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**Populism and Mess Culture in Victor Hugo's *The Miserables* and Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima***

A Thesis

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## **ABSTRACT**

The late Victorian age was important for the rise of the novel as a genre that transformed during the Victorian period. Novel changes from romanticism to realism, from optimism to pessimism. Novelists successfully dealt with the changing mood of society. The traditional differences between the aristocracy and the middle class have narrowed with the passage of the Reform Law and the acquisition of the right to vote for the middle class and being politically engaged in the affairs of the nation. While the aristocracy criticized the work that the bourgeoisie had to do in the factories and the industries, to maintain the supremacy that they had the privilege, the middle class in response promoted work as a virtue.

This study focuses on the importance of populism and mass culture in literature, particularly in Victor Hugo's *The Miserables* and in Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima*. Both novels deal with these concepts in different ways.

The study discusses Victor Hugo, one of the significant voices who supports human rights and contributes to an end of the suffering of the poor through his contributions to change the unjust laws that restricted the poor class in France during Napoleon's reign. He criticizes the government's unjust actions because its laws and actions were in the interest of the rich and the upper class and at the expense of the suffering of the poor.

The study also discusses Henry James who participates in sending a direct message for humanity about the laws that make people miserable and lose their lives. In his novel James concentrates on the people's problems

resulting from the division of society into distinct socially and economically classes, as well as the government's ignorance of its duties.

The current study falls into five chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter includes an introduction to the thesis as well as a literature review. The second chapter is subdivided into two sections. The first section "Populism: Ideology and Its Effects" presents a historical background of populism in literature as a social effect and the dilemma of its definition. The second section is entitled "Mess Culture: The Contemporary Trend in Literature" which traces specific definition of mess culture that can be explicated from its implications in society and the individuals' life. In fact mess is applied skillfully in literature through two well-known novels *The Miserables* by Victor Hugo and *The Princess Casamassima* by Henry James.

The third chapter is divided into two sections. The first section "Victor Hugo's Prominent Life" demonstrates the novelist's biography, his contribution, and his main works. While, the second section "*The Miserables*: A Novel Directed to the suffering of the poor" shows the background of the novel as well as the main reasons that inspired Hugo to write his novel, besides the main references to the populism and populists stand, and the aspects of chaos in the novel.

The fourth chapter of the study is divided into two sections. The first section is "Henry James the American Citizen and the British Writer" that demonstrates the novelist's biography, while the second section "*The Princess Casamassima*: The Laborers' Revolt Story" depicts the setting of

the novel besides the examination of the depiction of the elements of populism and the mess of societal laws.

Finally, the fifth chapter ends with the conclusion, findings, and the recommendations.

# Chapter One

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background of the Study

In the Victorian Period, many events were proceeding on which they changed the way many people viewed life. Among those changes was the improvement of scientific research, which formed disagreement with biblical beliefs. With Darwin's contribution of *The Origin of the Species* in 1859, which initiated a scientific revolution, most of the Victorians lost faith in the church. Darwin's theories blended doubt about where humanity really started from, and the era established a great change to the people of England and the world (Gary 2).

The supports of the queen Victoria to the colossal alter and broad development of England's domestic and outside control, during the Industrial Revolution was taken for granted in that time. The Victorian period in England's history was a magnificence and abundance of the privileged versus the destitution and misery of the destitute working class. In an age of burgeoning innovation and industry, the common working man endured what would seem today brutal, debasing, and nearly incredible conditions with a persistent renunciation and the sense that survival is its only result. Industrial laborers daily worked from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m., without wellbeing benefits, rewards, or holidays (Ó Gráda 224).

The terms of these reformations were intentionally made to intolerable to force the poor to become very dependent on themselves. As a result, families have broken apart, food sources were limited, and the

circumstances were in desolate to urge the poor to work and make hard attempts through poverty (Ó Gráda 225).

By this time, the effect of industrialization approached France. The French intellectual figures emerged from the *grandes écoles* which were institutes that had a broad frame of universities. In literature, Victor Hugo emerges as a novelist, after the Franco-Prussian War and the fall of the Empire in 1870, and then Hugo returns as a triumphant to Paris. There, Hugo started again his role in politics and was chosen to the National Assembly (Ziolkowski 69-70).

In 1876 Hugo is chosen as the Senate, because of his sickness health he had return to Guernsey .The readers can observe the wavelets of his work in both society and arts, through the impact that Hugo made on the next generations of romantic authors, novel writers, and playwrights, like, the influence of Chateaubriand had on him. In society, this impact can be seen through both the political circumstances that developed in France, in favor of a Republic government, as well as peoples valuing towards Victor Hugo (Hartmann 23° ).

Late Victorian fiction mostly expresses doubts and unpredictability, but in aesthetic statements, it exhibits a new experience and self-confidence. Novelists are the class depictees in the novels and for whom the novels are directed. Thus, Victorian novelists treat the prevalence of money with angry ridicule. Between the rich middle classes and the workers, a very large lower-middle-class people have existed. One of those authors was the American novelist Henry James wrote in 1884 that until recently the English

novel had no air of having a theory, a conviction, and a consciousness of itself behind it (Tredy 6).

Populism idea means to control over the administration rather than a simple group of political staff members or privileged elite. The word populism comes from the Latin word for people, "populus". There is another idea of populism, which is the political idea and occupation that are deliberated to get the support of normal people by giving them what they want. The term is also essentially connected with a particular frame of mind moods and feelings: populists are "angry"; Marine Le Pen and Greet Wilders, for instance, are regularly referred to as populists. Politicians are clearly on the right. Sanders phenomenon, Left-Wing insurgents are also categorized as populists of America. The successful leaders such as Rafael Correa, Evo Morales, and, above all, Hugo Chavez joined the list of populists. In our time the "Age of Populism" has been proclaimed by the Bulgarian political scientist Ivan Krastev, one of the accurate analysts of representative life today (Gherghina 3).

During the modern age, Populism is obviously not a simple term to be understood that there is no clear theory of populism, and it seems there is an absence of coherent criteria to determine its features when political representatives turn populists in some significant sense. For instance, in Europe, in the United Kingdom and the rise of the Front National in France are other examples of populism. Hence, populism can be seen in generic terms. Nevertheless, two great differences between the populism of the right and the left are clearly noticed. Firstly, strategy: Podemos and the Front National which have in common that their attacks are steered against a general elite that they believe in question for the problems. The second

difference between Left-Wing and Right-Wing populism is the way each one of them determines the people. In political science, populism holds the notion that society is divided into two groups that are against one another. Populism is usually addressed as an exclusively top-down issue in which the political party principals assemble institutions to gather electoral interests (Hawkins 3).

Mess and popular culture can be studied by many branches of knowledge including literary criticism. Scholars have brought deeply from social and cultural history as a means of condition out what books meant for various classes of readers in every time. Critics have also modified techniques from sociology, art history, feminist studies, and the history of the book to locate literature at the interchange of private enterprise and cultural interests. For example, Nathan Nann in "Culture and the historical process", indicates that the foremost well-known prove forcomes from lab-based tests in the field of psychology. Nann explains that why nowadays within the United States of South (but not the United State of North) there's a "culture of honour "where specific significance is placed in guarding one's notoriety and respect, indeed in case this requires aggression and viciousness. Their clarification for why this culture exists within the South but not the North is established within the distinctive histories of settlement within the two zones. The North was fundamentally settled by bunches with a cultivating foundation, whereas the South was settled basically by the Celts who had been herders since ancient times and had never continued as agriculture (Nunn 115-116).

Moreover, General reviewers that move across these standards of questions make important involvements in several directions. Sociologists



and anthropologists consider the organization of society to be a reflection of its culture a vital component of which is social convictions. Social convictions are the thoughts and contemplations common to a few people that oversee interaction-between these people and between them, their divine beings, and other vary from knowledge in that they are not observationally found or analytically proved. In common, social convictions gotten to be indistinguishable and commonly known through the socialization prepare by which culture is unified, maintained, and communicated. That social convictions impact financial result is instinctive, but formal examination of the relations between social convictions and societal organization is subtle. In the event that once subjectively characterize social convictions, an assortment of phenomena can be generated (Greif 915).

Victor Hugo, a French writer, one of authors who wrote in the Mid-Nineteenth century, poet, novelist, and dramatist who was one of the most significant of French Romantic writers. Though Hugo was familiar in France as one of the country's greatest poets, he was better known outside for novels as *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831) and *The Misérables* (1862). Hugo was the defense of approval and the adoration of a romanticized Napoleon. Hugo touched various issues along with the liberal group of writers in the newspaper *Le Globe* (Alexander 38).

*The Misérables* was one of the most widely read novels of all time and the show that had been presented enormously around the world. Hugo attempted to convince his audience that the poor and the castaway were worthy to defend them. Hugo attempted to investigate the social injustice in nineteenth-century France that he set his novel to stigmatize the wrongful class-based structure of nineteenth-century France. Hugo showed through

his protagonist Jean Valjean in various times how the society's structure had turned common innocent people into spongers and malefactors (Jannah 14).

In *The Miserables*, Hugo wonders as a populist if the government controlled the creators or the producers because the administration at this point was not very clear. Such interference was the main reason to spread poverty and low social-economic transportability. However, the extreme laissez-faire political philosophy advocating only minimal state intervention in the lives of citizens, which is called Libertarianism directly, supposes that government laws and workers' life must be separated. In recent view, Hugo's as a populist asserts that in a real free society, the final consequence will be unselfishness (Johnson 1).

Henry James (1843-1916) is an American fictionist, and critic, but later an expatriate in England. He transforms the realities of his age in the same way as his contemporary realists and naturalists. He wrote more than 20 novels, 112 tales, and 12 plays, besides several volumes of travel writing and criticism. His most important theme is the innocence and richness of the New World in an engagement with the degeneration, and wisdom of the old, this theme usually illustrated in such works as *Daisy Miller* (1879), *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), *The Bostonians* (1885-1886), and *The Ambassadors* (1903) (Clarke 1-2).

In the 1880s, James introduced two novels that dealt with social reformers and insurgents, *The Bostonians* and *The Princess Casamassima* (1886). In *The Princess Casamassima*, James discussed the anarchist violence of these periods particularly in the mid-nineteenth century, and portrayed the contest of a man who attempted to participate in revolution but

is destroyed. *The Princess Casamassima* was a novel that was full of workers who revolted because of their circumstances, and insurrectionists. James was a wealthy man, but he attempted to illustrate the life of the middle class by discussing their difficulties and troubles. James used his imagination to portray his novel's environment by using examination and anticipation that enable him to overcome the problem of being strange with other environments. *The Princess Casamassima* introduced a specific critical view that represented James's distinctive and original subscription to the tradition of the populist romance (Clarke 169).

*The Princess Casamassima* is a depiction of many elements that are alluded to the consideration of events, in particular, the events that are related to the apparent subject of social insurgents that is not obtained. In the novel, there are admonished spies, informers, snitch, anarchists, and police observation, but none of this is dramatized or even discussed by the principal characters. James showed his experience in revolutionary politics because very few people have this acknowledgment about the subject at that time in the 1880s. English society knew generally presupposed revolutionaries that were small, usually secret groups of bomb-throwing anarchists and whom the law pursued, who had transcendental dreams of ejecting the rich people and reversing the society (Mullin 198).

*The Princess Casamassima* combines an ironic or satiric way some of the most important elements of the populist romance. The novel applied much sarcasm that is exercised upon the idea of the people as superior, which is the central idea of the populist's sociology as a main. The realization of this idea was profound in James's mind continuously, whereas he was not actually care. As a subject for fiction, for the common and the

undeveloped, he must carefully develop consciousness of the reality that they constituted a huge portion of the world which their tribulations were no less genuine than the complications and suggestions of his more favored creatures. Also, James seems to demonstrate blindness to the fact that the brighter social life of his characters rested on the reality of the evil and wretchedness. *The Princess Casamassima* was the item of that deep rooted propensity of strolling within the roads of London for the sole reason to retain impressions. James was mindful to the social wretchedness which went with rapid changes of Victorian civilization, but he generally turned his eyes away (Clarke 170-171).

James illustrates elements of populism in *The Princess Casamassima* through his wondering whether the confusion of wondering of, radiant aristocracy is merit to claim allegiance, as well as, whether the upper class members are truly noble or not . Millicent Henning, Miss Pynsent, and Mr. Vetch are all apparently either working persons or bourgeois figures are connected to Hyacinth. They influence Hyacinth by their previous experience of, or by take part as a strong commendation or jealousy towards the aristocracy. By his way, James intended *The Princess Casamassima* to be a novel with a realistic setting in order to portray anarchism in more enormous melodramatic in which he exaggeratedly offered an curiously representation of an upper-class reformer within the character of the Princess Casamassima, who has rejected the poring social life of her husband and has gotten to be included with reformers and ordinary bunches in London.

## **1.2 The Problem of the Study**

Through this study, the researcher wants to show how the aspects of populism as a concept are applied in Victor Hugo's *The Miserables* and Henry James's *The Princess casamassima*, and attempts to identify the effect of chaotic society and the mess culture through the main characters in Victor Hugo's *The Misérables* and Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima*.

## **1.3 The Scope of Study**

Two novels are examined in which populism and mess culture are the main themes, concentrating on populism as a central idea within the political field. It also demonstrates how the aspects of populism and mess culture as concepts are applied in Victor Hugo's *The Miserables* and Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima*. Moreover, certain problems in the society are examined through this study such as the injustice laws, poverty, and the chaotic society that interact and affect by populism and mess culture. Furthermore, it discusses many elements with the consideration of the events of the two novels: *The Miserables* and *The Princess Casamassima*.

Hugo portrays the French society which is a collection of individuals who lived and affected by one another. In *The Miserables*, populism is examined through the protagonist of the novel Jean Valjean, who helps the people whom he believed they contribute to the development of society. Also, it is examined through the character of Myriel, who acknowledges his values of humankind. Apparently, Hugo illustrates his concerns with people who are weak and are oppressed by society through his hero Jean Valjean, Fantine, Cosette, and Marius.

Mess cultures are represented through: firstly the effects of the French Revolution that ends the royalism, inspector Javert who represents the injustices of laws and government, Fantine and her daughter Cosette who live miserable lives, and secondly the character of Thénardiens who are greedy and without mercy

#### **1.4 Methodology**

The study mainly depends on a thematic approach through analytical explanations of two concepts which are populism and mess culture dealing with two selected works: *The Miserables* by Victor Hugo and *The Princess Casamassima* by Henry James.

#### **1.5 Literature Review**

The researcher identified some of the necessary studies and assays that include theories of narrative analysis to specify common methods of populism and recognizing some factors of mess culture.

Kelwyn Soles, a South African poet and academic, in his essay, which presented, with another (20) essays, under the title of *Black Literature and Performance: Some Notes on Class and Populism* (1984) discussed the three major organizational advantages that have characterized the (15 years) of black political and economic life within South Africa. Also, he explained the rise of black Middle- class organizations in the 1970s and the growth of the Black awareness community and ideas from the late 1960s; besides, the renewal of organizations of a nonracial liberal tendency over the last few years (Sole 74).

The current study of Populism and Mass culture in Victor Hugo's *The Miserables* and by Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* presents Victor Hugo as a popular author and a populist figure who support poor people and rejected the discrimination in French society. Through, Jean Val Jean is shown as a populist that he helps people in need around him and rejected the discrimination in French society. Also, Hugo rejected the oppressed laws in French society. In *The Princess Casamassima*, Henry James presents his view toward English society that he shows an unacceptable trepidation of the circumstances since he utilized to see it in common all-inclusive and unaltered expressions. James uncovered the corrupt awkwardness and eternal wretchedness, as on the off chance that the amount of irregularity and enduring shapes, which are shown, were continuously the same (Grewal 90).

Julia Reid in her review "*In Longman's Magazine: Andrew Lang and Literary Populism*"(2011), confirms that his work lights up the undecided ways in which rising logical thoughts underlay fin-de-siècle endeavors to rethink popular culture. She reviews Andrew Lang, a late-Victorian man of letters, human studies, Romance Revival in the press, old stories, mythology, and psychical research. Reid asserts the advanced sentiment of Longman broadly in developmental terms, has given Lang a popular place, but it attracted disapproval from some critics in the press (Reid 7).

Reid presents Margaret Beetham view of Lang, Beetham believes that in spite of recognizing the logical convictions which educated Lang's scholarly populism, sees his "anti-intellectualism" as pretentious, charging that it was "articulated with all the resources of the scholar whose education had been anything but popular" (qtd. in Reid 9).

In *Populism and Euroscepticism: Towards Uncivil Society* an essay by Carlo Ruzza (2009), distinctness the uncivil society in Europe, as "a set of associational activities characterized by discursively exclusionist, undemocratic or violent features" (Ruzza 87). Also, Ruzza refers to the institutions that are associated with the political right, besides that, the essay examines the relationship between political systems and civil society by specifying the factors that have made civil society relevant to the political actors. Finally, it points to the relation of the mutual association between the institutional world and the political movements and parties (Ruzza 89-90).

Judith Jansma's in her debates "Culture in the Name of the People? " Towards a Typology of Populism and Culture "(2019) shows that the term 'populism' occurs up within the Social Pondera's field, most eminently in connection to the prevalent culture. She exemplifies the idea of "cultural populism" looking for underline the significance of examining the typical encounters and practices of conventional individuals in differentiate to "culture with a capital C." (Jansma 122).

Concurring to the creators of the two manifestos, Thérive and Lemonnier, individuals ought to have a central place in the story: " one should depict the little people, the mediocre people, who are the mass of the society, and whose lives also have their dramas" (qtd.in Jansma 123). Jansma asserts that this demonstrates the degree to which populism has gotten to be a vague term, she utilized over diverse disciplines and reminds that cultural studies ought to be mindful of its assorted employments and meaning (Jansma 124).



Traditionally, three sorts of culture can be distinguished according to Jansma: elite culture, popular culture and society culture. Though the last mentioned is a verbal transmission of artifacts-counting legends and family formulas- inside a restricted community (family, companions), the other two are of a more open nature. The two primary apply to what it calls social and mental developments, such as family relationship, political and, financial education within the case of sociofacts (a term coined by scholar Julian Huxley, utilized at the side the related terms "mentifact" (or psych fact) and "artifact" to portray how social characteristics take on a life of its possess. Also, sociofact moreover portrays interpersonal intelligent and social structures) and images, customs and convictions for mentifacts (Jansma125).

Agreeing with Nachbar and Lause, Jansma asserts that the most distinction between popular and elite culture is that the previous is reduced on an expansive scale which points to reach a mass group of audience. Elite culture, on the other hand, targets a more selected group of audience, having particular interface or knowledge. The authors push their conviction that intelligence and riches are not basic ingredients for elite culture: "Elite is specialized and limited to those interested enough to learn the specific knowledge needed, but not merely the culture of the rich and intellectual" (qtd.in Jansma 127).

Finally, Jansma indicates that without the populist definition of culture, it is nothing but an empty shell. A change of the framework of shared values and convictions unavoidably leads to a misfortune of the recognizable proof with and in this way unmistakable work of the culture, and indeed a separation from the accomplishments of the equitable state such as freedom, correspondence and, fraternity. This is closely connected to

one of the populist definitions of culture, specifically its hegemonic character. Concurring to the populists, other societies, most strikingly non-European ones, are naturally in reverse; Geert Wilders quotes: "Our own culture is the best one immigrant should accept our values, not the other way around" (qtd.in Jansma 129).

Moreover, Jesse Cohn in "What is Anarchist Literary Theory?" presents the history of the anarchist movement. Cohn indicates that Anarchist Literary Theory contributed a form of literary theory which is stringent aesthetics and knowledge - based in the liberate ethics. Cohn aims to investigate several features that offer a favorable substitution to the futility of the modes of theory control within the academy. Cohn agrees with the recent rebirth of academic advantage in the anarchist tradition that has drawn new awareness to its reflections in literature. Cohn introduces the influence of the anarchist movement on Avant - grade modernisms (e.g., Pound's poetry, Picasso's collages), and through the roles that are played by number of 'anarchists' and 'anarchy 'in certain narratives (e.g., Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent* (1907) for Frank Norris's *The Octopus* (1901) Cohn indicates that the discussion has all but it neglected any reflection of the possible contributions of anarchism to literary criticism (Cohn 118, 122).

Moreover, several theses and dissertations have addressed populism and mess culture for its importance. For example: A thesis under the title, *Literary Canon as a Dynamic System of Chaos and Complexity Theory*, by Martín Thomas Meadows from Oklahoma State University,(2006) indicates that the acknowledgment of the scholarly rule as an energetic framework working inside the system of chaos and complexity resulted in two things. First, the views of authors and works are taken the rule as a narrow and

unrepresentative collection. Second, the opposing view sees the modern rule as well-suited and appropriate in its current shape with conceivably as it was slight alterations required. To treat the principles of literature as a limited system is an angerless end, whereas chaos can be described in an open system that can only exist by its interchange with the environment.

Meadows's study suggests that the rule is in steady interaction with its environment, and endeavoring to blockade the canonical structure would be to cut the rule off from the interactions that keep up it in this manner likely driving to its demolition. Meadows's study introduces the second development, which participates to make chaos as an open canon that is a threat to the traditional literary canon, yet, it is introduced as a natural part of the procedure of the canon formation. Besides, the thesis suggests the concepts of "emergence, recursion and self-similarity" that is renewed in spite of the fact that new literature gets into the canon, the canon itself will persist to influence the three aspects of the canon. Thus, the traditional canon, even as it alters, keeps an acknowledged and recognizable shape. The concluded results of recognizing the scholarly rule as a chaotic and complex framework empower the utilizing of an assorted rule and the proceeded consideration of the forms, aesthetics, culture and history.

While, the current study Populism and Mess culture in Victor Hugo *The Miserables* and Henry James *The Princess Casamassima* indicates that Literature, Culture and Society make a determined attempt to re-establish the connections among literary studies, cultural studies and sociology. As cultural studies have grown from sociologys' origins on the margins of literary studies, it has tended to discard both literature and sociology in favor of the semiotics of popular culture. The study provides a critical overview of

theoretical approaches to textual analysis and presents a substantive account of the capitalist literary mode of production through two novels *The Miserables* and *The Princess Casamassima*. The researcher presents mess culture, as the evidence in the literature, in which it returns to the nineteenth century that witnessed various phenomena in culture. Mess culture can be similar to recognizing, something that happens by coincidence, depiction in illustration, and literature in the form of prose, especially short stories and novels that describe imaginary events and people, made that potential to believe barefacedly about opportunities (Milner 5).

Also, the current study explains two important elements of culture and the most crucial elements that are our values and beliefs. *The Miserables* and *The princess Casamassima* have various elements of mess culture including the oppressed laws and the messy life of most of their characters, besides the setting of the two novels.

In her study, "*Genre and the Representation of Violence in American Civil War Texts by Edmund Wright, John William De Forest, and Henry James*" (2010), Vivian Alba Zenari, University of Alberta Libraries, Canada, examines the relationship between genre and the representation of war-time violence in five texts written during and shortly after the United States Civil War (1861-1865). Zenari examines the theme of war violence through these texts, which are related to the shade of writings often regarded as romance and realism, in which the researcher approves that the main theoretical approach to genre depends on making differences between criteria of theories genre and eventually emergency theories. Zenari illustrates the line of contingency theory of the genre as it is influenced by the social, political, and cultural circumstances of the period in which the genre

operates. Also, Zenari presents the work of Alice Fahs, David Reynolds, and John Frow, which influenced the approach of genre theory and nineteenth-century American literary history.

While the current study, Populism and Mess culture in Victor Hugo *The Miserables* and Henry James *The Princess Casamassima* presents two recent concepts through various definitions of populism and mess culture. The researcher presents mess culture that can be applied through two novels by two different novelists. For example, Cas Mudde, an Associate Professor identifies populism as an ideology that identifies "pure people" who are against the "corrupt elite". Mudde believes that populism gives the advantage of the general will to people, through common engagement in politics (Mudde 8). Also, according to Mehdi Parvizi Amineh, a populist is a politician, who demands the interests of common people to gain his or her political objectives (Amineh 133).

A thesis under the title *The Challenges of Populism: An Analysis of Tea Party Structuring Narratives* (2011) by Alex T. Coughlin, Department of Communication Studies, Colorado State University-Fort Collins, Colorado, introduces a specific goal that is to further comprehend the contesting understandings of the Tea Party and the manner in which the development of the themes of populist expression. Coughlin's study embodied theories of narrative analysis to direct common methods of the Tea Party's organization of protagonists, antagonists, plot, climax, and other important factors. The Tea Party is an American monetarily preservationist political development inside the Republican Party. Individuals of the movement called for lower charges, and for a diminishment of the national obligation of the United States and government budget shortage through diminished government.

These features were then compared to the verbal shifts and themes of past American populist movements. Since the Tea Party directed various questions and aroused a great debate that Tea Party is an evolving sociopolitical movement, the nimbleness of its attitude on limited policies and demographic disguise is difficult to solidify. The majority of Tea Party membership and a variety of alliances make the movement somewhat unknown materials. Coughlin's study explores and assesses the structuring accounts that surround the Tea Party. Also, Coughlin's attention is to arrange narratives that allow the readers to understand the discourse that is limited to political actors, provides political aims, and gives reasons for the goals of the movement. Coughlin's study sets the potential of competing narratives about the Tea Party, by analyzing structuring narratives in two different orientations: Tea Party website questions and established media coverage. The researcher employs four researches to guide his study.

The first two types of questions that construct in of the Tea Party:

**How is the Tea Party constructed in the Washington Times and the New York Times? How is the Tea Party constructed on tea party patriots.org and teaparty.org?" What are the differences between how the Tea Party is constructed in the Washington Times? How does the Tea Party rhetoric compare to strategies used by past American populist movements?. (Coughlin1)**

The current study Populism and Mess culture in Victor Hugo *The Miserables* and Henry James *The Princess Casamassima* presents the Populist movement in U.S. history as politically originated from the situated

fusion of agrarian reformers within the Midwest and South that supported a wide run of economic and political enactment within the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The study indicates that the Populist movement was established all through the 1880s, as nearby political activity groups known as Farmers' Collusions sprang up among Midwesterners and Southerners. It won a few noteworthy territorial triumphs, but the organizations, together by and large, demonstrated politically incapable on a national scale. In this way, in 1892 their pioneers organized the Populist, or People's, Party, and the Farmers' Unions melted away. Also, this study introduced the British populists who have diverse viewpoints on the government's spending, trade, race, besides everything else (Finchelstein 98).

*Lagom: Intersects of Nationalism and Populism in Swedish Parliamentary Elections*, (2017) is a thesis by Vernon Neil Ferguson, from the University of Virginia. It investigates the distinctive circumstances which resulted in the quick rise of the assumed right-wing populist party in Sweden. The study examines the Sweden Democrats, which are not the first patriotic party to enter the Swedish parliament, also they indicate that they are the first to survive multiple parliamentary elections and finally the Sweden Democrats became the third-largest party in parliament.

Ferguson's study debates the Swedish democrats, which do not establish a political party, but endure as a populist movement within Swedish politics, which are not Right - Wing, but rather as Lagom-inspired, mixed breed, and the settle down effects of the Lagom's culture which is a Swedish and Norwegian word means "just the right amount" (Ferguson's 1), prohibit the persistence of extremism in Swedish politics.

The thesis examines the main reasons that prevent the rapid controlling of the nationalist group, and the entry of Sweden into the European Economic Community, including the growth in immigrants from mostly Muslim States due to the Arab Spring and the Syrian civil war fuel the anti-Islamic figurative language of this nationalist group. The thesis ends by concluding that the Swedish Democrats are not the only point and cannot be the only peak.

The current study Populism and Mess culture in Victor Hugo's *The Miserables* and Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* explores populism as an ideology that is connected to the oppression of people and disarrangements of workers and common figures in two novels. Also, this study indicates that the result of this pressure will lead such a group of people to demand either a leader or for representative figures whom they believe can give them more upholding and hope for the future than the elite politicians of the country. Obviously, the populists will be totally willing to overextend these hopes through interferometer with coordinate political institutions or elections, because people will desire to put their beliefs in the institutions that are linked with representative liberty in all its form- Political, parties, legislatures, and courts (Ropp 12-22).

*Contemporary Populism: Actors, Causes, and Consequences across 28 Democracies*, (2017), is a thesis by Bruno Silva Castanho, Central European University, Public Policy and International, Doctoral School of Political Science, indicates that the Populists activities are an extensive challenge to liberal democracy today. Castanho questions through three main questions all-dressed in her thesis about the populists' identities, the reasons of their success, and their future plans. Castanho's study indicates that "populism



combines praise of common people as a virtuous, homogeneous group, a belief in absolute popular sovereignty in politics, and despise of evil, conspiratorial elites " (Mudde 543). Besides, Castanho's thesis discusses the different causes, which have been displayed, which can lead to such misfortune of certainty counting political and financial emergencies, endemic debasement, and first-class machination. This proposition employs a few strategies to address these issues, generally between 2010 and 2015. Besides, its finding assures two incorporations of conditions: high corruption in Latin American democracies, and elite collusion in European ones.

The current study Populism and Mess culture in Victor Hugo's *The Miserables* and Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* introduces the features of populism, which are needed as: first, Populism could be a thin-centered ideology which means a philosophy that considers society to be eventually divided into two homogenous and adversarial camps, "the pure people" versus "the corrupt elite," and which contends that legislative issues ought to be an expression of the common will of the individuals. This reason was the crucial point that made the ideology of populism designs its illiberal movements. Second, Populism denies institutional mediation that casts Populism and forgiveness. Third, it usually supposes the inner homogeneity of the "strangers". Fourth, populism traditionally appears in a crucial turn and is connected usually to the rejection of modernity. For these features, many consider it an incidental phenomenon that disappears suddenly and completely with the successful ending of the trouble. Fifth, in various examples of the specialist that have knowledge on populism, suggests that a compelling charm that inspires devotion in others is an important aspect (Elchardus 114-117).

Kors Visscher from Rabound Universities Nijmegen (2017) introduced a study under the title *Left to Right: On the Populist Conception of Democracy around the World*. Visscher's study introduces an alternative definition of populism as suggested and tested. Visscher introduces that it is recommended that populism is comprehended not as a philosophy by Utilizing in vogue definitions but as a conception of majority rule government. In this way, Visscher presents the way that populism as the standards of agent government, which in common Dialect tends to be called democracy—analyze and restrain this belief with what may well be called the populist conception visualization of majority rule government. Also, indicates that the declaration that populists utilize this ideation and conception is considered through many cases including the Spanish Podemos, the Venezuelan Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela, and the candidates for president-elect for the Equitable Party and the Republic Party within the USA, representative Bernard Sanders and Donald Trump.

Visscher's study suggests that these parties sign the dividing rules between subfields of populism studies, due to their origin in which they are from different continents and various ends of the ideological vision. Visscher's study asserts that the interface between populism and the popular government has been made sometime recently, but never has populism been characterized as a conception of majority rule government. Also, the hypothetical establishment of this conception of popular government is laid out; moreover, it appears where other speculations drop brief. With respect to populism as a lean belief system or fashion does not permit for the conceptual clarity to interface those parties commonly considered populist, without getting to be so wide and unclear that the term gets to be aimless.

This proposal takes after within the convention of the early works of Margaret Canovan and numerous others, who looked for the suitable uses that fit within the form of populism, as the British social and political theorist Isaiah Berlin once put it. Visscher suggests that the proposed definition should be able to bring these subfields together by defining populism as a single phenomenon.

While, the current study *Populism and Mass culture in Victor Hugo's The Miserables* and Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima*, discusses the rise of the liberal movements and its ideologies in the 20th century including populist's idea which gives people the right voice rather than the authority figures. Also, the study introduces various definitions of populism based on many scholars and political scientists who attempt to identify it according to available data. The researcher asserts that the sum of archives is restricted since not all parties have existed for as long. For instance, for the candidate chooses, as the campaign program has been considered only, which implies it was one document was accessible. Since the study is subjective in nature, the sum of information needs to be restricted, as each report is examined through near perusing and considered in its setting. The researcher presents Jan-Werner Müller view that everybody has been talking almost populism but the definitions shifted remarkably, and nearly all commitments begun with an adjustment that no one knows what populism precisely is. Yet, Müller asserts that "Populism has its debates about the populist's affirmation of the voice of this 'right' nation and demonstration that the outsiders stand outside or they are the "antagonist of the people" (Muller 5).

*Trumpocracy: The Rise of Populism in Europe and America*, (2017), is a thesis by Michael F Kickham, examines the original cause of the populist reaction that has been so important in recent western representative government. Populist's interactions have eventuated with currency over time; however, since the turn of the twenty-first century, they have appeared with rapid frequency and success. Kickham's study suggests that it is largely due to a disarticulation between political and media elites and the public. Thus, the study proposes two models, the "fragment theory" and the "feedback loop" theory to enhance the explanation of the load success of populist movements. The thesis introduced the "fragment theory" as the idea that marginalized political parties are able to challenge standard parties and gain significant back by appealing to the open on major issues that are ineffectively tended to by fundamental stream parties. It mostly applies to American legislative issues; it is not necessarily pertinent to Europe within the same way (Kickham III 4). Whereas, the "feedback loop" is presented as the thought that the marginalized candidates and parties have a shared, advantageous relationship in which the media depends on candidates for extraordinary talk and promotion income while the radical candidate or party depends on the media for authenticity. Kickham's study indicates that it is not a comprehensive diagram of patriotism or populism in each nation, it centers primarily on populism within the United States, Britain, and France. At last, this study looks at the long run of populism and whether youthful individuals will precede the later drift of populist success (Kickham 5).

The current Populism and Mess culture in Victor Hugo's *The Miserables* and Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* study presents a question whether there is a relation between Populism and nationalism, and if there are

similarities of these movements that appeared during the emergence of globalization on the outskirts of the nineteenth century and after the end of World War II (Roth 2-3). Also, the researcher identifies culture as being a significant word to define in the study of evolution, as the scientific study of the human mind and its functions, especially those affecting behaviors in a given context, political discipline, the study of humankind, and in particular, the international works and cross-cultural studies. The researcher indicated that it is very difficult to identify culture, cultural confront, and Globalization as new questions. The researcher presents Edgar Henry Schein (1928), a former professorate who defines culture in executive terms as "how people feel about the organization, the authority degree of employee involvement and commitment" (qtd.in Naylor3) .