The Marxist Approach to Ideology: Marx and Hegel

Dr. Ahmad Taha
Dr. Abeer Zahra
**
Samer Al-khaoli***

(Received 17 / 9 / 2007. Accepted 18 / 3 / 2008)

\square ABSTRACT \square

This research deals with the concept of ideology and how it is conceptualized by many Marxist and non- Marxist theorists, including Marxist and Hegelian intellectuals, such as: Karl Marx, Hegel, Luis Althusser, Peter B. Armitage and Raymond Williams. The research tackles the reasons which motivate the ideological institutions in Western societies to conceptualize the types of ideology in a way which suits their cultural identities and their political and intellectual biases in addition to the ideologues' trends. The result of this research is to prove that ideologies cannot be separated from politics, economics, dogmas and the State's pragmatic institutions. These ideologies are the output of an unconscious tradition imposed by these institutions on their individuals.

Keywords: Marxist Ideology, Hegelian Ideology

^{*}Associate Professor, English Department, The Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Tishreen University, Lattakia, Syria

^{**}Associate Professor, English Department, The Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Tishreen University, Lattakia, Syria

^{***}Postgraduate Student, English Department, The Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Tishreen University, Lattakia, Syria

مجلة جامعة تشرين للبحوث والدراسات العلمية _ سلسلة الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية المجلد (30) العدد (30) العدد (30) Tishreen University Journal for Research and Scientific Studies - Arts and Humanities Series Vol. (30) No. (2) 2008

المنهج الماركسى في الايدولوجيا: ماركس وهيغل

الدكتور أحمد طه أ الدكتورة عبير زهرة ** سامر الخولى ***

(تاريخ الإيداع 17 / 9 / 2007. قبل للنشر في 18 / 3 / 2008)

□ الملخّص □

يعالج البحث مفهوم الايدولوجيا لدى العديد من المنظرين الماركسيين وغير الماركسيين، بما فيهم أتباع ماركس وهيغل، أمثال مرة و منال مرة و واف عن المنظريات و واف عن المفكرين والفلاسفة حول الايدولوجيا ومنطلقاتها ومبررات وجودها وخاصة تلك الايدولوجيا ت التي نتعلق بالسياسة، والمرأة، والدين، والتعليم ،ونظريات الآداب. كما يعالج البحث الأسباب التي تدفع المؤسسات الأيديولوجية في المجتمعات المختلفة في الغرب لصياغة تلك الأنماط من الايدولوجيات، وذلك حسب ما يتناسب مع هويتها الثقافية، واتجاهاتها الفكرية والعقائدية، والسياسية،وأهواء منظروا هذه الايدولوجيات. يخلص البحث إلى حقيقة مفادها أن الايدولوجيا لا يمكن فصلها عن السياسة والعقيدة، ومؤسسات الدولة البراغماتيه، وهي في غالب الأحيان ممارسه لاواعية لمجموع الإفراد، والمؤسسات الثقافية، والدينية، والاجتماعية، لأنها حصيلة إرث لاواعي تفرضه هذه المؤسسات على أفرادها، وهم في غالب الأحيان غير قادرين على اختيار ايدولوجيا بعينها.

كلمات مفتاحية: الأيديولوجيا الماركسية، الأيديولوجيا الهيغليه.

^{*}أستاذ مساعد - قسم اللغة الإنكليزية - كلية الآداب - جامعة تشرين - اللاذقية - سورية.

^{**}أستاذ مساعد - قسم اللغة الإنكليزية - كلية الآداب - جامعة تشرين - اللاذقية - سورية.

^{***}طالب دراسات عليا (ماجستير) - قسم اللغة الإنكليزية - كلية الآداب - جامعة تشرين - اللاذقية - سورية.

Many critics have tried to address ideology by giving it different definitions. Despite their continuous attempts, critics are still unable to devise a comprehensive definition of ideology properly, because the more you try to define it the more complex it gets. This term has stimulated a lot of controversy in the world of literature and criticism. Some people think that ideology is a kind of false consciousness; others believe that it is the true consciousness. The best way to understand ideology is by shedding light on Hegelianism and Marxism. Hegel and Marx have different views about ideology. Hegelianism associates religion with morality. It claims that moral consciousness is a religious one. The ideal Hegelian discourse makes a gap between man and his reality. It imposes many religious restrictions and illusions on man. These illusions are the essence of Hegelianism.

Marx and Engels criticize Hegelians who attribute everything to religion. Hegelians also claim that the human being is restricted by religious ideas and conceptions. In *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels attack Hegelians by saying that "The Young Hegelians criticized everything by attributing to it religious conceptions or by pronouncing it a theological matter." The Hegelian discourse is outdated, because it creates a man who is isolated from reality and lacks logical judgment.

Marx and Engels attack the dominant ideology maintained by the ruling class. They argue that "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force." In their view, the class which has the means of material production controls the mental production. The people who do not have the means of material production are subject to the ruling class. The individuals who represent the ruling class spread false ideas among the people. They control thinkers and historians, and rewrite history and falsify facts.

Karl Marx changes the formula of existence which includes that people have always believed that their ideas, their existence, their cultural life and their social systems were the creation of human and divine reasons. He reverses this formula, stating that all ideological systems are the product of social and economic conditions. Raman Selden underlines this idea "Marx reverses this formulation and argues that all mental (ideological) systems are the products of real social and economic existence." The material interests of the ruling class determine how people look at their social conditions, their real existence and their ideas: laws, for example, are not the product of divine reasons, but they are made in a way, which fits the personal interests of the dominant class, that spreads some false ideas in society in order to change the formula of existence. These ideas play a significant role in determining and shaping the ordinary people's mentality. The lower class, in turn, absorbs these ideas and establishes a ground on which they build their satisfactions. Selden again:

Marx was arguing that what we call 'culture' is not an independent reality but is inseparable from the historical conditions in which human beings create their material lives; the relations of dominance and subordination (exploitation) which govern the social and economic order of a particular phase of human history will in some sense 'determine' (not' cause') the whole cultural life of the society.⁴

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *The German Ideology*, p. 30.

² Ibid., p. 60.

³ Raman Selden . A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary, p. 24.

⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

Althusser's views on literature and art differ from the Marxist ones. He does not consider art as a form of ideology. He, instead, locates art somewhere between ideology and scientific knowledge. Art does not express the ideology of a particular class. Althusser believes that ideology establishes an imaginary relationship between the individuals and their real existential conditions; for example, in a religious society a human being knows about his duties, but he does not know about his rights, because the religious ideology establishes a kind of imaginary consciousness which distances a human being from his real conditions.

Many Marxist theorists focus on the concept of ideology in their theories. Terry Eagleton, for instance, deals with ideology in his writing and depends on Marxist discourse. In Criticism and Ideology, he examines the relationship between the literary text and ideology. He argues that the literary text is not an expression of ideology, but it is rather a certain production of ideology. He contends that "A dramatic production does not 'express', 'reflect' or 'reproduce' the dramatic text on which it is based; it produces the text, transforming it into a unique and irreducible entity." The relation between text and production cannot be conceived as that of an essence to an existence and it is not a matter of releasing it from its suspended animation, but; as Eagleton contends, the relation between text and production is a relation of labour. The theoretical instruments transform the raw materials of the text into a specific product. The literary text produces an ideology, which is itself production, in a way analogous to the application of dramatic production on dramatic texts. The text relation to ideology constitutes that ideology as to reveal something of its relations to history. Eagleton argues that "ideology is 'a false consciousness', which blocks true historical perception, a screen interposed between men and their history." He adds that despite the fact that ideology carries elements of reality within itself, it deformatively produces the text.

Marx and Engels deal with ideology as a kind of 'false consciousnesses.' The Hegelians emphasize the importance of ideas in the formation of society, while Marx and Engels attribute the true transformation of society to its material conditions. The ruling class maintains the right of spreading some ideas in society. It gives these ideas the form of universality and considers them the only rational ones. Marx's dominant ideology thesis refers to all the false arguments disseminated by the ruling class. The ideas advocated by the ruling class appear as objective facts in order to hide their self-interest.

The beliefs of the ruling class may not be recognized as 'ideological'; but the strategies this class uses disguise their self-interest. Gramsci argues that power, economy and ideology are basic elements for the ruling class to succeed in controlling society.

> Any successful ruling body, Gramsci argues, will need both forms of power, economic and ideological. Both will operate through 'political' and 'civil' society, the apparatus of government and such 'civil' institutions as the family, school and church, court and trade union.

The ruling classes maintain their power not only through domination, but also through moral and intellectual leadership. Gramsci introduces two basic ways in which the ruling class governs; the spontaneous consent given by the subordinate classes to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant class and the apparatus of state coercive

⁶ Eagleton. Criticism and Ideology, p. 69.

⁵ Eagleton. Criticism and Ideology, p. 64.

⁷ Moyra Haslett. Marxist Literary and Cultural Theories , p. 56.

power. If the spontaneous consent fails, the dominant group resorts to the apparatus of state coercive power which legally imposes discipline on those groups who do not consent either actively or passively. Coercive and consensual powers are necessary for the state. Physical forces and aggressive laws are necessary to seize power, while consent is necessary to maintain power. For example, the fall of Socialism and the rise of Capitalism in 1991 show that Capitalism succeeds not because of its system of production, but because of its social organization. Moyra Haslett clarifies this point by stating that "Capitalism's dominance is thus more ideological than ever." She considers the free market as one of the most ideological of contemporary ideas, especially when the global market is dominated by multinational companies in which a small number of competitive firms dominates the market.

Althusser's theory of ideology is influenced by Gramsci's theory of hegemony and ideology. He explains why Capitalism is a self-perpetuating system and why the citizens living in a capitalist society keep supporting Capitalism, despite the fact that their labour is exploited by the capitalist system. Haslett clearly stresses this notion:

The continuous reproduction of labor power requires not only the reproduction of skills by teaching apprentices and schoolchildren, but also the reproduction of submission to the rules of the established order. 9

According to Althusser, however, there are two ways through which the state can control its citizens. These ways can be labelled either as 'repressive' or 'ideological'. The Repressive State Apparatus depends on violence and coercion. It is embodied in the government, the army, the courts, the police and the prisons: all of this works together in order to control the subordinate class. The other way the state follows to exercise its power over its citizens is the ideological one, which functions in various ways in which the unity of the ideological apparatuses is not clear. Ideological State Apparatuses include institutions, such as the church, the family, the school and the media. These apparatuses, the repressive and the ideological, help the state enforce its dominance or punishment over its citizens whether this state is feudal or capitalist. Haslett is in favor of that view:

When the development of agricultural capitalism led to increasing parliamentary Enclosure Acts in the late eighteenth century, those who picked sticks by the roadside or poached a hare might be transported to a penal colony in Australia, under new legislation designed to enforce the ideology of land as property. ¹⁰

Ideology, in the capitalist society, is concerned with keeping the capitalist mode of production. The individuals in the capitalist society accept this capitalist mode of production willingly, but unconsciously. They work for a low wage, but they are convinced that there is a matter of choice. They believe that they have taken the job out of free choice. So, in Althusserian terms, ideology forms an imaginary relationship between individuals and their real conditions of existence. Haslett speaks of 'human experience' and 'nationalism'. She contends with this concern assertively:

Ω

⁸ Haslett. *Marxist Literary and Cultural Theories*, p. 57.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 59-60.

¹⁰ Haslett. *Marxist Literary and Cultural Theories*, pp. 60-61.

people imagine a relationship between themselves and others of the same language, have similar experiences, even though they will never have met the vast majority of their compatriots.¹¹

Haslett wants to state that Benedict Anderson's theory of national identity is similar to Althusser's formulation of capitalism. In fact, Benedict Anderson raises a very important issue which is the relationship between ideology and nationalism. Politicians usually invent this concept of nationalism to blind people to reality; individuals think that all the people, who speak one language, have the same culture and experience. This false nationalism enables politicians to dominate the individuals' mentality. So, the relationship between ideology and nationalism is inseparable, because nationalism can be regarded as an ideology.

Althusser considers ideology as inescapable; it lives in us and constitutes us. He argues that ideology hails concrete individuals as concert subjects. He locates ideology within consciousness itself. He tries to show why individuals freely accept subjection. In Freudian terms, ideology is the unconscious which shapes our subject-hood. Haslett proves this idea by arguing that the way our thinking is formulated is unconscious:

We are unconscious of the way in which ideology determines our behavior and thinking, a theory which is radically opposed to the humanist belief that we command our thinking. 12

The political ideology plays a significant role in ideologizing institutions. The purpose is to dominate these institutions politically and culturally. Several theorists have focused on this issue in their studies.

In *Political Relationship and Narrative Knowledge*, Peter B.Armitage, for example, criticizes the way the governors dominate schools. He argues that "When the Boreham grammar school and the Crosslinks secondary modern school were amalgamated in 1972, the governors appointed Brian Fellows, the acting head of Boreham grammar, to head the new school." To Armitage, those governors have a political intention behind appointing Brian Fellows. They do not want to appoint some one qualified and interested in reforming, developing and modernizing the school. Brian Fellows is unable to reform the new school, because he still has a traditionalist ideology of education. Armitage further clarifies this view:

One possible meaning and interpretation of the appointment is that there was no serious effort to think through the idea on which the new school would rest and no serious effort to change ideas and strategies of education, since the head held a traditionalist ideology of education.¹⁴

The governors' purpose was to depend on a traditional ideology in the educational institutions.

The head teacher, appointed by the governors, "has autocratic powers in the English educational system." ¹⁵ He controls the subjects taught at school, the methods of teaching

¹² Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

240

¹¹ Ibid., p. 62.

¹³ Peter B. Armitage. *Political Relationship and Narrative Knowledge*:" A Critical Analysis of School Authoritarianism", p. 2.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

and the teachers. The problem is political rather than educational, because if this highly connected teacher behaves in misguided ways, no one is going to oppose him. The school purpose was to retain the political current situation. It was not based on constructing a new cultural system, but on maintaining the traditional cultural system. Armitage illustrates the fact that "The school was dominated by a need to maintain the political status quo, and not rethink educational practices and introduce educational and cultural change." ¹⁶The head teacher is responsible for the crucial decisions which might change the school for better or worse. He is "the leader, "the critical reality definer" and "licensed authority"." ¹⁷ The head teacher's judgment is important to every one in the school. If this judgment is wrong, the school will not succeed. Armitage argues that governors should appoint a teacher qualified in the theory of education.

Armitage keeps on criticizing the school system when he stresses that the Crosslinks School adopts a dictatorial culture. He states that "The culture of Crosslinks School had been dictatorial rather than democratic, so why should they trust to open government?." The head teacher's job is to interfere and reject the dictatorial culture. He should also support and find a democratic culture. In the Crosslinks School, the head teacher was passive. He avoided attending the staff meetings and stood away from political activities. "It was informative and significant that the head teacher neither spoke nor acted, using his power by silence." ¹⁹

So, the politics followed in the Crosslinks School played a significant role in stopping development, progress and change. The absence of democratic debate in the school also prevented the school from progress and change. Armitage sheds light on the relationship between the public authority and the subordinates. The subordinates show some kind of submissiveness out of the fear of authority, but deep at heart they hide a lot of despise and they secretly work hard to hit back. "The relationship between authority and subordinate in a system of domination is that of the frustration of reciprocal action." ²⁰ The political ideology is a kind of false consciousness, because people are unable to fight against the government openly. They know that if they show resentment against the government, they will definitely be punished.

Raymond Williams also stresses the idea that ideology is a kind of false consciousness. He argues that although the concept of ideology has not started in Marxism, it is still connected with it. This concept is important in Marxist discourse, especially in literature. Williams adds that ideology represents both the belief of a particular class and a system of false ideas, which can be contrasted with true consciousness. He considers that all systems of belief in classes are based on falsehood and illusion. In the late eighteenth century, the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy associated ideology with philosophy. "It was intended to be a philosophical term." Destutt considered ideology as a kind of scientific knowledge. It was also used to understand the nature of ideas, especially the ones based on the empirical tradition. The science of ideas is not based on metaphysicality, but on nature, because all ideas are associated with man's experience in the world. In de Bonald, ideology has no metaphysical elements. It is against metaphysics, because the

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁸ Armitage. *Political Relationship and Narrative Knowledge:*" A Critical Analysis of School Authoritarianism", p. 17.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

²¹ Raymond Williams. Marxism and Literature, p. 56.

ideas of men are the only ones in the world. De Bonald also relates ideology to the empirical tradition.

The concept of ideology contains a lot of complexity. It was considered as a replacement of metaphysics, because modern philosophy regards the ideas of men as the only rational ones. Ideology is also a field of empirical science. It is limited by philosophical presuppositions "to a version of ideas as 'transformed sensations' and to a version of language as a 'system of signs' (based, as in Condillac, on an ultimately mathematical model)." ²² These limitations are not only scientific or empirical, but they are "elements of a basically bourgeois view of human existence." ²³

Williams believes that the idea of science has a negative effect on ideology. The importance of the distinction between ideology and the real position of science, in terms of detailed knowledge of the practical way of development of men, is that this distinction refers to concepts and assumptions which work to "prevent or distort such detailed and connected knowledge." Setting a different definition of ideology goes back to the main center of the attack on the young Hegelians, who consider all the products of consciousness as the real restrictions of men. Here, it is really important to define ideology according to the concept of consciousness. Marx and Engels associate ideology with theory, but not with practical consciousness.

Ideology fluctuates between a system of a particular class and a system of false consciousness, which can be contrasted with true consciousness. Ideology is the natural center of illusions. It is "separated from the (intrinsically limited)'practical consciousness of a class'." ²⁵ Marx emphasizes the conflict of real interests and the political and philosophical aspects in which individuals become aware of this conflict and consequently they work to fight out. "'Ideology' then reverts to a specific and practical dimension; the complicated process within which men 'become' (are) conscious of their interests and their conflicts." ²⁶

The formula of base and superstructure is important to study the Marxist theory of culture. The first use of superstructure by Marx is by regarding it as legal and political. The change of superstructure is a process in which individuals become aware of this conflict and fight it out "in 'ideological forms' which now include the 'religious, aesthetic, or philosophic' as well as the legal and political." ²⁷ The superstructure represents the ideology of the class, the consciousness and the view of this class towards the world. The superstructure has different forms. It is crystallized in legal and political formulations "which express existing real relations of production." ²⁸ The superstructure embodies a form of consciousness which represents a specific class view of the universe. It is also a process in which people become aware of the economic conflict and endeavour to take part in it. The base and the superstructure are not separate areas, but rather indissoluble. They are the products of real individuals.

Marxist criticism studies the function of ideology in literary texts and examines the connection between extra textual matters and textual specificity. Marxism does not focus on the success of Capitalism, but on the way through which ideological texts work against

242

²² Williams. Marxism and Literature, p. 57.

²³ Ibid., p. 57.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 64.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 66.

²⁶ Williams. Marxism and Literature, p. 68.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 76.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 77.

the principles of Capitalism. Michael Ryan considers Marxism as a political project. He argues that the development of Marxist criticism into a political criticism by combining different approaches "is not simply a symptom of New left eclecticism." ²⁹ It surely shows that the different dimensions of power are combined; the capitalist and economic power and the power of language gather in order to formulate reality.

Marxist criticism distinguishes itself from other forms of literary criticism by changing itself into cultural and political criticism. This is what makes it different and more comprehensive than other critical approaches. Marxism avoids the narrow conceptions of literary criticism and prefers cultural analysis. It also focuses on the historical approach to literary texts; James Knowels argues that:

So, in general, Marxist critical practice eschews narrow conceptions of literary criticism and prefers cultural critique asserting historical rather than Formalist approaches to texts. ³⁰

History, for Marxism, represents a kind of struggle between classes. Knowels states that Western readers believe that the most familiar Marxism is the former Eastern bloc, represented by Stalinism and Leninism. Despite their connections with tyranny, Stalinism and Leninism had an important and productive stage in 1920. Some critics portray Marxism "as vulgarly reductive." ³¹ In doing so, they ignore the developments in Marxist theory. Terry Eagleton contends that "It is possible to set out in schematic form the major constituents of a Marxist theory of literature." ³² So, no one can deny the fact that Marxism still has influence on society and literature.

As Marxism plays a significant role in changing the formula of existence by raising the concept of ideology and false consciousness, Feminism shows a lot of challenge against the patriarchal ideology which distorts the woman's image in literature and society. In the early 1970s, Feminist criticism, for example, mainly focused on exposing and attacking patriarchal values and attitudes within literary works. Tamsin Spargo proves this idea by arguing that Feminist criticism challenged

the authority of the educational and cultural institutions promoted a canon of 'great works' by male authors whilst excluding or marginalizing those by women.³³

Spargo raises a very important issue, which is female readers' response to literary texts. Women are usually influenced and enchanted by conventional romances written by male writers. In these romances, women are portrayed as weak creatures looking for male protection and domination. To Spargo, this does not necessarily mean that women are masochistic. In his view:

The fact that female readers enjoy conventional romances which present women as ultimately seeking male protection or even domination does not have to mean that women are essentially masochistic³⁴

³² Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology, p. 44.

²⁹ G. Douglas Aktins and Laura Morrow. *Contemporary Literary Theory*, p. 202.

³⁰ Richard Bradford. *Introducing Literary Studies*, p. 568.

³¹ Ibid., p. 568.

³³ Bradford, *Introducing Literary Studies*, p. 633.

³⁴ Bradford, *Introducing Literary Studies*, p. 637.

This fact may indicate that women are victims of patriarchalist ideology or idealism created in literary texts by male writers.

The psychoanalytic theory has been an object of study in Feminism. Feminists had negative reactions towards Freudian theory. They showed skeptical and hostile attitudes towards this theory. This theory was rejected, because it focused on the sexual difference and advocated the patriarchal thought, which legitimized the subordination of women. Spargo stresses this idea by arguing against Freud's theory:

Freud's analysis of sexual difference was often read prescriptive rather than descriptive and was denounced as an extension of patriarchal thought which legitimated the subordination of women.³⁵

Feminists have always criticized the concept of male science, male theory and male ideology. The reason behind this criticism is that "such forms of structured thought are inextricably linked with traditional sexualized- and sexist-categories of dominance and oppression." ³⁶ Evelyn fox Keller is one of the Feminist critics who criticize male science and male vision of subject/object division. She also attacks the concept of objectivity. Keller deals with the scientific ideology which divides the world into two parts-the knower and the knowable. The relation between knower and known is based on distance and separation. The knower is associated with male, whereas the knowable is associated with female. Keller contends that such ideology, the one which creates a gap between the knower and the known, "excludes women from science by casting them as 'non-objective', as non-knowers." ³⁷ She states that Feminists should refuse the male vision of the subject/object division. There must not be a separation between the knower and the known and women should have a place within science.

As Marxist thought plays a significant role in changing the formula of existence by the question of ideology and false consciousness, Feminism shows a lot of challenge to male ideology which portrays woman as lacking knowledge and wisdom. The French feminist philosopher Michele Le Doeuff examines not only the ideology of knowledge, but also the way in which this ideology is produced by the structure of knowledge. She studies the relationship between Feminism, femininity and philosophy. She focuses on "the double problem of the empirical exclusion of women and the theoretical repression of femininity in western philosophy", and argues that "traditional western philosophy exhibits a striking tradition at its center." 38 Philosophy is based on "the recognition of lack." 39 It exists because there are still things to be thought. It is also based on the imaginary hypothesis that the knowledge produced by philosophy creates a kind of completion. Its aim is to "construct flawless structure without lack." What is paradoxical for this school of thought is that "perfect philosophy would simply cease to be philosophy at all." ⁴¹ Woman has a distorted image in philosophy. She is perceived "as lacking the phallus." 42 According to patriarchal thought, woman needs a man, not philosophy. In Western philosophy, woman is always in lack of something. She is also in lack of rational thought. Although she is capable of education, she is still unqualified to rule a country, because if

³⁵ Ibid., p. 637.

³⁶ Teresa Brennan. Between Feminism and Psychoanalysis, p. 189.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 190.

³⁸ Brennan. Between Feminism and Psychoanalysis, p. 194.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 194.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 194.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 195.

⁴² Ibid., p. 195.

she does, the state will be in danger. Toril Moi shows how Western philosophy looks down at woman:

> Woman is an inferior thinker; in other words, not because of her lack, but because of her lack of a lack. She is perceived as lacking in philosophy, that is to say as irrational.⁴³

This defective look towards women is not applied to woman only, but historically speaking it was applied to slaves, blacks and Muslims.

Writing is the best way through which a woman can fight back against male ideology. To Kate Millet, women are oppressed and persecuted by a social organization, which is patriarchy. This organization marginalizes women and puts man at the center. As the political institutions work to spread an ideology to dominate people's ideas willingly or unwillingly, man imposes on woman some ideology in order to make her accept her situation, whether this situation is good or not. Anne Jones explains Kate Millet's views about Feminism:

> Women, she notes, are subordinate to men first of all in the home. Ideological pressures tend to encourage them to devote their energies to the family and to labour long after other workers have clocked off, for broad and lodging only, servicing one generation of wage-earners and producing and socializing the text. 4

Although women tried in the twentieth century to work to support themselves, they were confronted by men's cruelty. Men were considered superior to women. This is because women were assessed according to their biology, as Tallack puts it, and by social organizations: "It is not biology but the social organization of biological differences which produces and perpetuates gender and differences." 45 Social organizations, usually represented by men, create this kind of gender differences.

The Marxist concept of ideology can be applied to Feminism as well. In reality, woman is completely submissive to canons and organizations formulated by men. Many feminist theorists focus on the issue of Feminism in their writings. Evelyn Fox Keller is one of the feminist critics, who criticize male science and male vision of subject/object division. She argues that such ideology, the one which makes a gap between the knower and the known" excludes women from science by casting them as 'non-objective', as non – knowers."46 She wants to say that there must be no separation between the knower and the known and woman must have a place within science. In The Madwoman in the Attic, Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar examines woman's social position and literary identity in the nineteenth-century society. They question men's traditional views toward woman socially, morally, culturally and literary. They argue that the writer's pen is metaphorically a penis. They criticize the idea which says that the writer masters his text the way God masters the universe. Despite their attempts, women are still unable to change canons and social norms. They have always proved to be real protectors of men's canons and social norms. Although men have always tried to distort woman's image in literature and society, many women work hard to perpetuate them. This is because women are the victims of male ideology.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 195.

⁴⁴ Tallack. Literary Theory at Work, p. 68.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴⁶ Brennan, Between Feminism and Psychoanalysis, p. 192.

Karl Marx changes the formula of existence by raising the question of ideology and false consciousness. The definition of ideology stirs controversy in the fields of literature and criticism. Theorists considerably deal with this concept, but still they are unable to set a final definition. Marxism and Hegelianism offer contradictory views about ideology. Marx criticizes Hegelians who attribute every thing to religion. The Hegelian thought shapes people who are ideologized and submissive to clergymen and politicians. Ideology, in Althusserian terms, establishes an imaginary relationship between individuals and their social conditions. Marx and Engels, in *The German Ideology*, attack the dominant ideology produced by the ruling class. They argue that the means of material production controls the mental production. The people who do not have the means of material production are subject to the ruling class. This latter spreads some false ideas among the people in order to dominate their mentality. This kind of thought is embodied in Jennifer B. Gray's writings. In "Althusser, Ideology, and Theoretical Foundations: Theory and Communication," she defines ideology as "the powerful force behind the dominance of hegemonic institutions." 47 To her, that hegemonic institutions function in a way that serves the dominant class.

In the light of the afore-stated argument, one can come to the conclusion that ideology, in all walks of our social life, including man-woman relationship, social beliefs and dogmas, political, cultural and economic thought, the communal rituals and rites, and the all-over make up of our social values and behavior, are mere reproductions of unconscious, or embedded doctrines inherited from a long tradition of habits, customs, or ways of individual/ collective thinking. These ways of thinking are usually embodied in ideologies practiced consciously/ unconsciously by communities, states, institutions, individuals, congregations, in the form of policies, rituals, rites, credos, dogmas, or social normal /abnormal practices, that formulate their identities.

⁴⁷ Jennifer B. Gray. "Althusser, Ideology, and Theoretical Foundations: Theory and Communication."

Bibliography:

- 1- ARMITAGE, PETER B. *Political Relationship and Narrative Knowledge: A Critical Analysis of School Authoritarianism*. Westport, CT, USA: Greenwood Publishing Group, Incorporated, 2000.
- 2- AKTINS, G. DOUGLAS, and LAURA MORROW.EDS. *Contemporary Literary Theory*. New York: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1989.
- 3- BRADFORD, RICHARD.ED. *Introducing Literary Studies*. London: T.J. Press (Padstow) Ltd, 1996.
- 4- BRENNAN, TERESA. ED. Between Feminism and Psychoanalysis. London: Richard Clay Ltd Bungay, Suffolk, 1989.
- 5- EAGLETON, TERRY. Criticism and Ideology. London: NLB, 1976.
- 6- GRAY, JENNIFER B. "Althusser, Ideology and Theoretical Foundations: Theory and Communication. "Vol.3, No.1. winter, 2005.

 http://www.ibiblio.org/nmediac/winter2004/gray.html
- 7- HASLETT, MOYRA. *Marxist Literary and Cultural Theories*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000.
- 8- MARX, KARL, and FREDERICK ENGELS. *The German Ideology*. London: Lawrence and Wishart,1970.
- 9- SELDEN, RAMAN. *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory*. Kentucky: The University of Kentucky, 1989.
- 10- TALLACK, DOUGLAS.ED. *Literary Theory at Work*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1987.
- 11- WILLIAMS, RAYMOND. *Marxism and Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.