

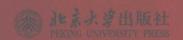


未名社科,媒介与社会从书 ***

Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Questions

文化公民身份:世界性的问题

「蓝)尼古。中茎文态 (Nick Stevenson) 茎



Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Questions

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Cultural Citizenship, first edition

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总 序

媒介是神奇的,社会也是神奇的,媒介与社会的耦合生产出无限的神奇。从涂尔干的《宗教生活的基本形式》关于"社会"与唤起社会意识的符号与仪式共生的理论来看,媒介使社会显得神奇的过程也造就了自身的神奇。

人类在现代大众传播成为现实之前对于"神奇"的感知是经由巫师及其巫术的转化来实现的。澳洲土著在图腾舞蹈的狂热中感受到超个人的社会力量的存在。满身披挂的萨满用舞蹈和神歌请灵降神,让已经消逝的显露原形,让凡人通常不可见的显现真身,让千山万水之遥的即刻大驾光临。借助巫术,时间和空间的障碍可以暂时克服,过去的、未来的都可以在现实中出现,墓室中的、仙山上的都可以召唤到面前。

这些神奇经验在现当代越来越彻底地被大众媒介所造就,电视、网络等图像传输技术在其中发挥着关键作用。大人物像变戏法一样总跑到百姓居室内高谈阔论,历史的亡灵在荧屏上招之即来,挥之即去。媒介使常人具有千里眼、顺风耳,看见那原本遥不可见的,听清那从前根本就听不到的。媒介是神奇的,它在社会中的运行有如巫术。几百年的现代化对世界"祛魅",结果我们看到人类社会所集聚的全部的"魅"都汇聚于媒介,并被媒介无限放大。

长期耳濡目染,媒介的神奇人们已经习以为常了,就像前现代的人对巫术习以为常一样。但是,这个过程一直都是知识界探讨的课题。现代大众媒介的各种新形式从一开始出现的时候就会被知识界作为新事物加以关注。从较早的照相、无线电广播到电影、电视,再到近年的新媒介传播,关于大众传媒研究、文化研究、虚拟社会研究的知识生产就一直紧随媒介发展的步伐。媒介研究在发达国家已经形成庞大的群体和细密的分工,这个群体既能够追逐传播领域的新事物,也能够通过专业的眼光让人们习以为常的许多方面显出怪异来,从而引发众人的注意和分析的兴趣。我们国内的媒介研究在这两个方向上都需要培育自己的能力。

依靠现代大众媒介运行的社会是一种机制极其不同的社会,中国

社会正在越来越深地涉入其中。

高科技媒介的威力以不断增强的方式发挥出来,世界虽然还成为不了地球村,但是人与人之间的联系方式、人与各种层次的共同体的联结机制都发生着变化。

社会因媒介成为可能,因新媒介而成为新的可能。社会是个人之间相互挂念、相互意识到而成为可能的。在短暂的一天和有限的一生里,个人在多大范围里意识到多少他人的存在、记挂多大范围的他人,这是靠媒介运作的结果。基于集体意识和共同想象而形成内在联系的社会,是存在于媒介(运作)中的。在中国境外的许多城市,华人移民在本地新闻中看到唐人街的春节表演而确证自己与华人群体的认同,全世界的中国人因为春节文化的展演而想象自己属于一个十多亿人口的共同体。网络新媒介创造了新的人际联系方式,虚拟社区借助新媒介产生出来,人们之间隔空互动,与传统真实意义上的面对面交流的主要差别只是不能"臭味相投"而已。

媒介见证社会实体的存在。人类共同体因为联合国的新闻、国际 救灾行动的画面而被呈现;国家共同体因为制造媒介事件的奇观 (spectacle)而被世人记住;地方共同体因为地方风物、特产或节庆被 传播而知名;行业罢工、同性恋群体因为游行的极端表演而受注意。 优势的存在是在媒介中具有正面形象的实体。

媒介见证社会力量的博弈。各种社会力量要竞争,最好的方式是围绕媒介、借助媒介展开能见度高的竞争,展开正面形象的竞争。国际政治的软实力、国内政治的亲民形象、商业竞争的名牌效应、文体明星的商业价值……都是靠媒介的舞台定位的。社会力量竞争的王牌是通过媒介制造"奇观",造成举世瞩目的效果。制造"9·11"事件的组织选择纽约世贸大厦为目标,是因为他们不仅要使行动成为媒介事件,而且还要使媒介事件具有奇观效应(spectacularity);美国占领伊拉克,对媒介画面进行筛选,突出精确打击的画面,限制伊拉克平民死伤的画面,既在避免负面效果,也在凸现战争奇观。强势的社会力量是媒介中的主动力量。

媒介毕竟是社会的媒介。媒介为社会中的人所运用。人具有神性和魔性。社会既是温情的港湾,也是邪恶的渊薮;社会既以公正相标榜,也以不平等为现实。运行于社会中的媒介也兼具人性和社会的

两副面孔。媒介制造人间奇迹:新闻报道能够让尼克松总统下台,能够让孙志刚事件改变弊端连连的城市收容制度,能够让绝望中的重症患者借助社会力量得到救治……媒介也产生遗憾和问题,媒介暴力、媒介色情、媒介偏见一直层出不穷。

媒介是社会的舞台、社会的缩影,媒介本身就是社会。媒介被政党看作一个特殊的战线,一个意识形态斗争的领域。主导的力量会设法控制公共舆论的导向和社会议题的设置,其他的社会力量或附和、追随,或批评、抵制。弱者有弱者的媒介武器和媒介阐释策略。沉默或参与,是一次选择。参与而主动解码,借题发挥,进而用反讽来消遣权势,则潜藏着无数持续的选择。大众媒介在社会的运行中产生着层出不穷的问题。

媒介不仅是信息、思想、政治,也是经济。从事媒介行业的人也是经济动物,媒介也是经济利益的集散地。媒介造就百万富翁、亿万富翁,造就中产阶级,造就报童、报摊,当然也造就自己的消费者群体。这是一个不断膨胀的产业。新媒介成为新的产业,往往使原有的一切产业具备新的形式和运作机制。媒介产业是其他产业发展的助推器。世界是人的天地,也是产品的库房。产品世界的秩序是由媒介按照品牌进行编码和排列的,从而形成"物的体系",以此支撑着人的世界成为一个多样而有序的"消费社会"。

媒介是一种信息产业,是一个经济领域的范畴。媒介又是现代文化,因此媒介作为经济就应该更加准确地被称为文化经济(文化工业)。媒介卷入的是共同体集体利益和共同体内部的利益、地位、声望的分配问题,因此媒介涉及的问题是政治经济学的问题。这些问题在社会博弈过程中消长,媒介成为社会进步的助力,有时也为社会制造解决问题的障碍。媒介与社会,纠结着人类伟大的成就和太多的问题。凡此种种,我们就让有心人、术业有专攻的人去一一论说其中的究竟吧。

是为序。

高丙中 杨伯溆 2007年8月,北京大学

SERIES EDITOR'S FOREWORD

'Citizenship,' in the words of Martha Gellhorn, one of the last century's greatest war correspondents, 'is a tough occupation.' She believed that as citizens we are obliged to make our own informed opinion, and to stand by it. 'The evils of the time change,' she observed, 'but are never in short supply and would go unchallenged unless there were conscientious people to say: not if I can help it.' Dissent, based on morality and reason, is at the heart of what it means to be a citizen, in her view. And while the challenge of citizenship may be getting more difficult all of the time, there is nevertheless always room for optimism. 'There has to be a better way to run the world,' she insisted, 'and we better see that we get it.'

Precisely what is meant by the word 'citizenship', especially with regard to certain avowed rights, obligations or responsibilities associated with it, is historically-specific and will vary dramatically from one national context to the next. In any given society this process of definition is never secured once and for all, of course, but rather is subject to the contradictions of power, especially as they are experienced, negotiated and resisted as part of everyday life. It is by exploring a range of pressing questions at this level, the very materiality of our lived engagement with citizenship, that Nick Stevenson's Cultural Citizenship seeks to intervene in current debates. 'Cultural citzenship', he argues, is a newly emerging interdisciplinary concept that is concerned with issues of recognition and respect, of responsibility and pleasure, and with visibility and marginality. It encompasses politics with a capital and a small 'p', such that viewing a soap opera can be regarded as being just as political as voting in an election. At the same time, Stevenson contends, the concept of cultural citizenship is also concerned to search for a new ethics that can help guide us through these turbulent and contested times.

Cultural Citizenship brings together perspectives from political theory, social theory and cultural studies. The book's distinctiveness lies in its commitment to providing a critical examination of culture and citizenship that cuts across these disciplinary boundaries. In the case of multiculturalism, for example, Stevenson argues that it has been political theorists who have sought to investigate the normative significance of living in an increasingly pluralistic society. How does the polity in modern societies respond to a diversity of claims for recognition, from the physically-challenged to different ethnic minorities? Still, he suggests, it has been social theory that has perhaps most clearly sought to explain how these claims are linked to globalisation, new communication technologies, and the displacement of peoples from their host nation. Moreover, social theorists are more likely to be concerned with how the citizenship claims which emerge in this context are the result of ideological struggle, demands by social movements and questions of power and influence. Turning to cultural studies, Stevenson points out that important work has been undertaken to recover the subjugated knowledges of the displaced and marginalised. In this respect, then, multiculturalism goes beyond the struggle for political rights, entailing new forms of recognition for a wide range of cultural practices. Cultural Citizenship, in its critical assessment of the connections that can be discerned across these three areas of enquiry, invites new ways of thinking about citizenship for a new century.

The Issues in Cultural and Media Studies series aims to facilitate a diverse range of critical investigations into pressing questions considered to be central to current thinking and research. In light of the remarkable speed at which the conceptual agendas of cultural and media studies are changing, the authors are committed to contributing to what is an ongoing process of re-evaluation and critique. Each of the books is intended to provide a lively, innovative and comprehensive introduction to a specific topical issue from a fresh perspective. The reader is offered a thorough grounding in the most salient debates indicative of the book's subject, as well as important insights into how new modes of enquiry may be established for future explorations. Taken as a whole, then, the series is designed to cover the core components of cultural and media studies courses in an imaginatively distinctive and engaging manner.

Stuart Allan

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INTRODUCTION

This book has been written at a time when there has been a considerable revival of interest in the academic study of citizenship. There have been intense debates as to whether citizenship is in decline or whether it is in the process of being renewed in a new form appropriate for a global age. The study of citizenship has also been redefined by new questions arising from the growing significance of the media and popular culture, new social movements, feminism, globalization, the erosion of the environment and multiculturalism. Citizenship can no longer be exclusively defined by questions of class, but needs to be broadened to take on additional areas of study and concern. My contribution to this ongoing debate is to suggest ways in which 'cultural' questions might be linked to these dimensions. Whether we define citizenship through questions of rights, notions of obligation and duty, membership of overlapping communities or normalization, questions of culture are not far away. I show that the reasons for this are largely due to the fact that we can now be said to live in an informational and technological society unlike any other. Most of the assumptions and examples contained within this book come from the overdeveloped societies of North America and Europe. This work is not a view from nowhere but is located in questioning what kinds of citizenship are now appropriate for these societies, given a certain level of social, economic and, indeed, cultural development. More personally, the book evokes a time when I discovered through punk music that culture, difference and justice were linked in ways I had not previously appreciated. The argument offered here seeks to demonstrate the ways in which politics and culture are becoming increasingly interconnected within modern societies.

This book can also be read as an interdisciplinary guide to a range of

concerns that have been raised by sociology, political theory and cultural studies. The work is a genuine hybrid. No doubt individual sociologists, political theorists and practitioners and theorists within cultural studies will find much to agree and disagree with in this respect. However, the book's success or failure will be determined by the extent to which I manage to persuade others of the importance of moving beyond their own disciplines in the study of citizenship. There is much to be learned from interdisciplinary studies within these and other areas. That this case still needs to be made highlights the unnecessary conservatism that remains at the heart of many academic debates.

In the first chapter I feel my way into some of the debates that have sought to link the study of citizenship and culture. The backdrop to the book, as I have mentioned, is the transformation to a new information-based society, and the continued relevance of questions of citizenship. Here I argue that ideas and perspectives from liberal and republican traditions of citizenship remain relevant. In particular, I demonstrate that a critical notion of civil society is central for cultural understandings of citizenship. From here, I also consider processes of normalization, globalization and individualization, before seeking to criticize communitarian understandings of citizenship. The aim of this first chapter is to promote the idea that cultural citizenship refers to the possibility of communication and dialogue within a cultural society. This is the dominant theme of the book, and recurs throughout the main chapters.

Chapter 2 develops a cosmopolitan understanding of citizenship at different levels that links global conceptions of citizenship with the development of the self, multiculturalism and the need for city-based citizenship. The idea of cosmopolitanism, which is perhaps the second main theme of the book, concerns the need to develop new democratic institutions that stretch beyond the borders of the nation, and to deconstruct the boundaries and oppositions that prevent the politicization of everyday life.

A concern with boundaries can also be found in Chapter 3, which begins by reconsidering the assumed oppositions between culture and nature. Ecological citizenship requires both new forms of public space and the political reconnection of questions of culture and nature if it is to raise many of the questions modern societies are currently seeking to avoid. Here I seek to argue for an ecological citizenship that has moved beyond individualized escape attempts and communalism to connect responsibility and pleasure in interesting ways.

Chapter 4, on mediated citizenship, similarly argues that ideas of nationhood have overly dominated our thinking. The rise of transnational media organizations, the mediated struggle for human rights, speed cultures, the Internet, gendered ideas of popular culture and compassion fatigue are just some of the reasons why we might readjust our assumptions in this regard. In this respect, the mediated dimensions of citizenship should now be considered central to the struggles for justice and recognition within a global arena.

Chapter 5 looks more closely at the impact of consumerism, consumption and cultural policy, before linking these concerns to those of citizenship. Here the dominant theme is the recovery of a common cultural citizenship that might be adequate for modern cosmopolitan societies. In this respect, I continue to find many of the ideas of Raymond Williams relevant to my study. It is, then, perhaps fitting that this book is dedicated to his 'living' memory.

I hope that this book will persuade those who are not familiar with the concept of citizenship of its continued relevance in the modern world. Here I have in mind some of my more sceptical students and academic critics. For others who are familiar with the citizenship literature, I hope to suggest that there is much to be learnt by studying its practice and conception through more cultural frameworks.

CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

Recent debates within cultural studies and citizenship studies might suggest that culture and citizenship have little in common. The term 'culture' is usually associated with a mix of public and private institutions, including museums, libraries, schools, cinemas and the media, while more specifically being connected with the dialogic production of meaning and aesthetics through a variety of practices. Citizenship, on the other hand, is more often thought to be about membership, belonging, rights and obligations. In institutional terms the terrain of citizenship is usually marked out by abstract legal definitions as to who is to be included and excluded from the political community. Yet whether we are talking about the risk society, network capitalism or the concerns of social movements, ideas of symbolic challenge and exclusion remain central.

The power to name, construct meaning and exert control over the flow of information within contemporary societies is one of today's central structural divisions, Power is not solely based upon material dimensions, but also involves the capacity to throw into question established codes and to rework frameworks of common understanding. This means that the locus of cultural citizenship will have to occupy positions both inside and outside the formal structures of administrative power. To talk of cultural citizenship means that we take questions of rights and responsibilities far beyond the technocratic agendas of mainstream politics and media. That is to say, we seek to form an appreciation of the ways in which 'ordinary' understandings become constructed, of issues of interpretative conflict and semiotic plurality more generally. In other words, how do questions of entitlement and duty relate to the diversity of culture evident within everyday life, and what is the relationship between an increasingly 'symbolic' society and the practice of politics? What modes of exclusion become apparent within an information society?

These concerns point to an age where our definitions of citizenship and society more generally are being transformed. Which community we owe our loyalties to, what foods are safe to eat, how important is the nation as opposed to more global concerns and how I might decide upon my sexuality all increasingly involve cultural questions. How we address these issues will depend upon shifting discourses and narratives that have become available to us in a variety of social contexts. As Castells (1997: 359) puts it, the 'sites of this power are people's minds'. Indeed, one of the central issues the book will seek to address is how we might provide fertile ground for what I shall call the cosmopolitan imagination. Many in the social sciences have neglected the idea of the imagination. Castoriadis (1997) has argued that all societies are dependent upon the creation of webs of meaning that are carried by society's institutions and individuals. Society, then, is always a self-creation that depends upon norms, values and languages that help to give diverse societies a sense of unity. The 'imaginary' is a social and historical creation, and serves to remind us that society must always create symbolic forms beyond the purely functional.

Cosmopolitanism is a way of viewing the world that among other things dispenses with national exclusivity, dichotomous forms of gendered and racial thinking and rigid separations between culture and nature. Such a sensibility would be open to the new spaces of political and ethical engagement that seeks to appreciate the ways in which humanity is mixed into intercultural ways of life. Arguably, cosmopolitan thinking is concerned with the transgression of boundaries and markers, and the development of an inclusive cultural democracy and citizenship. Yet cosmopolitanism is not only concerned with intermixing and the ethical relations between the self and the other, but seeks an institutional and political grounding in the context of shared global problems. A concern for cosmopolitan dimensions will inevitably seek to develop an understanding of the discourses, codes and narratives that make such political understandings a possibility. As Lawrence Grossberg (1992: 64) has argued, 'no democratic political struggle can be effectively organized without the power of the popular'. However, before moving on to such questions it is important to try to understand how issues of culture and citizenship became caught up with each other. Here I will argue that we need to consider the development of questions of cultural citizenship within the contours of a shared information society. The emergence of such a society requires not only that we rethink our notions of culture and citizenship, but also that we seek to develop a new understanding of contemporary social transformations.

T. H. Marshall and Raymond Williams: a cultural citizenship?

The idea of citizenship evokes a political tradition that is concerned to debate the involvement of individuals in shaping the laws and decisions of society. It has, however, only been in modern times that this has come to include people outside of a narrow class of educated property owners. While 'citizenship' has come to mean something different in, say, Iran, Chile and Britain, here I want to concentrate upon the meanings that have become connected to the term in North America and Europe. More recently, it has been the understandings that have become connected to the late T. H. Marshall's (1992) book Citizenship and Social Class that have had the greatest impact on ongoing debates.

T. H. Marshall (1992), as is well known, was concerned with the historical development of civil, political and social rights in the British national context. Marshall drew attention to the contradiction between the formations of capitalism and class, and the principle of equality enshrined within the granting of basic rights. Such a view of citizenship was hardly surprising given that Marshall was writing in the 1940s and 1950s, when identity and social conflicts were dominated by class. The setting up of the welfare state, the possibility of full male employment, the nuclear family, the dominance of the nation-state and the separation between an elite literary culture and a popular mass culture all inform his dimensions of citizenship. Marshall perceived that the principle of civil and political rights had been granted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whereas the twentieth century had seen the acceptance of the idea of social rights.

As many of Marshall's critics have pointed out, however, questions of civil and political rights are far from settled, and social rights were threatened once the post-war compromise between capital and labour came under attack (Roche 1994). Further, Turner (1994) argues that the postmodernization of culture and the globalization of politics have rendered much of the literature in respect of citizenship inadequate. The attack on traditional divisions between high and low culture poses serious questions in terms of the common or national cultures that might be transmitted by public institutions. The diversification and fragmentation of public tastes and lifestyles have undermined a previously assumed 'cultural' consensus. Further, the development of transnational spheres of governance, instantaneous news and global networks among new social movements has questioned the assumed connection between citizenship and the nation-state. These processes undermine, or at least call into question, the correspondence that citizenship has traditionally drawn between belonging and the nation-state. Marshall's analysis - while still influential - fails to locate the state within a complex web of international flows and relations, while