



文化研究读解系列

总主编：孙有中 [新西兰] 劳伦斯·西蒙斯

副主编：[新西兰] 周学麟 李又文

读解文化研究



READING
CULTURAL STUDIES

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马海良 [新西兰] 劳伦斯·西蒙斯 编著



世界学术出版社

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总 序

文化研究在西方学术界从 20 世纪 60 年代诞生之日起就经常被正统学者批评为华而不实的“学术时髦”。这种批评不仅没有阻止学术界对文化研究与日俱增的兴趣,反而使之成为在西方高校备受关注的显学。究其原因,文化研究的确填补了传统人文学术研究领域的空白,发挥着不可替代的知识创新功能。

文化研究旨在检验文化实践与权力的关系,其研究对象遍及日常生活中社会与政治背景下无限多样的大众文化形式,不仅关注文化如何建构我们,而且关注我们如何建构文化。文化研究试图解释构成人类生活环境的各类文本与意识形态、阶级、种族、性别等的复杂关系,其研究方法具有典型的跨学科性,涉及社会学、政治学、历史学、哲学、传播学、文学批评、女性主义批评、艺术批评、翻译研究,等等。上述意义上的文化研究的确超越了一切传统的人文与社会科学研究范式,提供了观察人类文化和现实生活的独特视角。

西方文化研究的理论与范式正式进入中国大陆学术界大概可以追溯到本世纪初。在短短十多年的时间里,西方文化研究的概念和理论被大量输入国内学术话语体系,不少域外文化研究的著作被翻译出版,文化研究机构不断涌现,相关课程开始进入高校课程设置,越来越多的硕士和博士论文瞄准文化研究选题。文化研究显然已成为中国学术界的显学。

国内学术界文化研究的进一步展开,必须更加系统、深入地把握西方文化研究的理论与方法,同时,高校文化研究相关课程的教学必须建立在对文化研究核心经典文本的阅读之上。为此双重目的,我们组织了一支中西方学者合作团队,联袂推出“文化研究读解系列”。本套丛书包括《读解文化研究》、《读解电视》、《读解流行音乐》、《读解新媒体》和《读解电影》等。每分册的选文由相关领域造诣深厚的西方学者负责精心挑选,均为文化研究领域公认的经典文本;每分册的导读和注释等则由中国学者完成,旨在帮助中国读者准确理解原文。

如此分专题系统呈现和读解西方文化研究领域的经典文本,在中国学术界尚属首次。我相信,无论是文化研究领域的研究者还是授课教师,都能从这套权威性的读本中获取丰富的研究灵感和教学资源。

当然,这套丛书还存在这样和那样的不足,特别是现有的选题远未完整呈现半个多世纪以来西方文化研究的丰硕成果。这一遗憾只有留待来日弥补了。

北京外国语大学英语学院院长
孙有中

前 言

“文化”从18世纪末开始成为英国乃至整个西方学术界的核心范畴之一,至今已有两百多年的历史,这期间几乎所有重要的文化人都对“文化”作过这样那样的探讨和阐述。不言而喻,关于文化的各种思考、分析、阐述和理论已经非常丰厚。然而,当代意义上的“文化研究”(cultural studies)的起点一般上溯到1964年,这一年英国伯明翰大学成立了“当代文化研究中心”(Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies)。半个世纪之后,文化研究的风潮席卷全球,跨过国界,深入扎根于许多学术机构,成为攻读各级学位的一项重要科目。说文化研究是当今显学,并不为过。

文化研究到底要做什么?为什么要做文化研究?每一个从事文化研究的个体应该是心中有数,但是要对文化研究作出一个确切的总体性定义,却是所有人都感到为难的事情。究其原因,每个人对文化研究都有自己的特别理解和关注重点;其次,文化研究毫无顾忌地打穿传统的学科界墙,以前属于不同学科的特定研究对象现在都可以成为文化研究分析的对象,从形而上命题到儿童玩具、从足球运动到气候变化,生活中的一切现象都能成为文化研究的合法议题,对如此庞杂的一个学术领域作出界线清晰的定义,显然会让人望而却步;再次,文化研究所用的方法也不像一般的知识部门那样遵行一套相对统一的、特定的操作程序,而是不拘一格、路数杂多,从语言修辞、文本结构、话语类型到按照基本理论假设特征而分立的批评方法——如文化唯物主义、女性主义、新历史主义、文化诗学、后马克思主义等等,都可以包括在文化研究范畴里;其四,如果从一门学科的历史看,文化研究毕竟还处在成长期,开放性和未完成性决定了很难对它作出某种终极的界定。

不过,在什么是文化研究这个问题上,没有多少人愿意停留在束手无策的地步,总有人尝试对“何为文化研究”作出至少是某种概括性的描述,因为这是进入文化研究实践所必须迈过的第一道关口。我们可以说,“文化研究”这个合成词语里最关键的成分是修饰词“文化”,也就是说,无论是限定说明“研究”的对象还是性质抑或方法,都是对文化概念的一种理解。对尽可能广泛和丰富的种种文化研究实例进行归纳梳理,似乎能够找出一些共同的基本假设。首先,文化是人们对包括自身在内的世界的认识和理解以及这种知识的产生和表达方式,是心灵和外部世界的一切意义及其生成规范;如此,文化研究的视野便容纳了知识的所有部门,譬如文学,它不能不是文化研究的对象,因为读者要把握作品的意义,而这种意义的形成过程和其中规律也是文化研究深感兴趣的地方;一座纪念碑也不能不是文化研究的对象,因为它对每一个凝视者释放出特定的意义,而这意义的形成过程同样

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第二、从量变到质变。我们说，按上述方法，那些物体是连续地、不间断地、一点一点地、由量变到质变的。

基于上述共识,我们选编出这一卷读本。那些期待从选篇中看到关于“什么是文化研究”的终极性简明定义的读者,可能会感到失望。本卷中没有一篇文章作出这类直接条陈。当然,尝试界定文化研究的文献不是没有,而我们没有选是考虑到,对于我们的目标读者来说,“文化研究何为”比“何为文化研究”更为重要。事实上,对“文化研究”的界定往往是在文化研究的实践基础上进行的抽象概括,当我们观察了文化研究者如何具体地分析和揭示文化意义的生成过程,领会了他们如

何从某个特殊角度切入来表达自己的文化体验、感受和认知,就可能更为准确地理解“什么是文化研究”,这就是“读解文化研究”的含义;通过阅读各种角度的文化研究实践个案,积累文化研究者对文化意义的多维阐释,有此基础,或许更容易形成某种关于文化研究的定义。这样的考虑,可能也体现了开放性和进行性的文化研究的精神吧。需要补充的一点是,尽管各个选篇都是“具体地”从“文化”角度来阐释文化现象,但是这卷《读解文化研究》的编著意图还是期望读者最后能够对“何为文化研究”形成某种总体的、概括的理解。

种种考虑和推敲的结果,形成了这个读本不同于相关领域其他出版物的一个重要特色。从这个项目的初始策划到中间磋商至最后结稿,让我始终感到欣喜的是,中外学者能够在许多学术议题上达到共鸣共振;经过携手努力,能够让共同的学术思考凝结成一个有形的成果,真是乐在其中,恐怕不在其中者不知其味矣。为此,我向本卷的英文编选者新西兰奥克兰大学的劳伦斯教授致以衷心的感谢。

马海良

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Unit 1

City and Modernity



TEXT I

导 读

每个人出生、成长、生活、工作,不是在城市就是在乡村进行的。然而,城市和乡村不只是划分居住地域的概念。经过长期的文化浸染,它们喻指着两种有时完全对立的生活方式:“城市”可能是文明、干净、舒适、富足、繁华等的同义词,“乡村”则让人想到落后、穷困、简陋、单调、沉闷等情形。不过,有时候“城市”被说成充斥着空气污染和各种犯罪的令人窒息的“牢笼”,而“乡村”则被描绘成山青水秀、自然纯朴的“世外桃源”。城市和乡村都曾得到诗人的赞美或诅咒,在全球化的今天,城市人喜欢去体验农家生活,而大批乡村人则带着改善生活的美好希望涌入城市。于是,城市和乡村成为文化研究的一个重要议题。雷蒙·威廉斯在这一领域举足轻重的位置,不仅在于他是从文化角度研究城市与乡村问题的开创者,还因为他创立了具有马克思主义特征的文化唯物主义研究方法。

威廉斯指出,城市和乡村的内涵其实是不断变化的,都具有丰富的历史多样性。乡村生活方式包括狩猎、耕作、机械化生产方式以及部落、封建田庄、资本主义农业等组织形式;城市也曾发挥过邦国之都、军队营地、管理基地、宗教中心、集市以及工业场地等多种功能。即使在高度工业化的今天,城市也发挥着诸多功能,而乡村的特点和功能也在不断变化着。思想观念和概念往往以曲折的、移置的、超验的甚至伪装的形式表现出来。因此,要真正理解思想、观念和形象,必须回到实际的历史本身,回到生活经验的物质之中。城市与乡村的关系以及观念变化史,其实就是资本主义生产方式的发展史。从历史的角度看,城市是资本主义发展的结果,而不是原因;同样,乡村并不是、也不能成为抵抗资本主义的堡垒,而是资本主义的起始点。从“圈地运动”开始直到现在更加肥沃高产的田地以及吸引着无数旅游者的乡村景观,资本主义始终竭尽全力地以自己的生产方式改造着农业和乡村。

在威廉斯看来,城市和乡村都是观察整个资本主义生产方式运动的两个有效范畴,具有普遍性。英国的情况对于分析现代城市与乡村关系具有极为重要的典型意义。英国是最早完成工业化的资本主义国家,工业革命不仅造就了现代大都市,而且实现了农业的资本主义化,消除了传统意义上的农民阶层。但是,与乡村生活方式相关的一些旧习俗和观念仍然顽强地延续着,足以说明城市与乡村关系是一个非常复杂的问题。

对于威廉斯来说,城市和乡村是具体生动的个人体验。他出生在高度工业化的英国的威尔士乡村,后来前往城市求学,再后来走过无数大城市讲学游历。他熟

悉乡村生活,那是高大的榆树、健壮的马匹、开阔的田地、双手插在卡其布衣服口袋里的从林园归来的劳动者、裹着头巾站在院子外等车的妇女,是拖拉机、是猪场、是羊圈……乡村在变化着,想像中的纯粹自然被挖掘、被改造,铺上马路、架设电线、建起房屋。乡村生活是正在变化着的生动具体的体验,也是保留在记忆中的场景,它连接着遥远的过去——父辈、祖辈直至人类的源点,它也顺着条条道路通向各个城镇、都市。在威廉斯看来,无论城市还是乡村,它们的关键都在于不断流动变化的生活体验,在于生活中的人们对于一个家庭、一个民族的历史变迁的知悟,在于他们对历史的抉择和把握。威廉斯在该书的另一个地方指出,要从根本上解决城市与乡村问题,必须彻底消除资本主义,尽管这种生产方式空前强大。解决之道包括:积极地观察、分析、介入、干预直到改变现状,首先是改变决策程序。被资本主义蔑视、忽略、异化的各种力量应该团结起来,进行集体的斗争,通过具体的行动——譬如对区域规划、社区组织、招商引资等已经习惯的一切——加以质疑、分析和考究,通过对各种范畴的重新界定,最终改变决策方式,使每一寸土地得到合理的使用,从而最终真正地清除城乡差别。

Country and City

Raymond Williams¹

“City” and “country” are very powerful words, and this is not surprising when we remember how much they seem to stand in for the experience of human communities. In English, “country” is both a nation and a part of a “land”; “the country” can be the whole society or its rural area. In the long history of human settlements, this connection between the land from which directly or indirectly we all get our living and the achievements of human society has been deeply known. And one of these achievements has been the city: the capital, the large town, a distinctive form of civilization.

On the actual settlements, which in the real history have been astonishingly varied, powerful feelings have gathered and have been generalized. On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation. A contrast between country and city, as fundamental ways of life, reaches back into classical times.

Yet the real history, throughout, has been astonishingly varied. The “country way

of life" has included the very different practices of hunters, pastoralists, farmers and factory farmers, and its organization has varied from the tribe and the manor to the feudal estate, from the small peasantry and tenant farmers to the rural commune, from the latifundia² and the plantation to the large capitalist enterprise and the state farm. The city, no less, has been of many kinds: state capital, administrative base, religious centre, market-town, port and mercantile depot, military barracks, industrial concentration. Between the cities of ancient and medieval times and the modern metropolis or conurbation there is a connection of name and in part of function, but nothing like identity. Moreover, in our own world, there is a wide range of settlements between the tradition poles of country and city: suburb, dormitory town³, shanty town, industrial estate. Even the idea of the village, which seems simple, shows in actual history a wide variation: as to size and character, and internally in its variation between dispersed and nuclear settlements, in Britain as clearly as anywhere.

In and through these differences, all the same, certain images and associations persist; and it is the purpose of this book to describe and analyse them, to see them in relation to the historically varied experience. For practical reasons I take most of my examples from English writing, though my interests go much wider. It ought in any case to be clear that the English experience is especially significant, in that one of the decisive transformations, in the relations between country and city, occurred there very early and with a thoroughness which is still in some ways unapproached. The Industrial Revolution⁴ not only transformed both city and country; it was based on a highly developed agrarian capitalism, with a very early disappearance of the traditional peasantry. In the imperialist phase of our history the nature of the rural economy, in Britain and its colonies, was again transformed very early: dependence on a domestic agriculture dwindled to very low proportions, with no more than four percent of economically active men now engaged in farming, and this in a society which had already become the first predominantly urban-dwelling people in the long history of human settlements. Since much of the dominant subsequent development, indeed the very idea of "development" in the world generally, has been in these decisive directions, the English experience remains exceptionally important: not only symptomatic but in some ways diagnostic; in its intensity still memorable, whatever may succeed. For it is a critical fact that in and through these transforming experiences English attitudes to the country, and to ideas of rural life, persisted with extraordinary power, so that even after the society was predominantly urban in literature, for a generation, was still predominantly rural; and even in the twentieth century, in an urban and industrial land, forms of the older ideas and experiences still remarkably

persist. All this gives the English experience and interpretation of the country and the city a permanent though of course not exclusive importance.

This importance can be stated, and will have to be assessed, as a general problem. But it is as well to say at the outset that this has been for me a personal issue, for as long as I remember. It happened that in a predominantly urban and industrial Britain I was born in a remote village, in a very old settled countryside, on the border between England and Wales. Before I had read any descriptions and interpretations of the changes and variations of settlements and ways of life, I saw them on the ground, and working, in unforgettable clarity. In the course of education I moved to another city, built round a university, and since then, living and traveling and working, I have come to visit, and to need to visit, so many great cities, of different kinds, and to look forward and back, in space and time, knowing and seeking to know this relationship, as an experience and as a problem. I have written about it in other ways but also I have been slowly collecting the evidence to write about it explicitly, as a matter of social, literary and intellectual history.

Thus at once, for me, before the argument starts, country life has many meanings. It is the elms, the may, the white horse, in the field beyond the window where I am writing. It is the men in the November evening, walking back from pruning, with their hands in the pockets of their khaki coats; and the women in headscarves, outside their cottages, waiting for the blue bus that will take them, inside school hours, to work in the harvest. It is the tractor on the road, leaving its tracks of serrated pressed mud; the light in the small hours, in the pig-farm across the road, in the crisis of a litter; the slow brown van met at the difficult corner, with the crowded sheep jammed to its slatted sides; the heavy smell, on still evenings, of the silage ricks fed with molasses. It is also the sour land, on the thick boulder clay, not far up the road, that is selling for housing, for a speculative development, at twelve thousand pounds an acre.

As I said, I was born in a village, and I still live in a village. But where I was born was under the Black Mountains⁵, on the Welsh border, where the meadows are bright green against the red earth of the ploughland, and the first trees, beyond the window, are oak and holly. Where I live now is in the flat country, on a headland of boulder clay, towards the edge of dykes and sluices, the black earth of the Fens, under the high East Anglian skies.

That physical contrast is continually present to me, but it is not the only contrast. Within that Black Mountain village, as again here, there is a deep contrast in which so much feeling is held: between what seems an unmediated nature – a physical awareness of trees, birds, the moving shapes of the land – and a working agriculture, in which

much of the nature is in fact being produced. Both kinds of hedgerow, there on its earthbank, here on the flat or with a lining ditch, together with the oaks and hollies or the elms and thorns that follow their lines, have been seen and planted and tended by men. At the end of the lane by the cottage where I was a child, there is now a straight wide motor road where the lorries race. But the lane also has been set, stoned, driven over; it is a mark on the land of no more than two generations, since a young builder married the daughter of a farmer and was given a corner of a field on which to build their house, and then his workshop with the lane to it, and then neighbouring houses, and then successive workshops converted into new houses; the first workshop was my parents' first home. In the field with the elms and the white horse, behind my own present home, there are faint marks of a ninth-century building, and a foot below the grass there is a cobbled road, that resists the posts being driven, today, for a new wire fence.

This country life then has many meanings: in feeling and activity; in region and in time. The cobbles under the field are older than the university to which the bridletrack leads, fives miles under thin thorn hedges, across the open and windy fields, past Starvegoose Wood. The foot of earth over them is a millennium, in one kind of reckoning. But the lane in that Black Mountain village, now so different both from the motor road and from the shaded lane I remember, is recent: about as far back as when my father, at twelve, went to work as a boy on a farm. When I was born he was a signalman, in the box in the valley. He had been as much born to the land as his own father, yet, like him, he could not live by it. That man, Joseph, my grandfather, was a farmworker until middle age, when he lost his job and with it his cottage, and became a roadman. We were a dispersed family, along the road, the railway, and now letters and print. These were the altering communications, the altering connections, between country and city, and between all the intermediate places and communities, the intermediate or temporary jobs and settlements.

So this country life had its meanings, but these changed in themselves and changed in relation to others. In the south-west, at nights, we used to watch the flare, over the black ridge of Brynarw, of the iron furnaces of industrial South Wales. In the east now, at nights, over the field with the elms and white horse, I watch the glow of Cambridge: a white tinged with orange; and in the autumn, here, the stubble fields are burned, sometimes catching the thorn hedges, and when I saw this first at night I took it as strange accidental fire. My own network, from where I sit writing at the window, is to Cambridge and London, and beyond them to the postmark places, the unfamiliar stamps and distant cities; Rome, Moscow, New York.

I have stood in many cities and felt this pulse: in the physical differences of Stockholm and Florence, Paris and Milan; this identifiable and moving quality: the centre, the activity, the light. Like everyone else I have felt also the chaos of the metro and the traffic jam; the monotony of the ranks of houses; the aching press of strange crowds. Indeed this sense of possibility, of meeting and of movement, is a permanent element of my sense of cities: as permanent a feeling as those other feelings, when I look from the mountain at the great coloured patchwork of fields that generations of my own people have cleared and set in hedges; or the known living places, the isolated farms, the cluster of cottages by castle or church, the line of river and wood and footpath and lane; lines received and lines made. So that while country and city have this profound importance, in their differing ways, my feelings are held, before any argument starts.

But then also, specifically, I came from a village to a city: to be taught, to learn: to submit personal facts, the incidents of a family, to a total record; to learn evidence and connection and altering perspectives. If the walls of the colleges were like the walls of parks, that as children we had walked round, unable to enter, yet now there was a gate, an entry, and a library at the end of it: a direct record, if I could learn to read it.

This then is where I am, and as I settle to work I find I have to resolve, step by slow step, experiences and questions that once moved like light. The life of country and city is moving and present: moving in time, through the history of a family and a people; moving in feeling and ideas, through a network of relationships and decisions.

A dog is barking – that chained bark – behind the asbestos barn. It is now and then; here and many places. When there are questions to put, I have to push back my chair, look down at my papers, and feel the change.

Notes

1. 雷蒙·威廉斯(1921—1998),英国20世纪著名的文化理论家、文学批评家和作家,其思想对当代文化研究、文学批评和媒体研究产生了重要影响,著述丰富,主要有《文化与社会》(*Culture and Society 1780–1950*, 1958)、《漫长的革命》(*Long Revolution*, 1961)、《乡村与城市》(*The Country and the City*, 1973)、《关键词:文化与社会词汇》(*Key Words: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, 1976)、《马克思主义与文学》(*Marxism and Literature*, 1977)等。本文选自《乡村与城市》(第1—8页)。

2. Latifundia: large farms that were formed when landowners bought up smaller farms. Most were sheep and cattle ranches, and some grew olives and grapes.

3. Dormitory town: a rural settlement that has a high proportion of commuters in its population.