demonstrating their now physical superiority. On the other hand, the role that the men take seems to be passive and characterized by fear: "There are strange movements rising now ... Boys dressing as girls to seem more powerful. Girls dressing as boys to shake off the meaning of power, or to leap on the unsuspecting, wolf in sheep's clothes" (Alderman 70). This excerpt demonstrates the turbulent and confusing phase of the transitioning of power. Boys dress as girls to look stronger is an indicator of the radical shift in ideology that the power has asserted. Girls dressing as boys marks the state of psychological confusion girls find themselves in following their emerging superiority. The argument that runs throughout Alderman's narrative is that both men and women take part in the process of promoting the new ideology. Society as a whole recognizes power and tries to identify with the powerful in an attempt to secure protection. This idea is dwelt upon in the narrative as society sides surprisingly with the powerful woman.

Power in Alderman's narrative is seductive. It asserts itself in shocking responses that serve to show the workings of power and its impact on society. One argument that runs through the narrative is that people are more likely to take sides with the more powerful even if she made a mistake or abused her power. Taking the side of the more powerful party results in a feeling of security.

Also, it shows the fragility of the long-established norms and conventions. In a sense, power dictates conventions and norms. Men losing power results in a radical shift in ideology as the newly emerging power starts rewriting norms and conventions. The workings of the new ideology in society can be seen clearly in the following extract where people side with the more powerful:

But they can. It turns out the voters lied. Just like the accusations they always throw at hard-working public servants, the goddamned electorate turned out to be goddamned liars themselves. They said they respected hard work, commitment and moral courage. They said that the candidate's opponent had lost their vote the moment she gave up on reasoned discourse and calm authority. But when they went into the voting booths in their hundreds, and thousands, and tens of thousands, they'd thought, you know what, though, she's strong. She'd show them. (168-169)

This is a scene in the narrative that shows the seductive side of power. Margot is running for the post of state governor. In a public debate, her male opponent criticizes the way she raised her daughter in camps for training young girls to use their power safely. He is critical of her role as a mother and questions her eligibility for the post of governor. Margot loses control and uses her power mildly on her opponent on national TV to a huge crowd of shocked people. Using her power in a public debate against her opponent marks her inability to use reason and also shows a lack of self-control. All people express disappointment with Margot who becomes certain of her defeat. However, the same people who are distressed by her lack of self-control vote for her, or to put it more precisely vote for the more powerful as they witness on life television her power and superiority. This scene is a clear example of how power can rewrite current ideology. The disgusting use of power inspires awe and fear. Ideology is an internalization of a new power. Power can shift from one party to another with the result that a new ideology is born.

### **Fantasy and Defamiliarization**

Soon after subverting gender power relations, Alderman's fantasy takes a dark turn. The fantasy becomes a nightmare for men. We see men being gang raped and abused both physically and psychologically:

The woman sitting on the man's chest applies her palm to his genitals ... He's still doing muffled screaming.

The woman makes a little smile appear across her face. Raises her eyebrows ... she holds his balls, tugs on them once, twice, just as if she was giving him a treat, and then jolts him fiercely, right through the scrotum ... He screams, arches his back. And then she unbuttons the crotch of her combat trousers and sits on his cock.

Her mates are laughing and she's laughing too as she pumps herself up and down on him ... one of her mates has a cellphone. They photograph her there, straddling him. He throws his arm over his face but they pull them back. No, no. They want to remember this. (281)

This scene depicts a man being raped by a woman. It is a very typical rape scene that involves coercion into sex using physical force, signs of humiliation and fear on the victim, and digital documentation of the act to ensure causing public humiliation to the victim. The only thing that is unfamiliar in this rape scene is the reversal of roles between the man and the woman. Here, the rapist is a woman and the victim is a man. This is when the fantasy in Alderman's narrative becomes a nightmare for men. This scene of a man being raped by a woman along with many other scenes that depict violation of the male body serves three purposes. Firstly, they explore the link between power and corruption. Women in *The Power* start abusing the power newly found in them the same way men used to abuse power. This raises a very important question in the narrative: does the abuse of power have a gender? The simple answer is definitely not. The party that holds more power is bound to abuse it. Women can abuse power the same way men do. In this way, *The Power* subtly justifies the misogynistic behaviour of men and attributes it to the fact of them holding more power. However, upon further examination we notice that even the party that holds more power is a victim to power. In other words, power victimizes both the ones who have it and the ones subjugated to it. Holding the power impacts the behaviour of people as seen in Alderman's narrative; women become capable of inflicting the same evil they have been subjected to once power relations between the two genders are changed. Power becomes the ultimate victimizing tool. It is like the puppeteer that orchestrates all the moves of puppets.

Secondly, this fantasy turned into a nightmare serves a very important role

in making the reader see women's situation in a completely different way. Alderman's defamiliarization of rape and physical and psychological abuse reawakens in the reader a critical thinking that helps them reconsider what is happening to women all around the world. We are all familiar with stories of women being raped, murdered, and abused. These stories happen so frequently that they no longer shock people. Alderman reawakens the horror of rape in her readers by reversing the roles. The scenes of men being raped disturb the state of deep indifference towards rape in our modern world. Rape of women is so frequent that it has lost its shock value in people and has become normalized. By normalized I mean it does not shock people anymore. However, by defamiliarizing rape, Alderman manages to bring the psychological trauma and shame associated with rape to the forefront where they should belong. Thirdly, the fantasy turned into a nightmare makes the reader examine what constitutes a utopia or dystopia. Does a men's utopia necessitate a women's dystopia? Does a women's utopia necessitate a men's dystopia? Are utopia and dystopia the two sides of the same coin where a party is always privileged and the other is victimized and subjugated? *The Power* dwells on such questions through multiple scenes in which the suffering of women is inflicted by men and the suffering of men is inflicted by women. Lyman Tower Sargent argues in his book *Utopianism; a Very Short Introduction* that in utopian writings there is always a risk of imposing what someone sees as an ideal situation on another who might suffer miserably because of this imposition. We see this clearly in *The Power* where a women's utopia turns into a nightmare for men.

### **Conclusion**

*The Power* is a feminist dystopian novel that breaks away from the norms and conventions of most dystopian novels where women are restricted and dominated. It offers the female readership an escape from patriarchal societies that impose certain roles on women, limiting their freedom in some cases and eliminating it completely in others. Thus, the book acquires a liberating nature where women are portrayed as powerful and superior to men. In this paper, I have tried to examine how a new ideology is born. Moreover, I have tried to examine the impact of power on both the party that holds it and the party that is subjected to it. At a surface reading, only the party that is subjected to power seems to be the victim. However, I have found out upon further scrutiny that both parties are victims of power since it changes the nature of the party that holds it, women in

this case, and makes them derive pleasure from inflicting pain and misery on the suppressed party. Another very important aspect of *The Power* is defamiliarization. Alderman relies on this technique in order to reawaken a numbed audience and raise awareness towards the gravity of the psychological trauma associated with rape. Finally, I have presented the reader with some questions to ponder upon when reading feminist dystopian fiction: why is it that a men's utopia is always a dystopia for women? Why does a women's utopia, where women are powerful, have to be a dystopia for men?

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