

Globalization is ordinary

The transnationalization of cultural studies

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The institutionalization and codification of Cultural Studies continue apace. This is evident, for example, in the recurring debates and anxieties about disciplinary boundaries, artistic and ethical values, and the de-radicalization of Cultural Studies itself. Meanwhile, an apparently endless stream of publications – readers, textbooks and collections of (more or less) concrete analyses – feeds the demands of teachers and students in higher education. Cultural Studies has become a complex institutional UK- and USA-centred assemblage whose parameters are nevertheless transnational, organized around publishers (Routledge, Sage, Duke University Press), journals (*Cultural Studies*, *Public Culture*, *New Formations*, *Positions*, *The Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* (*Travesía*), *Social Text*, *differences*, the recently launched *Keywords*) and key pedagogic sites (from the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, the Open University and Goldsmiths' College in the UK, passing through the Duke and Chapel Hill universities of the North Carolina Research Triangle in the USA, to the Center for Cultural Studies at Taiwan's National Tsing Hua University). Recently, its programmes and conferences have begun to attract sponsors – the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations being interested players in the USA and beyond. There is even a star system that provides a set of biographies around which to emplot its history (Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall).¹ For some time now, we have been living through a boom in Cultural Studies.

Forty years after the publication of Raymond Williams's janus-faced pair of texts *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* and 'Culture is Ordinary' – the first bidding farewell to one tradition of thinking about 'culture' and the 'masses', and the second inaugurating another, more radical, engaged and democratic one² – Cultural Studies is an almost unmappable

field of critical enquiry endowed, nevertheless, with a set of both languages and local histories. At its most institutionally radical it is an anti-disciplinary discipline with a multitude of practitioners working, on the one hand, at the boundaries between disciplines and, on the other, in response to social movements and even political parties, with an eye to illuminating the ways in which relations of power are experienced in everyday life.³

Consumption without production

However, in her important essay 'Banality in Cultural Studies', published in 1988, the Australian critic Meaghan Morris had spotted the populist spectre haunting the field in the form of a rhetoric or repeatable style that seemed to confirm not only its institutionalization but also its industrialization as an intellectual product: having read one cultural study, one increasingly had the feeling of having read them all.⁴ The key to this experience is to be found, Morris suggests, in a generalized overvaluation of the power of 'the people' to read creatively and to appropriate the products of mass culture in such a way that the particularities of their mode of production, and its determinations, are erased. Such a populism emerges in a narcissistic simulacrum of identity 'between the knowing subject of cultural studies, and a collective subject, the "people"'. The latter, she goes on,

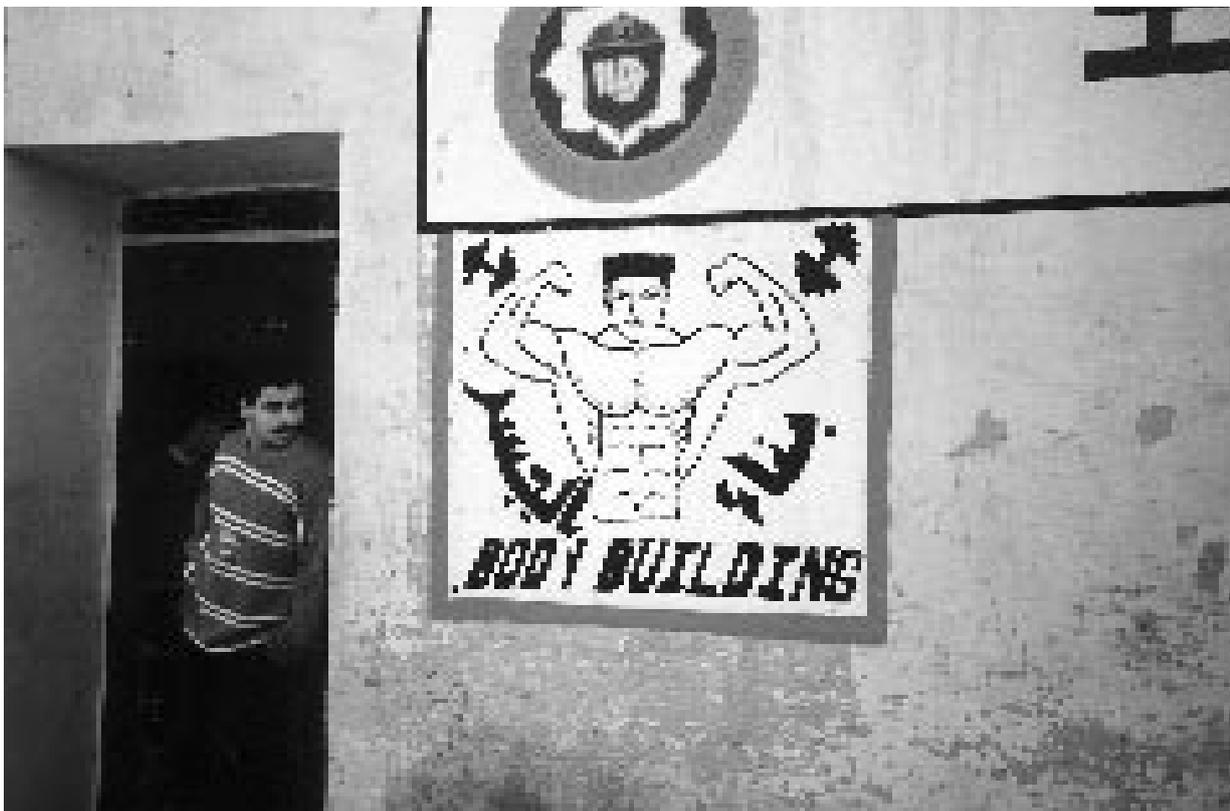
have no necessary defining characteristics – except an indomitable capacity to 'negotiate' readings, generate new interpretations and remake the materials of culture. ... So against the hegemonic force of the dominant classes, 'the people' in fact represent the most creative energies and functions of critical reading. In the end they are not simply the cultural student's object of study, and his native informants. The people are also the textually delegated, allegorical emblem of the critic's own activity.⁵

The textual alliance – or political ventriloquism – Morris discovers in the populism of British Cultural Studies in the 1980s thus has an identifiable conceptual site: an idea of consumption *without production* – in which ‘production’ would stand for non-populist social particularity and/or the ignored materiality of historical and ideological determination, whilst ‘consumption’ is transformed into a Bakhtinian realm of freedom.⁶ This clearly demands to be read as an inversion of the position associated with the ideology-critique of the Frankfurt School, which can be formulated for our purposes here as a production *without consumption* – in which the abstract logics of commodification and instrumental reason (ideology) incorporate the consumer-reader into the realm of necessity, without remainder. There productivity of consumption was reduced to reproduction. From this point of view, it is possible to interpret ‘British Cultural Studies’ – or at least those examples with which Morris is concerned – as a populist and uncritical attempt at rescuing ‘the people’ (who consume) from the prison-house of ideological determination.⁷

Arguably, in her critique of this particular turn in Cultural Studies, Morris delineates the core theoretical and political space of the field itself. It would not, therefore, be the case that it *fell* into populism in the 1980s after the waning in influence of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (which, like so many other cultural critics, she mourns) and the rise of Thatcherism. Nor is it merely a question of

this or that study being populist in intent. It is rather that populism – its problematic as sketched by Morris – is a constitutive dimension of the field of Cultural Studies itself.⁸ There are theoretical and historical reasons for this.

The critical concept of ‘culture’ associated with Cultural Studies emerged in dialogue, and indeed conflict, not only with the sedimented conservative concept of ‘culture’ associated with the cultivation of taste, but also with traditional Western Marxist concepts of ‘ideology’, associated with Lukács (a commodity-centred ‘false consciousness’) and Althusser (a state-centred reproduction of structures via ‘interpellation’). It is possible to trace the history of this conflict and dialogue not only in the work of both Williams and Hall but also in the hugely influential historiography of E.P. Thompson and those such as Raphael Samuel associated with the journal *History Workshop*, as well as in the studies of the Birmingham Centre. Such conceptions of ideology, whilst enhancing the interpretative power (the cultural capital) of intellectuals – who reveal the historical truth behind the ideological illusions that (a) institute a social process of forgetting, and (b) motivate always already recuperable political action – radically de-historicize and disempower the constituencies they present themselves as representing. In the uncritical use of the traditional concept of ‘ideology’ there is always a danger of a redoubling of the ideological effect through which enlightened intellectual power is installed – the place from where





the diagnosis of 'ideology' is enunciated – and the subaltern subalternized.

The Cultural Studies concept of 'culture' thus struggles with the idea that it is possible to recuperate the real knowledges, histories, memories and practices of these constituencies – configured usually according to 'race', class, gender or age – to be found in the very heartland of 'ideology': for example, in reading as an activity that may use objects and texts in ways not established in their codification or production.⁹ In this sense, it extends the democratizing gesture of the anthropological concept of culture as a 'whole way of life' *into ideology*, whilst – at its non-populist best – recognizing the power of existing structures, including the intellectual elitism of the ideology of 'ideology': culture, now, as a 'whole way of struggle'.¹⁰ Rather than the mere valorization of popular or mass cultural forms as such, it is this cultural work of recovery that constitutes the populism that Cultural Studies must – perhaps rightly – risk and pass through. For a concept of 'culture' that refuses to recognize the power of ideology, be it in the form of commodification and interpellation, or in the epistemic violence that intellectually disempowers, surely *does fall* into a form of populism that is, in effect, a celebration of the given, reproducing the 'ideological effect' of which it is critical: hegemonic capture through 'misrecognition'. From this point of view, a critical concept of 'culture' needs a conception of ideology, just as a critical concept of

'ideology' needs a conception of culture. The early work of Williams and Thompson has been identified with the 'self-making' culturalist (and populist) side of this tense theoretical space – the key contested term in the 1970s being 'experience' rather than 'consumption' – whilst the Cultural Studies associated with the Birmingham Centre may be identified with the side of the 'ideologists', in which recovered forms of resistance were usually shown in the last instance to be structurally overdetermined.

The simulacral gesture of British Cultural Studies as described by Morris – however problematic – would, therefore, seem to respond to a constitutively anti-ideological and recuperative dimension of the critical concept of 'culture' that produces Cultural Studies itself. Her example of populism – of consumption *without production* – even takes the step of appearing to enable 'the people' to share in the speaking of cultural study. From a more literary point of view than Morris's, one might appreciate the radical character of such a gesture as a symbolic act, a kind of utopian fiction of intellectual de-subalternization: how is political responsibility re-presented in the grammar of critique? But because it forgets 'production' and displays no appreciation of the real effects of 'ideology' – which in this case seem rather to be disavowed – such a gesture remains entrapped by a populism (the political diagnosis of 'culturalism') that is voluntaristic at best, a ventriloquism at worst, but that is, never-

theless, in some sense a stylistic extension of a demand which is constitutive of the Cultural Studies endeavour in the first place.

'Critical culture'

The problematic constitutive of the radicalized field of Cultural Studies in the 1970s is perhaps best formulated as follows: ideology without culture is (historically) empty, culture without ideology is (politically) blind. These are the parameters of the conceptual site from which the *critical* concept of culture emerges, in a 'populist' tussle with 'ideology'. At this point another keyword must be brought to bear: hegemony. One of the main theoretical functions of the concept of hegemony is precisely to mediate the tensions outlined above between the concepts of 'culture' and 'ideology'. It is the theoretical space from which it is possible to describe Cultural Studies as simultaneously a *move away from* Marxism and a *move into* Marxism.¹¹ 'Hegemony' works in two directions at once: making ideology concrete, and everyday life political. It is the principal mechanism through which the ideas of the ruling class become general (ideology) so that their rule is lived (culture) as consent. Hegemony fastens the state into everyday life and everyday life into the state. This is one way in which 'hegemony', famously, undermines the epistemological value of the 'base–superstructure' metaphor.

Although not populist as such, the concept of 'hegemony' does tend to reinforce the populist dimension of Cultural Studies in two related ways: by weakening the grasp of ideology and focusing attention on popular agency. First, the idea of 'consent' can either strengthen the power of ideological incorporation without remainder (as in Althusser's development of it in the theory of interpellation – the misrecognition

of subjecthood) so that consent to rule *is* ideology;¹² or, it can seem to weaken it, in so far as it also envisions a politics of alliance which would include negotiation with, and the satisfaction of, alternative corporate needs, desires and fantasies ('interests' in a more Leninist theory of ideology). In this case, forces of counter-hegemony are endowed with transformative agency, a material 'otherness' that hegemonic rule must recognize so as to incorporate. Here negotiation, even rearticulation (as in Hall's analysis of Thatcherism as an 'authoritarian populism'), disturbs the power of ideology. Second, when the political field is thought from the point of view of hegemony, the more abstract determinations associated with the economic instance (such as class) tend to recede with concretion. Their place is taken by new subject positions that are at once polarized *and* meshed:¹³ the dominant and the dominated, the hegemonic bloc and the subaltern, the ruling classes and 'the people' – which, of course, doubles as the key legitimizing concept of modern politics. Thus the concept of hegemony produces counter-hegemony as popular, the work of 'the people', and suitable for cultural recuperation *against ideology*.

This is a minimal diagram of the relations between the core concepts of Cultural Studies established during the 1960s and 1970s. According to Dennis Dworkin, the not-so-secret cargo of Cultural Studies was the production of a postwar local cultural Marxism in Britain, which reached its peak in the second half of the 1970s.¹⁴ I agree. Indeed, I would go so far as to suggest that the critical concept of culture developed in dialogue with the concepts of ideology and hegemony constitutes an extension and renewal of Western Marxism in a post-imperial UK, the intellectual subject of which would be collective, dispersed and even internally antagonistic, although centred on the work

* Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Hugh Mackay and Keith Negus, *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman*, Sage (in association with the Open University), London, Thousand Oaks CA and New Delhi, 1997. 151 pp., £37.50 hb., £11.99 pb., 0 7619 5433 3 hb., 0 7619 5434 1 pb. Hereafter cited as *DCS*.

Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage Publications (in association with the Open University), London, Thousand Oaks CA and New Delhi, 1997. 400 pp., £39.99 hb., £13.99 pb., 0 7619 5431 7 hb., 0 7619 5432 5 pb. Hereafter cited as *RCRSP*.

Kathryn Woodward, ed., *Identity and Difference*, Sage Publications (in association with the Open University), London, Thousand Oaks CA and New Delhi, 1997. 358 pp., £39.99 hb., £13.99 pb., 0 7619 5433 3 hb., 0 7619 5434 1 pb. Hereafter cited as *ID*.

Paul du Gay, ed., *Production of Culture/Cultures of Production*, Sage Publications (in association with the Open University), London, Thousand Oaks CA and New Delhi, 1997. 356 pp., £40.00 hb., £13.99 pb., 0 7619 5435 X hb., 0 7619 5436 8 pb. Hereafter cited as *PC/CP*.

Hugh Mackay, ed., *Consumption and Everyday Life*, Sage Publications (in association with the Open University), London, Thousand Oaks CA and New Delhi, 1997. 320 pp., £40.00 hb., £13.99 pb., 0 7619 5437 6 hb., 0 7619 5438 4 pb. Hereafter cited as *CEL*.

Kenneth Thompson, ed., *Media and Cultural Regulation*, Sage Publications (in association with the Open University), London, Thousand Oaks CA and New Delhi, 1997. 248 pp., £40.00 hb., £13.99 pb., 0 7619 5439 2 hb., 0 7619 5440 6 pb. Hereafter cited as *MCR*.

of key individuals.¹⁵ It is from this decentred tradition that the recently published six-volume series of texts *Culture, Media and Identities* emerges, incorporating and summarizing many, if not all, of the mutations and transformations of the critical concept of culture.*

Of all the readers and introductions to Cultural Studies that have appeared over the last few years, this series is probably the most interesting. This is because it shows Cultural Studies at work, as both an analytical disposition and as an alternative pedagogy. Nevertheless, a fundamental characteristic of the history of the field it evokes is a theoretical inflation of the concept of culture as a way of thinking about relations of power, and the simultaneous waning – to near invisibility – of the power of the concepts of ideology and hegemony as critical markers of class rule.¹⁶ If the 1970s witnessed a critical *moving into* Marxism by Cultural Studies, these texts reflect upon the subsequent moving away.

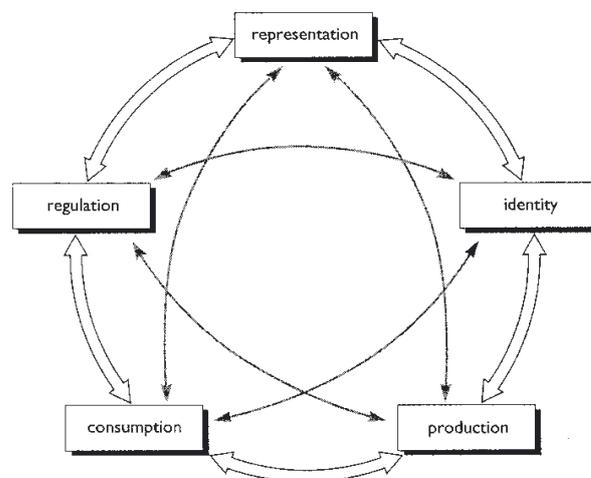
The circuit of culture

Open University Course D318, *Culture, Media and Identities*, is organized around five cultural processes: representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation. Each process has a volume dedicated to it. Together they make up what the course organizers (and volume editors) call ‘the circuit of culture’. In addition, an excellent introductory volume dedicated to the cultural significance of the Sony Walkman analyses a specific articulation of all five processes together. The series is exemplary in its range, combining theoretical exegesis and an interdisciplinary approach with investigations of a variety of histories, practices, objects and subjects that are, furthermore, cross-referenced to other moments in the circuit of culture contained in other volumes. The idea of complex multi-determination throughout the circuit is thus enhanced.

Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman, written by five members of the course team, introduces the student-reader to the idea of ‘the circuit of culture’ and sets it to work in relation to a particularly well-chosen cultural object that condenses many of the issues dealt with in the series, some of which are not named in the circuit. Globalization is one, to which I shall return below. The relation between private and public spheres is another. The latter is dealt with here in the chapter dedicated to regulation. This is the process within the circuit of culture that looks at the roles of the law and the market in regulating culture, and the role of culture in regulating the law and the market. The main point is that use of the Walkman tends to cut across public

and private spheres against the grain of ‘the increasing privatization of cultural life’ to become, uncannily, ‘out of place’. It does this, of course, by undoing the opposition and inverting the norm – that is, by facilitating private listening and entertainment in public (DCS, p. 120).

It is hardly surprising, then, that when the transgressive dimension of listening under the heading of ‘consumption’ is discussed, the spectre of populism as diagnosed by Meaghan Morris in the 1980s – consumption *without production* – emerges again, as does the relation between Cultural Studies and the Frankfurt School. And it emerges with regard to one of the same critics referred to by Morris – Iain Chambers – upon whose account of the Walkman’s blurring of



boundaries between public and private spheres the authors of the volume rely.

According to du Gay, Hall et al., consumption is best interpreted as ‘the production of meaning through usage’ – the populist recuperative (and anti-ideological) moment of Cultural Studies – and as always inscribed in a ‘complex power geometry’ that ‘recognizes the uneven and differentiated nature of Walkman use’ (pp. 108, 109).¹⁷ The volume’s authors marshal *difference* against Chambers’ totalizing and binarized version of the opposition of consumption to production, tracing instead both the continuities between the codes governing the manufacture, marketing and use of the Walkman (including those deemed transgressive) and the discontinuities. The recuperative paradigm of Cultural Studies thus remains in operation but is radicalized in a non-populist direction through an appeal to differential contextualization – or ‘contingency’ – rather than a Western Marxist sense of ideological recuperation; for example, as a contradictory intensification of the bourgeois notion of possessive individualism, however liberating, through entertainment. Although recogniz-

ing a degree of reproduction in consumption, the authors resist ideology- critique and political diagnosis in favour of a radical – or ‘new’ – historicism (see ‘Introduction’, *CEL*, pp. 1–11). The ‘articulation’ of the different moments of the cultural circuit, they insist, are ‘not necessary, determined, or absolute and essential for all time; rather ... [their] ... conditions of existence or emergence need to be located in the contingencies of circumstance’ (*DCS*, p. 3).¹⁸ In this new mutation of the paradigm of Cultural Studies, ideology – and, some might add, history – is lost between necessity and contingency.

The other five volumes, dedicated to the different but related processes constitutive of the circuit of culture, similarly investigate a variety of cultural practices and forms (photography, story-telling, film and music) while at the same time outlining the shifting paradigms of Cultural Studies since the 1970s. The linguistic and psychoanalytic turns in cultural criticism are important parts of this story, as they are of the analyses of the gendered, sexualized and racialized subjectivities which are reflected upon in the series, especially in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, edited by Stuart Hall, and *Identity and Difference*, edited by Kathryn Woodward. What emerges with particular clarity for the reader-student in these volumes is that Cultural Studies has not only been concerned with recuperating the experiences of modernity, hegemony, colonization, the culture industries and so forth, but also with the ways in which the social and the psychic realms intersect to constitute subjects, identities and social agents. The ‘work of representation’ (Hall, *RCRSP*, pp. 13–64) is, of course, crucial in this regard, and Stuart Hall, in his chapter on the subject, reminds his readers of the centrality of the semiotic paradigm in Cultural Studies, from the study of myth and fashion in Roland Barthes and its anthropological (Lévi-Strauss) and psychoanalytic (Lacan) inflections, through to the socio-dialogics of Voloshinov, and beyond to Foucauldian notions of discourse and knowledge-power. In combination with psycho-analysis, semiotics and discourse theory became important ways for Cultural Studies to consider the social grammar of subjectivity as it traverses the psyche, offering up diverse social positions to be taken up, desired, disavowed. In this sense, Cultural Studies in the 1970s and 1980s picked up and critically transformed older aestheticist conceptions of ‘culture’ designed then to actually fashion – that is, ‘improve’ – subjects.¹⁹ The main ideas under which such cultural transformation is imposed today are, of course, ‘modernization’ and ‘development’.

The chapters that follow focus their attention on a variety of regulative signifying practices, concentrating in the main on iconic, visual forms of address – so important to psychoanalysis – and questions of looking and display: in postwar French photography (Peter Hamilton), museums (Henrietta Lidchi), soap opera (Christine Gledhill), ‘new man’ advertising (Sean Nixon), and colonial and post-colonial spectacles of ‘race’ (Hall). In ‘The Body and Difference’ (*ID*, pp. 63–107), meanwhile, Chris Shilling foregrounds the extraordinary importance of Pierre Bourdieu’s social anthropology for contemporary Cultural Studies in his reflections on ‘physical capital’, suggesting that we do not forget the historical and social configurations of ‘embodiment’ beyond the purely semiotic. Thus, apart from the specific investigations the series contains, it also evokes an intellectual history of Cultural Studies: from Williams and Barthes in the 1960s and 1970s to Bourdieu and Foucault in the 1980s.²⁰

As is now well known, all relational and structuralist definitions of ‘identity’ presuppose ‘difference’. But identity does not always successfully impose itself on difference; nor does difference only buttress identity. It also disrupts identity, including the identity of Cultural Studies. The two major transformations of Cultural Studies and its critical concept of culture were the product of feminist and anti-racist cultural criticism in the mid-1970s and 1980s. They were felt on both the culturalist and Marxist sides of the late 1970s paradigm of Cultural Studies: its very own critical concept of ‘culture’ was revealed now to have been not only *culturally and historically empty* but also *ideologically and politically blind* to the particular experiences of more than half the population of Britain, let alone the world! Gay and queer studies would subsequently further trouble and dynamize the field. The effects of these critiques are evident in all six volumes of this series, but particularly in the two mentioned above and in *Media and Cultural Regulation*, edited by Kenneth Thompson. Again the work of Hall is important here (apart from co-authoring the first volume and editing the second, he has written three chapters for the series), but the collection also includes excellent chapters by Lynne Segal on the social and gendered configurations of sexuality (*ID*, pp. 183–228), Bhikhu Parekh on the pros and cons of multiculturalism (*MCR*, pp. 163–94), and Paul Gilroy, who, continuing his critique of ‘ethnic absolutisms’, writes on the terror and migrancy constitutive of diasporic identities (*ID*, pp. 299–343).²¹

There is a very real sense in which both the feminist and anti-racist critiques revealed the critical concept of

culture to be in its own way thoroughly *ideological*, and thus not critical enough of the dominant conception with which it was now seen to be complicit, in so far as it reified historically constituted power relations – the white, male and English paradigm – as natural.²² Thus whilst critical of Western Marxism's own ideological blindness, they nevertheless shared its critical concern for the distortions produced by ideology – now a marker of gendered and ethnic, as well as class, rule. Similarly, whilst critical of the implied monolithic identity of the culture – for example, 'the people', 'the nation', 'the community' – evoked by British culturalism, they shared its democratizing concern for recovering experiences that had been erased from the historical record. In this sense, having had the ideology of its concept of culture revealed, Cultural Studies was potentially radicalized within a transformed paradigm (which would include the anti-racist critique of feminism and the feminist critique of anti-racism). But both forms of critique clearly, and understandably, also unravelled the critical concept of culture, providing the ground for an academic identity politics centred on ethnic and gender claims. This is still the dominant paradigm within the field today, especially in the USA.²³ Interestingly, however, it too is resisted in this series, partly because of the invocation, via the circuit of culture, of complex multi-determination and contingency, and partly because of the perceived transformations in the identity paradigm itself associ-

ated with the idea of globalization, including its own, in the guise of 'hybridity'.

The 'cultural turn'

The concept of culture available to Cultural Studies has become potentially both more self-reflexive and historically self-conscious: from simply naming an object of knowledge available for empirical description and/or populist recuperation, it is perceived now as an active and regulative signifying practice, in which naming itself – 'that culture!' – may be revealed, for example, as a racialized marker of difference and stereotypification (see Hall, 'The Spectacle of the "Other"', *RCRSP*, pp. 223–79). The history of its emergence needed to be rewritten too, emphasizing not only the contradictory responses to the democratizing of the institutions of higher education in postwar Britain, on the one hand, and the effects of the Hollywoodization of cultural practices, on the other, but also a perceived crisis in post-imperial hegemonic culture. In this regard, the observations made by Homi Bhabha on culture as an enunciative practice are crucial:

Culture only emerges as a problem, or a problematic, at the point at which there is a loss of meaning in the contestation and articulation of everyday life, between classes, genders, races, nations.²⁴

With the post-colonial critiques of the national framing of Cultural Studies, its critical concept of 'culture'



takes on the scars of its own historical formation and use.²⁵

In sum, Cultural Studies has become radically decentred. This is not only a matter of the breaking up of the national frame of its critical paradigm through critique, but also a question of the poly-centred character of the institutionalized practice of Cultural Studies itself: its dissemination from UK institutions to the USA, Australia, Latin America, Southeast Asia, and beyond, all of which have transformed it according to local traditions of radical thought – the ‘cultural fronts’ whose history in the USA has been written recently by Michael Denning, for example – and the specific political agendas produced by local state and capital forms.²⁶ Such intellectual production circulates unevenly, producing critical reflections that potentially further transform operative concepts of culture. The post-colonial meets the transnational, and Cultural Studies becomes as ‘hybrid’ as the cultural practices it increasingly purports to take as its object of study.²⁷

In the concluding chapter of the series, ‘The Centrality of Culture: Notes on the Cultural Revolutions of Our Time’, Stuart Hall, chair of the course for which the six volumes were devised, provides both the series and the field of Cultural Studies itself with a context and rationale: ‘In the twentieth century there has been a “cultural revolution” in the substantive, empirical and material senses of the word’ (*MCR*, p. 209). Two keywords stand out in his account of this historical transformation: ‘expansion’ and ‘globalization’.

In Hall’s account, culture has left its previous elitist – and even populist – symbolic domain and entered the social, political and economic arenas, practically reconstituting them according to the rules of new cultural formats, to be used by them in turn as a resource (e.g. in the form of ‘corporate culture’ – see du Gay, ‘Organizing Identity: Making Up People at Work’, *PC/CP*, pp. 285–322):

the cultural industries have become the mediating element in every other process ... [T]he media both form a critical part of the material infrastructure of modern societies and are the principal means by which ideas and images are circulated. (Hall, *MCR*, p. 209)

In such an expansion, contemporary technologies of communication and representation have both realized and transformed the anthropological theoretical postulate: culture is not just a ‘whole way of life’ whose rituals are to be described, but is constitutive of the very social relations, institutions and knowledges that make up everyday life. As is well known, today’s cultural technologies display very real continuities

between modes of entertainment, financial transactions and smart weaponry; it is this continuity that has made Florida one of the most dynamic economies of recent years, and the pleasures of the Sony Walkman available to all. The real expansion of culture thus has epistemological significance: its experience demands that it become an object of knowledge and recognition. From this point of view, the emergence and complex history of the Cultural Studies concept of culture is no longer merely the sign of a populist democratization of existing cultural apparatuses (as in the recuperative dimension of the anthropological conception), nor just a way of reconstituting identities that have been historically disavowed, but is also an effect of the cultural revolution that has created a new *ground* for thinking the social, political and economic. Hall calls this change in knowledge the ‘cultural turn’, for in it social totality becomes *cultural totality* and, symptomatically, in the volume *Production of Culture/Cultures of Production* edited by Paul du Gay, political economy becomes *cultural economy*.

That cultural technologies are simultaneously forces of production is nothing new. It is their social form that is crucial. This is the point where Hall et al. enter into the cultural terrain of critical postmodernists such as Fredric Jameson and David Harvey, who have underlined the particular visual and spatio-temporal dimensions of contemporary global capitalism. ‘Today’, says Hall,

cultural industries ... sustain the global circuits of economic exchange on which the worldwide movement of information, knowledge, capital, investment, the production of commodities, the trade in raw materials and the marketing of goods and ideas depend. ... They have made a reality of what Marx only dimly foresaw – the emergence of a truly ‘global’ market. (Hall, *MCR*, p. 209)

There is good reason for the inverted commas around the word ‘global’, because the cultural experience of globalization is always in fact ‘local’ – although ‘the local’ is always in its turn constituted by ‘the global’. This particular configuration is referred to as the ‘global–local nexus’, and as an idea it arguably provides the dominant tone for the series as a whole, explaining to its student-readers that they too, in their own homes and localities, belong to such a nexus. Indeed, this is an important part of its pedagogy. What was once an experience of colonized and economically dependent nations and peoples within a ‘centre–periphery’ politico-economic configuration is now still uneven, but general – that is, it happens in different measure to rich and poor alike, everywhere.

In 'What in the World is Going On?', one of the best chapters in the collection, Kevin Robbins sets out the difficult issues, addressing his student-reader as follows:

I want you to think about globalization ... in terms of your own experiences and encounters, and in terms of what you may see on television or read about in newspapers and magazines. Globalization is ordinary: we are all now exposed to, and increasingly aware of, its consequences. We are all immersed in the globalization process. (*PC/CP*, p. 12)

In other words, the text asks the reader to narrate him- or herself into the circuits of global cultural processes, and by implication into the circuits of capital too – that is, its 'cultural economy', to *make* 'globalization ordinary'. Now, this may seem a thoroughly ideological demand, projecting readers into new hegemonic formations. But it is also part of a critical pedagogy, a kind of 'cognitive mapping' that asks student-readers to become critically aware and reflect upon the spatial complexity of their locations. Furthermore, within the global–local nexus, the 'local' is a privileged site of cultural hybridizations which, whilst in some circumstances the sign of cultural loss and tendential homogenization, may also become the sign of creative resistance. On the other hand, Robbins refuses to forget the incorporating power of capital, quoting an excellent article by Richard Wilk – 'The Local and the Global in the Political Economy of Beauty: From Miss Belize to Miss World' – included as one of the chapter's readings:

The new global system promotes difference instead of suppressing it, but selects the dimensions of difference. The local systems of difference that developed in dialogue with western modernism are becoming globalized and systematized into structural equivalents of each other. This globalized system exercises hegemony not through content but through form. In other words, *we are not all becoming the same, but we are portraying, dramatizing and communicating our differences to each other in ways that are more widely intelligible*. The globalizing hegemony is to be found in what I call *structures of common difference, which celebrate particular kinds of diversity while submerging, deflating or suppressing others*. (*PC/CP*, p. 43)

What this means is that the 'local' is a prime site for transnational capital and fundamental – from the labour power it offers to the advertising it may demand – for the configuration of particular global–local capital-and-cultural formations. Coca-Cola Incorporated recently claimed 'we are not a multinational, we are a multilocal'. Sony might have added: 'and personal'.

In the words of Nederveen Pieterse, also quoted by Robbins, 'the other side of hybridity is transcultural convergence' (*PC/CP*, p. 43). From this point of view, the chapters on the cultural economy of globalization, and the tendential merger of capital and culture, *are* a pedagogy into ideology; but, of course, the heart of ideology has always been the prime site – the locale – for cultural study at its most radical.²⁸

The problem with the series, however, is that it functions without a concept of ideology. Preferring contingent analyses, it resists critique of the contemporary transnational culture–capital formations into which the hybrid cultural practices it recovers are nevertheless inscribed. With the apparent 'return' of the economic instance in Cultural Studies, the series explicitly refuses to think it politically. The shedding of the 'political' for the 'cultural' – in political economy – also means that there is no sign of political negativity either, only 'local' forms of managed resistance within global–local configurations of capital. This may be because the idea of 'production' that forms part of the circuit of culture is more like 'work' and, moreover, explicitly anti-Marxist – indeed, one of the key rhetorical strategies of many of the texts in the series is to create their own intellectual space by locating themselves between neoliberal and Marxist versions. It is, in other words, a production without relations of production; or, drawing again on Morris's critique of populism, a production *without production*. Of course, just as it has become difficult to draw the outline of a shifting and phantasmagoric ruling transnational bourgeoisie, it has also become increasingly difficult to recognize its modes of negation. But perhaps the post-Gramscian concept of subalternity, created by critical Indian historians during the 1980s, might provide for such a negativity, socializing and politicizing – by splitting – 'hybridity' and 'the local' within the global, which, without such theorization, themselves become fetishistic replicas of what capital desires.²⁹ In other words, ideological. A Cultural Studies without ideology-critique threatens to become again the anthropology it had left behind. Perhaps not a populist anthropology, because of the contingent geometries of power it evokes, and even historically full; but also potentially blind.

Notes

1. See the complaints of Bill Schwarz against this type of biography-based history in his aptly-titled 'Where is Cultural Studies?', *Cultural Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1994, pp. 377–93.
2. Francis Mulhern, 'A Welfare Culture? Hoggart and Wil-

- liams in the Fifties', *Radical Philosophy* 77, May–June 1996, pp. 26–37.
3. See Richard Johnson, 'Reinventing Cultural Studies: Remembering for the Best Version', in Elizabeth Long, ed., *From Sociology to Cultural Studies: New Perspectives*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1997, p. 462.
 4. Meaghan Morris, 'Banality in Cultural Studies', *Discourse*, vol. X, no. 2, Spring–Summer 1988, pp. 3–29.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
 6. For reflections on the 'populist' dimension of Bakhtin's representation of carnival, see Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, Methuen, London, 1986, pp. 1–26.
 7. The specific works to which Morris is referring are John Fiske, 'British Cultural Studies and Television', in Robert C. Allen, ed., *Channels of Discourse: Television and Contemporary Criticism*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1987; and Iain Chambers, *Popular Culture: The Metropolitan Experience*, Methuen, New York, 1986. The term 'British Cultural Studies' is Fiske's.
 8. For a similar outcome, although from a different point of view, see Jon Beasley-Murray's important article 'Peronism and the Secret History of Cultural Studies: Populism and the Substitution of Culture for the State', *Cultural Critique* (forthcoming). See also Jim McGuigan's *Cultural Populism*, Routledge, London and New York, 1992, p. 13 (quoted in Beasley-Murray): 'a non-populist cultural studies is very nearly a contradiction in terms'.
 9. The most important work to establish this principle in Cultural Studies was Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984. See Morris, 'Banality in Cultural Studies', pp. 23–8, who makes clear that his work is not reducible to the 'recuperation' she is criticizing; and Angela McRobbie, 'Looking Back at New Times and its Critics', in David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, eds, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, Routledge, London and New York, 1996.
 10. See E.P. Thompson's classic critique of the early Williams, 'The Long Revolution', *New Left Review* 9, May–June 1961, pp. 24–33; also the famous 'Preface' to his *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963), Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1979, pp. 9–15.
 11. 'I came into marxism backwards', writes Stuart Hall. See 'Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies', in David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, eds, *Stuart Hall*, p. 264. For the transformation of the anthropological concept of culture and the enlightenment concept of ideology by the concept of hegemony, see Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977.
 12. In 'The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci', *New Left Review* 100, November 1976–January 1977, pp. 5–78, Perry Anderson concludes that it is formal democracy itself that provides the best articulation of ideological incorporation into bourgeois society.
 13. See the discussion of 'the popular' in Stuart Hall, 'Notes on Deconstructing "the Popular"', in Raphael Samuel, ed., *People's History and Socialist Theory*, Routledge, London, 1981, pp. 227–40.
 14. Dennis Dworkin, *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left and the Origins of Cultural Studies*, Duke University Press, Durham NC, 1997.
 15. In this sense, the critical concept of 'culture' associated with Cultural Studies at this time might be seen as a kind of ironic response to Perry Anderson's complaint that reflection on 'culture', especially literary culture, stood in for the emergence of a national sociology or a strong local (Western) Marxist tradition. See his essay 'Components of the National Culture', in Alexander Cockburn and Robin Blackburn, eds, *Student Power*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1969, pp. 214–84; and *Considerations on Western Marxism*, New Left Books, London, 1976.
 16. For the tendency whereby the idea of 'culture' tends to replace 'ideology', see the interview with Stuart Hall, 'Culture and Power', *Radical Philosophy* 86, November/December 1997, pp. 24–41.
 17. A section from Chambers' 'A Miniature History of the Walkman' is included as one of the volume's 'readings' (*DCS*, pp. 141–3). Rey Chow's 'Listening Otherwise, Music Miniaturized: A Different Type of Question about Revolution' may be read as a more contextualized counterpoint (*DCS*, pp. 135–40).
 18. Such a historicism is even more radical than Gramsci's historical materialist version: 'The philosophy of praxis is absolute "historicism", the absolute secularization and earthliness of thought, an absolute humanism of history', *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1978, p. 465.
 19. See David Lloyd and Paul Thomas, *Culture and the State*, Routledge, New York and London, 1998.
 20. The key figure for the 1990s may be Gilles Deleuze. See Hall in 'Culture and Power', p. 25; and, in particular, Lawrence Grossberg, 'History, Politics and Postmodernism: Stuart Hall and Cultural Studies', in Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, eds, *Stuart Hall*, pp. 151–73, and *Dancing in Spite of Myself: Essays on Popular Culture*, Duke University Press, Durham NC, 1997.
 21. For Hall's negotiation of the impact of feminism on the Birmingham Centre, see the interview with Stuart Hall by Kuan-Hsing Chen, 'The Formation of a Diasporic Intellectual', in Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, eds, *Stuart Hall*, pp. 484–503.
 22. See Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, Hutchinson, London, 1987; and Angela McRobbie, 'Settling Accounts with Subcultures: A Feminist Critique', *Screen Education* 34, Spring 1980, pp. 37–49.
 23. This is the institutional form taken by what Fredric Jameson calls the 'desire called Cultural Studies'. See his 'On "Cultural Studies"', *Social Text* 34, 1993, pp. 17–52.
 24. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London, 1994, p. 34. From this point of view Dworkin's history is too national.
 25. A key moment of this process was Stuart Hall's recent critique of Raymond Williams in 'Culture, Community, Nation', *Cultural Studies*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1994. See also Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*.
 26. Michael Denning, 'Culture and the Crisis: the Political and Intellectual Origins of Cultural Studies in the United States', in Cary Nelson and Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, eds, *Disciplinary and Dissent in Cultural Studies*, Routledge, New York and London, 1996, pp. 265–86.
 27. Local 'orders of reading' are also important. In Argentina, cultural critics like Beatriz Sarlo turned to Raymond Williams, escaping Althusser in a context of military dictatorship, enforced 'flexible' modernization, and radi-

cal rethinking of revolutionary and socialist projects. In Australia, according to Meaghan Morris, Cultural Studies was rearticulated through the importance there of 'history' rather than 'English' as state-craft as in the UK. See Meaghan Morris, 'A Question of Cultural Studies', in Angela McRobbie, ed., *Back to Reality? Social Experience and Cultural Studies*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1997, p. 52. For developments in Southeast Asia, see Kuan-Hsing Chen, 'Not Yet the Postcolonial Era: The (Super) Nation-State and Transnationalism of Cultural Studies: Response to Ang and Stratton', *Cultural Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1996, pp. 37–70. On 'hybridity' and Cultural Studies, see my 'Hybridity in a Transnational Frame: Latinamericanist and Postcolonial Perspectives on Cultural Studies', in Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes, eds, *From Miscegenation to Hybridity? Re-thinking the Syncretic, the Cross-Cultural and the Cosmopolitan in Culture, Science and Politics* (forthcoming).

28. In the work of Fredric Jameson on postmodernism there is a tendency also to think of all cultural production as simultaneously ideological. It is his refusal to risk the recuperative populist gesture of critical Cultural Studies, however, that makes his critique both so abstract and so productive. In his view, of course, one of the defining characteristics of postmodernism is precisely its cultural populism. See *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Verso, London, 1991.
29. That is, a form of 'neo-orientalism'. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine*, Routledge, London, 1993; Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Marxism after Marx: History, Subalternity, and Difference', in Saree Makdisi, Cesare Casarino and Rebecca E. Karl, eds, *Marxism Beyond Marxism*, Routledge, New York, 1996, pp. 55–70; and Alberto Moreiras, 'Hybridity and Double Consciousness: A Subalternist Perspective' (unpublished manuscript).