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***THE POLITICS OF PROTEST IN
CHARLES DICKENS' HARD TIMES***

Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in LITERATURE AND CIVILIZATION.

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2021/2022

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation entitled “The Analysis of Political Protest in Charles Dickens's *Hard Times*” is my own work and all the sources I have quoted have been acknowledged by means of references.

DEDICATION

I dedicate my work to myself, to my family, to my supervisor. Especially and without forgetting, I dedicate this work to all the protesters of the world who spoke over a thousand oppressed voices. Those who tried to reveal the truth, who wrote or protested with any other means for change, to create a better version of an ugly truth.

Signature

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, all thanks and glory go to Allah, the Almighty, the most Merciful and most Charitable, who is the source for our strength and patience to accomplish this work.

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Ghafsi, for providing invaluable guidance throughout this research. His penetrating comments and intellectual guidance helped me a lot in sharpening my research project and bringing it to fulfillment.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the examination panel as well as the president. Your precious comments will greatly improve my work.

Finally, I want to express my profound gratitude to my family for being there with me whenever I needed them, for their unlimited support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis. Thank you.

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General Introduction

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Rationale:

The choice of Dickens' *Hard Times* is advocated by the fact that it is considered as a classic example of dystopian fiction. It embodies the deplorable industrial society exerted by the political and economic elites. Therefore, this literary work is deemed a fine example that helps achieve the purpose of this research, the aftermaths of political issues are evident in this literary work. In addition, this literary work embodied the pinnacle aspect of the relationship between literature and politics. Lastly, the novel also reflects the theory of Karl Marx as it portrays the issues related to Marxist motions that are based especially on society, labor, working classes and social class struggle and oppression of capitalism.

When the search for protest novels and stories began, many titles recommended from Atticus Finch's attitudes to class and race in Harper Lee to *Kill Mockingbird* to Bernard Marx's dissatisfaction with the world order in *Brave New World*. The first novel depicts a futuristic world within whose controllers have created an ideal society and a rigid social order genetic engineering brainwashing. Bernard Marx alone remains dissatisfied and longing to break free. The second tells a coming-of-age story of a black man changed by raping a white woman and how this event shapes their lives and their own understanding of race and prejudice.

While research continued online on more fiction dystopias, we came across "*V For Vendetta*" by Alan Moore, the story takes place in futuristic totalitarian England, following a nuclear war, fascism, surveillance rule portrays a man in a white porcelain mask strikes back against the oppressive overlords on behalf of the voiceless.

2. Literature Review:

Political protest involves attempts by individuals to address injustices within the political system in a specific period of time. Political protest takes various forms, including literary writings, artistic works, newspaper articles, magazine

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articles and demonstrations. It is important to note that political protest can be as individual. An example is when the French novelist Emile Zola (1840 - 1902) stood up during the Dreyfus Affair writing " j'accuse " a letter published in *Clemenceau* newspaper on January 13, 1898 to protest against the political establishment that aligned (Encyclopedia Britannica, 9 Mar. 2016). On the other hand, political protest can be an outcome of colonisation leading to the foundation of national and anti-colonial movements such as what happened in Africa, Asia, and America. The latter experienced the appearance of the civil rights movement which asked for equality between the whites and the blacks.

Many intellectuals fell victims of oppression as their works criticise autocratic regimes. These intellectuals have been inspired by the literature of protest. Throughout history, several writers such as The Asian-American Susan Choi, Sunil Yapa, Jimi Han, Jhumpa Lahiri; the Russian Doris Paternak; the Kenyan Ngugi Wa Thiong'o and more other authors and thinkers face persecution and even death for daring to speak out against totalitarian rulers but their persistence has served as an example for those seeking change.

If we contemplate human achievement in the field of creativity, we can consider all its manifestations for good or against evil. Artists' primitive aesthetic expressions including songs such as those dealing with goodness and beauty or material or spiritual productions tend to raise flags of glory and slogans of glorification but also shout in the face of evil and ugliness by raising slogans of condemnation.

If we look at poetry from the beginning of its inception until today, we will find it consistent with that previous interpretation, it is either an expression of a beautiful view or a virtue as in praise, or it is a voice as a satire, exposure and other methods of saying that condemn the negative manifestations in human life. When Pablo Neruda published his first collection of poems at the age nineteen, he won the Nobel Prize in literature. He used his prize in rescuing two thousand

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refugees. The fact that led to his imprisonment for three years in political exile (Encyclopedia Britannica, 19 Sep. 2021). Neruda was one of the most celebrated poets of the twentieth century. In one of his accessible and controversial poems, which was originally written in Spanish, often uses straightforward language and talk about everyday's experiences to create a lasting impact on readers (Farrar, Straus and Giroux 344). In 1936, while Neruda was working at the consulate in Madrid. Civil War broke out and the government was overthrown by a fascist military dictatorship. Neruda organized an evacuation of refugees from Spain to Chile saving 2000 lives. Over a period of twenty years, Neruda captured his experiences abroad in a three volume poetry titled "Residence On Earth" (1973), many of these poems were experimental and surreal feelings of longing with discussion of political strife while the poet's responsibility was to speak out against injustice (Neruda 1-352).

In the modern era, with the drowning of the renaissance and the spread of rights of peoples, protest spread out and is now openly revealed. Many poets such as Maya Angelou, Denise Levertov, Claude McKay and many more other poets and writers use their pens to protest and in act against social injustices and political oppressions. The Libyan Hicham Matar's family which spent his much time in Tripoli was forced to flee the Revathi regime in 1990. Matar's father who was a political dissident was kidnapped in Cairo and remains missing until the date we are writing this dissertation (Riz Khan 0:00-25:00, 2011). In *In the Country of Men* (1992), which recounts the story of the former Libyan Colonel Moamar Gaddafi's 1969 September Revolution from the eyes of a nine old boy, Matar portrays the anxieties suffered by a child exposed to the dangers and deceits of politics under a brutal regime.

The famous German theater practitioner, playwright, and poet Bertolt Brecht (born February 10, 1898, Augsburg, Germany—died August 14, 1956, East Berlin) believed that political power cannot seize creative works as it does with factories (McLellan 1-2). Politicians and military leaders cannot seize forms

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of literary expression as permits are seized. This suggests that literature derives its authority from the power of circulation and appreciation as well as its discourse authority.

The Neo-Marxists believe that intellectuals' immersion in the upper structure of the state deprives them of their independence. This means that intellectuals are no longer a member of the middle or even working class but rather a wage-earner belonging to the proletariat (Lenin 17).

Protest literature often disturbs politicians especially when writers write about themes of freedom and political change. One good example is the famous American activist and politician Martin Luther King whose saying: "I have a dream" played a paramount role in changing the history of the blacks in America (King Jr. Martin, in intolerance of his father's famous speech, which was given on (Martin Luther King, Jr , in 1963).

Along with King, many writers preoccupied themselves with challenging politics. One striking example is Charles Dickens who in his famous novel, *A Tale of Two Cities*, came as an expression of the conflict between French bourgeoisie and working classes who revolted against the ruling system. It can be said that the writer can be the seed for a long-awaited change.

When Dickens's *Hard Times* was published in 1854, it generated considerable critical interest in the field of literature. Michel Faber in his book review entitled "My Favorite Dickens: *Hard Times*" in *The Guardian* " (1978) asserts that:

In 1978, when I was 17 and in my first year at university, I read approximately 3,500 pages of Dickens. I've not revisited any of his novels in the 34 years since, except *A Christmas Carol* and *Hard Times*. When I was 17 in my first year at university, I read approximately 3500 pages of Dickens, I have not revisited any of his novels in the 34 years since, except *Christians* and *Hard Times* (Faber 1).

Faber continues that the novel's events took place in Manchester rather than Dickens's usual London. According to Faber, *Hard Times* tackles politics in an

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uncharacteristically rigorous fashion which helped bringing the novel closer to Disraeli's *Sybil* than *Pickwick Papers* (1).

In another review on Amazon *Hard Times* book review, Thomas Callahan refers to *Hard Times* as "very good and engaging at all times. In fact, this was Dickens's answer to Adam Smith. He posits that compassion and understanding are as important for good life as acting in one's own self interest. He mocks the idea that responds only to self interest" (Callahan 2). Callahan concluded: "I recommend this book highly. You can never go wrong with Dickens!" (2).

Not all reviews were so positive about *Hard Times*. M. Down writes: "There is in some ways a lack of depth in the understanding of Dickens with regards to the actual political landscape and a lack of deeper psychology, making this weak in places and a bit poor on the depth and characterization of the main characters." In *New York Times* Books Review, Daniel M. Gold notes: "*Hard Times* does not make any lists of Charles Dickens's best novels it's too preachy, too harsh in its vision of a society that trades joy individuality for materialism and mass production." (M. Gold 3)

Hard Times generated a lot of interest. It has always met with divided opinions. Although some found *Hard Times* not the best of Dickens' works, many critics found much to applaud in the novel.

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3. Significance of the study:

By referring to the socioeconomic political theory of Karl Marx, this dissertation examines the political power of literature. The thesis also shows that literature seeks to provide a contemporary discussion of literary works as a social and political protest. This will be done on the basis that a complete understanding of the novel creates the comprehension that should be regarded as both a political protest and a warning of real-world problems.

4. Research Questions:

The thesis aims to answer the following main question: In what ways *Hard Times* can be seen as a novel of political protest? In other words: What are social and political protest elements in *Hard Times*? This question will be answered by introducing sub-questions: How does the novel portray the political realities during the Victorian era? How does Dickens present political problems resulting from the Industrial Revolution? How are the effects of social problems on Dickens?

5. Thesis structure:

It is noteworthy that Karl Marx theory of Marxism is used in analysing the novel. The dissertation is divided into four chapters. The first one is a general introduction which introduces the readers into the research problem, research questions, literature review and rationale. The second chapter is entitled “Karl Marx theory of Marxism”. The chapter aims at explaining Karl Marx theory which tackles social, political and economic struggle. The third chapter which is entitled “Politics during the Victorian era in literature” discusses key political figures and their concerns. The fourth chapter is entitled “Charles Dickens’ *Hard Times* as a Political Protest”. Unlike the first chapter which examines the Marxist theory, the third chapter is devoted to the analysis of political protest in *Hard Times* with criticism and illustrations.

CHAPTER ONE

Politics in Victorian Britain

Introduction:

The British Victorian era was often labelled as the era of mass politics. The primary goal of British politics during this period was expansion, reformation and improvement. Although England in the late 1830s was still ruled by the royal upper class and workers' conditions were appalling, it did not experience a bloody revolution. It was sufficient for the course of development and many changes took place in England and the massive developments that took place to change the political structure that witnessed important political figures contributed to all of that. This chapter is devoted to discuss key political figures and their concerns. It will be a background on the authority of the Victorian era, which will provide the thesis with an understanding of Victorian politics.

2.1. Victorian Politics:

The Victorian era, as is referred to as the period Reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901), represents a dynamic historical era not only in England but in Europe in general. The latter started after the Renaissance, a period in which the Industrial Revolution in Britain reached its peak before spreading out into Europe and America.

According to many historians like George Malcolm Young (1882 – 1959), Asa Briggs, Baron Briggs (1921 –2016), Judith Flanders and others of the Victorian era marked the beginning of the industrial revolution in the world and the height of the British Empire. Queen Victoria's rule was the longest rule in British history.

The British government under Queen Victoria was a monarchy that also consisted of Parliament. The latter includes the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The two Houses meet separately in two different chambers and pass bills as laws by the majority of votes. However, in order for the bill to be passed, it is necessary for both houses to comment on it. The kings in this period were Queen Victoria (1837 AD - 1901 AD) who was preceded by King George IV (1820 AD - 1830 AD). Also King William IV (1830-1837 AD), King Edward VII (1901-1910 AD) and King George V (1910 - 1936 AD). During the Victorian period, the House of Commons, which is made up of about 600 men, became the centre of government whereas the House of Lords

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lost power (Josef L. Altholz 5) (although it remained influential until the Parliament Act 1911). The monarch became a symbol of the nation.

Victoria was born in Kensington Palace in London on May 24, 1819, and when Victoria's uncle, King William IV, died without an heir, Victoria succeeded him on the throne, and she was crowned queen at Westminster Abbey in 1838, Lord Melbourne was the first Prime Minister in her era and taught her Politics and Governance. ("Victoria". *Encyclopedia Britannica*) (Veldman et al)

In terms of domestic politics, Queen Victoria was well-balanced and had good abilities. However, Britain's strength was mainly due to its qualified Prime Ministers such as Lord Melbourne, Sir Robert Peel, Viscount Palmerston, Benjamin Disraeli, William Gladstone and Marquess of Salisbury("Victorian politics". *Encyclopedia Britannica*). When Queen Victoria gradually realised that in order for the monarchy to survive in Britain, it would be better to give up some of its powers and transfer them to its ministers to dispose of them from within the Legislative Council. Victoria accepted the transformation from a political and executive ruler who has an absolute power into a symbolic ruler.("Victoria". *Encyclopedia Britannica*)

Despite that, Empress Victoria maintained an active role in political life as she participated in decisions' making. Meanwhile, she did not have a declared position on the political parties and forces of the state ("Victoria". *Encyclopedia Britannica*). Historians such as George Malcolm Young , Asa Briggs, Baron Briggs, Judith Flanders and others described the mid-Victorian era during the year "1850-1870" in Britain as the "golden years". The period was characterised by prosperity prosperity and the increase of the national income per capita. The reasons for prosperity are attributed to the increase of industrialization, especially in the field of textiles and machinery as well as the global network of trade and engineering which brought good profits to British merchants, with British exports increasing to various parts of the world, and there was peace abroad "except for the short Crimean War of the year 1854-1856", while social peace prevailed at home (Markovits 559–86).

In terms of foreign policy, the reign of Queen Victoria witnessed the transition of England from the darkness of the Middle Ages to modern civilization as her reign witnessed many important events. As for foreign conflicts, Britain fought the Opium War in the period between (1839 -1842) against China and occupied Hong Kong Island (Bowers and Rick 347). Britain launched the war known as the Crimean War against Russia during the period (1853-1856) and soon there was an outbreak of the Boer War (1899-1902) to protect Britain's interests in South Africa (347).

2.2. Victorian Political Figures and Concerns:

Major political figures of the 19th century in England were Benjamin Disraeli, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, Robert Gascoigne Cecil, William Ewart Gladstone, Archibald Primrose, and William Harcourt (Collini 29–50). They introduced various reforms aimed at strengthening the political independence of the large industrial cities and increasing British participation in the international stage (29–50). Labour movements were recognized and incorporated in order to combat extremism. Both Queen Victoria and Prince Albert favoured improvements in factories.

Queen Victoria, who found Disraeli a trustworthy adviser, approved his policies that helped elevate Britain to the status of a global superpower. In her later years, Queen Victoria's popularity rose to become a symbol of the British Empire. Major new policies included the rapid rule of kings, the abolition of slavery in the West Indies and African possessions, the ending of transporting convicts to Australia, the easing of restrictions on colonial trade, and the introduction of a responsible government.(Harling 80–110)

The English statesman Benjamin Disraeli supported imperialism while opposing free trade. As a leader of the Conservative Party, he served as Prime Minister in 1868 and later from 1874 to 1880. Disraeli was a novelist with a slice Prime Minister and probably one of the major figures of the 19th century in England. Disraeli would have been one of the most famous politicians in England during the reign of Queen Victoria. Disraeli was elected twice as a Prime Minister and he was famous because he is

regarded as a notable novelist . He is someone who is always in the public eye because of his audacity (Bruce 353–69).

Disraeli was born on December 21st 1804 in London. He was the second child and the first son of Isaac Disraeli Sephardic Jew whose father Benjamin had come from the centre near Ferrera in Italy. His Raley's mother whom he appears to have disliked was a vie from a Jewish family that fled Spain after 1492 settling first in Italy and at the end of the 17th century in England. Disraeli's Raley's maternal grandfather was president of the Jewish Board of Deputies in London. Isaac Disraeli, when elected warden of the Marx synagogue, resigned from the congregation rather than pay the fee of 40 pounds and held upon refusal of office he had his four children baptised in the Church of England, Benjamin attended a nonconformist school in 1817 before switching to a unitarian school. He stopped attending school when he was 18 and spent a year at home studying in his father's superb library of 25,000 books. His father was a writer who wrote a collection of anecdotes, the wonders of literature, and other works. Although the book was published anonymously, its authorship soon became known, and Isaac achieved fame. In November 1821, Benjamin was apprenticed for 400 Keeney by his father for two years to a firm of solicitors; he later held this against his father who he declared had never understood him neither in early life when he failed to see him. Benjamin did not feel he had wasted his time, however, because working as a lawyer had given him "great facility with a pen." Encouraged by John Murray Disraeli, he wrote his first book, the crude and juvenile political satire *Albert Papillon*, in 1824. That same year, he began studying for the bar. He also engaged in extensive stock market speculation, he next became involved in a project sponsored by John Murray to publish a daily paper, its failure was complete..His next anonymously published novel, *Vision Grade*, greatly offended Murray, who had been looted in it for 50 years. Later, the novel was still quoted against the Israelis, but he moved in the social world where he pretended to be attacked by the powerful *Blackwood* magazine, explaining his positive and true ambitions. In a novel after stating that it was full of flaws that clearly showed that it wasn't, Contalini Fleming Disraeli wrote: He also continued to write that

Yonsk investigated the current crisis and what he was, and when he sent a copy of the British Constitution's defence to Sir Robert Peel and received confirmation in 1835, he was in that year. He ran for parliament again, but after losing five elections in five years, telling Sir Melbourne that it was his ambition, Disraeli was elected to Kent's Maidstone parliament before becoming prime minister. Shared a double seat with Windham Lewis. In the same year he published his novel *Venice and Henrietta Temple*. In 1839 he spoke on the chorus of his petition and declared the of Labor to be as sacred as the rights of property the same year he married Mrs. Wyndham Lewis, 12 years his senior, his parliamentary colleagues' widow often declared jokingly that he had married for money however when his wife said he would do it again for love. Disraeli was always financially incompetent, in 1840 he bought the estate of Herndon a year later he was 40,000 pounds in debt although his father had paid his debts on three occasions in 1841 he won Shrewsbury and, in 1842 wrote his wife that he found himself without a fort the leader of the party chiefly abused this party was called young England and consisted basically of Disraeli and three of his friends who openly revolted against Peel. In 1842 more than 70 Tories voted with Disraeli against bill and the government was defeated by 33 votes Peel resigned four days later in Queen Victoria sent for Lord John Russell in bringing down Peel just ready nearly wrecked his party in his own career he was in power for only six years out of a parliamentary life of more than 40 and spent longer in a position than any other great British statesman. In his two great political and social novels *Coningsby* (1844) and *Sybil* (1845), Disraeli attacked Peel. In *Tankred* (1845), Disraeli wrote that the Anglican Church was one of the few great things left in England. The three novels have a gaiety a sparkle a cheerful vivacity which carries the reader over their improbabilities and occasional absurdities. Encouraged by John Murray Disraeli, he wrote his first book, the crude and juvenile political satire *Albert Papillon*, in 1824. That same year, he began studying for the bar.

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Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Darby's conservative ministries, was an unlikely candidate to pilot through the Commons the first successful parliamentary reform measure in over thirty years like many in his party Disraeli had shown little interest in electoral reform since entering Parliament in 1837 despite having attempted on three previous occasions to enter the Commons as a radical instead Disraeli became one of the party's most eloquent speakers on the need to defend the monarchy the landed interest and the Anglican Church against rising Democratic pressures in this spirit in 1848 he spoke against the radical MP Joseph Humes little charter of electoral reforms which included household suffrage and the secret ballot Disraeli did however admit that some measure of reform might be necessary in the future when Lord John Russell's attempted reform bills in the early 1850s put the issue back on the agenda for frontbench politicians Disraeli wanted to ensure that the Conservatives were not perceived as unthinking opponents of reform as they had been during the reform crisis of 1832 1832 instead Disraeli wanted the party to seize the initiative and by shaping reform to their advantage reaped the electoral rewards the Conservatives first attempt to do so in 1859 ended in defeat this was largely because their measure did not extend the franchise in the borough's which would have won them opposition votes but the sudden fall of the Liberal Ministry over their own reform bill in 1866 gave the Conservatives another opportunity seeking to outbid the Liberal leadership and secure the votes their minority government needed the Conservative ministry's bill of 1867 made household

suffragette the basis of the borough franchise this was on the surface at least a much bolder proposition than that made by the Liberals the year before meanwhile to keep his own backbenchers on board various safeguards were added to reassure them that the Conservatives would not be disadvantaged by the bill this included shoring up their vote in the county seats and limiting the impact of household suffrage by accompanying it with a two-year residence requirement and the personal payment of rates “I defy any person to show me a measure which the house has passed of a more popular and at the same time of a more conservative character” (Parry 699–728). Disraeli told the Commons on the bills second reading on the 26th of March 1867 “I cannot apprehend that the number that will be admitted within the pale of the Constitution by the scheme which we propose will be so great as to cause any distrust or alarm” (Disraeli 67). However, as Disraeli was forced to accept a string of backbench amendments that weakened or removed his safeguards the Reform Act of 1867 became a far more radical measure than he had intended it enfranchised three times the number that would have gained the vote under Gladstone and Russell's build of 1866 when the country went to the polls in 1868 Disraeli now Prime Minister hoped the Conservatives stood a good chance of reap any electoral dividend as the party that had delivered reform but these hopes too were dashed the Liberals were returned to government with a majority of over a hundred seats despite this short-term setback in the longer term the Reform Act of 1867 combined with the social reforms associated with Disraeli second Ministry of 1874 to 1880 did much to embed the idea of Tory democracy and one nation conservatism that became a potent electoral force in the years to come.

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CHAPTER ONEPolitics in Victorian Britain

David Livingstone led famous expeditions of discovery into Central Africa, which put Britain in a position to positively expand her colonial regime in the Scramble for Africa during the 1880s (Shepperson 2). There were many revolutions and violent conflicts in the British Empire, but no wars with the other major nations. Tensions escalated in South Africa, especially with the discovery of gold. The result was the First Boer War in 1880-1881 and the bitter Second Boer War in 1899-1902. The British eventually prevailed, but they lost prestige at home and abroad.

On the 11th of May 1864, William Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer enrolled Palmerston Liberal government made a speech in the House of Commons on parliamentary reform which created something of a stir “every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal and fitness or of political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Constitution” he declared (Gladstone 46). Many contemporaries including the Prime Minister saw this as an endorsement of universal suffrage but this was not the case Gladstone emphasised that he did not want to see sudden or violent or excessive or intoxicating change and he made it clear that he envisaged giving the vote to only a select portion of the working class but Gladstone this was as much a moral as a political question he argued that the upper portion of the working classes had displayed the qualities required to be given the privilege of the vote he listed these attributes as self command self-control respect for order patients under suffering confidence in the law and regard for superiors mindful of the violent and rest which had preceded the 1832 Reform Act Gladstone urged his fellow MPs that it was better to approach the question at an early date in a calm frame of mind and without having our doors besieged by crowds or our table loaded with petitions Lord Palmerston remained unmoved and the backbench bill that had prompted Gladstone's intervention failed this bill introduced by Edward Baines the Liberal MP for Leeds had proposed to extend the vote in the boroughs to a substantial number of working-class men while Gladstone had not supported Baines's bill two years later in 1866 he and the new prime minister Lord John Russell decided to introduce a government measure for reform this proposed to extend the borough franchise to

include a greater number of respectable working-class men although the bill failed it acted as a vital catalyst for the reform act that was passed by the Conservatives the following year we should not assume though that Gladstone's conversion to reform as it has sometimes been called was inevitable Gladstone began his parliamentary career as the Tory MP for Newark a pocket borough firmly in the hands of the Duke of Newcastle and he later served in serve Robert peels conservative ministries Bloodstones early views and the question of parliamentary reform were influenced by George canning who was Tory MP for Gladstone's native Liverpool and an opponent of change caning had argued in 1823 that the lack of uniformity in the existing electoral system was one of his key strengths like many of their fellow Tories Gladstone and canning feared reform would lead to revolution in 1831 Gladstone even helped organise a petition against the Whig ministry's reform bill by the 1850s however Gladstone's views have begun to change as he drifted towards liberalism becoming keen to settle the question in what he described as a spirit of trust towards the people by the 1860s Gladstone now a prominent figure in the Liberal Party also became increasingly interested and adept at courting public opinion becoming affectionately known as the people's William this was best exemplified in the 1880 election campaign in which Gladstone pioneered modern campaigning tactics, he toured his Midlothian constituency to deliver large-scale public speeches denouncing Disraeli as government that were timed to journalists deadlines to maximise newspaper coverage while the reform bill introduced by Gladstone in 1866 failed and Disraeli seizure the initiative put him on the back foot other important electoral reforms were subsequently passed by Gladstone's administrations these included the introduction of the secret ballot in 1872 a wide-ranging measure in 1883 to tackle bribery and corruption at elections and the third Reform Act of 1884 to 1885 the latter expanded the franchise in the counties and as part of a compromise with the Conservatives redrew Britain's electoral map with an extensive redistribution of seats Gladstone may have been a late adopter of the cause of parliamentary reform but he succeeded where many other reformers had failed in bringing more men than ever within the pale of the Constitution.(Vossen 23)

CHAPTER ONEPolitics in Victorian Britain

By then, The election of James Keir Hardie, first MP for the Labour Representation Committee (precursor of the Labour Party), in 1900, presaged the decline of liberalism and the politics of a new age. ("J. Keir Hardie.") *Encyclopedia Britannica*).

CHAPTER TWO

Karl Marx Marxist Theory

Introduction

Marxist critical theory is one of the most important critical literary theories in the critical study, due to its ability to read reality and its various products. Individuals enter into productive relations, and the sum of these productive relations constitutes the economic structure of society. This chapter presents the theory that we relied on in analysing the research topic.

2.1 Marxist Political Theory - Karl Marx:

Karl Marx (1818–1883) is often treated as a revolutionary, an activist rather than a philosopher, whose works inspired the foundation of many communist regimes in the twentieth century (Jonathan 21). Marxism is a term that enters into sociology, political economy and philosophy. It was named Marxism after the first Marxist theorist Karl Marx, Marx was born in 1818 in Trier, Germany. A German philosopher, economist, journalist and revolutionary who founded the theory of scientific communism jointly with Friedrich Engels, two of the teachers of communism. The two were socialists in thinking, but with the existence of many socialist parties. Marx and Engels singled out socialism as an inevitable development for humanity, according to dialectical logic and with revolutionary tools. The entirety of the works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels was under one name, which is Marxism or scientific communism.

In 1841 Marx hoped to find an academic job as a result of his Ph.D., but he became involved with a group of radical thinkers who lost him any real hope of this happening. With his tendency to work in the field of journalism; Marx quickly became embroiled in political and social problems, and found that he had to put the idea of communism into focus.

Marx wrote a number of books and articles sometimes with his friend Friedrich Engels. : *Critique Of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (1843)*; *1844 Manuscript*; *These On Feuerbach (1845)*; *The Holy Family (1845)*; *The Communist Manifesto (1848)*; *Critique Of The Gotha Program (1875)*. Mostly,

Marx wrote about Capitalism, the type of economy that dominates the western world.

Marx's early writings themes include Marx's philosophical anthropology, history theory, economic analysis, critical engagement with existing capitalist society (raising concerns of morality, ideology, and politics), and forecast of a communist future are among the topics covered by an understanding of alienation, a distinct type of social ill whose diagnosis looks to rest on a controversial account of human nature and its flourishing. He went on to construct an influential theory of history known as historical materialism, which is based on the premise that social structures emerge and collapse as they facilitate and then obstruct the development of human productive power. Marx grew increasingly focused with trying to comprehend the modern capitalist mode of production, which he saw as being driven by a ruthless pursuit of profit, with its origins in the extraction of surplus value from the exploited proletariat. His explanation of ideology, as well as his reflections on it, led to a critique of current capitalist society., as well as his thoughts on how certain widely held beliefs could contribute to the stability of class-divided communities. Marx also elaborated on his contentious views on the contemporary state's nature and role, as well as the relationship between political and economic life. Marx sees history as moving through a sequence of phases of production, each marked by (more or less explicit) class struggle, and ultimately leading humanity to communism. Marx, on the other hand, is famous for being reticent to discuss the specifics of the communist alternative he aspired to establish, saying that it would emerge via historical processes rather than as the result of a predetermined plan or blueprint.

One of Marx's most important philosophical achievements is that he linked materialism with dialectics. For the first time in the history of philosophical thought, he produced dialectical materialism, which Plekhanov later called the concept of dialectical materialism, which is the cornerstone of Marxist philosophy. Marx was not limited to this, but pushed dialectical materialism to

the social field, thus producing historical materialism for us that linked philosophy to history. Marx achieved his other great achievement in the economic field, when he linked political economy to the laws of social development, so the dialectical relationship between theory and practice became the core of Marxist philosophy.

Marxism, as Lenin said, is "the sequel to the doctrines of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism." (Lenin 24).

Marx summarised the great task that his philosophy addressed in the eleventh topic on Feuerbach; "The philosophers did nothing but explain the world in different ways, but the task is to change it." (Marx 45). For the first time in history, socialism changed from "utopia to science" ("*Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*") Marxism gave man a new and coherent conception of the world, and opened the door to the proletariat as the social force qualified to build a world free from exploitation.

Marx "was the first to introduce the concept of practice into the theory of knowledge" (Suchting 36). Theoretical activity became intertwined with practice and direct activity practised by man in his environment, and through this interaction between theory and practice, the validity of knowledge is revealed. The well-known Lenin trilogy in Marxist epistemology; "From live action to abstract thinking to practise" (Anderson 129) embodied the importance of the movement of reality on the one hand, and on the other hand the critical importance of human activity within this reality as a measure of the validity of knowledge, as Marxist epistemology begins with reality and ends with it. Marx's theory of practice was associated with the process of criticism, and Marx's intellectual life reflects his intellectual development through his criticism of the schools he adopted and then abandoned through the process of continuous criticism to reveal the truth and produce alternative knowledge, and his immortal achievements in the field of philosophy and economics are the product of the criticism process of knowledge that preceded him.

Marx's theory of politics relied on how to attack the capitalist system as a first step to change the world, and move it from a society of necessity to a society of freedom, i.e. searching for means that help transform the theoretical achievement in the field of philosophy and economics into a reality that the citizen lives in light of the qualitative transition from capitalism as a formation Socio-economic to socialism as a first step towards the communist formation.

In relation to the nature of the capitalist society, which relied on the achievements of social and applied sciences in establishing its roots and managing its institutions in an organised manner, Marx resorted, in his struggle against this system, to the adoption of organisation, accuracy and a set of principles, foundations and procedures in the struggle of the working class to achieve its goals, and he started with the first of those means, which is the establishment of the Communist League.

In 1847, as the first political party representing the working class that sought to attack capitalism, it included under its wing various socialist currents in those days, including anarchism, Proudhonism and Lassalleism, in addition to the wing of Marx and Engels. The second is the issuance of a statement prepared by Marx and Engels, commissioned by the Congress of the League. This statement, in its own distinctive language and historical materialist method of analysis, became the “gospel” of the revolutionaries, and the ghost that roamed the European cities and America, and two months after its issuance the revolution of 1848 exploded. Then Marx went to consolidate the influence of The trade unions and their economic struggles, which form the basis of the political party in its various struggles, and after the dissolution of the Communist League in 1853, the Marx directed the founding of the First International in 1864 as a new form of strengthening and mobilising the struggles of the working class, and after the Paris Commune, Marx resorted to the method of struggle within bourgeois democracy, to reach decision-making positions through the election box. It is special in its economic, political and social environment, and each party has its own leadership

that determines its programs and method of struggle. After the dissolution of the First International, Engels went to the founding of the Second International in 1889, after the death of Marx.

It can be said that Praxis Marx was flexible and there were major transitions. Attempts by Marx and Engels in the field of theory practice faced many difficulties and obstacles from the beginning, for many reasons, chief among them the incompleteness of the theoretical analysis tools of the capitalist phenomenon before the start of the book Capital, which made the spirit of optimism that was dominated by wishful thinking, overshadowing the proposals of Marx and Engels before the 1948 revolution. Engels said, "History has shown that we, too, were not right, that the point of view we held to was an illusion, that history had completely changed the terms and conditions under which the proletariat should wage struggle, the means of struggle used in 1848 are now old. From all aspects ". The same idea was emphasised by Marx: "The development of the bourgeois republic that emerged from the revolution of 1848 led to the confinement of actual sovereignty in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, while all other social classes - the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie united around the proletariat. History has shown that the possibility of the revolution of the minority turning into the revolution of the majority is only an illusion. As it was not possible in 1848 to achieve social transformation by a mere sudden attack, and the return to the empire in 1851, gave new proof of the immaturity of the proletarian aspirations at that time.

The failure to realize the aspirations of the proletariat after the revolution of 1848, led Marx to study capitalist society deeply and calmly, which made him compelled to dissolve the Communist League, not only because of the fierce terrorist campaign launched by the forces of capital against the workers' movement after the 1848 revolution, but to reproduce new knowledge that leads To reveal the laws.

2.2 Alienation and Human Flourishing:**2.2.1 The Basic Idea :**

Alienation is a concept especially, but not uniquely, associated with Marx's work, and the intellectual tradition that he helped found. The concept of alienation identifies a distinct type of mental or social illness, the problem of the separation between the self and something else, which belong together naturally in origin. It is well understood that it appears to play a largely diagnostic role, perhaps showing that something is misleading in liberal societies and liberal political philosophy. Theories of alienation usually select a subset of these problematic disjunctions as being of particular interest, and then provide explanations for the existence and prognosis of alienation as understood. Discussions of alienation are particularly, but not uniquely, related to the Marxist intellectual tradition. (Sharma 339–66)

One of the most recurring themes in Marx's writings between 1844 and 1845 was the concept of human alienation. Although he drew the idea from Hegel, Marx did so in a way that transcends Hegel's humanistic philosophy. For Marx, the achievement of freedom did not come from reason through his awareness of "absolute truth", but from the material world, through the abolition of wage labour, and the eventual overthrow of class society. Marx conceived of the development of industry from the perspective of dialectic, meaning that he saw in the development of technology and the possibilities of material abundance that arose from it as opening a door towards true human liberation, but the immediate results were "an increase in the dehumanisation of man" due to the nature of the capitalist system.

Man is alienated according to Marx in all levels of life: in religion, in philosophy, in politics, in economic life. He attributes the various forms of alienation that he observes in society to a fundamental alienation: the alienation of the working class. In the capitalist mode of production, this does not mean that it neglects the existence of other forms of alienation, but it links that existence

With a comprehensive economic phenomenon that is the source of the fracture and impoverishment of man and human relations. Hence his criticism of all alienation It cannot but pass under the microscope of the political-economic criticism of the capitalist model in the relations of its productive forces.

Karl Marx says in the *Manuscripts of 1844*, “The worker becomes all the poorer the more wealth she produces” (Marx 71), and if Marx did not use the term alienation after 1845, except for a little, it is because he was interested in proving the mechanism that According to it, the world of things is enriched by action against the worker, yet Marx will cling to the existence of alienation. On an intellectual level.

Alienation then is a negative reality that distorts the identity and essence of man. What is required, then, is to criticise it, and turn this criticism into practice political change.

2.2.2 Types of alienation and criticism:

2.2.2.1 First, a critique of religious alienation:

Marx relies on socio-political criticism, reinforcing his critical realist vision in dealing with alienation, saying: “Criticism of religion is a prelude to all criticism. Wherever this illusion disappears, the task of history is to establish the truth of this world, and the task of philosophy is to serve history, and to unmask the human self-alienation in its earthly form” (Marx 4). He continues: ‘ Therefore, in the criticism of heaven, it must be transformed into the criticism of the earth, the criticism of religion into the criticism of the law, and the criticism of theology into the criticism of politics’. (Mark 4).

Marx’s ideas concerning alienation were greatly influenced by the critical writings on religion of Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872), and especially his *The Essence of Christianity* (1841). One key text in this respect is Marx’s *Contribution of Hegel’s Critique of Right: Introduction* (1843).

Marx meets Feuerbach in returning religion to human reality. Feuerbach's distinctive contribution was to argue that the worship of God deprived humans of

the enjoyment of their human powers. In their imagination, humans raise their own powers to an infinite level and project them onto an abstract being. Hence religion is a form of alienation, as it separates human beings from the "essence of their kind". Marx accepts much of Feuerbach's account but argues that Feuerbach fails to understand why people fall into religious alienation, and is therefore unable to explain how it can be transcended. Marx explained that religion is a reaction to alienation in material life, and therefore cannot be removed until human material life is liberated, at which point religion will wither away.

The bottom line is that religion is not the product of man's mental conceptions separated from his material reality, as Feuerbach considered, but that religion finds its basis in human relations in a society bound by conditions of class, exploitation, want and misery. Social change for the total restoration of man, in other words, the revolution that turns everything upside down, and every liberation is nothing but the restoration of the human world and human relations to man himself.

2.2.2.2 Second: Alienation and Capitalism (Criticism of Work Alienation)

Although Marx was largely inspired by thinking about religious alienation, much of his interest was devoted to the exploration of alienation in work. In a much-discussed passage from *The 1844 Manuscripts*, Marx distinguishes four types of alienated labour in present-day capitalist society: First, direct producers are cut off from the product of their labour. They make a product that they neither own nor control, and this eventually begins to control them. Secondly, direct producers are isolated from their productive activity; In particular, they are pushed to work in cognitive and/or physically taxing ways. Third, direct producers are isolated from others. Fourth, direct producers are separate from their human nature. (Koechlin 183-195)

Civil society is, chiefly, the world of work. This world is characterised by the struggle of two classes: the bourgeoisie (which owns the means of production) and the proletariat (which sells its labour power). The alienation of labour is the

basis of the hostility of each of these two classes to the other. The developed patterns in exploitative societies, where the human being dominates the human being, becomes in capitalism a general definition of the relations dominated by oppression and class exploitation against the working class. (Marx 133)

Marx reveals the social essence of work as production is a social process that takes place only with the concerted efforts of a group of individuals so that nature becomes the reality of man, and thus work becomes the objectivisation of human quality life, and thus work becomes the essence of man, but despite the positive aspects of work, it is certain for Marx that there are negative aspects that are evident in capitalist mode of production. (Paulsantilli 76–88)

In the antagonistic capitalist system, and in the capitalist process of production, the worker loses his humanity and becomes (something, object, or commodity). He is alienated in his product and he is alienated in the production process itself. The alienated work is alienated from man: nature on the one hand, and his own self on the other. His active and vital function is alienated, his intellectual content is destroyed, and the human being moves away from his human kind, so as to conflict between his specific life and his individual life, and makes the latter an abstraction and an end to the first, which in turn takes a Western and abstract character. (Wood 244–82)

Production is the localization of labour (that is, the transformation of labour into an objective object). But the more labour is localised, the more the worker loses his objective being: he takes away the things necessary for his life, he takes away the tools of production, and he takes away even the possibility of work, because the labour market (the need of factories for workers) is independent of him. Thus, instead of wealth being specific to the fruit of his labour, it becomes, For the worker, curious about him. Instead of work being a source of happiness for the worker, it becomes a source of his misery, His destitution, and instead of liberating him from his animality and realizing his human essence, the worker turns into a machine or into a frivolous and stupid

barbarian. That is because the worker is not free, he is necessarily governed, and his activity does not have the characteristic of automatic choice. The work appears to be a duty that does not achieve the satisfaction of a need. Rather, it becomes itself a means to satisfy a need outside it, and thus loses its meaning and purpose, by placing it in the product and making it work as a means and not an end. The process of lacking the distinction of alienation.”(West 1–23)

The worker sells his labour power as a commodity in comparison with the socially necessary time to reproduce it and the benefits his wages allow for its consumption. But if he works more than his time, he will not obtain the production of these benefits, but will fall victim to exploitation. Thus he explains profit or surplus value, which is the very subject of capitalist production. The latter, then, was not directed toward the specific things which the life of every human being demands, but toward extreme wealth, and profit accumulating to infinity, whatever the repercussions on people and on nature. The ability of capitalism to do everything that it consumes for its own sake the power of the labour sold, giving this exploitation a submissive and inhuman character.(Zuckerfeld 115–60)

The worker produces material goods but loses - when producing them - his “possession.” No, even more than that: the commodity becomes hostile to him because its goal is to increase the capital and thus enable this capital to increase its control over the worker. In the face of the increasing power and domination of capital, the worker can no longer but sell his labour power.(HARVEY 305–44)

Thus, the result of the worker’s work becomes a negation of him, and the work that is the essence of man and his reality is reduced to the level of needing, so it becomes nothing but a means of earning a living, and the labour power and even all human capabilities become offered for sale and purchase, so the escape was towards an ideal world in which the worker searches for solace for himself He takes revenge on the exploitation and contempt to which he is subjected, and thus he "manufactures" religion, gods, and illusions. It is from the alienated human

subjectivity that eventually arises All abstract philosophical absolutes such as essence, transcendent self, absolute spirit and universal will.....(Adler 780–812)

Alienation is not limited to the worker in his work, but it includes all agents of the production process, all economic figures and classes, and if the worker and the capitalist are the poles of the contradiction in work, the latter (i.e. the capitalist) as a person also grows in the soil of alienation where he is in harmony with him and feels that he Well adapted and perceptive the world through it, but alienation compels the capitalist to be a slave to the antagonistic capitalist relationship and its essence Capital is that enormous, objective, material force, and loses its personal existence when this relationship ends. The worker is nothing but a machine for the production of surplus value, for the capitalist is nothing but a machine for transforming this surplus value into capital into a capital money.”] (Marx 27)]

In *Capital* (1867), Marx pays great attention to the issue of the overall development of the human personality. The paradoxical character of personality development in capitalism creates the partial factor compelled to perform a certain function for life, i.e. the partial man with distorted and restricted activity. Comprehensively, it is necessary to have the condition for a change of labour, which can eventually lead to the substitution of a partial man by a man of complete maturity, comprehensive activity and broad horizon .(Pradella 146–61)

Marx says in Book Two of *Capital*:

“First, that work is outside the worker, which means that it does not belong to him; the worker, therefore, does not affirm himself in his work, but, on the contrary, negates it; he does not find himself happy in work but unhappy; the worker does not develop in work any material free energy or moral, but he is excused that he stays at home except when he leaves work; when he works, he does not feel himself “at home.” The worker does not achieve himself when he works, but achieves it when he does not work. His work, then, is voluntary but obligatory, it is hard labour, and the worker’s evasion from work, as if it were the

plague, when he was not forced into it for one reason or another, clearly demonstrates the total alienation of work from the worker. Finally, the worker feels that the external work is not for him, but for another human being, that it is not his property; when he works, he does not own himself, but is owned by another human being. The worker is his own activity. Rather, he is the property of another being and is a loss of self.(Healy 7–26)

2.2.2.3 Self-image or alienation from self:

being a cog or seeing yourself as an appendage of the factories doesn't just affect your view of your boss and the customers it also affects your view of yourself because for eight hours a day you aren't a human you're just an output machine from which products are expected and from which no human contact is really expected and the only time you own your activity is in leisure and what is leisure but consumption instead of creation;

“We arrive at this conclusion that man’s spontaneity is reduced in his animal functions: drinking, eating, procreation, and perhaps also housing and clothing; but in his human functions, a person is nothing but an animal: what is animal becomes human and what is human becomes animal.” (Karl Marx 205).

“As a result, therefore, man (the worker) only feels himself freely active in his animal functions _eating, drinking, procreating, or at most in his dwelling and in his human functions he no longer feels himself to be anything but an animal. What is an animal becomes human and what is human becomes animal” (Karl Marx 205).

From the results of alienation at work, arise what Marx calls the processes of alienation (reification), personification, and fetishism.

In alienated reification, things (goods, money, institutions...) become as if they were from outside the human world, so their true source remains camouflaged as a different world alongside the world of man who made them in a historical process, and thus it manifests itself as a strange independent existence. It does so as if it were active in its own name (personalization) as if it were a social force

with a specific personality that guides man and controls his actions and thoughts. And things appear as if they have cut off all connection with humans, as if they are self-sufficient.(Marx 37)

As a result, the social relationship that binds individuals becomes as if it were an external and commodity relationship controlled by the spirit of barter, trade and profit, as if it were related to goods prepared for sale and purchase. So, people's direct personal relationships turn into a kind of mutually objective relationships between materials and things. Because of this, we see that man feels, in the midst of his relations with others, that he is helpless, and he has become subject to the order of things, as he considers himself more and more as something (albeit a conscious thing) in the world of things. Thus, this feeling makes him see reification as a natural state and his consciousness becomes The individual in the capitalist society engages in a relationship based on quantity and productive accumulation in his dealings with subjects and things, that is, his relationship is determined by the spirit of barter and private benefit, and the transformation of other human activities and productions into a barter formula that necessarily leads to the erasure of everything that is individual. Personal or private, we see that the relationships drawn by the spirit of investment and barter are in essence. (ENGELS, MARX 70-79)

Formal relations far removed from the intimate inner space, meaning that they escaped from the kindness of nature and from the kindness of human feelings. In light of this, the social relationship of people turns into a general behaviour determined by the system of things. Therefore, individuals feel that they are not subject to personal and human influences or are subject to them as much as they actually submit to objective, objective and formal conditions at the same time that they cannot change.(Felluga 164-65)

Even at the individual level, reification distorts human relations with his individuality, becoming a mere element, tool, or "robot" in the technology and profit system that prevails in capitalism.(Martin 113-59)

Alienated work destroys human equality and turns people into enemies of one another: one is a worker and the other an owner. And since the worker sees in his localised production an object that is external, hostile, penetrating and independent of him, then because another human being is alien, hostile, influential and independent of him is the master of this subject. And when the worker finds himself in relation to his own activity in a position of servitude, it is because this activity is in the service of another human being and under his control.” And the owner himself is alienated in the capitalist system. Nature and hostile to the worker. (Munshi 34)

The market appears in capitalism as a human institution and as a transcendent law to which individuals are drawn as much as they are drawn to an idol to worship. They alienate themselves from their powers of reasoning when they are subject to it as if they were subject to a natural order. They show two wills i.e. things in between things. And when it comes to the relationship between his works, we only perceive relationships between commodities.

Man does his work in a natural setting and his work is located in nature. But when his product is independent of him, and becomes alien and hostile, his relationship with the universal nature is severed and this nature becomes hostile to him. (Miller 182–204)

Nature, in the first place, is not something external to man, but is closely and intimately related to it. On the one hand, it is the “inorganic” body of man, his direct means of continuity, and the “substance, object and instrument of his vital activity.” The only difference in this field between man and animal is that the totality of man expands his circle of connection with nature and makes the whole of nature his body (while the animal’s relationship with nature is limited to a limited and direct number of elements). Man, on the other hand, is in himself a natural being and an integral part of nature: his desires and needs are natural desires and needs. Nature is the inorganic human body when it is not, of course, the human body itself. And Marx adds: “Man lives in nature, which means that

nature is his body, which he must remain in constant and gradual contact with it in order not to pass away. And when we say that man's material and spiritual life is closely connected with nature, we simply want to say that nature is in close contact with itself because Man is a part of nature" (Marx 82).

But when nature becomes a means of continuity only, and when man does not realise himself in it, a divorce occurs between nature and man. This is what resulted from the expansion of the capitalist system, which always seeks profit and secure surplus value, sacrificing its inorganic body. Capitalism barbarically destroys the natural environment, causing the deterioration of the conditions for the development of human personality, and destroys the healthy organic exchange between society and nature."(Robert 38)

2.3 Political Emancipation:

Karl Marx (1818-1883) is known as the philosopher of human liberation emancipation; Where he sees that every liberation is the restoration of the human world and human relations of man himself, so human liberation will not be complete unless the individual comprehends himself as an abstract citizen, and when the individual becomes abstract in his daily life, work and relationships, he becomes a vital being, and when he defines and organises his own power (supporting forces) represented by his social power, so that his social power is not separated from his political power, and when this is achieved, the human being as a whole is liberated (Chernilo 44).

Karl Marx's ideas about political, economic and class liberation branched out in order to liberate man from all forms of institutions that control him. 1844 "and rejected the idea of ideological domination through his book "*The German Ideology* (1845)" Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, 1968 (as well as rejecting class through his book "*Wage Labour and Capital* (1849)" and his book "*The Struggle of the Classes in France* (1850)" and rejecting the idea of capital control through a series of books including "*Value, Price and Profit* (1865)" and "*Capital Volume I* (1867)" and Volume II (1885) and the third volume (1894).

Marx's philosophical writings on emancipation from the early 1840's have... It arose from his critical thinking on Hegel's philosophy through his book *On the Jewish Question*, Marx criticised the ideas of Bauer Bruno (German philosopher, theologian, and historian 1822-1880) related to the liberation of the Jews by discussing the difference between political emancipation and human emancipation. Jews and Christians in Germany are achieved by abandoning religion, as religion separates Jews from Christians in Germany and with Marx's agreement with him in the idea of human liberation, but he criticised Bruno Bauer in his mixing of political liberation with human liberation, for Marx, the extension of civil rights was not Political liberalism is the "final form of human liberation" because the individual is still abstract in selfish bourgeois civil society. (Nakamura 14 .)

Where Marx saw that we must liberate ourselves before we are able to liberate others, (Karl Marx, 2003, p. *The idea of religion in general* (Karl Marx, 18). "(However, the position of the state towards religion is the position of the people who make up the state towards religion... The state is the mediator between man and his freedom, and man is politically liberated from religion by excluding him from the public right to the private right") (Karl Marx 24). The dismantling of man into a Jew and a citizen, into a Protestant and a citizen, into a religious person and a citizen. Standing but without privileges (Marx 32). Marx also saw that humans drown because the idea of gravity possesses them, and if they extract this idea from their heads by declaring it a myth or a religious concept, they will from now on they will be safe from the danger of drowning. (Marx and Engels 37).

Marx's ideas escalated from the liberation of man and the state from religion towards liberation The political man, denouncing that political liberation is the supreme goal, but it is a result of the premise of human liberation, and not a reason for human liberation, as Marx believes that all forms of liberation bring man back to his relationships with himself. It is characterised by individualism, selfishness and independence, and on the other hand it is a citizen person (moral), so the real

individual must take the abstract citizen into himself, and he must not separate social forces from himself in the form of political forces (J, Waldron 150). The idea of “the third face of power,” or “invisible power,” has its roots, in part, in Marxist thinking about the pervasive power of ideology, values and beliefs in reproducing class relations and masking contradictions (Hywood 100). Capitalism, and that the system was reinforced by the hegemony of the ideas and values of the ruling class—leading to Engels' famous concern that "false consciousness" would prevent the working class from recognizing or rejecting its oppression (Heywood 100).

2.4 Economics:

2.4.1 Exploitation:

As noted, traditionally Marx's definition of exploitation is given in terms of the theory of surplus value, which in turn is taken to depend on the labour theory of value: the theory that the value of any commodity is proportional to the amount of “socially necessary” labour embodied in it. However, the question arises of whether the basic idea of exploitation should be so dependent on a particular theory of value. For if it is, the notion of exploitation becomes vulnerable to Robert Nozick's objection: that if the labour theory of value can be shown to be faulty, the Marxist theory of exploitation collapses too (Nozick 277 1974).

Others have felt that it is possible to restore the intuitive core of a Marxist theory of exploitation independent of the labour theory of value (Cohen 1979, Wolff 1999, Vrousalis 343). John Roemer, to take one leading case, states:

‘Marxian exploitation is defined as the unequal exchange of labour for goods: the exchange is unequal when the amount of labor embodied in the goods which the worker can purchase with his income ... is less than the amount of labor he expended to earn that income’ (Roemer 30).

Suppose I work eight hours to earn my wages. With this perhaps the best thing I can buy is a coat. But imagine that the coat took only a total of four hours to

make. Therefore I have exchanged my eight hours work for only four hours of other people's work, and thereby, on this view, I am exploited.

The definition requires some refinement. For example, if I am taxed for the benefit of those unable to work, I will be exploited by the above definition, but this is not what the definition of exploitation was intended to capture. Worse still, if there is one person exploited much more gravely than anyone else in the economy, then it may turn out that no-one else is exploited. Nevertheless, it should not be difficult to adjust the definition to take account of these difficulties, and as noted several other accounts of Marx-inspired accounts of exploitation have been offered that are independent of the labour theory of value. (Gordon 462–72)

Many of these alternative definitions add a notion of lack of freedom or domination to unequal exchange of labour and goods (Vrousalis131–57). The exploited person is forced to accept a situation in which he or she just never gets back what they put into the labour process. Now there may be, in particular cases, a great deal to be said about why this is perfectly acceptable from a moral point of view. However, on the face of it such exploitation appears to be unjust. Nevertheless, we will see in the next section why attributing such a position to Marx himself is fraught with difficulty.

2.4 Morality:

2.4.1 The “Injustice” of Capitalism:

When the masters of capitalism preach moral ideals, they are surely using those ideals as a pretext to pass on their own egotistical interests by hypocritical pretending that they only seek the common good or the benefit of mankind. Here moral ideals turn into a means of falsifying consciousness. That is, to a negative ideology. With Marx's full awareness that moral commandments and advice in and of themselves did not and will not help in liberating man from exploitation, nor in building the desired society in which the natural individual can develop all his abilities and achieve himself, we find that Marx ridicules the idealism and

delusions of utopian thought. Moral and unable to provoke the social reactions required for complete change, in *The German Ideology* (1932) Marx says:

Our cold-blooded, morally evangelist, Sancho... believes that the issue requires only a different type of morality, and what appears to be a new outlook on life, and the elicitation of a few fixed ideas from the head, so that everyone may be happy and able to enjoy life (Marx 5: 419).

What is required, then, is that the departure towards change should not be derived from the will and from the head, because that will not be able to change anything from reality; What is required is that the move towards change be deduced from the facts of the social situation of human beings, and from the practical practice of organised revolutionary activity in the light of the results of scientific discovery of these objective facts. After revealing these facts, and believing that it is the duty of philosophers to change the world, Marx and his comrade Engels launched their famous appeal: "Workers of the world: unite." They embraced the principle of revolution to erase injustice; The social revolution by bringing about radical changes in the structure of capitalist relations of production that allow the liberation of the organised proletariat from exploitation, and thus change and upgrade the activities, capabilities and talents of all human beings, without exception.(Ormerodv 1573–90)

Here, in the call for revolution, morality always becomes more than just a negative ideology in the hands of the exploiters. When a person becomes a revolutionary and engages in the organised struggle, he must feel in his heart the existence of an injustice that his conscience dictates to him to be detached in the struggle against it. In many cases, this injustice may not be in direct contact with the interests of the struggler in particular; And sometimes it is in his interest not even to oppose him at all. Nevertheless, this fighter does not care who puts his interests, even his life and his entire future, on the palm of an imp for what he considers to be an honorable cause. And he feels that there is something wrong - such as occupation, political and social injustice, racial and sexual discrimination,

poverty, financial or administrative corruption, or wars of looting and capitalist Here, in the call for revolution, morality always becomes more than just a negative ideology in the hands of the exploiters. When a person becomes a revolutionary and engages in the organized struggle, he must feel in his heart the existence of an injustice that his conscience dictates to him to be detached in the struggle against it. In many cases, this injustice may not be in direct contact with the interests of the struggler in particular; sometimes it is in his interest not even to oppose him at all. Nevertheless, this fighter does not care who puts his interests, even his life and his entire future, in the palm of an imp for what he considers to be an honorable cause. And all this because he feels that there is something wrong—such as occupation, political and social injustice, racial and sexual discrimination, poverty, financial or administrative corruption, or wars of looting and capitalist subjugation—which requires a fight and deserves sacrifice in his way. The issue here is, essentially, a moral obligation-to self and society-par excellence; and I can say that there can be no revolutionary trend without a moral stance rejecting social injustice. And a revolutionary without morals, who rejects social injustice and violates human rights, is merely fascism dressed up in revolutionary garb.

Accordingly, the dedication of Marx and Engels most of their lives and their scientific and organisational activities to liberate humanity from the social injustice of the existing capitalist system is - subjectively and objectively - a moral position par excellence, especially when we find that the core of their criticism of capitalism stems from their scientific discovery that one of the most important characteristics of this The immoral system is the forced alienation of all human beings (workers and capitalists) from their essence as social beings, and preventing them from human interaction with a teleological awareness with society and nature. In his *Manuscript* entitled "*The Contrast between Capital and Labour*" from 1844 (3:284) Marx diagnoses that the capitalist system produces "the moral decay, distortion and dulling of workers and capitalists". In *The*

German Ideology (1845), Marx explains how the capitalist system of production produces the worker who "plays the role of a commodity"; And that this role turns him into a "creature that loses his humanity, both physically and mentally." (FETSCHER 443–67). Such frank human criticism - and many others - is exactly a scientific and moral criticism at the same time. It is based on the principle that the human appearance must match the human essence of what Marx calls the "rich individual" by subordinating society and nature to the function of satisfying the needs of this capable human being - every human being - and searching for the unlimited and sustainable development of human energies As the highest moral goal of humankind. Just as capitalism produces broken bodies and dull minds, it also nurtures individual anti-social behaviour as a whole, and it inhibits the development of feelings of social solidarity for human beings as "species-beings" (STRUHL 78–104), by turning them into willful, competing, selfish "atoms" who are not her other than her self-interests; And then let the flood.

2.5 Ideology:

Karl Marx used the concept of ideology in the sense of false consciousness resulting from class formation in order to hide class contradictions. Marx believed that the role of science is to expose, not eliminate, ideological distortion, because eliminating it requires changing reality.

Ideology carried in Marx's early writings the meaning of an inverted (false) consciousness that overturns the relationship between predicate and predicate, considering that ideas develop throughout history and determine social reality. The term ideology first appeared in the book he wrote with Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* in 1845. In *The German Ideology* (1845) ideology is synonymous with language that expresses material life, and in *The German Ideology* (1845), we find another definition of ideology, the latter representing the set of perceptions with which the ruling class justifies its legitimacy. In Marx's later works, ideology appears as the knowledge through which the proletariat becomes aware of the reality of the class struggle.

2.6 Marxism Literary Theory:

Literature after the Industrial Revolution was affected by the changes in many fields of life in Britain. Using Marxist theory “the society of the writer will be reflected on his/her writings” (Radja 12). Mainly, he/ she tends to demonstrate social and economic progress. Moreover, these writers display the gap being such a significant issue between the social classes. They also “focus on the representation of social conflicts between capitalist and working classes” (Utomo 16). For them, capitalist society causes them to destroy the humanity of the individuals.

We can trace the impetus behind this development in the field of critical theory to the rise of Marxism, after Marx and his followers created for us a comprehensive theory, or a grand tale, as Marx believes that Marxist theory emerged from reality with the aim of addressing reality and its various issues, and for this we can analyse any phenomenon Cultural - in a society - and we form valuable judgments about it, including literature, music, political systems, sports, racial relations...etc.

From Marxism onwards, critical theory was closely linked to political situations, and could not be separated from them, as much of its value stems from its ability to remain involved in politics. Criticism from Marx's viewpoint is political.

Therefore, Marx believes that the Marxist theory is able to analyse all phenomena in the light of its theory of dialectical materialism, and this theory accompanies a certain historical vision. He also asserts that there is a third, hidden structure, according to his opinion, which is a general and basic structure in all societies, including the capitalist society. As society always consists of an economic basis or infrastructure, and a superstructure. As for the superstructure, it is all that is cultural - that is, religion, politics, law, education, the arts...etc. Any change in the infrastructure (the economy and others) leads to the creation of different cultures that in turn produce different literature or literature from the

previous one. This means that the superstructures are ideologies, that is, ways of thinking characteristic of class behaviour.

Something is clear if we understand the foundations of Marxist analysis and we will discover how it shaped critical theory in such a way that it searches under the surface of texts, and this is what the following example shows:

The physical example that already exists in your mind.

For a text here it does not mean merely writing on a specific paper, but rather an encrypted and alienated production. In this case, Marx added a new meaning to estrangement, not as a Hegelian process of self-consciousness, but as an unconscious estrangement from the self determined by a person's class situation, and how he confronts the prevailing ideologies that control his political and economic situation and even his life.(Ferrarotti 133)

This was confirmed by Terry Eagleton, who believes that the function of ideology is to justify the power of the ruling class in society. In the final analysis of Marxism, he concluded that the dominant ideas of any society are nothing but the ideas of the ruling class, and therefore art for Marxism is an integral part of the superstructure of society. For this reason, Marx believes that capitalist societies are able to spread their ideological beliefs without resorting to force.

Therefore, the production of ideas, concepts and awareness is compatible above all and directly with the material relations of people, which is the language of real life. Therefore, Marxism sees that history proceeds according to objective laws, the knowledge of which helps us to control the whole process and achieve our ends, which are the ends of nature itself, as long as we are a part of it, and what applies to it applies to us.(Blanchette 89–122)

Hence, the literary work was able to bear the form of the external reality, and the historical circumstance in which it was produced through its very structure or structure. The role of critical reading is to find the way through which the historical and social reality expresses itself through the individual sensitivity of the creator within the literary or artistic work that we are In the process of studying

it, that is, Marxism sees truth as a perception identical to reality. Therefore, it is clear that it is based on the opposition between the subject and the object. The perception arises in the subject, but it must be identical to reality, i.e. to a subject; because Marxism believes that the fact that literature arises and reflects material and historical conditions, and the truth helps Marxists in two ways, first: the literary work may try to support ideologies within the same reader. Secondly, the literary work may invite the reader to criticise the ideologies it presents.

Accordingly, the construction of literary culture and the resulting critical currents or trends, and the theories that crystallise from them by applying them to literary texts affected by the dominance of the prevailing ideology, and this undoubtedly is that criticism was strong enough to produce forms and trends that do not stop at a current or trend. Moin, psychological criticism has managed to establish its position on the monetary map, as it was concerned with revealing the ideological meanings inherent in literary works based on different hypotheses and his most prominent model Freud, who was not preoccupied with the literary text as much as he was preoccupied with the clinical situation that needs strengthening, and he found this appropriate in the texts. Literary, as he considered it an analytical tool capable of achieving scientific results with a desire to transcend the surfaces to what is below them, which resulted in two trends for this current: psychological criticism of the author, and psychological criticism of the text. The nature of literary texts and the circumstances surrounding their production that affected him and contributed to the production of his literature.

The same applies to Marxist critical theory, which has found its applications in literature; Because the writer cannot write his creativity away from his reality, so he tries to portray the political and economic reality in his literary production based on ideologies based on the criticism of the prevailing ideologies, and for this Marx stresses that Marxist criticism is not just (a sociology of literature), but rather its goal is to analyse the work. The literary text is more complete to reveal the change in the infrastructure and the resulting change in the superstructures.

Therefore, we find that some Marxists prefer the realistic school over other literary schools; Simply because it accurately displays the real world around us, that is, it displays economic and social injustice and conflicting conflicting ideologies, and thus gives the reader the opportunity to see the hateful facts about the historical material reality, especially after the post-Marxist stage was characterized by the reformulation of many of the theses of Marxist thought by a number of Critics and thinkers like Althusser, and this post-Marxist undoubtedly corresponds to other dimensions, such as (post-structuralism), (postmodernity), (post-industrial society), and others.

The success of structural thought in France led to the emergence of a branch of Marxism called (Structural Marxism), represented by its pioneering theorist, Louis Althusser (1918-1990 AD), and for this reason Marxism in general became (the science of society), which enables us to reveal the games of the dominant ideology on real life. The effect that its hegemony may have on the literary production to move from one phase to another, and for this reason Marxism cannot be bypassed or negated at all, but rather a dialectical negation, retaining the best of it and moving it to a new phase of human thought. Thus, the literary text became the field of Marxism's work, becoming a theory in the field of Western literary criticism.(Rose 1–42)

CHAPTER THREE

“The Analysis of Political Protest in Dickens’s *Hard Times*”

Introduction:

It is worth noting that the English writer Dickens lived in the nineteenth century and was a contemporary of the economist and philosopher Karl Marx, as Dickens was born in 1812 while Marx was born in 1818. Therefore, there is an intellectual harmony between them, and the events of the era had a clear impact on the works of Dickens and the theories of Marx. We can say: The novel *Hard Times* represents a summary of the novels and thought of Dickens, and as it was said: the writer in fact writes one novel, and his works are branches or variations on it, and what is meant is that every writer has a nerve and a basis that hums around him always, but perhaps he cannot escape from it. This dominant general idea remains pervasive in everything he writes, even if the approach varied, branched, or overlapped with other ideas. Referring to the theory presented in the first chapter, this third chapter is devoted to the analysis of political protest in *Hard Times* with criticism and illustrations.

3.1 The Biography of Charles Dickens:

George Orwell on Charles Dickens (1940) asserts:

“When one reads any strongly individual piece of writing, one has the impression of seeing a face somewhere behind the page. It is not necessarily the actual face of the writer. I feel this very strongly with Swift, with Defoe, with Fielding, Stendhal, Thackeray, Flaubert, though in several cases I do not know what these people looked like and do not want to know. What one sees is the face that the writer ought to have. Well, in the case of Dickens I see a face that is not quite the face of Dickens’s photographs, though it resembles it. It is the face of a man of about forty, with a small beard ... He is laughing, with a touch of anger in his laughter, but no triumph, no malignity. It is the face of a man who is always fighting against something, but who fights in the open and is not frightened” (Arac 171–89).”When one reads any strongly individual piece of writing, one has the impression of seeing a face somewhere behind the page. It is not necessarily the actual face of the writer.”

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Then, imagining the face of Charles Dickens, he continues:

“It is the face of a man of about forty, with a small beard and a high color. He is laughing, with a touch of anger in his laughter, but no triumph, no malignity. It is the face of a man who is always fighting against something, but who fights in the open and is not frightened, the face of a man who is generously angry – in other words, of a nineteenth-century liberal, a free intelligence, a type hated with equal hatred by all the smelly little orthodoxies which are now contending for our souls.” (Arac 171-89)

Dickens, who was born in 1812 and died in 1870, is, of course, one of the most prominent English novelists of his time. He was born to a family that had collapsed economically, and since his childhood he worked in factories as he knew poverty, after his father was sentenced to prison for inability to pay his debts, and although he did not receive an adequate education, he worked as an editor A journalist for twenty years, he has written 15 novels and hundreds of short stories, experiences that he expressed in some of his most important novels.(ORTIZ-ROBLES 457–78)

The experiences that Dickens expressed in some of his most important novels such as: *Hopes Big* and “*David Copperfield*” and “*Oliver Twist*”... which are his most prominent social novels. He also wrote comic works (most notably his social satirical masterpiece, *Mr. Pickwick Papers*) and social and political articles, and he visited many countries such as France and Switzerland, especially the United States, which welcomed him to the conquerors, but when he left, he did not fail to announce his disappointment with its “democracy.”

Dickens' novels were published in newspapers in the form of serial episodes on a weekly or monthly basis, and he benefited greatly from this matter in modifying the plot of his novels based on the reaction that he monitors from the audience and those around him.

Dickens' novels were admired by many of his contemporaries such as Leo Tolstoy and George Orwell in terms of their realism and comedic touch, but there

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are other writers such as Oscar Wild, Henry James and Virginia Woolf who believed that Dickens' literary works lack a psychological dimension.

In the year 1836 Dickens published what was called *Sketches by Boz* - this word Bozos is a pseudonym that Dickens used for several years, and Dickens quoted this name from the word Moses (Moses). Mosos, which is the nickname of his younger brother Augustus Dickens, and the word "Bozo" was sometimes changed to "Boz".

Oliver Twist, published in 1838, was the first novel in the Victorian era with a child hero. During his visit to the United States, Dickens expressed his dissatisfaction with the illegal printing of his novels by American publishing houses, and after his return from the United States, Dickens began writing the Christmas Carol story.

In the year 1836, Dickens wrote a pamphlet called *Sunday Under Three Heads*, and in this book Dickens criticised the church. It is believed that Dickens was a denial of the deity of Christ as he was a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity and was a believer in the one Christian deity Unitarian Christianity. This reminds us of the blind English poet Milton who also denied the doctrine of the Trinity and believed in one God, but there is no explicit evidence to support this view.

In the year 1849 Dickens wrote a religious book called *The Life of Our Lord*, a book that talks about the life of Christ. Dickens took the position of hostility towards the Roman Catholic doctrine, as he took the position of the critic of evangelicalism, as he saw that spiritualism in the Christian religion is a philosophy based on hypocrisy. Despite all this, fanatical Christian writers such as Tolstoy and Fyodor Dostoevsky have referred to Dickens as a great Christian writer.

Dickens was accused of being a racist, and if he was hiding his racism, he declared it in an inappropriate way. He supported, for example, the brutality and abuse of the Black Jamaicans during the Negro revolution they made, which was known in the media as the Morant Bay Rebellion, and this It means that Dickens' humanistic view was limited to the Christian European element.

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Many critics regard David Copperfield's novel as a compelling autobiography of Charles Dickens himself.

In 1858, Dickens divorced his wife, Catherine, after he fell in love with an actress named Ellen Ternan. As a result, his wife left the house with one of her sons, while the rest of the children were left for her sister Georgina to take care of them in their father's house, and Clair Tomaline wrote She wrote a book entitled *Invisible Woman*, and claimed in this book that actress Ellen Ternan was secretly living with Dickens for the last thirteen years of his life, and this book was turned into a theatrical work called Little Nell.

When Charles Dickens was twelve years old, his father was imprisoned because of his inability to pay his debts, and in Dickens' novels, the subject of imprisonment is often repeated for not being able to pay the debt.

Contemporaries of Dickens: Leo Tilstoy - Chesterton George Orwell - Oscar Wilde - Poet William Wordsworth - Henry James - Virginia Woolf.

Charles Dickens lived in the Victorian era, an era in which Britain was the major economic and political power in the world. However, that era was not an era of prosperity inside Britain, but an era of poverty, hunger, slums, an era of injustice, ignorance, disease and Dickens has portrayed all this in his literary works, and there is no doubt that Dickens's literary works in Britain and the works of Victor Hugo in France have contributed greatly to lifting the injustice imposed on the forgotten classes in European societies such as the incomeless, orphans, the disabled, the sick and the elderly Dickens was violently attacking the official institutions because he believed that these institutions were not only standing idly by on that injustice and corruption, but that they were the cause of the existence of that injustice and corruption.

In *Hard Times* 1854 - which is considered the most valid of his novels in terms of length to be called a novel, Dickens describes the tragedies of workers in the Victorian era and how factory owners used to describe workers with the word "hands", an inhuman term according to which the worker turns from a human

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being. to a mere machine operator, or rather, a machine server and an accessory to it.

It is said that the prison scene in *The Pickwick Papers* was the reason for the closure of the Fleet Prison. From the standpoint of social justice, Karl Marx saw that Dickens had revealed to the world political and social truths that surpassed all that all politicians had collectively done. George Bernard Shaw said *Great Expectations* It was more inciting to revolution than Marx's *Das Kap Capitalism*. And for Charles Dickens, it is clear that the poor do not correspond with the proletarians, for these are not, in any case, the purity of the wretched.

The time was the time of the Industrial Revolution par excellence, and in Britain in particular, it was the time of class differences that began to appear more and more. In addition to this, and also because of it, the time was the time of workers' and popular uprisings. The uprising of 1844 in France, as in a number of other European countries, albeit in a less severe form, inflamed the minds and consciences of thinkers and writers, such as Disraeli the English, George Sand, Victor Hugo and Louis Blanc the French, and even Washington Irving the American, who often wandered in Europe and testified with the mother His eyes darted out. And if each of these has expressed, in his own professional field and in his own way, that general liberal enthusiasm which pervaded it, we may say that Charles Dickens, the great English writer, was of all the most capable of expressing the enthusiasm, even if it was His writings will remain, and will remain, the quarrelsome type who is unable to identify solutions to any of the existing ideologies. He merely sketches the events, extracting their lessons, without claiming, at least superficially, that he would provide any solutions. That is because Dickens did not live in poverty and class conflicts in theory, through meditation, reading, and “knowledge” of the stakeholders, but rather lived it himself in the field, who had been suffering since his childhood drowning in debts and his father’s arrival in prison sometimes because of those debts. Hence, the acute - and ultimately melancholy - reality that Dickens expressed in his novel

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“Difficult Times”, stemmed from his personal suffering, and we can even say in this regard that Dickens used tales and situations that belong to his private life, especially to The childhood stage in that life, in a good number of his works, and times will come to give him his credibility, after the people of his time accused him of “excessive pessimism.”

Charles Dickens wrote *Hard Times* in 1854, i.e. a few years after the outbreak of the “fires” of the labour uprisings in 1848. At a time when those “fires” stirred the imaginations of his fellow writers and thinkers and made them highly optimistic about the prosperous future. He was more correct than them: he portrayed reality as he saw it, or rather as it is often the case, as he really lived it. He said that all this could not lead to any solution. He diagnosed what was happening and decided that the enthusiasm for Chartism, which has humanistic socialist features, would not lead to anything either. Hence, his novel carried the same melancholy that characterised most of what was written and what will be written later on misery and misery. Rather, in his staunch “realism,” he paved the way for other melancholy that has recurred and spread, especially in French social literature (Hugo, Zola...etc).

The events of the novel *Hard Times* take place in the city of Cooktown, where the emerging industry flourishes and through its effects on the conditions of people and workers in particular, a change in mentalities that coincides with that which occurs in the economic conditions of people. From the beginning, the writer depicts for us an almost photogenic, for example, in the work of Emile Zola, how the flourishing industry here takes possession of everything in the city: with its waters, with its sky, with women and men, with the various social classes, including the two classes that have risen thanks to industry: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. And if Dickens was a symbol of the proletariat in the figure of the worker Blackpool (to which we shall return shortly), then he symbolised the bourgeoisie through two main characters, each of whom is the head of a family and represents a section of the bourgeoisie that differs from the other: on the one

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hand there is the schoolmaster grad-grund, who was - to a certain extent He has a materialistic tendency - he believes that the upbringing of young children should go along with the "facts" and be subject to them. And he, emphasising this tendency, raises his children themselves with a very materialistic and “utilitarian” education, with every ability to creativity and imagination, every sensitivity and every idealistic tendency. And in contrast to this person who we will soon find to be here in the novel from its beginnings as the son of a parasitic class that thinks it embodies the bourgeoisie, but rather is its servant, not a real part of it, there is Mr. Pounderby, the businessman and banker, friend of the headmaster. Here, he is a real bourgeois who lives his life and his ideas in one line that does not develop, because his clear opportunism and clear opportunism - which express his class consolidation in contrast to what happened to the grad-grind, who is not rooted in class - prevent him from any human interaction with the lived reality. The main part of the novel follows the life path of the two "bourgeois" characters - together and separately, as well as in their relationship with their children - if the school director discovers one day that his upbringing of his children has led to a catastrophe and that he has lived his life and his ideas while deifying the principle of profit in a positivist and perhaps instrumentalist tendency Also, it has nothing to do with any human feelings, morals, or real ability to reach happiness. The owner of the bank, his friend, does not discover anything because it is a real machine for accumulating money. What is remarkable here is that among the boys of the Grad Grind and other boys, only the youngest girls escape with their skin from this material inertia, because they fall under the influence of the clown Sissy, whom the Grad Grind has been relentlessly persecuting since the beginning of the novel. Because Sissi is poor, it was only logical that she should be loved by Charles Dickens, because the poor, in his opinion, "usually know how to keep their hearts pure", make them and their courage the only remaining hope for the salvation of this kind of society.

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As for Charles Dickens, it is clear that the poor do not exactly coincide with the proletarians, because they do not, in any case, have the purity of the miserable. And here, in this context, we come to the character of the proletarian Blackpool, who at one time fell victim to a conspiracy hatched against him by the son of his master, his employer, and again a victim of the naivety of his co-workers in the knitting factory. And if Blackpool here represents the honour of the working class.

And its integrity, . his comrades do not match him in integrity, which reveals the double standards in Dickens' view of this section of society: he, after all, saw that the working class was divided between its naivety, its goodness, and its subordination to the demagogues who lead it.

Of course we know that this view of the proletariat was considered heretical at that time by liberals and other social materialists and socialists, but Dickens did not care about this: he wrote and described what he was experiencing. The reckoning of all those who, in this regard, belittle his thoughts and have always called him the “miserable” writer?

In any case, here we must ask a basic question: After this description, do we have the right to consider *Hard Times* a novel, or is it, as some historians and literary critics suggest, closer “to being a text produced by an avant-garde journalist with liberal humanistic convictions”? Whatever the answer, this work remains among the most powerful written at the time, as well as one of Charles Dickens' most beautiful works.

3.2 An Introduction to *Hard Times*:

George Bernard Shaw writing in 1912, observed that with the publication of *Hard Times* is: “Passionate revolt against the whole industrial order of the modern world.”

Hard Times is Dickens' shortest novel. It is set in a fictional industrial city in the Victorian era called Coketown, and was initially published as serial episodes.

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The events of this novel begin in Coketown, Mr. Gradgrind's school. Where we find Gradgrind testing the information of one of his schoolgirls named Sissy, and since Sissy's father works in a secret, Gradgrind (which emphasises teaching facts) asks Sissy to identify the horse, and when you cannot identify the horse scientifically, he scolds her.

Then we get to know Josiah Bounderby, who is a close friend of Gradgrind (principal and owner of the school), and Bounderby is an industrialist and factory owner.

Gradgrind and Boundary kick Sissy out of school, and Sissy tells them that her father has abandoned her in the hope that she will live a better life without him.

Then the director of the circus, Sleary, attends with a group of circus players, and here Gradgrind offers Cece to return to the circus so that she can complete her education or complete her education and work at the same time in the house of Gradgrind, and here Cece chooses the second option.

At the Gradgrind's house we find that his sons Tom and Louisa are not satisfied with the education they receive with factory workers, who are called hands.

And then we get to know Stephen Blackpool, who is called Old Stephen, where we find that his drunk wife who used to live away from him has returned home. Here Stephen visits Bounderby to consult him on a legal way to end his marital relationship.

Mrs Sparsit (a Bunderby spy) objects to Stephen's request, while Bounderby tells Stephen that ending the marriage is too complicated and expensive, Stephen leaves, and then Stephen meets this old lady who seems interested in Bunderby and tells him that she is visiting Cooktown Once a year.

Gradgrind (owner and principal of the school) tells his daughter, Louisa, that the great capitalist and industrialist Josiah Bowunderby, who is thirty years older

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than her, has proposed to her for marriage. Negative about marriage, and here Louisa is forced to accept the marriage proposal.

In the West, the age difference is considered a problem in legal marital relations, but it is not considered as such in illegitimate relationships, and this is what we find in the life of Dickens himself, who was criticising marriage between two people with a large age difference, while Dickens himself was establishing an illegal relationship with a young actress who was decades younger than him.

Bounderby travels to Lyon, where he would like to see how the mills are run there, and later Bounderby sets up a bank in Cooktown.

On the recommendation of the Gradgrind, James Harthouse, the son of the big family from London, gets an important job with the capitalist Bounderby.

As is usually the case for Bounderby, he begins by telling James Harthouse false stories about his childhood to appear as an unusual person until he becomes bored.

James Harthouse notices the sadness in the eyes of Louisa (Bounderby's wife).

Tom (Louisa's brother), who works for his brother-in-law Bounderby, admires James Harthouse at a time when the latter looks at him inferior. We also note that Tom (Louisa's brother) speaks contemptuously of his brother's wealthy Bounderby in front of James Harthouse, and Harthouse discovers that Tom has financial problems and he has persuaded his sister Louisa to marry the wealthy Bounderby in order to get the money.

At a revolutionary rally, Slackridge accuses Stephen Blackpool of treason because he did not join the meeting.

Stephen Blackpool, as a workers' representative, meets with the wealthy Bounderby, and Bounderby asks him about the workers' problems.

Later Tom and his sister Louisa (Bounderby's wife) come to visit Stephen, where Louisa gives him some money.

Bounderby bank is robbed and Stephen Blackpool is suspicious. Mrs. Sparsit notes that there is some kind of relationship between James Harthouse (the

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employee of the big family) and Louisa (wife of the wealthy Poundby and Tom's sister) suspect that they have an affair of adultery.

James Harthouse reveals his love for Louisa (the wife of the capitalist Bunderby), but Louisa repels him and offers him, and they part after that interview, and here Mrs. Confusion and stress, so she falls at her father's feet after she reveals to her father a truth that she later realised, which is that the wooden education she received has paralyzed her ability to express her true feelings.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Sparsit (the spy who has been tracking Louisa) arrives at the London hotel owned by Boundary (Louisa's husband) to convey her suspicions about his wife Louisa's relationship with his employee James Harthouse.

Gradgrind (Louisa's father) tells Bunderby's son-in-law that his daughter Louisa did not accept what Harthouse had told her, and that she refused his offers to her and turned away from him, and that this made her psychological condition worsen and that she needed some time to recover and regain her psychological balance.

And here is the rich Boundary, Mrs. Spearsett reprimanded his spy. Sparsit because she misled him with baseless information. Hence, the rich Bunderby ignores the pleas of Gradgrind (father-in-law, Louisa). He declares that if Louisa does not return to him the next day, his marriage to her will be considered null and void.

However, Louisa did not return to him on the appointed day. Harthouse (who tried to seduce Louisa) leaves the industrial city of Cooktown after Sissy asks him to. (Dickens Book the Second: Reaping, Chapter VII)

Rachel goes to Boundary Bank and says there she knows the whereabouts of Stephen Blackpool, who was accused of bank robbery after he left the industrial city of Cooktown after a quarrel with the wealthy Bunderby, and Rachel says that she will send him a letter asking him to return to Cooktown to defend For his

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reputation and to prove his innocence after being accused of robbery of Bounderby Bank.(Dickens Book the Third: Garnering, Chapter IV)

Bounderby's capitalist becomes suspicious when he learns from Rachel that both his wife Louisa and her brother Tom had visited Stephen the night he was kicked out of the bank. His wife, Louisa, the health of what Rachel said.

Mrs. Sparsit Spirit tracks down Mrs.Pegler, an old lady who has been making annual visits to the Boundary Capitalist's house and discovers that she is Bounderby's mother.

Rachel and Cissy stumble upon Stephen after having a serious accident and Stephen soon dies after talking to Rachel.

Both Louisa (Tom's sister) and Sissy (a Boundary employee) suspect that Tom (Louisa's brother) robbed the Boundary Bank after learning that he had asked Stephen to hang out outside the bank in order to arouse suspicion around him. .

Cece sends Tom to join Sleary's Circus, and at the circus they find Tom disguised as a nigger.(Dickens Book the Second: Reaping: Chapters 5–8)

Mr. Gradgrind (the father of Louisa and Tom) arrives at Sleary Circus, where he agrees with the director of the Circus, Sleary, to smuggle his son Tom to Liverpool and then smuggle him out of the country after he is suspected of being involved in the Boundary Bank heist.(Dickens Book Three: Chapters 8-9)

However, this plan is threatened with failure upon the arrival of Bitzer, a Bounderby employee, who was hoping to get a promotion from his employer, Bounderby, by entrapping Tom. abroad .

Five years later, the capitalist Bounderby dies, and Gradgrind (Louisa and Tom's father) abandons his capitalist ideas, and his son Tom dies in the United States and his sister Louisa remains unmarried after her failed marriage to the capitalist Bounderby. (Dickens 171- 350) Book the Third: Garnering: Chapters 5–9).

3.2.1 Characterisation:

Charles Dickens in the novel differentiates between two types of people; The first type are the illusionists who build their dreams in imagination and love beauty, and the second type are the realists who only know material facts.

Josiah Bounderby: Wealthy Capitalist Gradgrind Partner. Gradgrind (the father of Tom and Louisa) has always bragged about being a self-made man by making up false tales about his childhood to make him seem unusual, and it is noticeable that most of the main characters in this novel are his employees. The Bunderby capitalist had married Louisa, the daughter of his partner, Gradgrind, who was thirty years younger than him, but their marriage was not successful, and they did not have children. Boundary used to spend his time writing false stories about his childhood to hide his true upbringing, but all his past is revealed at the end of the novel when Mrs. Sparsit reveals the fact that the old woman Mrs. Peglar, s She is the mother of the wealthy Boundary, and this old lady has revealed all of Bounderby's past.

Louisa: She is the eldest son of Gradgrind, and she was trained to hide her true feelings, so she lost the ability to express her feelings. After James Harthouse (who works as India's husband) realises that she is unhappy in her marriage, he tries to seduce her into committing adultery with him. But she refused and returned to her father's house. Later, we find her criticising her father's dry, woody view of life, which is devoid of emotion and imagination, which is based on material facts and a fact-based approach to life, and can convince him of the error of that short view of life.

Tom Tom - Thomas: He is the second eldest son of Gradgrind (younger than his sister Louisa) and he was from the beginning a hater of his father's capitalist ideas - he worked in Bounderby's Bank (owned by his brother-in-law) and he later robbed the bank to spend the money drinking Alcohol and gambling, and after suspicions arose about him of a bank robbery, his father, Gradgrind, his sister Luisa, Ceci, and the director of the circus helped him escape abroad.

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Mrs. Sparsit: A widow working for Boundary, she was very jealous when Bounderby married Louisa (Gradgrind's daughter), and had hoped that Luisa Bounderby would run away with James Harthouse (son of the large family employed by her husband But her hopes have been dashed, and Boundary has dismissed her from work.

Stephen Blackpool: He is one of the employees of Boundary, his wife is a drunk woman and she did not live with him, but she appeared from time to time, and he hoped to marry his co-worker Rachel Racheal.

The capitalist Bounderby fired him from work due to a dispute that arose between them, which forced him to look for work elsewhere, and during his absence from the industrial city of Coketown, he is unjustly accused of robbery of a Boundary bank, and on his way back to Cooktown to defend himself that false accusation, he suffers an accident that leads to his death after succumbed to his injuries.

James Harthouse: A person of the upper class tried to seduce Louisa (wife of the capitalist Bounderby) to engage in adultery with him, but he did not succeed.

Steary: The circus owner of Cece's father, a nice guy who helped Cece, Luisa, and Gradgrind smuggle Tom out of the country after his involvement in the Bunderby bank robbery was revealed.

Rachel is Stephen Blackpool's co-worker who has been insisting his innocence of bank robbery, and Rachel is a childhood friend of Blackpool's drunken absent wife.

Mrs.Pegler: An old lady who used to visit Cooktown once a year was later found to be the mother of the capitalist Bunderby.

Sissy (Cecilia): She is a girl who works in Sleary's Circus, and she is a student at the Gradgrind School (father of Luisa and Tom), and this Sissy had a special view of life that made her seem stupid in the eyes of Gradgrind (principal and owner of the school). At the behest of the capitalist Boundary, the headmaster of the school informed Ceci's father Gradgrind that his daughter had been expelled

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from school, and that Jupe's father had abandoned his daughter and left her alone in the world. He kept her in his house to take care of his helpless wife.

After he ascertained to the members of the Gradgrind family that the theory of the material facts on which they were living were incorrect, Sissi became their guide. Sissi was instrumental in taking care of Louisa (Gradgrind's daughter) and helping her start a new life after her marriage failed.

Bitzar: One of Sisi's study friends, he was convinced of Gradgrind's ideas, which are based on the cult of matter and selfishness and lack of faith in imagination and emotion. He was working at Boundary Bank and later tried to trap Tom (Luisa's brother and Gradgrind's son) after suspicion arose about his involvement in the bank robbery, but he was unsuccessful in catching Tom, who managed to escape out of the country.

One of the themes covered in this novel is the subject of the conflict between fact and fiction, where we note that Gradgrind insists that students in his school learn only material facts, and in contrast to Bounderby and Gradgrind who only believe in material facts, we find Sleary, the owner of the circus as a person My imagination, and we also find imagination with Sissy. The method of material education made Tom (son of gradgrind) a gambler, thief, and an alcoholic drunk, while it made his sister Luisa a soulless woman, emotionally dull and incapable of expressing her feelings.

3.3. Analysis of Protest in Hard Times:

Throughout the novel Several social and political issues are addressed, Dickens makes his voice of protest explicitly clear as he expresses the hardship and inequalities of an industrial, hierarchical society. Dickens portrays how difficult life was through all the characters and their positions in society.

3.3.1. Ideology:

In book 1:the sowing Mr.Gradgrind's utilitarian ideology is implemented into the minds of young children in his school and those residing in his home.

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“Now, what I want is Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the mind of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them.” (Dickens 1)

The book opens with a proposal of his doctrine, one of the major characters, Mr. Gradgrind represents the utilitarians, he believes that human nature only can be governed by rational rules. He represents the spirit of the Industrial Revolution and bourgeois. He treats people like machines. Appropriately, he schools his children to become creatures of fact like himself. He sees these children not as living creatures filled with wonder but rather as empty vessels to be stuffed with facts. (Stiltner 193–215)

As seen in the above quotation from the novel one can see that his ideology surrounds the idea of distinguishing the mind and the heart. His philosophy trumps any idea of imagination while rooting children.

If we read Dickens’s first description of Mr. Gradgrind, we immediately realise that it is itself a „matter of fact:

“A man of realities. A man of fact and calculations. A man who proceeds upon the principle that two and two are four, and nothing over, and who is not to be talked into allowing for anything over. [...] With a rule and a pair of scales, and the multiplication table always in his pocket, sir, ready to weigh and measure any parcel of human nature, and tell you exactly what it come to. It is a mere question of figures, a case of simple arithmetic”. (Dickens 10)

In this situation of dangerous disenchantment, Mr. Gradgrind’s calling Sissy “Girl number twenty” (Dickens 10), suggests that students are to him only mere numbers, faceless people that he just has to fill with facts. Therefore, as the title of the second chapter suggests, children are doomed to be „murdered“ by the very institution that should, on the contrary, build a future for them.

By means of *Hard Times*, Dickens operates a critique on educational Utilitarianism, on its fanatical exaggeration and its dangerous social

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consequences. It examines how damaging and limiting an upbringing which allows no place for imagination and natural experience can be, and how risky a social philosophy based only on productivity and profits can be for the whole humankind. In 30 January 1854, Dickens wrote:

“My satire is against those who see figures and averages, and nothing else - the representatives of the wickedest and most enormous vice of this time - the men who, through long years to come, will do more to damage the real useful truths of political economy, than I could do (if I tried) in my whole life - the addled heads who would take the average of cold in the Crimea during twelve monthes, as a reason for clothing a soldier in nankeens on a night when he would be frozen to death in fur - and who would comfort the labourer in travelling twelve miles a day to and from his work by telling him that the average distance of one inhabited place from another in the whole area of England, is not more than four miles. ”.(Dickens 60)Letter 7: 492-93)

The letter, directed against the laissez-faire attitude of government, and statistics: the logic of measurement were in the air since the forming of the Royal Statistical society of London in 1834, which “figures are statistics”, as it shows in *Hard Times*, that statistics as a secular art, measured what people did, not what it supposed that they should do (Mr.Gradgrind's concerns what people were reading in Coketown literary is an example of this). Further comes the point that statistics aggregate the human, and assumes an abstraction when it considers the individual, which means that it need not consider the individual at all. Thinking in terms of number shows calculation, a mean-spirited refusal of the excess that makes out imagination, and is parodied through *Hard Times* from the use of the number 4 in the first chapter to "Girl number 20" on Sissy Jupe in the second chapter, and the instance on eighteen church denomination and in the sense that behind the fascination with numbers is interest in money "the cash nexus" in Chartism (Dickens 148-149), and when the crime is committed is bank robbery.

For Mary Poovey, first Chair of Political Economy at London University (1827): "the modern fact" requires both the collection of raw data and then making a theoretical system from them which show the ability to manipulate people. (Poovey 200–02)

In the article "On Strike" written after visiting Preston, Dickens speaks of the relation between employers and employed needing "something of feeling and sentiment; something of mutual explanation, forbearance, and consideration, something which is not found in Mr. McCulloch's dictionary, and is not exactly stateable in figures" (Dickens 199), Political economy is then one of the ways of acquiring and making knowledge.

3.3.2. Alienation: Feeling/ Fact

Dickens portrayed a lot of characters in his novel such as the man who abandoned the human nature and their personality and went to be abnormal. Above all, Dickens's pen has touched to the core problem of capitalist industrial society-alienation, the character's alienation mainly displays in two attributes: nature and social. The natural attribute is bestial nature inhibits the human nature, physical property suppresses the human nature and extreme rationality depresses human nature. While the social attribute mainly displays in the alienation of relationships between man and man, and also man and society. In the way of seeking for the progress, human beings, at the same time, created a lot of material wealth and spiritual wealth, such as politics, law, education system, and all kinds of political and economic theory and scientific rationality, etc, which in turn to be the power ruling and persecuting others, and resulted to destroy the integrity of human's existence and led to the distortion and deformity of the human nature.

From the marxist critique there's four emergent forms of alienation under capitalism that we can point to. First, there's alienation from yourself and how you see yourself; there's alienation from work and what you make; there's alienation from nature seen here as a whole and alienation from others means that

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there's a schism or rupture where there shouldn't or need not be one, so presumably in a different world we could have intimacy with all these things but by virtue of its mechanism capitalism Messes up all these relations and with it comes a deep sense of having lost something important.

First you're alienated from nature because it has no value other than as a dead resource from which to extract capital or maybe something to buy wrapped up in plastic. Marx's view of nature is broader than ours and includes both human nature of transformation and the natural world which is transformed, commodification alienates us from the interdependent relationship with nature.

In The first chapter from the novel Dickens describes the changing natural landscape in Coketown. I will try to demonstrate that the way in which Dickens depicts it as a dull, monotonous, in other words, „unnatural“ place, can be seen as something more than a mere unsympathetic description of a setting, for it can be interpreted as an denunciation towards the very system that has actually reduced the town in such a poor state. His description of the setting implies that even his own experience of the new city life, and opinion of the industrial cityscape are far from being positive. By means of colours and allegorical images, he makes his readers enter in a world that essentially reflects the appalling environment, as well as sanitary conditions of mid-nineteenth-century England, where fog, smoke, mud, and offensive odour were actually part of people“s everyday life. Dickens describes the setting of his novel in the following way:

It was a town of red brick, or of brick that would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it; but, as matters stood it was a town of unnatural red and black like the painted face of a savage. It was a town of machinery 23 and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves forever and ever, and never got uncoiled. It had a black canal in it, and a river that ran purple with ill-smelling dye, and vast piles of building full of windows where there was a rattling and a trembling all day long, and where the piston of the

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steam-engine worked monotonously up and down, like the head of an elephant in a state of melancholy madness. (Dickens 27)

Dickens implicitly denounces in this novel, nature to be destroyed to leave room to factories and buildings; in the same way, natural instincts and imaginative spontaneity have been eradicated from people to satisfy the requirements of the driving utilitarian system.

Charles Dickens’s novel *Hard Times* suggests that the industrial productive system was detaching humans not only from the natural environment around them, but also from the emotional and imaginative sphere inside of them.

. To Dickens, contemporary society was the educational Utilitarianism, in other words, the utilitarian method adopted at school. In *Hard Times*, he specifically attacks its dangerous long-term consequences it entails at the personal, as well as social level. In the novel, the characters Louisa, Tom, and Bitzer their education in Gradgrind’s school has raised them to deny feeling and wonder.

“As to me, ” said Tom, tumbling his hair all manner of ways with his sulky hands, “I am a Donkey, that’s what I am. I am as obstinate as one, I am more stupid than one, I get as much pleasure as one and I should like to kick like one”. (Dickens 45)

In this quotation above one of Gradgrind’s oldest children Tom states that he resembles a donkey since he should not use his feelings and stick to only facts in life. Because of his upbringing.

Louisa has no resources to enable her to respond to Bounderby’s proposal of marriage after her father, Mr. Gradgrind advises her to consider love “simply as one of tangible Fact” (Dickens 102), He states that the marriage is a reasonable thing to do. To him, Louisa’s emotions are not important. As Louisa blindly follows and marries Bounderby, The news of her mother’s illness is delivered as a simple fact: “There’s a pain somewhere in the room” (Dickens 202). Tom, who has learned the principle of self-interest and who has no empathy for anyone but

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himself, robs Bounderby’s bank and frames Blackpool. Bitzer, the model analyst who reduces the world to bits, also evaluates everything in terms of self-interest. When Gradgrind tries to bribe him to allow Tom to escape arrest, the calculating Bitzer responds from pure self-interest: “Knowing that your clear head would propose that alternative,” he tells Gradgrind, “I have gone over the calculations in my mind; and I find that to compound the felony, even on very high terms indeed, would not be as safe and good for me as my improved prospects in the Bank” (Dickens 8:111).

The result was, to say it in Marxist terms, that humans were alienated twice: in fact, they lost contact not only with the world around them - a world that they actually did not recognize anymore - but also with the intimate and emotional part which was inside of them.

3.3.3. Political Emancipation:

In the novel one of the lowest labourers in Coketown’s factories is called “Hands”, One of the hands is Stephen Blackpool. He is working in Mr. Bounderby’s factory. He struggles with his love for Rachael who is also a factory worker. He can not marry her since he is already married to a drunken woman who disappears for months. Stephen asks Bounderby if he can divorce:“But it’s not for you at all. It costs money. It costs a mint of money” (Dickens 67). As seen, Blackpool learns that only the wealthy men can do this. Stephen Blackpool is a man of honesty and compassion. He lives a life of poverty.

Oh my friends, the down-trodden operatives of Coketown! Oh my friends and fellowcountrymen, the slaves of an iron- handed and a grinding despotism! Oh my friends and fellow- sufferers and fellow- workmen and fellow- men! I tell you that the hour is come, when we must rally round one another as One united power and crumble into dust the oppressors that too long have battered upon the plunder of our families, upon the sweat of our brows, upon the labour of our hands, upon the strength of our sinews, upon the God- created glorious rights of Humanity and upon the holy and eternal privileges of Brotherhood! (Dickens 123)

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In the quotation above one of the hands named Slackbridge tries to form a union for strike in the factory. He wants his friends to be aware of their bad position. He thinks that the ruling class exploits them. To him, they should earn as much as their labour. They are used like machines and to stop this inhuman working a strike is necessary. They are alienated because they have no control over labour or products which they produce. But on the other hand, Stephen refuses to join this because he feels that a union strike would only increase tensions between employers and employees. There is a labour dispute that shows the stained relations between rich and poor. There begins a class struggle and the workers want to get rid of high-class oppression. Like Marxists’ belief, the oppression of the working class leads to a revolt by the workers and the establishment of a classless society.

Look how you consider us and write of us and talk of us and go up wi’ yor deputations to Secretaries of state about us, and how you’re always right, and how we are always wrong, and never had no reason in us ever we were born. Look how this had’ grown and’ grown, Sir, bigger and’ bigger, broader and’ broader, harder and’ harder, from year to year, from generation to generation. Who can look on’t, Sir and fairly tell a man ‘tis not a muddle? (Dickens 134)

Even if Stephen does not want to join the strike, he goes to Bounderby’s bank and they talk about the strike of the Hands. Stephen states that they have not been allowed to use their minds since they were born. They are used like machines from generation to generation. Stephen wants to show the employer that the hands are used up and are not treated like real human beings.

3.3.4. Exploiting Economy:

Human alienation in industrial society is clear in Dickens’s metaphorical substitution of working people. In The novel, Dickens reproduces with extraordinary precision the social structure that came to establish at his times. At the top, he puts Mr. Bounderby, the representative of the emerging social class of

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wealthy bankers and industrialists:“He was a rich man: banker, merchant, manufacturer, and whatnot” (Dickens 20).

then, he puts Mr. Gradgrind, his son Tom, and James Harthouse, on behalf of another, just a bit less well-off, middle class of professionals, teachers, and small business owners; finally, by means of Stephen Blackpool and Rachel, he represents the second major social group to emerge in Victorian England, the factory workers.

It is possible to observe the status gap between the factory owners symbolised by Bounderby and the workers in the novel: “...Her own private sitting-room was a storey higher, at the window of which post of observation she was ready, every morning, to greet Mr. Bounderby as he came across the road, with the sympathising recognition appropriate to a victim.” (Hard Times Dickens 116).

In the novel, Stephen is described as “a good power-loom weaver [...] among the multitude of Coketown, generically called the „Hands”” (Dickens 20)HT 20); „hands” is the word Dickens uses to refer to factory workers, suggesting that, unlike the artisans or craftsmen of the previous era, who had their own tools and skilled traditions handed down from one generation to another, this new working class was composed of rather unskilled men, who worked long hours next to the machines they served using only, or rather only, their hands.

The workers are mentioned as "hands" ' in the novel and among the society of the age since they were not counted as real personalities who had hearts and souls. It was a difficult job to discipline these “hands" ' who did not attend church and were always ready to show ingratitude to their bosses (Urgban 1026). Coketown as a milltown showed the polarisation between the industrialists and the working class people (Johnson 29).

What Dickens attacks is not so much the importance given to production and economic growth, but the perversion of materialism which leads to the dehumanisation of human beings.

“So many hundred Hands in this Mill; so many hundred horse Steam Power. It is known, to the force of a single pound weight, what the engine will do; but, not all the calculators of the National Debt can tell me the capacity for good or evil, for love or hatred, for patriotism or discontent, for the decomposition of virtue into vice, or the reverse, at any single moment in the soul of one of these its quiet servants, with the composed faces and the regulated actions” (Dickens 68)

Hard Times can be considered one of the groundbreaking novels of the progressive thought, for it denounces the disease and moral illness of a modern civilization which is made of winning oppressors, and losing dehumanised victims.

3.3.5. Morality: The “Injustice” of Capitalism

It contained several large streets all very like one another and many small streets still more like one another, inhabited by people equally like one another, who all went in and out at the same hours, with the same sound upon the same pavements, to do the same work and to whom every day was the same as yesterday and to-morrow and every year the counterpart of the last and the next. (Dickens 19)

Here the narrator gives the sight of an industrial city Coketown. There are factories. Since most of the people are from lower classes, they are workers in factories. With the bell of factories, the workers immediately go to work. Their only habit is to use their hands and they are not allowed to use their minds. Like the streets in Coketown, people should be the same as robots. They should not have feelings and imagination. So, everyday becomes the same for the workers of the factories in Coketown. The Industrialism in Coketown creates a social muddle and there is not an easy solution to it.

This again, was among the fictions of Coketown. Any capitalist there, who had made sixty thousand pounds out of sixpence, always professed to wonder why the sixty thousand nearest Hands didn’t each make sixty thousand pounds out of

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sixpence and more or less reproached them every one for not accomplishing the little feat. What can I do? Why don't you go and do it? (Dickens105)

As seen above the industrial place Coketown is governed by capitalist employers. The factory owners earn more than they have and more than what their employees earn. The profit gained by the capitalist is different. The value of the product made by the worker and the actual wage that the worker receives are different from the profit. The narrator indicates that if the capitalist employers can increase their income why the workers also do not do this easy thing. To him the workers also should use their minds and have what they actually deserve. In the novel, the ruling class controls the society's means of production, the superstructure of society and its ruling ideas.

Conclusion

CONCLUSION

Conclusion:

Dickens's *Hard Times* is among the first works which reflect the impacts of the Industrial Revolution on working life in England through a critical perspective. In this study, *Hard Times* has been analysed through Marxism. From a Marxist perspective, it is understood that the protest of Dickens is paved mainly by the novel. The factors criticism of the industrial revolution can be defined as motor forces of the novel narration and have been the target of Dickens's work.

In *Hard Times* with the beginning of Industrialism the position and life circumstances of people began to change. There emerge class struggles. The capitalists began to rule the workers and they ignore the workers' capacities and abilities. Therefore, the workers want to strike in order to get rid of the oppression of capitalist employers. Due to these kinds of Marxist issues, Dickens's fictionalised world can be dealt with its relation to Karl Marx's social philosophy. *Hard Times* reflects class consciousness, sacrifice and social injustice of the nineteenth century Victorian age. Doing that, Dickens portrays the social truths of this period vividly. In his novel the oppressed people, especially workers found a voice, that is, finally they comprehend that they should behave like human beings, not machines. For achieving their goal, the characters in the novel realised that they must revolt against the bourgeois.

Additionally, when analysed in terms of Marxist views, it may be said that both Dickens's novel *Hard Times* and Marx's ideal notions requires revolution and sacrifice. In the novel, in the hands of capitalism the workers experiences inequality and oppression. Moreover, not only Dickens portrays the bad living conditions of workers but also the characters from the middle and upper classes in Industrial town. Thus, the author is successful in reflecting the problems and interests existing in real life in the Victorian age.

In his novels, Dickens inspects the social problems through a pragmatic perspective and argues that the education system should be corrected, little

CONCLUSION

children should go to schools rather than being exploited in mines, poor people should live in better conditions. None of Dickens's suggestions are utopic (Urgan, 2003:996). He looks for a reality which is beyond imagination.

However, he does not offer an escape from the system. He recounts the cost of maintaining the system (Johnson, 1989: 136). Dickens intends to go further than a superficial reading of workers' reality and reveal them (Spector, 1984: 375). In *Hard Times*, the inability of the characters to reach happiness shows that there is no artificial solution to the realities of life (Urgan 1032). Dickens believes that the reader of his novel will act in a different way. As Butwin notices, *Hard Times*, as a novel of social reform, completes itself outside the novel through different kinds of action such as joining of societies (Urgan 167). In fact, the readers of *Hard Times* are asked to turn their attention away from the novel. In the final pages of the novel, Dickens makes his intentions clear:

"Dear reader! It rests with you and me, whether, in our two fields of action, similar things shall be or not. Let them be!" (Dickens 286).

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الملخص:

تتناول هذه الأطروحة الاحتجاج السياسي في الأوقات الصعبة لتشارلز ديكنز. غالباً ما يُنظر إلى ديكنز على أنه ناقد اجتماعي تهدف أعماله إلى إصلاح المجتمع البريطاني خلال العصر الفيكتوري. كان الإصلاح غير مباشر حيث استخدم ديكنز التقليد العاطفي لحث السياسيين على تحسين ظروف المعيشة خاصة للأيتام والعمال. كما يجادل العديد من النقاد، فإن الأوقات الصعبة هي أكثر من مجرد عمل أدبي، بل هي قطعة سياسية وإن كانت بشكل غير مباشر. في تحليلي للاحتجاج السياسي في *Hard Times*، سأجادل في أن ديكنز متأثر بالفيلسوف السياسي الألماني كارل ماركس، نظرية الماركسية. أما فيما يتعلق ببنية الأطروحة، فستتكون من ثلاثة فصول على رأسها خاتمة عامة وتذييلها خاتمة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تشارلز ديكنز، التصنيع، الأوقات الصعبة، الاحتجاج السياسي، الماركسي