

Evrım Ersöz Koç
Dokuz Eylül University
İzmir, Turkey

SUBJECT AND STATE: IDEOLOGY, STATE APPARATUSES AND INTERPELLATION IN *FAHRENHEIT 451*

Abstract

In *Fahrenheit 451* (1953), Ray Bradbury portrays an authoritarian social formation in which reading and keeping books are strictly forbidden. The protagonist Montag who works as a fireman charged for burning books happens to question both his job and the dominant anti-intellectual ideology. Following a crisis of conscience period, Montag challenges the function of repressive state apparatus and manages to flee to wilderness where he meets a group of men who are willing to reconstruct society by enabling people to learn about their cultural heritage through the books they have secretly memorized. Using Althusser's theory on ideology, this paper reinterprets Bradbury's imaginative society scrutinizing the use of state apparatuses to interpellate subjects by the ruling ideology and the motif of resistance to such a powerful disseminating ideological call.

Keywords: Bradbury, *Fahrenheit 451*, Althusser, ideology, state apparatuses, interpellation

Ray Bradbury depicts a dystopian society in which artistic production is prohibited, libraries are burnt and book reading is regarded as a crime against state in *Fahrenheit 451*. In this totalitarian "Dark Age" society, intellectualism is degraded and the firehouse is assigned to transform books and artworks into ashes instead of fire fighting. The books are banned because they can lead people to think and question issues such as

freedom and happiness. This society which has seen two nuclear wars is a mass consumption society in which televisions spread to four walls. As technology and different forms of consumption accelerate, intellectualism is on the verge of extinction due to the state and its mechanisms. The novel is based on the quest of the protagonist Guy Montag, a devoted fireman who happens to question his job to burn books. At the end of the novel, the outlaw Montag who has committed the crime of reading and keeping books escapes into wilderness where he meets a band of dissident intellectuals who memorize books hoping to help humanity to rebuild itself in the future.

Fahrenheit 451 which is one of the most popular fictions of the American literary canon has received considerable scholarly attention. The studies vary in their viewpoints: some of them are explorations of its basic themes and subjects such as conformism (Amis 2000), dictatorship (Gottlieb 2001), totalitarianism (Myers-Dickison 1999), resistance (Ronnov-Jessen 1984), rebellion (Feneja 2012), censorship (Guffey 1985), war (Hoskinson 2001), nature/wilderness (Laino 2007; McGiveron 1997), self-examination (McGiveron 1998), mass exploitation (McGiveron 1996), technology (Mengeling 1980), consumerism (Seed 1994), mass degradation (Zipes 2008) and exile (Wood 2008). Some of the studies focus on the literary or stylistic elements of the novel examining allegories (Conner 2008), imagery (Pell 1980), allusions (Sisario 1970) or symbols (Watt 1980); while some others work on its generic quality comparing the novel to utopia (Huntigton 1982), putropia (Williams 1988), satire (Mogen 1986) or romance (Kagle 2008). This study reinterprets the themes of domination, subjection and resistance and focuses on the role of ideology in structuring the relation between subject and state using Althusserian notions of ideology, state apparatuses and interpellation as the theoretical framework.

The French philosopher Louis Althusser contributes to the Marxist theory through a close investigation of how ideology functions in a social formation in his essay titled *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. Primarily, Althusser describes the Marxist conceptualization of society as an edifice including base and superstructure and remarks that in the Marxist tradition the state is regarded as a repressive apparatus containing the army, the police, the courts and the prisons (Althusser 1971: 137-43). Then Althusser asserts that these theories are descriptive and should be reconsidered. In order to develop his own conception of the state, Althusser

adds a new concept to the (repressive) state apparatuses which have already been present in the Marxist theory. This new concept is called the “ideological state apparatuses” which is described as “a certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions” (Althusser 1971: 143). According to Althusser, major ideological state apparatuses are the religious ISA (the system of the different Churches), the educational ISA (the system of the different public and private ‘Schools’), the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA (the political system, including the different Parties), the trade-union ISA, the communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.) and the cultural ISA (Literature, the Arts, sports, etc.) (ibid).

Both state apparatuses function by violence and ideology. For instance, the army and the police which are repressive state apparatuses “also function by ideology both to ensure their own cohesion and reproduction” (ibid). In addition, schools and churches which are ideological state apparatuses “use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection, etc., to ‘discipline’” (ibid). The difference in the functioning of the two state apparatuses is that in contrast to the repressive state apparatuses which function massively and predominantly by violence, the ideological state apparatuses function massively and predominantly by ideology (ibid). According to Althusser, the reproduction of relations of production is secured by the exercise of state power in these state apparatuses (ibid: 148). In other words, the function of the state apparatuses is the maintenance of the power of the ruling class.

1. Repressive State Apparatus in *Fahrenheit 451*

A close analysis of the portrayal of state apparatuses in *Fahrenheit 451* reveals significant points about how state apparatuses operate in constructing the relation between state and subject. The dominant role of the repressive state apparatus is apparent in the fact that the protagonist is a fireman working in the firehouse institution which functions as a repressive state apparatus. As Seed articulates, he is “a member of the state apparatuses which enforces such prescriptions by destroying the books which might counteract the solicitations of the media” (Seed 1994: 227). Like army or police, the firehouse has the power to use violence in their effort to fight against the criminals who are intellectuals or booklovers in order

to maintain the perpetuation of the dominant ideology. As Mogen asserts “the ironically reversed role of the ‘firemen’ serves admirably as Bradbury’s central metaphor” (Mogen 1986: 106). Therefore, the thematic concern of the novel rests on the metaphorical representation of an institution working as a repressive state apparatus. The novel begins with the presentation of how Montag takes pleasure in burning. Also, the firemen are depicted in a way connected to fire imagery. The firemen’s uniforms are embroidered with professional symbols of fire such as the salamander and the phoenix-disc on the clothing¹. Furthermore, the fire trucks are named “Salamander” indicating a parallelism in that the machine pours out yet survives fire. The firemen even have an official slogan: “Monday bum Millay, Wednesday Whitman, Friday Faulkner, burn ‘em to ashes, then burn the ashes (ibid: 6). In the hands of dedicated firemen, even the ashes should be burnt.

The history of this institution is one of the concerns illustrated in the novel. When Montag meets the young and lively girl Clarisse in the neighborhood, she asks him “Is it true that long ago firemen put fires out instead of going to start them?” (ibid). Even though Montag replies that “Houses have always been fireproof,” (ibid), he becomes suspicious and asks the same question to the chief Beatty. As a response other firemen give him the firehouse rulebook which writes “Established, 1790, to burn English-influenced books in the Colonies. First Fireman: Benjamin Franklin” (ibid: 32). Then, according to the rulebook which contains the essential rules that the firemen should follow, the history of the institution is as old as the history of the nation and the founder of the institution is the founder of the country. However, in a later dialogue with Montag, Beatty confesses the real history that “when houses were finally fireproofed completely... They were given the new job, as custodians of our peace of mind... official censors, judges, and executors” (ibid: 56). Thus, for Beatty the reversed role of firemen and their authority to use such a destructive force is also for the sake of maintaining peace.

In addition to the firemen, there is another character that stands for the repressive state apparatus: the hound. Just as the other technological equipments such as surveillance and monitoring devices, this “robotic beast with prodigious powers of detection, speed, and destruction” (Smolla 2009: 896) helps the firemen in their duties to detect and punish criminals. According to Huntington, “the mechanical hound... combines

¹ The sign of phoenix also shows the status of the firemen: the firemen wear the phoenix-disc on their chest while their captain Beatty wears the sign of phoenix on his hat.

the relentlessness of the bloodhound with the infallibility of technology” (Huntington 1982: 137). With its eye bulbs spreading green-blue neon light and the capillary hairs in the nylon-brushed nostrils (Bradbury 2012: 22-3), the creature can detect its victims. Once the firemen set the necessary combination of victim’s chemical balances and percentages, it functions, targets itself and follows the trajectory. This technological creature serves as the “hound” of the repressive state apparatuses created in order to hunt for its master. Reminding the process in which the hound becomes more suspicious as Montag becomes more fascinated with the books, Johnson emphasizes that “The hound is then symbolic of the relentless, heartless pursuit of the State” (Johnson 2000: 65).

This hunting beast is also compared to other animals such as spider and bee. In its construction made up of brass, copper and steel, it has eight incredible insect legs, multi-faceted eyes and a silver needle. The hound never makes mistakes and serves the justice by inserting the silver needle to the criminal. The simile that compares the sleeping hound “in a dark kennel of the fire house” to a bee is also significant: “It was like a great bee come home from some field where the honey is full of poison wildness, of insanity and nightmare, its body crammed with that over-rich nectar and now it was sleeping the evil out of itself” (Bradbury 2012: 22). This simile emphasizes the poisonous and evil nature of the beast. Just like a spider or a bee, it attacks with a poisonous sting and spreads the malevolent state power to the environment.

2. Ideological State Apparatus in *Fahrenheit 451*

The exercise of repressive state apparatus is explicitly offered in the form of a police state represented by the firemen and the hound. In addition to that, the ideological state apparatuses play a significant role in the imaginative world of the anti-intellectual, obedient and shallow culture of *Fahrenheit 451*. The ideological state apparatuses function in harmony with repressive state apparatuses and this fact is evident either in the statements of some characters such as Beatty, Faber, and Clarisse who are informed about older generations (thereby providing comparison); or in the lifestyles of some characters such as Mildred and her friends who stand as the representatives of that society.

It would be wise to start the representations of ISA with the communications ISA which includes press, radio and television because according to Bradbury, the novel rests on the depiction of the television dominating people's lives. TV sets pervade the walls of the houses and Mildred enjoys the three-wall televisor in their parlor conversing with parlor "aunts" or "uncles" or taking part in a play staged in the wall-to-wall circuit. As a member of a highly consumerist culture, Mildred yearns to have the fourth wall installed to make their room look like exotic peoples room although it costs one-third of Montag's yearly pay (*ibid*: 18). When Mildred is not interacting with the three-wall televisor in the house, she is usually depicted as listening to the seashell radio plugged in her ear. These technological devices which are the means of communication serve basically to entertainment industry.

In addition to televisor and seashell radio, the presentation of the press is also meaningful for a better understanding of that culture. The newspapers, in Faber's words, died like huge moths and, "no one wanted them back. No one missed them" (*ibid*: 85). Thus, the absence, rather than the existence of the newspapers, emerges as the vital trait of that consumerist and anti-intellectual culture and no one feels uncomfortable about their disappearance. In his speech which starts as the explanation of how firehouse institution started to set fire, Beatty not only gives clues about the formation of such an anti-intellectual society but also emphasizes that it was not the government but the public itself who were the agents of ban on books. Beatty claims that "it didn't come from the Government down. There was no dictum, no declaration, no censorship, to start with, no" (*ibid*: 55). Similar information is also provided by Faber, a former English professor who has been witness to this cultural change just like Beatty. Faber states that "Remember, the firemen are rarely necessary. The public itself stopped reading of its own accord" (*ibid*: 83). Faber's observation is important for providing an objective cultural examination since it confirms the information given by Beatty. In other words, both Beatty — a member of a repressive state apparatus and Faber — an intellectual displeased by the ruling ideology emphasize the public itself as the primary agent of anti-intellectualism.

Thus, the public's tendency to ignore the value of written word lies at the core of anti-intellectualism. This is a fact highlighted by Bradbury as well. In the video clip titled "Bradbury on Censorship/Television" released on his website, Bradbury warns the readers about misinterpretation: "I

wasn't worried about freedom. I was worried about people being turned into morons by TV... *Fahrenheit*, it's not about censorship; it is about the moronic influence of popular culture through local TV news in the proliferation of giant screens and the bombardment of factoids..." (np.). Such an influence of TV is obvious in Beatty's examination of television as "It tells you what to think and blasts it in... It rushes you on so quickly to its own conclusions your mind hasn't time to protest" (ibid: 80). That is the numbing effect of TV Bradbury mentions: the gazers become incapable to think or protest. Beatty also provides a comparison of books and television: "Books can be beaten down with reason. But with all my knowledge and scepticism, I have never been able to argue with a one-hundred-piece symphony orchestra, full color, three dimensions" (ibid).

Amy E. Boyle Johnston who interviewed Bradbury writes that "[Bradbury] says the culprit in *Fahrenheit 451* is not the state — it is the people. Unlike Orwell's *1984*, in which the government uses television screens to indoctrinate citizens, Bradbury envisioned television as an opiate" (Johnston 2010: np.). Reid offers a similar comparison: "While some dystopias (such as George Orwell's *1984* [1949]) put all the responsibility for oppression on the government, Bradbury's novel does not show the national government acting in any way, with the exception of periodic references to planes flying overhead with bombs (Reid 2008: 77)". Thus, Bradbury's imaginative schema is initially triggered by the bad influence of the TV on the habit of reading in which the virtual platforms stupefy the gazers. Still, the cultural decline triggered by the destructive force of the TV prepares the floor to an oppressive state which uses both its repressive and ideological apparatuses to mould subjects according to its own benefits. Faber's comment as "the Government, seeing how advantageous it was to have people reading only about passionate lips and the fist in the stomach, circled the situation with your fire-eaters" (Bradbury 2012: 85) explains the situation precisely. "The change is obviously "the aftermath of cultural decline" (Gottlieb 2001: 92). Although, the hostility towards any form of intellectuality is generated by the public instead of a governmental policy, the repressive state apparatuses benefit from the cultural changes in which people become reluctant for reading and learning. "Only after most Americans chose to give up reading, seduced by the simplicity and presence of the mass media, did the government step in" (Reid 2008: 77). In the aftermath of that cultural decline, the firemen emerge as the

repressive state apparatus punishing that small number of people who are eager to or curious for reading.

In Orwell's fiction, TV emerges as an apparatus which the state uses to call out to its citizens unequivocally evident in Two Minutes Hate rituals. Even though the role of TV is not as explicit as it is in *1984*, a similar use of communications ISA is also present in *Fahrenheit 451*. After Montag's house is burnt, he starts to flee. On his escape route, he is followed by a mechanical hound and this event is recorded by a "camera, hovering in the belly of a helicopter" (Bradbury 2012: 141). This show not only provides entertainment to the citizens watching their televisions but also ensures the power and control of the government. Moreover, when Montag manages to escape from the hound and joins the book-memorizing exiles in wilderness, Granger, one of the book memorizers, gets Montag watch how the repressive state apparatus is faking Montag's death. A scapegoat is found, the hunt continues, the hound as well as the camera falls upon the victim simultaneously and blackout (ibid: 142). Then Montag's death is announced on the dark screen with the note "a crime against society has been avenged" (ibid). Thereby, Bradbury "draws attention to the power of the media not only to lie but also to fake events as a means of state propaganda" (Gottlieb 2001: 91). Besides, the fact that Granger is aware of the policy of faking reveals that this is not the first time that the state is using such a tactic. In order to discourage resistance and to protect its power, the state has probably used this tactic to fake the punishment of the subversives. In this respect, this fact denotes how the state uses the communication ISA to call out to its citizens in order to make its authority safe and to give form to the mentalities of its citizens at its own will.

As well as the communications ISA, the cultural ISA which include literature, art and sports are among the most striking elements structuring that dystopian social formation. "*Fahrenheit 451* dramatizes entrapment in a sterile and poisonous culture cut off from its cultural heritage and imaginative life, vigilantly preserving a barren present without past or future" (Mogen 1986: 105). The constituents of this anti-intellectual, hedonist and consumerist culture are most obvious in the illustration of the cultural ISA. The apparatus that is delicately detailed is undoubtedly literature and not only the state's policies of censorship but also the subjects' reluctance for intellectualism is illustrated. Beatty explains several elements which end up in the constitution of the firehouse as a repressive state apparatus. The first one is related to the rise of technological devices such as photography,

motion pictures, radio and television. Beatty says that when things began to have mass, they became simpler (Bradbury 2012: 51). In addition, overpopulation played its role and people could not afford to be different anymore (ibid). Related to overpopulation, minority pressure emerges as another factor structuring an anti-intellectual culture: as Faber states “Bigger the population, the more minorities.” (ibid: 54). The firemen are entitled to destruct the elements that may offend the minorities: “Colored people don’t like *Little Black Sambo*. Burn it. White people don’t feel good about *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Burn it. Someone’s written a book on tobacco and cancer of the lungs? The cigarette people are weeping? Bum the book.” (ibid: 57). There were many minority groups to avoid offending such as “dog-lovers, the cat-lovers, doctors, lawyers, merchants chiefs, Mormons, Baptists, Unitarians, second-generation Chinese, Swedes, Italians, Germans, Texans, Brooklynites, Irishmen, people from Oregon or Mexico” (ibid: 54). As Beatty emphasizes “The bigger your market, Montag, the less you handle controversy” (ibid: 55).

As a result of all these factors, “Films and radios, magazines, books leveled down to a sort of paste pudding norm” (ibid: 51) and “Books cut shorter. Condensations, Digests. Tabloids. Everything boils down to the gag, the snap ending.” (ibid: 52) For instance, “Hamlet was a one-page digest in a book” (ibid). “Magazines became a nice blend of vanilla tapioca. Books, so the damned snobbish critics said, were dishwater” (ibid: 55). Only the forms of literature which are thought to be incapable of stimulating knowledge development are available. That’s why there were “More cartoons in books. More pictures. The mind drinks less and less” (ibid: 54). In this world far away from any form of intellectuality, only expressions linked to the concepts of happiness, laughter and pleasure endure: “the public, knowing what it wanted, spinning happily, let the comic books survive. And the three-dimensional sex magazines, of course” (ibid). As Faber articulates, “Technology, mass exploitation, and minority pressure carried the trick, thank God. Today, thanks to them, you can stay happy all the time, you are allowed to read comics, the good old confessions, or trade journals” (ibid: 55). All these circumstances prepared the way to a society hostile to knowledge and learning. Both Faber and Beatty hold the public responsible for the anti-intellectual society; still the above expression “you’re allowed to...” highlights that the government is the true agent of censorship.

The emphasis on happiness indicates that this society rests on a pleasure principle in which happiness becomes the sole motive. Beatty repeatedly reminds Montag that the control over literature is for the sake of maintaining happiness and providing the resentment of minorities. People are kept far from reading for happiness and fun since they all live for “pleasure” and “titillation” (ibid: 56). Along with setting fire, the firemen’s task is providing gratification.

The important thing for you to remember, Montag, is we’re the Happiness Boys, the Dixie Duo, you and I and the others. We stand against the small tide of those who want to make everyone unhappy with conflicting theory and thought. We have our fingers in the dyke. Hold steady. Don’t let the torrent of melancholy and drear philosophy drown our world. We depend on you. I don’t think you realize how important you are, to our happy world as it stands now (ibid: 59).

The firemen who are members of the repressive state apparatus also operate as the guardians of the cultural ISA providing fun, pleasure and happiness by restricting the availability of knowledge.

In addition to books, art and sports are depicted in Bradbury’s fictional future society as extensions of the cultural ISA. The organization of sports is necessary for the reproduction of a cultural arena in which members are directed to activities other than reading, thinking which is evident in Beatty’s line as “More sports for everyone, group spirit, fun, and you don’t have to think, eh? Organize and organize and superorganize super-super sports” (ibid: 54). Furthermore, Clarisse, who has gathered information about the older generations from her uncle, reveals the changing attitude in arts. Clarisse compares the abstract art of that society in which the colored patterns in the musical walls as well as artworks in museums are abstract to the older ones in which “pictures said things or even showed *people*” (ibid: 28).

In addition to the cultural ISA, the educational ISA plays a significant role in the construction of the dominant ideology. The educational ISA is an apparatus Althusser explicates with a special emphasis: “In this concert, one ideological State apparatus certainly has the dominant role, although hardly anyone lends an ear to its music: it is so silent! This is the School (Althusser 1971: 155).” According to Althusser, the factor that distinguishes the educational ISA from other ISAs is that “no other ideological State

apparatus has the obligatory (and not least, free) audience of the totality of the children in the capitalist social formation, eight hours a day for five or six days out of seven (ibid: 156)". Considering the time devoted to the school, the educational ISA makes a vital contribution to the dominant ideology. The school which "teaches 'know-how', but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its 'practice'" (ibid: 133) is a powerful medium to construct subjects who would serve the dominant ideology. Althusser explicates the function of the school as follows:

It takes children from every class at infant-school age, and then for years, the years in which the child is most 'vulnerable', squeezed between the family State apparatus and the educational State apparatus, it drums into them, whether it uses new or old methods, a certain amount of 'know-how' wrapped in the ruling ideology (French, arithmetic, natural history, the sciences, literature) or simply the ruling ideology in its pure state (ethics, civic instruction, philosophy) (ibid: 155).

How the educational ISA contributes to the formation of ideology is strikingly exemplified in the imaginary world of *Fahrenheit 451*. In order to understand this relation between the educational ISA and ideology, Clarisse's commentaries on the school system of that society should be evaluated. When Montag asks Clarisse why she does not go to school, Clarisse explains the school system, in which she is unwilling to be involved, as "An hour of TV class, an hour of basketball or baseball or running, another hour of transcription history or painting pictures, and more sports, but do you know, we never ask questions, or at least most don't; they just run the answers at you, bing, bing, bing, and us sitting there for four more hours of film-teacher (Bradbury 2012: 27)." With respect to Clarisse's expressions, fostering critical thinking in the classroom by helping the students develop skills of questioning and reasoning is not among the targets of that educational system. This system is even devoid of courses such as science, literature, ethics or philosophy because the ruling ideology seeks to have citizens who do not think or question. Along with Clarisse, Beatty provides information on how the content of the educational system is altered: "School is shortened, discipline relaxed, philosophies, histories, languages dropped, English and spelling gradually neglected, finally almost completely ignored (ibid: 53)". As a result of this change in the curriculum, the graduates' profiles and the approach of the society to intellectuality

change as well. In Beatty's words, "with school turning out more runners, jumpers, racers, tinkers, grabbers, snatchers, fliers, and swimmers instead of examiners, critics, knowers, and imaginative creators, the word 'intellectual,' of course, became the swear word it deserved to be" (ibid: 55). Thus, the educational ISA evidently serves the dominant ideology by maintaining a platform hostile to thinking, reading and questioning.

According to Althusser, "the Church has been replaced today *in its role as the dominant Ideological State Apparatus* by the School. It is coupled with the Family just as the Church was once coupled with the Family" (ibid: 157). The institution of family in *Fahrenheit 451* forms a perfect couple with the institution of education to ensure the power of working ideology. In order to support the operation of the educational ISA, the family is structured in a manner in which the emotions of love and attachment among family members are replaced by alienation and disintegration. The ideological formation of the family institution, as represented in the relationship between Montag and Mildred, is dominantly shaped by estrangement, symbolized in their cold and dark bedroom and "open, separate, and therefore cold bed" (Bradbury 2012: 10). Rather than Montag, Mildred is attached to the parlor family on the wall. Commenting on the effect of media as substitutions, Seed articulates that "Millie finds an ersatz intimacy with the 'family' on the screen which contrasts markedly with her relation to Montag. Again and again the dark space of their bedroom is stressed, its coldness and silence; whereas Millie's favourite soap operas keep up a constant hubbub and medley of bright colours" (ibid: 229). Also, Montag's conversations with Mildred's friends highlight the popular approach to the family institution. Mrs. Phelps who considers children as "ruinous" advocates that "no one in his right mind, the Good Lord knows; would have children" (ibid: 92). Mrs. Bowles, the only mother among them says "I plunk the children in school nine days out of ten. I put up with them when they come home three days a month; it's not bad at all. You have them into the 'parlour' and turn the switch. It's like washing clothes; stuff laundry in and slam the lid" (ibid: 92-3). Therefore, the ideal values attributed to the family institution disappear and the children's growth and subjection are maintained via the school (the educational ISA) and even the televisor (the communications ISA).

The change in the family institution is probably for eliminating the risk that the family institution poses for the ideology of that social formation. Clarisse and her family stands for an older generation in which familial

values were significant and the members were emotionally attached to each other. Clarisse, just like the old times, was brought up by the family not by the numbing TV screen or the school system devoid of critical thought. Clarisse, who was brought up by family members believing in responsibility, proudly states that she was spanked if needed (ibid: 27). Clarisse's family stands as the binary opposition of Mildred and her friends who represent the family ISA working for the dominant ideology. The existence of Clarisse's family indicates that the family institution is not totally restructured according to the dominant ideological pattern; that's why the firemen has a record on her family watching them carefully (ibid: 56). Beatty explains how a figure like Clarisse exists in that social formation despite the repressive and ideological state apparatuses working efficiently in these significant words: "Heredity and environment are funny things. You can't rid yourselves of all the odd ducks in just a few years. The home environment can undo a lot you try to do at school. That's why we've lowered the kindergarten age year after year until now we're almost snatching them from the cradle (ibid)." This remark is a potent illustration of how the state or the power shaping the ideology ("we" in Beatty's words) is planning the use of the ideological state apparatuses for its own benefits. Intentionally, the educational ISA is programmed to be strengthened in order to compensate for the cases in which the family ISA fails. The construction of the family ISA would take a longer time; however, "they" have their tactics such as bombarding subjects with substitute parlor families and lowering the school age and alienating family members to each other. If there are cases like Clarisse in which this new family ISA and the educational ISA fail, then repressive state apparatus takes the floor and "watch them carefully" (ibid). Therefore, both the repressive and ideological state apparatuses work in full capacity to eliminate the possibilities that would risk the ideological construction.

Similar to the family ISA, in which alienation and indifference reign, the dynamics in the political ISA of *Fahrenheit 451* rests on the policy of depoliticization rather than the dominance of a political system or parties. This social formation "is a consumer culture completely divorced from political awareness" (Seed 1994: 228). The recurrent background noise of passing bombers suggests a "total separation of political action from everyday life" (ibid). Mildred and her friend's conversations on the politics regarding the presidential election epitomize the shallowness of the debate since it revolves around the candidates' outlook rather

than their political campaigns. This indifference to politics is evidently an outcome of the ruling ideology which is mostly obvious in Beatty's following lines:

If you don't want a man unhappy politically, don't give him two sides to a question to worry him; give him one. Better yet, give him none. Let him forget there is such a thing as war. If the Government is inefficient, top-heavy, and tax-mad, better it be all those than that people worry over it. Peace, Montag. Give the people contests they win by remembering the words to more popular songs or the names of state capitals or how much corn Iowa grew last year. Cram them full of non-combustible data, chock them so damned full of 'facts' they feel stuffed, but absolutely 'brilliant' with information. Then they'll feel they're thinking, they'll get a sense of motion without moving. And they'll be happy, because facts of that sort don't change. Don't give them any slippery stuff like philosophy or sociology to tie things up with (Bradbury 2012: 58).

The political ISA is based on the policy of depoliticization in which subjects are made indifferent to issues such as war, governmental policies, and taxation. Instead of political ideas or debates, subjects are offered what Bradbury calls "factoids" through televisions. In this society, thus, the political ISA with its policy of indifference works along with the communications ISA presenting people facts instead of politics, sociology or philosophy.

Fahrenheit 451 provides a potent example of how repressive and ideological state apparatuses function together in order to serve the dominant ideology. According to Althusser, ideology, other than its ideal or spiritual existence, has a material existence, since it exists in apparatuses and their practices (1971: 165-6). The operation of repressive and ideological apparatuses in the fictional world of *Fahrenheit 451* illustrates this material existence of ideology. Related to this materiality, Althusser defines his theory of subjectivation, commenting that state apparatuses operate in order to construct subjects in a society.

3. Interpellation

In relation to the state apparatuses, Althusser's theory of ideology encompasses an evaluation of subject. Ideology and the ideological state apparatuses function properly due to the process of interpellation in which the individuals become subjects. Althusser calls attention to the pattern of double constitution of subject and ideology stating that "*the category of the subject is only constitutive of all ideology insofar as all ideology has the function (which defines it) of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects*" (1971: 171). This function of ideology to recruit subjects among individuals or to transform individuals into subjects is "hailing" or "interpellation" (ibid: 174). Althusser explains the way ideology interpellates subjects in an exemplary theoretical scene in which a commonplace everyday police hails to an individual as, "Hey you there" in the street and the hailed individual turns around (ibid). Althusser emphasizes that "by this mere one-hundred-and-eighty-degree physical conversion, he becomes a *subject*" (ibid). The difference between the two words "individual" and "subject" is significant since an individual becomes a subject in the hands of ideology.

Furthermore, Althusser asserts that individuals are always-already interpellated or always-already subjects, even before being born. This is exemplified in the operation of the family ideology which ensures that the child will bear its father's name (ibid: 176-7). Also, individuals are interpellated as subjects in relation to a "Unique and Absolute Subject" and this structure of ideology is specular: it has a mirror-structure and this mirror duplication is "constitutive of all ideology and ensures its functioning" (ibid: 180). Althusser summarizes the duplicate mirror-structure of ideology in a quadruple system. Primarily, individuals are interpellated as subjects and then they become subject to the Subject (ibid: 181). In the third step, subjects and Subject mutually recognize each other which is followed by the final step in which subjects are given the guarantee that everything will be all right if they recognize what they are and behave accordingly (ibid).

Montag is a subject interpellated by the dominant ideology that demands an anti-intellectual consumerist social formation. The novel opens with the depiction of how Montag delights in working for the repressive state apparatus.

It was a pleasure to burn.

IT was a special pleasure to see things eaten, to see things blackened and changed. With the brass nozzle in his fists, with this great python spitting its venomous kerosene upon the world, the blood pounded in his head, and his hands were the hands of some amazing conductor playing all the symphonies of blazing and burning to bring down the tatters and charcoal ruins of history (Bradbury 2012: 1).

Montag, described “in a fit of orgasm” (Zipes 2008: 5), spreads the burning liquid as a talented conductor and such a destructive force is resembled to a musical composition. Montag who thoroughly identifies with his job is depicted as “close to being a pyromaniac” (Eller and Touponce 2004: 93). Obviously, the opening lines of the novel shows, on the one hand, how a proud man, celebrating his service for the dominant ideology, Montag is. On the other hand, Bradbury’s choice of a passive voice for the description of such a scene reveals a significant point about his subjection. The passive voice which is “a sentence structure that denies that any subject has agency, or the power to act” constructs “Montag as representative of all firemen, anonymous, focused on the pleasure inherent in the process of destroying books, houses, and people” (Reid 2008: 74). In this passive construction, Montag is placed “in the position of a spectator rather than an agent” (Seed 1994: 236). The opening paragraph of the novel implicates Montag’s identity as a passive subject constructed by the dominant ideology instead of an active individual.

Montag’s characterization epitomizes the notion of not only interpellation but also recognition in the Althusserian analysis of duplicate mirror-structure of ideology. This opening scene of book burning further includes the description that “he knew that when he returned to the firehouse, he might wink at himself, a minstrel man, burnt-corked, in the mirror” (Bradbury 2012: 2). This image of winking in the mirror is of utmost importance since it is an impressive illustration of the subject’s recognition of himself. Later, Bradbury uses similar mirror imagery, this time extending the specular function to all firemen: “Had he ever seen a fireman that didn’t have black hair, black brows, a fiery face, and a blue-steel shaved but unshaved look? These men were all mirror-images of himself (ibid: 30)!”. Montag, as an interpellated subject who is proud of his subjection also recognizes other subjects in the specular structure of ideology. These firemen are identical to each other since they are all recruited as subjects,

recognize their subjection and probably believe that everything will be alright if they recognize what they are and behave accordingly.

In the quadruple system of Althusserian interpellation, the subjects work by themselves: the good subjects “who are inserted into practices governed by the rituals of ISAS” “work all right ‘all by themselves’, i.e. by ideology,” with the exception of bad subjects “who on occasion provoke the intervention of one of the detachments of the (repressive) State apparatus” (1971: 181). *Fahrenheit 451* is based on the protagonist’s change from a good subject to a bad subject. The novel which begins with the depiction of a proud interpellated subject develops into a pattern in which this subject happens to question his private and professional lives when he encounters different mirrors to look at.

Undoubtedly, Clarisse is the most significant catalyst figure. Even in their first encounter on the street, “[Montag] saw himself in her eyes” (Bradbury 2012: 5). Later, Montag resembles Clarisse’s face to a clock “seen faintly in a dark room in the middle of a night when you waken to see the time and see the clock telling you the hour and the minute and the second, with a white silence and a glowing” (ibid: 8). This clock gives information about the time but it also glows in the darkness. This image of enlightenment is further emphasized in the lines that “[the clock] has to tell of the night passing swiftly on toward further darkneses but moving also toward a new sun” (ibid: 8). Clarisse’s effect on Montag is illuminating for sure, a fact obvious in her name which “suggests light, clarity, and illumination” (Zipes 2008: 6). Having gathered information about the older generations in which the repressive and ideological apparatuses operated in a different manner, Clarisse leads Montag to question the time with her ideas about nature, love, school, family, etc. However, her role is much more significant since she initiates a questioning of not only the time but also Montag’s consciousness. This fact is most obvious in the lines that follow the metaphor of clock: “‘What?’ asked Montag of that other self, the subconscious idiot that ran babbling at times, quite independent of will, habit, and conscience. He glanced back at the wall. How like a mirror, too, her face. Impossible; for how many people did you know that refracted your own light to you (Bradbury 2012: 8)?”. Clarisse becomes a mirror displaying Montag’s hidden subconscious. “Clarisse does not interpret or offer suggestions ... Like a mirror, Clarisse guilelessly reflects the truth into Montag’s eyes (McGiveron 1998: 284)”. Montag “is unconscious of his own history and the forces acting on him. Clarisse infers that his consciousness

has been stunted by the two-hundred-foot-long billboards, the parlour walls, races, and fun parks” (Zipes 2008: 6). In contrast to the ideological mirror in which the subject recognizes his/her subjection, Clarisse provides a mirror reflection through which Montag questions his subjection to the dominant ideology and begins to explore an “other self” within him.

Montag’s questioning of ideology and of his subjection is illustrated by a depiction of his divided body. When Clarisse comments that he is different from other firemen and such a profession does not fit him, Montag “felt his body divide itself into a hotness and a coldness, a softness and a hardness, a trembling and a not trembling, the two halves grinding one upon the other” (Bradbury 2012: 21). This division which signals his discomfort as an interpellated subject working for the repressive state apparatus is followed by the scenes in which he loses control of his body or becomes sick. One of the incident which leads Montag to be troubled with his job is the burning operation in the old woman’s house. The woman spoils the burning ritual by refusing to leave the house and make Montag’s job more than a “janitorial work” in which “there was nothing to tease your conscious” (ibid: 34). Instead of leaving, the woman prefers death and “matters become especially rough when his assignments cause him to go from burning books to burning people” (Smolla 2009: 898). His crisis of conscience which is triggered by such events is elaborated in his inability to control his body. His hand which used to set fire like a conductor playing symphony starts to act on its own. The thief stealing the books in the old woman’s house is not Montag; the thief is his hands “with a brain of its own, with a conscience and a curiosity in each trembling finger” (ibid: 35). When Montag returns home after they set the woman and the house on fire, he feels his body as being infected:

So it was the hand that started it all. He felt one hand and then the other work his coat free and let it slump to the floor. He held his pants out into an abyss and let them fall into darkness. His hands had been infected, and soon it would be his arms. He could feel the poison working up his wrists and into his elbows and his shoulders, and then the jump-over from shoulder-blade to shoulder-blade like a spark leaping a gap. His hands were ravenous. And his eyes were beginning to feel hunger, as if they must look at something, anything, everything (ibid: 38).

His submissive subjection is threatened by this symbolic poison infecting primarily his hand and then spreading to his whole body and “the displaced hunger of his other limbs suggests a desire that will take him out of that dominant ideology” (Seed 235). Upon his return from the old woman’s house, his desire to read the books he has stolen is accompanied with that infection; he has chills and fever and he is sick for the first time in his life. “A period of convalescence ensues during which the ‘fever’ develops in terms of his search for new values” (Eller and Touponce 2004: 95). An uncontrolled movement in a sick body appears again when Montag kills Beatty with his hands. This murder is described as “Thinking back later he could never decide whether the hands or Beatty’s reaction to the hands gave him the final push toward murder” (Bradbury 2012: 113).

The depictions of Montag’s divided body, uncontrolled body parts and sickness all convey his transformation from a docile subject into an active agent. His change is evaluated as a “crisis of conscience,” (Smolla 2009: 898), a “physical and psychological journey” (Watt 1980: 199), “consciousness raising” (Johnson 2000: 64) or “coming to consciousness” (Huntington 1982: 136). In this paper, this change is evaluated as the reverse pattern of Althusserian hailing: once provided with different mirrors, the subject becomes an individual. Such an optimistic view of a possible resistance to the interpellating ideology in *Fahrenheit 451* is not that apparent in Althusser’s framework in which the ideological process of recruiting subjects among individuals starts even before an individual is born. Althusser has been denounced for displaying a hopeless view of change or resistance against the dominant ideology constantly hailing to its members through its apparatuses. For instance, Fiske comments that “Gramsci’s theory makes social change appear possible, Marx’s makes it inevitable, and Althusser’s improbable” (1990: 178). He has also been criticized for employing a functionalist approach in which ideology functions to reproduce capitalism (Eagleton 1991: 146-8; Fairclough 1991: 115; Hall 1985: 99; Wolff 2005: 227-8). Wolff asserts that Althusser’s logic should be extended in a way that, “the contradictions and tensions among as well as within the different class structures would flow into the ISAs, thereby further complicating the contradictory interpellations of individuals” (2005: 227). Keizer criticizes Althusser’s theory for failing “to account for resistance that is produced differently, through the conflict between profoundly divergent ideologies” (1999: 116). In addition, Hall explicates that “when you ask about the contradictory

field of ideology, about how the ideology of the dominated classes gets produced and reproduced, about the ideologies of resistance, of exclusion, of deviation, etc., there are no answers in this essay” (Hall 1985: 99).

Even though Althusser has been criticized for employing a functionalist approach and failing to examine the dynamics of resistance in such social formations, there are few sentences in which Althusser comments on the possibility of resistance. The lines in which Althusser compares the ideological state apparatuses with the repressive state apparatuses are meaningful from this perspective. According to Althusser, “the class (or class alliance) in power cannot lay down the law in the ISAs as easily as it can in the (repressive) State apparatus” (1971: 147). There are two reasons for this relative difficulty of exerting power on the ISAs: firstly, “the former ruling classes are able to retain strong positions there for a long time” (ibid) and secondly, “the resistance of the exploited classes is able to find means and occasions to express itself there, either by the utilization of their contradictions, or by conquering combat positions in them in struggle” (ibid). In these lines, the ideological state apparatuses emerge as an arena of either the former ruling class or the exploited class which would enable resistance and struggle. Furthermore, in contrast to the repressive state apparatuses which “constitutes an organized whole,” the ideological state apparatuses are “multiple, distinct, ‘relatively autonomous’ and capable of providing an objective field to contradictions” (ibid: 149). Relating the practice of the ideological state apparatuses to a concert which is dominated by the score of the ideology of the current ruling class, Althusser notes that this concert is occasionally disturbed by contradictions (those of the remnants of former ruling classes, those of the proletarians and their organizations) (ibid: 154). In this respect, despite their infrequency, the words “resistance,” “struggle” and “contradictions” appear in Althusser’s theory and the possibility of a resistance is at the hands of the former ruling class or the proletariat.

Then Althusser basically comments that the ideological state apparatuses are relatively more suitable for struggle and contradictions since the proletariat or remnants of the former ruling class can find positions in these institutions. The idea of resistance to the dominant ideology is seen in a different pattern in *Fahrenheit 451* because the ideological state apparatuses are also subject to pressure and strict control. Neither the intellectuals such as Faber, the old woman and the band of book memorizers nor people like Clarisse and his family who have information about older

generations in which the cultural, family, communications and educational ISAs worked differently can find place in any ideological state apparatuses. They cannot occupy position in an ideological state apparatus, so they are unable to resist in such an institution.

Montag's earlier form of resistance is in the form of an attack to the repressive state apparatus: he kills Beatty — the representative of the repressive state apparatus and plants books in firemen's houses and sends in alarms. In a dialogue with Granger, Montag regrets what he has done and evaluates it as "blindness"; Granger responds: "Carried out on a national scale, it might have worked beautifully (Bradbury 2012: 145)". Once Montag flees from city to wilderness and meets the book-memorizing intellectuals, the way he challenges the dominant ideology and his subjection changes. Instead of an aggressive attack to the repressive state apparatuses, Montag becomes a part of a team that works on the reproduction of knowledge that would render the formation of a new set of ideological state apparatuses in the future. These men are "all bits and pieces of history and literature and international law, Byron, Tom Paine, Machiavelli or Christ" (ibid). At the end of the novel, as the war ends in the city, these men walk through the city carrying a new sketch of ideological apparatuses in their heads through which they can reshape and reformulate the society.

The theme of rebuilding finds its most elegant form in the metaphor of the Phoenix — the mythical bird that springs out of its ashes every time he burns himself up, as explained by Granger (ibid). In the beginning of the novel, the Phoenix emerges as a sign embroidering the firemen's clothing. Musing on the link between the image of Phoenix and Beatty, Sisario comments that "appropriately, Beatty is burned to death, and his death by fire symbolically illustrates the rebirth that is associated with his Phoenix sign. When Guy kills Beatty, he is forced to run off and joins Granger; this action is for Guy a rebirth to a new intellectual life" (Sisario 1970: 202). At the end of the novel, in Granger's words, the Phoenix becomes an emblem of hope for renewal. For Granger, humanity is acting like the Phoenix; the hope resides in the one single contrast between humanity and the Phoenix: "We know all the damn silly things we've done for a thousand years, and as long as we know that and always have it around where we can see it, some day we'll stop making the goddam funeral pyres and jumping into the middle of them. We pick up a few more people that remember, every generation (Bradbury 2012: 156)." If humanity is not devoid of its culture,

history and literature and if this cultural heritage flows into the ideological state apparatuses, maybe the humanity will learn from his mistakes and stop jumping in the middle of fires.

In contrast to the Phoenix, the book-memorizing people are remembering and for Granger remembering is where they “will win out in the long run” (ibid: 157). Granger says “we’re going to go build a mirror-factory first and put out nothing but mirrors for the next year and take a long look in them” (ibid). These people play the role of providing another mirror that allows subjects to see their background, showing them this entire heritage on literature, religion, philosophy and law that they have memorized. The novel ends in a reference to the book of Ecclesiastes, the piece that Montag chooses to remember, “*on either side of the river was there a tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; And the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations*” (ibid: 158). Montag together with his comrades will heal the nation forming a new ideological structure. In a new ideological formation, the cultural heritage of humanity would promote the cultural state apparatuses, enabling at least a more liberating subjection to the ruling ideology in which the subjects are aware of their own history. The city that is ruined by a devastating war would be reshaped according to a new set of ideological state apparatuses. Other than the mirror in which subjects retain their subjection, there is a hope for various mirrors through which subjects can shape their subjection according to a new set of ideological state apparatuses reformulated by a new ruling ideological power.

To conclude, Althusser’s examination of the material existence of ideology is a significant contribution to understanding how ideology is practiced by the dominant power to construct subjects in social formations. Althusser adds the ideological state apparatuses to the repressive state apparatuses in the Marxist thinking and emphasizes the role of the ideological state apparatuses to recruit good subjects that behave according to the ruling ideology. In *Fahrenheit 451*, the repressive state apparatus represented by the firemen works hand in hand with the ideological state apparatuses to form a hedonist, consumerist and anti-intellectual society. The cultural ISA lies at the core of anti-intellectualism since reading and keeping books are forbidden. This cultural decline is explained as a consequence of not a state policy but people’s gradual reluctance for reading, the emergence of technological devices and minority pressure. Primarily, humanity becomes hostile to intellectualism but then following that cultural decline, the

authoritarian government takes the floor and forbids reading and these few people who want to read are arrested. If they refuse, they are burnt together with the books they keep. The communications ISA operates only to entertain or to lead people for consumption and the people are numbed by the programs broadcasted on huge TVs. The educational ISA is programmed in order to recruit subjects who are not motivated to read, think, question and learn. The family institution is structured in a way that the couples are indifferent to each other; people become attached to the substitute parlor families instead of the real ones. In the field of politics, there is an explicit policy of depoliticisation through which people become unconcerned with governmental policies, taxation and war.

There is not a totalitarian ruler such as the Big Brother in *1984*; the character that holds the highest position in this totalitarian structure is Beatty who is the chief of the repressive state apparatus. The information about who rules this totalitarian society is not in the book. However, how the repressive and ideological apparatuses are used in order to construct subjects in concordance with the way the dominant ideology wants is strikingly evident. That is why Althusser's theory on ideology provides a fresh glance at understanding Bradbury's fictive world. Through the use of state apparatuses, the characters of the novel are subjectivised according to the norms of that authoritarian society. Montag who emerges as the interpellated subject becomes an individual when he meets the people who are or know the remnants of an older generation living in another ideological structure in which, reading, questioning, thinking, caring and loving were appreciated. Montag overrules this subjection and becomes an individual or transforms from a good subject to a bad subject who would be punished by the repressive state apparatuses. However, after killing Beatty and sending false alarms for some firemen, Montag manages to escape from the repressive state apparatus and flees to the wilderness. There he meets book-memorizing intellectuals and as the war devastates the city, they begin walking to reconstruct the society probably according to a new set of ideological state apparatuses. Unlike Althusser's always-already interpellated subject who is unlikely to change, Montag and the other intellectuals manage to circumvent the subjectivation tactics of the ruling ideology. Their knowledge would be used to reconstruct the society in which the ideological apparatuses or the institutions such as school and family or the means such as TV, media and press would give individuals the chance to learn about their history. In this new social formation, inevitably

there would be a program of subjectivation according to a new dominant ideology, but the hope is in the freedom given to humanity to learn from its cultural, literary, philosophical and historical heritage.

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Еврим Ерсоз Коц

ПОЈЕДИНАЦ И ДРЖАВА: ИДЕОЛОГИЈА; ДРЖАВНИ АПАРАТИ
И ИНТЕРПЕЛАЦИЈА У РОМАНУ *ФАРЕНХАЈТ 451*

Сажетак

У роману *Фаренхајт 451* (1953) Реј Бредбери слика ауторитарно друштвено устројство у коме строго забрањено читање и држање књига. Главни јунак Монтаг који ради као спаљивач књига одједном почиње да преиспитује свој позив и доминантну анти-интелектуалну идеологију. Након периода психичке кризе Монтаг испољава неверицу у државни апарат и успева да побегне у непознати крај где упознаје групу људи који желе да реконструишу друштво оспособивши људе да сазнају нешто о свом културном наслеђу кроз књиге које су кришом запамтили. У овом есеју аутор уз примену Алтузерове теорије идеологије реинтерпретира Бредберијево имагинарно друштво сагледавајући функционисање државних апарата који су замишљени тако да грађабе усмере у правцу владајуће идеологије, као и мотив отпора овом снажом идеолошком императиву.

Кључне речи: Бредбери, *Фаренхајт 451*, Алтузер, идеологија, државни апарати, интерпелација