THE REPRESSED INDIVIDUAL IN CHARLES DICKENS'S *GREAT EXPECTATIONS*[1]

CHARLES DICKENS'IN GREAT EXPECTATIONS *ESERİNDE BASKILANAN BİREY*

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Abstract

Charles Dickens's Great Expectations (1861) represents the early nineteenth-century English society from a mid-Victorian perspective and demonstrates the process in which Victorian social ideals are formed through respectability at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the light of the critical perspective of the Frankfurt School theorists Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, this article argues that the bourgeois society in the early nineteenth century represented in Charles Dickens's Great Expectations controls the individuals through normative values of the middle class and a process of identity construction enabled by false consciousness shapes the individuals' identity in order to protect the established social order. Hence, the hegemonic middle-class values in the early nineteenth century are treated as means of subjecting the individuals to social order. The protagonist Pip desires to become a gentleman almost all his life and he tries to adapt himself to the expectations of the middle-class society in London. Pip believes that social mobility is possible if he conforms to dominant norms imposed on the individuals. In Great Expectations, the conflict between the individual and the bourgeois society is experienced particularly by Pip whose identity is formed by the normative and homogenous social order to serve society. So, this article argues that, in line with Horkheimer's and Adorno's criticism of the bourgeois industrial society, the early nineteenth-century English society represented in Dickens's Great Expectations creates repressed individuals who conform to the social order, and demonstrates that the individuals are in conflict with the bourgeois industrial society.

Öz

Charles Dickens'ın Great Expectations (Büyük Umutlar) (1861) romanı on dokuzuncu yüzyıl başındaki İngiliz toplumunu yüzyılın ortasındaki bakış açısıyla betimler ve Victoria dönemindeki toplumsal ideallerin saygınlık kavramı aracılığı ile yüzyılın başındaki şekillenme sürecini gösterir. Bu makale, Frankfurt Okulu teorisyenlerinden Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno'nun eleştirel bakış açısı ışığında, Dickens'ın bu romanında betimlenen burjuva toplumunun orta sınıfa ait katı kurallar ile bireyi kontrol altında tuttuğunu ve bununla birlikte aynı toplumsal düzenin yanlış bilinçlendirmeye dayalı bir kimlik oluşturma süreci neticesinde kurulu toplumsal düzeni korumak için bireylerin kimliğini şekillendirdiğini savunmaktadır. Romanın başkahramanı Pip neredeyse tüm hayatı boyunca bir beyefendi olmayı ister ve Londra'daki orta sınıf toplumun beklentilerine uyum sağlamaya çalışır. Pip'e göre sınıflar arasında yukarı doğru hareket etmek, bireylere dayatılan hâkim kurallara uyum sağlaması koşuluyla mümkündür. Romanda birey ile burjuva toplumu arasındaki çatışma özellikle Pip karakterinde gözlenir ve Pip'in karakteri de topluma faydalı olması için baskıcı ve bireyler arasındaki farklılaşmaları reddederek onları aynılaştıran toplumsal düzen tarafından şekillendirilir. Bu makale, Horkheimer ve Adorno'nun burjuva sanayi toplumu eleştirisine uygun olarak, Dickens'ın Great Expectations romanında betimlenen on dokuzuncu yüzyıl İngiliz toplumunun, toplumsal düzene uyum sağlamak üzere baskılanmış bireyler yarattığını ve bireylerin burjuva sanayi toplumu ile çatışma yaşadığını ortaya koyar.

Giriş

Charles Dickens's Great Expectations was published in the mid-Victorian period and presented Dickens's critical approach looking back onto social issues that dominated intellectual discussions and fictional representations of the early Victorian period. These social issues were mainly about social class conflicts that have appeared

[1] This article is the revised version of the first chapter in my unpublished PhD dissertation entitled "Gaskell's North and South, Dickens's Great Expectations and Hardy's Jude the Obscure: A Dialectical Social Criticism" (Hacettepe University, 2015).

from questions on social mobility from the eighteenth century onwards in accordance with the appearance of the middle class on the social scene and the novel as a genre in literature. In the highly class-conscious Victorian society, one's social status was above everything and it was marked by respectability closely associated with the middle class. By the time *Great Expectations* was published, the middle class norm of respectability was very well-established in the bourgeois Victorian society. For this reason, being a respectable member of the middle class was a purpose to be achieved especially for the lower class. This upward social movement was signed by respectability and discussed around the subject of social mobility. Dickens's fictional representation of the early Victorian society in *Great Expectations* aims to reflect this social issue and offers a critical attitude towards the condition of the lower class individual like Pip who experiences a conflict with society in order to achieve social mobility. However, the romanticised approach to Pip's dilemma is supported by an emotional tone in the novel and misses to address the source of the protagonist's suffering. This representation actually illustrates oppression on the individual for the purpose of a harmonious social order that aims to create submissive characters like Pip. Such a conflict between the bourgeois society and the individual is explored by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, who argue that social oppression on the individual actually creates the repressed individual, an absolutely submissive figure. Thus, in the light of Horkheimer's and Adorno's critical insight, this study argues that Pip in *Great Expectations* is a repressed individual that loses his subjectivity in his attempts to conform to the bourgeois society for the purpose of upward social movement.

In *Great Expectations*, the transformation of Pip's prospects can be observed in line with his changing social environment, which results in a great conflict between Pip's individualistic traits and social norms leading to a question of individuality in the bourgeois industrial society. Initially, Pip can be considered as a country boy who belongs to the working class as the apprentice of the village blacksmith and leads his life in a small village in the early nineteenth century (*Great Expectations* 22). However, the sudden news of a secret benefactor for Pip dramatically changes the plotline, and Pip's movement to London to benefit from this financial opportunity brings forth questions as regards the relationship between the individual and the bourgeois society (*Great Expectations* 129). The ideal to become a gentleman occupies Pip's mind at the expense of conforming to dominant social norms. As Pip wants to become a gentleman, he adopts middle-

class manners and moral values in a subservient attitude. Hence, Pip's sense of individuality is gradually suppressed by the social order.

In other words, the bourgeois society creates an illusion of social harmony for the individual who assumes that he keeps his individuality in the bourgeois society while he struggles for his own interests. In fact, Pip has such illusions as he struggles to become a gentleman, because he never realises the fact that he only becomes a conformist in the industrial society for his ambition to be with Estella. In order to account for this conflict between the individual and bourgeois industrial society, a clear definition and problematisation of individuality is necessary and it will be presented from the perspective of Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno. As Horkheimer argues

> [the individuals], isolated though they were by moats of self-interest, nevertheless tended to become more and more alike through the pursuit of self-interest. In our era of large economic combines and mass culture, the principle of conformity emancipates itself from its individualistic veil, is openly proclaimed, and raised to the rank of an ideal *per se* (139).

Evidently, the bourgeois social order expects the individuals to conform to the bourgeois norms in order to have a higher social status. As the individuals are in a rivalry with each other, they feel it necessary to submit themselves to the social expectations in order to be more successful. The bourgeois society creates an illusion, or false consciousness, in the individual to ascertain that the individuals continue their struggle without realising what they are actually doing. In *Great Expectations*, Pip finds himself in such a situation when he assumes that he is competing with other people in society for a respectable status. For example, Pip does not realise that all the boys educated in Mr Pocket's house to become a gentleman are trained in the same way without any individualistic concern (*Great Expectations* 175), and there is no difference between them. In effect, it is the principle of conformity that becomes an enthusiastic ideal for the individuals.

In *Great Expectations*, Pip's condition is presented under the imposition of social norms from his childhood onwards. The family plays an important role in this social formation as Mrs Joe and family friends attempt to train Pip for appropriate social manners. In this respect, Horkheimer argues that

> from the day of his birth, the individual is made to feel that there is only one way of getting along in this [bourgeois] world – that of giving up his hope of ultimate self-realisation. This he can achieve solely by imitation. He continuously responds to what he perceives about him [...] emulating the traits and attitudes represented by all the collectivities [social bonds and relations] that [...] enforce a more strict conformity, a more radical surrender through complete assimilation (141).

As Horkheimer suggests, the individual surrenders to the demands of society in order to get along with the community and become a respectable member. This surrender means that the individual is no more acting in a self-conscious manner. On the contrary, in a state of false consciousness, the individual only conforms to the social order. So, it can be put forward that there is no individuality in the bourgeois industrial society since the individual only emulates the social norms adopting them as if they were his own values. The established social order entraps the individual in a circle of control in all aspects of social life. Likewise, Adorno asserts,

> at times the individual would oppose himself to society as an independent being, though a particular one – a being capable of rationally pursuing its own interest. In that phase, and beyond it, the question of freedom was the genuine question whether society permits the individual to be as free as it promises. [...] Temporarily, the individual looms above the blind social context, but in his windowless isolation he only helps so much more to reproduce that context (219).

In this solitary isolation, the bourgeois society does not allow the individual to be free from social hegemony. Under the strict control of the social order, the individual experiences the illusion of freedom and individuality, whereas he just complies with social expectations. Although the individual sometimes feels himself socially independent and continues to strive for his benefits, he still serves the benefits of the bourgeois society. In other words, the individual continues to reproduce the social context that is the cause of his subjection. In *Great Expectations*, Pip in a similar manner struggles to become a gentleman, which requires his absolute submission to society and guarantees that his individuality will be destroyed by the same society.

The conflict between the individual and society can be observed as early as Pip's childhood as a result of social hegemony. Pip's introduction to Victorian social aspirations, upward social movement, conformity to bourgeois norms and education to be a conformist begins at home through his sister Mrs Joe Gargery who teaches him socially appropriate and acceptable behaviours. Mrs Joe thus represents the voice of the established social order in *Great Expectations* as she directs Pip's behaviours and expects him to conform to Victorian social values. John Lindberg states that

> Mrs Joe's passion for respectability is central to the main theme of *Great Expectations*, because more than any other person she has had the shaping of Pip's conscience, his infantile and perdurable sense of right and wrong. The novel as a whole treats of social injustice, and that theme too may also explicate Mrs Joe's private struggle with her own conscience, for Dickens is apparently very concerned with the conflict between respectable prosperity and shameful poverty in the public scene and with the individual attempt to adapt private values to the status quo (118).

In this respect, the relationship between Pip and his sister Mrs Joe needs further investigation for the analysis of bourgeois social oppression of the individual in the early nineteenth-century English society. Clearly, Mrs Joe and her aspirations for respectability constitute a guideline for Pip as regards his ambition for a higher social status. Mrs Joe's sense of propriety in line with middle-class values makes Pip yearn for respectability.

In line with the social practices in the countryside, Pip is expected to be involved in daily life more seriously for the sake of conformity as he grows up. Since Joe is the blacksmith of the village, Pip is apprenticed by Joe to learn this trade and contribute to his family with his labour. In these years of his life, Pip has not yet been introduced to the urban living conditions in London. As a boy living in the southern countryside, he simply begins to work as Joe's apprentice to become a craftsman. At the time, being an apprentice means not only work ethic, but also a form of social discipline. Pip says that "*when I was old enough, I was to be apprenticed to Joe, and until I could assume that dignity I was not to be what Mrs Joe called 'Pompeyed', or (as I render it) pampered*" (*Great Expectations* 41). Mrs Joe expects Pip to behave in a grave and solid manner. His acting in a proper way includes his responsibility towards the community in the town. Pip further explains:

> I was not only odd-boy about the forge, but if any neighbour happened to want an extra boy to frighten birds, or pick up stones, or do any such job, I was favoured with the employment. In order, however, that our superior position might not be compromised thereby, a money-box was kept on the kitchen mantel-shelf, into which it was publicly made known that all my earnings were dropped (*Great Expectations* 42).

Pip here exemplifies the relationship between the individual and the bourgeois society. Accordingly, in the social setting of the countryside, Mrs Joe does not allow Pip to be spoiled for the sake of social acceptability in the community. She keeps their status above everything and sends Pip away to do all sorts of things in the town in order not to be reproached. Moreover, she keeps an appearance of justice towards Pip in the eyes of society storing Pip's money in a box available for everyone. However, she can easily sacrifice Pip's endeavours as he says "*I know I had no hope of any personal participation in the treasure*" (*Great Expectations* 42). So, Pip learns how society, including his own sister, makes use of his merits in order to benefit financially. Mrs Joe also presents Pip as an example to other kids in the village because of his hard work and diligence to keep their "*superior position*" (*Great Expectations* 42). While Pip is controlled by social values, his productivity is also encouraged. Horkheimer states that

> as for the ideal of productivity, it must be observed that economic significance today is measured in terms of usefulness with respect to the structure of power, not with respect to the needs of all. The individual must prove his value to one or other of the groups engaged in the struggle (154).

Horkheimer further states that "*nor is efficiency, the modern criterion and sole justification for the very existence of any individual, to be confused with real technical skill […]. It inheres in the ability to be 'one of the boys,' to impress others*" (154). Pip's productivity and diligent efforts determine his usefulness in the early nineteenth-century society. So, his contribution to his family – on a microcosmic level – plays an important role in his social status, showing us a clear picture of the relationship between the individual and society. Through his hard work, Pip evidently shows that he conforms to social expectations. Pip's productivity, therefore, depends on his conformity to social expectations like those of Mrs Joe. So, he is rewarded by being one of the good boys in the village, and he impresses the community through his submissive attitude.

In the light of self help and self discipline in the Victorian era, it is obvious that Pip's conflictual relationship with society develops out of two major incidents that lead to Pip's transformation into a boy with aspirations and his development of a new identity. Firstly, Pip meets with Miss Havisham and Estella, who seem to have higher social positions than Pip, a coarse worker (*Great Expectations* 53). Secondly, Jaggers offers Pip great expectations coming from a mysterious benefactor, later revealed as Abel Magwitch quite paradoxically, to make Pip equal to socially better people through education (*Great Expectations* 128). The ideal of becoming a gentleman is crucial for Pip while it at the same time means that he will be strictly controlled by the normative bourgeois values and manners which he will have to learn in his training in London. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, however, the social structure in England dramatically changed with the social mobility of the middle class as a result of free trade and industrialisation. Hence, the term gentleman acquired various connotations apart from its origins in the previous centuries. As Glancy points out

> by the nineteenth-century, [...] the Industrial Revolution had made the title less easily defined because a new class of wealthy industrialists had risen from humble origins. Many of the new self-made men were disdainful of the class from which they had risen and were anxious to acquire respectability and gentility. And the old families continued to reject this new class on the grounds that they had no pedigree and they were engaged in trade (128).

The definition of the gentleman, thus, includes the middle class due to the changing economic, social and political circumstances. By the early nineteenth century, the middle class understanding of gentlemanly qualities was dominant in the English society due to economic and political power of this class.

The notions of gentility and being a gentleman result in the conflict between Pip as an individual and the bourgeois society in *Great Expectations*. Although Pip has aspired to have better circumstances than his rural environment could provide in his childhood and become a part of the bourgeois community through his gentlemanly qualities, he learns that his great expectations connect him to a convict. Furthermore, his friend Herbert's remark on the qualities of a true gentleman proves that one must be "*a true gentleman at heart [and] a true gentleman in manner*" (*Great Expectations* 166). In other words, a socially acceptable appearance is not sufficient to be a gentleman. Hence, Pip encounters two different

forms of a gentleman that are exemplified by Compeyson's and Herbert's cases in *Great Expectations*. Christine Berberich states that

> gentleman – a word simultaneously conjuring up diverse images, yet one so difficult to define. When we hear the term, we might think of Englishness; of class; of masculinity; of elegant fashions; of *manners and morals*. [...] The term *gentleman* is highly ambiguous and amorphous, and consequently almost impossible to pinpoint (3-4).

Likewise, William Hazlitt comments on the concept as follows: "*At the beginning of the nineteenth century, what it is that constitutes the look of a gentleman is more easily felt than described. We all know it when we see it, but we do not know how to account for it*" (209). The gentleman in this changing social structure became the embodiment of bourgeois social values. Hence, the person that complies with the values of the middle-class Victorian society is considered to be a gentleman. Nevertheless, a character like Compeyson could easily be misconceived as a gentleman due to the standardised notion of a gentleman only through his appearance. In *Great Expectations*, there is ambiguity in the sense of being a true gentleman since the bourgeois society is mainly occupied with appearances. For this reason, as Majumdar argues

> Dickens who saw gentleman from the outside came to appreciate both the centrality of the gentlemanly idea in Victorian culture and its underlying irony however moralised; the concept depended for its existence upon exclusion on separating the gentleman from the non-gentleman. *Great Expectations* is the fruit of that understanding (100).

The characters that do not have gentlemanly qualities in *Great Expectations*, such as Bentley Drummle, Compeyson and Orlick, help Dickens provide a guideline for the representation of a gentleman. Although the definition of the gentleman seems to be rather ambiguous, Pip's desire for upward social movement exemplifies the domination of the middle class and the need for the individual to comply with social expectations symbolised by gentlemanly qualities. Pip's encounter with the middle-class values through his aspirations and his desire to become a gentleman display the conflict between the individual and society. It could be put forward that Pip aims to conform to the social values that are represented by appearances in the bourgeois industrial society. Except for Herbert's comment on being a gentleman, Pip always tries to comply with the appearances in society. Therefore, he never feels himself like a true gentleman at heart in his search for a status that he could not

exactly define. He just conforms to the social norms in a state of false consciousness caused by his ambition to be an appropriate suitor for Estella.

In relation to the discussion of gentlemanly qualities, the first main incident that leads to Pip's transformation into a boy with aspirations in *Great Expectations* is Pip's visit to Miss Havisham's house, which teaches Pip the hierarchical structure of the bourgeois industrial society and the necessity for social mobility towards a respectable social status (*Great Expectations* 53). Especially, Estella's elegant manners and higher social status affect Pip from their first meeting onwards. Under the influence of his first love and Estella's higher social status, Pip begins to question his own lower-class condition. Pip believes that respectability is the only means to be equal to Estella and to be loved by her (*Great Expectations* 64). So, he feels ready to embrace bourgeois manners and norms at the end of his visit. However, Pip finds Estella's arrogant attitude while she looks down upon him so strange that he wonders why she acts like that:

> Though she called me 'boy' so often, and with a carelessness that was far from complimentary, she was of about my own age. She seemed much older than I, of course, being a girl, and beautiful and self-possessed; and she was as scornful of me as if she had been one-and-twenty, and a queen (*Great Expectations* 54).

On the first day at Satis House, Pip is made to play with Estella. At the end of their card game, Pip feels ashamed of himself for the first time in his life because of Estella's humiliation of his lower class manners and appearance: "'*He calls the knaves, Jacks, this boy!' said Estella with disdain, before our first game was out. 'And what coarse hands he has! And what thick boots!*'" (*Great Expectations* 57). Her explicitly degrading manner causes embarrassment in Pip, who is yet to understand what actually happens around him:

> I had never thought of being ashamed of my hands before; but I began to consider them a very indifferent pair. Her contempt for me was so strong, that I became infectious, and I caught it. She won the game, and I dealt. I misdealt, as was only natural, when I knew she was lying in wait for me to do wrong; and she denounced me for a stupid, clumsy labouring-boy (*Great Expectations* 58).

In this instance, Pip is humiliated for being a countryman and being a worker, the apprentice of a blacksmith. For Pip, his lower-class origins, his being a blacksmith's apprentice and his rural upbringing are all sources of shame

compared to Estella's upper class and wealthy condition. Pip does not have the social manners to be recognised as a respectable gentleman by his first love Estella, which leads to self questioning for him:

> I took the opportunity of being alone in the courtyard, to look at my coarse hands and my common boots. My opinion of those accessories was not favourable. They had never troubled me before, but they troubled me now, as vulgar appendages. I determined to ask Joe why he had ever taught me to call those picture-cards, Jacks, which ought to be called knaves. I wish Joe had been rather more genteely [*sic*] brought up, and then I should have been so too (*Great Expectations* 59).

Hence, Pip learns the hierarchical differences between people in the bourgeois society. His current appearance signifies his inferiority in comparison with Estella, who looks down upon Pip. Moreover, she continues to humiliate Pip due to his commonness and Pip hates his social status more. As Estella brings food and drink to Pip in the yard, she treats him like a filthy animal to be detested:

> She came back, with some bread and meat and a little mug of beer. She put the mug down on the stones of the yard, and gave me the bread and meat without looking at me, as insolently as if I were a dog in disgrace. I was so humiliated, hurt, spurned, offended, angry, sorry – I cannot hit upon the right name for the smart – God knows what its name was – that tears started to my eyes (*Great* Expectations 59).

On the point of crying, Pip feels desperate in his desolation. He knows that nobody around understands his situation and his shame for being inferior to Estella. At that moment, he, in fact, realises his commonness resulting from rural and lower-class origins, which is the reason for being exposed to this humiliation from his own perspective. He confesses his feeling later as follows: "*I felt very miserable. […] that she had said I was common, and that I knew I was common, and that I wished I was not common*" (*Great Expectations* 66). In line with his wish of not being common, a process of self degradation continues in Pip. He immediately compares his lifestyle and social environment to Estella's. Thus, he gradually believes in the idea of his inferiority and commonness resulting from his social status:

> When I got up to my little room and said my prayers, I did not forget Joe's recommendation, and yet my young mind was in that disturbed and unthankful state, that I thought long after I laid down, how common Estella would consider Joe, a mere blacksmith: how thick his boots, and how coarse his hands. I thought how Joe and my sister were then sitting in the kitchen, how I had come up to bed from the kitchen, and how Miss Havisham and Estella never sat in the kitchen, but were far above the level of such common doings. [...] That was a memorable. day to me, for it made great changes in me (*Great Expectations* 68).

This conflict in Pip's identity actually results in his aspirations towards a higher social status and respectability. In this stage, bourgeois construction of Pip's identity to adapt himself to bourgeois norms is observed. As Jeremy Tambling asserts,

> *Great Expectations* certainly recognises itself to be about the creation of identities, imposed from higher to lower, from oppressor to oppressed. [...] Identities all become a matter of social control and naming. [...] Pip remains the passive victim whose reaction is to blame himself for every action he is in (131).

The oppression coming from the higher social classes on the lower-class individuals renders Pip as the victim of the Victorian social structure. Chesterton points out that the process leading to Pip's self-questioning "*describes how easily a free lad of fresh and decent human instincts can be made to care more for rank and pride and the degrees of our stratified society than for old affection and for honour*" (112). Furthermore, it must be pointed out that "*Pip is meant to show how circumstances can corrupt men*" in the bourgeois Victorian society (Chesterton 113). Hobsbaum states that

> for all oddity, Miss Havisham shows Pip a glimpse of Society beyond his previous life. It is one to which, with all its falsity, he begins to aspire. Miss Havisham's accent is different; her manner is different; she has a beautiful young ward who treats Pip with disdain. All this goes to make him aware of his common origins. In these weird surroundings, anything natural seems uncouth. [...] Pip, then, is made discontented, and not just with his home. He feels nothing but disgust for his trade, his indentures and his kindly master, the blacksmith (225).

Pip, who was previously a simple country boy, starts to yearn for having the appearance and manners of a respectable gentleman that will impress Estella. The change in Pip's perspective leads to the conflict between the individual and the bourgeois society since this self-questioning is a threat against his sense of individuality along with Pip's intention to conform to the social norms.

Pip's changing attitude is a consequence of this social environment that imposes conformity as a necessity to be recognised by the dominant bourgeois society. Clearly, the early nineteenth-century society is in conflict with the individuality of the protagonist in *Great Expectations*. In his *Eclipse of Reason*, Horkheimer states that "*in the era of free enterprise, the so-called era of individualism, individuality was most completely subordinated to self-preserving reason. In that era, the idea of individuality seemed […] to become merely a synthesis of the individual's material interests*" (138). As stated, although individualism underlies the rise of the middle class in economic and social aspects, the middle class restricts individuality to maintain the established social order for its own benefits. As Horkheimer further states, "*individualism is the very heart of the theory and practice of bourgeois liberalism, which sees society as progressing through the automatic interaction of divergent interests in a free market*" (138). Accordingly, in *Great Expectations*, Pip's willingness to conform to the social values and his submission to the bourgeois ideals to become a gentleman lead him to unhappiness and loss of individuality. As Horkheimer asserts,

> by echoing, repeating, imitating his surroundings, by adapting himself to all the powerful groups to which he eventually belongs, by transforming himself from a human being into a member of organisations, by sacrificing his potentialities for the sake of readiness and ability to conform to and gain influence in such organisations, [the individual] manages to survive. It is survival achieved by the oldest biological means of survival, namely, mimicry (142).

Pip's desire to rise on the social scale, to leave his rural environment behind, to be a part of the bourgeois society and to be a gentleman by conforming to the bourgeois social values is a result of submission to the powerful middle-class. Since the middle class "*glorifies the world as it is*," the poor country boy is deceived by this glorious social environment of the industrial society (Horkheimer, *Eclipse of Reason* 142). The social status of the individual is highly influential on his awareness of identity in the bourgeois society. Pip as a lower-class individual is

ready to imitate middle-class habits and customs to be a respectable member of society. Horkheimer argues that "*the more intense an individual's concerns with power over things, the more will things [social values and norms] dominate him, the more will he lack any genuine individual traits, and the more will his mind be transformed into an automaton*" (129-130). Pip's adoption of bourgeois values makes him mechanically serve bourgeois benefits. As Horkheimer points out, "*in the nineteenth-century concept of a rational society of the future, the emphasis was on planning, organising and centralising mechanisms rather than on the plight of the individual*" (147). Similarly, Pip, in *Great Expectations*, thinks that social mobility will bring him a higher social status and becomes a subject in the planning and organisation of the Victorian society. Through this process, Pip becomes a repressed individual in the industrial society.

Accordingly, the relationship between Pip and Magwitch in *Great Expectations* presents another aspect of the social hegemony in the Victorian era and Pip's identity is constructed according to social norms. It is revealed that Magwitch was convicted at the court, in particular, for his lack of bourgeois manners to be considered as respectable when he was put on trial with Compeyson who set him up to appear as an outcast according to bourgeois norms. Magwitch is another individual pressurised into socially appropriate behaviours by the Victorian society. His lower-class origins and lack of economic circumstances bring him into a closer relationship with Compeyson, the villain in the novel, who causes Magwitch to participate in illegal actions. Compeyson is presented as another example to how a gentleman should not behave, in addition to Drummle, since he initially leaves Miss Havisham on their wedding day (*Great Expectations* 167), and, secondly, he takes advantage of Magwitch leaving him alone in the courtroom to be despised because of his lower-class status. Compeyson might also be compared to Pip in terms of Pip's commitment to become a gentleman in the Victorian society. Actually, Compeyson and Magwitch's trial illustrates bourgeois obsession with social appearances as Magwitch is punished for his unrespectable appearance. The final attack against Magwitch at the courtroom comes through the knowledge of social habits, manners and values that Compeyson makes use of affecting the judge for his appeals, which leave Magwitch as a desolate convict in the eyes of society. Their dispositions are evaluated within the context of respectability in the Victorian society, disregarding Magwitch's personal pleadings, and affirming Compeyson as a better and respectable man:

> And when it come to character, warn't it Compeyson as had been to the school, and warn't it his schoolfellows as was in this position and in that, and warn't it him as had been know'd by witnesses in such clubs and societies, and nowt to his disadvantage? And warn't it me as had been tried afore, and as had been know'd up hill and down dale in Bridewells and Lock-Ups! [...] And when the verdict come, warn't it Compeyson as was recommended to mercy on account of good character and bad company, and giving up all the information he could agen me, and warn't it me as got never a word but Guilty (*Great Expectations* 320).

Thus, Magwitch's partnership with Compeyson resulted in a destructive situation with his deportation to Australia. However, he did not forget Compeyson and the treatment he received at the courtroom. Glancy states that "*Victorian society wrongly identified family background with gentlemanly status, so did many mistake wealth and possessions with moral superiority. The villain Compeyson has managed to pass himself off as a gentleman because he has the right schooling, accent and clothes*" (128). Hagan also asserts that

> the trial of Magwitch and Compeyson is so important a key to the novel's larger meanings that the former's description of it [...] should be read in entirety. What the passage reveals is that impartiality in the courts is often a myth. Judges and jury alike may be swayed by class prejudice. The whole judicial system may tend to perpetuate class antagonism and hostility. [...] Though not entirely so, Magwitch is certainly, in part, a victim (170).

The identification of gentlemanly behaviour with appearance in the Victorian society might be easily manipulated by a villain like Compeyson as in the example of Magwitch. Although the real character of Compeyson is hidden in the courtroom, Magwitch follows the same path of making up appearances for Pip. Furthermore, Magwitch offers Herbert economic support to make him a gentleman just as he did for Pip (*Great Expectations* 358). Clearly, Magwitch still believes that the appearance of a gentleman will work in terms of conformity to the established social order. Anthony Dyson claims that

> Magwitch knows that he is not himself a gentleman, by any stretch of imagination, but he believes that money can buy a successful gentleman in his stead. The world which has judged him and found him wanting will, then, be duly confounded by a gentleman created

> *ex nihilo* by Magwitch, yet fully up to the standards prescribed by itself (238).

After he realises the significance of money in order to ascertain one's social status in the bourgeois society, Magwitch uses the same approach fighting off the oppression on the individual. As Hagan argues

> though deprived from childhood of the opportunity to become a 'gentleman' himself, [Magwitch] does not vow destruction to the 'gentleman' class. Having seen in Compeyson the power of that class, the deference it received from society, he fashions a gentleman of his own to take his place in it. He is satisfied to live vicariously through Pip, to show society that he can come up to its standards, and, by raising his pawn into the inner circle, to prove that it is no longer impregnable (171).

It seems that Magwitch has decided to imitate social manners of the bourgeoisie in order to be respected in the Victorian society, though he aims to achieve this purpose by means of Pip as he provides Pip with the economic means for becoming a gentleman. Through this process of identity construction, Magwitch aims to respond to the bourgeois society by creating a gentleman who will be a respectable member of society with the help of Magwitch's economic support. Nevertheless, he clearly understands that he was in a disadvantageous position from the very beginning. Magwitch explains his intention as follows:

> Yes, Pip, dear boy, I've made a gentleman on you! It's me wot has done it! I swore that time, sure as ever I earned a guinea, that guinea should go to you. I swore arterwards, sure as ever I spec'lated and got rich, you should get rich. I lived rough, that you should live smooth; I worked hard, that you should be above work. What odds, dear boy? Do I tell it, fur you to feel a obligation? Not a bit. I tell it, fur you to know as that there hunted dunghill dog wot you kep life in, got his head so high that he could make a gentleman,-and, Pip, you're him! (*Great Expectations* 293).

For this reason, Magwitch never forgets Pip, the little child that helped him in a most compassionate and merciful manner. Magwitch has planned to make a gentleman out of Pip, who would be respectable in society that condemned him, and this young man would do everything that he could not do as a criminal. He endures all the difficulties, filthy conditions of being a herdsman in exile and humiliation by other people he encounters. The only reason for Magwitch's

endurance is to know that he helps a young country boy in England who will become a gentleman with his help. This young boy – Pip – will be respectable in the bourgeois Victorian society that suppressed Magwitch due to his lower-class origins.

In this regard, the question of Pip's becoming a gentleman in *Great Expectations* is highly related to the repression of the individual in the bourgeois society. In his *Negative Dialectics*, Adorno also touches upon this relationship between the individual and the bourgeois society:

> The chief characteristic of the modern self is that it is constituted through a process of renunciation; that is, through a process of giving up things. The history of civilisation is the history of the introversion of sacrifice – in other words, the history of renunciation. […] All who renounce give away more of their life than is given back to them, more than the life they preserve (43).

Accordingly, Pip is expected to renounce his rural lifestyle and acquaintances in the country altogether. Before Pip leaves his village for London, he has no clear idea as regards what he is going to experience in London, where he experiences bourgeois social oppression to shape his identity. However, it is clear that *Great Expectations* as a novel that represents the conflict between the individual and the early nineteenth-century English society introduces Pip as an individual radically shaped by society. Pip's awareness about "*victims and oppressors, people of gentility and low-class people*" in the bourgeois society makes him a victim oppressed by the established social order since he knows that he is a common boy among the lower class and that he should rise in society to be eligible for Estella (Rawlins 79). The reason for Pip's transformation, therefore, is the social structure that causes a dramatic change of perspective in the little boy. As Lionel Trilling points out,

> modern society bases itself on great expectations which, if they are ever realised, are found to exist by reason of a sordid, hidden reality. The real thing is not the gentility of Pip's life but the hulks and the murder and the rats and the decay in the cellarage of the novel (211).

Indeed, Dickens deals with social problems in the Victorian era in his works including *Great Expectations* and frequently represents the conflict between the individuals that suffer because of the expectations of society. Along with industrialisation, a process of embourgeoisement continues in the early nineteenth century as represented in *Great Expectations*. As Dickens looks back to the

beginning of the nineteenth century from the 1860s, he actually depicts the transformation of the Victorian society towards a bourgeois industrial society. In other words, Pip's story is at the same time the story of the beginning of a new social order, characterised by industry and the bourgeoisie in an urban setting. Through Pip, *Great Expectations* presents the appearance of this social oppression in its earliest form in the early nineteenth-century England. The Victorian attempt of constructing a new social order as represented in *Great Expectations* might be depicted as follows:

> On the one hand there is England of 1860, relatively stable, relatively prosperous, conscious and rightly proud of the considerable advances in civilisation which the previous forty years had seen; and on the other hand there is the recent memory of a very different world, the harsh and brutal society of the eighteenth century which the Victorian reformers set out to transform and which still survived as a background to their efforts – a source of congratulation but also of uncertainty and anxiety. Here one can begin to see the contemporary significance of the social ironies in the novel (Gilmour 116).

Although Pip has great expectations for his future, society also has great expectations that the protagonist needs to accomplish for respectability. The new bourgeois social order of the early nineteenth-century England aims to create conformist members who easily submit to the middle-class domination in society and serve the middle-class benefits. In order to achieve his ideals, Pip submits to middle-class hegemony and conforms to bourgeois values after his secret benefactor provides him with economic means for his training to become a gentleman. Miller asserts that, "*for Dickens, such submission means to lose all one's specifically human qualities of self-consciousness and freedom. […] The individual may be destroyed altogether by society, and remain behind only as the trophy of somebody's successful manipulations*" (252). In a state of false consciousness, Pip just submits to the middle-class domination and, actually, contributes to the established social order. Miller states that "*the Dickensian hero can submit to the complete dehumanisation which society or his stepparents would practice upon him, or, finally, he can take upon himself the responsibility and the guilt of a selfhood which is to be made*" (253). Similarly, Gilmour claims that

> Pip's desire to become a gentleman is real too and has a representatively positive element, in the sense that it is bound up with that widespread impulse to improvement, both personal and social, which is a crucial factor in the genesis of Victorian Britain (111).

In the age of change and development, the early nineteenth-century bourgeois society demands and encourages personal development to contribute to society, since personal development brings development on a national scale. However, as Horkheimer asserts

> as for the ideal of productivity, it must be observed that economic significance today is measured in terms of usefulness with respect to the structure of power, not with respect to the needs of all. The individual must prove his value [to society]. […] Moreover, the quantity and quality of the goods or services he contributes to society is merely one of the factors determining his success (154).

Clearly, the industrial society is built upon economic interests that are followed in all aspects of social life. The middle-class economic interests require a strictly controlled social structure, which is enabled by dominant norms. Cheadle argues that

> it is not disconcerting that Pip should find virtue in gentlemanly capitalism, for few manage to live outside the system. […] The elevation of right feeling helps to construct a specifically bourgeois form of virtue. […] And the ultimate bourgeois consolidation of right feeling as its cultural capital comes through the accommodation of manners to morals in the disciplining of Pip (80-81).

Victorian morals and manners in the form of "*such Victorian middle-class virtues as industry, honesty, self-denial, chastity and deference*" are imposed on Pip to live as an acceptable member of society (Spector 229). So, there is no individual freedom in the bourgeois industrial society represented in *Great Expectations*. Adorno states that "*in the shadow of its own incomplete emancipation [from feudal order and scholastic ontology] the bourgeois consciousness must fear to be annulled by a more advanced consciousness; not being the whole freedom, it senses that it can produce only a caricature of freedom*" (21). Without individual freedom and a state of consciousness, there are only repressed individuals in the bourgeois industrial society as in Dickens's *Great Expectations*.

Social control that induces changes in the repressed individual influences Pip immediately after he is informed about his great expectations. Pip is expected to wear new clothes when he goes to London to appear like a respectable young boy. Since Jaggers has told Pip not to come to London in his old clothes, he is to go to the town to buy new clothes (*Great Expectations* 132). However, Pip does not want to have any connection to the lower-class people after he begins to appear like a respectable gentleman in his socially appropriate clothes as the following remarks indicate:

> I have been thinking, Joe, that when I go down town on Monday, and order my new clothes, I shall tell the tailor that I'll come and put them on there, or that I'll have them sent to Mr Pumblechook's. It would be very disagreeable to be stared at by all the people here (*Great Expectations* 135).

In response to Joe's offer about the interest of their neighbours in his new outlook, Pip simply retorts that "*that's just what I don't want, Joe. They would make such a business of it – such a coarse and common business – that I couldn't bear myself*" (*Great Expectations* 135). Even for his sister, Biddy and Joe to see him in his new clothes, Pip says that "*I shall bring my clothes here in a bundle one evening – most likely on the evening before I go away*" (*Great Expectations* 135). Although Pip has for a long time complained about Estella's humiliating manners towards his country manners and working-class origins as the apprentice of the village blacksmith and felt sorry for his commonness in the eyes of Miss Havisham and Estella, he treats his own environment in the same demeaning way right after he has the means to rise upward in society. Pip's great concern for social manners and habits results in a situation that decreases his sense of individuality. For Pip, even his own room looks like "*a mean little room that [he] should soon be parted from and raised above, for ever*," while his own bed "*was an uneasy bed now, and I never slept the old sound sleep in it any more*" (*Great Expectations* 136). The changes in the individual's thinking are observed as the middle class dominates the individual's mind. Clearly, Pip does not make his own decisions any more in a state of false consciousness, while he at the same time believes that he is acting consciously.

In conclusion, this study argues that Pip in *Great Expectations* is a fictional example to the repressed individual in view of Horkheimer's and Adorno's arguments. Since social realism is used as the narrative technique, the novel draws a life-like picture of early Victorian social life and enables a critical approach from

Horkheimer's and Adorno's points of view to analyse the fictional condition of the individual in the bourgeois society. Due to his attempts to become a respectable gentleman, Pip conforms to social norms and loses self-consciousness becoming a repressed individual. Since social mobility depends on the conformity of the individual to the normative code of respectability, Pip has to submit to social values. Accordingly, Pip is initially introduced an appropriate code of behaviour in his home, which stands for commonness and lack of bourgeois manners judged by Estella and Miss Havisham. Then, Magwitch's secret plan to help Pip rise on the social scale and to enable his social mobility brings him great expectations, and this plan is to educate Pip for appropriate conduct among the bourgeoisie quite different from the manners he learnt at home. It might be claimed that "*the novel's focus on class is ultimately, and unromantically, about the process of* embourgeoisement" (Sanders 431). Hence, Pip's social mobility depends on this process of embourgeoisement. An almost institutional training of young men for gentlemanliness in Mr Pocket's house proves that this process has indeed become a form of industry, in which the behaviours of young men are regulated just like standardised products of a factory. Due to this standardisation, there is no individuality in the bourgeois industrial society.

Thus, Pip's identity is constructed to turn him into a beneficial member of society according to social norms rather his individualistic stance. Pip, ultimately released from his great expectations only when Magwitch's plan fails, realises that he is not in fact content with his current pursuit of becoming a gentleman, because he has not made a deliberate choice of his own in the first place. Therefore, he starts over again for a new career as a clerk, which is another form of conformity to social norms of the time. Actually, it is revealed that Pip's conformity enables him to finally have an affair with Estella as Pip says "*I took her hand in mine, […] and in all the broad expanse of tranquil light, I saw no shadow of another parting from her*" (*Great Expectations* 443). Clearly, Pip's submission to social norms is rewarded by his respectable status as a company clerk which appeals to Estella as a sign of Pip's social mobility and his higher status. Hence, the conflict between the individual and the bourgeois industrial society creates the repressed individual, who conforms to social values lacking self-consciousness.

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