## WHAT IS CULTURAL STUDIES ANYWAY?

by

Richard Johnson

Department of Cultural Studies University of Birmingham, Birmingham B15 2TT

September 1983

© DES & author

# WHAT IS CULTURAL STUDIES ANYWAY?

#### Introduction (1)

I do not want to attempt a definitive answer to my question. And I do not see myself as 'the Director' bringing orders from Rome to an unruly part of an empire. Nor is my question a true inquisition - which you must answer correctly. Instead the question should be asked musingly, with a slight air of bafflement: what <u>is</u> cultural studies - anyway?

It may even be as well to correct the grammar: what are cultural studies? This has the merit of admitting a plurality of answers from the different centres, not the single Centre. In Britain, cultural studies is now a movement or a network. It has is own first degrees in several polytechnics (2) and its own journals and meetings.(3) It exercises a larger influence on academic disciplines, especially on English studies, sociology, media and communication studies, linguistics and history. So it is important that the different centres communicate about their problems and that is what I want to do today.

In the first part of the paper, I want to consider some of the arguments for and against the academic codification of cultural studies. To put the question most sharply: should cultural studies aspire to be an academic discipline? In the second half of the paper I'll look at some strategies of definition short of codification, because a lot hangs, I think, on the kind of unity or coherence we seek. Finally, in by far the longest part, I want to try out some of my own preferred definitions and arguments.

## The Importance of Critique

I want to put the arguments against academic codification first, because in any academic context they are the ones most likely to be missed. A codification of methods or knowledges (instituting them, for example, in formal curricula or in courses on 'methodology') runs against some main features of cultural studies as a tradition: its openness and theoretical versatility, its reflexive even self-conscious mood, and, especially, the importance of critique. I mean critique in the fullest sense: not cricicism merely, nor even polemic, but procedures by which other traditions are approached both for what they may yield and for what they inhibit. Critique involves stealing away the more useful elements and rejecting the rest. It involves appropriation not just rejection. From this point of view cultural studies is a process, a kind of alchemy for producing useful knowledge. Codify it and you might halt its reactions.

The history of cultural studies can certainly be written from this point of view, though I have only time to illustrate this with some key cases. The earliest encounters were with literary criticism. Raymond Williams and Richard Hoggart, in their different ways, developed the Leavisite stress on literary-social evaluation, but turned the assessments from literature to everyday life.(4) The application of literary concerns to texts and practices well outside the conventional literary range has been a well-trodden route to cultural studies ever since, whether via the sociology of literature or art, or via film and media studies, or via a concern with language or Marxist critical theory. Williams' own journies

represent the exemplary odessey here, not least for their political consistency.(5) Thus the appropriations from literary studies have been deep, formative and recurrent - a theme I will return to later.

Similar appropriations have been made from history. The first important moment here was the developmenmt of the post-war traditions of social history with their focus on popular culture, or the culture of 'the people' especially in its political forms. The Communist Party Historians' Group was central here, with its 1940s and early 1950s project of anglicizing and historicising old Marxism. In a way this influence was paradoxical; perhaps that is why it was rather later and less direct than, say, Hoggart's. For the historians were less concerned with contemporary culture or even with the twentieth century, putting energies instead into understanding the long British transition from feudalism to capitalism and the popular struggles and traditions of dissent associated with it. It was this work which became a second matrix for cultural studies. One strand in our recent work has been to study this earlier project in 'popular memory' as part of a larger appropriation of social-historical approaches.(6)

Central in both literary and historical strands was the critique of old Marxism. The recovery of 'values' against Stalinism was a leading impulse of the first New Left, but the critique of economism has been the continuous thread through the whole 'crisis of Marxism' (as it is called) which has followed. Certainly cultural studies has been formed on this side of what we can also call, paradoxically, a modern Marxist revival, and in the cross-national borrowings that were so marked a feature of the 1970s. These patterns of neglects and importations are themselves a facinating topic. For the moment, it is important to note what different places the same figures have occupied in different national routes. The take-up of Althusserianism is incomprehensible outside the background of the dominant empiricism of British intellectual traditions. This feature helps to the appeal of Philosophsy, not as a technical pursuit, but as a generalised rationalism and excitement with abstract ideas. (7) Similarly, it is important to note how Gramsci, a version of whose work occupies a place of orthodoxy in Italy, was appropriated by us as a critical, heterodox figure. He provided mighty reinforcements to an already partly-formed cultural studies project, as late as the 1970s.(8)

Some students of culture remain 'marxist' in name (despite the 'crisis' and all that). It is more interesting, however, to note where cultural studies has been Marx-influenced. Everyone will have their own checklist. My own, which is not intended to sketch an orthodoxy, includes three main premises. The first is that cultural processes are intimately connected with social relations, especially with class relations and class formations, with sexual divisions, with the racial structuring of social relations and with age oppressions as a form of dependency. The second is that culture involves power and helps to produce assymetries in the abilities of individuals and social groups to define and realise their needs. And the third, which follows the other two, is that culture is neither an autonomous nor an externally determined field, but a site of social differences and struggles. For me, this by no means exhausts the elements of Marxism that remain active and alive and resourceful in the existing circumstances, provided only they, too, are critiqued, and developed in detailed studies.

Other critiques have been distinctly philosophical. Cultural studies has been marked out, in the British context, for its concern with 'theory', but the intimacy of the connection with philosophy has not been obvious, at least to me, till recently. Yet it is plain that there is a very close cousinhood between epistemological problems and positions (e.g.empiricism, realism and idealism) and the key questions of cultural theory' (e.g. economism, materialism, or the problem of culture's specific effects). Again, for me, a lot of roads lead back to Marx, but the appropriations need to be wider ones. It is interesting, for example, how much cultural studies as a project depends upon the critique of empiricism as a culturally-reductive theory, and how much we have absorbed all (or many) of the anti-empiricist currents of the last twenty years: hence the critique of positivism in social science, of empiricism in history and of models of 'bias' or 'distortion' in leftish media critiques; hence also the fairly temporary attractions of the phenomenological sociologies of the 1960s and the rationalism of the 1970s, (9) hence even the long indecisive tussle with English notions of 'experience', often using these tools.(10) Latterly there have been attempts to go beyond the rather sterile opposition of rationalism and empiricism in search of a more productive formulation of the relation between theory (or 'abstraction' as I now prefer) and 'concrete studies'.(11) 'concrete studies'.(11)

There have been tussles with sociologies of different kinds as well. The relation of cultural studies to 'social science' is a pretty ambiguous one. We have learned from sociology's concern with social theory and have taken many sociologists' topics, but we have tended to refuse sociology's methods and some features of its (more official) outlook. There are two main exceptions: the adoption of 'qualitative methods' into what I will later call a structural ethnography; and an intimate relation with certain specialist sociologies, especially crime/deviancy, education, and the sociology of sexual divisions.(12) As importantly, cultural studies has deeply influenced many sociologists so that, with the disintegration of sociology as a unified discipline, the two approaches are often indistinguishable.(13) Cultural studies can often rely, however, on the whole-hearted opposition of a quantitative, policy-related and officially-funded sociological mainstream, attached as it is, to very conservative agenda of research.

More important in our recent history have been the critiques deriving from the women's movement and from the struggles against racism.(14) These have deepened and extended the democratic and socialist commitments that were the leading principles of the first New Left. These focussed primarily on class issues, whether from the point of view of scholarship boys and girls or a middle-class dissidence. If the personal was already political in the first phase of CND, it was oddly ungenderd. The democratic foundations of the early movements were therefore insecurely based as a new form of politics. Similarly there were (and are) deep problems about the ethnoand anglo-centricity of key texts and themes in our tradition.(15) The contemporary salience in Britain of a Conservative-nationalist and racist politics means these flaws are all the more serious. It is incorrect therefore to see feminism or anti-racism as some kind of interruption or diversion from an original class politics and its associated research programme, on the contrary, it is these movements that have kept the new

left new.

The specific results for cultural studies have been no less important.(16) Much more has been involved than the original question — 'what about women?' Feminism has influenced everyday ways of working and brought a greater recognition of the way that productive results depend upon supportive relationships. It has uncovered some unacknowledged premises of 'left' intellectual work and the masculine interests that held them in place. It has produced new objects of study and forced a rethink of old ones. In media studies, for example, it has shifted attention from the 'masculine' genre of news and current affairs to the importance of 'light entertainment'. It has aided a more general turn from older kinds of 'ideology critique' (which centred on maps of meaning or version of reality) to approaches that centre on social identities, subjectivities, popularity and pleasure.(17) Feminists also seem to me to have made a particular contribution to bridging the humanities/social science divide by bringing literary categories and 'aesthetic' concerns to bear on social issues.

I hope these cases show how central critique has been and how connnected with political causes in the broader sense. A number of questions follow. If we have progressed by critique, are there not dangers that codifications will involve systematic closure? Anyway, are there not enough important objects of study irrespective of general definitions? Why not carry out raids from existing work rather than formalise achievements? Why not continue to work freely across disciplinary boundaries, rather than erect new ones? If the momentum is to strive for really useful knowledge, will academic codification help this? Is not the priority to become more 'popular' rather than more academic?

These questions gain further force from immediate contexts. Cultural studies is now a widely taught subject, especially in tertiary education, though not always under this name. Unless we are very careful students will encounter it as an orthodoxy, especially, perhaps, where teacher attachments to the subject are pragmatic. In any case, students now have lectures, courses and examinations in the study of culture. In these circumstances, how can they occupy a critical tradition critically? The problem is especially acute when the impulses that made us critics may be no longer immediate to our students. These are not insuperable problems but they need constant discussion and experimentation. There is no better illustration of a general point - that cultural studies has to be associated with educational innovation, not as an optional extra, but as an integral part of the practice itself.

This is reinforced by what we know - or are learning - about academic and other disciplinary dispositions of knowledge. Recognition of the forms of power associated with knowledge may turn out to be one of the leading insights of the 1970s. It is a very general theme: in the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault,(18) in the radical philosophers' and radical scientists' critiques of science or scientism, in radical education philosophy and sociology and in feminist critiques of the dominant academic forms.(19) There has been a marked change from the singular affirmation of science in the early 1970s (with Althusser as one main figure) to the dissolution of such certainties (with Foucault one point of reference) in

our own times. Academic knowledge forms (or some aspects of them) now look like part of the problem, rather than part of the solution. In fact, the problem remains much as it has always been - what can be won from the academic concerns and skills to provide elements of useful knowledge?

## Pressures to Define

Yet there are important pressures to define. There is the little daily politics of the college or the school - not so little since jobs, resources and opportunities for useful work are involved. Cultural studies has won real spaces here and they have to be maintained and extended. The context of ('big') politics makes this still more important. We have a Conservative Counter-Reformation in Britain too. One manifestation is a vigorous assault on public educational institutions, both by cutting finance and by defining usefulness in strictly capitalist terms. We need definitions of cultural studies to struggle effectively in these contexts, to make claims for resources, to clarify our minds in the rush and muddle of everyday work, and to decide priorities for teaching and research.

Host decisively, perhaps, we need ways of viewing a vigorous but fragmented field of study, if not as a unity at least as a whole. If we do not discuss central directions of our own, we will be pulled hither and thither by the demands of academic self-reproduction and by the academic disciplines from which our subject, in part, grows. There is a welcome tendency for cultural practitioners (media workers, designers, artists, photographers etc) to look to cultural studies to help with problems of practice, but most students of culture learn their skills from adcademic practices. Academic tendencies, then, tend to be reproduced on the new ground: there are distinctively literary and distinctively sociological or historical versions of cultural studies, just as there are approaches distinguished by theoretical partisanship. This would not matter if any one discipline or problematic could grasp the objects of culture as a whole, but this is not, in my opinion, the case. In my view each approach tells us about a tiny aspect. If this is right, we need a particular kind of defining activity: on which reviews existing approaches, identifies their characteristic objects and their good sense, but also the limits of their competence. Actually it is not definition or codification that we need, but pointers to further transformations. This is not a question of aggregating existing approaches (a bit of sociology here, a spot of linguistics there) but of reforming the elements of different approaches in their relations to each other. I hope to make this very general statement more concrete in what follows.

## Strategies of Definition

There are several different starting-points. Cultural studies can be defined as an intellectual and political tradition, in its relations to the academic disciplines, in terms of theoretical paradigms, or by its characteristic objects of study. The last starting-point now interests me most; but first a word about the others.

We need histories of cultural studies to trace the recurrent dilemmas and to give perspective to our current projects. But the informed sense of a 'tradition' also works in a more 'mythical' mode to produce a collective

identity and a shared sense of purpose. And I do believe that there are some very powerful continuities to be defined. To me, a lot of them are wrapped up in single term 'culture', which remains useful not as a rigorous category, but as a kind of summation of a history. It references in particular the effort to heave the study of culture from its old inegalitarian anchorages in high-artistic connoisseurship and in discourse. of enormous condescension, on the not-culture of the masses. Behind this intellectual redefinition there is a somewhat less consistent political pattern, a continuity that runs from the first new left and the first Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to the post-1968 currents. Of course there have been marked political antagonisms within the new left and between new left politics and the intellectual tendencies it has produced. The intellectual detours have often seemed politically self-indulgent. Yet what unites this sequence is the struggle to reform 'old left' politics. This includes the critique of 'old Marxism' but also of old social-democracy too. It involves a constructive quarrel with dominant styles within 'the Labour Hovement', especially the neglect of cultural conditions of politics, and a mechanical narrowing of politics itself. This is a loose and a variable political connection, but it is a real one, sometimes investing in autonomous political forms, sometimes forced into intellectual isolation, sometimes finding in Labour, Communist or other radical parties a useful sphere of action.

It is this sense of a connection that has been so important for cultural studies. It has meant that the research and the writing has been 'political', but not in any immediate pragmatic sense. Cultural studies is not a research programme for a particular party or tendency. Still less does it subordinate intellectual energies to any established doctrines. It has quite enough to do to hold together its own immediate constitutencies.

This political—intellectual stance is possible because the politics which we aim to create is not yet fully formed. Just as the politics involves a long haul, so the research must be as wide—ranging and as profound, but also as politically—directed, as we can make it. Above all, perhaps, we have to fight against the disconnection that occurs when cultural studies is inhabited for merely academic purposes or when enthusiasm for (say) popular cultural forms is divorced from the analysis of power and of social possibilities.

I have said a lot already about the second definitional strategy - charting our negative/positive relation to the academic disciplines. I just want to stress the key point. Cultural processes do not correspond to the contours of academic knowledges, as they are. No one academic discipline grasps the full complexity (or seriousness) of the study. Cultural studies must needs be inter-disciplinary (and sometimes anti-disciplinary) in its tendency. I find it hard, for example, to think of myself as a 'historian' now, though perhaps historian-of-the-contemporary is a rough approximation in some contexts. Yet some 'historians' virtues seem useful for cultural studies - concerns for movement, particularity, complexity and context, for instance. I still love that combination of dense description, complex explanation and subjective even romantic evocation, which I find in the best historical writing. I still find most sociological description thin and obvious and much literary discourse clever but superficial. On the other hand the rooted empiricis of historical practice is a real liability often blocking

a proper cultural reading. I am sure it is the same for other disciplines too. Of course, there are lots of half-way houses, many of them serviceable workshops for cultural study, but the <u>direction</u> of movement, to my mind, has to be out, and away, and into more dangerous places.

Our third definitional strategy - the analysis and comparison of theoretical problematics - was, until recently, the favourite one. I still see this as an essential component in all cultural study, but it has some difficulties as the main definitional strategy, especially as a starting-point. The main difficulty is that abstract forms of discourse disconnect ideas from the social complexities that first produced them, or to which they originally referred. Unless these are continuously reconstructed and held in the mind as a reference point, theoretical clarification acquires an independent momentum. In teaching situations or similar interchanges, theoretical discourses may seem, to the hearer, a form of intellectual gymnastics. The point appears to be to learn a new language, which takes time and much effort, in order, merely, to feel at ease with it. In the meantime there is something very silencing and perhaps oppressive about new forms of discourse. I think that this has been a fairly common experience, for students, on the new cultural studies programmes, even where, eventually, 'theory' has conferred new powers of understanding and articulacy. This is one set of reasons why many of us now find it useful to start from concrete cases, whether to teach theory historically, as a continuing, contextualising debate about cultural issues, or to hook up theoretical points and contemporary experiences.

Some theoretical issues of the 1970s also seem less pressing. This is partly a criticism of the rationalist mode in which they are posed, but also a reflection of the working through of theoretical difficulties themselves. For me, for instance, the 'culturalist'/'structuralist' opposition is no longer the inhibiting 'impasse' it was four or five years ago. This is because, with different people, I've worked through the range of difficulties posed in that form and in the oppositions structure/struggle, culture/ideology, theory/concrete studies etc.(21) I see the outcome as a strengthened tradition of cultural analysis — of our tradition in the sense sketched above — and one that has taken note of and incorporated the full weight of structuralist critique. This does not mean, of course, that there are no theoretical problems left. There are many, especially in the broad realm of what I would call post-structuralist theories of subjectivity. But they no longer have the same inhibiting force or urgency and seem best worked through in particular projects rather than big 'in-general' debates.

# Simple Abstractions: Consciousness, Subjectivity

I have suggested already that 'culture' has value as a reminder but not as a precise category. Raymond Williams has excavated its immense historical repertoire.(22) There is no solution to this polysemy: it is a rationalist illusion to think we can say 'henceforth this term will mean...', and expect a whole history of connotations (not to say a whole future) to fall smartly into line. So although I fly culture's flag anyway, and continue to use the word where imprecision matters, definitionally I seek other terms.

My key terms instead are 'consciousness' and 'subjectivity' with the key problems not lying somewhere in the relation between the two. For me cultural studies is about the historical forms of consciousness or subjectivity, or the subjective forms we live by, or, in a rather perilous compression, perhaps a reduction, the subjective side of social relations. These definitions adopt and gloss some of the Harx's simple abstractions, but value them also for their contemporary resonance. I think of 'consciousness', first, in the sense in which it appears in The German Ideology. As a (fifth) premise for understanding human history, Marx and Engels add that human beings 'also possess consciousness'.(23) This usage is echoed in later works too. Marx implies it when in Capital, Volume I, he distinguishes the worst architect from the best bee by the fact that the architect's product has 'already existed ideally' before it is produced.(24) It has existed in the consciousness, the imagination. In other words, human beings are characterised by an ideal of imaginary life, where will is cultivated, dreams dreampt, and categories developed. In his earliest work Marx called this a feature of 'species being',(25) later he would have called it a 'general-historical' category, true of all history, a simple or universal abstraction. (26) Although the usage is less clear (and I need to do more work on it) Marx also habitually refers to the subjective side' or 'subjective aspect' of social processes.

Of course, all the Marx passages carry colossal incrustrations of commentary and meaning. In Marxist discourse (I am less sure of Marx) 'consciousness' has overwhelmingly cognitive connotations: it has to do with knowledge (especially correct knowledge?) of the social and the natural worlds. I think Marx's consciousness was wider than this. It embraced the notion of a consiousness of self and an active mental and moral self-production. There is no doubt, however, that he was especially interested in conceptually-organised knowledge, especially in his discussions of particular ideological forms (e.g. political economy, llegelian idealism etc). In his most interesting text on the character of thinking (the 1857 Introduction to the <u>Grundrisse</u>) other modes of consciousenss, the aesthetic, the religious etc, were bracketted out.(27)

In any case, both terms must be read with specifically modern preoccupations in mind. 'Subjectivity' is especially here, challenging the absences in 'consciousness'. Subjectivity includes the possibility, for example, that some elements or impulses are subjectively active - they move us - without being consciously known. It highlights elements ascribed (in the misleading conventional distinction) to aesthetic or emotional life and to coventionally 'feminine' codes. It focusses on the 'who I am' or, as important, the 'who we are' of culture, on individual and collective identitites. It connects with the most important structuralist insight: that subjectivities are produced not given and are therefore the objects of inquiry, not the premises or starting-points. If, therefore, I were forced to choose, I would prefer the more modern term, especially if the full force of possible collective identities (implicity in 'consciousness') were preserved.

In all my thinking about cultural studies I find the notion of 'forms' also repeatedly recurs. Lying behind this usage are two major influences. Marx continuously uses the terms 'forms' or 'social forms' or 'historical forms' when he is examining in <u>Capital</u> but (especially in the <u>Grundrisse</u>) the

various moments of economic circulation: he analyses the 'money form', the 'commodity form', the form of abstract labour etc. Less often he used the same language in writing of 'consciousness' or subjectivity. The most famous instance is from the 1859 <a href="Preface">Preface</a>:

a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic - in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. (underlining supplied) (28).

The passage has been much discussed - for Marx's scientism, for the base/superstructure metaphor and for a different more expanded notion of ideology than the negative or critical one which Marx usually employs. What interests me about it is the implication of a different parallel project to Harx's own. His preoccupation was with those social forms through which human beings produce and reproduce their material life. He looked at social processes as a whole, but from this point of view. He abstracted, analysed and sometimes reconstituted in more concrete accounts the economic forms and tendencies of social life. It seems to me that cultural studies too is concerned with whole societies (or broader social formations) and how they move. But it looks at social processes from another complimentary point of view. Our project is to abstract, describe and reconstitute in concrete studies the social forms through which human beings 'live', become conscious, sustain themselves subjectively. This includes the 'ideological forms' which Harx lists but also, of course, such everyday phenomena as the stories or projections which you or I tell ourselves when we get up of a morning, which help us to get up and get going - or send us crawling back under the bedclothes.

The stress on 'forms' is reinforced, for me, by some broad structuralist insights. These have drawn out the structured character of the forms we inhabit subjectively: language, signs, ideologies, discourses, myths. They have pointed to regularities and principles of organization - of form-fulness if you like. Though often pitched at too high a level of abstraction (e.g.language in general rather than languages in particular), they have strengthened our sense of the hardness, determinacy and, indeed, actual existence of social forms which exercise their pressures through the subjective side of social life.

This is not to say that the description of form, in this sense, is enough. It is important to see the historical nature of subjective forms too. 'Mistorical' in this context means two rather different things. First, we need to look at forms of subjectivity from the point of view of their pressures or tendencies, especially their contradictory sides. Even in abstract analysis, in other words, we should look for principles of movement as well as combination. Second, of course, we need histories of the forms of subjectivity where we can see how these tendencies are modified by the other social determinations, including those that work through material needs.

As soon as we pose this as a project, we can see how the simple abstractions which we have so far used, do not take us very far. Where are

all the intermediate categories that would allow us to start to specify the subjective social forms and the different moments of their existence? Yet I hope that what I have said so far may distance us from all the partial and trivial views of cultural studies which, despite the original redefinition of culture, tend to return. Given this definition of 'culture', we cannot limit the field to specialised practices, particular genres, or popular leisure pursuits. All social practices can be looked at from a cultural point of view, for the work they do, subjectively. This goes, for instance, for factory work, for trades union organisation, for life in and around the supermarket, as well certainly for obvious targets like 'the media' (misleading unity') and its (mainly domestic) modes of consumption.

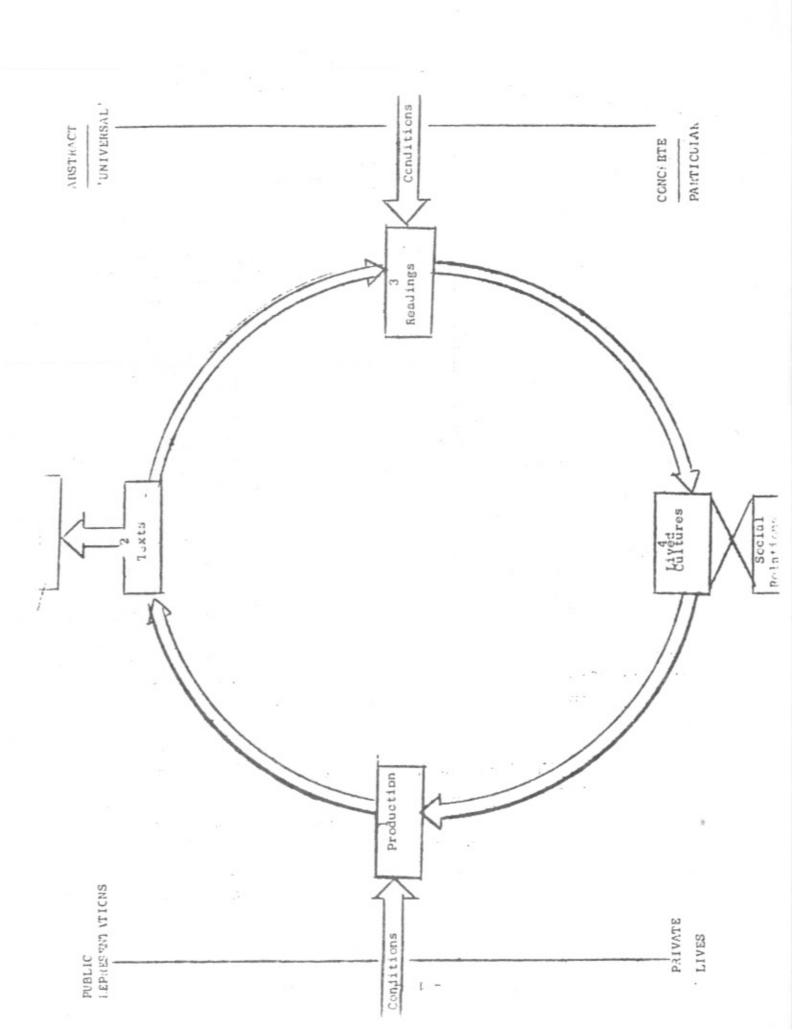
### Circuits of Capital - Circuits of Culture

So we need, first, a much more complex model, with rich intermediate categories, more layered than the existing general theories. It is here that I find it helpful to pose a kind of realist hypothesis about the existing state of theories. What if existing theories — and the modes of research associated with them — actually express different sides of the same complex process? What if they are all true, but only as far as they go, true for those parts of the process which they have most clearly in view? What if they are all false or incomplete, liable to mislead, in that they are only partial, and therefore cannot grasp the process as a whole? What if attempts to 'stretch' this competence (without modifying the theory) lead to really gross and dangerous (ideological?) conclusions?

I certainly do not expect immediate assent to the epistemological premises of this argument. I hope it will be judged in the light of its results. But its immediate merit is that it helps to explain one key feature: the theoretical and disciplinary fragmentations we have already noted. Of course these could be explained by the political and social and discursive differences we have also considered: especially the intellectual and academic divisions of labour and the social reproduction of specialist forms of cultural capital. But I find it more satisfactory to relate these manifest differences to the very processes they seek to describe. Maybe academic divisions also correspond to rather different social positions and viewpoints from which different aspects of cultural circuits acquire the greatest salience. This would explain not merely the fact of different theories, but the recurrence and persistence of differences, especially between large clusters of approaches with certain affinities.

The best way to take such an argument further would be to hazard some provisional description of the different aspects on moments of cultural processes to which we could then relate the different theoetical problematics. Such a model could not be a finished abstraction or theory, if such can exist. Its value would have to be heuristic or illustrative. It might help to explain why theories differ, but would not, in itself, sketch the ideal approach. At most it might serve as a guide to the desirable directions of future approaches, or to the ways in which they might be modified or combined. It is important to bear these caveats in mind in what follows.

I find it easiest (in a long CCCS tradition) to present a model diagrammatically, then explain it further.



The diagram is intended to represent a circuit of the production, circulation and consumption of cultural products. Each box represents a moment in this circuit. Each moment or aspect depends upon the others and is indispensable to the whole. Each, however, is distinct and involves characertistic changes of form. It follows that if we are placed at one point on the circuit, we do not necessarily see what is happening at The forms that have most salience for us at one point may be very others. different from those at another. Processes disappear in results.(29) All cultural products, for example, require to be produced, but the conditions of their production cannot be inferred by scrutinising them as 'texts'. Similarly all cultural products are 'read' by persons other than professional analysts (if they weren't there would be little profit in their production), but we cannot predict these uses from our own analysis, or, indeed, from the conditions of production. As anyone knows, all our communications are liable to return to us in unrecognisable or at least transformed terms. We often call this misunderstanding or, if we are being very academic, mis-readings. But these 'misses' are so common (across the range of a whole society) that we might well call them normal. To understand the transformations, then, we have to understand specific conditions of consumption or 'reading'. These include asymetries of resources and power, material and cultural. They also include the existing ensembles of cultural elements already active within particular social milieux ('lived cultures' in the diagram) and the social relations on which these combinations depend. These reservoirs of discourses and meanings are in turn a raw material for fresh cultural production. They are indeed among the specifically cultural conditions of production. Offsetland

In our societies, many forms of cultural production also take the form of capitalist commodities. In this case we have to supply specifically capitalist conditions of production (see the arrow pointing to moment 1) and specifically capitalist conditions of consumsption (see the arrow pointing to moment 3). Of course this does not tell us all there is to know about these moments, which may be structured on other principles as well, but in these cases the circuit is, at one and the same time, a circuit of capital and its expanded reproduction and a circuit of the production and circulation of subjective forms. Some implications of the circuit may be clearer if we take a particular case. We can, for example, whizz a Mini-Metro car around it. I choose the Mini-Metro because it is a pretty standard later twentieth-century capitalist commodity that happened to carry a particularly rich accumulation of meaning. The Metro was the car that was going to save the British car industry, by beating rivals from the market and by solving British Leyland's acute problems of industrial discipline. It came to signify solutions to internal and external national threats. The advertising campaigns around its launching were remarkable. In one television advert, a band of Mini-Metros pursued a gang of foreign imports up to (and apparently over) the White Cliffs of Dover, whence they fled in what looked remarkably like landing-craft. This was a Dunkirk in reverse with the Metro as nationalist hero. Certainly these are some of the forms - nationalist epic, popular memory of World War II, internal/external threat - that I would want to abstract for further formal scrutiny. But this raises interesting questions too about what constitutes the 'text' (or raw material for such abstractions) in these cases. Would it be enough to analyse the design of the Metro itself as Barthes once analysed the lines of a Citroen? How could we exclude the adverts and

garage showroom displays? Shouldn't we include, indeed, the Metro's place in discourses upon national economic recovery and moral renaissance?

Supposing that we answered these questions affirmatively (and gave ourselves a lot more work) there would still be unposed questions. What was made of the Metro phenomenon, more privately, by particular groups of consumers and readers? It would be unwise to infer this from the public representations. For one thing, we would expect great diversity of response. Leyland workers, for example, were likely to view the car differently from those who only bought it. Beyond this, the Metro (and its transformed meanings) found some kind of lodgement in the ways of life and subjectivities of those groups for which it had a salience. It became a way of getting to work or picking the kids up from school. But it may also have helped to produce for example orientations towards working life connecting industrial 'peace' with national prosperity. Then, of course, the products of this whole circuit returned once more to the moment of production - as profits for fresh investment, but also as market researchers' findings or 'popularity' (capital's own 'cultural studies'), and as a stock of public and private meanings. The subsequent use, by British Leyland management of similar strategies for selling cars and weaking workers suggests considerable accumulations (of both kinds) from this episode. Indeed the Metro became a little paradigm, though not the first, for a much more diffused ideological form, which we might term, with some compression, 'the nationalist sell'.

#### Publication and Abstraction

So far I have talked rather generally about the 'transformations' that occur around the circuit without specifying any. In so brief a discussion, it is only possible to specify two related changes of form. These are indicated on the left and right hand sides of the circuit. The circuit involves movements between the public and the private but also movements between more abstract and more concrete forms. These two poles are quite closely related, private forms are more concrete, and more particular in their scope of reference; public forms are more abstract but also apply over a more general range. This may be clearer if we return to the Metro and, thence, to different traditions of cultural study.

As a designer's idea, as a manger's 'concept', the Metro remained private. It may even have been conceived in secret. It was known to a chosen few. At this stage indeed, it would have been hard to separate it out from the social occasions at which it was discussed: board-room meetings, chats at the bar, Saturday's game of golf? But as ideas were 'put on paper' it started to take a more objective and more public form. The crunch came when decisions were made to go ahead with 'the concept' and, then again, to 'go public'. Finally, the Metro-idea, shortly followed by the Metro-car, moved into the full glare of publicity. It acquired a more general significance, gathering around it, in fact, some pretty portentious notions. It became a great public issue, or a symbol for such. It also took shape as an actual product and set of texts. In one obvious sense it was made 'concrete': not only could you kick it, you could drive it. But in another sense, this Metro was rather abstract. There it stood, in the showroom, surrounded by its texts of Britishness, a shiny, zippy thing. Yet wo would know, from this display, who conceived it, how it was made

who suffered for it, or indeed what possible use it was going to have for the harassed-looking woman with two children in tow, who had just walked into the showroom.

To draw out more general points, three things occurred in the process of publication. First, the car (and its texts) became public in the obvious sense: it acquired if not a universal at least a more general significance. Its messages too were generalised, ranging rather freely across the social surface. Second, at the level of meaning, publication involved abstraction. The car and its messages could now be viewed in relative isolation from the social conditions that formed it. Thirdly, it was subjected to a process of public evaluation ('great public issue') on many different scales: as a technical-social instrument, as a national symbol, as a stake in class war, in relation to competing models etc. It became a site of formidable struggles over meaning. In this process it was made to 'speak', evaluatively, for 'us (British) all'. Note, how, in the moment of consumption or reading, represented here by the woman and her children (who have decided views about cars), we are forced back again to the private, the particular and concrete, however publicly displayed the raw materials for their readings may be.

I want to suggest that these processes are intrinsic to cultural circuits under modern social conditions, and that they are produced by, and are productive of, relations of power. But the most germane evidence for this, lies in some repeated differences in the forms of cultural study.

#### Forms of Culture-Forms of Study

One major division, theoretical and methodological, runs right through cultural studies. On the one side there are those who insist that 'cultures' must be studied as a whole, and in situ, located, in their material context. Suspicious of abstractions and of 'theory', their practical theory is in fact 'culturalist'. They are often attracted to those formulations in Raymond Williams or E.P. Thompson that speak of cultures as 'whole ways of life' or 'whole ways of struggle'. Methodologically, they stress the importance of complex, concrete description, which grasps particularly, the unity or homology of cultural forms and material life. Their preferences are therefore for social-historical recreations of cultures or cultural movements, or for 'ethnographic' cultural description, or for those kinds of writings (e.g. autobiography, oral history, or realist forms of fiction) which recreate socially located 'experience'.

On the other side, there are those who stress the relative independence or effective autonomy of subjective forms and means of signification. The practical theory here is usually 'structuralist', but in a form which privileges the discursive construction of situations and subjects. The preferred method is to treat the forms abstractly, sometimes quite formalistically, uncovering the mechanisms by which meaning is produced in language, narrative or other kinds of sign-system. If the first set of methods are usually derived from sociological, anthropological or social-historical roots, the second set owe most to literary criticism, and especially the traditions of literary modernism and linguistic

#### formalism.(31)

In the long run, this division is, in my opinion, a sure impediment to the development of cultural studies. I will return to its limits and its effects. But it is important first to note the logic of such a division in relation to our sketch of cultural processes as a whole. If we compare, in more detail, what we have called the public and private forms of culture, the relation may be clearer. (32)

Private forms are not necessarily private in the usual sense of personal or individual, though they may be both. They may also be shared, communal and 'social' in ways that public forms are not. It is their particularity or concreteness that marks them as private. They relate to the characteristic life experiences and historically-constructed needs of particular social categories. They do not pretend to define the world for those in other social groups. They are limited, local, modest. They do not aspire to 'universality'. They are also deeply embedded in everyday social intercourse. In the course of their daily lives, women go shopping and meet and discuss the various doings of themselves, their families and their neighbours. Gossip is a private form deeply connected with the occasions and relations of being a woman in our society. Of course, it is possible to describe the discursive forms of gossip abstractly, stressing for instance the forms of reciprocity in speech, but this does seem to do a particular violence to the material, ripping it from the immediate and visible context in which these texts of talk arose. An even more striking case is the working-class culture of the shop floor. As Paul Willis has shown there is a particularly close relationship here between the physical action of labour and the practical jokes and common sense of the workplace.(33) The whole discursive mode of the culture is to refuse the separations of manual practice and mental theory characteristic of public and especially academic knowledge forms. In neither case - gossip and shop-floor culture - is there a marked division of labour in culture production. Nor are there technical instruments of production of any great complexity, though forms of speech and the symbolic uses of the human body are complex enough. Hor are the consumers of cultural forms formally or regularly distinguished from their producers, or far removed from them, in time or space.

I would argue that particular forms of inquiry and of representation have been developed to handle these features of private forms. Researchers, writers and all kinds of rapporteurs have adjusted their methods to what have seemed the most evident features of 'culture' in this moment. They have sought to hold together the subjective and more objective moments, often not distinguishing them theoretically, or, in practice, refusing the distinction altogether. It is this stress on 'experience' (the term that prefectly captures this conflation or identity) that has united the practical procedures of social historians, ethnographers and those interested, say, in 'working-class writing'.

Compared with the thick, conjoined tissue of face-to-face encounters, the television programme 'going out on the air' seems a very abstracted, even ethereal product. For one thing it is so much more plainly a representation of 'real life' (at best) than the (equally constructed) narratives of everyday life. It takes a separated abstracted or objective

form, in the shape of the programme/text. It comes at us from a special, fixed place, a box of standardised shape and size in the corner of our sitting room. Of course, we apprehend it socially, culturally, communally, but it still has this separated moment, much more obviously than the private text of speech. This separated existence is certainly associated with an intricate division of labour in production and distribution and with the physical and temporal distance between the moment of production and that of consumption, characteristic of public knowledge forms in general. Public media of this kind, indeed, permit quite extraordinary manipulations of space and time as, for example, in the television revival of old movies.

I would argue, again, that this apparent abstraction in the actual forms of public communication underlies the whole range of methods that focus on the construction of reality through symbolic forms themselves - with language as the first model, but the key moment as the objectification of languaguage in text. It would be fascinating to pursue an historical inquiry linked to this hypothesis which would attempt to unravel the relationship between the real abstractions of communicative forms and the mental abstractions of cultural theorists. I do not suppose that the two processes go easily hand in hand, or that changes occur synchronously, but I am sure that the notion of 'text' - as something we can isolate, fix, pin down and scrutinise - depends upon the extensive circulation of cultural products which have been divorced from the immediate conditions of their production and have a moment of suspension, so to speak, before they are consumed.

## Public-ation and Power

There is a real circlation of forms. Cultural production often involves publication, the making public of private forms. On the other side, public texts are consumed or read in 'private'. A girls' magazine, like <u>Jackie</u> for instance,(34) picks up and represents some elements of the private cultures of femininity by which young girls live their lives. It instantaneously renders these elements open to public evaluation — as for example, 'girls stuff', 'silly' or 'trivial'. It also generalises these elements within the scope of the particular readership, creating a little public of its own. The magazine is then a raw material for thousands of girl-readers who make their own <u>re-appropriations</u> of the elements first borrowed from their lived culture and forms of subjectivity.

It is important not to assume that public-ation only and always works in dominating or in demeaning ways. We need careful analyses of where and how public representations work to seal social groups into the existing relations of dependence and where and how they have some emancipatory tendency. Short of this detail, we can nonetheless insist on the importance of power as an element in an analysis, by suggesting the main ways it is active in the public-private relationship.

Of course there are profound differences in terms of access to the public sphere. Many social concerns may not acquire publicity at all. It is not merely that they remain private, but that they are actively privatised, held at the level of the private. Here, so far as formal politics and

State actions are concerned, they are invisible, without public remedy. This means not only that they have to be borne, but that a consciousness of them, as evils, is held at a level of implicit or communal meanings. Within the group a knowledge of such sufferings may be profound, but not of such a kind that expects relief, or finds the sufferings strange.

As often, perhaps, such private concerns do appear publicly, but only on certain terms, and therefore transformed and framed in particular ways. They may be ranked low in public evaluation. The concerns of gossip, for example, do appear publicly in a wide variety of forms, but usually in the guise of 'entertainment'. They appear, for instance, in soap opera, or are 'dignified' only by their connection with the private lives of royalty, staged as comedy or variety acts. Such framings in terms of code or genre the basis of a social alternative, but they certainly work to contain them within the dominant public definitions of significance.

Public representations may also act in more openly punitive or stigmatising ways. In these forms the elements of private culture are robbed of authenticity or rationality, and constructed as dangerous, deviant, or dotty.(35) Similarly the experiences of subordinated social groups are presented as pathological, problems for intervention not in the organisation of society as a whole, but in the attitudes or behaviour of the suffering group itself. This is 'representation' with a vengeance: external intervention.

If space allowed it would be imporant to compare the different ways in which these processes may occur across the major social relationships of class, gender, race and age-dependence. But one further general mechanism is the construction, in the public sphere, of definitions of the public/private division itself. Of course, these sound quite neutral definitions: 'everyone' agrees that the most important public issues are that other issues - family life, sexuality for example - are essentially private. The snag is that the dominant definitions of significance are quite socially specific and, in particular, tend to correspond to masculine and middle-class structures of 'interest' (in both the meanings of this term). It is partly because they start fundamentally to challenge these dispositions that some feminisms, the peace movements and the Green parties are amongst the most subversive of modern developments.

I have stressed these elements of power, at the risk of some diversion from the main argument, because cultural studies practices must be viewed within this context. Whether it takes as its main object the more abstracted public knowledges and their underlying logics and definitions, or it searches out the private domains of culture, cultural studies is necessarily and deeply implicated in relations of power. It forms a part of the very circuits which it seeks to describe. It may, like the academic and the professional knowledges, police the public-private relation, or it subjectivities of subordinated groups, or in struggles to represent them more adequately than before. It may become part of the problem, or a part

of the solution. That is why as we turn to the particular forms of cultural study, we need to ask not only about objects, theories and methods, but also about the political limits and potentials of different standpoints around the circuit.

#### From the Perspective of Production

This is a particularly wide and heterogeneous set of approaches. For I include under this head, approaches with very different political tendencies, from the theoretical knowledges of advertisers, persons involved in public relations for large organisations, many liberal-pluralist theorists of 'public communication' and the larger part of writings on culture within the Marxist and other 'critical' traditions.(36) As between disciplines, it is sociologists or social historians or political economists, or those concerned with the political organisation of culture, who have most commonly taken this viewpoint. Literary approaches have often stopped short at the biography of authors and their 'age'. A more systematic approach to cultural production has been a relatively recent feature of the sociology of literature or art of popular cultural forms.(37) These concerns parallel debates about the mass media which are often carried within political science or political sociology, and were originally deeply influenced by the early experiences of state propaganda under the conditions of the modern media, especially in Nazi Germany. Crossing the more aesthetic and political debates has been the pervasive concern with the influence of capitalist conditions of production and the mass market in cultural commodities on the 'authenticity' of culture, including the popular arts. (38) Studies of production within these traditions have been equally varied: from grandiose critiques of the political economy and cultural pathology of mass communications (e.g. the early Frankfurt School)(39) to empirically very close inspections of the production of news or particular documentary series or soap operas on television.(40) In a very different way still, much modern social history has been concerned with 'cultural production' though this time the cultural production of social movements or even whole social classes. It is important to accept E.P. Thompson's invitation to read The Making of the English Working Class from this 'cultural' standpoint, Paul Willis' work, especially Learning to Labour representing in many ways the 'sociological' equivalent of this historiographical tradition.(41).

What unites these diverse works, however, is that they all take, if not the viewpoint of cultural producers, at least the <a href="theoretical">theoretical</a> standpoint of 'production'. They are interested, first and foremost, in the production and the social organisation of cultural forms. Of course, it is here that Marxist paradigms have occupied a very central place, even where continuously argued against. Early Marxist accounts asserted the primacy of production conditions and often reduced these to some narrowly-conceived version of 'the forces and the relations of production'. Even such reductive analysis had a certain value: culture was understood as a social product, not a matter of individual creativity only. It was therefore subject to political organisation, whether by the capitalist state or by parties of social opposition. (42) In later Harxist accounts, the historical forms of the production and organisation of culture - 'the superstructures' has begun to be elaborated. In Gramsci's writing the

study of culture from the viewpoint of production becomes a more general interest with the cultural dimensions of struggles and strategies as a whole. The longstanding and baneful influence of 'high-culture' or specialist definitions of 'Culture' within Marxism was also definitively challenged.(43) Gramsci was, perhaps, the first major Marxist theorist and communist leader to take the cultures of the popular classes as a serious object of study and of political practice. All the more modern features of cultural organisation also start to appear in his work: he starts to write of cultural organisers/producers not just as little knots of 'intellectuals' on the old revolutionary or Bolshevik model but as whole social strata concentrated around particular institutions - schools, colleges, the academic specialisms, the law, the press, the state bureaucracies and the political parties. Again, it would be interesting to trace this theoretical movement in its connections with social changes, Gramsci's own location being especially fascinating here, pointing back to the Machiavellian, Jacobin and Bolshevik models and forward to 'the modern Prince'.(44)

Gramsci's work is the most sophisticated and fertile development of a traditional Marxist approach via cultural production. Yet I think that Gramsci remains much more the 'Leninist' than is sometimes appreciated in new left or academic debates in Britain.(45) From the work available in English, it seems to me he was less interested in how cultural forms work, subjectively, than in how to 'organise' them externally. I wonder if I am alone, for example, in feeling real disappointment in his accounts of a possible mass attachment to 'the philosophy of praxis'? He seems here to fall back on a rather mechanical adoption or depends too much on a borrowed and unspecified notion of 'faith'.(46)

#### Limits of the Viewpoint of Production

More generally, I find two recurrent limits to looking at culture from this viewpoint. The first difficulty is the familiar one of 'economism', though it is useful, I hope, to restate the problem in a different way. There is a tendency to neglect what is specific to cultural production in this model. Cultural production is assimilated to the model of capitalist (usually) production in general, without sufficient attention to the dual nature of the circuit of cultural commodities. In this case, for instance, the conditions of production include not merely the material means of production and the capitalist organisation of labour, but a stock of already existing cultural elements drawn from the reservoirs of lived culture or from the already public fields of discourse. This raw material is structured not only by capitalist production imperatives (eg. commodified) but also by the indirect result of capitalist and other social relations on the existing rules of language and discourse, especially, for example, class and gender-based struggles in their effects on the different social symbols and signs. As against this, Marxist 'political economy' still goes for the more brutally-obvious 'determinations' - especially mechanisms like competition, monopolistic control, and imperial expansion.(47) This is why the claim of some 'semiologies' to provide an alternative 'materialist' analysis does have some force. (48) Many approaches to production, in other words, can be faulted on their chosen ground: as accounts of cultural production, of the production of subjective forms, they tell us at most about some 'objective' conditions

and the work of some social sites - typically of the ideological work of capitalist business (eg. advertising, the work of the commercial media) rather than that of the political parties, the schools, or the apparatuses of 'high culture'.

The second difficulty is not 'economism' but what we might call 'productivism'. The two are often combined but are analytically distinct. Gramsci's Marxism, for instance, is certainly not 'economistic', but it is, arguably, 'productivist'. The problem here is the tendency to infer the character of a cultural product and of its social use from the conditions of is production, as though, in cultural matters, production determines all. The common sense forms of this inference are familiar: we need only to trace an idea to its source to declare it 'bourgeois' or 'ideological' hence 'the bourgeois novel', 'bourgeois science', 'bourgeois ideology' and, of course, all the 'proletarian' equivalents. Most critics of this reduction attack it by denying the connection between conditions of origin and political tendency.(49) I do not myself wish to deny that conditions of origin (including the class or gender position of producers) exercise a profound influence on the nature of the product. I find it more useful to question such identifications not as 'wrong' but as premature. They may be true as far as they go, according to the logics of that moment, but neglect the range of possibilities in cultural forms especially as these are realised in consumption or 'readership'. As a matter of fact I do not see how any cultural form can be dubbed 'ideological' (in the usual Marxist critical sense) until we have examined not only its origin in the primary production process, but also carefully analysed its textual forms and the modes of its reception. 'Ideological', unless deployed as a neutral term, is the last to use in such analysis, certainly not the first. (50)

I still find the debate between Walter Benjamin and Theodore Adorno about the tendency of mass culture a very instructive example here, even though it is rather a 'set piece'.(51) Adorno swept on in his majestic polemic identifying capitalist production conditions, tracing effects in the 'fetishized' form of the cultural commodity and finding its perfect compliment in the 'regressive listening' of fans for popular music. There is a highly deductive or inferential element in his reasoning, often resting on some giant theoretical strides, plotted first by Lukacs. The conflations and reductions that result are well illustrated on one of his (few) concrete examples: his analysis of the British brewer's slogan - 'What We Want is Watneys'.

The brand of the beer was presented like a political slogan. Not only does this billboard give an insight into the nature of the up to date propaganda, which sells its slogans as well as its wares...the type of relationship which is suggested by the billboard, by which the masses make a commodity recommended to them the object of their own action, is in fact found again in the pattern of reception of light music. They need and demand what has been palmed off on them.(52)

The first four lines of this are fine,. I like the insight about the parallel course of political propaganda and commercial advertising, forced on as it was by the German situation. The reading of the slogan is also quite interesting, showing how advertising works to produce an active

identification. But the analysis goes awry as soon as we get to 'the masses'. The actual differentiated drinkers of Watneys and readers of the slogan are assumed to act also as the brewer's ventriloquists' dummy, without any other determinations intervening. Everything specific to the enjoyment of slogans or the drinking of beer is abstracted away. Adorno is uninsterested, for example, in the meaning of Watneys (or any other tipple) in the contest of pub sociability, indexed by the 'we'. The possibility that drinkers may have their own reasons for consuming a given product and that drinking has a social use value is overlooked.(53)

This is quite an extreme case of 'productivism' but the pressure to infer effects or readings from an analysis of production is a constant one. It is a feature, for example, of a rich vein of work in cultural studies which has mainly been concerned to analyse particular fields of public discourse. Among CCCS publications Policing the Crisis and Unpopular Education are cases in point. (54) Both books were analyses of our first two moments - of texts, in this case the fields of discourse about law and order and about public education - and of their conditions and histories of production law and order campaigns, media cause celebre, the work of 'primary definers' like judges and the police, the role of a new political tendency. 'Thatcherism' etc. Both studies defined and attempted to explain a fundamental sea-change in the whole field of force of public representations. Both studies, but especially Policing the Crisis, proved to have considerable predictive value, showing the strengths and the popularity of new right politics before, in the case of Policing, Hrs Thatcher's first electoral victory 1979.(55) Similarly, I believe that Unpopular Education contained what has turned out to be a percipient analysis of the fundamental contradictions of social democratic politics in Britain and therefore of some of the agonies of the Labour Party. Yet, as political guides, both studies are incomplete: they lack an account of the crisis of '1945-ism' in the lived culture, of especially, working-class groups, or a really concrete rendering of the popular purchase of new right ideologies. They are limited, in other words, by reliance upon, for the most part, the 'public' knowledges of the media and of formal politics. Something more is required than this, especially if we are to go beyond critique to help in producing new political programmes and movements.

This argument may be capped if we turn to Walter Benjamin. Benjamin certainly took a more open view of the potentialities of mass cultural forms than Adorno. He was excited by their technical and educational possibilities. He urged cultural producers to transform not only their works, but also their ways of working. He described the techniques of a new form of cultural production: Brecht's 'epic theatre'. Yet we can see that all of these insights are primarily the comments of a critic upon the theories of producers, or take the standpoint of production. It is here, still with the creater, that the really revolutionary moves are to be made. It is true that Benjamin also had interesting ideas about the potentiality of modern forms to produce a new and more detached relationship between reader and text, but this insight remained abstract, as optimistic, in the same rather a priori way, as Adorno's pessimism. It was not rooted in any extended analysis of the larger experience of particular groups of readers.

Our first case (production) turns out to be an interesting instance of an argument the general form of which will recur. Of course, we must look at

cultural forms from the viewpoint of their production. This must include the conditions and the means of production, especially in their cultural or subjective aspects. In my opinion it must include accounts and understandings too of the actual moment of production itself - the labour, in its subjective and objective aspects. We cannot be perpetually discussing 'conditions' and never discussing 'acts'. At the same time, we must avoid the temptation, signalled in Marxist discussions of 'determination'; to subsume all other aspects of culture under the categories of production-studies. This suggests two stages in a more sensible approach. The first is to grant independence and particularlity to a distinct production moment - and to do the same for other moments. This is a necessary, negative, holding of the line against reductionalisms of all kinds. But once the line is held in our analysis, another stage becomes quite evident. The different moments or aspects are not in fact distinct. There is, for instance, a sense in which (rather carefully) we can speak of texts as 'productive' and a much stronger case for viewing reading or cultural consumption as a production process in which the first product becomes a material for fresh labour. The text-as-produced is a different object from the text-as-read. The problem with Adorno's analysis and perhaps with 'productivist' approaches in general is not only that they infer the text-as-read from the text-as-produced, but that also, in doing this they ignore the elements of production in other moments, concentrating 'creativity' in producer or critic. Perhaps this is the deepest prejudice of all among the writers, the artists, the teachers, the educators, the communicators and the agitators within the intellectual division of labour.

### Text-Based Studies

A second whole cluster of approaches are primarily concerned with cultural products. Most commonly these products are treated as 'texts'; the point is to provide more or less definitive 'readings' of them.

Again, it would be useful, if space allowed, to trace the evolution of this, the characteristic stance of 'the critic'. Two developments seem especially important: the separation between specialist critics and ordinary readers, and the division between cultural practitioners and those who practice, primarily, by commenting on the works of others. Both developments have much to do with the growth and elaboration of educational and especially academic institutions, but it is interesting that the 'modernisms' which have so deeply influenced cultural studies, had their origins as producers' theories, but are now discussed most intensively in academic and educational contexts. I am thinking particularly of the theories associated with Cubism and Constructivism, Russian formalism and film-making, and, of course, Brecht on theatre.(56) These separations, however, are neither absolute nor permanent, especially if their force is recognised and they are struggled against.

Much of what is known about the textual organisation of cultural forms is, now carried in the academic disciplines conventionally grouped together as 'the humanities' or 'the arts'. The major humanities disciplines, but especially linguistic and literary studies, have developed means of formal description which are indispenable for cultural analysis. I am thinking, for example, of the literary analysis of forms of the narrative, the identification of different genre, but also of whole families of 'genre'

categories, the analysis of syntactical forms, possibilities and transformations in linguistics, the formal analysis acts and exchanges in speech, the analysis of some elementary forms of 'cultural theory' by philosophers, and the common borrowings, by 'criticism' and cultural studies, from semiology and other structuralisms.

Looking at it from outside, the situation in the humanities and especially in literature seems to me very paradoxical: on the one hand, the development of immensely powerful tools of analysis and description, on the other hand, rather meagre ambitions in terms of applications and objects of analysis. There is a tendency for the tools to remain obstinately technical or formal. The example I find most striking at the moment is linguistics, which seems a positive treasure-chest for cultural analysis but is buried in a heightened technical mystique and academic professionalism, from which, fortunately, it is beginning to emerge. (57) Other possibilities seem perpetually cooped up in the 'need' to say something new about some well-thumbed text or much disputed author. This is sometimes shadowed by a freer-ranging amateurism whose general 'cultural' credentials apparently sanction the liberal application of some pretty commonsense judgements to almost everything. Yet the paradox is that humanities disciplines which are pre-eminently concerned with identifying the subjective forms of life, are already cultural studies in embryo.

The example of certain types of genre category is very revealing here. Forms, regularities and conventions first identified in literature (or certain kinds of music or visual art) often turn out to have a much wider social currency. Feminists working on romance, for example, have traced the correspondences between the narrative forms of popular romantic fiction, the public rituals of marriage (e.g. the Royal Wedding) and, if only through their own experience, the subjective tug of the symbolic resolutions of romantic love.(58) Provoked by this still developing model, a similar set of arguments and researches are developing around conventional masculinity, the fighting fantasies of boy-culture, and the narrative forms of epic. (59) As if on a prompter's cue, the Falklands/Malvinas conflict crystallised both of these forms (and conjoined them) in particularly dramatic and real public spectacle. There is no better instance, perhaps, of the limits of treating forms like romance or epic as merely literary constructions. On the contrary, they are among the most powerful and ubiquitous of social categories or subjetive forms, especially in their constructions of conventional femininity and masculinity. Human beings live, love, suffer bereavement and go off and fight and die by them.

As usual, then, the problem is to appropriate methods that are often locked into narrow disciplinary channels and use their real insights more widely, freely. What kinds of text-based methods are most useful? And what problems should we look for and try to overcome?

#### The Importance of Being Formal

Especially important are all the 'modernist' and 'post-modernist' influences, especially those associated with structuralism and post-Saussurean linguistics. I include the developments in semiology here,

but would also want to include, as a kind of cousin-hood, once-removed, some strands in 'Anglo-American' linguistics.(60) Cultural studies has often approached these strands quite gingerly, with heated battles, in particular, with those kinds of text-analysis informed by psychoanalysis,(61) but the fresh modernist infusions continue, and continue to be a source of developments. As someone coming from the other historical/sociological side, I am often surprised and uncritically entranced by the possibilities here. Beyond the dazzle, perhaps there are two main reasons for excitement.

Modern formal analysis promises a really careful and systematic description of subjective forms, and of their tendencies and pressures. It has enabled us to identify, for example, narrativity as a basic form of organisation of subjectivities. (62) It also gives us leads - or more - on the repertoire of narrative forms existing contemporaneously, the actual story-forms characteristic of different ways of life. If we treat these not as 'archetypes' but as historically-produced constructions, the possibilities for fruitful concrete study on a very wide range of materials is immense. For stories obviously come not merely in the form of bookish or filmic fictions but also in everyday conversation, in everyone's imagined futures and daily projections, and in the construction of identities, individual and collective, through memories and histories. What are the recurrent patterns here? What forms can we abstract from these texts most commonly? It seems to me that in the study of subjective forms, we are at the stage in political economy which Marx saw as necessary but primitive: 'when the forms had still to be laboriously peeled out from the material'.

There are a number of inhibitions here. One powerful one is an opposition to abstract categories and a terror of formalism. I think that this is often quite misplaced. We need to abstract forms in order to describe them carefully, clearly, noting the variations and combinations. I am sure that Roland Barthes was right when he argued against the quixotic rejection of 'the artifice of analysis':

Less terrorized by the spectre of 'formalism', historical criticism might have been less sterile; it would have understood that the specific study of forms does not in any way contradict the necessary principles of totality and History. On the contrary: the more a system is specifically defined in its forms, the more amenable it is to historical criticism. To parody a well-known saying, I shall say that a little formalism turns one away from History, but that a lot brings one back to it.(64).

Admittedly Barthes' 'History' is suspiciously capitalised and emptied of content: unlike Harxism, semiology does not present us with a practice (unless it be Barthes' little essays) for reconstituting a complex whole from the different 'forms'. But I am sure we do end up with better, more explanatory, histories, if we have comprehended, more abstractly, some of the forms and relations which constitute them. In some ways indeed, I find Barthes' work not formal enough. The level of elaboration in his later work sometimes seems gratuitious: too complex for clarity, insufficiently concrete as a substantive account. In these and other semiological endeavours do we mainly hear the busy whirr of self-generating intellectual systems rapidly slipping out of control? If so, however, this is a

different noise from the satisfying buzz of a really 'historical' abstraction.

Radical structuralisms excite me for another reason.(05) They are the furthest reach of the criticism of empiricism which, as I suggested earlier, founds cultural studies philosophically. This radical constructivismm - nothing in culture taken as given, everything produced - is a leading insight we cannot fall behind. Of course, these two excitements are closely related, the second as a premise of the first. It is because we know we are not in control of our own subjectivities, that we need so badly to identify their forms and trace their histories and future possibilities.

#### What is a text anyway?

But if text analysis is indispensable, what is a 'text'? Remember the Mini-Metro as an example of the tendency of 'texts' to a polymorphous growth; Tony Bennett's example of the James Bond genres is an even better case.(66) The proliferation of allied representations in the field of public discourses poses large problems for any practitioner of contemporary cultural studies. There are, however, better and worse ways of coping with them. Often, I think, it is a traditional literary solution that is reached for: we plump for an 'author' (so far as this is possible), a single work or series, perhaps a distinctive genre. Our choices may now be popular texts and perhaps a filmic or electronic medium, yet there are still limits in such quasi-literary criteria.

If, for example, we are really interested in how conventions and the technical means available within a particular medium structure representations, we need to work across genre and media, comparatively. We need to trace the differences as well as the similarities, for example, between 'literary romance', romantic love as public spectacle and love as a private form or narrative. It is only in this way that we can resolve some of the most important evaluative questions here: how far, for instance, romance acts merely to seal women into oppressive social conditions, and how far ideologies of love may nonetheless express utopian conceptions of personal relations. We certainly do not have to bound our research by literary criteria; other choices are available. It is possible for instance to take 'issues' or periods as the main criterion. Though restricted by their choice of rather 'masculine' genre and media, Policing the Crisis and Unpopular Education are studies of this kind. They hinge around a basically historical definition, examining aspects of the rise of the new right mainly from the early 1970s. The logic of this approach has been extended in recent CCCS media-based studies: a study of a wide range of media representations of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in October 1981(07) and a study of the media in a 'post-Falklands' holiday period, from Christmas 1982 to New Year 1983.(68) This last approach is especially fruitful since it allows us to examine the construction of a holiday (and\* especially the play around the public/private division) according to the possibilities of different media and genre, for example, television soap opera and the popular daily press. By capturing something of the contemporaneity and combined 'effects' of different systems of representations, we also hope to get nearer to the commoner experience of listening, reading and viewing. This form of study, based upon a

conjuncture which in this case is both 'historical' (the post-Falklands moment of December 1982) and seasonal (the Christmas holiday), is premised on the belief that context is crucial in the production of meaning.

Hore generally, the aim is to decentre 'the text' as an object of study. 'The text' is no longer studied for its own sake, nor even for the social effects it may be thought to produce, but rather for the subjective or cultural forms which it realises and makes available. The text is only a means in cultural study; strictly, perhaps, it is a raw material from which certain forms (e.g. of narrative, ideological problematic, mode of address, subject position etc.) may be abstracted. It may also form part of a larger discursive field or combination of forms occurring in other social spaces with some regularity. But the ultimate object of cultural studies is not, in my view, 'the text', but the social life of subjective forms at each moment of their circulation, including their textual embodiments. This is a long way from a literary valuing of texts for themselves, though, of course, the modes in which some textual embodiments of subjective forms come to be valued over others, especially by critics or educators - the problem especially of 'high' and 'low' in culture - is a central question, especially in theories of culture and class. But this is a problem which subsumes 'literary' concerns, rather than reproducing them. One key issue here, for instance, is how criteria of 'literariness' themselves come to be formulated and installed in academic, educational and other regulative practices.

#### Structuralist Foreshortenings

How to constitute 'the text' is one problem; another is the tendency of other moments, especially of cultural production and reading, but more generally of the more concrete, private aspects of culture, to disappear into a reading of the text. Around this tendency, we might write a whole complicated history of formalisms using the term now in its more familiar critical sense.

I understand formalism negatively, not as abstraction of forms from texts, but as the abstraction of texts from the other moments. For me this distinction is critical, marking the legitimate and excessive concerns with 'form'. I would explain formalism in the negative sense (if time allowed) in terms of two main sets of determinations: those that derive from the social location of 'critic' and the limits of a particular practice, and those that derive from particular theoretical problematics, the tools of different critical schools. Perhaps it is worth saying that though there is a clear historical association, especially in the twentieth century, between 'criticism' and formalism, there is no necessary connection.

The particular formalisms that interest me most - because there is most to rescue - are those associated with the various structuralist and post-structuralist discussions of text, narrative, subject positions, discourses and so on. I include here, in a necessarily very compressed way, and without many proper distinctions, the whole sequence that runs from Saussure's linguistics and Levi-Strauss' anthropology to early Barthes and what is sometimes called 'semiology mark 1'(69) to the developments set in train by 'May 1968' in film criticism, semiology and narrative theory, including the complicated intersection of Althusserian Marxism, later

semiologies and psycho-analysis. Despite their variations, these approaches to 'signifying practices' share certain paradigmatic limits which I term the 'structuralist foreshortening'. I will describe these briefly, then look at each a little more closely.

They are limited, in a very fundmental way, by staying within the terms of textual analysis. Insofar as they go beyond it, they subordinate other moments to textual analysis. In particular they tend to neglect questions of the production of cultural forms or their larger social organisation, or reduce questions of production to the 'productivity' (I would say 'capacity to produce') of the already existing systems of signification, that is the formal languages or codes. They also tend to neglect questions of readership, or subordinate them to the competencies of a textual form of analysis. They tend to derive an 'account' of readership, in fact, from the critic's own textual readings. I want to suggest that the common element in both these limits is a major theoretical lack - the absence of an adquate post-structuralist (or should I say post-post-structuralist) theory of subjectivity. This absence is one that is stressed within these approaches themselves; in fact, it is a major charge against old Marxisms that they lacked 'a theory of the subject'. But the absence is supplied most unsatisfactorily by twinning textual analysis and psycho-analysis in a an account of 'subjectivity' which remains very abstract, 'thin' and un-historical and also, in my opinion, overly 'objective'. To sum up the limitations, there is not really an account or accounts here, of the genesis of subjective forms and the different ways in which human beings inhabit them.

## The Neglect of Production

This is the easier point to illustrate. It is the difference, for example, between 'cultural studies' in the CCCS tradition, and especially the CCCS appropriation of Gramsci's accounts of hegemony and, say, the main theoretical tendency in the magazine of film criticism associated with the British Film Institute, Screen. In the Italian context the comparison might be between the 'pure' semiological and cultural studies traditions. While cultural studies at Birmingham has tended to become more historical, more concerned with particular conjunctures and institutional locations, the tendency of film criticism in Britain has been, rather, the other way. Initially, an older Marxist concern with cultural production, and, in particular with cinema as industry and with conjunctures in cinematic production was common both in Britain and in France. (70) But like the French film magazines, Screen became in the 1970s, increasingly pre-occupied less with production as a social and historical process, and more with the 'productivity' of signifying systems themselves, in particular, with the means of representation of the cinematograpahic medium. This move was very explicitly argued for, not only in the critiques of realist theories of the cinema and of the realist structures of conventional film itself, but also of the 'super-realism' of (honoured) Marxist practitioners like Eisenstein and Brecht. (71) It also formed part of a larger movement which placed increasing emphasis on the means of representation in general and argued that we had to choose between the virtual autonomy and absolute determinacy of 'signification' or return to the consistency of orthodox Marxism. (72) As the elegant, one-sided exaggerations put it, it is the myths that speak the myth-maker, the

language which speaks the speaker, the texts which read the reader, the theoretical problematic which produces 'science', and ideology or discourse that produces 'the subject'.(73)

There was an account of production in this work, but a very attenuated one. If we think of production as involving raw materials, tools or means of production and socially-organised forms of human labour, Screen's accounts of film, for instance, focussed narrowly on some of the tools or means of production/representation. I say 'some' because semiologically-influenced theories have tended to invert the priorities of older Marxist approaches to production, focussing only on some of the cultural means, those, in fact, which 'political economy' neglects. Film theory in the 1970s acknowledged the 'dual' nature of the cinematic circuit, but was mainly concerned to elaborate cinema as 'mental machinery'.(74) This was an understandable choice of priorities, but often pursued in a hyper-critical and non-accumulative way. More serious was the neglect of labour, of the actual human activity of producing. Again this may itself have been an exaggerated reaction against older fashions, especially, in this case auteur theory, itself an attenuated conception of labour. The neglect of (structured) human activity and especially of conflicts over all kinds of production seems in retrospect the most glaring absence. Thus, though the conception of 'practice' was much invoked (e.g. 'signifying practce') it was practice quite without 'praxis' in the older Marxist sense. The effects of this were especially important in the debates, which we shall come to, about texts and 'subjects'.

This criticism cam be pushed, however, one stage further' no material means of production, no labour, but also a very limited conception of 'means'. In Screen's theory for example, there was a tendency to look only at the specifically cinematographic 'means' - the codes of cinema. The relations between these means and other cultural resources or conditions were not examined: for example, the relation between codes of realism and the professionalism of film-makers or the relation between media more generally and the state and formal political system. If these elements might be counted as means (they might also be thought of as social relations of production) the raw materials of production were also largely absent, especially in their cultural forms. For cinema, like other public media, takes its raw materials from the pre-existing field of public discourses the whole field that is, not just from the bit called 'cinema' - and, under the kind of conditions we have examined, from private knowledges too. A critique of the very notion of representations (seen as indispensable to the critique of realisms) made it hard for these theorists to pull into their accounts of film any very elaborate recognition of what an older, fuller theory might have called 'content'. Cinema (and then television) were treated as though they were, so to speak, only 'about' cinema or television, only reproducing or transforming the cinematographic or televisual forms, not pulling in and transformning discourses first produced elsewhere. In this way the cinematic text was abstracted from the whole ensemble of discourses and social relations which surrounded and formed it.

There was one further major limitation in much of this work, viewed from the perspective of production. There was a tendency to refuse any explanatory move that went behind the existing means of representation,

whether this was the language system, a particular 'signifying practice' or, indeed, the political system. The account was foreshortened to textual means and (just) textual 'effects'. The means were not conceived historically, as having their own moment of production. This was not a local difficulty in particular analyses, but a general theoretical absence, to be found in the earliest influential models of the theory. The same difficulty, for example, haunts Sausurean linguistics, although the rules of language systems determine speech acts, the everyday deployment of linguistic forms appears not to touch the language system itself. This is partly because its principles are conceived so abstractly that historical change or social variation escapes detection, but it is also because there is no true production moment of the language system itself. Crucial insights into language and other systems of signification are therefore foreclosed: that languages are produced (or differentiated), reproduced and modified by socially-organised human practice, that there can be no language (except a dead one) without speakers, and that language is continually fought over in its words, syntax and discursive deployments. It is interesting that in order to recover these insights, students of culture who are interested in language have had to go outside the predominantly French semiological traditions, back to the Marxist philosopher of language. Voloshinov, or aross to particular researches influenced by the work of Bernstein or Halliday.

#### Readers in Texts; Readers in Society

The most characteristic feature of later semiologies has been the claim to advance a theory of the production of subjects. Initially, the claim was based in a general philosophical opposition to humanist conceptions of a simple unified 'I' or subject, standing unproblematically at the centre of thought or moral or aesthetic evaluation. This feature of structuralism had affinities with similar arguments in Marx about the subjects of bourgeois ideologies, especially about the premises of political economy, and with Freud's anatomisation of the contradictions of human personality.

'Advanced semiology' presents several layers of theorisation of subjectivity which are difficult to unravel.(75) This complicated set of fusions and tangles combines fine leading insights with theoretical disasters. The key insight, for me, is that narratives or images always imply or construct a position or positions from which they are to be read or viewed. Although 'position' remains problematic (is it a set of culture competences or, as the term implies, some necessary 'subjection' to the texts?), the insight is dazzling, especially when applied to visual images and to film. We can now perceive the work which cameras do from a new aspect, not presenting an object merely, but putting us in place before it. If we add to this, the argument that certain kinds of texts ('realism') naturalises the means by which positioning is achieved, we have a dual insight of great force. The particular promise is to render processes hitherto unconsciously suffered (and enjoyed) open to explicit analysis.

Within the context of my own argument, the importance of these insights is that they provide a way of <u>connecting</u> the account of textual forms with an exploration of intersections with readers' subjectivities. A careful, elaborated and hierarchised account of the reading positions offered in a text (in narrative structure or modes of address for instance) seems to me

the most developed method we have so far within the limits of text analysis. Of course, such readings should not be taken to negate other methods: the reconstruction of the manifest and latent themes of a text, its denotative and connotative moments, its ideological problematic or limiting assumptions, its metaphorical or linguistic strategies. The legitimate object of an identification of 'positions' is the pressures or tendencies of subjective forms, the <u>directions</u> in which they move us, their force — once inhabited. The difficulties arise — and they are very numerous — <u>if such tendencies are held to be realised in the subjectivities of readers</u>, without additional and different forms of inquiry.

The intoxications of the theory make such a move very tempting. But to slip from 'reader in the text' to 'reader in society' is to slide from the most abstract moment (the analysis of forms) to the most concrete object (actual readers, as they are constituted, socially, historically, culturally). This is conveniently to miss out — but not explicitly as a rational abstraction — the huge number of fresh determinations or pressures of which we must now take account. In disciplinary terms we move from a ground usually covered by literary approaches to one more familiar to historical or sociological competences, but the common new element here is the ability to handle a mass of co-existing determinations, operating at many different levels.

Nor is it merely a question of extra determinations. Also at issue is the availability of materials on which to base an analysis of <u>any</u> kind. This is much less of a problem for texts which are publicly available and may circulate, in the case of cinema for example, on a world-wide scale. But the moment of reading is not only relatively more concrete, it is also more private. It is the difference between viewing the film ourselves and grasping its significance for the couple in the back row of the cinema.

It would take us into a long and complicated exploration of 'reading' to try and gauge the full enormity of the leap. (76) There is only room to stress a few difficulties, treating reading, not as reception or assimilation, but as itself an act of production. If the text is the raw material of this practice, we encounter, once again, all the problems of textual boundaries. The isolation of a text for academic scrutiny is a very specific form of reading. More commonly texts are enountered promiscuously; they pour in on us from all directions in diverse, co-existing media, and differently-paced flows. In everyday life, textual materials are complex, multiple, overlapping, co-existent, juxtaposed, in a word, 'inter-textual'. If we use a more agile category like 'discourse', indicating elements that cut across different texts, we can say that all readings are also 'inter-discursive'. No subjective form ever acts on its own. Nor can the combinations be predicted by formal or logical means, nor even from empirical analysis of the field of public discourse, though of course this may suggest hypotheses. The combinations stem, rather, from more particular logics - the structured life-activity in its objective and subjective sides, of readers or groups of readers: their social locations, their histories, their subjective interests, their private worlds.

The same problem arises if we consider the tools of this practice, or the codes, competences and orientations already present within a particular social <u>milieu</u>. Again these are not predictable from public text. They

belong to private <u>cultures</u>, in the way that term has usually been used in cultural studies. They are grouped according to 'ways of life'. They exist in the chaotic and historically-sedimented ensembles which Gramsci referred to as 'common sense'. Yet these must determine the longer and shorter-range results of particular interpellative moments, or, as I prefer, the forms of cultural transformation which always occur in readings.

'Context determines the meaning, transformations or salience of a particular subjective form as much as the form itself. 'Context includes the 'cultural' features described above, but also the contexts of immediate situation (e.g. the domestic context of the household) and the larger historical context or conjuncture.

Yet any account would remain incomplete without some attention to the act of reading itself and an attempt to theorise its products. The absence of action by the reader is characteristic of formalist accounts. Even those theorists (e.g. Brecht, Tel Quel, Barthes in S/Z) who are concerned with productive, deconstructive or critical reading ascribe this capacity to types of texts (e.g. 'writable' rather than 'readable' in Barthes' terminology) and not at all to a history of real readers. This absence of production in reading parallels the ascription of productivity to signifying systems which we have already noted. At best particular acts of reading are understood as a replaying of primary human experiences. Just as an older literary criticism sought universal values and human emotions in the text, so the new formalisms understand reading as the reliving of psycho-analytically-defined mechanisms. Analysis of the spectator's game, based on Lacanian accounts of the mirror phase, identify some of the motions of the way men use images of women and relate to heroes. (77) Such analyses do bridge text and reader. There is a huge potentiality, for cultural studies, in the critical use of Freudian categories, as critical that is, as the use of Marxist categories has become or is becoming. present uses often bridge text and reader at a cost: the radical simplification of the social subject, reducing him or her to the original, naked, infant needs. It is difficult on this basis to specify all the realms of difference which one wishes to grasp, even, surprisingly, gender. At worst the imputations about real subjects come down to a few universals, just as it is only now a few basic features of the text which interests us. There are distinct limits to a procedure which discovers, in otherwise very varied phenomena, the same old mechanisms producing the same old effects.

One lack in these accounts is an attempt to describe more elaborately the surface forms — the flows of inner speech and narrative — which are the most empirically obvious aspect of 'subjectivity'. Perhaps it is thought 'humanist' to pay attention to 'consciousness' in this way? But we all are (aren't we?) continuous, resourceful and absolutely frenetic users of narrative and image? And these uses occur, in part, inside the head, in the imaginative or ideal world which accompanies us in every action. We are not merely positioned by stories we 'read'; we position ourselves by our constant internal story-telling, stories about ourselves, stories about others. We use 'realist' stories about the future to prepare or plan, acting out scenarios of dangerous or pleasurable events. We use 'fictional' or fantastical forms to escape or divert. We tell stories

about the past in the form of 'memory' which construct versions of who we presently are. Perhaps all this is simply presupposed informalist analysis, yet to draw it into the foreground seems to have important implications. (78) It makes it possible to recover the elements of self-production in theories of subjectivity. It suggests that before we can gauge the productivity of new interpellations, or anticipate their likely popularity, we need to know what stories are already in place.

All this involves a move beyond what seems to me an underlying formalist assumption: that real readers are 'wiped clean' at each textual encounter to be positioned (or liberated) anew by the next interpellation. 'Post-structuralist' revisions, stressing the continuous productivity of language or discourse as process, do not necessarily help here, because it is not at all clear what all this 'productivity' actually produces. It is my own view that there is no real theory of subjectivity here, partly because the <u>explanandum</u>, the 'object' of such a theory, remains to be specified. In particular there is no account of the carry-over or continuity of self-identities from one discursive moment to the next, such as a re-theorisation of memory in discursive terms might permit. Since there is no account of continuities or of what remains constant or accumulative, there is no account of structural shifts or major rearrangements of a sense of self, especially in adult life. Such transformations are always, implicitly, referred to 'external' text-forms, for example revolutionary or poetic texts, usually forms of literature. There is no account of what predisposes the reader to use such texts productively or what conditions, other than the text-forms themselves, contribute to revolutionary conjunctures in their subjective dimensions. Similarly, with such a weight on the text, there is no account of how some readers (including, presumably the analysts) can use conventional or 'realist' texts critically. Above all, there is no account of what I would call the subjective aspects of struggle, no account of how there is a moment in subjective flux when social subjects (individual or collective) produce accounts of who they are, as conscious political agents, that is, constitute themselves, politically. To ask for such a theory is not to deny the major structuralist or post-structuralist insights: subjects are contradictory, 'in process', fragmented, produced. But human beings and social movements also strive to produce some coherence and continuity, and through this, exercise some control over feelings, conditions and destinies.

This is what I mean by a 'post-post-structuralist' account of subjectivity. It involves returning to some older but reformulated questions - about struggle, 'unity', and the production of a political will. It involves accepting structuralist insights as a statement of the problem, whether we are speaking of our own fragmented selves or the objective and subjective fragmentation of possible political constituencies. But it also involves taking seriously what seems to me the most interesting theoretical lead: the notion of a discursive self-production of subjects, especially in the form of histories and memories.(79)

#### Social Inquiries - Logic and History

I hope that the logic of our third cluster of approaches, which focus on 'lived culture', is already clear. To recapitulate, the problem is how to

grasp the more concrete amnd more private moments of cultural circulation. This sets up two kinds of pressures. The first is towards methods which can detail, recompose and represent complex ensembles of discursive and non-discursive features as they appear in the life of particular social groups. The second is towards 'social inquiry' or an active seeking out of cultural elements which do not appear in the public sphere, or only abstracted and transformed. Of course students of culture have access to private forms through their own experiences and social worlds. This is a continuous resource, the more so if it is consciously specified and if its relativity is recognised. Indeed, a cultural self-criticism of this kind is the indispensable condition for avoiding the more grossly ideological forms of cultural study. (80) But the first lesson here is the recognition of major cultural differences, especially across those social relationships where power, dependence and inequality are most at stake. There are perils, then, in the use of a (limited) individual or collective self-knowledge where the limits of its representativeness are uncharted and its other sides - usually the sides of powerlessness - are simply unknown. This remains a justification for forms of cultural study which take the cultural worlds of others (often reverse sides of one's own) as the main object.

It is important to recognise the specific origins of methods which we have adopted here and the usual problems of transformation that are involved. An adequate history of social inquiry would include the forms of philanthropic or state surveillance of working-class populations which have been a feature of the metropolitan societies at least since the late eighteenth century.(81) I include, in the British case, a whole history of 'moral statistics' and empirical sociological inquiry, from the early nineteenth-century statistical societies to much of post-war 'social science'. These regulative paradigms could be usefully compared with those adopted for the scrutiny of peoples on the imperialized peripheries. But attempts to extend a social self-knowledge has also included folkloric or antiquarian adventures into the past and the modern forms of a culturally-rich social history, the Annales strands in France, for example, or the Marxist social history tradition in Britain. Nor could we stop with sociological, anthropological and historical studies. These are often closely allied with literary or artistic traditions of social realism, and with various genres of autobiography, reminiscence, and oral history. (82)

We have to keep a discomforted eye on the historical pedigrees and current orthodoxies of what is sometimes called 'ethnography', a practice of representing the cultures of others. The practice, like the word, already extends social distance and constructs relations of knowledge—as—power. To 'study' cultural forms is already to differ from a more implicit inhabitation of culture which is the main 'commonsense' mode in all social groups. (And I mean all social groups — 'intellectuals' may be great at describing other people's implicit assumptions, but as 'implicit' as anyone when it comes to their own.) To go further than this and render such accounts public, activates those relations of power we have already viewed around the circuit.

Of course, there would be qualitative or political discriminations to make in such a history. I do believe that the early years of new left research in particular - the late 1940s, 50s and early 1960s - did involve a new set of relations between the subjects and objects of research, especially

across class relations.(83) Intellectual movements associated with feminism and the work of some black intellectuals have transformed (but not abolished) these social divisions too. Experiments in community-based authorship have also within limits, achieved new social relations of cultural production and publication.(84) Even so, it seems wise to be suspicious, not necessarily of these practices themselves, but of all accounts of them that try to minimise the political risks and responsibilities involved, or magically to resolve the remaining social divisions. Since fundamental social relations have not been transformed, social inquiry tends constantly to return to its old anchorages, pathologising subordinated cultures, normalising the dominant modes, helping at best to build academic reputations without proportionate returns to those who are represented. Apart from the basic political standpoint - whose side the researchers are on - much depends on the specific theoretical forms of the work, the kind of ethnography.

## Limits of 'Experience'

There seems to be a close association between ethnographies (or histories) based on sympathetic identification and empiricist or 'expressive' models of culture. The pressure is to represent lived cultures as authentic ways of life and to uphold them against ridicule or condescension. Research of this kind has often been used to criticise the dominant represenations, especially those influencing state polices. Researchers have often mediated a private working-class world (often the world of their own childhood) and the definitions of the public sphere with its middle-class weighting.(85) A very common way of upholding subordinated cultures has been to stress the bonds between the subjective and objective sides of popular practices. Working-class culture has been seen as the authentic expression of proletarian conditions, perhaps the only expression possible. This relation or identity has sometimes been cemented by 'old Marxist' assumptions about the proper state of consciousness of the working-class. A similar set of assumptions can be traced in some feminist writings about culture which portray and celebrate a distinct feminine cultural world reflective of woman's condition. The term which most commonly indexes this theoretical framework is 'experience', with its characteristic fusing of objective and subjective aspects.

Such frameworks produce major difficulties, not least for researchers themselves. Secondary analysis and representation must always be problematic or intrusive if 'spontaneous' cultural forms are seen as a completed or necessary form of social knowledge. The only legitimate practice, in this framework, is to represent an unmediated chunk of authentic life experience itself, in something like its own terms. This form of cultural empiricism is a dead hand on the most important of cultural studies preactices, and is one of the reasons why it is also the most difficult to deliver at all.

There is also a systematic pressure towards presenting lived cultures primarily in terms of their homogeneity and distinctiveness. This theoretical pressure, in conceptions like 'whole way of life', becomes startlingly clear when issues of nationalism and racism are taken into account. There is a discomforting convergence between 'radical' but romantic versions of 'working-class culture' and notions of a shared

Englishness or white ethnicity. Here too one finds the term 'way of life' used as though 'cultures' were great slabs of significance always humped around by the same set of people. In left ethnography the term has often been associated with an under-representation of non-class relations and of fragmentations within social classes.(86)

The main lack within expressive theories is attention to the means of signifiation as a specific cultural determination. There is no better instance of the divorce between formal analysis and 'concrete studies' than the rarity of linguistic analysis in historical or ethnographic work. Like much structuralist analysis, then, ethnographies often work with a foreshortened version of our circuit, only here it is the whole arc of 'public' forms which is often missing. Thus the creativity of private forms is stressed, the continuous cultural productivity of everyday life, but not its dependence on the materials and modes of public production. Methodologically, the virtues of abstraction are eschewed so that the separate (or separable) elements of lived cultures are not unravelled, and their real complexity (rather than their essential unity) is not recognised.

## Best Ethnography

I do not wish to imply that this form of cultural study is intrinsically compromised. On the contrary, I tend to see it as the privileged form of analysis, both intellectually and politically. Perhaps this will be clear if I briefly review some aspects of the best ethnographic studies at Birmingham.(87)

These studies have used abstraction and formal description to identify key elements in a lived cultural ensemble. Cultures are read 'textually'. But they have also been viewed alongside a reconstruction of the social position of the users. There is a large difference here between a 'structural ethnography' and a more ethno-methodological approach concerned exclusively with the level of meaning and usually within an individualistic framework. This is one reason, for instance, why feminist work in the Centre has been as much preoccupied with theorising the position of women as with 'talking to girls'. We have tried to ally cultural analysis with a (sometimes too generalised) structural sociology, centreing upon gender, class and race.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature has been the connections made between lived cultural ensembles and public forms. Typically, studies have concerned the appropriation of elements of mass culture and their transformation according to the needs and cultural logics of social groups. Studies of the contribution of mass cultural forms (popular music, fashion, drugs or motor bikes) to sub-cultural styles, of girls' use of popular cultural forms, and of 'the lads' resistance to the knowledge and authority of school are cases in point. In other words the best studies of lived culture are also, necessarily, studies of 'reading'. It is from this point of view - the intersection of public and private forms - that we have the best chance of answering the two key sets of questions to which cultural studies - rightly - continually returns.

The first set concerns 'popularity', pleasure and the use value of cultural

forms. Why do some subjective forms acquire a popular force, become principles of living? What are the <u>different</u> ways in which subjective forms are inhabited - playfully or in deep seriousness, in fantasy or by rational agreement, because it is the thing to do or the thing <u>not</u> to do? The second set of questions concerns the <u>outcomes</u> of cultural forms. Do these forms tend to reproduce existing forms of subordination or oppression? Do they hold down or contain social ambitions, defining wants too modestly? Or are they forms which permit a questioning of existing relations or a running beyond them in terms of desire? Do they point to alternative social arrangements? As I suggested near the beginning of this discussion judgements like these cannot be made on the basis of the analysis of production conditions or texts alone; they can best be answered once we have traced a social form right through the circuit of its transformations and made some attempt to place it within the whole context of relations of hegemony within the society.

## Future Shapes of Cultural Studies: Directions

My argument has been that there are three main models of cultural studies research: production-based studies, text-based studies, and studies of lived cultures. This division conforms to the main appearances of cultural circuits, but inhibits the development of our understandings in important ways. Each approach has a rationality in relation to that moment it has most closely in view, but is quite evidently inadequate, even 'ideological', as an account of the whole. Yet different approaches acquire an independence in the various theoretical paradigms, and are also related to the specialisms of academic disciplines. Each approach also implies a different view of the politics of culture. Production-related studies imply a struggle to control or transform the most poweful means of cultural production, or to throw up alternative means by which a counter-hegemonic strategy may be pursued. Such discourses are usually addressed to institutional reformers or to radical political parties. Text-based studies, focussing on the forms of cultural products, have usually concerned the possibilities of a transformative cultural practice. They have been addressed most often to avant-garde practitioners, critics and teachers. These approaches have appealed especially to professional educators, in colleges or schools, because knowledges appropriate to radical practice have been adapted (not without problems) to a knowledge appropriate to critical readers. Finally, research into lived cultures has been closely associated with a politics of 'representation', upholding the ways of life of subordinated social groups and criticising the dominant public forms in the light of hidden wisdoms. Such work may even aspire to help to give a hegemonic or non-corporate turn to cultures that are usually privatised, stigmatised or silenced.

It is important to stress that the circuit has not been presented as an adequate account of cultural processes or even of elementary forms. It is not a completed set of abstractions against which every partial approach can be judged. It is not therefore an adequate strategy for the future just to add together the three sets of approaches, using each for its appropriate moment. This would not work without transformations of each approach and, perhaps, our thinking about 'moments'. For one thing there are some real theoretical incompatibilities between approaches; for another, the ambitions of many projects are already large enough. It is

important to recognise that each aspect has a life of its own in order to avoid reductions, but, after that, it may be more transformative to rethink each moment in the light of the others, importing objects and methods of study usually developed in relation to one moment into the next. I think this will work — and already works in the best practices — because the moments, though separable, are not in fact discreet. We therefore need to trace what Narx would have called 'the inner commections' and 'real identities' between them.

Those concerned with production studies need to look more closely, for example, at the specifically cultural conditions of production. This would include the more formal semiological questions about the codes and conventions on which a television programme, say, draws, and the ways in which it reworks them. but it would have to include too, a wider range of discursive materials — ideological themes and problematics — that belong to a wider social and political conjunture. But already, in the production moment, we would expect to find more or less intimate relations with the lived culture of particular social groups, if only that of the producers. Discursive and ideological elements would be used and transformed from there too. 'Already' then, in the study of the production moment, we can anticipate the other aspects of the larger process and prepare the ground for a more adequate account too.

Similarly we need to develop, further, forms of text-based study which hook up with the reduction and readership perspectives. It may well be, in the Italian context, where semiological and literary traditions are so strong, that these are the most important transformations. It  $\underline{is}$  possible to look for the signs of the production process in a text: this is one useful way of transforming the very unproductive concern with 'bias' that still dominates discussion of 'factual' media. It is also possible to read texts as forms of represenation, provided it is realised that we are always analysing a representation of a representation. The first object, that which is represented in the text, is not an objective event or fact, but has already been given meanings in some other social practice. In this way it is possible to consider the relationship, if any, between the characteristic codes and conventions of a social group and the forms in which they are represented in a soap opera or comedy. This is not merely an academic exercise, since it is essential to have such an account to help establish the text's salience, for this group or others. There is no question of abandoning existing forms of text analysis, but these have to be adapted to, rather than superseding, the study of actual readerships. There seems to be two main requirements here. First, the formal reading of a text has to be as open or as multi-layered as possible, identifying preferred positions or frameworks certainly, but also alternative readings and subordinated frameworks, even if these can only be discerned as fragments, or as contraditions in the dominant forms. Second, analysts need to abandon once and for all, both of the two main models of the critical reader: the primarily evaluative reading (is this a good/bad text?) and the aspiration to text-analysis as an 'objective science'. The problem with both models is that by de-relativising our acts of reading they remove from self-conscious consideration (but not as an active presence) our commonsense knowledge of the larger cultural contexts and possible readings. I have already noted the difficuties here, but want also to stress the indispensibility of this resource. The difficulties are met best, but not wholly overcome, when 'the analyst' is a group. Hany of my most educative moments in cultural studies have come from these internal group dialogues about the readings of texts across, for example, gendered experiences. This is not to deny the real disciplines of reading, 'close' in the sense of careful, but not in the sense of confined. Finally, those concerned with 'concrete' cultural description cannot afford to ignore the presence of text-like structures and particular forms of discursive organisation. In particular we need to know what distinguishes private cultural forms, in their basic modes of organisation, from the public forms. In this way we might be able to specify, linguistically for example, the differential relation of social groups to different media forms, and the real processes of reading that are involved.

Of course, the transformation of particular approaches will have effects on others. If linguistic analysis takes account of historical determinations, for example, or provides us with ways of analysing the operations of power, the division between language studies and concrete accounts will break down. This goes for the associated politics too. At the moment there are few areas so blocked by disagreement incomprehension that the relationship between avant-garde theorists and practitioners of the arts and those interested in a more grass-roots entry through community arts, working-class writing, women's writing and so on. Similarly, it is hard to convey, in the wake of a lost election, just how mechanical, how unaware of cultural dimensions, the politics of the Labour Party and most left factions remains. If I am right that theories are related to viewpoints, we are talking not just of theoretical developments, but about some of the conditions for effective political alliances too.

Sorkshop Journal is iscreasingly involved in debates with culture studies traditions. Among feminist journals, Feminist Levies and UF have many parallel interests. A Cultural Studies Metwork currently meets three times a year in different centres; as annual conference is planned. The first issue of a new journal, ormations, will appear in September 1983, from Koutledge and Magnaul.

The key texts are Richard Hoggart, The Usas of Literacy, Penguin, and Seciety, Penguin, 1958; Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, Penguin, 1958; Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution, Penguin 1961.

The seconstructed in the fascinating interviews published as the seconstructed in the fascinating interviews published as

See especially Bill Schwarz, "The People" in history: The Gossanist Perty Historians' Group' in SCCS, <u>Haking Historians</u> Studies in History-Willing and Politics, Hutchinson, 1982, therethe whole of this volume is relevant.

For a still useful summary of CCCS responses to Althusser see Actenman, Molina and Peters, 'Althusser's Theory of Ideology' is CCCS, un ideology, butchinson, 1978.

## Notes

- Department of English at Instituto Universitario Orientale in Naples and at the University of Palermo in April 1983. I am grateful to colleagues at Naples, Palermo, Pescara and from Bari for fruitful discussions around the themes raised here. In revising this paper, I have tried to respond to some comments, especially those concerning questions about consciousness and unconsciousness though not, I fear adequately. I am grateful to Lidia Curti, Laura Di Michele and Marina Vitale for encouraging the production of this paper and advising on its form, to the British Council for funding my visit, and to friends and students (not mutually exclusive categories) at Birmingham for bearing with very many different versions of 'the circuit'.
- There are degrees called 'cultural studies' at the polytechnics of North East London, Portsmouth, Middlesex, and Communications Studies or other degrees with strong cultural studies elements at Sheffield, Sunderland, Bristol, Central London, Wales and Trent. The Open University Popular Culture course team has been another important educational focus.
  - 3. The most interesting journals include Media Culture and Society;

    Screen (now incorporating Screen Education); Ideology and
    Consciousness; Block; Schooling and Culture; Theory, Culture and
    Society; L.T.P. Journal of Literature, Teaching, Politics; more
    popular or political magazines with cultural studies interests
    include Marxism Today, New Socialist and Spare Rib. History
    Workshop Journal is increasingly involved in debates with cultural
    studies traditions. Among feminist journals, Feminist Review and
    M/F have many parallel interests. A Cultural Studies Network
    currently meets three times a year in different centres; an annual
    conference is planned. The first issue of a new journal,
    Formations, will appear in September 1983, from Routledge and Kegan
    Paul.
    - The key texts are Richard Hoggart, <u>The Uses of Literacy</u>, Penguin, 1958; Raymond Williams, <u>Culture and Society</u>, Penguin, 1958; Raymond Williams, <u>The Long Revolution</u>, Penguin 1961.
    - They are reconstructed in the fascinating interviews published as <u>Politics and Letters</u>, New Left Books, 1979.
    - 6. See especially Bill Schwarz, '"The People" in history: The Communist Party Historians' Group' in CCCS, Making Histories:

      Studies in History-Writing and Politics, Hutchinson, 1982, though the whole of this volume is relevant.
    - For a still useful summary of CCCS responses to Althusser see McLennan, Molina and Peters, 'Althusser's Theory of Ideology' in CCCS, On Ideology, Hutchinson, 1978.

- 8. See, for example, Hall, Lumley and McLennan, 'Politics and Ideology: Gramsci' in On Ideology. But Gramsci's theorisations are a main presence in much of the empirical work from the Centre from the mid-1970s.
- See for example the dual debts to Barthes' structuralism and Cicourel's phemomenological sociology in Stuart Hall's early 1970s essays on the media, e.g. 'The "Structured Communication" of Events', CCCS Stencilled Paper, no. 5.
- 10. For one version see the debate over Edward Thompson's history which began with Richard Johnson, 'Edward Thompson, Eugene Genovese and Socialist-Humanist History' History Workshop Journal, No.6. 1978, continued with other contributions in this journal (Nos.7,8, & 9) and ended with the papers published in Raphael Samuel (ed), People's History and Socialist Theory, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981. Also clarifying on 'experience' is the treatment in Perry Anderson, Arguments within English Marxism, Verso, 1980. I have learnt a great deal working with Gregor McLennan on these themes, see especially Gregor McLennan, Marxism and the Methodologies of History, Verso, 1982.
- 11. See McLennan, Methodologies and Richard Johnson, 'Reading for the Best Marx: History-Writing and Historical Abstraction' in CCCS, Making Histories. This is really continuing the 'same' debate, by other means.
- 12. The most striking instance in the work on sub-cultures. See especially S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds), Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Sub-Cultures in Post-War Britain, Hutchinson, 1976 and D.Hebdige, Subculture: The Meaning of Style, Methuen, 1979.

  And compare Stanley Cohen, Folk Devils and Moral Panics, Martin Robertson, 1980, first published 1972.
- 13. See, for instance, the papers collected as a result of the British Sociological Association's Annual Conference on culture in M. Barrett, P. Corrigan, et al, (eds.), <u>Ideology and Cultural Production</u>, Croom Helm, 1979.
  - 14. These are difficult to represent bibliographically, but key points are made by CCCS Womens Study Group: Women Take Issue, Hutchison, 1978; CCCS, The Empire Strikes Back, Hutchison, 1982. See also the series on Women and on Race in CCCS Stencilled Papers.
  - 15. This is not a new criticism but given fresh force by the 1970s salience of race. See Paul Gilroy, 'Police and Thieves' in Empire Strikes Back, esp. pp.147-151.
  - 16. Some of these, at an early stage, are discussed in Women Take

    Issue, but there is need for a really full and consolidated account
    of the transformations in cultural studies stemming from feminist
    work and criticism. See also Angela McRobbie, 'Settling Accounts
    with Sub-Cultures', Screen Education, No.34 Spring, 1980 and the
    articles by Hazel Carby and Pratibha Parmar in Empire Strikes Back.

- 17. These moves can be traced, for example, in successive shifts of object and emphasis in media work in the Centre, from work on news and current affairs, to 'Nationwide' (a popular, light, news magazine), to light entertainment, soap opera, situation comedy etc. See, for example, Dorothy Hobson, Crossroads: Drama of a Soap Opera, Methuen, 1982, but also (internal) reports from the CCCS Media Group for 1979-81. But this has been a quite general move in media work in the late 1970s in Britain.
  - See, for example, Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron,
    Reproduction in Education Society and Culture, Sage, 1977; Pierre
    Bourdieu, 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction' in R.
    Brown (ed), Knowledge, Education and Social Change, Tavistock,
    1973; Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, Tavistock,
    1972.
  - 19. Brian Easlea, <u>Science and Sexual Oppression</u>, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1981, Geoff Whitty and Michael Young, <u>Explorations in the Politics of School Knowledge</u>, Netterton, 1976. Thanks also to Maureen McNeil for very interesting discussions on these themes.
- See, for example, Stuart Hall, 'Some Paradigms in Cultural Studies'
  Anglistics, 1978; Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms',
  Media, Culture and Society, No.2. 1980 (reprinted in part in Tony
  Bennett et al. (eds.), Culture Ideology and Social Process, Open
  University and Batsford, 1981 and the introductory essays in Hall,
  Hobson, Lowe and Willis (eds), Culture, Media and Language,
  Hutchinson, 1980. These essays are highly compressed versions of
  the MA Theory Course at CCCS which Stuart Hall taught and which
  comprised a comprehensive theoretical mapping of the field. See
  also my own attempts at theoretical clarification, much influenced
  by Stuart's, in, especially, Clark, Critcher and Johnson (eds),
  Working Class Culture, Hutchinson, 1979.
- 21. It will be important, however, to return to these issues, sometime, to state 'solutions' more formally and fully than is possible here. The more explicitly epistemological issues are tackled, and (for me) in larger part resolved, in Johnson, 'Reading for the Best Marx' (cited above, note 11).
  - 22. Raymond Williams, <u>Culture and Society</u> and the entry in <u>Keywords</u>, Fontana, 1976.
  - Complete Works, Lawrence and Wishart, 1976, Vol.5, p.43.
  - 24. <u>Capital</u>, Penguin, 1976, Vol.I, p.283.
  - See especially the <u>Paris Manuscripts</u> of 1844.
  - 26. For a discussion of 'general-historical' abstraction in Marx see, Johnson 'Best Marx', p.172.
  - 27. For the theme of self-production see the 1844 Manuscripts, but also the description of the labour process in <u>Capital</u>, Vol.I: 'Through this movement he acts upon external nature, and in this way he

- simultaneously changes his own nature'. (p.283). For the bracketting out of the artistic, religious etc. see <u>Grundrisse</u>, Penguin, 1972, p.101.
- 28. 'Introduction' to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.
- 29. The diagram is based, in its <u>general</u> forms, on a reading of Marx's account of the circuit of capital and its metamorphoses. For an important and original account of this, and of allied questions (e.g. 'fetishism') see Victor Molina, 'Marx's Arguments About Ideology', M.Litt. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1982. This thesis is currently being revised for submission as a Ph.D. Also important is Stuart Hall's "Encoding/Decoding" in <u>Culture</u>, Media, Language.
- 30. I am afraid this illustrative case is largely hypothetical since I have no contacts inside British Leyland Management. Any resemblance to persons living or dead is entirely fortuitous and a pure instance of the power of theory.
- 31. This is the division between 'structuralist' and 'culturalist' approaches Stuart Hall and I, among others, have already discussed, but now in the form of 'objects' and methods, rather than 'paradigms'. See sources listed in note 20 above and add Richard Johnson 'Histories of Culture/Theories of Ideology: Notes on an Impasse', in Barrett et al. (eds.), Ideology and Cultural Production.
- 32. My thinking on 'the public and the private' is much influenced by certain German traditions, especially discussions around Jurgen Habermas' work on 'the public sphere'. This is now being interestingly picked up and used in some American work. See Jurgen Habermas, Strukturwandel der Offentlichkeit, Neuweid, Berlin, 1962; Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, Offentlichkeit und Erfahrung: Zur Organisationsanalyse von Burerlicher und proletarischer Offentlichkeit, Frankfurt am Main, 1972. For an extract of Negt and Kluge's work see A. Matterlart and S. Seigelaub (eds.), Communication and Class Struggle, Vol.2. The American journal New German Critique has translated parts of Habermas' text, not yet available in full in English, and carries discussion of the debate about 'the public sphere'. See also, for a summary of the arguments, and a first application to British cultural forms, Michael Bommes and Patrick Wright, '"Charms of Residence": the Public and the Past' in CCCS, Making Histories.
- 33. Paul Willis, 'Shop-floor culture Masculinity and the Wage Form' in Clarke, Critcher and Johnson (eds), Working Class Culture.
- 34. The most popular of a number of magazines for teenage girls in Britain. See Angela McRobbie, 'Jackie: An Ideology of Adolescent Femininity' CCCS Stencilled Paper, No. 53.

- 35. There is a very large sociological literature on these forms of stigmatisation, especially of the deviant young. For a cultural studies development of this work see Stuart Hall et al. Policing the Crisis: 'Mugging', the State and Law and Order, Macmillan, 1973. For more subtle forms of marginalisation see CCCS Media Group, 'Fighting over Peace: Representations of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the Media', CCCS Stencilled Paper, No. 72. For current treatment of the left and the trade unions in the British media see the sequence of studies by the Glasgow Media Group, starting with Glasgow University Media Group, Bad News, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976. Stanley Cohen and Jock Yong (eds), The Manufacture of News, Constable, 1973 was a pioneering collection.
- There is a great deal of practical knowledge about 'communication' 36. in the writing of professionals in these areas. Critically read, much can be learned from these sources. Allied but not identified with explicitly political concerns with communication are the various schools of liberal-pluralist communications research. For a recent overview of these, which however, is profoundly ignorant of the European traditions, see Shearon Lowery and Melvin L.De Fleur, Milestones in Mass Communication Research, Longmans 1983. Most of the work on 'the media' within the cultural studies tradition has been based on a critique of these predominantly American Tendencies. For a predominantly left-ish collection in this field, - illustrating, however, different approaches see James Curran et al., (eds), Mass Communication and Society, Arnold/Open University, 1977, and, more recently, Michael Gurevitch et al (eds), Culture, Society and the Media, Methuen/Open University, 1982. Among English representatives of the 'mass communications' schools the work of J. G. Blumler is especially interesting.
- 37. Raymond Williams' formulations on the nature of cultural production are especially important here as a much fuller account than most structuralist or semiological versions. See for example, Raymond Williams, Culture, Fontana, 1981.
- 38. These debates are interestingly reviewed in Alan Swingewood, The Myth of Mass Culture, Macmillan, 1977. See also the first four theoretical review essays in Gurevitch, et al, Culture, Society and the Media.
- The best review of the Frankfurt School in English is David Held,

  Introduction to Critical Theory, Hutchinson, 1981, which
  concentrates on the clear presentation of often 'difficult'
  theories. See also Phil Slater, Origin and Significane of the
  Frankfurt School: A Marxist Perspective, Routledge and Kegan Paul,
  1977, See also Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt (eds), The Essential
  Frankfurt School Reader, Blackwell, 1978.
- Among the best close studies of this kind are Philip Elliott, The Making of a Television Series: A Case Study in the Sociology of Culture, Constable/Sage, 1972; Philip Schlesinger, Putting 'Reality' Together: BBC News, Constable/Sage, 1978; Jeremy Tunstall, Journalists at Work, Constable, 1971; Dorothy Hobson, Crossroads: Drama of a Soap Opera.

- 41. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, Penguin, 1963; Paul Willis, Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs, Saxon House, 1977. Both these books are classics in cultural studies, as I understand it. A reading of them should be compulsory, especially for those working with the more formalist models.
- 42. The forms of 'political organisation' were often not specified in Marx or in the theorists who followed him, up to and including, in my view, Lenin. For Lenin, it seems to me, cultural politics remained a matter of organisation and 'propaganda' in quite narrow senses.
- 43. Althusser's exceptions of 'art' from ideology are an instance of the persistance of this view within Marxism. It is interesting to compare Althusser's and Gramsci's view of 'philosophy' here too, Althusser tending to the specialist academic or 'high cultural' definition, Gramsci to the popular.
  - 44. Especially important here are notes collected under 'Education' and 'The Intellectual' in the English selection from the Prison

    Notebooks. Quinton Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (eds),

    Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, Lawrence and Wishart, 1971. I find the theme of a history of 'intellectuals' and their political connections especially fascinating in Gramsci, not least his tendency to use the language of the past to describe contemporary realities. Thanks also to Michael Green for very stimulating discussions of these themes.
- 45. I think the predominant reception of Gramsci in Britain is 'anti-Leninist', especially among those interested in discourse theory. But it may be that CCCS appropriations underestimate Gramsci's Leninism too. I am grateful to Victor Molina for discssions on this issue.
  - 46. I recognise this sense may be based on a narrow reading of Gramsci, limited by available translations.
  - 47. See, for instance, the work of Graham Murdock and Peter Golding on the political economy of the mass media: e.g. 'Capitalism, Communication and Class Relations' in Curran et al (eds), Mass Communication and Society; Graham Murdock, 'Large Corporations and the Control of the Communications Industries' in Gurevitch et al. (eds) Culture, Society and the Media; for a more explicitly polemical engagement with CCCS work see Golding and Murdock, 'Ideology and the Mass Media: the Question of Determination' in Barratt et al (eds), Ideology and Cultural Production. For a reply see I. Connell, 'Monopoly Capitalism and the Media: Definitions and Struggles' in S. Hibbin (ed), Politics, Ideology and the State, Lawrence and Wishart, 1978.

- These claims have their proximate origin in Althusser's statement that ideologies have a material existence. For a classic English statement of this kind of 'materialism' see Rosalind Coward and John Ellis, Language and Materialism: Development in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977. This is rather different from Marx's argument that under particular conditions ideologies acquire a 'material force' or Gramsci's elaboration of this in terms of the conditions of popularity.
- 49. This applies to a wide range of structuralist and post-structuralist theories from Poulantzas's arguments against class reductionist notions of ideology to the more radical positions of Barry Hindess and Paul Hirst and other theorists of 'discourse'.
- In this respect I find myself at odds with many strands in cultural studies, including some influential ones, which opt for an expanded use of ideology rather in the Bolshevik sense or in the more Leninist or Althusser's (several) uses. Ideology is applied, in the OU's imporant popular culture course, for instance, to the formation of subjectivities as such. If stretched thus, I would argue that the term loses its usefulness - 'discourse', 'cultural form' etc would do quite as well. On the whole, I wish to retain the 'negative' or 'critical' connotations of the term 'ideology' in classic Marxist discourse, though not, as it happens, the usual accompaniment, a 'hard' notion of Marxism-as-science. It may well be that all our knowledge of the world and all or conceptions of the self are 'ideological', or more or less ideological, in that they are rendered partial by the operation of interests and of power. But this seems to me a proposition that has to be plausibly argued in particular cases rather than assumed at the beginning of every analysis. The expanded, 'neutral' sense of the term cannot altogeter lay to rest the older negative connotations. The issues are interestingly stated in the work of Jorge Larrain. See Marxism and Ideology, Macmillan, 1983 and The concept of Ideology, Hutchinson, 1979.
- 51. See especially Theodore Adorno, 'On the Fetish Character of Music and the Regression of Listening' in Arato and Gebhardt, (eds) Frankfurt School Reader; Adorno & Horkheimer, <u>Dialectics of Enlightenment</u>, Allen Lane, 1973; Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction' in <u>Illuminations</u>, Fontana, 1973.
- 52. 'Fetish Character in Music', pp.287-8. Later he gives slightly more rounded pictures of types of consumption of popular music, but even his fans' dancing resembles 'the reflexes of mutilated animals' (p.292).
- 53. For more developed critiques see Dick Bradley, 'Introduction to the Cultural Study of Music', CCCS Stencilled Paper, No. 61; Richard Middleton, 'Reading Popular Music', OU Popular Culture Course Unit, Unit 16, Block 4, Open University Press, 1981.

- 54. CCCS Education Group, <u>Unpopular Education</u>: <u>Schooling and Social</u>
  Democracy in England since 1944, Hutchinson, 1981.
  - The analysis of Thatcherism has continued to be one of Stuart Hall's major concerns. See the very important essays republished in Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques (eds), The Politics of Thatcherism, Lawrence and Wishart/Marxism Today, 1983. 'The Great Moving Right Show', written before the 1979 election, proved to be especially perceptive.
- 56. Particularly useful introductions, in English, to these combined impacts are Silvia Harvey, <u>May 1968 and Film Culture</u>, BFI, 1980; Tony Bennett, Formalism and Marxism, New Accents, Methuen, 1979.
- 57. See, for instance, the work of a group of critical linguists initially based on the University of East Anglia, especially: R. Fowler et al, Language and Control, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979; Gunther Kress and Thomas Hodge, Language as Ideology, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979. I am especially grateful to Gunther Kress, who spent some months at the Centre, and to Utz Maas of Osnabruck University for very fruitful discussions on the relationship of language studies and cultural studies. See also Utz Maas, 'Language Studies and Cultural Analysis', paper for a conference on Language and Cultural Studies at CCCS, December 1982.
  - Much of this work remains unpublished. I very much hope that one of the next CCCS books will be a collection on romance. In the meantime see English Studies Group, 'Recent Developments' in Culture, Media, Language; Rachel Harrison, 'Shirley: Romance and Relations of Dependence' in CCCS Women's Studies Group, Women Take Issue; Angela McRobbie, 'Working-Class Girls and Femininity', ibid Myra Connell, 'Reading and Romance' Unpublished MA Dissertation University of Birmingham, 1981; Christine Griffin, 'Cultures of Femininity: Romance Revisited', CCCS Stencilled Paper, No. 69; Janice Winship, 'Woman Becomes an Individual: Femininity and Consumption in Women's Magazines', CCCS Stencilled Paper, No. 65; Laura di Michele, 'The Royal Wedding', CCCS Stencilled Paper, forthcoming.
  - Memory Group in CCCS towards a book on the popularity of Conservative nationalism. I am especially grateful to Laura di Michele for her contribution in opening up these questions in relation to 'epic', and to Graham Dawson for discussions on masculinity, war, and boy culture.
  - 60. Especially those developing out of the work on M.A.K. Halliday which includes the 'critical linguistics' group (note 58) but also femininst linguists influenced by his approach. For Halliday see Gunther Kress (ed), Halliday System and Function in Language, Oxford University Press, 1976.
    - 61. See especially the long, largely unpublished critique of <u>Screen</u> by the CCCS Media Group 1977-78. Parts of this appear in Stuart Hall et al. (eds), <u>Culture</u>, <u>Media</u>, <u>Language</u>, Hutchinson, 1980, pp.157-173.

- 62. I take this to be the common message of a great range of work, some of it quite critical of structuralist formalisms, on the subject of narrative in literature, film, television, folk tale, myth, history and political theory. I am in the middle of my own reading list, delving into this material from a quite unliterary background. My starting points are theories of narrative in general - compare Roland Barthes 'Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives' in Stephen Heath (ed), Barthes on Image, Music, Text, Fontana, 1977 and Frederic Jameson, The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially-Symbolic Act, Methuen, 1981, but I am most interested in work, at a lesser level of generality, that specifies the types of genres of narrative. Here I have found much stimulus in work on filmic or televisual narratives, see especially the texts collected in Tony Bennett et al. (eds), Popular Television and Film, BFI/Open University, 1981, but also on 'archetypal' genre forms - epic, romance, tragedy etc - as in Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, Princeton University Press, 1957. My particular concern is with the stories we tell ourselves, individually and collectively. In this respect the existing literature is, so far, disappointing. I am about to start, with others, a programme of Freud readings. Perhaps further developments lie there.
  - 63. Grundrisse, '1857 Introduction' (ed. and trans. Martin Nicolaus),
    Penguin, 1973, p.85.
  - 64. Roland Barthes, Mythologies, Paladin, 1973, p.112.
  - 65. By which I mean 'post-structuralism' in the usual designation. This seems to me a rather misleading tag since it is hard to conceive of late semiology without early, or even of Foucault without Althusser.
  - 66. Tony Bennett, 'James Bond as Popular Hero', <u>OU Popular Culture</u>

    <u>Course Unit</u>, Unit 21, Block 5; 'Text and Social Process: The Case
    of James Bond', <u>Screen Education</u>, No. 41, Winter/Spring, 1982.
  - 67. 'Fighting Over Peace: Representations of CND in the Hedia', CCCS Stencilled Paper no. 72.
  - 68. This project is not yet completed; provisional title: 'Jingo Bells: The Public and the Private in Christmas Media 1982'.
  - 69. This term has been used to distinguish 'structuralist' and 'post-structuralist' semiologies, with the incorporation of emphases from Lacanian psycho-analysis as an important watershed.
- 70. The combination of formal and more historical modes of analysis is clear, for example, in many of the earlier essays in Cahiers du Cinema, including the famous analysis of John Ford's Young Mr. Lincoln. See the collection in John Ellis (ed), Screen Reader: Cinema/Ideology/Politics, Society for Education in Film and Television, 1977.

- 71. The relation of <u>Screen</u>'s theory to Brecht and Eisenstein is rather odd. Characteristically, quotations from Brecht were taken as starting-points for adventures which led to quite other destinations than Brecht's own thinking. See, for example, Colin MacCabe, 'Realism and the Cinema: Notes on Some Brechtian Theses' in Bennett et al (eds), Popular Television and Film.
- 72. See, for example, the culmination of a long exploration of Marxist heterodoxy in A. Cutler et al, Marx's <u>Capital and Capitalism Today</u>, 2 Volume, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- 73. The original formulation seems to have been Levi-Strauss' on the subject of myth.
- 'The cinematic institution is not just the cinema industry (which works to fill cinemas, not to empty them). It is also the mental machinery another industry which spectators "accustomed to the cinema" have internalised historically and which has adapted them to the consumption of films'. C. Metz, 'The Imaginary Signifier', Screen, Vol. 16, No. 2 Summer, 1975, p.18.
  - 75. What follows owes much to the CCCS <u>Screen</u> critique cited above (note 61).
  - There seem to be two rather distinct approaches to reading or 'audiences', the one an extension of litarary concerns, the other more sociological in approach and often growing out of media studies. I find David Morley's work in this area consistently interesting as an attempt to combine some elements from both sets of preoccupations, though I agree with his own assessment that the Centre's early starting-points, especially the notions of 'hegemonic', 'negotiated' and 'alternative' readings were exceedingly crude. See David Morley, The Nationwide Audeience, BFI, 1980; 'The Nationwide Audience: A Postscript', Screen Education, No. 39, Summer, 1981; Open University Popular Culture Course, Unit 12, Block 3, 'Interpreting Television'. There is much of value on more literary aspects of reading in the long-delayed CCCS book on English Studies, currently being considered for publication by Nethuen.
    - 77. See the famous analysis in terms of 'scopophilia' in Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', <u>Screen</u>, Vol. 16, no.3.

      Autumn 1975. See also Colin Mercer, <u>Open University Popular Culture Course</u>, Unit 17, Block 4. 'Pleasure'.
    - 78. It is significant, for instance, that Barthes does not mention 'internal' narratives in his view of the omnipresence of the narrative form. <a href="Image-Music-Text">Image-Music-Text</a>, p.79. Does this absense suggest a larger structuralist difficulty with inner speech?

- The ideas of the last few paragraphs are still in the process of being worked out in the CCCS Popular Memory Group. For some preliminary considerations about the character of oral-historical texts see Popular Memory Group, 'Popular Memory: Theory Politics, Method' in CCCS, Making Histories. I have found some of the essays in Daniel Bertaux, Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences, Sage, 1981, useful to argue with, especially Agnes Hankiss, 'Ontologies of the Self: on the Mythological Rearranging of One's Life History'.
- And some of the best and most influential working cultural studies has been based on personal experience and private memory. Richard lloggart's The Uses of Literacy is the most celebrated example, but, in general, students of culture should have the courage to use their personal experience more, more explicitly and more systematically. In this sense cultural studies is a heightened, differentiated form of everyday activities and living. Collective activities of this kind, attempting to understand not just 'common' experiences but real adversities and antagonisms, are especially important, if they can be managed, and subject to the caveats which follows.
- 81. For episodes in this tradition see P. Abrams, The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1914, Chicago University Press, 1968; M.J. Cullen, The Statisitical Movement in Early Victorian Britain, Harvester Press, 1975; Gareth Stedman Jones, Outcast London, Clarendon Press, 1971. The continuities between twentieth century sociologies and nineteenth-century inquiry is argued in CCCS, Unpopular Education where comparisons are also made with new left traditions.
- 82. George Orwell's social commentries are very relevant here, as is the contemporary (30s/40s) project of 'Mass Observation', part 'literary', part 'anthropological'.
- 83. This is forcefully argued by Paul Jones in an article soon to appear in <u>Thesis Eleven</u>, Monash University, Australia, 1903.
- See Dave Morley and Ken Worpole (eds), The Republic of Letters:
  Working Class Writing and Local Publishing, Comedia, 1982. For a
  more external and critical view see 'Popular Memory' in Making
  Ilistories. Also instructive is the debate between Ken Worpole,
  Stephen Yeo and Gerry White in Raphael Samuel (ed), People's
  History and Socialist Theory, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.
- 85. This is associated with the centrality of an experience of social mobility in the origins of post-war sociology and cultural studies, especially in their more radical moments. To Hoggart's book we might add much of Raymond Williams' work and much research in the sociologies of education, deviancy, sub-cultures etc.
- Some CCCS work is not exempt from this difficulty. Some of these criticisms apply, for instance, to <u>Resistance Through Rituals</u>, especially parts of the theoretical overview.