背离策略与楼粘的政治立场

卡里尔·丘吉尔 70年代 政治剧的戏剧符号学研究

英文版

Deviation Strategy and Ambiguous Political Stance

A Semiotic Study of Caryl Churchill's Political Plays in the 1970s

闫红梅 著





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内容提要

本书采用戏剧文本符号学的方法,探究卡里尔·丘吉尔创作于70年代的政治剧作, 具体分析其所采用的背离策略,如对时间连续性原则的背离,对自然主义戏剧中革命人物 建构的背离,对传统角色分配与表演方式的策略的背离以及对戏剧传统中人物与话语位 置相一致的话语策略的背离,重新探讨了丘吉尔剧作文本所体现出来的政治立场。

本书适合研究卡里尔·丘吉尔政治剧的学者,也适合其他感兴趣的读者。

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卡里尔·丘吉尔是英国当代戏剧史上最杰出的剧作家之一。她被公认为是一位社会主义剧作家。她的戏剧作品经常表现与其社会主义政治立场相符合的政治主题,如宣扬革命,表现阶级冲突与探讨社会变革的可能性。在对丘吉尔的政治剧之内容与形式的研究中,大多数评论家强调丘吉尔的政治倾向,并将其视为研究丘吉尔作品的基础与出发点,但却忽略了她的政治剧也存在着与其社会主义政治立场相对立的可能性。

本书以这一不足之处为出发点,通过分析丘吉尔在文本生产中所采用的背离策略,即与戏剧传统相背离并打破了观众期待的策略,重新探讨丘吉尔剧作文本所体现出来的政治立场。本书将采用戏剧文本符号学的方法,探究丘吉尔创作于20世纪70年代的政治剧作,具体分析其所采用的背离策略,如对时间连续性原则的背离,对自然主义戏剧中革命人物建构的背离,对传统角色分配与表演方式的策略的背离,以及对戏剧传统中人物与话语位置相一致的话语策略的背离。这一方法重新定义戏剧文本的基本构成要素,并将这些要素置于内部与外部关系的网络中,提出意义生成的关系与背离原则。

本书的中心观点是,丘吉尔所采用的背离策略强调了关于革命、革命者、社会变革以及阶级冲突与对立的主题,但这一策略在对以上主题的再现中体现出了矛盾的态度,传达给观众的是一个模糊的政治立场。一方面,背离策略揭示了一个与丘吉尔所反复自称与广泛公认的社会主义政治剧作家身份相符的政治立场。但这一立场本身也是矛盾的,因为它既体现了马克思主义的社会主义政治立场,同时也体现了一个非马克思主义的英国社会主义传统的政治立场。另一方面,这些背离策略客观上又向观众传递了一个非社会主义的政治立场,如资产阶级改良主义与人道主义的立场,或与资本主义社会主流意识形态相共谋的政治立场。

本书分为六章。由于卡里尔·丘吉尔不为大多数中国学者所熟知,所以第1章对关于丘吉尔的批评做了比较详细的回顾,同时也介绍了本书的中心主题与

研究范围。第2章阐述本书研究丘吉尔20世纪70年代政治剧所采用的戏剧符号学方法。本章依据戏剧符号学家的研究成果,着重介绍戏剧文本构成的基本要素中的四个要素,即时间、人物、角色分配策略与话语,同时说明这四个要素如何通过关系与背离的原则生成意义。第3章探讨对连续性原则的背离策略,通过这种策略,作品如何在表现阶级冲突、革命与社会变革的主题中传递给观众一种模糊的政治立场——既包括资产阶级改良主义的立场,又包括马克思主义的社会主义与英国传统的社会主义的政治立场。第4章通过分析对革命人物区辨特征的并置与对照,说明作品如何同时提倡又批判了革命与革命者的形象。第5章探讨丘吉尔的兼演策略,论述这种策略如何使角色的分配与扮演既加强又削弱了对阶级对立和冲突的再现。第6章致力于探讨人物话语与其话语位置的矛盾,这一话语策略既揭露资本主义剥削、提倡革命暴力,又宣扬革命者是罪犯或偏执狂的观点。总之,尽管丘吉尔自称并被公认是社会主义政治剧作家,但她的剧作体现出来的并不完全是社会主义者的政治立场,而是一种模糊的政治立场。这一立场极大地削弱了丘吉尔政治剧的政治效果。

本书的独创之处主要体现在以下两个方面。首先,多数评论家倾向于认为丘吉尔的政治剧主要批判了资本主义的剥削与压迫,宣扬了社会变革的可能性与实现社会变革的方式,揭示了一个与其社会主义剧作家身份相符的政治立场。本书运用戏剧符号学的方法分析了丘吉尔的政治剧,质疑了评论家的这一观点,认为丘吉尔的作品在展现革命、革命者、社会变革与阶级冲突的政治主题中体现出了矛盾的态度,实际上传达给观众的是一种模糊的政治立场。其次,对于大多数探讨丘吉尔戏剧形式的批评家来说,丘吉尔剧中的布莱希特式的手法体现了丘吉尔政治上的反抗,鼓励观众在剧场之外寻求社会变革。本书认为,对丘吉尔所采用的背离策略的研究本身也是对戏剧形式的研究,这一形式不仅体现了作者对资本主义社会的反抗立场,同时也体现了与它的共谋。

本书基于笔者的博士论文,在论文盲审和答辩后根据专家的修改建议对存在的问题和不足之处进行了修改。但受到学力、精力和时间所限,仍存在相当多的局限性,未来希望能进一步拓宽研究内容的广度和深度,以期取得更为全面深入的研究成果。

本书出版在即,首先要衷心感谢我的博士生导师何其莘教授,感谢他几年来的敦敦教诲,感谢我先生及家人的大力支持以及所有我在北京外国语大学读博期间给予我帮助的老师与同学们。

本书得以付梓,得力于上海交通大学出版社滕飞编辑在文字校对、文稿润色、出版安排等方面给作者带来的巨大帮助与启发,由衷感激认真严谨的编辑团队的辛苦付出。

Preface

Caryl Churchill, one of the most outstanding contemporary playwrights in Britain, has been widely recognized as a socialist, whose works often represent political themes, such as the advocacy of revolution, class conflicts, and the possibility of social changes, demonstrating her self-claimed socialist commitment. Her political tendencies have always been stressed by most critics as the basis of their examination of the form and contents of her political plays, which consequently objects to the possibility that Churchill's political plays may present an opposite political position.

In view of this bias, the author tries to reexamine the political stance, which is revealed in the texts of Churchill's works, through the analysis of the deviation strategies that violate dramatic conventions and break the audience's expectations. Based on the semiotic approach in drama studies, which redefines the basic constitutive elements of the dramatic text by setting them in a network of internal and external relations and proposes the production of meaning through the concepts of relation and deviation, the author intends to analyze the specific deviation strategies in Churchill's political plays in the 1970s, such as the violation of the succession principle, the deviation from the construction of revolutionary characters in the naturalistic theatre, the multiple-role casting scheme and the contradiction between characters' speeches and their discursive positions.

The central argument of the book is that the deviation strategies of Churchill, though emphasizing the themes of revolution, revolutionary, social changes, and class contradiction and conflict, expose a contradictory attitude in their representation and thus convey an ambiguous political position to the audience. On the one hand, these strategies reveal a socialist political position, in accordance with

Churchill's socialist status that has been repeatedly claimed by herself and widely accepted by critics, which is a paradox in itself since it embodies a political stand of both Marxist socialism and non-Marxist traditional English socialism; and on the other hand, these strategies suggest a non-socialist political stand, for instance, the bourgeois reformist and humanist, or even the conspiratorial with the dominant ideology in capitalist society.

The main body of the book covers six chapters. Chapter One provides a detailed review of Churchill criticism since she is still unfamiliar to most of Chinese audience, and it also introduces the scope and thesis statement. Chapter Two draws on the semioticians of drama and endeavours to examine four of the basic components of a dramatic text-time, character, casting of characters, and discourse—and at the same time explore how these components function to make meaning possible by virtue of the two fundamental concepts of relation and deviation, in an attempt to provide a methodology for the study of Churchill's political plays in the 1970s. Chapter Three discusses how deviation from the succession principle conveys to the audience an ambiguous political stance in its presentation of the issues, such as class conflict, revolution, and social changes, suggesting at the same time a bourgeois reformist, a traditional British socialist and a Marxist socialist stand. Chapter Four analyzes the juxtaposition and contrast of the distinguishing features of revolutionary characters and illustrates how they produce an ambiguous political stance by advocating and criticizing simultaneously the revolution and revolutionaries. Chapter Five intends to analyze how the multiple-role casting scheme presents an ambiguous political stance by reinforcing and undermining simultaneously the presentation of class opposition and conflict. Chapter Six tries to show how the contradiction between characters' speeches and their discursive positions communicates to the audience an ambiguous political stance by promoting revolutionary violence and exposing capitalist exploitation while demonstrating the revolutionaries as criminals or paranoids. In conclusion, the book argues that, in contrast to the self-claimed and widely-acknowledged socialist label of Caryl Churchill, Churchill's works actually convey to the audience an ambiguous political stance rather than a clearly socialist one, which undermines considerably the political effect of her political plays.

The originality of the author's study lies in two aspects. First, many critics take the view that Churchill's political plays are designed to expose capitalist exploitation and oppression and articulate the possibility and means of achieving social changes, manifesting a political stance that corresponds to her own claim as a socialist playwright, but the author, adopting a semiotic approach to the analysis of Churchill's political plays, challenges these critics' view and argues that Churchill's works actually demonstrate an ambiguous political stance by presenting an ambiguous attitude toward the issues such as revolution, revolutionaries, social changes and class conflicts. Secondly, most critics focus on the form of Churchill's plays and believe that Churchill's adoption of Brechtian techniques serves to express her political protest and encourage the audience to seek for social changes outside the theatre; but this dissertation argues that Churchill's application of the deviation strategies, which is in itself a study of the form of plays, suggests not only a political protest against capitalist society but also a sort of complicity with it.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Caryl Churchill (1938 -) embarked on writing for the stage when she studied at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford during the years of 1957 - 1960. ¹ After graduation, she got married and had three sons. Being house-bound with young children, Churchill devoted her spare time to writing short plays for radio in the 1960s because it demanded less time away from home. 2 The practice of these early years enabled Churchill to perfect her dramatic craft. Eventually, her first significant theatrical break-through came, when Owners (1972), her first full-length stage play, was successfully performed at Royal Court Theatre in 1972. Since then, her subsequent works, such as Light Shining in Buckinghamshire (1976), Vinegar Tom (1976), Cloud Nine (1979), Top Girls (1982), Fen (1983), and Serious Money (1987), have gradually invited increasing critical attention. These plays have brought Churchill a reputation and led to her final establishment as an important contemporary dramatist. Thus, some critics have inclined to rank her as the best woman playwright in contemporary Britain. For instance, Claire Armitstead says that she is "the most successful woman playwright in the English Language", "the top girl of British theatre writing" (4). Some even hail Churchill as one of the best contemporary dramatists. Benedict Nightingale, a senior theatre critic, considers her to be "a dramatist who must surely be rated among the half-dozen best now writing" ("Hard Labour" 30). David Benedict even puts Churchill at the top of the list of

① The student productions of Churchill include Downstairs (1958), You Have no Need to Be Frightened (1959), Having a Wonderful Time (1959), and Easy Death (1960).

② The radio plays of the 1960s include The Ants (1961), Lovesick (1965), Abortive (1968), and Identical Twins (1968).

greatest living dramatists in Britain (4). By now Churchill, no doubt, has become one of the most outstanding figures in contemporary British theatrical canvas.

The key to this acclaimed significance of Churchill seems to lie primarily in her bold inventiveness in form and unpredicted variation in contents. Rejecting the naturalistic style of the 1950s and the conventions of Aristotelian theatre throughout her career, Churchill has been experimenting continually with her form in terms of play structure, language, characterization, setting, performance, and the process of creating a play. This insistent formal experimentation, as Amelia Howe Kritzer has observed, is "what most distinguishes Churchill from her peers among twentieth-century British playwrights" ("Caryl Churchill" 114). As notable as this creative form is the broad expansion of theme in Churchill's plays. The theme that Churchill has dramatized in her works to date ranges from property ownership, witch-hunting in the 17th century, sexual politics, social control and punishment, financial world of LIFFE² to Romanian revolution, ecological crisis and clone, etc., all of which deal with various aspects of contemporary British society. In relation to Churchill's form and content, perhaps Mark Ravenhill's highly respected remarks of them should be mentioned here:

There are a fair number of playwrights with something to say and who use fairly conventional forms in which to say it. And there are a few others who constantly play with form. Caryl Churchill is the only one who stretches form and content with every play she writes (qtd. in Egan 13).

① Since the mid - 1970s, collective writing has become a striking feature of Churchill's career. She has collaborated with theatre companies like Joint Stock, Monstrous Regiment, and Out of Joint, whose researching and workshop techniques have greatly inspired her. Claire Armitstead once stressed the importance of Churchill's interest in collaboration thus: "It [Her interest in collaboration] is also one of the qualities that has enabled her to keep on developing after most of her contemporaries have either dried up, moved out or become set in their ways" (4). In the process of workshop, not only rich material but also ways of representing them are discussed by the writer, directors and actors. Max Stafford-Clark points out that the workshop "simply acts as a way of being able to explore themes and ways of dramatizing them" (Hayman, "Partners" 25). Like Stafford-Clark, Churchill also mentions these two functions of workshop: "My experience of workshops has been quite specific with the theatre group Joint Stock; we research the material and the possible ways of presenting it. I do find this way of working exciting" (25). Thus, Churchill's experimentation with form is closely associated with this new way of writing.

²⁾ LIFFE is the abbreviation of the London International Financial Futures and Options Exchange.

In agreement with Ravenhill's view, Max Stafford-Clark, a longtime director of Churchill's works, says, "it's not just the range of subject matter, but also the form which is continually surprising to critics and audiences" (qtd. in Lyall 9).

The Western criticism of Churchill's drama over the past three decades can be classified roughly into four phases, that is, her exploration of feminist issues, her ecological concerns, her creative form, and her political themes.

To begin with, as Churchill has claimed herself to be a feminist from the outset, the discussion of her feminist outlook has been the focus of critical attention. In the 1970s when the Women's Liberation Movement flourished in Britain, Churchill moved from her writing at home for radio to the writing for the more public world of the theatre, in close collaboration with a socialist theatre group, Joint Stock, and a feminist theatre company, Monstrous Regiment. This, together with her longtime discontent with her own way of life—being a barrister's wife and just staying at home with small children—enabled Churchill to evolve a feminist stance. Churchill herself admitted the influence of the feminist movement upon her, "My own life had changed with the women's liberation movement and I identify with women's history" (Chambers 4). Later, Churchill expressed a firm

① The Joint Stock Company was founded in 1974 by Max Stafford-Clark, William Gaskill and David Hare. It is a socialist theatre group. This company becomes known for its workshop process which consists of an initial period of research, exploration, improvisation, writing interval, and rehearsal. Churchill once described this company as follows:

There's usually a workshop of three or four weeks when the writer, director and actors research a subject, then about ten weeks when the writer goes off and writes the play, then a sixweek rehearsal when you're usually finishing writing the play. Everyone's paid the same wage each week they're working and everyone makes decisions about the budget and the affairs of the company, and because of that responsibility and the workshop everyone is much more involved than usual in the final play. It's not perfect, but it is good, and I do notice the contrast with more hierarchical organizations and feel uncomfortable in them (Betsko and Koenig 78 – 79).

The plays on which Churchill has worked with the company are Light Shining in Buckinghamshire, Cloud Nine, and Fen.

② Monstrous Regiment Company was started in 1975 by a group of women committed to both socialism and feminism. It took its name from the title of a 16th-century pamphlet by John Knox, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women". As a theatre company, its aim was to be "engaged in trying to shift consciousness in the area of women's relation to society" (Itzin 274). In an interview with Catherine Itzin, Churchill commented that "discussing with Monstrous Regiment helped me towards a more objective and analytical way of looking at things. [...] I was more aware than I had been before of what I was doing" (Itzin 285).

feminist stance in an interview with Ann McFerran in 1977:

For years and years I thought of myself as a writer before I thought of myself as a woman, but recently [1977] I've found that I would say I was a feminist writer as opposed to other people saying I was. I've found that as I go out more into the world and get into situations which involve women what I feel is quite strongly a feminist position and that inevitably comes into what I write (qtd. in Aston 18).

Following Churchill's publicly-stated feminist statements, many Western critics have focused their attention on her theatrical representation of feminist issues.

When Helene Keyssar, Catherine Itzin, Christian W. Thomsen and Alisa Solomon made a brief analysis of a feminist interest in early plays by Churchill, such as *Owners*, *Vinegar Tom*, and *Light Shining in Buckinghamshire*, it is Helene Keyssar who first traced the growth of Churchill as a feminist playwright and associated her with the feminist theatre of contemporary Britain. With the rise of women's liberation movement and the emergence of alternative theatre, some playwrights and theatre staff began to unite feminist undertakings with theatrical activities. Under such circumstances, the feminist theatre seemed to have evolved as

① As early as in 1976 when Vinegar Tom was first staged in London at the ICA Theatre, Catherine Itzin caught a glimpse of Churchill's feminist sympathy. She reviewed in passing that "it [Vinegar Tom] speaks, through its striking images and its plethora of ironic contradictions, of and to this century's still deep-rooted antifeminism and women's oppression" ("Survival" 8-9). Christian W. Thomsen commented in 1981 that one could find in Churchill "a socialist writer with a personal style and strong interests in history and feminine questions" in Vinegar Tom and Light Shining in Buckinghamshire (166). Alisa Solomon, writing at the same year with Thomsen about Churchill's feminist concern in the essay "Witches, Ranters and the Middle Class: the plays of Caryl Churchill", assumed that Owners "provides her most naked and lean dramatic treatment of her socialist and feminist concern" (8). In her book Feminist Theatre: An Introduction to Plays of Contemporary British and American Women, Helene Keyssar makes a study of Caryl Churchill in the context of feminist theatre.

② Alternative theatre refers to "a theatre in conscious opposition to both commercial and subsidized theatre, a theatre which wished to be entertaining but not bound to the profit principle, which sought to throw off the shackles of naturalism and portray what happened without the endless speechifying of internally motivated 'characters', which depended on the dynamic of action instead of the slow-paced, boring creation of the illusion of 'real life'" (Craig, "Reflexes of the Future" 10). According to Sandy Craig, alternative theatre is evolved with the help of a supportive magazine *Time Out*, the subsidy of the Arts Council, and the abolishment of theatre censorship. The primary theatre groups in alternative theatre are political theatre companies, which promote new works concerning socialist, feminist and gay issues.

a distinctive theatrical campaign in the 1970s. Noelle Janazewska defines it as "a form of theatre that incorporates an understanding of social construction of femaleness and some analysis of the interactions of gender, class, and power, and that this awareness is manifest in the content, form, perspective and processes of that theatre" (106). Some critics, such as Helene Keyssar, Sue-Ellen Case, Michelene Wandor, Elaine Aston, and Christopher Innes, have focused their attention on the development of the feminist theatre, the lasting impact of the feminist movement on the stage, the relationship between feminism and theatre, and the analyses of feminist drama. ¹ Keyssar recognizes Churchill as the leading figure in British feminist theatre and demonstrates in her 1983 essay, through a survey of Churchill's biographical details and plays, how Churchill gradually shifted from a woman writer to a feminist playwright ("The Drama of Caryl Churchill" 198). It is with Light Shining in Buckinghamshire, the first collaborative work with Joint Stock Theatre Company, as Keyssar observes, that Churchill is "first unqualifiedly commended as a feminist" (198). And the work created in collaboration with Monstrous Regiment, Vinegar Tom, is pinpointed as "Churchill's most accessible play and her most straightforwardly feminist work" (198). For Keyssar, Churchill, together with Megan Terry, 2 gave birth to the contemporary feminist theatre and has

① The phrase "feminist drama" appears frequently in the essays by theatre critics when they discuss plays that promote feminist ideas. Yet it seems that there is no common definition of such a genre. Michelene Wandor, whose book Carry On, Understudies (1986) is "about feminism, women and gays, and the representation of sexuality in theatre during the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s" ("Introduction" xv), has avoided pinning down the definition of feminist drama, believing that such a definition may lead one to understanding inadequately the rich and complex relationship between feminism and theatre. Unlike Wandor, Janet Brown, in her 1979 book Feminist Drama; Definition & Critical Analysis, tended to define what kind of drama is feminist drama, "if the play features as its agent a woman seeking autonomy in an unjust socio-sexual hierarchy, it can be considered a feminist drama" (17). Later, she added in an essay that, since mid—1970s, the central theme of feminist drama has shifted from "the individual's struggle for autonomy to the need for societal transformation" ("Next Wave" 122). Helene Keyssar contends that the essential characteristics of feminist drama "seemed to be the creation of significant stage roles for women, a concern with gender roles in society, exploration of the texture of women's worlds and an urge towards the politicization of sexuality" (Feminist Theatre xi).

② Megan Terry (1932 -) is a noted American woman playwright. Hailing Terry as "mother of American feminist drama", Keyssar states that "since the early sixties Megan Terry has been a sustaining force in feminist drama, nurturing other American women playwrights and continually extending the reaches of he own plays" ("Megan Terry" 53). Her plays, according to Keyssar, consistently reveal "a precise criticism of stereotyped gender roles, an affirmation of women's strength and a challenge to women to better use their own power" (54).

"permanently altered the shape and direction of theatre through their insistent recreation of the relationships between social and theatrical roles and gender" (Feminist Theatre 77).

Keyssar's reception of Churchill is in the main approved by most succeeding critics; and accordingly, it is supplemented by a series of critical essays on Churchill's feminist themes, such as gender, sexuality, subjectivity, motherdaughter relationship, violence, and patriarchal oppression, etc. For instance, Janet Brown, in an essay entitled "Caryl Churchill's Top Girls Catches the Next Wave", praises Churchill's prediction of the next wave of feminism which does not center on individual woman's struggle for autonomy, but on the need for a radical transformation of society (117). In an essay entitled "'The Work of Culture': Cloud Nine and Sex/Gender Theory", John M. Clum shows "the ways in which Cloud Nine is a presentation of life and death of a patriarchal sex/gender system as it is critiqued in classical feminist and gay writing" (91). Apollo Amoko examines the association of gender and sexual oppression with racial and colonial oppression in Cloud Nine and Cloud Nine criticism (45 - 48). Enric Monforte Rabascall's unpublished doctoral dissertation "Gender, Politics, Subjectivity: Reading Caryl Churchill", argues that "a gendered and politics-oriented approach to theatre" in Churchill's works would "serve to subvert the patriarchal and conservative assumptions implicit in traditional theatre" (291). Following the traditional criticism on female images, Katharine Worth analyzes Churchill's interest in deromanticizing and "earthing" the images of women, which cast a new light on the "role" that had been imagined for women by male playwrights in the past (3-24). Michelene Wandor explores the theme of sexuality and gender in the plays such as Vinegar Tom, Light Shining in Buckinghamshire, Cloud Nine and Top Girls ("Sexuality and Gender" 48 - 56). Michael Swanson closely examines the motherdaughter relationships in Cloud Nine, Top Girls, and Fen, arguing that these relationships are the projections of possible prospects for change (49 - 66). This mother-child relation, as Aston has demonstrated, still remains a focus of Churchill's plays since the 1990s ("Telling Feminist Tales" 18 – 36). Raima Evan, in the essay "Women and Violence in A Mouthful of Birds" (54.2: 263 - 284), explores the relationship between women and violence.

In most critics' view, Churchill's feminist critique is generally pervaded with class analysis and condemnation of capitalist oppression. In other words, many

critics believe that Churchill has staged a socialist feminist criticism of class, gender, sexuality, capitalist and patriarchal oppression. For these critics, the feminist dynamic that permeates Churchill's works is that of socialist feminism. Emerged in Britain during the 1970s, this kind of feminism attempts primarily to relate an analysis of sexism to a class analysis. [®] Being both a recognized and self-proclaimed socialist and feminist playwright, Churchill is certainly familiar with this feminist idea, and prefers it to the radical and the bourgeois feminism of the same decade. [®] In a 1988 interview with Kathleen Betsko and Rachel Koenig, Churchill confirmed that the feminism she was familiar with in England "is far more closely connected with socialism" (77), and that she did "find it hard to conceive of a right-wing feminism" (78). [®] Such a view is inevitably reflected in her theatrical imagination. In regard to this incorporation of socialist perspective into feminist analysis, Sue-Ellen Case, taking *Cloud Nine* and *Top Girls* as examples in her exploration of the influence of materialist feminism upon feminist theatre, regards these two plays by Churchill as a demonstration of the happy marriage between

① Janelle Reinelt has pointed out that the feminist movement in England "is driven largely by women in the working class and is primarily socialist in orientation" ("Brechtian Dramaturgy" 81). According to Michelene Wandor, socialist feminism "draws together elements from the kind of class analysis developed by Karl Marx and others since, and the radical feminism which developed in the early 1970s. In terms of its theory, it aims to analyse and understand the way in which power relations based on class interact with power relations based on gender—again, at both the individual and the social level" (136).

② There are three major feminist tendencies that have emerged in Britain during the 1970s—radical feminism, bourgeois feminism, and socialist feminism (Wandor 1986; Case 1988; Patterson 2003). Radical feminism is a biologically based creed. According to Wandor, it argues that "the oppression of women predates capitalism, and therefore all subsequent forms of social injustice stem from the basic sexual antagonism between men and women [...]. It will be seen that radical feminism simply inverts the model of sexist values, and produces a reverse moral system, in which—instead of men on top and women below—women are on top and men below" (133). For bourgeois feminism, it "accepts the world as it is, and sees the main challenge for women as simply a matter of 'equalling up' with men; in other words, what men already do is seen as the norm [...]. It asserts that women, if they really want to, and try hard enough, can make it to the top, and they have added strength because they can use their feminine wiles to twist men round their litter fingers on the way there [...]" (134). It has a more individualistic inflection.

③ A similar voice can be found in her interview with Victoria Radin, "Achievement is about winning, but what about those women who don't win? Women should be allowed to have adventures, but if it involves oppressing other women, feminism doesn't work" ("Churchill's Adventures" 29). According to Radin, Churchill's major concern is the way that the right-wing feminism "becomes an oppressive philosophy in Margaret Thatcher's Britain" (29).