

## Original Paper

# Power Is Everywhere

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### Abstract

*The present paper attempts to interpret in the framework of Foucault's discipline power and investigates how those clones are transformed to be docile organ donors. It is found that Hailsham, Cottage, and recovery center are all disciplinary establishments in the shape of a Panopticon, where discipline power is exercised upon the clones constantly through three instruments: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and examination. These subtle disciplinary elements fill every corner of their lives, and they are effectively observed, manipulated, and trained to behave "normally" as human society expects.*

### Keywords

*Foucault, discipline, hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, examination, Panopticon, Never Let Me Go*

### 1. Introduction

Kazuo Ishiguro's renowned work *Never Let Me Go* is essentially about the life of a group of clones that are isolated from human society. In their lives, Foucault's discipline power continuously takes effect in managing and manipulating them to become docile organ donors. Foucault's concept of modern power challenges the traditional assumption of macro-power, which operates through sovereignty and authority in a centralized fashion. He approaches power from a micro perspective, paying more attention to the actual mechanism of power that penetrates all corners of life and society. When tracing the historical shift in punishment—the disappearance of the public spectacle of torture and the emergence of the modern prison system—he proposed a new mechanism of power: discipline, which is about a subtler system of control and management of small, detailed movements. He identifies three instruments of exercising discipline power to regulate and manipulate the population: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and examination; and a special kind of architecture that maximizes the effectiveness of discipline through omnipresent gaze: Bentham's Panopticon.

This study aims to analyze how discipline power is present and represented in those clones' lives and to describe how it works to regulate their behaviors. This paper has been organized into three main sections to further explain in detail. In the first section, a general account is provided of Foucault's theories of discipline power and associated ideas as the theoretical background. In the following two sections, the present paper intends to analyze *Never Let Me Go* in connection with specific Foucauldian concepts. Firstly, the paper discusses how those clones in the novel are effectively manipulated using three technologies of discipline. Then the next section centers on the ultimate realization of discipline power: the Panopticon and explains how this typical architecture is achieved and represented in the story.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### 2.1 Foucault's Micro-Power

Contrary to commonly held ideas of power, Foucault's micro-power has several distinctive attributes. Firstly, power is a network. Commonly, macro-power built around the central concept of ruling and sovereignty is thought of as a unidirectional, repressive force, extending from the dominant to the dominated. Foucault objects to this linear relationship of control and being controlled, and he describes power as a complicated network. Multiple forms of power meet and move on this intricate network, making everyone the possible exerciser and the bearer of it. It displays an uncertain relationship and should not be generalized as the binary opposition of ruling and being ruled.

Secondly, it is decentralized. Traditionally, society is regarded as a hierarchical pyramid and there exists the supreme power or sovereignty, which previous research about power invariably focuses on. He opposes this centralization of power which simplifies the meaning of it. He argues that it is the capillary of power—the end of the power networks—that should be examined and studied. He advocates viewing power as a decentralized and dispersive existence that should be studied at its periphery, bottom, and tail end like hospitals, schools, prisons, etc.

Thirdly, power is subjectless. Power used to be viewed as a kind of property of the monarch, economically ruling class, or the supreme national institutions. In consequence, the subject—who is in the dominant position and possesses the power—is the locus of most research before. However, Foucault considers this as inaccurate for it transforms the more political concept of power into a more economic one—as something that can be occupied, owned, and transferred. He maintains that everyone in the network of power is simultaneously exercising power and being exercised power upon. People are only the ways by which power operates.

### 2.2 Discipline Power

According to Foucault, the key to the investigation into power is not about who is the owner of the power or whether an individual or a group is dominant or dominated, but how power is organized, realized, exercised, and accepted to exert its influences on society and life. Foucault's concept of micro-power directs investigation rightly to the operation and mechanisms of power, in other words,

the strategies and instruments of power and how it happens and is realized. In the past, monarchs or the authority exercised absolute power over the mass population through the open display of violence to rule and control. However, Foucault claims that modern power has gradually taken a new mechanism to administrate the population. He dives into such transformation and names this newly emerged mechanism of power as a discipline in his most frequently referenced work *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Foucault, 1991). The following part of this section will offer a general introduction to this work and its core concept: discipline.

Foucault first traces the changes in penal systems throughout history. He juxtaposes two different cases in punishments: a public and violent execution of Robert-Francois Damiens who was convicted of regicide in the 18th century and a strictly arranged daily schedule for inmates in prison in the early 19th century. These two approaches diverge greatly. The former is a cruel torture and corporal punishment directed at the human body and this process is intended to be displayed for the public audience to see. It is a ceremonial and ritual punishment for crimes to restore the power of authority. In contrast, the latter is a punitive practice to control, manage, and reform the prisoners' bodies through their souls. This dramatic shift in forms of punishment in such a short time necessitates a close inquiry into the reasons behind it.

According to Foucault, this switch to more gentle-seeming punishment is not pushed by a concern for the welfare of inmates but an intention to make power operate more efficiently. Those public tortures on the bodies of the convicted might yield many unwanted consequences, ranging from evoking public sympathy, admiration, and even support for sentenced bodies to intensify the conflicts between the public and sovereignty. Thus, this public execution gradually becomes uneconomic, ineffective, and uncontrolled, sitting in opposition to the modern needs of the state: social order and generalization. Then, a more effective and potent form of punishment is in need, although this has nothing to do with humanitarianism.

Regarding what catalyzes this transformation from the punishment of the body to the reformation of the soul, Foucault suggests that the tendency toward a more effective modern prison is the result of discipline. Discipline is a series of techniques to control the movements and operations of the body. It is a sort of power that coerces the body by arranging, regulating, and dividing up an individual's movements and the space and time the individual experiences. Typical devices often employed in terms of discipline are timetables, military drills, etc. This kind of power welcomingly enables the gradation of punishment as it is exercised more economically and effectively: low expenditure and less resistance against itself for its relative invisibility.

Different from negative force and repressive violence, discipline revolves around management, manipulation, and training of the body; it is a productive form of power. It prescribes what should be done as normal and what should not be allowed as abnormal during a certain time and in a certain space; and it provides the standards by which bodies are observed and judged. In the meanwhile, modern institutions just need bodies to be individuated by their tasks and for their training, observation,

and control. Then, discipline exactly creates a new form of individuality for bodies, which enables them to perform their duty at a specific time and within the various forms of economic, political, and military organizations in the modern age. Therefore, discipline has gradually become the widely adopted way not only in modern prisons but also in modern society to achieve mass control of bodies. Foucault regards that the purpose of discipline power is to create docile bodies and “to link this ‘economic’ growth of power with the output of the apparatuses (educational, military, industrial or medical) within which it is exercised; in short, to increase both the docility and the utility of all the elements of the system” (Foucault, 1991, p. 212). Disciplinary apparatuses produce capable and docile bodies that are suitable and ideal to work and function through the internalization of discipline. They make sure that discipline takes place in a relatively invisible fashion without excessive force, mold bodies through constructed norms, and control bodies through constant careful observations. Docility and utility of the bodies are closely related in exercising discipline power, and bodies are made docile through disciplinary practices to achieve desired utility in modern society.

Within the concept of discipline power, Foucault identifies three specific ways of discipline. “The success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the use of simple instruments: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination” (Foucault, 1991, p. 170). Through these three means, activities and behaviors of the targeted bodies are manipulated effectively as expected to achieve a social norm and generalization. In addition, Foucault expounds on an ultimate spatial realization of discipline power: Bentham’s Panopticon.

The following parts of the present paper will concentrate on these concepts and use them for an interpretation of Kazuo Ishiguro’s novel *Never Let Me Go*. The second section of the paper will then illustrate these three technologies of discipline power and how they are represented in the story. The third section will pay special attention to the Panopticon and explain how this form of institution is constructed in the story to manage and manipulate those clones.

### **3. Discipline Power in *Never Let Me Go***

Discipline powers are exercised through specific strategies, and these technologies are more subtle and constant than formalized rules and laws. Foucault suggests that it operates through hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and examination, permeates into every aspect of the life of the targeted body, and achieves the social disciplinary generalization and social order. These three are major means by which the clones are regulated and nurtured to well serve the medical needs of the outside world.

#### **3.1 Hierarchical Observation in *Never Let Me Go***

The discipline power can be exercised in a hierarchical structure for observation. Foucault describes this as a pyramid, which is an intensified form of consecutive surveillance.

*The pyramid was able to fulfill, more efficiently than the circle, two requirements: to be complete enough to form an uninterrupted network—consequently the possibility of multiplying its levels, and of distributing them over the entire surface to be supervised; and yet to be discreet enough not to weigh down with an inert mass on the activity to be disciplined, and not to act as a brake or an obstacle to it. (Foucault, 1991, p. 174)*

This pyramid is immediately obvious in the enclosed institution—Hailsham—in the book. Clone children are at the bottom and human guardians are in turn standing in upper places, among which Miss Emily, the head Guardian, occupies the top of the pyramid. Observations come from all tiers of the pyramid—from both their peers and all guardians.

In the first place, clones found themselves were always eavesdropped and watched in Hailsham. For them, the only safe place for a private conversation finally turned out to be the most crowded and noisy lunch queue, “a good place for a discreet conversation—not nearly good as the lunch queue” (*Never Let Me Go*, Ch. 3). They were alert and uneasy from time to time due to fear of own secrets being spotted by others and thus made public, even this kind of peer surveillance brought nothing effectively severe or terrible to them. Their freedom and speech were suppressed, and their behaviors were disciplined by this invisible peer observation.

Apart from mutual observations, clone children were also supervised by all above-board guardians, who monitored their daily lives, education, and physical conditions. Kathy and her peers would not do anything outrageous or talk about smoking, sex, donation, and other forbidden topics when guardians were present. In the story, the observation from the top pyramid, Miss Emily, was most potent to clones. In Kathy’s memory, the head guardian seemed capable of knowing everything in Hailsham.

*I didn’t argue. Certainly, Miss Emily could be uncannily sharp. If, say, you were somewhere you shouldn’t be in the main house or the grounds, and you heard a guardian coming, you could often hide somewhere. Hailsham was full of hiding places, indoors and out: cupboards, nooks, bushes, hedges. But if you saw Miss Emily coming, your heart sank because she’d always know you were there hiding. It was like she had some extra sense. You could go into a cupboard, close the door tight and not move a muscle, you just knew Miss Emily’s footsteps would stop outside and her voice would say: “All right. Out you come.” (Never Let Me Go, Ch. 4)*

The sharp eyes and extra sense of Miss Emily pose a psychological subjugation upon children, pushing them to obey rules and to keep away from unapproved corners. Their performances were regulated and transformed by omnipresent observations from guardians. Another strong indication of a pyramid structure of observation also lies in the authority of Miss Emily over all guardians. When Miss Lucy told the children some truth about Hailsham and their lives, she was expelled from school by Miss Emily at once for violating the taboo. The evidence shows that Miss Emily, sitting at the top of the

hierarchy, supervises everything, all movements of children and guardians, and ensures the school—the disciplinary apparatus—operates smoothly and normally.

The pyramid structure makes an intricate system of observation. Any element that may break the order will be eliminated quickly. Most silent and least coercive as this kind of supervision is, it works well in disciplining children. Under such hierarchical observation, clones are disciplined to be careful all the time, not to break rules or violate a taboo, but to follow their destiny to be docile organ donors.

### 3.2 Normalizing Judgement in *Never Let Me Go*

According to Foucault, the punishment mechanism under the discipline power diverges from that of the law or criminal penalty. “It enjoys a kind of judicial privilege with its own laws, its specific offenses, and its particular forms of judgement,” and establishes an “infra-penalty”; it not only punishes what is done falsely but also what is not done normally: “what is specific to the disciplinary penalty is non-observance, that which does not measure up to the rule, that departs from it. The whole indefinite domain of the non-conforming is punishable” (Foucault, 1991, p. 178). Rather than focusing on the negative consequence of false behaviors, discipline power centers on adjusting and rectifying behaviors for norms, which is achieved by so-called normalizing judgement.

In this process, every activity and movement of the individual is measured and judged, then handed to diverse punishments, which include more subtle procedures. Foucault explains that disciplinary punishment can be anything that can make individuals realize their fault and thus have a sense of guilt, shame, and awkwardness, such as a rigorous attitude, disappointment, interrogation, alienation, humiliation, etc., to produce docile and standard individuals. Clones in *Never Let Me Go* just gradually restrain themselves and converge on a uniformity by such normalizing judgement.

In the Hailsham, all punishments upon children were not severe physical penalties and what were punished for were also not ill conductions. Instead, children were punished for inconformity and punishment usually was a disappointment from Miss Emily. When Tommy was isolated for his low creativity in art, Miss Emily had some conversations with him without any criticism or penalty. However, her attitude still made Tommy upset. A more typical example is how she treated clone children after a rowdy Sale.

*She'd order us to sit down on the floor—we usually stood at assemblies—and there'd be no announcements or performances, just Miss Emily talking to us for twenty, thirty minutes, sometimes even longer. She'd rarely raise her voice, but there was something steely about her on these occasions and none of us, not even the Senior 5s, dared make a sound.*

*There was a real sense of feeling bad that we had, in some collective way, let down Miss Emily, but try as we might, we couldn't really follow these lectures. It was partly her language. “Unworthy of privilege” and “misuse of opportunity”: these were two regular phrases Ruth and I came up with when we were reminiscing in her room at the centre in Dover. Her general drift was clear enough: we were all very special, being Hailsham students, and so it was all the more disappointing when we behaved badly. (Never Let Me Go, Ch. 4)*

Miss Emily never adopts harsh measures to punish them, but her facial expressions and subtle behaviors have already indicated disappointment towards the clones' performances. And all her "closed eyes", "frown", "gentle sign" and "silence" will give children pressure and anxiety, and they are all scared of her. Once they think they have let Miss Emily down, they soon recognize their behaviors are abnormal and unexpected and then naturally pay attention to their own manners. In this way, clone children are always subject to normalizing judgement and undergo effective discipline.

### 3.3 Examination in *Never Let Me Go*

According to Foucault, examination combines hierarchical observation and normalizing judgement, which in essence is still surveillance. It transforms each target into an analyzable case that can be documented. Through examination, on the one hand, objects can be observed, described, judged, analyzed, measured, and compared with each other; on the other hand, it offers an approach to train and regulate objects and evaluate the outcomes of such discipline power. Individuals in the power networks begin to be transformed into symbols, pages of records, or sets of data in documents, gradually losing their subject positions and reduced to being dominated.

In the novel, Kathy and her peers are always under strict examinations. As organ donation was their ultimate responsibility, health became the priority in their lives. From their childhood, they were constantly told the importance of keeping healthy and "had to have some form of medical almost every week—usually up in Room 18 at the very top of the house—with stern Nurse Trisha" (*Never Let Me Go*, Ch. 2). Their health conditions were regularly and strictly examined and recorded. After the donation, they were still under the examination of doctors and nurses in the recovery center. They were documented in detail and judged whether they were still capable of another donation.

Apart from their physical condition, their lives were also examined. Each child "had a wooden chest with your name on it, which you kept under your bed and filled with your possessions—the stuff you acquired from the Sales or the Exchanges" (*Never Let Me Go*, Ch. 4). However, this chest could not be locked due to the possible examination by guardians. That was the reason why Kathy kept so secretive about her tape in it as well. "I even turned the cover inside out so you'd only see Judy and her cigarette if you opened up the plastic case" (*Never Let Me Go*, Ch. 6). During their adulthood in Cottage, they still were under some kind of examination of Keffers, who "turned up two or three times a week in his muddy van to look the place over" (*Never Let Me Go*, Ch. 10). Besides, they read porn magazines secretly in case of those being found and taken away by Keffers and rarely stepped beyond the confines of the Cottages especially during the first months.

*We didn't even walk about the surrounding countryside or wander into the nearby village. I don't think we were afraid exactly. We all knew no one would stop us if we wandered off, provided we were back by the day and the time we entered into Keffers's ledgerbook. (Never Let Me Go, Ch. 10)*

They became the objects of Keffers' examination and when they came back were all recorded in his ledgerbook. They are checked at any time by others and every movement and behavior is documented for manipulation. They are trained to behave properly. Examinations make them docile and

autonomously obey norms and rules.

#### 4. Panopticon in *Never Let Me Go*

Panopticon is a circular prison designed by Jeremy Bentham in 1787, and Foucault recognizes this architectural figure as the ultimate space where disciplinary power manifests, for it “invented a technology of power capable of resolving the problems of surveillance...Bentham considered his optical procedure to be the major innovation needed for the easy and effective exercise of power” (Foucault, 1996, p. 227). It is a spatial design in which every inmate inhabiting a ring of cells is subject to the scrutiny of a central watchtower:

*At the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower and to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned man, a worker or a schoolboy. By the effect of backlighting, one can observe from the tower, standing out precisely against the light, the small captive shadows in the cells of the periphery. They are like so many cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible. The panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately. (Foucault, 2008, p. 5)*

In this architecture, every individual is under the easy observation of the supervisor in the tower but prevented from contact with their companions due to the spatial partitioning by side walls. Foucault observes that “the arrangement of his room, opposite the central tower, imposes on him an axial visibility; but the divisions of the ring, those separated cells, imply a lateral invisibility” (2008, p. 5). Hence, the main function of the Panopticon is to put inmates in permanent visibility and observation of inspectors. It automatizes discipline power through ceaseless gazes and omnipresent observation. Besides, it is quite polyvalent in application. Not only can it be used to manage and reform prisoners, but also to record and treat patients, to instruct and educate schoolchildren, to confine and control the insane, to train and supervise workers, etc. In *Never Let Me Go*, this spatial arrangement is also an enabler of discipline power over the clones. The archetype can be found in the layout of Hailsham, Cottage, and recovery center, these three locations where those clones have stayed during their short lives.

##### 4.1 Hailsham as Panopticon

Firstly, those clones' childhoods are spent in Hailsham, which is a two-layer Panopticon. The first obvious watchtower is the woods at the top of the hill rising behind Hailsham with the whole Hailsham boarding school as a peripheric building.

*All we could see really was a dark fringe of trees, but I certainly wasn't the only one of my age to feel their presence day and night. When it got bad, it was like they cast a shadow over the whole of*



*Hailsham; all you had to do was turn your head or move towards a window and there they'd be, looming in the distance. Safest was the front of the main house, because you couldn't see them from any of the windows. Even so, you never really got away from them. (Never Let Me Go, Ch. 5)*

From the narration of Kathy, children could never escape from the gaze of the woods, and they were all afraid because of all kinds of horrible stories about it. With the terrain and mysterious stories as an advantage, the woods made it a tower and remained a source of fear for children. When children did not behave themselves, they would be forced to look at the woods. Even such a distant watch would make them cry in terror and no one dared to go beyond the woods. The woods seemed like a permanent inspector, always reminding clone children not to try to leave. Their curiosity for the outside world and courage to explore are suppressed; in other words, they are disciplined to stay and keep order.

The second watchtower is the main house with all other buildings in Hailsham as the periphery. Hailsham sat in a hollow with fields rising on all sides, and “from almost any of the classroom windows in the main house—and even from the pavilion—you had a good view of the long narrow road that came down across the fields and arrived at the main gate” (*Never Let Me Go*, Ch. 3). The main house functions as a tower as well to gaze upon all children and potentially discipline all their daily activities. When Kathy had her first personal conversation with Tommy, she quickly “had enough of him by now, particularly with the girls watching—and for all I knew, any number of others from the windows of the main house” (*Never Let Me Go*, Ch.1) and rejoined her friends. Later when they two have a private occasion to talk beside the pond, Kathy decides to pretend to accidentally come across Tommy because she doesn't know “if anyone was actually watching” (*Never Let Me Go*, Ch. 3). During the conversation, all her unnatural behaviors indicated that she was extremely uneasy as if under some unavoidable observation. “For a start, you could be clearly seen from the house. And the way the sound travelled across the water was hard to predict; if people wanted to eavesdrop, it was the easiest thing to walk down the outer path and crouch in the bushes on the other side of the pond” (*Never Let Me Go*, Ch. 3). The existence of the main house gives them such a psychological suggestion that never do anything unaccepted or abnormal in Hailsham but to behave properly.

#### *4.2 Cottage as Panopticon*

The next phase of life in the Cottage after sixteen years old seemed relatively free for Kathy and her peers since they had no guardians then and no clear rules preventing them from going beyond the Cottage. However, the bland childhood life in Hailsham has largely shaped their characteristics and behavioral habits, and discipline power still works automatically through the Panopticon. “The Cottages were the remains of a farm that had gone out of business years before. There was an old farmhouse, and around it, barns, outhouses, stables all converted for us to live in” (*Never Let Me Go*, Ch. 10). The farmhouse was in the best condition and at the heart of the Cottage, serving as a high tower. Kathy and her peers all lived around it in periphery cells and were still gazed upon constantly. When she wanted to read, she tried to find somewhere far and quiet on the grass in case of being seen; however, when she hid in the barn and glanced through porn magazines, she was still found by Tommy

from the farmhouse. This gaze made them still cautious about their performances and keeps disciplining them: they still stayed in Cottage most of the time even though their activities were not regulated any longer by guardians and they still read porn magazines secretly with embarrassed feelings even though they were already in adulthood.

#### 4.3 Recovery Center as Panopticon

Even the recovery center, Kingsfield, where Tommy stayed for donation is a Panoptic architecture. The Square at the center is the watchtower that offers convenience for observations of donors and carers in other buildings. A detailed description is provided in the book.

*When I first saw this, it took me a while to realise I was looking at what the donors now call “the Square”—the place where you drive in when you first arrive at the centre. [...] I might not have easily recognised the Square in the photo, except for the white bunker-like two-storey buildings in the background, on all three visible sides of the pool area. [...] In some ways, I suppose, the Square today isn’t so different to what the pool was back then. It’s the social hub of the place, where donors come out of their rooms for a bit of air and a chat. There are a few wooden picnic benches around the Square, but—especially when the sun’s too hot, or it’s raining—the donors prefer to gather under the overhanging flat roof of the recreation hall at the far end behind the old diving board frame. (Never Let Me Go, Ch. 19)*

The recovery center takes the form of a panoptic hospital, where every donor and carer are under inspection, examination, and manipulation. Donors are disciplined to accept their duty of donation peacefully and carers are disciplined to fulfill their responsibility of pacifying donors. Their behaviors are all managed and manipulated for smooth donations desired by human society.

“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 ever being seen” (Foucault, 2008, p. 6). Through this mechanism, the omnipresent and unavoidable gaze exerts psychological pressure and suggestion upon the clones to behave and perform normally and as just the human society expects.

Moreover, within the construction of the panoptic Hailsham, Cottage and recovery center, those clone children are not a collective but a collection of separated individuals. From the perspective of the guardian, they turn to a multiplicity that can be recorded, numbered, and supervised; while from the eyes of themselves, they are sequestered by sides walls and undergo solitude, deprivation of communications resulting from lateral invisibility in Panopticon. Being observed and individuated permanently, they are disciplined unconsciously step by step to become docile organ donors without extreme behaviors or resistant thoughts.

## 5. Conclusion

In *Never Let Me Go*, clones’ lives are always subject to continuous discipline power. Rigid hierarchical order is established in Hailsham for easy, unidirectional observation of them; they are made

self-conscious of their abnormal behaviors and autonomously rectify themselves through Miss Emily's potential normalizing judgement; and their daily activities throughout life, and physical conditions are constantly examined and documented by peers, guardians, Keffers, and staff in recovery centers. Three places where they spend their whole life are all panoptic architectures that offer spatial convenience for omnipresent gazes upon them. These methods all internalize extrinsic discipline into their personal thinking modes and behavior styles and turn out to be a more effective inside-out control. Norms desired by human society are a new form of law now and standardize them. They are gradually molded to be docile objects, obediently accepting their fate of donation by the potent discipline power.

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