

ISAs and Their Function in Thomas Hardy's Novels

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Abstract

With the beginning of the 19th century, England entered into a transitional period. Sociologists believe that in each era of transition, the ruling class tries to establish its own values, but some resistance to these new values is inevitable. Thomas Hardy's novels are no exception. This study tries to interpret Thomas Hardy's novels in the light of these notions, though much of the criticism of Hardy insists that his characters stand against the ideological discourses of the ruling middle-class. Under the light of Althusser's theory of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) and Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, Hardy can be considered as a true subject of his society, one who tries to strengthen the pillars of his society through depicting characters who have to be in the mainstream of the current ideological discourses of his age. Therefore, this study tries to see how Louis Althusser's notions can help us to understand Thomas Hardy himself, his characters as well as his era in which he lived and wrote.

Keywords: *Thomas Hardy, Althusser, Gramsci, Ideological State apparatuses, Hegemony*

1. Introduction

The Victorian age was a period of transformation. Every age of transformation brings forward new questions with itself. In such an age, new developments become "meaningless within the consensually validated norms" and "pose a challenge to the normative world" and its present values (Stuart Hall 2000, 75). Sociologists - such as Gramsci, Althusser, Hall and others - believe that in each age of transformation, the ruling class tries to establish its own values, but some resistance to these new values is inevitable. Both the new values and the resistance against them are depicted in the 19th-century English literature. Thomas Hardy is no exception. So far, according to some critics such as Shanta Dutta (2000), Penny Boumelha (1982) and Mary Jacobus (1975), Hardy has been thought of as a supporter of feminism who prefers unconventional women to the passive Victorian ideal women. There are also some critics such as Katherine Rogers (1975) and Paula Black (2006) who suspect Hardy of being a misogynist. Even those who reject these extremes, such as George Wotton (1985), Marjorie Garson (1991), Rosemarie Morgan (1988) and Penny Boumelha (1999), think of Hardy as ambiguous, ambivalent or contradictory, or even a radical writer. However, Althusser's view of ideology is helpful in understanding Hardy as a subject of his society who works according to the dominant ideologies of his age by creating characters who reveal the dominant ideologies of his age. As such, it cannot be accepted that Hardy's characters with their own new ideologies are considered to be Hardy's attempts in creating new definitions and ideologies that stand against the dominant middle-class ideological discourses.

Based on the notions of Althusser and Gramsci, this paper tries to show that Hardy himself is a real subject as he follows the demands of his society, and that Hardy's novels are the sites of ideological struggle. The struggles observed among his characters are, indeed, the struggles revealing the domination of the ruling class; that is, Hardy, through his characters, introduces the dominant ideologies of his age which are in conflict with the new ones. Each individual performs the concrete form of ideology. S/he is

the bearer of a specific ideology or ideologies. Althusser's emphasis on the concreteness of ideology means that it is contained in the practices of individuals. As such, Hardy's depiction of contradictory individuals is to reveal the ideological struggle in his society to reinforce the hegemony. The unconventional ideologies are there to reveal the significance of the dominant ones. That is, he uses counter-hegemonic ideologies to redirect them into their normal discourses. He creates characters that practice ideologies which seem unnatural to the age. Hardy does this in order to reject these unnatural ideas. His aim is not to reveal his opposition to the normative values. His aim is only to make them visible as unconventional. He reinforces those hegemonic ideologies that belong to the common-sense of the people. His aim is to say that counter-hegemonic ideologies are always present but they cannot overcome the hegemonic ones if they cannot gain consensus. He reveals how the counter-hegemonic practices introduced in his novels are rejected by other characters because they do not belong to the common-sense of the society. Even the practitioners of these counter-hegemonic ideologies themselves believe in the unusualness of their own selves and ideas, and Hardy puts the words in the mouth of his unusual characters, especially Sue and Jude, to reveal how these words are strange. Actually, Hardy is in absolute accord with Althusser's definition of ideology which is present in the practices of rituals; that is, he believes that the practices, the ideologies he talks of are so and not otherwise, and that his characters are obedient subjects to the system. He acknowledges Althusser's view that his subject characters "recognize the existing state of affairs (das Bestehende), that 'it really is true that it is so and not otherwise'" (Althusser 2004, 701).

2. Discussion

Althusser became significant with the publication of his essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in 1968. Since the 19th century up to the middle of the 20th century, Marxist tradition was dominant in all walks of life and society, including literary works. In this tradition, the doctrine of Base/Superstructure viewed society's structure as based heavily on the material forces and economy. The shift in economy would result in shift in the society's structure. Thus religion, law, politics, social interactions, and culture, in brief, the Superstructure were thought to be shaped by this Base. However, with the breakdown of the capitalist mode after the First World War, Marxists expected the great socialist revolution to happen because the bourgeoisie had lost its prestige and confidence in its materialistic field. But nothing of this kind happened. The New-Marxist realized that while the bourgeoisie had lost their economic domination, they still maintained their domination over the working class because of their dominance in ideological and cultural fields. Therefore, socialists came to the notion that the supremacy of any class in a society does not originate exclusively in its economical prominence but also owes a lot to its dominant status in the realm of ideology. In this regard, they concluded that the middle class had executed various methods to gain ideological dominance. According to this theory, the ruling class secures its supremacy through encouraging the spread of its own ideas by controlling the means of cultural production such as the media, the educational system and other social institutions. The origin of this new doctrine is described in Althusser's essay which itself was originated from Antonio Gramsci's conception of hegemony. Hegemony "is the conscious imposition of a totalized value system on the various constituencies of a society" (Spanos 2001, 117). Gramsci believes that the ruling class tries to subordinate the individuals of his society through consent and coercion, but the emphasis is on consent which creates obedient subjects through various means. One of these means is literature, especially novels.

Gramsci's idea of hegemony led Althusser to his own view of the individuals as subjects. He believes that, through Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs), members of the societies become subjects, even good ones. According to Althusser (2004), a subject is a person "who submits to a higher authority, and is therefore stripped of all" initiatives, one who is docile and obedient (701). He states that

The vast majority of (good) subjects work all right "all by themselves"; i.e. by ideology (whose concrete forms are realized in the Ideological State Apparatuses [ISAs]). They are

inserted in the practices governed by the rituals of the ISAs. They "recognize" the existing state of affairs (das Bestehende), that "it really is true that it is so and not otherwise," and that they must be obedient to God, to their conscience, to the priest, to de Gaulle, to the boss, to the engineer, that thou shalt "love thy neighbour as thyself," etc. (Althusser 2004, 701)

These ISAs start working from the very beginning of an individual's life; that is, from the time the baby is in his/her cradle, and through the family to make him/her a subject by its own specific and popular methods.

Thoughts and ideas are inherent in these ISAs. They are practically performed through the agents of ISAs. These practices are what Althusser calls rituals. Every normative action of these agents is considered as a ritual containing a specific ideology. According to Althusser, the ruling class does not need policing to create good subjects. The ruling class ideals of values, behaviors, and attitudes are so much repeated in the state institutions that the necessity of force is almost removed. The most significant institution, for Althusser, is the educational system; then there is the family, the church, the cultural system including literature, sport, etc: "Schools and Churches use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection, etc., to 'discipline' not only their Shepherds, but also their flocks" (Althusser 1971, 145). These institutions contain the ideologies according to which the ruling class demands its subjects to perform and act. Through these apparatuses, the members of a society become subjects, owing allegiance to their supremes; that is, the state apparatuses' function is to transform the individuals into subjects.

Althusser says:

ideology 'acts' or 'functions' in such a way that it 'recruits' subjects among the individuals (it recruits all), or 'transforms' the individuals into subjects (it transforms all) by that very precise operation which I have called interpellation or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: Hey! You there! (Althusser 2004, 699)

Through this mere hailing, this mere calling out by the police, the individual is converted to a subject; that is, he finds an identity in the hegemonic ideology, and works in its direction. Through interpellation, a special way of addressing, individuals misrecognize themselves as the sources of meaning and power, rather than recipients, hence, hailing and interpellation are the most significant elements of apparatuses, whether in actual everyday life or in the works of literature. Althusser (2004) believes that since "ideology hails or interpellates individuals as subjects", and since "ideology is eternal", "*individuals are always-already subjects*" (700). That is, even before the individuals are born they are subjects as, for example, they bear their fathers' names, and therefore have an identity which is irreplaceable. According to Althusser, the mechanism of hegemony is interpellation; that is, "the recognition of an ideology and its practices" (Gray 2004, 54). Interpellation makes "the subjects 'work', they 'work by themselves' in the vast majority of cases, with the exception of the 'bad subjects' who on occasions provoke the intervention of one of the detachments of the (repressed) State apparatuses" (Althusser 2004, 701).

Hardy as an individual is in the domain of hegemony of his age since his individuality has been shaped by ISAs; therefore, he is a real subject in Althusserian sense. He has been hailed as a subject by the cultural institutions. The media, the newspapers, and the reviewers have hailed him in a particular way; that is, as a novelist. Althusser states:

There are moments of recognition, moments when we recognize ourselves because we have been addressed, called out in a particular way. 'Hey! You!' And round we turn to face the policeman, the headteacher, the priest. At those moments we become subjects because we are subjected to an authority, a Subject with a capital S. We are located, in relation to that Subject, as biddable small s subjects precisely because we recognize ourselves, and

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because *we have no choice*. We are turned into biddable subjects because it becomes instantly obvious to us that *we are* that way and that *we know* that way. (Law 2000, 14)

Hardy is a subject, and he knows that he is that way; he knows that he should be the way the middle class demands him to be. Ideological apparatuses offer individuals a loaded version of their identities: Authors hail their audiences as "my dear readers", priests address them as "fellow Catholics", Evangelicals as "true followers", teachers as "my dear students", etc. To the extent that these audiences consent to these interpellations, they internalize the ideological positions associated with the interpellations. These moments of interpellations prepare the subjects to be the ever-after good subjects. That is why Hardy accepts his writing as a career, and is aware of the role assigned to him. Actually, he is hailed through the Subject reviewers as a biddable subject, as a subject writer. He answers to their hail and becomes a real subject. As he becomes the kind of subject that the society demands, he finds an identity with its own commitments and obligations. Also, the role of his literary contemporaries is revealing. A novelist such as George Meredith who wrote in accordance with the demands of the middle class, and a literary critic such as Leslie Stephen, who was the spokesman of the hegemonic literary values, along with other intellectuals of the age, play the role of Subjects to hail Hardy to the practice and ideology of novel writing, and since Hardy observes their guidelines, he answers to their hails and interpellates the ideology of novel writing. The emendations as well as the textual revisions of Hardy are the ritual practices of novel writing. All these performances suggest that their agent is a true subject because he has observed the demands of his dominant middle-class readers. By accepting the hails, he has interpellated the practice of a subject novelist. He has found the identity of a subject novelist in Althusserian terms; one who observes the obligations and the commitments which this identity requires of him. Therefore, his treatment with his subject matters and characters is in accordance with his subjectivity.

Hardy's awareness of his society's transitory nature makes him choose the most problematic questions of his age as his subject matter in order to stress the validated norms of the dominant middle class. The most important question which is a kind of threat to the Victorian society is that of women. Therefore, in each one of his novels his concern is with this threat and its various forms. Hardy follows the ruling patriarchal ideology of his age in dispossessing his heroines of autonomy, identity, purpose and power. His treatment of his second's wife's literary genius reveals his true patriarchal notions. Florence Hardy sacrificed her personal literary ambitions and instead devoted her energies to Hardy's domestic comfort and poetic productivity. Hardy is satisfied and relieved to have a wife who sticks to domestic household and he creates female characters similar to her. Actually, he creates docile, selfless, meek and submissive women. These notions are the manifestations of Hardy's true subjectivity, of somebody brought up by the dominant discourses of a patriarchal society. To reveal the depth of Hardy's patriarchy it is helpful to talk of his treatment of Susan in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. Hardy depicts Henchard's selling his wife at an auction as a commodity. In the 19th century, the dominant ideology regarded women as commodity and Hardy has unconsciously internalized this ideology. Therefore, consciously or unconsciously, he reveals this ideology in his writing. In the patriarchal society, sons are also treated as men and daughters as women. The child which is sold is a female because "for Henchard to sell his son would be so drastic a violation of patriarchal culture that it would wrench the entire novel out of shape; but the sale of a daughter seems almost natural" (Showalter 1979, 103). Actually, Hardy deals with the males' desires and their views of the females, the view that, according to Showalter, expresses that "women hold men back, drag them down, drain their energy, divert their strength" (103). That is why when Susan comes back to Henchard, he is pushed to his ruin, or Boldwood's approach to Bathsheba makes an idiot and passive person out of him or Jude's approach to Sue and Arabella leads him to the rejection of his whims and desires and to the loss of all his manliness. Besides, Hardy's patriarchy leads him in creating female characters that are physically and mentally weak and fragile. Even his most radical female characters like Sue, Tess, Bathsheba, and Eustacia are fragile.

In depicting the sources of threat that the society encounters in the transitional period, Hardy starts his first published novel, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, with a female who has a slight sign of unconventionality and the male conventional characters with no signs of flaw in them. As he comes to

Far from the Madding Crowd, he introduces female characters like Bathsheba and Fanny who are much more unconventional than Fancy. Both seek sexual power and autonomy, though in different ways. It is in *this novel* that signs of unconventionality appear in male characters as the woman question as a threat has created its own effect in the society. Gradually, in his later novels, it is revealed that the threat is very serious. Therefore, in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, he touches upon unusual female and male characters who have to be eradicated from the society since they insist on their own unconventionality and individualism. This gradual progress of threat pushes the men toward their loss of manliness, and in his last novel—*Jude the Obscure*—Hardy creates Jude, his own remarkable unmanly character. By depicting Jude, he touches upon the damage that the patriarchal system will go through because of woman question. Therefore, he presents Jude as a bad subject who has lost all his manliness and has become the slave of femininity.

To reveal his concern for the most problematic issue of his society, Hardy introduces docile women subjects such as Joan Durbeyfield, Tess's mother, in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, Fancy Day's mother in *Under the Greenwood Tree*, Aunt Drusilla in *Jude the Obscure*, Thomasin in *The Return of the Native* along with unconventional heroines like Fancy Day, Bathsheba Everdene, Tess Durbeyfield, Sue Bridehead and Eustacia Vye. The role assigned to the true subject women is to lead the unconventional women to follow the dominant ideologies of the age. The unconventional women are either forced to return to submissiveness or have to be removed from the society. As such, in each novel there is at least one woman who tries to be assertive and autonomous but Hardy leads her to the loss of her radical notions. Hardy compares most of his unconventional heroines, especially Sue and Tess to goddesses. These comparisons clarify the point that Hardy knows that these individuals do not belong to his society. Hardy insists that they might be successful women in other times and places. To Hardy, these bad women subjects are separated from and peripheral to the Victorian age. In this respect, Hardy compares them with pastoral myths to emphasize their slavery to their own sensations. Actually, these characters prefer their own sensation at the expense of disregarding social requirements and hegemonic ideologies. In this way, they emphasize their own individuality rather than their own subjectivity. They cannot understand the distinction between their own aspirations and the circumstances of their lives in the light of the society in which they live.

Through choosing characters who practice the dominant ideologies contrasted with the subversive characters, Hardy acknowledges the triumph of the real subjects and the punishment and the defeat of the bad ones. His real subject characters practice the normative values of the age, and through their own practice and the triumph they gain, they internalize these normative values. Hardy is aware that, in each novel, he should introduce a character who possesses the qualities that the dominant class demands a true subject to possess. These Subject character's function is to lead the whole community in general, and the heroines of the novels in specific. Rituals of respect for elders, rationality, gentility, staying away from emotionality and irrationality, possessing strong sense of themselves as if being the manipulators of the world, being considerate, showing dignity, avoiding humiliation, docility, continence, persistence, selflessness, truthfulness, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for and protection of the weak, patience and good-heartedness are Hardy's characteristics assigned to true subjects who control subversive characteristics of his heroines. He assigns all good practices to Oak to create his own distinguished true subject. As such, Hardy's most favored character is Gabriel Oak, the one he explicitly praises after the loss of his sheep and beloved. No other character is praised this way by Hardy. According to Althusser, the materiality of ideology is revealed in the practice of ideology, and Oak becomes the best instance of the practice of ideology.

Hardy's bad subjects do not realize that whatever comes to them is because of their own stubbornness and selfish desires. Even if they know, they try to put the responsibility on destiny. They are caught so in the bondage of their individuality that they are unable to recognize what harm they bring to their community. Troy, Boldwood, Fanny, Tess, Eustacia and Jude stubbornly stick to their unconventionality and reject the coercive forces and the miserable situation imposed on them. In contrast to true subjects, Hardy's bad subjects lack all practices of dominant ideologies: responsibility, respectability, work, discipline, love of

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family, religion, patriarchy, and sexual control. These common-sense images of ideologies constitute the dominant discourses and cement the society. If an individual does not observe them, he is rejected by the society as he is moving into the direction of the disintegration of it. The Victorian society emphasizes man's responsibility for the spiritual and moral welfare of his family. However, these bad subjects, instead of providing spiritual and moral welfare for the females they are connected to, disturb them and put them to misery. Such bad subjects are considered outsiders who are the slave of their own impulses. They do not perform the elementary obligations and commitments that the placement of a patriarchal man entails. Therefore, they become bad subjects who cannot feel anybody's love or benevolence in their surrounding; neither can they love anybody for his or her own sake. They think only of themselves. If they marry a female or try to get connected to one, it is because of their own benefit. Also, their attraction to a female is the attraction between outcasts. Their absorption into each other leads them more and more to marginality. If they were true subjects, they would approach the females for the sake of leading them into the right path of subjectivity. Crudity, deceitfulness, selfishness, inconsideration, viciousness, severity and passionateness are the characteristics Hardy assigns to bad subjects.

Hardy's description of his unconventional characters at the time of their removal from the society is very significant. He reveals how insignificant they are due to their negligence of social ideologies. The recurrent images of them as a small point in the landscape and society manifest Hardy's outlook of them. Hardy's final images of them reveal their strong and deserved punishment. Fanny, Tess, Henchard, Jude, and Eustacia look like small points at the time of their death, as people robbed of all their sense of life and energy, as people who have been so much humiliated and mocked that death seems the proper path in front of them. Hardy is to hail his reader and interpellate the hegemonic patriarchal ideologies of the age. Therefore, he puts them in such a miserable position to convey to his reader the consequence of subversive qualities.

Another major problem of the industrial Victorian society is the notion of self-help. The society demands subjects who attempt to help their own society, and ISAs should propagandize the ideology of self-made men. All Hardy's novels deal with the idea of self-help and work. In each novel he presents a character who values work and his success in the society is because of his mental and physical ability. In contrast to this successful character, Hardy introduces an idle character who is merely seeking leisure and idleness. The best examples of his self-made men are Gabriel, Angel and Dick, while his idle characters are numerous. To mention some of his unsuccessful characters, one can point to Troy, John Durbeyfield, Alec, and Jude. Some of his unsuccessful characters seem to live in the past, in the aristocratic age before the 19th century. In the 19th century, industrial and economic growth demanded competition and hard working. The 19th-century capitalist rhetoric recognized the idle and the unproductive poor responsible for their own failure. Hardy praises his self-made characters and condemns the idle ones. He insists that men should work physically and mentally to lead the society toward production and reproduction.

The Victorian age is a class-conscious society and Hardy as a true subject deals with it to reinforce the normative value of it in all his novels. He expands Dick's business to make him socially almost equal to the Days' social position. Oak is socially ranked as a bailiff to become equal to Bathsheba. Tess is doomed to failure as she tries to cross beyond her social position in seeking to be Angel's wife. Henchard's social rise is problematic. He is a hey-trusser who rises to the position at the apex of the community of Casterbridge. Henchard tries to reveal the notion of self-made man but, like Jude, without gaining the necessary experience of it. The problem with both Henchard and Jude is that they misrecognize the ideology of self-made man with class crossing. Since both of them misrecognize the hegemonic ideology of the age and insist on their false conceptions, both of them have to be condemned by Hardy and to be led to their complete eradication from the class-conscious society. To reveal the insignificance of these unconventional characters who try to violate the normative values of the age, Hardy creates tragedies out of their misrecognitions to emphasize their flaws, not the society's. In contrast to critics who believe that these characters' tragedy is because of society, Hardy contrasts them with Gabriel Oak and Dick Dewey to suggest that if they had the necessary knowledge and experience and if

they did not misrecognize the ideology of self-help, they could have survived as successful true subjects of their own age.

The point is that since these bad subjects start to misrecognize one ideology, they are vulnerable in misunderstanding other ideologies and become more and more bad subjects. They become so indulged in their unconventionality that they lose all the normative ideology of manliness and become like female individuals. Hardy contrasts Henchard and Jude with Oak. Calamities and bad fortune come to all the three, but one becomes a stoic and the others are pushed to misery. Oak does not try to cross his social position. He remains in his own class but enhances his business. He moves in the reproductive direction of his society. Henchard has left his class position for a higher position, one for which he is not qualified. Therefore, he has to lose everything to someone who is socially adequate to possess them.

In complete agreement with Althusser, Hardy emphasizes the role of other social institutions in hailing and interpellating his characters. One of these institutions is the church. In *Under the Greenwood Tree* the role of church is very much emphasized and Parson Maybold's role is very significant in leading the choir members to their subjective roles. In *Far from the Madding Crowd* the function of the church as the place of both marriage and funeral ceremony is touched upon to reveal the significance of these ceremonies as rituals containing ideologies that make subjects out of individuals. In *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* Parson Tringham's early encounter in the novel is to lead John Durbeyfield to his subjectivity, but since he misrecognizes the Parson's hail, he is doomed to destruction. Also, Tess's misrecognition of baptism ideology is one of the reasons for her bad subjectivity and her destruction. It is in *Jude the Obscure* that Hardy's depiction of Sue and her radical views of marriage and its practice in the church clarify the church's role in the subjects' lives. Since she stands against this ideology and prefers not to go to the church to have Jude as her legal husband, Hardy puts such a miserable situation in front of her that she has to empty herself from all her radical views and become the true subject that the society demands.

Hardy's concern with the education of his characters is also significant. In all his novels, the question of school and its function in the success of his characters is touched upon. Dick Dewey has received education at school and it is through this education that he has been hailed as a true subject and has interpellated its related ideology. His success in his business is also because of the education he has achieved. Actually, school makes a respected tradesman out of him. Fancy Day is also educated and works in a school. She is part and parcel of the educational ISA; therefore, Hardy has to preserve her subjectivity. That is why, even if some trends of unconventionality are seen in her, she reveals to be a true subject of her community. Clym Yeobright's idea of setting up a school for the rural community in *The Return of the Native* is the manifestation of its significance in exposing the individuals to the hegemonic ideologies and his preoccupation with intellectual speculations. Of course, his own education is very important in his subjectivity. He goes to Paris only to be educated, to become an intellectual to possess the capacity of functioning as a Subject. Education makes a true subject out of Oak and prepares him to take the role of a Subject who can lead his community. The qualities Oak possesses are the practical dominant ideologies and through his practice he teaches obedience to all the characters, especially to Bathsheba. Bathsheba's education is the cause of her returning to conventionality after spending some time in unconventionality. Troy's presence at school is not touched upon by Hardy. Therefore, his insistence on his bad subjectivity is the sign of his failure in being hailed by ideologies from his early childhood. Tess and Angel have been at school and it plays its own role in their success, while there is no sign of Alec's exposure to educational system. Tess's exposure to the dominant ideologies makes her familiar with the practices of true subjectivity, and at first it is her too much preoccupation with these subjective roles that prepares her way toward unconventionality. If it were not for too much feeling of her responsibility and respect for her mother, she might not have strayed off. Even at the time of her unconventionality, she reveals some trends of conventionality. Alec's lack of education leads him to the direction of an idle character that has no desire in production and reproduction, civilization and social norms. Hardy's dealing with Sue's spending a long time at school and thereafter in the training school justifies her final return to Phillotson and accepting her subjective role. However, Jude remains the same unconventional character until his death because he leaves school very soon and he cannot be exposed to

the patriarchal ideologies for a long time to internalize them. As all Hardy's characters reveal, those who have been to school and have internalized the dominant ideologies there, turn out to be true subjects at the end, while those who have not been exposed to this ISA fail to become good subjects. In this respect, Hardy's novel as a cultural ISA contains another significant ISA as a means in leading the individuals to their subjective roles.

Hardy's use of ISAs is not restricted to the school and the church. The family and the work unions also function to make the individuals familiar with the dominant ideologies. The characters who are brought up in disciplined families, are hailed by their parents and interpellate their subjective roles. Those characters who show some signs of unconventionality, but become true subjects at the end, either have not been brought up by their parents or their family has not been held strongly together. If these characters turn out as good subjects, it is because they have been hailed by other ideological institutions. There are a lot of characters in Hardy whose bad subjectivity or sign of unconventionality in them is due to their lack of family. Jude, Troy, Eustacia, Fanny, and Bathsheba are such characters. Also, there are some whose subjectivity is related to their family. Dick, Fancy, Oak, Clym, and Angel are included in the second category. The role of work union is touched upon in all Hardy's novels, and specially in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, at Crick's farm, where not only the ideology of work but also the ideology of gentility, kindness, respect, responsibility, and humanity is exposed and taught to the workers. The significant point is that these ISAs work wholly to lead the individuals to their subjectivity. Yet, the role of the school, in accordance to Althusser's view, is much stronger.

3. Conclusion

Hardy's use of various ISAs in his own novels that are considered cultural ISAs, along with other ISAs of the age as well as the problems he discusses, all try to hail his readers. As such, his novels, in accordance to all ISAs, manifest in themselves a stable and organized society in which if an individual attempts to disturb this stability, he is doomed to failure. All individuals should help creating this stability. A real subject leaves his individuality apart for the sake of the welfare of the society. Hardy's characters strengthen the pillars of their society and if they attempt in weakening these pillars, they are led to their graves. Social control over the individuals is the most important feature of the Victorian society and Hardy tries to point to this significance. His own docility makes him create docile subjects to preserve the stability of his society. Since, according to Althusser (1971), ISAs "use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection, etc., to 'discipline not only their Shepherds, but also their flocks'" (145), Hardy's novels are the signifiers of this Althusserian view. In all his novels, it is seen that different methods are used to lead the subjects to their true responsibilities. Also, he himself, as a subject, is disciplined by various methods of the ISAs of his own society. Therefore, Hardy's cultural products provide the models of good and bad subjects in struggle to reveal the reinforcement of the ruling middle-class ideologies. Hardy's novels are the contestational sites of conflicting ideologies to reinforce the dominant ones. To Gramsci, hegemony is never for ever and it has to be established again and again. The dominant class must constantly work to maintain hegemony because it cannot be secured once and for all. Through creating challenging situations, Hardy tries to make ideologies visible and contestable. D. A. Miller (1988) believes that the project of the 19th-century novel is "to produce a stable, centered subject in a stable, centered world" (xi). As such, Hardy is revealed to be the true subject of his society.

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