



HEGEMONY AND CLASS-CONFLICT IN ACADEMIA: LUCKY JIM¹

AKADEMİDE HEGEMONYA VE SINIF ÇATIŞMASI: LUCKY JIM

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Abstract

Accepted as the first British example of the post-war campus novels, Kingsley Amis's *Lucky Jim* (1954) was overlooked as a light comedy for a very long time by the critics, yet it harbours a serious satire of the academic traditions and manners. By centralizing class-antagonism, it questions the established hierarchical structure in the academia, and unfolds the ambiguous situation of the working-class academic who is thrown into the system of higher education with the regulations of the Welfare State of England. The novel illustrates the power struggles within academia in detail and elaborates on the political atmosphere of the university through its characterization and narration. Furthermore, it problematizes the persistence of capitalist policies in academia, which creates an air of unfair rivalry among academics. Therefore, this article aims to discuss the outcomes of the diffusion of the dominant capitalist ideology into the academia in the novel, with specific reference to the individualistic and class-based differences in reaction to such hegemonic pressure.

Öz

İkinci dünya savaşı sonrası İngiliz kampüs romanlarının ilk örneği olarak kabul edilen Kingsley Amis'in romanı *Lucky Jim* (1954) (Talihli Jim) uzun süre eleştirmenler tarafından hafif komedi olarak göz ardı edilse de akademik teamül ve geleneklere ciddi bir yergi barındırmaktadır. Merkezine sınıfsal çatışmayı alarak, akademiye yerleşe gelmiş hiyerarşik yapılanmayı sorgular ve İngiliz Refah Devleti politikaları ile yüksek öğretime gelişigüzel dahil edilmiş alt sınıf akademisyenin muğlak durumunu gözler önüne serer. Roman akademiyedeki güç ilişkilerini ayrıntılı bir şekilde örneklerken hem karakter hem de anlatımı ile üniversitedeki politik atmosferi de vurgular. Ayrıca öğretim elemanları arasında haksız rekabet yaratan kapitalist politikaları da sorunsallaştırır. Bundan dolayı bu araştırmanın amacı, hegemonyacı baskıya karşı gelişen bireysel ve sınıf bazlı tepkileri referans alarak, hâkim kapitalist ideolojinin akademiye sirayet edişinin sonuçlarını roman çerçevesinde tartışmaktır.

Makale Bilgisi

Gönderildiği tarih: 23 Ağustos 2017
Kabul edildiği tarih: 21 Kasım 2017
Yayınlanma tarihi: 27 Aralık 2017

Article Info

Date submitted: 23 August 2017
Date accepted: 21 November 2017
Date published: 27 December 2017

Anahtar sözcükler

Kingsley Amis; *Lucky Jim*;
Hegemonya; Sınıfsal Çatışma;
Kapitalizm; Hâkim İdeoloji; Akademi;
Kültürel Sermaye

Keywords

Kingsley Amis; *Lucky Jim*;
Hegemony; Class-Antagonism;
Capitalism; Dominant Ideology;
Academia; Cultural Capital

DOI: 10.1501/Dtcfder_0000001561

I. Introduction

One of the first examples of post-war English campus novels, Kingsley Amis's *Lucky Jim* (1954), recounts the struggles of a lower-class history instructor, James Dixon, within the academia. He manages to get a position at a provincial university, yet he makes many mistakes throughout his short academic career, and goes through a series of conflicts with his seniors. After a scandalous conference speech, he loses his academic position, and finds a well-paid job as a secretary. Although, in the end, he marries the woman he loves, the fact that he needs to pursue his dreams outside the academia not within it makes the happy ending of the novel a questionable one pointing out the improbability of a lower-class individual's success in academia. Considering he starts his career with a lot of disadvantages, such as lack of money and

¹ A modified and a much shorter version of this article was presented at the 11th International IDEA Conference (Ankara, 12-14 April, 2017). Different from this version, the focus was on forms of pretension and duality in academia.

intellectual insight or, in Bourdieu's concepts, social capital, his frustration with elitist academic traditions forms the central discussion in the novel. The novel problematizes all the mentioned issues and relates them both to the post-war class dynamics in English academia, and the intrusion of capitalist ideology into universities. Within this framework, this study aims to discuss the disadvantaged and in-between situation of lower-class academics in post-war England in spite of the socio-political attempts to equalize and expand higher education opportunities in the same period. Through Jim's case, the study puts forward to the problematic correlation² between the expansion of higher education in post-war England and persistence of class-based inequalities.

II. Post-War England

To have a broader understanding of the class dynamics in England, and the underlying reasons of this failure in higher education projects, the variables of the post-war period need to be understood. Although England was among the winner states of the World War the Second, it did not experience a full spirit of victory due to the fact that in the background it still carries the traces of the fall of a colonial Kingdom. Sir William H. Beveridge dwells upon the requirements of post-war reconstruction in England giving the utmost priority to a reasonable amount of income for each family. The motto of "New England" among individuals calls for renewal in a lot of areas ranging from finances to education. Sir William confirms those needs in his study with these words: "*Most people want something new after the war... New Britain sums up the common desires of all of us today, of those who emphasize the New and those who emphasize the Britain*" (81). Being aware of such such expectations, The Labour party, conducted a powerful campaign, and won the elections in 1945 which led to the rise of working class consciousness.³ The political leaders of the time decided to create a welfare state in which every citizen would have financial security. However, the demands of the global economy, and the after-effects of war prevented the party from carrying out some of its economic plans. In the BBC

² Although the correlation is expected to be on the negative side, that is, the higher the number of attendees in higher education, the narrower the gap between classes, statistical studies proved that there is zero correlation between two variables. For further statistical data see: Vikki Boliver's "Expansion, differentiation, and the persistence of social class inequalities in British higher education"

³ Paul Adelman, in his *The Rise of the Labour Party, 1880-1945*, studies this gradual development of Labour Party with firm steps relating it to the party's direct link to trade unions, the most powerful social organizations of their time.

review entitled “Towards a role in the 21st century”, the post-war state of England is summarized as follows: “Britain's imperial past has brought with it a series of questions about national identity,” and the former US Secretary of the State evaluated England’s case with these words “Great Britain has lost an empire and not yet found a role”⁴ (BBC News: In Depth UK Politics). For a few decades or more, England struggled to create a steadily developing national economy and educational policy. Regarding that the novel was written in this atmosphere, it inevitably reflects the traces of the Welfare State’s failure of providing an atmosphere of prosperity and educational quality. This disillusionment continued steadily in the following decades as confirmed by many researchers like Blanden and Machin, they suggest: “*Despite the fact that many more children from higher income backgrounds participated in HE [higher education] before the recent expansion of the system, the expansion acted to widen participation gaps between rich and poor children*” (22).

Accordingly, the general restlessness in England, stemming from the unstable political and economic conditions of the fifties, paved the way for a new literary movement, Angry Young Men Movement⁵, which influenced the writers, poets, and playwrights of the time. Amis is considered one of the eminent members of the Movement despite his rejection of the categorization of his works. As Singleton confirms, “*During this decade, the literary community saw a vast increase in works of literature that addressed displacement and uneasiness within British society, ranging from social class structure to issues in the education system*” (50). The two detections of Singleton, class structure and education system, are closely related in *Lucky Jim* as the novel portrays the struggle of a lower-class academic to establish himself within academia, which was still dominated by the elite in the fifties, without losing his ties with his origins. However, within this portrayal lies serious power struggles controlled by capitalist ideology. Like in *Lucky Jim*, the main characters, in the works of the writers of the movement, were depicted as ordinary men with whom the working-class men identified themselves. William van O’Connor describes the type of protagonist created in post-war English fiction, arguing:

English fiction in the years since World War II has produced a new kind of protagonist. He is a rather seedy young man and suspicious of all pretensions... There is nothing heroic about him, unless it is his

⁴ Speech at West Point (5 December 1962).

⁵ For further discussion on the issue see Rachel Singleton’s “The Angry Young Man Movement and Its Influence on *Lucky Jim*, *Look Back in Anger*, and *A Clockwork Orange*”.

refusal to be taken in by humbug. He is a comic figure, with an aura of pathos about him. *Lucky Jim* was one of the first, and is probably still the best, of these novels (168).

On one level, *Lucky Jim* epitomizes the first English example of the angry man who rejects, criticizes or reacts against the established order and its rules, without the required social capital in Bourdieu's terms. From R.B Parker's perspective, *Lucky Jim's* pattern "centered on an anti-intellectual, "intellectual" sniping at society" (27); that is, Jim's intellectuality is already in question from one perspective, but the so-called intellectuals that he is surrounded with are not different from Jim in field knowledge or academic capacity.

Since the novel was written after the Education Act of 1944, allowing university scholarship to a large number of students regardless of their social backgrounds,⁶ it carries the traces of problematic nature of expansion in higher education. Machin and Vignoles in the detailed report they prepared on *Education Policy in the UK* conclude "despite expansion of HE, young people from disadvantaged backgrounds are still much less likely to go to university" (18). For Jim Dixon's case even if they find the chance to go to university, they do not aim higher than provincial or red-brick universities. Robert Galvani asserts the law introduced "Secondary education for all pupils to the age of fourteen, abolishing tuition fees for pupils attending publicly provided or grant-aided secondary schools and establishing impartial funding to local authorities and to different school sectors" (78). Amis personally spent a great deal of his youth in search of scholarship, and failed Cambridge exam, he later on gained only a partial scholarship from Oxford (Leader 90). However, there exist problems with the practical implementation of the act in specifying the local authorities who will control the monetary aspect of the new regulation. And the type of schools which would pioneer the application of the new act were not clear enough in the act. Such radical changes without preliminary preparations disturb the holders of power in the former system, and create temporary chaos although some aspects of the system remain intact. Anne Smith provide the details of the new system: "Most of society's leaders of the day had been educated at prestigious fee-paying public schools. Anyone else who had achieved a position of influence had been educated at a grammar school. These were not to be touched in the new regime, even though they were to be enabled

⁶ Amis is one of the writers of lower class origins who benefited from the opportunities provided by the law as he funded his university education through scholarship just like his protagonist. For further detail for his education life see: Zachary Leader's *The Life of Kingsley Amis*, in which war-time Oxford and post-war Oxford is presented comparatively.

- or forced - to take intelligent working class pupils" (116). Even this new regulation puts the barrier of intelligence in front of the lower-class students, which will put them into a cut-throat rivalry to prove their capacity for admission to prestigious universities. Jim's lost situation and his final failure in academia proves that the regulation was initially an act of goodwill on the part of the government, but it ignored the social implications of such a move. To be more specific, the act meant that the schools and academic society would not be homogenous anymore and there would be people in higher education from different layers of society with different expectations and backgrounds. Nonetheless, the scientific researches upon the issue points to the contrary as confirmed by Martin Trow: "*Everywhere the proportions [entering higher education] from the upper and middle classes are still significantly higher than from the working classes or farmers, despite half a century of efforts to close that gap*" (246). At this point the novel dwells upon a very important social variable, class, which was not calculated by the legislators of the time. From the perspective of the chairman of UGC⁷, Sir Walter Moberly, there is a severe crisis in the universities of England, so to share his experiences with the public he published *Crisis in the University* (1949), in which he confirms the low quality in universities due to the admission of unqualified masses⁸. Being the head of the most important "*machinery for channelling funds from Government to universities*" (Shattock and Berdahl 471), his ideas provoked interest in the policy makes of the time as well as the public. That is why from the very beginning of Amis's novel, the two academics, the head of the history department, Ned Welch and his junior Jim are described as quite different from each other as if they were the harbinger of the disparity and chaos in universities. In the first chapter, Welch and Jim walk in the aisle of the faculty building side by side, "*To look at, but not to look at, they resembled some kind of variety act: Welch tall and weedy, with limp whitening hair, Dixon on the short side, fair and round-faced, with an unusual breath of shoulder that had never been accompanied by any special physical strength or skill*" (8). As hinted by R.B Parker, the novel introduces Jim lacking any special skill or talent, and emphasizes that he is "different" in some way. Initially, the contrast is implied to be physical in the first

⁷ For further discussion on the function of the University Grants Committee (1919) see: "The British University Grants Committee 1919-83: Changing Relationships with the Government and the Universities" by Michael Shattock and Robert Berdahl.

⁸ Trusting his long experience in the field of education, Moberly mainly dwells upon the shallowness of the university students who could not get a proper education in the new system.

scene, but as the plot develops, it is understood that this physical contrast is only a foreshadowing for other contrasts such as manners, and social background.

Being a university staff, Amis emphasizes this problematic and ambiguous position of lower-class academics both in social life and in academia from the perspective of an insider. He is quite critical of the intellectuals of his time in the sense that their theoretical knowledge is far from contributing to the plans of the Labour Party. In one of the pamphlets published in his own life-time, Amis openly declares:

In actual relationships within party politics, the intellectual will be distrusted for the middle-class habits he is likely to have, particularly his middle-class or public school accent... I am sure here we have a tremendously important badge of class difference... In the field of political theory your intellectual is likely to be a pure theorist, much too indifferent to changing conditions, not nearly empirical enough, without a quarter of the tactical sense that your trade union official will have picked up without noticing (Amis, *Socialism and the Intellectuals* 12).

Within Amis's declaration embedded the suggestion that the formal education and university circle moderate the life standard, manners, and even the language of lower-class academics, so once an individual steps into the academia, there comes a process of adaptation and transformation. For this very reason, their situation is ambiguous; that is, such academics face exclusion not only in labour unions, in their genuine communities, but also in the academia since they do not fit in the established elitist traditions of the academic circle. They cope with the same suspicious attitude in both communities. This painful struggle of the lower-class academics to establish themselves within one group without losing the ties with the other is portrayed in *Lucky Jim*.

III. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Gramsci's concepts of hegemony, contradictory consciousness, and manufactured consent as well as his detections on the formation of intellectuals are operational terms in the discussion of class-antagonism in the novel. Class-conflict incorporates strive for superiority and dominance for each class, and it is, in a sense, the pursuit of hegemonic power. In his *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci defines hegemony as follows: "*The spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this*

consent is historically caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production” (Gramsci 12). In his definition, what is mainly debated is the idea of getting the consent of the masses instead of forcing them to accept certain values. However, this consent is manufactured and controlled through certain ideological apparatuses in society. The passivity of the less advantaged class can be easily confused with willingness; that is, the notion of voluntariness gets complicated if one party is more powerful [or prestigious in Gramsci’s terms] than the other. Jim’s case is a good example of this “unwillingness” to consent to the norms of the dominant group, yet he constantly hesitates to openly defy the elite academics, and tries to oppose them in more secret and conniving ways. At this point, Gramsci ties this hesitation and timidity to a certain state of consciousness:

One might also say that he [the working class man] has two theoretical consciousness (or one contradictory consciousness): one which is implicit in his activity and which in reality unites him with all his fellow-workers in the practical transformation of the real world; and one, superficially explicit or verbal which he has inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed (333).

This divided state of consciousness acts as the primary source of lower-class individual’s inaction in the face of hegemonic pressure created by the dominant class, and explains Jim Dixon’s hesitations to publicly defy the authorities of his university.

Gramsci also emphasizes the long and arduous process of creating intellectuals which requires systematization and continuity. An individual should be put into an educational mechanism that will shape him as a scholar at the very beginning of his education; otherwise, he cannot adapt to the discipline and hard work required by academia. He claims: “*If one wishes to produce great scholars, one still has to start at this point and apply pressure throughout the educational system in order to succeed in creating those thousands or hundreds or even only dozens of scholars of the highest quality*” (37). In this case how long a lower-class individual can stay in the educational system to meet the requirements of academic life should be considered to grasp Jim’s situation within the academic sphere. The possibility of closing the educational gap between the lower and upper-class is low since the problem dates back to very early ages in the history of formal education in England. To have appropriate education is directly linked to one’s financial status, in a sense, his class, and the community who controls money monopolized the higher education for a very long time. The hegemony created by the upper class produced a vicious

circle, one, which is hard to break by the outsiders. In the long run, the upper class used these schools to spread their own dominant ideology, in other words, to maintain their own existence rather than welcoming people from different backgrounds into the system.

In this respect, a brief look at the alternative definition(s) of ideology and hegemony will clarify what I mean by dominant ideology and its relation to hegemony. In his book *Marxism and Literature*, Raymond Williams makes a short summary of the use of the term “ideology” in Marxist theory:

(i) a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular class or group,

(ii) a system of illusory beliefs- false ideas or false consciousness-which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge.

(iii) the general process of the production of meanings and ideas. (55)

Taken the first definition each time one mentions the existence of an ideology, he also accepts the presence of a class that feeds and sustains the ideology in question. However, Williams makes a distinction between ideology and class consciousness. He argues that class-consciousness is a concept which is not “tainted” by ideology (66). For him, while class-consciousness remains an understanding and internalizing of one’s own social group dynamics and practices, ideology becomes a more systematized adaptation and distribution of these practices to the whole society under the disguise of general social welfare. Williams also broadens the Gramsci’s initial definition of Hegemony. Unlike Gramsci, Williams draws attention to the effect of hegemony on private life, and argues the social influence of hegemony is only one aspect of the issue, rejecting the idea that hegemony is only influential over social groups and it is only a matter of dominance and submission. People live hegemony, internalize it, shape it or shaped by it for Williams. In that case, to understand the dynamics of hegemony, one needs to look at the “whole body of living”. As for the members of academia, studying them only as a professional group means ignoring the effect of hegemony in their private lives and personal relationships. Williams believes that hegemony is a ‘process’ that operates intertwined with counter-hegemony and alternative hegemony rather than being a passive form of dominance. He claims: “*It [hegemony] has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, and challenged by pressures not at all its own*” (112-113). This discussion of Williams is quite critical in explaining

the nature of the hegemonic power struggle between Jim and the upper-class academics in the novel.

In his discussion of the selective tradition, he emphasizes that cultural systems have determining dominant features, which are insistently kept as distinguishing characteristics of those cultures. Those features are passed down to future generations and formulate the dominant in these cultures. The idea of the dominant is present in all cultural activities from music to visual arts. The dominant controls, shapes and gives structure to the newly emerging genres and activities on the cultural level. However, within the construction of the dominant, there are several stages and variations. The dominant is not an isolated and intact concept that controls all the areas of life from a certain distance. It is not something that is passed on to following generations in its pure state. In this respect, Williams believes in the existence of “residual” and “emergent” within the dominant. He maintains: “*By residual I mean something different from the archaic though in practice these are often very difficult to distinguish. Any culture includes available elements of the past, but their place in the contemporary cultural process is profoundly variable*” (122). He also underlines the sustenance of the actively residual meanings and values against the pressures of incorporation. The academia resists incorporation to a dominant value system to a certain extent, so the universities can be scrutinized whether they contain residual and emergent elements in their modern structures. By definition, the emergent is the newly created cultural values and relationships which are oppositional and alternative to the dominant one. Williams believes the new formations are always under the intense pressure of established tradition. In other words, the emergent is regarded as a threat to the tradition, and in the novel, Jim Dixon, as the representative of emergent values, is under the scrutiny of the representatives of the dominant ideology.

The established upper-class academics perceives him as an outsider who needs to be incorporated into their engrained system. However, incorporation becomes a painful process for Jim Dixon, since he already lacks the necessary “social capital” in Pierre Bourdieu’s terms. In his voluminous masterpiece *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984), Pierre Bourdieu dwells upon the various forms of capital namely social, cultural and economic⁹ whose ownership

⁹ Social capital is directly about relationships and organization that are within one's social network (acceptance to a very prestigious firm via one's classmates' families). Cultural capital is the outcome one's stored knowledge of culture -ballet, theatre, classical arts, music, literature, and this type of capital is more connected to education and intelligence.

specifies the rank and position of the individual in his society. The possession of these capitals are highly deterministic in positioning each individual in relation to others, yet the reconstructed universities of New England fails in providing the masses with this capital.

IV. Class Conflict and Hegemonic Power Struggles in *Lucky Jim*

Campus is evaluated as a place of politicking and polarization due mainly stemming from the power struggles among its members. Class antagonism and the hegemony of the upper class over the lower one at the university is felt by Jim in the opening chapters of the novel. He believes that his destiny is in the hands of his senior Welch. He also believes that he is of slight importance in the academic world. For example, at the party organized by the Welch family, Jim introduces himself as an “underling” of Professor Welch (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 41) which connotes subordination and insignificance, especially in terms of position and rank. He signals that he is aware of the hierarchical relationships within the academia and positions himself accordingly. On the one hand, Jim is conscious about how the other academics perceive him in the academic circle but on the other hand, he detects their follies and intellectual inabilities. He notices that the people who have control over his professional life do not have the necessary intellectual qualifications to deserve their positions at the faculty. Hence, this observation leads Jim to see the discrepancy between appearance and reality, between how academics reflect themselves at the university and who they really are.

When analysed in detail, Jim’s fear of hegemonic wars among the academics gives clues about the failure of the lower class to create their own “organic intellectuals” in Gramsci’s terms. As Gramsci suggests, it is difficult for lower classes to have their own intellectuals because of the financial hardships. In that sense, upper classes are always one step ahead at the beginning of their education lives, and this advantage continues up to the level of higher education. According to Althusser, lower class is the first group to fall out of the formal education process in order to meet the immediate labour need in the capitalist system, so there is limited chance for a lower-class person to become a great scholar. In England, after the Second World War, they get these positions at universities simply because of the government policy that welcomes the veterans to academic positions in parallel to the establishment of different provincial universities. Such lower-class academics are employed in less prestigious schools to meet the immediate demand of newly established universities after the war. Jim is a graduate of “Local Grammar School”

(215) which is a state-funded school in the tripartite system of England, the others being technical and modern schools¹⁰. Although this system divided the students according to their merits instead of their classes, and was free of charge, the families opposed the idea and claimed that a system based on selection was again a type of discrimination. They knew that only prestigious schools in London could prepare pupils for higher education while many of them, especially local ones, would still have limited curricula. As Jim graduated from one of those local schools, his fears and insecurities about his academic merits are not groundless.

The relationship between Professor Welch and Jim displays that hegemony operates in the form of abuse of the less experienced academic by his seniors. As Richard Fallis identifies *“Jim acts, but he is more acted upon, and his actions, taken on their own terms rather than his, are often irrelevant and pointless”* (68). On one level, all his actions are under the supervision of his colleagues, and they gain meaning only when approved or recognized by his superiors. Therefore, he feels obliged to carry out silly tasks to please them, but hates these petty works, such as the filling the departmental timetable (85). Each semester, academics write short feedback about the departmental policies, the curriculum and the staff on the timetable and hang them to the places that everyone can see, yet Jim personally sees it as an academic drudgery, which is imposed upon them. Moreover, he deep down believes that his ideas on any of the topics given will not be valued and respected by the seniors of the faculty, so he does not want to spare time for activities that will not be taken seriously. For Jim, it is one of those unnecessary tasks that is invented to keep people busy, and which has no real use for the functioning of the academic system. Welch, once, wants Jim to check some information from the library for his own personal use, and as an excuse he implies that he is too busy to do the task himself. *“Good. Well, you can see that I shan’t be able to spend any time pottering about looking things in the library... It’s good of you to do this for me, Dixon”* (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 173). Although Jim has an appointment with his girlfriend on the same day, he feels obliged to run the errands assigned by Welch because of the hierarchical pressure he feels upon himself.

The hegemonic pressure of the upper class is also in the form of enforcing their values upon Jim, which is initially observed in the term party scene at Welch’s residence. Before the party, Jim meets Margaret, who is another young, upper class

¹⁰ *“The 1943 White Paper, Educational Reconstruction, determined that secondary education would be organised into a tripartite system of secondary grammar, secondary technical and secondary modern schools with each following a discrete curriculum”* (Galvani 79).

academic in the same department, in a bar, and openly declares that he lacks the required knowledge and discipline expected of an intellectual, which Gramsci also points out in his theory. He tells her in a state of panic and anger: *“Look Margaret, you know as well as I do that I can’t sing, I can’t act, I can hardly read, and thank God I can’t read music... He [Welch] wants to test my reaction to culture, see whether I am a fit person to teach in a university, see? Nobody who can’t tell a flute from a recorder can be worth hearing on the price of bloody cows under Edward the Third”* (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 24). He is also angry due to his self-realization that he lacks the qualifications needed from an academic, so he calls the cows “bloody”. At this point, Raymond Williams’ argument concerning the workings of tradition in institutions is explanatory of Jim’s situation since Williams claims: *“specific communities and specific places of work, exerting powerful and immediate pressures on the conditions of living and of making a living, teach, confirm, and in most cases, finally enforce selected meanings, values and activities”* (118). The academic tradition tries to incorporate Jim into the system by imposing the established values of academia, which are highly class-oriented such as having a taste of music, art, literature, yet he finds himself insufficient to meet those demands. In this respect, Pierre Bourdieu mentions “the sense of distinction” in dominant class not only resulting from their economic and cultural capital but also from “the choices commonly regarded as aesthetic” (260). A common taste among its members is a pre-requisite for the dominant class, since they label the ones lacking it as vulgar, which compromises one aspect of the symbolic violence among classes. Bourdieu analyses the higher education teachers, and asserts: *“Their preferences are balanced between a certain audacity and a prudent classicism; they refuse the facile pleasures of right-blank taste without venturing into the artistic avant-garde, exploring the rediscoveries rather than discoveries, the rarest works of the past rather than the contemporary avant-garde”* (264). For this very reason, Welch put Jim Dixon into a test of classical music rather than a contemporary one. In other words, culture for the English bourgeoisie, or an upper-class academic consists of the knowledge of classics rather than the insight about modern forms of art.

The second use of “see”, at the end of his complaint, shows that Jim needs empathy and understanding from his listener. He also needs confirmation about his discomfort in front of such annoying tests. However, Margaret shows no interest in Jim’s complaints and ignores his anger and anxiety. She responds: *“Don’t let’s talk about it anymore. Can’t we talk about ourselves?”* (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 24). Her reaction implies that Margaret also does not understand what Jim is going through as she is

one of the academics who is accepted by that microcosm. Hence, she feels secure about her position both socially and financially. For instance, she does not feel well enough to teach for a whole semester, but the faculty keeps paying her salary. What is more, the same professor Welch, who threatens Jim at every opportunity, welcomes Margaret to his house to provide her with special care during the treatment of her illness. Such discrimination of Welch indicates class has a determining factor in academic relationships. As Williams claims, the “selective force” of tradition excludes the newly emerging values which cannot be incorporated into the established system, or which pose threat to it, while preserving the old and approved ones (116). Then, Jim does not belong to the academic community, which has been monopolized by the upper class for centuries. He feels that he belongs to a different community. Therefore, in the same scene, when they have this conversation in the bar, Jim associates himself with the barmaid: *“He thought how much he liked her and had in common with her, and how much she’d like and have in common with him if she only knew him”* (25). He involuntarily feels that someone from his class, like the barmaid, would understand him better instead of the upper-class academics surrounding him.

The abuse of power that appears in the form of assigning unimportant errands to Jim, has also a psychological level, which creates an internal pressure for Jim. In one instance, Jim gathers his courage to ask Professor Welch about his position in the university, saying, *“I have been worrying rather about my position here... I am afraid I got off on the wrong foot here rather, when I first came. I did some rather silly things. Well, now that my first year is nearly over, naturally I can’t help feeling a bit anxious”* (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 83). Welch is quite unsympathetic about Jim’s concern, instead, he talks about some other problems in the university, such as the situation of the chemistry labs. Upon such indifference, Jim feels that he is not worthy of attention, and thinks Welch is a selfish, incompetent man who does not deserve his status. Jim believes such incapable people as Welch become employers at universities because of the privileges that are provided by their upper-class position. He dreams about beating the professor and disclosing his real feelings about him: *“Look here, you old cockchafer, what makes you think you can run a history department, even at a place like this, eh, you old cockchafer?”* (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 85). The phrase “even at a place like this” is repeated in different contexts whenever Jim evaluates the institution he works in, so it connotes that a provincial university need not be very conventionally hierarchical. He has a low opinion of the institution, and a lower opinion of the hierarchical administration.

From the very beginning feels that his superiors are actually his inferior; that is. They do not deserve to be in the position of criticizing him. Therefore, he rejects obeying the rules that are set by those people since he believes that he deserves better than being monopolized by these pompous academics. Rachel Singleton evaluates Jim's situation with these words:

Although Amis' novel reads as a comedy, the underlying implications of *Lucky Jim* is that Jim is one angry man: his superior is actually inferior, he can see straight through the falsities of social interaction, and yet he wants so desperately to fit into the social paradigm that he deplores. (Singleton 54).

As a reaction to the hegemony forced upon him, Jim develops quite a negative or even a spiteful attitude towards the professors of his faculty. The more rules they impose on him, and try to control him, the more rebellious he becomes. He mocks or criticizes the upper-class academics at every opportunity, and sets little traps to ridicule them. He steals their taxis after balls, changes his voice on the phone to trick them, writes fake letters using pseudonyms to make them afraid, and finally sets fire on valuable documents of colleagues. After a while, all his tricks go out of control and they are discovered by the victims of the jokes, so he puts himself into real trouble with his co-workers. In his Merrie England speech, he ruins the occasion by getting drunk and imitating Welch's and the Principal's voices. He has been pretending for such a long time that his memory fails him and all his repressed feelings are released. In the meantime, he keeps thinking whether he is losing his position at the department and feels anxious. From Gramsci's perspective he is stuck in between his two consciousness; that is, all these reactions signal that Jim wants to be part of the circle, yet he cannot find a proper place appropriate for his class and background.

The ambivalence of Jim's social position within academia puts him into a constant attempt to assert himself and create good public opinion partly to subvert the negative views of his colleagues. In the bathroom scene in Welch's house, the day after the party, he looks at the mirror after cleaning it, and he thinks "*As always, though, he looked healthy, he hoped, honest and kindly*" (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 65). The adjectives he uses to describe himself are not randomly chosen. In spite of all the lies and tricks he devises he looks "honest". Despite all the crudity that he displays by swearing and using offensive words, he looks "kindly". Although he gets drunk and sick at parties, he looks "healthy". There is also the expression 'he hoped' which connotes that he desires to be regarded positively by the upper-class. Nevertheless, they all approach him with suspicion and bias, which makes Jim's mission more

difficult. As Gramsci stated, “*Consciousness of being part of a particular hegemonic force is the first stage towards a further progressive self-consciousness in which theory and practice will finally be one*” (333). In other words, one needs to adjust his self-perception according to the social forces that surrounds him to handle the contradictory state of consciousness, and feel unified. Coping with this divided state of consciousness is necessary for the lower class to realize his goal of becoming a member of higher class, or getting equal chances with them. At this point, Jim’s inner rejection to adapt the perspective of the upper class prevents him from being a part of the hegemonic system. On the surface, he hopes to become one of them, yet inwardly he is aware of their follies and defects, which prevent him from identifying himself with their ideology. However, the same inconsistent state, the contradiction between his beliefs and his practices, causes Jim’s hesitation and anxiety. For Gramsci, the contradictory state of consciousness does not permit of any action, any decision or any choice, and produces a condition of moral and political passivity (333). Therefore, the only choice for Jim is to position himself among the academics surrounding him, to be one of them, or to submit to moral passivity for Gramsci. From Bourdieu’s perspective, Jim is unarmed, or lacks the necessary “cultural and social capital”, as he did not undergo a proper education. His chance of fitting in an academic system whose basic requirement is knowledge is, consequently, low.

As implied, the gap between the classes is not only an inner pressure felt by Jim without any external factors. He is frequently reminded of his lower-class background and vulgarity by the upper-class members of academia, like Welch’s son, Bertrand. He is not a good painter, and does not have any real talent in painting. Yet, he goes on painting and attends social gatherings, which include art discussions to find rich sponsors for his work. In the discussion of arts, he places the rich people at the heart of culture and art, so he disregards the possibility that poor people can also contribute to those areas. He says: “*The point is that the rich play an essential role in modern society... More than ever in days like these... And I happen to like arts*” (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 51). In this quote “days like these” refers to the post-war state of the country. The pre-war and post-war period in England are evaluated as stagnant in terms of arts and literature as the anxiety and horror caused by the war prevented people from engaging in creative activities. During such periods of despair, Bertrand believes that the rich keep the arts going, which means that he assigns a very significant mission to rich people in the maintenance of artistic traditions. The class conflict between Jim and Bertrand mainly stems from this contemptuous attitude, which lacks empathy and understanding towards people who cannot purchase or

sponsor art. In this respect, Bourdieu believes “*the purchase of works of art... is internalization of distinctive signs and symbols of power*” (282) in addition to being “the objectified evidence of personal taste”. Art becomes a symbol of power for the rich, so the immediate link that Bertrand establishes between welfare and art sounds quite elitist to Jim. Bertrand discourse directly excludes lower-class people from the discussion of art and culture labelling them a bunch of tasteless and vulgar people.

The humiliation towards the lower-class repeats itself in different contexts in the novel. Margaret despises Jim when she understands that he is interested in Bertrand’s girlfriend, Christine, instead of herself: “*You don’t think she’d have you, do you? A shabby, little provincial bore like you*” (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 158). Her humiliation includes references to Jim’s social position as provincial¹¹, which connotes vulgarity and being uncultured. In that sense, she is not much different from Bertrand who calls Jim a philistine¹² to remind him of his poor background and class (184). The connotations of the term implies that Jim is an ‘outsider’ although he is an academic serving at a university. Secondly, the modern usage of the adjective¹³ puts more emphasis on ignorance and vulgarity, and implies Jim is a person who cannot appreciate art or culture. Bertrand, Welch, and Margaret display the same elitist attitude towards Jim at every opportunity because they inwardly feel that Jim is not one of them, or does not belong to their class. In that sense, the choice of such words as provincial and philistine is not coincidental, on the contrary, they are carefully selected to emphasize the class antagonism between Jim and other academics.

Language is also a tool to underline class antagonism in the novel in different ways. It is used to undermine the hegemony exercised by the upper-class academics and to ridicule their false intellectuality. While listening to one of his speeches, Jim thinks about Welch; “*How had he become Professor of History, even at a place like this? By published work? No. By extra good teaching? No in italics. Then how?*” (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 8). Despite being the most influential faculty member at the department of history, Welch’s linguistic capacity is very weak. He leaves nearly all his sentences

¹¹ 1755 Countrified, lacking refinement or polish (See: *The Barnhart Concise Dictionary of Etymology*)

¹² 1827 translation of German Philister, enemy of God’s word, applied by German university students to townsmen and outsiders; hence, any uncultured person. (See: *The Barnhart Concise Dictionary of Etymology*)

¹³ A person who refuses to see the beauty or the value of art or culture. (See: Philistine Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary)

unfinished as if he could not find the right words to develop his ideas. In the novel, the frequent use of ellipses in the closing sentence of all his speeches are noteworthy; “*It would help to take her mind off... off...*”, “*And the train was... well, it...*” (*Lucky Jim* 9), “*Not too academic, and not too... not too...*” (*Lucky Jim* 17), “*the hymn, which is a typical... typical ...*” (*Lucky Jim* 36), “*Well, this... this...*” (*Lucky Jim* 79), and “*You will just have to use your own... your own...*” (*Lucky Jim* 173). The fact that Welch utters these unfinished sentences during his conversations with his colleagues, juniors or family members show that this is his genuine speech defect. However, as a humanities professor, Welch needs mastery over language to teach in class and to give public speeches in conferences. He plays the ideal scholar and controls junior academics while paradoxically he has his own imperfections. In that sense, Jim never looks up to him, or finds him inspirational.

Amis believes that “*trying to catch someone’s tones, hearing them in your head and then trying to put them on paper is very useful to the reader... The way people talk tells an awful lot about what kind of person they are, if you think you can hear the character talking, it’s much easier to identify with that person*” (Eastman 43). Eastman’s research analyses the lexico-grammatical structure of the novel to display the interference of paralinguistic features like class and hierarchy into the speech styles of characters in the novel. Amis’s belief that there is a close connection between personality and the way you use the language implies that he does not put the words and accents into the mouths of his characters randomly. After the analysis of the different speeches by academics in the novel, Eastman detects important linguistic features like ellipsis¹⁴ which are transferred from spoken discourse. Therefore, he claims that Amis consciously creates an effect of “hearing the character talking” in his systematic transference of features of spoken discourse to writing. At this point, the vocabulary the characters use, their accents, their speech defects are notable details to be studied in terms of understanding the contribution of sociological factors like the status, education and class to the individual’s use of language. However, as mentioned in Eastman’s article, class is not the only determinant as the characters pick up certain styles according to the addressee of their talk and the context. For instance, Jim’s use of language differs considerably from the other academics,

¹⁴ For further discussion and examples, see: Eastman John, K. “Dissimilar discourses: the realism of Amis's conversations in *Lucky Jim*.” 2 (1989): 43-51.

especially outside the campus and according to the recipient of his words. Throughout the novel, he is the only academic who swears and uses offensive remarks. While staying at Welch's house on the party night, Jim enters into the bathroom after the professor left it and starts to observe the traces of the professor: "*Welch had left grime round the bath and steam on the mirror. After a little thought, Jim stretched out a finger and wrote 'Ned Welch is a Soppo Fool with a Fase like A Pigs Bum' in the steam; then he rubbed the glass with a towel and looked at himself*" (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 64). The use of slang in his writing, the incorrect capitalization of some words like Soppo, Fool, Bum, Pig or the misspelling of the word "face" indicate that the natural language Jim uses when he is not under surveillance at school is considerably different. Jim is not as ignorant as a semi-illiterate person, who does not have the faintest clue about spelling or capitalization, but he prefers to use them incorrectly with the purpose of plotting against those upper-class academics.

The bathroom scene is not the only instance in which Jim violates the rules of written English. In another example, he writes a letter from the mouth of an ignorant villager, to threaten a colleague, who sold out Jim about his tricks. In the letter he pens using a pseudonym, the systematic distortion of the spelling is more obvious: "*DEAR MR JOHNS, Dixon wrote, gripping his pencil like a breadknife. This is just to let you no that I no what you are up to with yuong Marleen Richards, yuong Marleen is a desent girl and has got no tim for your sort, I no your sort.*" (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 153). He believes that it is his right to take revenge as the other academics establish an alliance to disclose his tricks. The misspelling of the word 'know' as 'no' implies the duality between knowing and not knowing, which means every time Jim says I know, he actually means he does not know anything. Arthur Quinn believes misspelling is an effective tool, and serves many purposes, and explains these figures as metaplasms. He says: "*You have used a metaplastic figure when you have purposely misspelled... If we wish to emphasize the sounds of a dialect, we might misspell God as Gawd*" (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 19). However, here the aim is not only mimic an ignorant villager, but to violate the rules set by the upper class as the feeling of exclusion puts Jim in a reactionary mood. He "grips his pencil like a breadknife" since he wants to show his protest through language. By negating the rules of language set by the intellectuals who claim mastery over the correct use of language, Jim in a way, reacts against the jargon and the official language used by the representatives of hegemony. Therefore, all these mistakes in spelling and capitalization, which have an initial humorous effect, indicate Jim's protest of the rules of written English, and his reaction to the hegemony in the academia.

Jim's last conference speech at the faculty during which he mimics different administrators and faculty workers' accents displays his mockery of class and his so-called intellectual associates. He adopts totally a different accent to finish his speech. *"Almost unconsciously, he began to adopt an unnameable foreign accent, and to read faster and faster... He began punctuating his discourse with smothered snorts of derision. He read on, spitting out syllables like curses, leaving mispronunciations, omissions, spoonerisms uncorrected..."* (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 226). Although Jim seems to lose the command of language in the scene, in fact it is the expression of his total protest against the rules used in academic speeches. He violates each and every one of them on purpose to show the uselessness and artificiality of such a jargon since he never internalizes those rules as a part of his natural discourse. He "spits out syllables like curses" to show his opposition to the written and oral rules that govern academic speeches.

The language is problematized in the narration of the novel as well. To be confined within a standard discourse is quite challenging for Jim as a lower-class academic, for he does not have a sufficient command of the rules of formal language. There is a difference, however, between the accounts of the third-person narrator and Jim's remarks in their degree of formality to underline the difference between serious academic discourse and Jim's basic and sometimes offensive vocabulary. For instance, in the first chapter, Jim kicks a stone, and it accidentally hits a professor's leg in the garden of the college building. This event is described as *"he was the only visible entity capable of stone-propulsion"* (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 16). The words "entity" or "stone-propulsion" are not the kinds of words Jim would use, but these serious words are employed to create a certain contrast between daily speech and academic jargon. When Jim's basic vocabulary is placed within such a serious narration, it sounds much simpler than it really is. Just like the effective misspelling technique used in Jim's writings on the mirror, or in the letter, the narrator's elevated language emphasizes the artificiality of academic jargon, and implies the pretentious behaviour of the academics, resulting from class consciousness.

Jim's overtly incompatible attitude in the academia is corroborative of Raymond Williams' idea that all the activities in institutions of higher education cannot be *"reduced to be activities of an ideological state apparatus"* (118). Jim remains in the system of formal education until he becomes an expert, so the expectation is that he should be supportive of the dominant ideology. However, his attitude towards hegemony in the academia shows that there are always deviations

from the imposed dominant ideology both on institutional and individual levels. Williams also sets forward a very important precondition for a pressure to be hegemonic. He believes that the training or pressure becomes only hegemonic when it is voluntarily internalized, which is similar to Gramsci's concept of 'consent'. If teaching is not fully and voluntarily internalized, then it cannot be truly hegemonic. Jim's case is full of pressures on the institutional level, but he does not yield to those pressures. Every service Jim engages in is forced upon him in one way or another. As discussed earlier, there is no "*self-identification with the hegemonic forms*" (118). On the contrary, he always mocks those teachings, and tries to find ways to protest them through the little tricks he devises for his colleagues.

Jim's lack of a strong academic background points to the fact that class remains a determining variable in the measurements of academic success in England, and it maintain its influence for a very long time in English higher education. Vikki Boliver claims that "*educational inequalities tend to persist despite expansion because those from more advantaged social class backgrounds are better placed to take up the new educational opportunities that expansion affords*" (229). She clarifies that expansion in English education does not exactly mean having equal chances in making use of the opportunities provided by that expansion. The results of her study indicate that "*quantitative inequalities between social classes in the odds of higher education enrolment proved remarkably persistent for much of the period between 1960 and 1995*" (229). Although the novel was written during the 1950s, it displays such inequalities through Jim's failure in the academia. She claims even if larger groups of people benefit from educational opportunities, the higher classes controlled the enrolment and admission processes to the prestigious schools, and left the lower classes without alternatives other than their own type of less prestigious schools, as in Jim's case.

V. Criticism of Capitalist Policies in Higher Education

There are several references to the capitalist ideology and its practices in the universities in the novel. For instance, the application of the standard exams by an external examination committee points out to the presence of a state policy, which tries to put universities under surveillance. As discussed before, Eustace Rowland points to the onset of such a policy of intervention through the UGC [University Grants Committee] which settle the financial rules for universities and act as an intermediary between the universities and the government (283). Through such committees, institutions of higher education are subjected to a series of quality

control tests. However, the enforcement of a national policy is not immediately welcomed and adopted some academics such as Fred Karno, who does not yield to this pressure. His colleague, Beesley, comments on Karno's attitude saying: "*One thing I like about Fred Karno is he will never try to push anyone through that he doesn't really think's worth it... Fred's about the only prof. in the place who's resisting all this outside pressure to chuck Firsts around like teaching diplomas and push every bugger who can write his name through the Pass courses*" (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 169). He personally gives low grades to the students who have not acquired sufficient knowledge to meet the requirements of his course, and do not refrain from receiving criticism from his seniors. The government spares a huge amount of money to finance such provincial universities, and it expects a certain success rate from them. Therefore, local universities need to prove their achievement through the students who can benefit from their education. Good exam grades are thought to be the first indicators of such success, so the academics feel the pressure of passing their unqualified students otherwise the failing students will be evaluated as waste of money by the government. Fred Karno's resistance to the interference of the capitalist ideology into his teaching style indicates that Jim is not the only person resisting to the dominant capitalist ideology. There are exceptional figures from the established academia who can also see the falsities in the current capitalist system.

Moreover, the main criterion for academic success, namely publish or perish ideology, is also problematized in the novel. Once Welch inquires about the title of Jim's article, which needs to be published soon, he thinks of the title "*it was a perfect title, in that it crystallized the article's nigging mindlessness, its funereal parade of yawn-enforcing facts, and the pseudo-light it threw upon non-problems*" (Amis, *Lucky Jim* 14). Here again, the word choice immediately attracts attention firstly because it summarizes Jim's perspective about the academic affairs: they are boring, useless and artificial. Jim is quite critical of his own research as all the facts are "yawn-enforcing", or not interesting for the reader. The article also does not provide any solutions to serious questions, the light it bears is fake. It is one of the moments in the book, Jim engages in genuine self-criticism, so he knows that his adaptation strategy also includes imposture. Instead of making valuable contributions to his area of study, he chooses a topic, which supposedly looks serious, and gathers appreciation from his seniors and publishers. He writes the article just because he needs to keep his position in the university. All the adjectives used to evaluate the title of the article have negative meanings. Hayriye Erbaş discusses this transformation of the higher education quality standards and refers to "publish or

perish policy” specifying that output-oriented quality control mechanisms brings the end of uniqueness in academia. She claims “what matters is how many publications an academic has and where these publications appear rather than their contents” (191) as a result of the output and product oriented new higher education policies. The third-person narrator chooses such vocabulary to underline the difficulties of academic publication under the pressure of capitalist educational system whose basic aim is profitable production as specified by Erbaş, too. Erbaş also dwells upon the atmosphere of rivalry resulting from the product-oriented capitalist policies. Considering that the fifties is the time of the rise of provincial universities in England, the members of academia were then in a fierce form of race to prove themselves based on this capitalist criteria.

VI. Conclusion

The campus described in *Lucky Jim*, is full of diverse members of the academia who have different class origins and worldviews. Despite the existence of a dominant ideology, which has considerable influence over the teaching and learning atmosphere, the reactions of individual academics to the dominant ideology differ from each other to a large extent. Within the context of the novel, not all the academics serve to one dominant ideology. Firstly, the protagonist of the novel, Jim, questions every established rule in the university from academic jargon to manners, and academic competence. He secretly searches for ways in order not to conform to those established traditions in the academia. Secondly, Professor Fred Karno’s reaction against the enforcement of rules of standardization, and his resistance to passing the unsuccessful students also exemplifies the existence of the academics who do not yield to pressure and do not immediately consent to the sanctions of hegemonic powers. The fact that there is only one professor who acts ethically in the evaluation of the students accounts for Jim’s disdain for the rest of the academics in the novel. At this point, the absence of an ideal intellectual in the novel implies that post-war England failed to produce those intellectuals at least on the provincial level. Although Welch gets the title of a professor, he does not fit into the image of a true intellectual with his abuses of his juniors, academic incompetency, and pretentiousness. That is why, when Jim dreams about having a developed and sophisticated character, he never means being like Ned Welch. The novel, on one level, is a then quest for the existence of an intellectual who fits to the ideal meaning of the term, which was created long ago and preserves its residue in the collective unconscious of these characters.

Bearing in mind the existence of such nonconformists as Jim and Fred in the academia, it is not possible to evaluate the academia as a society that unquestioningly adopt the dominant ideology. In that sense, academia can be evaluated as an “alternative formation”, to use Williams’ exact words. The alternative formations help understand the dynamics of the dominant by challenging and questioning it. The place of the academia in the contemporary cultural process is gradually updated when compared to its traditional place, so academia holds a “residual” aspect evaluated from William’s perspective. The institutions of higher education and their values were formed in the past, but those institutions are still active in the cultural process as an effective element of the present. However, the capitalist system makes the survival of characters like Jim and Fred Karno, who are “emergent” in Williams terminology, very difficult because they challenge the system and its rules, and react against the illogical residual functions in the modern education system. The dominant capitalist culture puts pressure upon every emergent that does not serve its function, but as Williams claims, “*no dominant culture ever in reality includes or exhausts all human practice, human energy, and human intention*” (125). Therefore, even the dominant capitalist ideology contains in itself individuals whose intention come as a surprise to the system, so they cannot be incorporated easily from William’s point of view. At this point, Jim is one of those figures who resists incorporation despite the limited chances he catches considering his educational and financial restrictions.

Actually, the whole novel can be read as the fight between the traditional, and the emergent, or the fight between the upper class and the lower class. As the academia blends the traditional, residual, and emergent elements of a given culture, one reads the mixture of these forces in *Lucky Jim*. While characters like Welch represent the traditional established values, Jim is the emergent within academia as he is the product of the new post-war policies of England’s Welfare State. Throughout his struggle in academia, certain attitudes of Jim like trying to become part of the academic circle or adopting their manners can be confused with a willing submission to hegemony and tradition; however, he defies the system in every possible way through his precarious social attitudes and financial status. Williams also warns against the confusion of the concepts of “locally residual and the generally emergent” with these words: “*the process of emergence... move beyond a phase of practical incorporation... much incorporation looks like recognition, acknowledgement, and thus a form of acceptance*” (125). The provincial university that employs Jim, includes locally residual values and the representative of those values while Jim is part of a

bigger general emergence in the context of England. He is the inevitable outcome of post-war education policies in England, and he is just a representative of a newly emerging class and a culture. On the other hand, Welch is the preserver of the traditional formation of academic values. Williams's argument concerning the selective nature of tradition emphasizes that hegemony works through tradition's selective force since tradition excludes every new formation that threatens its foundation and maintenance.

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