



WILLIAM GOLDING'İN PİRAMİT ADLI ROMANINDA TOPLUMSAL TABAKALAŞMANIN GÖSTERGELERİ OLARAK SINIF, STATÜ VE GÜÇ¹

Ayla OĞUZ*

*Doç. Dr. Tokat Gaziosmanpaşa Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Batı Dilleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümü İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı

Ana Bilim Dalı

ayla.oguz@gop.edu.tr

ORCID:0000-0001-7112-6549

Öz-Sosyolojik olarak güç ve eşitsizlik kavramlarının toplumsal tabakalaşmaya gönderme yaptığı anlaşılmaktadır. Max Weber'e göre toplumların ana yapısında güç önemli bir etkidir ve her toplumun güce dayalı bir yapısı vardır. Bu anlamda Weberci yaklaşımda sınıf, statü ve parti kavramları gücün içeriklerini oluşturur. Karl Marx toplumsal tabakalaşma kavramını zengin ve yoksul olarak kutuplaştırırken Weber ise sınıf, statü ve parti şeklinde üçleme olarak açıklar. Bu makalede Marx ve Weber'in görüşlerinden hareketle William Golding'in Piramit adlı romanında toplumsal tabakalaşma kavramı incelenmiştir. Seçgin bir İngiliz yazar olarak Golding 1911-1993 yılları arasında yaşamış ve 1983'te Nobel Edebiyat Ödülü'ne layık görülmüştür. Golding, Piramit'te okuru İkinci Dünya Savaşı öncesine davet eder ve sosyolojik olarak sınıf kavramına vurgu yapar. Ayrıca, Golding, İngiliz halkının toplumsal tabakalaşma ve eşitsizlik sorunlarının yanı sıra onların sınıf ve güç algısını yirminci yüzyılın başında Stilbourne'da yaşayan alt ve üst tabakadan insanların deneyimleri yoluyla ortaya koyar. Böylece çalışmada Golding'in Piramit'te vurguladığı güç eşitsizlikleri ve toplumsal tıkanmalar Weber ve Marx'ın toplumsal tabakalaşma kuramları ışığında çözümlenmiştir. Sonuç olarak bu edebi çalışma Weber ve Marx'ın düşünceleri bakımından sosyolojiye göndermelerle alana disiplinler arası bir katkı sağlamayı amaçlamıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Weber, Marx, toplumsal tabakalaşma, Golding.

CLASS, STATUS AND POWER AS INDICATORS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN WILLIAM GOLDING'S NOVEL THE PYRAMID

210

Abstract- Sociologically, it is understood that the concepts of power and inequality refer to social stratification. According to Max Weber, the importance and function of power in the main structure of societies is undeniable and every society has a power-based structure. In this sense, in the Weberian approach, the concepts of class, status and party constitute the contents of power. While Karl Marx polarized the concept of social stratification as rich and poor, Weber explains it as the triad of class, status and party. In this article, based on the views of Marx and Weber, the concept of social stratification in William Golding's The Pyramid has been examined. As a distinguished English writer Golding lived from 1911 to 1993 and was awarded the 1983 Nobel Prize in literature. In The Pyramid, Golding invites the reader to the time before the Second World War and emphasizes the sociological concept of class. Moreover, Golding reveals the social stratification and inequality problems of the British people, as well as their perception of class and power through the experiences of the people from the lower and upper classes living in Stilbourne in the beginning of the twentieth century. Thus, in the study, power inequalities and social blockages emphasized by Golding in the Pyramid are analyzed in the light of Weber's and Marx's theories of social stratification. As a result, this literary study aims to make an interdisciplinary contribution to the field with references to sociology in terms of Weber's and Marx's ideas..

Keywords: Weber, Marx, social stratification, Golding.

¹ In this study, related information with the subject of the article in Turkish sources was summarized in English by the responsible writer.

INTRODUCTION

When societies are evaluated in a hierarchical structure from the bottom to top, it is striking that there are groups with different privileges. As a matter of fact, “hierarchy has been a phenomenon handled at the level of productive societies that have settled down” (Bahar, 2009:93). It is known that sociologists put forward the term social stratification in order to classify the structural inequalities in different groupings in society. More, it is a fact that in all different civilizations in different parts of the world, social stratification is embedded in the core of the structural order. People's experiences in life and their class directly affect their quality of life and opportunities. Many binary oppositions such as rich-poor, white-black, slave-master can be added to this. Therefore, it is a correct approach to suggest that there is a close link and cause-effect relationship between the stratification of societies and the evolution of human history. In this context, the purpose of this study is to reveal the social inequalities in the beginning of the twentieth century England due to the concept of social stratification with references to the ideas of Marx and Weber as an interdisciplinary contribution to English literature. In this sense, it is possible to see a British society divided into different classes such as lower, middle and upper classes. Such important characters like Evie, Oliver and Robert are all different representatives of different social groups. Each character's perception of self is very related with his or her own social class. Thus, it is inevitable to focus on the social values of the society with references to class distinctions having a great role in social stratification of English society in Golding's “Pyramid” as it is symbolically understood from the title. As a significant English writer Golding was born in Cornwall on the 19th of September 1911 before the First World War. It is known that he acquired a good position as the Nobel Laureate of literature in 1983 (George, 2008:6). He produced eight novels, a lot of short stories, one play and a book of poems. Among his major works, such novels like “Lord of the Flies” (1954), “The Inheritors” (1955), “Pincher Martin” (1956), “The Spire” (1964), “The Pyramid” (1967), “The Darkness of Visible” (1979) are mostly read (Danni, 2017:7). “The Pyramid” analysed in this study is very related with the defects of society and man's problematic search for placing himself/herself in a good position or status in English society. The structure of the society seems to symbolize a pyramid in terms of class. In this respect, it is interesting that Golding's charm “lies in the complex

blend of seemingly irreconcilable polarities like spirit and flesh, good and evil, pleasure and pain, joy and grief in his novels” (Kulkarni,2003:1). Thus, it can be claimed that man's sense of equality, justice and joy has been oppressed by the evils of social stratification and class conflict as a disturbing disease of modern society in Golding's “the Pyramid” and this is given through the lives of such characters like Evie, Oliver and Robert. All the members of English society in 1930s including Golding's characters climb and fall on this pyramid as a representation the social stratification of English society. So, firstly, the main point is to understand whether these characters symbolizing different classes in England are the victims of the social stratification or their own preferences. Next, how people are affected and managed by the principles of society in “the Pyramid” will be another point to discuss in terms of Marx and Weber's concept of stratification.

The Concept of Social Stratification and Its Contents

The concept of stratification in social sciences has been frequently used in structural analysis. The unequal order of societies is predictable and problematic. As a matter of fact, “stratification phenomenon is generally based on the existence of both natural and social inequalities. The differentiations caused by the relative inequalities between the individuals and groups that make up the society lead to the emergence of a hierarchical order; this situation creates the phenomenon of social stratification” (Bahar, 2009:93). The term that emerged in this sense is directly related to social stratification and refers to the stratification system in modern societies.

It is a known fact that social inequalities are the general characteristics of all societies. Determinants of stratification play an active role in the continuation of stratification in future generations. The class system is different from the social stratification systems such as slavery, caste, property owners (social position), which have been structured under different conditions throughout history. Among them, slavery is expressed as a system of inequality between different groups of people, while caste is a system of social stratification that refers to the social level and position in which individuals are born. On the other hand, in the stratification system called property owners or social position, there are positions transferred from generation to generation.

For example, in the classical feudal order, the third position, which includes aristocracy/priest and free peasant, serf, and merchants, are indicators of social stratification (Giddens, 2012:378). In this context, it is seen that class positions emerge with different identifications and are the reflections of an inevitable social inequality.

Thus, it can be claimed that society is built on inequalities. Bilton expresses his views on this subject very effectively. According to Bilton, class positions are determined by the organization of production, and different societies have different modes of production. This naturally results in the formation of different classes. Bilton also says that agrarian societies were divided into master-slave classes, lord-serf in Ancient-Rome, South America and feudal Europe, and capitalist-proletariat in modern western societies. Economic relations create inequality and one class dominates the other” (Bilton, 1987:36) As can be understood from this explanation, classes are divided into degrees among themselves.

Class differs from other social stratification systems as a large-scale and economically based system. It also exhibits social variability. As a matter of fact, the boundaries between classes are not clear and acquired only by birth, and inter-class marriages are also possible. In addition, depending on the economic basis of the class, economic distinctions and income inequalities are common. In this context, it is not a prerequisite for a person to belong to a class by birth, and the classes are not established according to legal or religious requirements, and the differences that arise are not reflected in personal rights and obligations. Contemporary capitalist societies are generally classified in three main directions. In the first of these, there is the rich upper class called the bourgeoisie, which owns all the means of production, and in the second, the middle class, which does not own these means of production, but manages them, and the lower class called the working class or proletariat, which can neither own the means of production nor have profits. Despite all this, it is a fact that the stratification in class systems is directly related not only to birth but also to individual effort and success (Bahar, 2009:102-103). Therefore, at this point, it is concluded that class systems are not closed systems, and it is possible for an individual to change his class, depending on his individual effort. As a matter of fact, the social identity of class members is a common identity.

Defining the class as “all persons in the same class status” (Weber, 1978: 302), Weber divides it into three groups as the propertied class, the social class and the commercial class, and adds the following to his explanations about the concept of class: “Associations of class members -class organizations -may arise on the 'basis of all three types of classes. However, this does not necessarily happen: ‘Class situation’ and ‘class’ refer only to the same (or similar) interests which an individual shares with others. In principle, the various controls over consumer goods, means of production. Assets, resources and skills each constitute a particular class situation. A uniform class situation prevails only when completely unskilled and propertyless persons are dependent on irregular employment. Mobility among. and stability of. class positions differs, greatly; hence, the unity of a social class is highly variable” (Weber, 1978:302). From Weber's point of view, it turns out that the variables have different effects on the class. Thus, it can be said that the class position gains different qualities depending on the variables. In “the Pyramid” social ranks and positions of the characters are different. Oliver can't imagine to marry his first love, Imogene. She is one of the members of upper class where as Oliver is the member of middle class. On the other hand Evie represents lower class. Although she imagines to marry a rich man, Evie can't do this. It is impossible to change one's social class in Weberian perspective . So no body can have a chance to be happy in this social structure. Thus, it appears that the novel is full of the samples of the brutally damaging influences of the English class system. It can be said that the basic factor forming all the relationships is closely connected to the concept of power.

In this respect, Michel Foucault (1926-1984) as a well-known philosopher claims that power generally manifests itself through the relationships between individual and society. The power problem is central to Foucault's argument about the relations between society, individuals, groups and institutions. So, he changed the way in which people think about power and turned his attention to different issues like the nature of punishment, prison reform, sexuality and madness (Oliver, 2010:X). According to Foucault, power shows itself in a certain way strategically and it is not something to be owned indeed. He explains this in the following words: “Power is employed and exercised through a netlike organization. Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application” (Foucault, 1980:98). Thus, he tries to examine how power operates between people and institutions. However, this study is actually limited

with Marx's and Weber's concepts of power, class and stratification despite the influence of Foucault's ideas on power.

Karl Marx and Max Weber's Perceptions of Class and Stratification

The theories of class and stratification are based on the views of two important scientists, such as Marx and Weber, and both of them put forward their views by criticizing capitalism. In this context, while giving importance to class analysis, Marx evaluates class in terms of its relation to the means of production. Marx explains the relationship between classes in terms of exploitation. This exploitation is based on two basic classes in industrial society, those who sell their labor power and those who own capital. The worker, on the other hand, is far from the product he produces as a requirement of capitalism. In Marx's terminology, property or commodity is valuable as a concrete building block of modern society (Marx, 1983:433). Marx speaks of the means of determining class as means of production. Therefore, the means of production in the pre-industrial agrarian society consisted of agricultural tools and land. In this sense, Marx's concept of class has a prominent place among stratification theories.

According to Bahar, Marx defines class relations by dividing them into two. He claims that all class relations are formed between exploiting and exploited groups. For him, while the exploiters have surplus value, the exploited continue their lives by selling their workforce (Bahar, 2009: 103). In this case, it is unthinkable for the proletariat to have power in the relations of production and to direct the relations. The capitalist, who determines the value of the product and the labor, is the one who is strong politically as well as economically. He also becomes the owner of the property. In this context, it is correct to say that the basis of Marx's argument is to eliminate social stratification and inequality. While defining society by dividing it into infra and super structures, Marx mentions that the mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life (Marx & Engels, 1959:257). It is a fact that accumulation of commodities denotes to the social position of individual in the society. It can be asserted that there is a direct relationship between one's place in the society and his/her power economically. Marx says "A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its

properties satisfies human wants, some sort or another" (Marx, 1859:19). If people own property in the society they will benefit from it. This will certainly cause a social hierarchy in the social life. In this context, Golding criticizes the destructive effects of this hierarchy and class system by referring to the different families from different social classes within the frame of capitalist system in the English society of the 1930s.

Weber, on the other hand, presented a different perspective in the context of stratification theory. Weber says that the source of economic social stratification is not class. According to him, it is a prerequisite for the individual to have wealth in the essence of the class and the individual must have economic value. Therefore, Marx's concept of class, which is based on binary opposition, evolves into a class concept defined as 'individual' in Weber and seems to bless the multiplicity (Kalaycıoğlu, 2002: 307). For Marx, the concept of status is also important. According to him, social status depends on class position. In this sense, status manifests itself in different patterns, relationships, symbols and lifestyles. In this context, Marx argues that status is not only related to economic factors but also under the influence of many different factors. Weber, on the other hand, states that classes are not social communities, they merely represent possible foundations of social action. According to Weber, if there is a common profit point in the life of a group, if the group comes together for economic benefit and the common element is represented in commodity and labor markets, it is possible to talk about a class concept (Weber, 1978:307). Thus, it is deduced that Evie has no economic value and social status in the society unlike Robert and Oliver because her father is the member of lower class and not rich. Indeed, that's a shame to marry her for Robert and Oliver.

Moreover, Bilton states that there exist the relations of production created by class at the core of Marx's theory of society, and that these relations shape other aspects of the social structure. In this context, according to Marx, infrastructure and superstructure are the two main branches of society. While the infrastructure is constituted by the relations of production, the superstructure is constituted by social institutions (Bilton et al. 1996:85). In general, the variables in Weber's theory of social stratification emerge as class, status and power. In this respect, it is clear that Golding defined the

inhabitants of Stilbourne, a small town near Salisbury by the characteristics of class, status and power in “the Pyramid”. For instance, Oliver is about to go to the Oxford University to study chemistry and likes music very much. But it is not enough to love music for having a career and status in 1930s English society due to the standards of his class.

On the other hand, Weber examines society in terms of the monopolization of resources in the axis of a common process of ‘social closure’. Social closure limits access to economic resources to its stakeholders and excludes others. Thus, the movement of social groups prioritizing their own social superiority declares itself. These groups can also be formally monopolized. Those who are not included in these groups are often classified according to their physical characteristics, especially race, language, religion, social origin and color. (Weber, 2012b: 341-2). According to Weber, this approach is a monopolization practice and is present at the base of the economy. In the novel Robert and Oliver respectively declare their superiority against Evie in Weberian perspective. On the other hand it is displayed that Robert is the richest, the most distinguished and powerful among them as a reflection of his belonging to upper class.

Sociologists have grouped different approaches about class. These can be listed as the traditional functionalist approach and the relational class approach. The first is occupation-based and does not involve any exploitation or conflict. In the second, conflict and exploitation are at the center and class positions are evident. It is a well-known fact that the middle class has diversified a lot in the modern period. Additionally, the upper class is the wealthy minority, and it is not known how much wealth they have acquired. Their wealth is either inherited from their ancestors or they have become wealthy themselves. The middle class, on the other hand, is generally made up of professional entrepreneurs, among which there are white-collar professions working in the service sector such as teachers and doctors. Today, professions in the position of specialist, manager and administrator are quite abundant in industrialized countries and constitute a large part of the middle class population. White collar workers use both their mental and physical capacities to earn money. As the developing sector of the middle class in stratification and class structuring, informatics, namely the cable sector, is expanding. In addition, white-collar workers who sell their mental labor are also included in this class.

Blue-collar workers representing the working class are the contents of the middle class and they work with physical strength. Those in this group also become richer than in the previous century. The lower class includes the members of the marginal group who do not have regular income and live in difficult conditions (Giddens, 2012:378-379). In “the Pyramid”, Imogen and Robert represent the upper class, Oliver and his family represent the middle class, and Evie and her family represent the lower class, respectively.

In this sense, it is an inevitable traditional approach to look at the profession and income level while analyzing the class structure and to evaluate it in a mutual relationship with production and consumption. However, consumption and lifestyle are other important perspectives in this analysis. As a result, it is seen that the upper and lower strata of the society are placed in a social stratification system ranked from the most preferred to the least preferred. In the novel Bobby's position is described as the most preferred while Evie's the least one as a reflection of Marx and Weber's views concerning stratification, class and status.

Detailed Analysis of the Social Stratification in William Golding's *The Pyramid*

It is striking that William Golding's novel “the Pyramid” emphasizes the social stratification that highlights the pre-World War II period in terms of time and prioritizes the concepts of class and status as a social reality. In the novel, Golding narrates the English country people living in a ridiculous hierarchical order during the war crisis between 1920 and 1940. This narrative is reflected from the point of view of Oliver, who is preparing for university and is not yet an adult. However, a clear social hierarchy prevails in Stilbourne. For instance, people go on living in this small town without minding anyone else's problem and they always keep the boundaries between them.

Throughout the novel, the reader witnesses the life experience of the main character, Oliver from 1920 to 1940. This process includes negative events as well as positive ones. For this reason, it is seen that the tragic and ridiculous elements in the novel create a perception as if they are intertwined. Even at the beginning of the novel, the fact of social stratification and the concept of class are emphasized by means of Oliver's preparation for being a student at Oxford University. Because of the fact that Oliver's parents are the members of the middle class, Oliver's position as a student at Oxford

University means a privilege for them. On the other hand, Oliver, who is deeply affected by the class difference, does not like the rich and his peers, who constantly despise his social position. Oliver and his family are compared with Robert Ewan from the upper class throughout the novel. On the other hand, Oliver is in-between because he has to arrange his relations with Evie Babbacombe, a young and attractive girl from the lower class. Evie also lives in the slums. At this point, it is possible to refer to Marx's concepts of infrastructure and superstructure. As a matter of fact, in the novel, those in the lower, middle and upper classes experience class conflict subtly.

Indeed, Oliver is influenced by Imogen, Oliver's first love before his flirt with Evie. Later Imogen marries a rich man because she belongs to upper class. After Imogen's wedding, Oliver's relationship with Evie suddenly begins. In fact, Evie is very interested in Robert Ewan, a representative of upper class. Robert borrows his father's secretary's car to go out with Evie. But unfortunately just as they are making love, the car accidentally slips into the lake and everything is messed up. It is very dangerous for both Evie's father and Robert's father to hear about this situation. On the other hand, Bobby can't take Evie to dance in his father's car because she is the daughter of Sergeant Babbacombe and represents the lower class. That's why Evie comes to Oliver's house at night to ask Oliver for help. In fact, Evie is sure that Oliver is interested in her. But Oliver is furious with his neighbor's son, Robert, who is actually a member of upper class. Robert always shows him that he is in a superior position with his presence and status than Oliver. So, even though Oliver doesn't want to help Robert, he can't resist Evie's sexual attraction and agrees to help Robert, and in return he asks Evie to flirt with him. This is a kind of trading relationship and it is based on their own interest. Oliver's thoughts on Evie explain this situation:

"I knew she worked next door, in Dr. Ewan's reception room; knew that she had a long bob of glossy black hair, and a figure that rearranged the blue and white cotton dress—knew she was the Town Crier's daughter and came from the tumbledown cottages of Chandler's Close. But of course we had never spoken. Never met. Obviously" (Golding, 2012:8).

As can be understood from this quote, two statements are decisive for Evie's social position.

One of them is that Evie is the daughter of a town sergeant and the other is that she lives in one of the dilapidated huts. For this reason, it is emphasized that Evie and Oliver are not equal to each other in terms of social status from the very beginning of the novel. As a matter of fact, in Weber's understanding of social stratification, ownership or non-property constitutes the core of the main structuring of class positions (Weber, 2012a:93). In this context, it is clear that Evie and Oliver are not in the same social position and class.

Evie is also in a low position in terms of her prestige as a woman. She is not respectful at all for men. They just desire her. So, as an attractive girl, she flirts with versatile men from upper class. According to Bahar, "while the powerful try to maintain their position, the oppressed strive to get more for themselves" (Bahar, 2009:16). It is clear that Evie is one of the oppressed ones. In the novel, Evie is described as in the quote: "She was our local phenomenon, and every male for miles round was aware of her. Perhaps it was not the breathlessness of perpetual sex that kept her lips always apart and everted, but her nose, so inadequate for breathing through, yet so perfect for pertness. Her hair would toss cloudily in a dark, shoulder length bob, as she paced, thighs motionless, legs only moving beneath the knee, her body trim and female in its walking-out uniform—a cotton frock, white socks and sandals" (Golding, 2012:10). In this way, it is certain that Evie arouses excitement in Oliver with her legendary beauty. Also, Oliver is even more excited at the prospect of snatching her from Robert, who is superior to him in terms of social class. Oliver's impediment in his urge to get Evie and his only rival is evident. This inequality is highlighted in the novel as such: "After all there was Robert Ewan with his motor bike and his famous school and conscious superiority" (Golding, 2012:11). As seen in the excerpt, the problem of inequality, which is a cause of social stratification, is emphasized through comparisons of the social positions of the characters in the novel. Oliver is compared to Robert Ewan on the one hand, while Evie's father, Sergeant Babbacombe, is portrayed as a member of lower class in terms of his simple position. Babbacombe is the physical obstacle in Oliver's way of reaching Evie, and he is intimidating with his burly body:

Sergeant Babbacombe, caretaker of the Town Hall, Keeper of the Pound, Beadle, Town Crier and any number

of other offices left him by our derelict history; Sergeant Babbacombe might be a figure of fun in his eighteenth century uniform as Town Crier; thinking of him as her father, I saw rather his huge chest, meaty fists and plethoric face with its eyes so belligerently popping. I winced as I inspected for the first time an age-old question. How do such fathers have such daughters? (Golding, 2012:11).

As it can be understood from the quote, people with low social status are depicted with almost ridicule. In terms of social stratification, it is clear that being in the lower class means being of little value. Additionally, it appears in the novel that Golding intends to create a perception of inequality that refers to social stratification. On the other hand, Oliver is aware of his own social position. This awareness reveals his feelings of jealousy towards Robert Ewan, also known as 'Bobby'. When Robert and Evie are making love in the car, the car falls into the lake and Evie is disgraced. Robert is in a difficult situation and therefore Oliver gets the opportunity to meet Evie. So much so that he never misses an opportunity to humiliate Robert: "And there was more. The window of our bathroom not only looked out over our garden, but the Ewans's garden too. It was possible, even probable, that I should see Robert keeping fit there, and be able to crow over him. Grinning, I hurried to the bathroom" (Golding, 2012:15). Furthermore, Oliver's and Robert's showdowns and denunciations continue constantly. Oliver reveals that Robert belongs to upper class with the following analogy about him and further shows that he keeps this fact in his consciousness: Below the immediate line of my vision, I could see that Robert was giving me a look. It was the sort of look that kept the Empire together, or quelled it at least. Armed with that look and perhaps a riding crop, white men could keep order easily among the clubs and spears. He walked with great dignity into the house, duke's profile high, attention straight ahead. I laughed loud and long and savagely (Golding, 2012:15-16).

The master-slave analogy in the quote is an important implication because it implies the class difference between Oliver and Robert, referring to slavery, a form of social stratification that actually existed in the classical order. This situation seems to reveal that this inequality has emerged in new forms in modern times. It is one of the results of this

analysis to conclude that each period produces its own social stratification and class inequality. On the other hand, all these things can be seen to be the indicators of social conflicts among modern English people in the early twentieth century England. According to Bahar, these are social conflicts, and he claims that sociologists who refer to the social conflict model investigate how money, power, education and social prestige are distributed unevenly due to factors such as social class, cultural identity, race and gender. He also claims that for those who are in conflict, society is made up of inequalities (Bahar, 2009:16). Thus, it is deduced that "the Pyramid" as a novel clearly exhibits this kind of social conflict in the English society based on class system.

As a matter of fact, Oliver's mother also constantly emphasizes this class difference. Oliver puts it in this way: "It meant that my mother was regretting the social difference between the Ewans and ourselves. She was thinking too of the incompatibility that had magnified the difference and exacerbated it. As small children, socially innocent, so to speak, we had played together" (Golding, 2012:16). However, it is seen in the novel that the content of these childhood games often turns into a power struggle reflecting the social class difference. The following dialogue between Oliver and Robert displays it:

"You're my slave."

"No I'm not."

"Yes you are. My father's a doctor and yours is only his dispenser" (Golding, 2012:16).

After this argument, Oliver pushes him off the wall because Robert sees him as his slave. Later, they grow up in separate schools and stand in separate areas in social environments without ever ending the race between them. Oliver's current gain is that he kisses Evie himself and Robert becomes ridiculous. In fact, Oliver is always in the defense of the social class he is in. For example, Oliver compares his own father with Robert's father and emphasizes the class difference:

After breakfast I went as casually as I could to the dispensary, where my father was making pills, in the old-fashioned way. I stood in the doorway that led from our cottage into the dispensary thinking consciously for the first time how much more like a doctor he looked than staid Dr. Ewan, or the junior partner, reedy Dr. Jones (Golding, 2012:16).

Despite this, Oliver realizes that he is one step behind Robert with his posture and speech. He confesses this again in a moment of jealousy: “There he was, down there, dancing with his athlete’s limber movements round the motionless ball; and I could see that he had sticking plaster on his nose now, as well as his shins. Here was I, devious and calculating, with a different accent, and unable to drive a car” (Golding, 2012:31). As a matter of fact, according to Fox, people in England indicate the class they belong to with the accent and vocabulary they speak rather than money and position in social class clustering (Fox, 2004:82). In this case, it is evident that there is a clear emphasis on Oliver’s speech and accent in the novel and this directly refers to his social class.

In the novel, another emphasis of social class segregation is conveyed through Mrs. Babbacombe, Evie’s mother. In fact, the Babbacombe family occupies a lower place than Oliver’s family in the class order. This is clearly illustrated by the following description of Mrs. Babbacombe:

At normal times Mrs. Babbacombe radiated a social awareness and friendliness that was indomitable, though seldom reciprocated. She was a sparrow of a woman, neat like Evie, but already wizened. She moved quickly, head up and turning from person to person, smiling—sometimes inclining her head, aiming it right across the High street in a gracious, sideways bow to a person entirely out of her social sphere. Naturally these greetings were never acknowledged or even mentioned; since no one could tell whether Mrs. Babbacombe was mad, and believed herself entitled to make them, or whether she came from some fabulous country where the Town Crier’s wife and the wife of the Chief Constable might be on terms of intimacy. The first alternative seemed the more probable. You might see her, shall we say, chirping like a sparrow at the counter of the International Stores, then smiling graciously (head on left shoulder slight inclination of the neck) at Lady Hamilton-Smythe who was apparently unaware of her existence. She was about our only Roman Catholic, was Mrs. Babbacombe — unless you include Evie—and that, taken with her other eccentricity, made her notable and trying. Since she would not mix with the riff-raff of Chandler’s Close and nobody else spoke to her, it seemed strange that she persevered with her useless smiles and bows (Golding, 2012:31-32).

As it can be understood from the excerpt, Mrs. Babbacombe is not cared for by anyone because she is from the lower class. Moreover, it is considered a waste of mind for a lower-class person to even dare to speak to a higher-ranking person, and therefore no one gives credit to Mrs. Babbacombe. In addition, Mrs. Babbacombe, as a Catholic among the mostly Anglican townspeople, is pushed to the margins of the English social class and devalued due to the existing understanding of the stratification and class system. All this proves that the perception of class and status in British society has an important role in determining the communication between people.

The progress of Oliver’s relationship with Evie and their secret meeting in the woods are exciting for Oliver. Unfortunately, Evie is faced with the possibility of becoming pregnant it causes great tension. Naturally, Oliver never thinks of this possibility while having fun. Because of this problem, his attitude towards Evie immediately changes. Criticizing this situation, Evie does not hesitate to say her reproach: “Thought you’d got something for nothing, didn’t you?” (Golding, 2012:60).

After the mutual hateful looks and disappointments, Evie advises him to still ignore her and relax, saying that nothing will happen probably. This leads Oliver to question his own social class, position and possible future developments:

I went home, confounded at the sight, and unnerved at my peril. I remembered Oxford with an awful pang. If—if—she had her baby, it was goodbye to Oxford. I could hear the whispers and titters coming out of the very bricks and mortar. Left school at eighteen to get married. Had to. Or if not, it would be seven and sixpence a week—maintenance. I knew about seven and sixpence. It was one of our snigger-triggers, like monthly, or nine months and a whole dictionary of others (Golding, 2012:61).

All these thoughts seem to be the patterns of social class oppression engraved in Oliver’s mind. Oliver, on the other hand, anticipates the repercussions of this adventurous union on his own family front, and all are very frightening possibilities for him:

Then, with great force, the thought of my parents hit me. My father, so kind, slow and solid, my mother, tart, yet with such care of me, such pride in me— It would kill them. To be related even if only by

marriage, to Sergeant Babbacombe! I saw their social world, so delicately poised and carefully maintained, so fiercely defended, crash into the gutter. I should drag them down and down through those minute degrees where it was impossible to rise but always easy to fall—Yes. I should kill them (Golding, 2012:61-62).

As seen in the excerpt, even the possibility of Evie's pregnancy is frightening. Because this situation is against the rules of Oliver's and his family's social class and it will create a great irreparable loss of value for them. It is so frightening that they can even lose their current position. It is clear that Evie is so worthless to Oliver and he is with Evie for her sexual attraction. That is the evil side of Oliver's soul. He can never understand Evie's real wish. Evie's only reason for presenting herself to men in this way is for nothing else than her deep-seated need for love indeed. She talks to Oliver about this: "You never loved me, nobody never loved me. I wanted to be loved, I wanted somebody to be kind to me—I wanted" (Golding, 2012:67). In fact, Oliver also seeks affection and love, but Evie is not his addressee. Because Evie is in a very low place for him in terms of status in Weberian concept of status. Oliver says the following about it:

She wanted tenderness. So did I; but not from her. She was no part of high fantasy and worship and hopeless jealousy. She was the accessible thing. I waited smiling for these sheets of summer lightning and storms of summer rain to fade away so that we could come to sensible terms again. She was, after all, a girl, this curious, useful, titillating creature; and sure enough, after a while her snivelling stopped (Golding, 2012:67).

Thus, Evie is excluded from Oliver's future plans. Oliver's parents don't approve of Evie anyway, and they already have prejudices about her actions. Oliver's mother finds out that Evie has come to the pharmacy and told Oliver's father that all men are animals, and Oliver's mother does not like these words of her: "What d'you expect from a girl like that? Men are what you—" (Golding, 2012:71). After all, Evie is a girl who tends to anyone showing interest and compassion. The news that Evie will live with her aunt in London delights and comforts Oliver's family. As a matter of fact, Evie leaves the town because of the red lipstick residue on her married boss, Dr Jones' lips. However, Oliver is very upset at first, thinking that he is the reason Evie has left the town. Indeed she does not hesitate to get close to Dr Jones as she has already done with

Oliver. This indicates that Evie is in an unapprovable position morally as well as economic class and social position. It means that not only money or emptia but also her moral values and her physical appearance determine her social status as the indicators of stratification in sociological terms.

Another example indicating social class distinction and stratification is conveyed through art. A play will be performed at Stilbourne Town Hall, in which Oliver's mother also takes part. People see art as a meeting point. But even there, the emphasis on class hierarchy is striking: "Art is a meeting point; but you can go too far. So the whole thing had to rise from a handful of people round whom an invisible line was drawn. Nobody mentioned the line, but everybody knew it was there" (Golding, 2012:86). In the novel, while the class structure of British society is given through a small town, the reflections of people's search for value are revealed through their roles in the activities organized by the municipality. In this sense, the Stilbourne Performing Arts Association, founded by the municipality, has a lot of work to do: There were many; for after a performance, few of the cast would speak to each other again. With diabolical inevitability, the very desires to act and be passionate, to show off and impress, brought to full flower the jealousies and hatreds, meannesses and indignations we were forced to conceal in ordinary life. Casting a light opera removed half our potential at a stroke, since there were always three or four people who thought themselves so insulted by failure to get the hero or heroine's part, that they withdrew their services; or worse still, sulkily accepted minor roles and embarked on a career of theatrical sabotage. By the end of our three nights' run, the other half of the cast would have been so mortally affronted they would vow never to subject themselves to such humiliations again. It was for this reason that the SOS did not perform annually. A certain period was necessary for scar tissue to form. The strife would die down, enemies return to a nodding acquaintance; and then, just too late for the next year's performance, the vein would begin to ache again (Golding, 2012:86-87).

As seen in this example, social position attributes a value to individuals. As a matter of fact, having a status in traditional English society is a goal that must be achieved for every individual. So much so that power and status have active roles in determining the main actors in the plays to be performed by the Stilbourne Performing Arts Association. For example, the Mayor's daughter, Mrs. Underhill, is the constant star of the musical plays, and no one can have her role. This is

highlighted in the novel: “If Mrs. Underhill had been ignored by the committee, it was logical that her ancient father should refuse the use of his parlour; natural too that he should delay the announcement until it inflicted the maximum damage” (Golding, 2012:88). All these indicators refer to the fact that human life gained value in direct proportion to power in British society at the beginning of the twentieth century. As a matter of fact, this situation arises in the same way when Oliver studies at Oxford and then owns an expensive car. Oliver drives from Oxford to Stilbourne after a long time. After a while he enters the town and stops by the car dealership of Henry. The way Henry greets him is remarkable. For the first time, Oliver witnesses Henry's respectful behavior towards him. The car is a testament to Oliver's new power and makes him worthy of respect. Thus, it becomes evident that having emtia is an important criterion in terms of status and stratification. It is told in the following way in the novel:

My feet grew up a little. It was the first time in my life I was ever conscious of impressing Henry. His attitude was typical of the deep thing lying in him, the reason for it all, tarmac, glass, concrete, machinery, the thrust not liked or enjoyed but recognized as inevitable, the god without mercy. There was a tiny adjustment in his attitude. He was deferring to achievement without knowing precisely what it was; and I, my feet now firmly under control, was accepting this deference. I went with him to be shown round, contemptuous of the way in which our social antennae had vibrated; and it was only in the oldest part of the building, that I stopped before something that felt familiar even before I had worked out why (Golding, 2012:121).

As it is understood from the excerpt, even in the modern period, human relations in British society are shaped within the frame of power factors such as occupation, position, money, and gender. In this context, as Weber states, the role of groups that prioritizes their own social superiority in the formation of stratification shows itself by means of these power indicators. In addition, in the analyzed examples, it is seen that Weber and Marx's concept of social status comes to the fore and these refer to the reality of class. As a matter of fact, it is undeniable that economic relations are the effective determining factor in class societies.

More, according to Bahar, class societies are explained as societies in which economic relations are determinant (Bahar, 2009:101). For him, although classes are formed as a result of existing economic relations and are based on material inequalities, the only reason for inequality is not economic, but factors such as gender and ethnic differences are among the other causes of inequality. For example, in “the Pyramid”, gender is added to the social and economic inequality represented by Evie. When social stratification is considered in the context of the positions of the novel characters examined in the study, it has been observed that each character has a class and social status based on economic relations. In addition, it appears that there is an important class emphasis in the context of profession in the novel. There are various examples in the novel, from the profession of Evie's father, town crier sergeant Babbacombe, to Oliver's pharmacist father, Robert's father Dr Ewan, Evie's second flirt Dr Jones, and Oliver's music teacher. The classification and valuation of their position and status by profession emerges as clear indicators of social stratification. Therefore, it is revealed that the social and economic inequalities in “the Pyramid” form the upper and lower layers in the class structure of modern English society, and the society is stratified based on such merits like class, status and power. “The Pyramid”, published in 1967, has been analysed by varied writers in different contexts. Among them J. Gindin (1988), Dr. Nagnath Totawad (2021) and David Skilton (2021) particularly focus on this novel by comparing it with Golding's other important works in terms of theme, structure and type of fiction.

CONCLUSION

Society is defined as the whole of people who are in constant change and who are in a network of social relations and who share a certain culture (Bahar, 2009:26). In this context, it seems possible that social stratification occurs due to the presence of people from various income levels in the society. This can be explained as a kind of distribution of power. Therefore, stratification is closely related to the unequal distribution of power in the society. The concept of social stratification that arises from the inequalities in the society shows itself systematically with the criteria such as power, status, authority and class (Erkal, 1998: 193). In this sense, it is clear that stratification is a natural consequence of social division.

As a matter of fact, different power structures in every society have allowed the emergence of class distinctions and the formation of a hierarchical order. In this sense, Marx and Weber, the leading theorists of modernism, reveal the inevitability of social stratification. It is considered that the concept of social stratification and the concept of class are related with each other. So, it is necessary to distinguish between the terms social class and social stratification. Actually, social class is an economic and culturally based form and emerges as a type of social stratification. Further, classes are diversified into upper, combined, middle, working and lower classes. It is evident with examples that the concept of class as a type of social stratification clearly appears through the experiences of the varied characters in Golding's novel. As a distinguish writer of the twentieth century Golding writes about the brutally destructive characteristics of English class system in three episodes and criticizes the life systematic during the 1930s in a small town called Stillbourne near Salisbury.

In the formation of the social structure, the influence of the environment, status and position holders is very high. Accordingly, it can be said that the concepts of social difference, class and status in the social structure are the contents of the social order, which is the distribution of social honor. As a matter of fact, Golding's novel "The Pyramid" tries to reflect a social stratification as a production of inequality originating from the realities of modernity, which British society was influenced through the existence and self-representation obsessions of individuals from various classes and positions at the beginning of the twentieth century. The protagonist Oliver and those around him seem to be stuck in their own class and position. They urge to gain a better position on the one hand and to maintain their level on the other are the primary reservations of the characters in the novel. For Marx, property and status determine one's social place. So, it is determined that such characters like Oliver, Robert and Evie occupy a social rank in parallel with their own economic power. On the other hand, it can be deduced that the rich like Robert's family have prioritized themselves and declared their superiority by means of their money, emptia and superirity comlex according to Weberian sense of stratification.

Additionally, it is seen that Weber codes class, status holders and parties as the main power centers. It is a clear reality that the social structure that Weber explains in this context is formed in a certain power

axis, especially on the basis of status, class and occupation, through the main character Oliver and his neighbours from various social positions and classes in Golding's novel "the Pyramid". As a matter of fact, individuals frequently have to struggle with the concept of power, which Weber prioritizes in the social arena. In addition, as determined by Marx, both the ordinary people representing the infrastructure in the novel and the bourgeoisie representing the superstructure are in a struggle with each other economically and socially as a reflection of power problems as in the examles like Robert and Evie.

As a result, Golding's novel gracefully reflects the social stratification that exists in early twentieth-century English society. More, it appears that "the Pyramid" has a narrative universe in which an unequal social order is represented with an emphasis on class and status, and sheds light on an important social reality in English literature.

In this sense, it can be said that Golding, one of the Nobel Prize-winning novelists of English literature, not only conveyed remarkable data about the morality, social customs, rules, power relations, life style, behaviours and traditions of the twentieth century English society in literary and sociological terms but also exhibited a social critique based on social stratification in his informative novel, "the Pyramid".

Therefore, in this social structure, which resembles a pyramid in shape, individuals from various classes sometimes occupy a place with people who are lower than their own class, sometimes higher. While these people have to struggle against their limited human understanding and their own stuckness, it turns out that this situation shapes their self-perception. As a result, all these indicators show that people from different classes are stuck in strict rules of stratification and become the victims of the principals of their social milieu and class. It can be claimed that They have to cope with the overwhelming and unmerciful patterns of life. On the other hand, it is a clear fact that people can be more selfish for their own benefit as in Oliver's and Robert's cases. Thus, it can be deduced that people in "the Pyramid" are trapped in their social milieu and managed by the power indicators like money, property, status and class.

Additionally, it is concluded that Golding as a skillful novelist makes use of the novel form as an instrument to exhibit both the hidden and evil side of

man's heart and the realities of man's moral conditions in difficult times. Thus it is considered that man can easily produce evil in this society based on inequality and injustice as the reflection of power relations among individuals from different ranks, status, social position and class in English society depicted in "the Pyramid". Due to this position of them, it can be asserted that it is not easy for them to change their lives according to their free will. In conclusion, it is clear that change and stability in the lives of the characters in "the Pyramid" are emphasized in the frame of power relations between people as a reflection of stratification existed in the early twentieth century English society.

REFERENCES

- Bahar, H. İ. (2009), *Sociology*, 3rd Edition, Ankara: Usak Publications.
- Bilton, T., Bonnett, K. Jones, P., Sheard K. & Webster, A. (1987), *Introductory Sociology*, London: Macmillan.
- Danni, M. (2015), "William Golding and The Lord of the Flies" *English Language Teaching* Volume 3, Issue 1, 2015, pp. 7-10 DOI: 10.18319/j.elt.23.
- Erkal, M. (1998), *Toplum Bilimi*. İstanbul: Der Yayınları.
- Foucault, M (1980), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, London: Harvester Press.
- Fox, K. (2004), *Watching the English*, London: Hodder.
- George, U. (2008), *William Golding: A Critical Study*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers.
- Giddens, A. (2012), *Sosyoloji*, (Çev. Hüseyin Özel vd.), İstanbul: Kırmızı Yayınları.
- Gindin, J. (1988) "The Condition of England: The Pyramid and Darkness Visible", In: *Macmillan Modern Novelists: William Golding* (pp.55-72), London: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Golding, W. (2012), *The Pyramid*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Kalaycıoğlu, S. (Ed., İ. Sezai) (2002), *Sosyolojiye Giriş*, Ankara: Martı Kitap ve Yayınevi.
- Kulkarni, I. (2003), *The Novels of William Golding*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers.
- Marx, K. (1859), *A Contribution to the Critic of Political Economy*, London: Progress Publishers.
- Marx, K. (ed.&trans. E. Kamenka) (1983), *The Portable Karl Marx*, New York: Penguin.
- Marx K. & Engels F. (Ed. Lewis Feuer) (1959), *Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*, New York: Doubleday.
- Oliver, P. (2010), *Foucault-The Key Ideas*, London: Hachette.
- Skilton, D. (2021), "The Pyramid and Comic Social Fiction", In: *William Golding Some Critical Considerations*, (Eds. Jack I. Biles, Robert O. Evans), Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Totawad, N. (2021), "Novels of William Golding An Overview", *Pune Reseach An International Journal in English*, Vol. 7, issue 3, ISSN:2554-3454.
- Weber, M. (ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich) (1978), *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Berkeley: University of California.
- Weber, M. (2012a), *Ekonomi ve Toplum*, Cilt 1. (Çev., L. Boyacı), İstanbul: Yarı Yayınları.
- Weber, M. (2012b), *Ekonomi ve Toplum*, Cilt 2, (çev., L. Boyacı), İstanbul: Yarı Yayınları.