

Tribhuvan University

Critique of Capitalist Ideology in Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*

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By

Kalpana Tandan

Roll No.400313(2070-071)

T.U Regd. No: 6-2-503-8-2008

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled "**Critique of Capitalist Ideology in Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People***" is my own original work carried out as a Master's student at the department of English at Ratna Rajya Laxmi Campus except to the extent that assistance from others in the thesis design and conception in the presentation, style and linguistic expression are duly acknowledged.

All the sources used for the thesis have been fully and properly cited. It contains no material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any award of any other degree at Tribhuvan University or any other educational institutions, except where due

Acknowledgement is made in the thesis.

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Kalpana Tandan

July 2018

Tribhuvan University
Faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences
Ratna Rajya Laxmi Campus

Letter of Approval

This thesis, entitled "Critique of Capitalist Ideology in Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*" submitted to the Department of English, Ratna Rajya Laxmi Campus, by Kalpana Tandan, has been approved by the undersigned members of the Research Committee:

Shiva Hari Mainaly
Internal Examiner

External Examiner

Pradip Sharma
Head
Department of English

Date:

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Abstract

This research work traces the resistance of the protagonist Thomas Stockmann against the capitalist dominating ideologies in Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*. Thomas Stockmann is a medical officer of the Bath Spa and he discovers that the water of the Bath is contaminated. He is unknown about the fact that the Bath is built by the capitalist impulse and run by the town authority under the control of his brother; Peter Stockmann, who is also the mayor of the town. Thomas wants to print his discovery report in the newspaper article. Newspapermen Hovstad, Aslaksen are ready to print Thomas's report in the article, but later with the force of Peter Stockmann, they turn into self-interest and take their support back from Thomas Stockmann. He is also disturbed by Peter Stockmann and Newspapermen for his public reading of his paper in front of the town people. But the fellow citizens of the town, while accepting the truth, they are going against Thomas and charge him as enemy of the people because they manipulated by Peter's capitalist ideology. Thomas is out from the medical officer of the Bath, but he does not hesitate to challenge town's authority, which is running in false ideology. He persists in his mission to flash the lies and capitalist corruption by using his pen against the corrupted authority.

1. Critique of Capitalist Ideology in Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*

Defining Capitalist ideology

Capitalist ideology refers to a set of norms, belief and trend that guide and govern the entire production system. It put emphasis on individualism, profit and rights to provide property. It puts into practice the trend to buy labor in a wage without showing any regard for the genuine voice and sentiments of workers. This research based on Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* (1882) which reflects the social reality of capitalist ideology. Capitalist ideology is the concept where capitalist society is run by ideology of ruling groups.

Common people are under the control of social institution, power politics, law and order and so on. Capitalist ideology gives false impression to innocent citizens and they are ready to accept false supposing as a truth. Ruling groups always try to impose their decision on citizen anyhow. About capitalist concept Terry Eagleton says:

The particular relationship between the capitalist type of state and the dominated classes also manifest itself at the ideological level. In fact hegemonic classes, domination as particular type of domination marks the particular place and function of the ideological in its relation to the political in capitalist formation: in short, it marks the particular way in which 'bourgeois ideology' functions politically. (7)

Capitalism is an economic and political system in which a country's trades and industries are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state. The capitalist owners are guided by certain ideology that they attempt to capture the public

intention, and later they succeed to control the state apparatus and ideological state apparatus to hegemony.

French structural Marxist, Louis Althusser's *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus* established the concept of ideology, which is also based on Gramsci's theory of hegemony. Whereas hegemony is ultimately determined entirely by political force, ideology draw on Freud's and Lacan's concept of the conscious and mirror phase respectively, and describes the structure and system that enable the concept of self. Althusser builds the work of Lacan to understand the way that ideology functions in society. Althusser explains that, "Marxist ideology is though as an imaginary construction whose status is exactly the theoretical state of dream among writers before Freud. For those writers, the dream was the purely imaginary that null, result of the day's residues" (56). Thus, he moves away from the earlier Marxist understanding of ideology. In the earlier model, ideology was believed to create what was termed 'false conscious' but he opposes its definition, he declares instead that the ideology of each mode operated by men of a type of discourse which interpolated the individual to take of a pre-established 'subject matter' that is a position as person with certain views and values which is every instance, serve the ultimate interest of ruling class.

1.1 The Capitalist Ideology in the Text.

An Enemy of the People is critical towards the capitalist ideology. It takes place in a small town of Norway where health spa Bath is built and also expected to bring the prosperity of the town. But ironically it is built by capitalist impulse, and run by the town authority under the control of Peter Stockmann, brother of Thomas Stockmann, and mayor of the town. Thomas Stockmann is the medical officer of the

Bath but he cannot work according to his will because he is controlled by his brother and other shareholders. However, with the reaction of Thomas Stockman rebellious character Peter Stockman's supremacy is challenged.

Thomas Stockmann once cast as enemy of the people begins to question the wisdom of the people and exposes the negative impact of the Bath. The fellow citizens of the town are not aware of reality of the Bath discovered by Dr. Stockmann. He is suspected about purity of water of the Bath, and he sent the sample of water from the bath to university laboratory to be tested. Later his hypothesis proves to be true. But the fellow citizens of the town, while accepting the truth, go against the Thomas Stockmann and charge him as enemy of the people because they support the ideology of Peter Stockmann. Dr. Stockmann knows about social disease and corruption and wants to uncover the social problem. He persists in his mission to expose lies and corruption invited by capitalism.

1.2 Ideology as False Consciousness

Society is constructed by level or instance articulated by specific determinism: infrastructure or economic base, (mode of production, means of production, distribution and exchange) and the superstructure, which itself contains two level: the politico-level and ideology. The politico-level represent the law and order of the societies and ideology represent different ideologies of the societies like religious ideology, ethical ideology, political ideology etc. Althusser and Brewster define "The State is a 'machine' of repression, which enables the ruling classes to ensure their domination over the working class" (92). It enables the former to subject the latter to the process of surplus-value extortion. Therefore, state has no meaning except as a function of state power. The whole political class struggle revolves the state.

While reading this drama, we have seen some Marxist impulse in his writing and through this drama he wants to expose the dark side of capitalism and mass media. Dr. Stockman wants to print his article in "People's Messenger". Hovastad and Billing primarily are ready to print Dr. Stockmann's discovery report in the newspaper article. But later with the interference of Peter Stockmann, they turn into self-interest and back their support from Dr. Stockmann.

Marxism refers to the economic and political theory, popularized by Karl Marx and his friend Friedrich Engels. This theory sketches a view of society as construct of an economic foundation, for instant, mode of production, means of production, and distribution and exchange. Karl Marx argues that the evolving history of humanity of its social grouping of its thinking and of its institution is moulded by the changing mode of economic foundation. Marx and Engels in their book *German Ideology* write, "Life is not determined by conscious, but conscious by life" (47). The way we think and the way we experience the world around us by material condition.

Thomas Stockmann stands strongly in his position and makes plan to read his discovery report publicly to take hall in rent. In the meantime of public reading, a group of town people arrived early and gossip reveling that they already believe Thomas Stockmann is in wrong. At the same time Billing, Hovastad and Peter Stockmann came to disturb Thomas Stockmann for his public reading. After happened that event the crowd of people condemn Thomas Stockmann as a public enemy or enemy of the people as well as Dr. Stockmann's windows are smashed by public as well as her daughter is kicked out from the job. Peter Stockmann advises him to leave town for six months, but Thomas refuses his advice and determined to uncover the social problem.

The dramatic critic, Martin T. Halsey argues in an article that *An Enemy of the People*, exemplify the term 'social revolt', that is the struggle of the individual against the conventions and moral of society. Regarding the individual's stand against convention, he argues:

Dr. Stockmann of *An Enemy of the People* attempt to bring truth to society. He tries to convince his fellow citizen that their mineral Baths are polluted and that the economic prosperity of the town is built upon a lie. He states, moreover that the sources of the town's spiritual life are contaminate by the outmoded ideas held not only by the reactionaries but by the majority, which he denounced as truth and freedom's "worst enemy". (463-64)

Dr. Stockmann represents the idealist or visionary who strives to bring truth or 'lights' to society. He attempts to enlighten and to reform the society but he is opposed not only by the reactionaries but by the liberals, who act out of self-interest, and the ignorant majority. In this connection Martin T. Halsey further remarks:

The dreamer or idealist who struggle to bring light to society is opposed not only by the reactionaries but by the liberals who act out of self-interest and by the ignorant majority. The reactionary mayor, who prevents the publication of Stockmann's discovery, asserts that "the public has no need of new ideas, it is better off without them". (464)

The naked self-interest, small mindedness, and hypocrisy of these people are reinforced by the language Ibsen put their mouth. It is well known that Ibsen studies individual speech patterns with almost scientific precision, and in this play he illustrates brilliantly the various kinds of jargon that about in political life including,

as we shall see later, Dr. Stockmann's own speech habit. The mayor enhances his prestige by the pretentious Latinizing vocabulary. Underscoring this shift in emphasis was a different audience for his commentary on the Ibsen play. *Index on Censorship* is a bimonthly magazine that examines issue of free speech and press censorship. Arthur Miller's commentary, entitled "Ibsen's Warning," expressly highlights the environmental relevance of the play. Miller qualifies his sifting or expanding emphasis on the play which is reflected in the following extract:

It must be remembered, however, that for Ibsen the poisoning of the public water supply mendacious and greedy interests was only the occasion of *An Enemy of the People* and is not, strictly speaking, its theme. That, of course, concerns the crushing of the dissenting spirit by the majority, and the right and obligation of such a spirit to exist all. That he thought to link this moral struggle with the preservation of nature is perhaps not accidental. (74)

Miller wrote in an article for *Index on Censorship* that the relevance of the play has changed or grown for him, and that it even might have outgrown Ibsen himself.

More central to be present discussion, Arthur Miller of 1950 hinted in his preface to *An Enemy of the People* at the green themes he would not amplify for 39 years. "The play is a story", Miller wrote "of scientist who discovers an evil and innocently believing that he has done a service to humanity expects he will at list be thanked" (9). As Stockmann's enemies mount in number, Ibsen's play has inadequately considered Dr. Stockmann's scientific credential, although credentials add to the play's modernity and universality.

Capitalist society is run by ideology of ruling groups. Common people are under the control of social institutions, power politics, law and order and so on, and

they are also the part of ideological state apparatus and repressive state apparatus. So, they are run and function by ideology and controlled by capitalists. In such situation, individual are ready to hegemonies by them. If someone goes or reacts against them, they will cast away from the society. Thomas Stockmann, the protagonist of the drama, faces the brutal behavior of the leading citizens and power holders of the capitalist society, who pounce him to an enemy of the people. Still he does not hesitate to challenge town's authority, which is running in false ideology.

The force of them, ideology lies in its capacity to determinate between those power struggle, which are somehow central to a whole form of social life, and those, which are not. In this context Abrams and Geoffrey say:

The views of the revisionist Marxist thinker Louis Althusser that ideology manifests itself in different way in the discourse of each of semi-autonomous of an era, including literature and also that ideology operates covertly to a form and position of users of language as the 'subjects' in a 'discourse' subordinated them to the interests of the ruling classes. (244)

Science as an ideology in it, of being an effective ideology called scientism. Some scientist responds that, while the scientific method is itself an ideology as it is a collective of ideas; there is nothing particularly wrong and bad about it. In social studies a political ideology is certain ethical set of ideas, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols of social movement, institution, class or large group that explain how society should work and offer some political and cultural blueprint for a certain order, politically ideology largely concern itself with how to allocate power and to what end

it should be used. Thus political ideology has two dimensions: how society should work; and the most appropriate way to which the idea are arranged.

The present research work, with the aid of Neo-Marxism, will explore the brutality, oppression, and domination of capitalism. At first, Thomas Stockmann is ignored about the false reality of capitalist ideology but later he comes to know that it is social disease and corruption, and is against freedom of human being. Slowly and gradually, he goes on to develop his personal self-motivation towards freedom leading to his final step of challenge the supremacy of Peter Stockmann, MortanKiil and mass media. Neo-Marxism not only helps explore the condition of dominated people in the capitalist society but also encourages and supports to resist the power domination. In this line, the research will be put to conclusion with the strength of Thomas Stockmann's resistance to capitalist ideology.

Neo Marxism is a term referring to the movement that focuses on humanism and idealism of Karl Marx. It is the twentieth century school of thought that extend Marxism and Marxist theory usually by incorporating element from other intellectual tradition. Neo Marxism utilizes traditional Marxist thought and bring into modern political system. This term is used for any theory that uses Marxism as a based and attempt to address historical problem using Marxist concept. In this regard Robert A Gorman says:

Neo Marxism therefore symbolizes contemporary Marxist theory which defends Marxism by interpreting what it means and implies, implicitly assuming it is useful and irreplaceable as a means of social analysis and also self-sufficient for the liberation of humanity. It has now become disconcertingly inbred. (15)

Neo Marxism is basically Marxism but without the class determinism. Neo-Marxist look at much reason for why there could be inequality in society and how it has changed over history. Its aim to explain or critique Marx's ideas in the faces of the changing society. One idea that many branches of Neo Marxism share is the desired to move away from the idea of bloody revolution to one of more peaceful nature, moving away from the violence of revolutions of the past while keeping revolutionary message.

Nineteen century was especially known as transition period. Old feudal system was replaced by capitalist system. Factories and industries were opened in rapid ways, national income was controlled by few people, who are in power positions. Many individuals of such societies were interested towards the capitalism, and they involved into the business world. But capitalism does not address the need and desire of the people and enter into corruption and helps those who are in power position, political leaders etc. Ruling class people involved to control common individual by certain ideologies, based on capitalism.

The play is critical towards the reality of capitalist ideology. It takes place in a small town of Norway, where health spa Bath is just built and every individual of town is expected to bring the prosperity to the town. But it is built by capitalist ideologies of certain ruling people of the town. They involve in the dirty activities for collecting tax and lone from the innocent townspeople. Bath is built only collecting money without satisfied them and people also ignored the harsh reality of the bath. The authorities of bath committee are instructed in such a way that, anybody can't raise the question against it. Thomas was concern about the bath and says: "The whole bath establishment is whited, poisoned sepulcher" (13). It is run by the town authority under the control of Peter Stockmann. He is a mayor of the town, also a

Thomas Stockmann's brother as well as the chairman of the bath committee. Thomas Stockmann is a medical officer of the Bath but he can't work according to his will he is controlled by his brother and other ruling class ideology.

Terry Eagleton, in his book *Ideology* remarks that ideology has a wide range of historical meaning and related it with the interests and wants of the ruling class. He puts forward the following view in this regard:

The term ideology has a wide range of historical meaning, all the way from the unworkably broader sense of social determinism of thought to the suspiciously narrow idea of the development of false ideas in the direct interest of the ruling class. Very often, it refers to the way in which signs, meanings, and values help to reproduce a dominant social power but it can also denote any significant conjunction between discourses and political interests. (221)

However in general ideology basically means a system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy. It is a comprehensive set of normal beliefs, conscious and unconscious ideas, that an individual, group or society has.

Henrik Ibsen's mouthpiece Thomas Stockmann suspects about the purity of the water of the Bath and he sends the sample of water from the Bath to a university laboratory to be tested. Later his hypothesis is proved to be true. He says: "the Bath – we have called them the "main artery of the town's life- blood" and "nerve- center of the town" and the devil knows what else" (12). He wants to print his discovery in a newspaper article and in this regard he further says:

I have investigated the matter most conscientiously. For a long time past I have suspected something of the kind. Last year we had some very strange case of illness among the visitors--- typhoid case and cause of gastric fever. I had none of the necessary scientific apparatus; so I sent sample, both of the drinking- water and of the sea-water, up to the University, to have an accurate analysis made by a chemist. (13)

Thomas argues that main cause of contaminate water of the Bath is polluted waste water from the tannery just above the Bath seeps into the stream that provides the water for the spa. Morten Kill, Dr. Stockmann's father-in-law heard the news about the Bath from Petra. Kill says, "yes, yes, yes, but I should never have thought you the sort of man to pull your own brother's legs and other leading citizen like this" (17). He does not believe, what Stockmann says about the bath is true, but he is delighted nevertheless believing that Dr. Stockmann is playing a trick on his brother and the other leading citizen of the town. He is the owner of the tannery so, he does not believe what Stockmann says.

1.3 Protest against Capitalism

Ibsen wants to protest against capitalism of the time through this drama. He attacks upon the capitalist culture, where the peoples have no right to protest against the government. Such type of government does not give free space to their citizen for free expression, and rebellion against the system. They are bound by repressive state apparatus. Dr. Stockmann has proved his investigation and proves the presence of decomposing organic matter in the water is full of infusoria. Through his discovery he against the injustice power ideology:

All the incapable must be turned out, you understand – and that is every walk of life! Endless vistas have opened themselves to my mind's eye today'. I can't see it all quite clearly yet, but I shall in time. Young and vigorous standard-bearers- those are what we need and must seek, my friend; we must have new men in command at all our outposts. (36)

In such a harsh situation, Dr. Stockmann's discovery is compared to the arrival of Christ. He gives hope to town people by his discovery against the corruption. The force that Dr. Stockmann identifies as allowing social injustices to thrive is that force of conformism. The drama is no-less than Bible for the nineteen century religion of self-assertive action with message of salvation modulate to need of repressive individual in a conformist society.

Dr. Stockmann wants to print his discovery report in the newspaper article about poison of the Bath to give news for the town people. Which is built in the framework of capitalism. But Peter Stockmann wants to stop Dr. Stockmann at any cause. Morton kill also goes against him in the Dr. Stockmann's is that Kill's tannery is the cause of poison water of the Bath. Peter is not in the same high spirits as his brother. He talks about the expense of reengineering the Bath. The project will take two years. He says, "According to the information I obtained, expenses would probably mount up to fifteen or twenty thousand pounds. And the worst part of it would be that the work would take at list two year" (25). Surrounded town will be use the bad publicity to establish themselves as tourist attraction for those who seek curative water. Mayor declares that he is not convinced by Dr. Stockmann and warns him that he is not able to respect authority, that he is constitutionally rebellious:

As an officer under the committee, you have no right to any individual opinion. In your official capacity, no. As a private person, it is quite another matter. But as a subordinate member of the staff of the Bath, you have no right to express any opinion which runs contrary to that of your superior. The matter in hand is not simply a scientific one. (29)

He also charges his brother that pursuing his course will have damaging effects on his wife and children that he will be dismissed from the medical officer of the municipal Baths and his and his reputation as a doctor will be tarnished. He orders his brother not to release his report and demand since he has already released it to the newspaper, that he writes another report stating that after further and deeper investigation, he has reach the conclusion that his earlier report was mistaken. But Dr. Stockmann refuses what mayor says. Mayor threatens him that there will be terrible consequence for Dr. Stockmann and his family if he continue in his opposition. Dr. Stockmann wants to show corrupt nature of capitalism through his discovery report. He can't do as he think because he is bounded by certain ideologies of ruling class that always take the side of capitalism. The capitalist society does not allow him for going against them.

Peter Stockmann is belonging the authority of the town. He controls public domain like government, administration, army, police, court, prison of the town. It is also called repressive state apparatus which function by violence and later ideology. Peter Stockmann uses force upon his brother for stop to print his discovery report in newspaper article. But Thomas Stockmann does not do according to his brother's wants. So that, he is kicked out from his jobs, his windows are smashed, his daughter is also kicked out from the school teacher where she taught.

1.4 Ideology as a Binding Force.

Althusser argues that ideology always exists in apparatus. According to him state apparatus contain two bodies: repressive state apparatus and ideological state apparatus. Repressive state apparatus belongs entirely to the public domain like government, administration, army police, court, prison, etc. In this way ideological state apparatus belongs to private domain like family, education, religion, political parties, trade union, communication (press, TV, radio), culture (literature, art, sport) etc. Repressive state apparatus are much larger parts than ISA, and in this regard he writes:

Marxist theory, the state apparatus contains the government, the administration, the army, the police, the court, the prison, etc., which constitute what I shall in future call the repressive state apparatus.

Ideological state apparatus contains: the religious ideological apparatus, the educational ideological apparatus, the family ISA, the political ISA, etc. (142-43)

Althusser differentiates repressive state apparatus from ideological state apparatus that repressive state apparatus functions by violence, whereas ideological state apparatus functions by ideology. RSA functions massively, predominantly by repression while functioning secondarily by ideology whereas ideological state apparatus functions massively and predominantly by ideology but functions secondarily by repression. For example, the army and the police function violently and they also function by ideology. In this way educational institutions function massively by ideology but later they use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection, etc.

Thomas Stockmann always wants to bring an independent, self-confidence and a hatred of authority from the repressed apparatus of the town. Thomas says, “It would be a trick- a fraud, a lie, downright crime towards the public, towards the whole community!” (26). Surely, he wants freedom for town people from the rules and restriction of Peter Stockmann. But ironically town people do not rebel against the town authority, because they are hegemonies by certain ideologies, which is based on capitalism. Peter argues, “Oh, the public doesn’t require any new ideas. The public is best served by the good, old established ideas it already has” (28). Townspeople knows about Peter Stockmann’s tyranny but there is lack of among them and they are bounded in such a way from town authority and capitalist ideology, they can’t release from there.

Broadly speaking, economic foundation determines superstructure. Mode of production is prior to superstructure, which does not have its own existence. Education, religion, art, law, philosophy, political programs etc. are constructed by the way mode of production of material life is programmed. The change in the class structure of society is fundamentally based on historically in the fundamental mode of material production. According to the Marxist thinker history proceeds through the class struggles happen due to the uneven distribution of economic foundation. Annihilation of feudal social structure and society heralded the present capitalist mode of production and capitalist ideology. Marx and Engels argue:

History is nothing but the succession of the separate generation and civil society as such only develops with the bourgeoisie; the social organization evolving directly out of production and commerce, which in all ages forms the basis of the state and of the rest of the idealistic

superstructure, has, however always been designated by the same name. (57)

Though the civil society and the bourgeoisie are designated by the same name, as a matter of fact the civil society is always dominated by the bourgeoisie.

In the play, Ibsen shows actual activities of mass media under the capitalist system. In late 19th century every European countries inter into capitalist system which is also followed by media. The relationship between media and capitalism is always harmonies. Newspapermen Hovstad and billing are at first ready to print Thomas Stockmann's discovery report in their newspaper "People's Messenger". They completely support Dr. Stockmann's discovery of poison water of the Bath. Hovstad promises to print an article in the paper about the discovery. Hovstad argues that, the corruption of the purity of the water is metaphor for the corrupt politics of the town:

In my opinion a journalist incurs a heavy responsibility if he neglects a favorable opportunity of emancipating the masses – the humble and oppressed. I knew well enough that in exalted circus I shall be called on agitator and all that sort of thing, but they may call what they like. If only my conscience doesn't reproach me then. (20)

The newspapermen are not such honest for town people as well as Thomas Stockmann. They only pretend and show the crocodile's tear in front of him. There are certain ideologies or self-interest behind the supporting for Dr. Stockman, because he is the brother of mayor, medical officer of the municipal of the bath as well as he continuously writes article for "People's Messenger". He is also a dignified person of the town. Hovstad mentions about Dr. Stockman, "I cannot very well refuse as a

distinguished man, by all means, I am your service but let me relieve you of your” (42). Newspapermen want their paper publically to be acceptable while supporting town authorities. Hovstad invites Petra; Dr. Stockmann’s grown up daughter, as a journalist in “People’s Messenger”. She is school teacher and has mastery over in English. So, he wants her to translate the English to serialize in the paper but she refuses, as she thinks it is against the will of town people.

As the story proceeds, the mayor’s confrontation with his brother is redefined and sharpened the conflict between newspapermen. Later he will subvert the will of Dr. Stockmann’s allies. He will get them in his power and make an alliance against Dr. Stockmann in order to counter the idea that the Bath is contaminated. He claims that it will be expensive to reengineer the Bath in order to do it, as a mayor, he will raise a municipal loan and tax the working class people, the shopkeeper, and a small house holders since the shareholders of the Bath refuses to give any more for the Baths. Regarding this program of reengineering Peter contends:

And indeed it is no small sacrifice that the town is going to make. It will be necessary to rise municipal loan. Well, my dear Mr. Aslaksen, where else in the money to come from? The proprietors of the Baths are not in position to incur any further expense. I have satisfied myself that it is so. If the town wants these very extensive alternations, it will have to pay for them. (43)

Newspapermen are true followers of the Peter’s ruling scheme. They become Peter’s yes men as well as blind followers of Peter’s ideology, as they want their paper politically to be acceptable. To support under those circumstance. The newspaper would have to be support raising of tax. Realizing the reporting that the Bath are

unhealthy will hurt the town and themselves financially, that Dr. Stockmann's report may be incorrect and himself is in the wrong for promoting it. They agree to print the mayor's statement about the safety of the Bath rather than Dr. Stockmann's scientific report.

Thomas Stockman is represented as a powerful rebellious characters, his nature is clear and straight forward. He does not hesitate to comment against the Peter Stockmann, Morton Kiil and newspaper members. He comments, "If you are chief constable, let me tell you that I am a mayor – I am a master of the whole towns, please understand" (47). He encourages his family members to fight against the Peter and Morton Kiil's tyranny in the town. His family members give him big hand for fight against the social corruption. Mrs. Stockmann bravely says, "I will show them that an old woman can be a man for once. I am going to stand by you" (49). His daughter Petra knows about the harsh reality of newspaper members and she comments:

What I am angry with you for, is for not been honest with my father. You talk to him as if the truth and the good of the community were what lay nearest to your heart. You have made full both my father and me. You are not a man you made yourself out to be. And That I shall never forgive you never.(40)

Petra got angry with their ill behavior and not being honest with her and Dr. Stockmann. She was furious with newspapermen for back stabbing them.

1.5 Hegemonic oppression

Hegemony is always in the form of domination. It work vital role to promote the capitalism and suppress people are ready for dominated by capitalists. Town people are blindly accepted Peter's scheme. They angrily says to Thomas; "don't talk about Baths! We won't hear you! None of that" (56). Whatever Peter says to town's people that Dr. Stockmann is in wrong and do not accept his false discovery of the Bath. They are believing that blindly. They are unaware about the actual reality of the Bath and they ignore the Peter's intention. Later they are going to against the truth.

Another critic, Italian communist thinker, Antonio Gramsci, came up with the concept of hegemony. Gramsci defines hegemony as the power of ruling class to convince other classes that their consents of that a social class achieves a predominant influence and power, not by direct and overt means, but by succeeding in making its ideological views of society so pervasive that the subordinate classes unwillingly accept flows flow from enabling the spontaneous consent of the populace through intellectual and moral leadership or authority as employed by the subalterns of the state. The power of hegemony is thus, primarily through coercion and consent rather than armed forced.

Gramsci uses 'state' narrowly to refer the governmental coercive apparatus, he also deploys a broader 'general notion of state' or integral state, which includes both the functions of social hegemony and political government. Gramsci mentions, "State is entire complex of practical and theoretical activities which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manage to win the active consent of those over whom it rules" (144). Gramsci's concept of hegemony is intimately linked to this formulation of the relationship between the superstructure and economic base. Specifies two ways in which the supernatural reproduction of capitalist relation. The

first is the hegemonic through ideology and universalized spontaneous consent, while second is legal enforcement of judiciaries and other institution associates with the state.

In capitalist society truth is always tried to hide. Capitalist ideology gives false impression to innocent citizens and they are ready to accept false supposing as a truth. Thomas Stockmann represents as a truth and does good work for his society. His discovery of the contaminate water of the Bath, is the great work towards the townspeople. But he is trapped by those people who involve for stop him to release his discovery report. Peter Stockmnn, Morten Kiil are represented as a typical capitalist. Peter and Morten have a big support from the media's member. They disturb Dr. Stockmann for public reading of his discovery in Horster house. When Dr. Stockmann begins his reading, Aslaksen interrupts him saying that before they proceed, they ought to elect the chairman for the meeting. Here they are applying hegemony to stop him. Though they are not forcing him to stop everything immediately but they are trying ideologically to stop him by going against them. Dr. Stockmann says: "There is no necessity! Tonight I have no intention of dealing with all that faith down at the Bath. No; I have something quite different to say to you" (56). Dr. Stockmann was so determined to read his discovery publically and he doesn't wanted anyone to disturb him. Hegemony didn't work for them.

Apple,Luís and Wayne write "Gramsci's conception of hegemony reflects his formulation of the relationship between the superstructure and the economic base" (85). Gramsci splits superstructure in two major levels: one is called civil society; which is commonly called private and another is called political society or state. Civil society includes organization such as churches, trade union, and schools which as

Gramsci notes are typically through of as or nonpolitical including economy. Political society is the arena of political institutions and legal constitutional control. A major piece of the Gramsci's is to show that civil society's way to establishing and organizing human relationship and consciousness are deeply political and should in fact be considered integral to class domination, especially in western Europe. According to Gramsci civil society corresponds to hegemony, while political society or state corresponds to direct domination or command. The former is realm of consent and the later of force.

After that Aslaksen is elected chairperson and then stops Dr. Stockmann from reading his paper. Peter Stockmann argues that reading the paper might possibly give to raise difference of opinion. He inflames the crowd, arguing:

In consideration of the close relationship in which, as you all know, I stand to the present Medical Officer of the Baths, I should have preferred not to speak this evening. Therefore, I should like to purpose that the meeting should not permit the medical officer either to read or to comment on his proposed lecture. In my communication to the "people's messengers" I have to put the essential fact before the public in such a way that every fair minded citizen can easily form his own opinion. (54)

He concludes, consequently that Dr. Stockmann should not be allowed to read the report. He is followed by Hovstad, who repudiates his support for Dr. Stockmann. When Dr. Stockmann is finally to speak, it is with the proviso that he says nothing about the condition of the Bath.

In his address, Dr. Stockmann does refer to the pollution of the Bath, but only in passing as a way to move on to what he says, he considers a worse problem, namely the opinion of the majority. Dr. Stockmann comments that the majority is never right. The minority of people, those who can see are in the right. Concerning the voice of minority he argues:

The majority never has right on its side. Never, I say! That is one of these social lies against which an independent, intelligent man must wage war. Who is it that constitute majority of the population in a country? Is it the clever folk, or the stupid? The majority has might on its side – unfortunately; but right it has not. I am in the right – I and a few other scattered individuals. The minority is always is in the right.

(59)

He argues public opinion is a coercive, ignorant and destructive force. He says that people must be educated, must cultivate their reason and intelligence. His fundamental condemnation is that his townspeople are willing to build their fortune on the fraud that the Baths are safe when they are not.

Thomas Stockmann's this position angers the crowd and they condemn Dr. Stockmann and censure him as a public enemy or enemy of the people. They condemn, "that is talking like an out- and – out enemy of the people. He hates his country! He hates his own people" (64). People do not think independently under the capitalist ideology and their activities are linked with active leader or chief person in the society. Townspeople completely believe on Peter Stockmann and Morton Kiil's false idea and reject actual fact of the Bath and later they charge Stockmann as a public enemy.

When the windows of his house are smashed, Thomas Stockmann makes a joke about the draftiness of the house. He also can show the solid determination. He sees that not only water of the town is polluted but their thinking capacity is also polluted. He comments upon his townspeople:

If we went to another town, do you suppose we should not find the common people just as insolent as they are here? Depend upon it, there is not much to choose between them. Oh, well, lets the curs snap that is not the worst part of it. The worst is that, from one end of this country to the other, every man is the slave of his party. (68)

After Dr. Stockmann censures him as an enemy of the people, his daughter Petra has been fired from the school. Mrs. Busk; head of the school, have received three letters of complaint about her and her advanced opinions. School is the part of ideological state apparatus which is running by dominant ideology and function violently. Here, Petra is victimized by Busk's ruling ideology and she is followed by Peter's ruling scheme. So that Busk takes action against Petra. She is fired from the school because of her father's discovery of the Bath. Petra mentions the following commentary in regard to the discovery:

Mrs. Busk showed me no less than three letters she received this morning. And two of them were to the effect that a man, who has been our guest here, was declaring last night at the club that my views on various subjects are extremely emancipated. No, you know I wouldn't. Mrs. Busk's own views are tolerably emancipated, when we are alone together; but now that this report about me is being spread, she dare not to keep me on any longer. (69-70)

Ideologically Mrs. Busk compelled Petra to quit her job. Mrs. Busk was guided by capitalist ideology. Here Petra's father and Petra got victimized ruling class through ideological state apparatus.

About Gramsci's concept civil society, Jan writes in his book "Gramsci himself indicated his distinction between repressive and ideological state apparatus is formed according to the model of Gramsci's differentiation of political and civil society, coercion and hegemony" (147) Gramsci's notion of civil society and political society is related to Althusser's notions of repressive state apparatus and ideological state apparatus. Civil society and ideological state apparatus are similar for their existence and functions, both are existing in belief system and function primarily by ideologically and later by repression. In this way, political society and repressive state apparatus are similar in the contest that both are public domain and it has rules, law, constitution, and fix principles. Both functions massively and predominantly by repression while functioning secondarily by ideology. Political society and repressive state apparatus contains; government, army, police, administration, court etc., whereas civil society and ideological state apparatus contents; family, school, community, political parties etc.

1.6 Awareness of Injustice.

Dr. Stockmann is commendable because he is always to his profession as scientist and physician. His action is never determined by his desire and his own interest. He completely avoids the tyranny of the Bath committee where he engages in job. He is a catalyst to reveal the pollution in the government of the town as well as in the Baths, and of the pollution in people's nature that derives from opportunism. Through the mouthpiece character, Thomas Stockmann, Ibsen condemns how the

capitalist ideology can be corrupted through the manipulation of public opinion by instrument of mass media run by people intent on shaping public opinion to their private interest. In the Dr. Stockmann's public meeting, newspapermen involve to very low and dirty activities to take return the public intention from Dr. Stockmann. They success to subvert the Dr. Stockmann's discovery report as a false and it is against the income sources of the townspeople. Newspaper man Aslaksen is trying to take public intention towards Peter Stockmann. His public intention is obvious:

Silence please, gentleman, I bag to support the mayor's motion. I quite agree with him that there is something behind this agitation started by the Doctor. He talks about the Bath, but it is a revolution he is aiming at he want to get the administration of the town put into new hand. No one doubt the honesty of the Doctor's intentions – no one will suggest that there can be any two opinions as to that, I myself am a believer in self-government for the people, provided it does not fall too heavily on the ratepayer. (54-55)

Thomas does not follow such kinds of false opinion and mob, he is always guided by truth. So he does not afraid to tell about contaminate water of the Bath in front of peter, newspapermen and townspeople.

Morten Kiil, Dr. Stockmann's father-in-law is an owner of the tannery. He is so afraid Dr. Stockmann's actions. Dr. Stockmann has revealed that Kiil's tannery is one of the worst sources of pollution of the Bath. So, Morten Kiil is more delighted towards the Doctors. He attempts to corrupt Dr. Stockmann's effort, because he is offended that his good name. Kiil uses the money to blackmail Dr. Stockmann, that is to be his daughter's inheritance to purchase the shares, and he hopes to force Dr.

Stockmann into recanting his opposition in order to clear Kill's own name and reputation for having being the source of the pollution. He says:

I am the jealous of my name and reputation. They call me "the badger," I am told. A badger is a kind of pig, I believe; but I am not going to give them the right to call me that. I mean to live and die a clear man. You shall cleanse me Thomas. Do you know what money I have brought these shares with? No, of course you can't know. (75)

He also uses money to force Dr. Stockmann for recant his action and also says to Dr. Stockmann that, "the whole of the money is invested in the Baths now. And now I just want to see whether you are quite stark, staring mad, Thomas! If you still make out that these animals and other nasty things of that sort come from my tannery, it will be exactly as if you were flay board strips of skin from Katherine's body, and Petra's and the boy's; and no decent man would do that --- unless he were mad" (76). Morten Kiil's such intention, clearly shows that he is guided by capitalist ideology, and he seems to be a promoter of capitalism.

Newspapermen, Hovstad, and Aslaksen are also involves to blackmail the Dr. Stockmann. They assume that Dr. Stockmann's condemnation of the Bath is merely the part of Kiil's scheme to lower the value of the shares in the Baths. They want a piece of the action. If Thomas Stockmann came to term with them and promote the Baths, they promise to put the newspaper at his disposal and turn public opinion in his favor. They want him to subsidize the paper. If he refuses they will continue to vilify him. Aslaksen says; "the press is a power in a free community Doctor. Yes, and for the temperance society. You may relay on that" (78). He shows media's power in capitalist society. It is also come to know that media has a big support from political

parties and bureaucrats of the societies. Media can subvert the truth as false in such community.

Dr. Stockmann knows about social disease and corruption, and wants to uncover the social problems. He persists in his mission to expose lies and invited by capitalism. As a scientist his loyalty is to the truth rather than to any political parties and capitalist ideology. He is strengthened his ordeal and dedicated to replacing corrupted idea with fresh one. He sees that not only the Bath is polluted, but the way townspeople thinking capacity is also polluted. Dr. Stockmann does not trap the blackmailing of Peter, his father-in law and newspapermen.

To conclude the depiction of rebel against the capitalist people and institution in the play is coming from social hero, who is guided by truth, social responsibility, and honor towards the town's people. The drama is search for personal freedom and the main purpose is to dismantle the illusion created by capitalist ideology and save the townspeople from the ruling hegemony and ideology.

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