H

HABERMAS, JÜRGEN

Today, Jürgen Habermas (b. 1929) is the best known representative of critical theory or the Frankfurt School. At the center of his theory of modernity is the explication of a twofold concept of society combining action and system theory. Two forms of integration correspond to these paradigms in social theory: social and system integration (Habermas 1981:223ff.). Mechanisms of social integration refer to orientations of actors constituting the societal order of values, norms, and communicative process. In contrast, market exchange and power as mechanisms of system integration transcend the orientations of actors and integrate nonintended contexts of action through functional networks. Whereas socially integrated interaction remains at least intuitively understandable for actors and can therefore be captured meaningfully, system integrated contexts lie beyond the self-explication of actors and can only be explained from the point of view of the observer.

Hence, two concepts of society can be assigned to these mechanisms of integration: The central idea of social integration points in conjunction with communicative action to the concept of the *lifeworld*. In contrast, system integration refers to the concept of a boundary-maintaining system that connects consequences of social action functionally. However, it is always the same one and only society that is described by these diverging categories. From the internal point of view of actors, society is seen as a sociocultural lifeworld, while from the observer's point of view, it is regarded as a social system. By means of this conceptual duplex, Habermas describes all kinds of societies as systemically stabilized contexts of socially integrated groups.

For Habermas, a differentiation of lifeworld and system has developed in the process of social evolution. In primitive societies, social and system integration are closely related, while in the course of societal development, the mechanisms of system integration become disconnected from social integration. With the transition to modernity, these two principles have become largely separated. In contemporary societies, lifeworld and system exist in opposition to each other.

Private sphere and political-cultural public represent the institutional orders of the lifeworld. In these primarily socially integrated areas, the symbolic reproduction of society takes place (i.e., the tradition and innovation of cultural knowledge, social integration, and socialization). Therefore, symbolic reproduction not only represents just one but several functions which modern lifeworlds serve (Habermas 1992:77). The lifeworld consists of *culture, society* and *personality* (Habermas 1988:99). With these three elements, modern lifeworlds develop the educational system, the law, and the family as institutions highly specialized to fulfil these functional specifications. According to Habermas, these lifeworld components remain connected to each other through the medium of language. Colloquial language imposes strict limits on the functional differentiation of the lifeworld so that its totality is not endangered.

With regard to the reciprocal interpenetration of lifeworld discourses, Habermas (1985:418) speaks of the ability of intersubjective self-understanding of modern societies. Thus, the borders between the socially integrated areas remain open. All parts of the lifeworld refer to one comprehensive public, in which society develops reflexive knowledge of itself. Although the lifeworld is structured by communicative action, it does not, however, constitute the center of modern societies. Hahermas sees the potential of rationality as highly endangered because the communicative infrastructure of lifeworlds is threatened by both colonialization and fragmentation.

Outside of the lifeworld, the capitalist economy and public administration are situated. These two functional subsystems of society use money and organizational power as their media of exchange. They specialize in the material reproduction of the lifeworld. Between economy and

private households, on the one hand, and public administration and political-cultural public, on the other hand, exchange relations exist. Habermas conceptualizes economy and politics as open systems that maintain an intersystemic exchange with their social environments. From the point of view of the economy and the political system, the lifeworld is just a societal subsystem. From the vantage of the lifeworld, the economic and administrative complex appear as rationalized contexts of action which transcend the intuitive understanding of actors.

As the media-based exchange relations between the lifeworld and system illustrate, the separation of system and social integration is, even in contemporary societies, far from complete. The economic and administrative complex remain connected to the lifeworld as the systemic media money and organizational power are in need of an institutional anchorage in the lifeworld. Although communicative action, on the one hand, and capitalist economy and political administration, on the other, are asymmetrically related, the lifeworld remains, in contrast to the functional subsystems, the more comprehensive concept of social order. Only by anchoring legal institutions in the lifeworld, markets and the authority of the state can persist (Habermas 1992:59). This is why the areas of system integration are constituted legally.

In his study *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (1992), Habermas points to the importance that the theory of communicative action attributes to the category of law. Modern law is connected with both the lifeworld and the functional subsystems, hence serving intermediary functions between social and system integration. Lifeworld messages must be translated into the language of law before they can be understood in economy and politics. Modern law works like a transformer that guarantees that normative messages circulate throughout society.

Habermas's theory of modernity has been criticized in many ways. One important line of criticism refers to the normative texture of the theory of communicative action. Rational potential of reflexivity is only imputed to the socially integrated lifeworld even though lifeworlds constitute only a part of modern societies. Also, the categorical distinction between functionally specialized subsystems (economy, administration, politics) and the specific parts of the lifeworld (education, law, family) is not as clear as it may seem at first glance. According to McCarthy (1986:209ff.), only a gradual distinction can be observed between these areas. Education, law, and family also suffer from unintended consequences of social action. At the same time, economy and public administration remain, just as the communicative structure of the lifeworld, dependent on the use of ordinary language.

— Gerd Nollmann

See also Frankfurt School; Luhmann, Niklas; Parsons, Talcott; Verstehen; Weber, Max

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HABITUS

The concept of habitus is characterised by a useful degree of imprecision that has allowed it to be taken up by a range of very different social theorists, in very different contexts. It addresses the need to think about humans without resorting to the gnomic mysteries of psychoanalysis, on the one hand, or the implausible clarity of rational actor theories, on the other. The closest one might be able to come to a generally acceptable definition of habitus would focus on those aspects of human behaviour and cognition that are inexplicit, less than fully conscious, ungoverned by deliberate decision making, and bound up with and in the embodied encounter with others and the environment. Any lack of conceptual clarity thus arguably has its origins in the indeterminacy of what the notion is attempting to grasp.

Deriving from philosophy—being used by, among others, Hegel and Husserl—habitus, in its original Latin meaning, refers to the habitual or typical state or condition of the body. The notion came to prominence and found its widest currency, however, within twentieth-century social theory. Following occasional mentions by Weber, Durkheim, and Mauss, the first extensive sociological use of the concept can be found in Norbert Elias's work on "the civilising process" during the 1930s. Acknowledging habitus as a concept capable of individual and collective application, Elias talks about our "second nature," "an automatically-functioning self-restraint, a habit that, within certain limits, also functions when a person is alone" (Elias 2000:117). Rooted in early socialisation, according to Elias, the embodied disciplines of thoughtless habit create the everyday possibility of ordered, complex, and intense social life. This was also later emphasised by Berger and Luckmann in *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966:70–85). It is, arguably, a key theme that lurks, semiacknowledged at best,

below the surface of most interactionist sociology, not least the work of Erving Goffman.

An increasingly common item in the modern social theory vocabulary, habitus owes its popularisation to the late Pierre Bourdieu (so much so that he is often taken to be the concept's originator). A key component in his project of developing a sociological understanding of human practice that transcends the "ruinous opposition" between individualistic voluntarism and structuralist determinism, the notion of habitus is threaded in and out of his extensive and broad-ranging legacy of empirical studies. The concept's outlines and ramifications were developed most thoroughly in his foundational theoretical statements, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), and *The Logic of Practice* (1990).

What Bourdieu encapsulates in habitus are those aspects of human beings that are neither fully conscious nor unconscious, neither collective nor individual (or, perhaps, both simultaneously). Definitively located in embodied individuals, these are inculcated during primary and secondary socialisation, although Bourdieu goes out of his way to avoid the word. In early childhood, the foundations of sociality, from language to morality, are learned, only to be forgotten as the condition of their durability and power. Unreflexively, they are constituted in and through habituation and habit formation.

Habitus is defined by Bourdieu as "an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted" (1977:95). This is central to his vision of human beings as internally in tune, albeit perhaps nonreflexively, with the external material conditions of their existence. Habitus comprises both classificatory schema and practical dispositions, both generative of action and each inextricably implicated in the other. They are subject to a continuous, if less than conscious, process of adjustment to the objective realities of the world to which each individual belongs. These schema and dispositions—notably in the case of the fundamental taxonomies that combine classification and disposition most completely—are transposable, applicable across a widely range of social fields. It is partly in these all-purpose bodies of knowing and doing that the collective logic of practice of any group—"culture"—can be said to exist.

In deference to the word's Latin roots, embodiment is utterly fundamental to Bourdieu's model of habitus. The body is the point of view of the human encounter with the world and the locus of the most consequential practical taxonomies: up/down, left/right, front/back, and male/female, for example. For Bourdieu, the body, exemplified in habitus, is a practical mnemonic, on and in which the foundations of culture are produced and reproduced. Habitus also generates *hexis,* locally distinctive shared ways of being in the world, the complex nonverbals of human practice.

Practical dispositions are not, however, to be understood as rules. Nor are they anything to do with conscious rational decision making. Habitus is the framework within which humans improvise their way through life, a facilitatory capacity that allows locally specific learned practices and the classificatory architecture of knowledge and cognition to adjust to the demands, possibilities, and impossibilities of actual settings and contexts, in such a way that meaningful, mutually sensible responses emerge and can be acted on. Any particular habitus will be more or less compatible with any specific social field, depending on origins and history. It is in this sense, although this is perhaps the most obscure aspect of Bourdieu's writings on the topic, that habitus can be said to be collective as well as definitively individual.

Bourdieu used this basic model to analyse a range of topics: peasant marriage strategies, the layout of North African houses, the appreciation of high art, formal education, cultural consumption, stratification, and gender domination, to mention only some (see Jenkins 2002). In its appropriation by Anglophone sociology, much of the subtlety of the concept has been diluted, the result being a somewhat mystified version of anthropology's omnibus model of culture. The abiding significance of habitus is likely to be its emphasis on the embodiment of cognition and its evasion of any either/or choice between conscious rationality and the unconscious as the wellsprings of human behaviour.

— Richard Jenkins

See also Bourdieu, Pierre; Elias, Norbert; Goffman, Erving; Symbolic Interaction

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HALL, STUART

Born in Kingston, Jamaica, Stuart Hall's (b. 1932) contribution has been threefold: He is (1) a founding father of cultural studies, (2) a major, largely synthetic theorist of culture and race, and (3) a leading black public intellectual. He was educated in Jamaica College, an elite school in the West Indies with a long tradition of training professionals

and colonial administrators. He migrated to England in 1951, enrolling as a Rhodes scholar at Merton College, Oxford. Here he became involved in British and Jamaican politics and embarked on a PhD studying the relationship between Europe and America in the novels of Henry James. What he calls "the double conjuncture" of the Allied invasion of Suez and the Soviet repression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 provided a fillip to his political activism.

In 1957, he quit Oxford and cofounded and coedited the *University and Left Review (ULR)*, a publication that presented "New Left" thinking on politics and the arts. In 1960, the *ULR* was merged with the *New Reasoner*, dominated by an older group of intellectuals, notably John Saville and Edward and Dorothy Thompson, to form the *New Left Review*. Between 1960 and 1962, Hall edited the journal, publishing articles on popular culture, housing, politics, and dissent, especially the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Hall is unusual among intellectuals of his generation in having a background in which prominent media experience preceded an academic career.

In 1962, Hall was appointed to teach media, film, and popular culture at Chelsea College, University of London. He also engaged in collaborative research for the British Film Institute into the popular arts. In 1964, he accepted the post of research fellow at the newly established Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. Founded by Richard Hoggart, the Centre sought to examine culture, especially working-class culture, through a mixture of political, sociological, and literary perspectives. Hall succeeded Hoggart as director in 1968.

Under Hall's influence, intellectual labour in the Centre became more theoretical and political. A dialogue between a variety of approaches from continental traditions, including Volosinov's "multiaccented" approach to linguistics, semiotics, Lévi-Strauss, Lacan, Poulantzas, Lukács, Althusser, Gramsci, and many others, was attempted. It was layered on to the native tradition of British *culturalism* that purported to understand "the whole way of life" of the people, as embodied in the writings of Raymond Williams and E. P. Thompson. The model of intellectual labour was borrowed from Gramsci's concept of the *organic intellectual,* which emphasizes the requirement of the intellectual to operate at the cutting edge of new ideas and constitute the transmission belt of knowledge to the working class. The concept gives pronounced importance to the political responsibilities of the intellectual. To some extent, the intellectual labour conducted in the Centre during Hall's time can best be understood as an attempt to fuse elements of continental structuralism and poststructuralism with the domestic tradition of culturalism and socialist humanism. However, by the mid1970s, when arguably the Centre began to produce its most important work, the theoretical rudder behind research and debate was Althusserian "scientific"

structuralist-Marxism uneasily combined with Gramsican culturalism. During this period, Hall and his associates made a number of key interventions into British cultural and political life, notably through innovative and challenging studies of schooling (Hall and Jefferson 1990), ideology (Hall, Lumley, and McLennan 1978), and state formation (Hall, Langan, and Schwarz 1985). Hall (1973) also achieved a minor *success de scandale* in the field of mass communications research, with his encoding/decoding model of the media message. This was an explicitly political reading of the media that attacked professional notions of media objectivity and transparency and sought to elucidate the mechanisms of media manipulation and the demystification of media messages.

However, perhaps the most important publication to emerge was *Policing the Crisis* (Hall et al 1978). This densely argued, consistently politically engaged book combined textual analysis, cultural interpretation, historical analysis, and political commentary to produce a compelling set of arguments about British state formation and cultural regulation. Following Gramsci, but also clearly operating in the Althusserian tradition, the authors presented the unfolding British crisis in politics, society, and culture as the consequence of a shifting "war of position and manoeuvre." Hegemony was depicted as the result of multiple compromises and concessions between the state, the capitalist class, and the working class. The formation of the *representative-interventionist state* is traced back to the 1880s. One of its main preconditions was the creation of a new *social bloc* in culture and the body politic, intent on winning support from the working class. Hegemony is accomplished by a *complex unity* of social, political, and economic alliances. However, following Gramsci, it is theorized as a conditional phenomenon. Hall and his associates argued that this unity was buckling in the 1960s and 1970s under the strain of wage inflation, low economic growth, the high cost of the welfare state, and militant trade unionism. The result was the revitalization of the Right, which was symbolized in the rise of Thatcherism with its candid repudiation of welfarism, stringent controls on wage bargaining, privatization programme, and "heroic" attack on trade union rights. *Policing the Crisis* aligned itself with the struggle for popular democratic socialism. It is perhaps the high-water mark of work in the Centre, and although many of its assumptions and propositions are now challenged, it remains a remarkable achievement.

Although the Centre is primarily remembered for its publications on culture, it was also an innovative training centre. Under Hall's directorship, the hierarchy between staff and students was softened in favour of a collaborative approach to research and publications. In addition to lectures and seminars the subgroup was an essential part of the teaching regime. Subgroups were organized around areas of thematic research in culture, such as policing, the media,

schools, and feminism. Curriculum development and collaborative research was sponsored by partnerships between staff and students. They operated with a self-image of "inventing" cultural studies as they went along, a heady rubric that was legitimated by the relative absence of academic studies of popular culture and that generated a huge amount of intellectual excitement and ferment. A tribute to these methods is the large number of Birmingham alumni who moved on to become key figures in cultural studies both nationally and internationally: Phil Cohen, Hazel Corby, Paul Gilroy, Larry Grossberg, Dick Hebdige, Angela McRobbie, David Morley, Frank Mort, and Paul Willis.

In 1979, Hall left Birmingham to become professor of sociology at the Open University. His thought remained politically oriented and was exploited and developed along three fronts. Firstly, he explored the phenomenon of Thatcherism, especially in relation to its legitimacy with working-class voters, that is, the main victims of cuts in welfare provision and wage restraint. Drawing on the work of Gramsci and Poulantzas, he developed the concept of *authoritarian populism* to refer to voluntary support for policies of nationalism and statism that oppose welfarism and trade union rights. In a series of articles and lectures, he dismantled the popular appeal of Thatcherism and revealed its cultural and historical elisions. At this time, Hall was an extremely important, courageous voice on the Left in Britain, countering the Thatcherite logic that "There is no such thing as society" and "There is no alternative" to the deregulated market.

Secondly, and conversely, his (Hall and Jacques 1990) "New Times" thesis berated the Left for repeating the mantra of class analysis. It stopped short of abandoning the relevance of class in social development. However, in an evident concession to postmodernism, Hall emphasized the significance of fragmentation, globalization, mobility, post-Fordism, the aestheticization of everyday life, and new social movements in decentring traditional concepts of identity, including class identity.

Thirdly, he wrote more systematically about race and ethnicity. He (1992) related racism to the dominance of Western epistemology and its historical expression in colonialism. He identified "new ethnicities" in British society associated with the emergence of black British culture. He introduced the term *hyphenated identity* to describe the status of British-born black immigrants. His work on racism made extensive use of the concepts of diaspora and hybridity borrowed from postcolonialism. He applied the concept of *institutionalized racism* to apply to the taken-for-granted assumptions of racial superiority engrained in legal, social, and political categories. He was also a major participant in the Parekh Report (2000) on the future of multicultural society, a document that included many detailed policies designed to achieve racial justice in work, education, and politics.

Hall's post-Birmingham thinking on politics and social theory was heavily influenced by the linguistic turn in Western Marxism, especially the work of Laclau and Mouffe (1985). The latter, via an engagement with Lacan and Foucault, stressed the "radically contingent" character of social formations and cultural articulations. From them, Hall assigned greater significance to the symbolic in cultural analysis and gravitated towards a view of identity as multiple, discontinuous, fragmented, and always and already, "under erasure." His later work amounts to a critique of identity thinking, especially as it is enunciated in the notion of Western white superiority.

An avaricious thinker, Hall has often committed the mistake of trying to assimilate fashionable new ideas by alloying them to traditional arguments and concepts. His (1986) exposure to poststructuralism and postmodernism has led him to declare that be is now in favour of "Marxism without guarantees," a curious appellation that demonstrates Hall's habit of wanting to have his cake and eat it. The attempt to merge Althusserianism with Gramacianism in the 1970s is another case in point. The structuralist bent in Althusser, which is revealed in his discussion of ideology, interpellation, and the ideological/repressive state apparatus, is in a state of considerable tension with Gramsci's interpretive, contingency-sensitive Marxism. Hall was never going to preside over a happy marriage between these contrary elements, yet he devoted considerable energies to doing so. His appetite for new ideas and antiessentialism resulted in a high degree of slippage, both in the meaning that he attached to key concepts, such as *hegemony, conjuncture,* and *articulation,* and his propositions about social-democratic transformation. His later years have been marked by an attack on identity thinking that is nonetheless attached to a politics of socialism. This leaves Hall's politics awkwardly placed in a wishful state of seeking a rainbow coalition of dissenting, repressed elements whose identity is "always and already" "under erasure."

His commitment to the linguistic turn has left his theoretical work peculiarly bereft of an empirical dimension. His propositions are not based in qualitative fieldwork or quantitative research. He has used political engagement as the pretext for "testing" his ideas, a practice that more empirically minded social scientists would perhaps deem to be luxurious.

Yet Hall's work also resonates a level of general vitality and specific attention to the detail of normative coercion that makes it a valuable resource in the study of culture. His attempt to produce a historically informed reading of culture reached its fullest expression with *Policing the Crisis.* Notwithstanding that, an appreciation of history, theory, and ideology permeates his work on culture and lifts it above what might be called alfresco studies of popular culture that perhaps engage too ingenuously with the enthusiasms of cultural actors. His emphasis on the *social*

imaginary, the category of utopian theorizing about emancipatory politics that mixes social science with the humanities, is also inspirational. In his teaching, Hall championed social inclusion and launched sallies against time-worn hierarchy. In his writing and politics, he railed against ascription and inherited authority, in favour of collaboration and a unity composed of living through and with difference.

— Chris Rojek

See also Althusser, Louis; Cultural Marxism and British Cultural Studies; Cultural Studies and the New Populism; Gramsci, Antonio; Marxism; Media Critique

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HARDING, SANDRA

Currently a professor of social sciences and comparative literature at the University of California, Los Angeles, Sandra Harding also serves as the director of the UCLA Center for the Study of Women. She earned her PhD in philosophy from New York University and spent the first part of her career at the University of Delaware, where she taught philosophy.

Well known and widely influential in connection with feminist standpoint theory, Harding has also played a pivotal role in feminist science studies. In the former arena, Harding stands out for acknowledging that embodiment bears different consequences for boys and men than for girls and women. From their distinctive forms of embodiment flow ramifications not only for the "social relations" typical of each gender but also for the "intellectual life" typical of each (Harding 1994:21). Yet scientific methodology presupposes that researchers are interchangeable (Harding 1991b:51). Both as a feminist critic of the institution of science and as a feminist standpoint theorist, Harding rigorously challenges that presupposition. Her work revolves around a productive rejection of that taken-for-granted tenet of the scientific infrastructure.

Harding's (1990:86) work emphasizes *principled ambivalence,* albeit implicitly most of the time. That concept serves her in a double-sided way. On the one side stand her methodological and feminist principles evocative of keen disenchantment with how science has been institutionalized. On the other side stand the ethical principles pivotal in Harding's work, namely, equality, diversity, and community (both scientific and feminist). She insists, for example, that "the subject of feminist knowledge . . . must be multiple and even contradictory" (1991b:284). Equality and diversity demand no less, and community presupposes such real-world subjects rather than their oversimplified theoretical counterparts.

Like other feminist standpoint theorists, Harding argues that women's diverse and often contradictory positions in various social worlds provide them with distinctive, significant insights. Although that argument broadly undergirds feminist theory as well as other feminist scholarship, she is particularly emphatic about how women's "self-contradictory identities and social locations" (1991a:103) can serve them as epistemological resources.

Harding's work also pays some attention to men's identities and even their feminism. Emphasizing the experiential, practical grounds of gender, she notes that commonplace notions about masculinity largely derive from how often men oversee things, while notions of femininity come mostly from women's caregiving (1990:98). She concludes that engaging in both kinds of practices promotes feminist values and knowledge. Much of her work implies that such practical inclusiveness promotes a kind of multicultural or border-crossing consciousness. Yet such consciousness is not easily won. She explores, for instance, how readily some Euro-American feminist theorists simultaneously "appear to overestimate their own ability to engage in antiracist thought but to underestimate men's ability to engage in feminist thought" (1991b:277).

Ever the critical thinker committed to incorporating the multiple contradictions built into both our everyday lives and our social theories, Harding brings to feminist theory a liveliness of intellect that has imploded academic stances toward gender, science, identity, hierarchy, and social theory itself. Her own overriding goal has been to overhaul science as well as social theory so as "to make sense of women's social experience" (1986:251) Given the pervasive use of gender as a basis of social differentiation and the

attention to deinstitutionalization and discontinuous change processes. The erosion of beliefs and rules and their replacement by new models and forms may be due to endogenous strains and conflicts or to the intervention of external forces or actors. Change is often initiated by the collective mobilization of disadvantaged actors who challenge existing systems and truths. The examination of such processes is well under way as a result of increasing interaction and collaboration of institutional and social movement scholars. Change also occurs when boundaries buffering social fields or sectors are breached, allowing ideas and actors from one sector to penetrate another. For example, fields long controlled by professional logics—including accounting, medical care, and publishing—have increasingly been destabilized and reorganized under neoliberal market and managerial logics.

Institutionalists have also attended to the three great transformations currently under way in sociopolitical arrangements at the international level: the fall and dismantling of the Soviet Union with its ramification for Eastern Europe; the surprisingly rapid evolution of the common market and the design of new political institutions for Western Europe; and the economic modernization of China and other East Asian countries. Among the common themes in the work of such scholars as David Stark and John L. Campbell are the ways in which previous political and economic institutions continue to influence emerging ones; the extent to which cultural and political processes influence the creation of market regimes; and the innovative ways in which existing social and cultural building blocks are reassembled and redesigned, through processes termed "bricolage," to form new institutions.

— W. Richard Scott

See also Ethnomethodology; Historical and Comparative Theory; Rational Choice; World-Systems Theory

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INTERNET AND CYBERCULTURE

As the new technologies associated with personal computers have proliferated over the last few decades, along with the emergence of a communications infrastructure designed to allow these computers to support a global network of information and cultural exchange, the resulting Internet has evolved to become an important commercial and noncommercial aspect of everyday life all over the world. "Cyberculture" has become a sort of catchall used to characterize the wide diversity of online Internet experiences available, in both their popular and fringe aspects, and it represents a blossoming transdisciplinary academic field of study that is attempting to chart the Internet's history, theorize the rich array of individual and social meanings that the network affords, and imagine the future developments that may occur as Internet technology comes to dominate social life.

Though it has a variety of historical antecedents, the Internet proper began as a Cold War project in decentralized communications by the U.S. Department of Defense in the 1960s. Named Arpanet (it was the computer network for the DOD's Advanced Research Project Agency), during the 1970s it expanded to become an international communications hub for research specialists in both universities and the military, at which time e-mail (electronic mail) became ubiquitous and Usenet (newsgroups devoted to postings around a specific topic) was created. The term *Internet* was

not itself uttered to describe the network until 1982, and it was not until 1991 that the World Wide Web (WWW or "the Web")—the series of associative multimedia pages that most people now consider iconic of the larger Internet—was established by Tim Berners-Lee. Interestingly, the hypertextual form of the WWW's interlinking pages, as well as its ability to condense vast libraries of information that could be personalized into efficient research and publication tools, had been envisaged as early as 1945 by the scientist Vannevar Bush in his essay "As We May Think." The term *hypertext* was itself coined as early as 1965 by the Internet developer and theorist Ted Nelson.

During the late 1980s, BBS (bulletin board systems) hubs represented the leading edge of the technology fringe in which an underground network of technically sophisticated professional users and computer literate youth proffered a veritable "gift economy" of pictures, simple games, and electronic communication over extremely slow networks. Alongside the rise of the Web during the 1990s, varieties of multiuser dungeons (MUDs) appeared that allowed people to explore basic virtual environments and interact with one another in real time. Corporate culture also increasingly colonized the Internet with Microsoft's Bill Gates, on the one hand, symbolic of a new economic form of computer ideologue/tycoon, and with America Online's "You've got mail!" aesthetic, on the other, indexical of the popular post-1994 boom of the WWW in which mass marketing and electronic commerce have joined communication and research as major activities for Internet users.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Internet has matured to become a multifaceted, socially, and politically complex environment of over 500 million users. While corporate forces rapidly built a larger and speedier Internet for the new millennium, subcultural forces have sought equally to borrow the new online environment for their own sociopolitical intentions. Thus was the case, infamously, with the peer-to-peer (P2P) client Napster, which allowed approximately 60 million users at one point to share and freely trade a variety of multimedia files directly with one another. Recently, the Internet phenomenon of blogs (web logs, journals, and diaries) in which so-called bloggers self-publish, trade media stories, and offer a variety of commentary on social life, appears to be the latest version of a noncommercial Internet craze. The related growth of the Indymedia network (http://www .indymedia.org) appears to be one of the most promising current developments for those who aspire to a democratic network of critical and politically informed citizen-users.

Finally, no discussion of Internet cyberculture would be complete without mention of "hacker culture"—technically sophisticated computer users who can establish and/or penetrate networks of secure (i.e., private) information. Computer network hacking has become a major political threat, with governments and corporations increasingly

concerned about the ability of terror groups to compromise systems of classified information and release computer viruses (small programs that arrive via e-mail) that can cause massive disruption of the Internet and its underlying networks. Infamously, in 2002, after a U.S. spy plane was downed over China, groups of Chinese hackers released the Code Red virus into U.S. networks, thereby temporarily crippling Internet activity, business, and governmental operations. Governments and corporations also use the Internet as a way to gather sensitive information on people, however, and so a new collective of pointedly political hackers have banded together under the moniker of "hacktivism" to inform Internet users of potential risks and to protect people from being electronically monitored.

Such recent Internet developments evoke William Gibson's 1984 coining of the science fiction literary genre of *Cyberpunk*, in which hegemonic transnational powers battle for world control through sophisticated virtual networks of information (i.e., cyberspace), and individual hacker rogues attempt to subvert that space for their own ends amidst a sprawling techno-urban dystopia. Gibson, probably more than any other author, is directly responsible for the *cyber* prefix that has come to dominate contemporary digital discourse. Yet it appears to originally hail from Norbert Wiener's 1948 reintroduction of the term in the founding of Cybernetics, the field devoted to the study of communication and control in living beings and human machinery. Other descriptions of the Internet and cyberculture, as in Daniel Bell's notion of the postindustrial "information society," Manuel Castell's similar "network society," and Al Gore's vision of an "information superhighway," reference the cybernetic model of information control, oriented process, and feedback navigation. Marshall McLuhan's idea of an electronic "global village" is also foundational for the field but should not be linked directly to cybernetic origins.

Recently, cyberculture studies has emerged as an important new field of cultural research. David Silver (2000) has produced a useful framework for disciplinary work that outlines three distinct theoretical periods. Initial work on cyberculture tended to be popularizing and introductory. William Gibson's metaphor of the "frontier" figured prominently, and two distinct camps emerged that either celebrated the Internet as digital utopia (e.g., Kevin Kelly, Nicholas Negroponte, Bill Gates) or reviled it as cultural dystopia (e.g., Kirkpatrick Sale, Neil Postman). In the mid-1990s, an academic turn occurred in the field in which the Internet was examined both as a form of virtual democratic community (e.g., Howard Rheingold, John Perry Barlow) and as a space in which to construct and experiment with new online identities (e.g., Sherry Turkle). Finally, contemporary debate surrounds a critical phase of cybercultural studies that seeks to examine questions of access (i.e., "digital divide"), as well as the cultural, political, pedagogical, and economic

factors that frame online interactions, digital discourses, and Internet designs (e.g., Mark Poster, Douglas Kellner, Kevin Robins, and Frank Webster).

Thus, as cyberculture research continues into the next decade, it is expected that questions of race, class, gender, and other differences will be more thoroughly brought to bear in theorizing the Internet and its culture of communication, education, business, and ludic gaming. Additionally, research will begin to be done that analyzes the ecological relationship between an increasingly technological global culture and the corresponding state of the planetary environment upon which it is built and depends.

— Richard Kahn

See also Bell, Daniel; Consumer Culture; Globalization

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INTIMACY

Intimacy is a quality of a social interaction based on the reciprocal interpretation of the actors. While there is an emphasis on the intersubjective construction of this quality, the idea of intimacy depends on the collective representation or the symbolic code on how to define, construct, and express intimacy, which varies in different cultures. In modern societies, it is based on an interaction that is both extraordinarily meaningful to the actors and restricted to a small number of persons. Even though intimacy can emerge in brief encounters, it is regarded more likely that intimacy is experienced in subsequent interactions. This shapes a specific type of relationship, an intimate relationship. Social relations tend to become distinctive in either non-personal or intimate relations with only very few types in between.

Intimacy and intimate relationships become crucial for the social structure and the creation of social order. Moreover, there is a cultural appreciation of establishing intimate relationships during the course of life. In fact, the emergence of this form of intimacy is closely connected to the evolution of modernity as described by classical and modern theories.

First of all, intimacy occurs simultaneously along with a sociostructural individualization. Émile Durkheim notes that the division of labor leads at the same time to an increase of both dependency among people and autonomy for individuals. This development provides the basis for intense personal relationships.

Georg Simmel explains individualization by the fact that extended group affiliations and social contacts tend to shape a unique pattern for every single person. Consequently, persons become individualized since they do not share the same experiences. Furthermore, he makes the point that social life in the modern metropolis is grounded in the great number of persons living in spatial closeness. This environment creates both freedom and loneliness and, primordially, shapes intellectualistic, distant, relationships. However, it also intensifies emotions due to the extended variety of external and internal stimuli. Simmel also depicts the dyad as a special social form the structure of which mainly consists of the number of persons involved in this relationship. In a "society of two," as Simmel puts it, the relationship rests exclusively on the individuality of the two persons and cannot be maintained by any structure for groups of a larger size.

Generally, intimacy is often connected with modern types of gender and family relations. In particular, neo-Marxian and feminist theories stress the connection with the material world of production and consumption. Intimate relationships among members of the nuclear family shape the essence of the private sphere (Jürgen Habermas). However, the value rationality of intimate relationships is exploited by capitalism and social power, because this sphere functions as a resource for both the re-creation of human labor and a consumer market.

Last, the idea of intimacy is enhanced by the spatial (e.g., private family houses) and temporal (e.g., distinction between work time and leisure or individual time) organization of modern life as well as by the impact of mass media (e.g., novels and romances) and scientific methods (e.g., psychoanalysis to analyze the innermost self) on everyday life.

In contemporary sociological theory, three European sociologists, Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck in cooperation with Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, paid special attention to the significance of intimacy. While Beck-Gernsheim and Beck stress the impact of modern structures on intimate love relationships, applying many characteristics from the classical concepts of individualization, Giddens emphasizes intimacy as a feature of personal relationships in late modernity.

On the one hand, Beck-Gernsheim and Beck point to the weakened ties to kinships and traditional groups of reference, while on the other hand, they point to chances for

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KRISTEVA, JULIA

Psychoanalytic theorist, linguistic scholar, and philosopher, Julia Kristeva theorizes relations among psychic desire, the body, sexuality, and culture. She has contributed extensively not only to philosophy, linguistics, and psychoanalytic theory but also to literary and cultural theory as well as feminist theory. Her publications explore topics such as the relationship of semiotics and subjectivity (*Revolution of Poetic Language*, 1974), depression and melancholy (*Black Sun*, 1987), maternal experience and abjection (*Powers of Horror*, 1980), national identity and territorial space (*Strangers to Ourselves*, 1989), literature and sensation (*Time and Sense*, 1994), and the practice of psychoanalysis (*New Maladies of the Soul*, 1993).

Kristeva was born in 1941 in Bulgaria. In the mid-1960s at the age of 25, she was granted a doctoral research fellowship that enabled her to emigrate to Paris. In Paris, she worked with Roland Barthes, a central figure in structuralism and literary theory, and Jacques Lacan, a leading psychoanalytic theorist. She was involved in leftist French politics, completed psychoanalytic training, and was inducted into the French *legion d'honeur*, the highest cultural honor in France. She is currently professor of linguistics and humanities at the University of Paris VII and a frequent visiting lecturer at Columbia University.

Kristeva's first major publication, *Revolution of Poetic Language* (written in 1974 as her doctoral dissertation and published in 1984), began her theoretical work in semiotics and psychoanalysis. In this work, she proposes a new semiotics she terms *semanalysis*. Semanalysis argues that meaning is a signifying process rather than a sign system. Semanalysis explores the relationship between language and subjectivity by combining the semiotics of Charles Pierce and Ferdinand de Saussure with the psychoanalysis of Freud, Lacan, and Melanie Klein. Semanalysis asserts

that subjectivity is formed in conjunction with language acquisition and use and that all signification is composed of the "semiotic" (*genotext*) and the "symbolic" (*phenotext*).

Incorporating Lacanian psychoanalysis, Kristeva further distinguishes the semiotic as the pre-Oedipal stage of human development and the symbolic as the postoedipal stage. The semiotic, which refers to the bodily drive as it produces signification or meaning, is associated with the rhythms, tones, and movement of signifying practices. As bodily drive, the semiotic is also associated with the maternal body, considered by Kristeva to be the original source of rhythms, tones, and movements for every human being. In this theorization, the semiotic (genotext) represents biophysiological processes constrained by social and cultural norms. The semiotic is prediscursive and cannot be reduced to language systems. In contrast, the symbolic element of signification is associated with the grammar and structure of language. The symbolic (phenotext) element exists within the larger semiotic (genotext) and makes reference possible.

Signification and meaning require both the semiotic and symbolic. The semiotic and the symbolic represented departure points for Kristeva to bring the body back into discourse through the speaking subject. She argues that the speaking subject is a divided subject consisting of a conscious mind containing social constraints and an unconscious mind consisting of biophysiological processes (i.e., Freudian drives). While traditional semiotics could not deal with desire or transgression from social norms, semanalysis rests upon a split subject—a socially-shaped, biological being that is always negotiating inner desire and social norms. Semanalysis launched Kristeva's theoretical work on the connections between mind and body, psyche and soma, nature and culture, and materiality and representation that comprise her scholarship.

In *New Maladies of the Soul* (1993), Kristeva analyzes what she views as a loss of meaning and emptiness in

contemporary life. She asks, Where does the soul reside? Her answer requires her to theorize the space between the biological and social. She argues that the soul mediates between one's body, interactions with others, and representations of oneself. In doing so, she continues her projects of understanding psychic life and theorizing relations between the body and subjectivity. Kristeva argues that drives constitute the bridge between soma and psyche, between the body and representation. She challenges the notion of a unified, fixed subjectivity and argues that the logic of language is already at work at the material level of bodily processes. From Kristeva's perspective, bodily drives make their way into language. Therefore, she insists that bodily drives are discharged in representation and that the logic of signification is already operating in the material body. Kristeva is arguing that subjectivity or identification does not originate in biology; rather, subjectivity is constructed in the symbolic.

Following Melanie Klein and in contrast to Freud and Lacan, Kristeva emphasizes the maternal function and its importance in the development of subjectivity and access to culture and language. Freud and Lacan maintained that the child enters the social by virtue of the paternal function, specifically paternal threats of castration. This is incomprehensible for Kristeva, who believes that if our only motivation for entering the social is fear, more of us would be psychotic. In "Motherhood According to Bellini," written while she was pregnant in 1975 and later published as part of *Desire in Language* (1980), she constructs a theory of maternity. Childbirth is not motivated by penis envy, as Freud argued, but instead pregnancy and childbirth can bring back primal homosexual bonds by reuniting a woman with her own mother. In *Tales of Love* (1983), she addresses the Freudian-Lacanian notion that paternal threats provoke the child to exit the safety of the maternal body. Kristeva formulates the maternal body as operating between nature and culture, thus rejecting the reduction of maternity to nature. She argues that mother is primarily a speaking subject, even if she is not the subject or agent of her pregnancy and birth. The maternal body, with its two-in-one or other within, represents all subjective relations. Each one of us is a *subject-in-process*, always negotiating the other within. Like the maternal body, we are never completely the subjects of our own experience. Kristeva's notion of a subject-in-process counters traditional notions of an autonomous unified (masculine) subject.

Kristeva's theoretical work attempts to understand the earliest development of subjectivity, prior to Freud's oedipal situation or Lacan's mirror stage. In *Tales of Love* (1983) and *Desire in Language* (1980), she argues that maternal regulation exists prior to paternal law; therefore, she calls for a new discourse of maternity, beyond religion and science, that acknowledges the importance of the maternal function in the development of subjectivity and in

culture. Kristeva states that the maternal function cannot be reduced to mother, feminine, or woman—anyone can fulfill the maternal function. She makes this claim by arguing that the mother's relation to the infant is a functional relationship of meeting the child's needs. This function is separate from both love and desire. As a woman and a mother, a woman both loves and desires and as such she is a social and speaking being. As a woman and a mother, she is always sexed. But insofar as she fulfills the maternal function, she is not sexed. Thus, the maternal function does not require a particular sexed being; men or women can fulfill this function.

Despite her extensive theorizing on maternity, female sexuality, love and desire, Julia Kristeva and Western feminism have an uneasy relationship. While she is interested in the question of what it means to be a woman, she is equally committed to dismantling all ideologies, including feminist theory. Her theoretical work emphasizes phenomena where language and the psyche are under stress. For Kristeva, precisely these phenomena offer possibilities for transformation. In *Powers of Horror* (1980), she formulates the notion of *abjection* as a psychic operation whereby subjectivity is constituted. Abjection creates women's oppression in patriarchal cultures. Women are reduced to their reproductive/maternal functions, and it becomes necessary for women to abject the maternal function in order to become subjects. This matricide, central to the creation of subjectivity in patriarchal culture, leads to *depressive sexuality* because women are unable to abject the maternal body with which they identify as women. Kristeva argues that in order to escape this matricide, a new discourse of maternity is required, a discourse in which relations between mothers and daughters do not prohibit lesbian love between women.

In *New Maladies of the Soul* (1993), Kristeva theorizes "women's time" and asserts that female subjectivity seems linked to both cyclical time (menstruation, pregnancy, repetition) and monumental time in the sense of eternity through motherhood, reproduction, and the genetic chain. The time of history and language, however, is linear. Her goal is to emphasize the "multiplicity" of female expressions, to avoid essentializing or homogenizing "woman," and to recognize sexual difference. In a singularly interesting move, she projects that a new generation of feminists will have the task of reconciling "maternal" time with linear time. Unless women are able to theorize the continued desire of women to have children, religion, tradition, and mysticism will remain the primary sources of theorizing about this phenomenon.

In dialogue with Western feminism, Kristeva argues that there are three phases of feminist theorizing. She rejects the first phase for what she sees as its attempt to create universal equality and its blind spot to sexual differences. Rather than reject motherhood, Kristeva argues a new discourse of maternity is necessary; real female innovation (in whatever

field) will only come about when maternity, female creation, and the link between them are better understood. She rejects the second phase of feminism for what she sees as its goal to create a uniquely feminine language. Rather than assert that language and culture are patriarchal and must be displaced, she insists that culture and language are the domain of speaking beings and women are primarily speaking beings. She therefore endorses what she sees as the third phase of feminism in which identity, difference, and their relationships are theorized. Here neither identity nor difference is privileged. Instead, multiple identities, including multiple sexual identities, get priority.

— Laura Mamo

See also Body; Feminism; Psychoanalysis and Social Theory; Sexuality and the Subject

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pejorative labels ("addict," "juvenile delinquent," "prostitute") that deviants receive may prevent them from being successfully integrated into society. This rejection encourages further deviant behavior, as other deviants may become one's only available companions and illicit activities the only accessible source of income. Deviant labels bestow a stigmatizing master status onto individuals that amplify the potential for subsequent acts of secondary deviance.

How do stigmatized groups respond? Labeling theory emphasizes the reciprocal relations between rule enforcers and those that they label. Some labeled groups may decide to actively organize resistance to their stigmatization, as have various groups of homosexuals, marijuana users, prostitutes, and obese persons. Others may embrace a definition of themselves as *outsiders*, with their secondary deviance developing into full-blown careers in deviance, by committing completely and openly to a deviant identity.

Labeling theorists emphasize that a power inequality exists between those who have the power to impose labels and those who are stigmatized by them. They believe that moral entrepreneurship serves the vested interests of some at the expense of others. Labeling theorists decry an encroachment of social control based on artificial determinations of what is deviant. Some argue, for example, that psychologists and psychiatrists dispense labels for deviance in the guise of medical diagnoses such as attention deficit disorder or mental illness. By labeling these people's behaviors deviant, these professionals can claim a beneficial jurisdiction. Other labeling theorists criticize official statistics of crime and deviance as selective and biased, for example, pointing out that street crimes are emphasized more than "crime in the suites," a distinction that benefits powerful social actors. Some labeling theory adherents advocate decriminalizing "victimless crimes" to lessen the detrimental effects of stigmatizing people who engage in those acts. In turn, some criticize labeling theory for being overly sympathetic to deviants and viewing them as not warranting their social marginalization.

Critics from the Left acknowledge that labeling theory expresses sympathy for marginalized outsiders, but they criticize labeling theory for not paying enough attention to sources of structural power in capitalistic societies that ostensibly embed labels. A methodologically based critique also argues that difficulties in quantifying labeling theory's contributions make empirical tests of the theory problematic. Labeling theory has also been criticized for failing to explain why people initiate acts of deviance and for overestimating the causal impacts that stigmatization has in prompting secondary deviance. Despite these proposed shortcomings, labeling theory remains an influential approach in research and teaching, especially in the sociology of deviance.

— David Shulman

See also Becker, Howard; Crime; Deviance; Social Interaction

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LACAN, JACQUES

Jacques Marie Émile Lacan (1901–1981) ranks among the most important and original psychoanalytic thinkers. His career spanned over 50 momentous years of French intellectual history (from Surrealism and phenomenology to structuralism and poststructuralism), while his enormously influential seminar combining a careful rereading of Freud with the elaboration of his own conceptual innovations ran nearly 30 years (1953–1980). By the 1960s, unofficial transcripts of Lacan's seminars were being widely circulated and discussed, and the publication of his massive *Écrits* in 1966 (selections translated into English) was a major intellectual event. Lacan's rebellion against the "ego psychology" of the International Psychoanalytical Association was easily identified with the student revolt of May 1968. He was both critical and supportive of the students. He honored their strike against the university system by suspending his seminar and signing a letter of solidarity, but he also publicly criticized their underlying motivation. "I won't mince my words," he told an audience of student admirers, "What you want is another master." Nevertheless, Lacan's fame and influence continued to grow. In the fall of 1975, he was invited to the United States to deliver highly publicized lectures at Yale, Columbia, and MIT. But perhaps the ultimate validation of his claim to being the French Freud came in 1978 when Lacanian psychoanalysis became the orthodox theory and practice of the new Department of Psychoanalysis at the University of Paris VIII-Vincennes.

Lacan was born in Paris on April 13, 1901. His father, Alfred Lacan, was the Paris sales representative for a large provincial manufacturer of vinegar and other food products. The Lacans lived a comfortable bourgeois existence marred only by stifling Catholic religiosity and constant domestic squabbling between the families of Jacque's parents. During his 1961 seminar, Lacan, who never spoke of his personal life, angrily referred to his paternal grandfather as

an "execrable petit-bourgeois" thanks to whom "I started cursing God at a very precocious age." Nevertheless, young Jacques attended a prestigious Jesuit school, the Collège Stanislas, where he was inculcated with conservative Catholic religious, social, and political values while excelling in religious studies and Latin. He also developed a more independent and subversive passion for Spinoza and Nietzsche.

Lacan took up the study of medicine in 1920 and specialized in psychiatry from 1926. During this period, he began to associate with Surrealist writers and artists. He became a friend of André Breton and Salvador Dali, met James Joyce (later to figure prominently in Lacan's 1975–1976 seminar), and was present at the first public reading of *Ulysses* in the famous bookstore Shakespeare & Co. In 1932, Lacan completed his doctoral thesis on paranoia, a study that influenced the development of Dali's "paranoid-critical" method of representation. During the 1930s, Lacan began to synthesize French psychiatry, the ideas of Freud, and the phenomenological psychology of Eugène Minkowski, Ludwig Binswanger, and Karl Jaspers. Although his relationship with his mentor, the eminent and eccentric psychiatrist Gaëton Gatian de Clérambault, was deeply conflictive (resulting in Lacan's failing his *agrégation*, an event that effectively excluded him from the highest levels of the psychiatric profession), Lacan later claimed Clérambault to be his only real master in psychiatry. Lacan singled out Clérambault's concept of "mental automism" (by which psychosis was explained in terms of external formal elements beyond the conscious control of the subject) as the closest French psychiatry came to a structural analysis of mental functioning. During the 1930s, Lacan began to study the philosophies of G. W. F. Hegel, Martin Heidegger, and Henri Bergson. Lacan also attended several of Marxist political philosopher Alexander Kojève's famous lectures on Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* delivered between 1933 and 1939.

Around the same time that he completed his thesis in psychiatry, Lacan began his training analysis with Rudolph Loewenstein (later an influential proponent of ego psychology in the United States) that continued until 1938. In 1953, Lacan, together with many colleagues, left the official French psychoanalytic society, the Société Parisienne de Psychanalyse, to form a new group, the Société Française de Psychanalyse. After years of continued conflict, primarily over his use of variable-length sessions, Lacan was struck off the list of training analysts of the SFP. This event marked his final break with the International Psychoanalytical Association, and in 1964 Lacan founded his own group, the École Freudienne de Paris (EFP), serving as its sole director until he summarily dissolved it in 1980. Only months before Lacan's death on September 9, 1981, Lacanian psychoanalysis was reorganized as the École de la Cause Freudienne (ECF) directed by Lacan's son-in-law, Jacques-Alain Miller, who also edits the authorized versions of the master's seminars (several volumes are available in English). Acrimonious splits have produced numerous Lacanian associations in France and elsewhere: in addition to Miller's École Européene de Psychanalyse (EEP), the most important are the École Lacanienne de Psychanalyse (ELP) and the Centre de Formation et de Recherches Psychanalytiques (CFRP).

Lacan was a masterful teacher who expressed his major ideas in the form of succinct statements, algorithms, and diagrams. Among the first and most famous is the claim that the unconscious is structured like a language, that is to say, the subject is created in and through language, and the mind, like language, works by means of relationships of association (metonymy) and substitution (metaphor). Following Ferdinand de Saussure, Lacan sees language as a system of signs, constituted by signifiers (S = acoustic images or sounds) and signifieds (s = meanings or ideas). The linguistic system is self-referential and "differential," since the value of each sign depends upon the entire system of signs, that is, upon its difference from all other signs— when we look up a word in a dictionary, we find only more words.

Focusing on how we are constituted as subjects by language, Lacan stresses the primacy of the speech act, of the signifier over the signified:

$$\frac{S}{s}$$

This formula expresses how a flux of signifiers (words) and a flux of signifieds (other words) come to be fixed in a distinct relation of meaning. In developmental terms the infant learns language by making signifiers of the stream of sounds issuing from Mom:
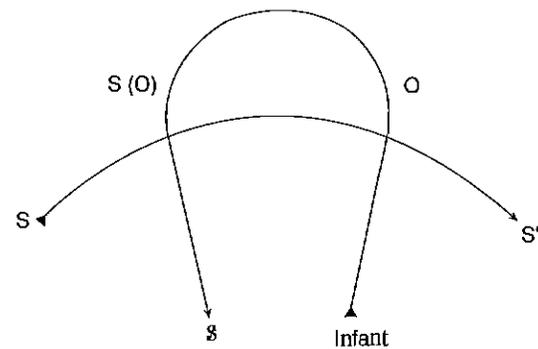

Figure 1 Suture

The vector S-S′ is a stream of words emanating from Mom's mouth. These signifiers will become my native language, but initially they are external or Other to me (thus, language is the discourse of the Other, Mom is the locus of

the code, the one who knows, or is presumed to know, the meaning of it all, hence the use of the capital letter O). As a child I seek to please Mom, but to satisfy her desire I must discover it. Thus, I take some action (vector Infant $) in relation to Mom's noises. My action intersects with Mom's discourse at O, and on the basis of her reaction, I retroactively organize the stream of signifiers into a coherent idea or signified, s(O), the signified of the Other. I learn (am compelled) to articulate my needs, feelings, desires in the language of the Other, and in doing so I presume, without ever being certain, that I am thereby satisfying (m)Other's desire. As the movement of the subject vector suggests, meaning is attained retroactively as I am sewn or "sutured" into the language of the Other. I am also alienated by language. No longer a full subject, unified in my being and my meaning, from now on I am a barred subject, $, whose being is barred from itself by my identification with the system of meanings of the Other. I am either in the realm of authentic being or in the realm of alienated meaning; there is no possibility of being in both realms simultaneously:
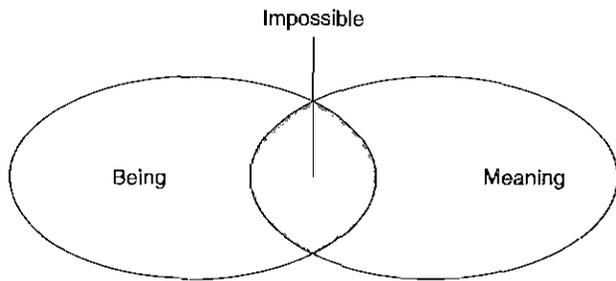

Figure 2   Alienation in Language

The language of the Other or the Symbolic Order not only sutures me into a system of meaning, but it is also a Law of Desire that disciplines my most intimate enjoyments and bodily pleasures (what Lacan calls "jouissance"). As a child, I must pass through a process of separation from the emotional intimacy I had with Mom and of identification with the prescriptions and proscriptions of desire imposed by society itself. The Law of Desire is organized around the Phallus within a patriarchal order Lacan calls the Name of the Father. The process by which Dad intervenes in the intimate relationship between myself and Mom results in my giving up my intimacy with Mom and assuming a gendered identity organized around the Phallus, henceforth pursuing objects of desire that are socially acceptable substitutes for the lost jouissance of my relation with Mom (the maternal Thing).

The diagram in Figure 3 is to be read from left to right. As a developing infant, I experience the tension between the signifiers of the social-paternal (Name of the Father)
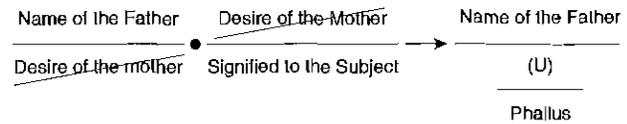

Figure 3   The Paternal Metaphor

and the intimate-maternal (Desire of the Mother) realms while attempting to hold on to my privileged role as the sole object of Mom's desire (Desire of the Mother) and the jouissance of this relationship (Signified to the Subject). The outcome, of course, is the metaphorical substitution of the desire of society (Name of the Father) for the Desire of the Mother _____ which is repressed, literally unsymbolizable (U), while the emotional satisfactions of the maternal relation are henceforth to be sought in objects organized around the Phallus.

The Phallus both is and is not the male genital. It is the penis insofar as actual sex differences are necessarily involved in the process by which all children separate from Mom and become social, gendered subjects. The process involves the ultimately accurate perception of the child that it is not the sole object of Mom's desire, that the child and Mom are not complete and fulfilled in and by themselves, that Mom is lacking something that I cannot supply, and that something is provided Mom by Dad. What can it be but the penis?

However, the Lacanian Phallus is not the anatomical penis insofar as the Phallus itself is the signifier of a lack; it "stands in for" the lost jouissance but it is not itself that jouissance. The Phallus is not the real Thing, the promised unity of Being and Meaning; it is merely a social construction, a metaphor that never succeeds in actually providing the emotional satisfaction we all seek. Nor is the real Thing a Phallus, a fact Lacan expresses as the difference between "being" and "having" the Phallus. Prior to the Paternal Metaphor, I *was* the Phallus for Mom. However, after accepting my symbolic mandate as a gendered social subject, I can only *have* the Phallus (if I'm gendered male) or attempt to *be* the Phallus for a man (if I'm gendered female).

In short, Lacanian theory describes the working of a patriarchal social order, but it does not, as it is sometimes accused of doing, endorse patriarchy. The Law of Desire is organized around the Phallus, Φ, insofar as we are all socialized within a patriarchal order, but there is no biological essentialism at work. Rather, "masculine" and "feminine" positions are social and logical constructions that Lacan insists are asymmetrical and internally deadlocked. Genders are neither complementary nor are they capable of providing the real Thing, the unity of Being and Meaning. Lacan flatly insists "there is no sexual relation," only the gendered alienation of "formulas of sexuation":
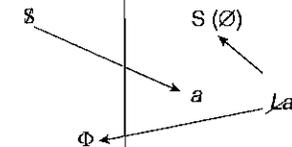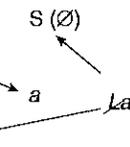
Figure 4   Formulas of Sexuation

The masculine and feminine positions of a patriarchal society are described here in terms of the logic of set theory. With respect to the set of all men, the first formula states, "There is one man who is not subject to the phallic function"; that is, there must be an origin that is external to the set of all men—for patriarchal mythology, a masculine God the Father, for the infant, the all-powerful pre-Oedipal father. The lower formula reads, "All men are subject to the phallic function"; that is to say, all masculine social subjects within the set identify with the phallic Law of Desire. They are all *S* and firmly identified with the illusory conviction that they have the Phallus.

On the side of the feminine, the formulas are stated in the negative. The upper formula reads, "No single woman is completely beyond the phallic function"; in other words, no woman completely escapes being defined by the masculine Law of Desire. However, the second formula states, "Not all of woman is defined by the phallic function"; there remains something that escapes the masculine-centered system of meaning and resists it. "Woman" is the signifier of an act of repression, a hole or lack at the heart of the masculine discourse of the Other, S(Ø).

In short, women are not as completely integrated into the Symbolic Order as are men. The notation *Lá* states, "The Woman does not exist" for Man, *S*, except as an enigma. For Man, Woman exists as a fantasmatic object of desire (what Lacan calls object *a*), an object the masculine order can define only in terms of Man, specifically in terms of a dependent relationship of Woman to Man. In contrast, for Woman, the choices are either to attempt to achieve fulfillment by satisfying a man (being the phallus, Φ, for a Man) or to remain an enigma, a meaningless cipher to the masculine social order of meaning. There is no biological essentialism at work here; as Lacan demonstrates by way of male mystics, males and females may logically assume either a masculine or feminine position. Nor is the content of either position essentialist.

Lacan reconceptualizes the Freudian id, ego, and superego in terms of three modalities or "registers" of human reality: the Real (the unsymbolizable, emotional Being of the Subject), the Imaginary (the realm of conscious representations), and the Symbolic (the realm of language and internalized social prescriptions and proscriptions). Psychically, this schema reverses the positivistic relations of science (truth) and ideology (desire) by equating the truth of the Subject with the Real (unconscious, unsymbolizable) and the Imaginary with illusion or alienation from the truth (consciousness, ego identifications).
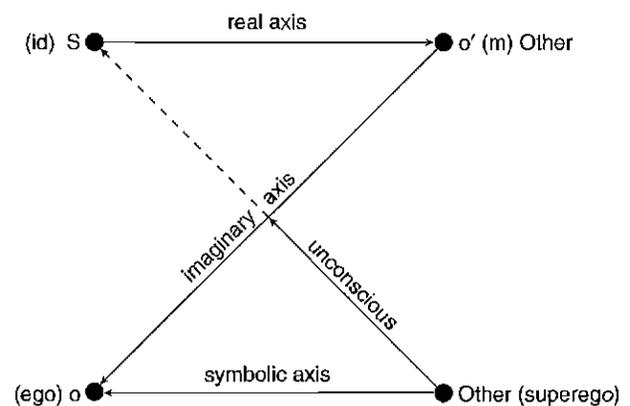

Figure 5   Schema L

Lacan represents the development of the Subject in the form of two diagrams, the so-called L and R schemas.

The neonate subject, S, exists in a close, symbiotic relation to Mom, o′ the distinction between itself and Mom is not yet clear and the relation between them is emotionally direct and immediate, that is Real. However, the child eventually grasps himself or herself as distinct from Mom, and this inaugurates the second developmental stage characterized as a binary relationship between Mom, (m)Other and the child as ego, o. Lacan refers to this break in the Real relationship as the Mirror Stage—likening it to the point at which the child comes to see his or her reflection in a mirror as his or her own self and identifying with this image.

The ego is founded upon such identifications, visual and verbal, but Lacan sees these identifications as Imaginary, since the Real of the self is not that image in the mirror nor those cooings and cajolings of Mom. Mom is now the all-powerful, all-knowing (m)Other, the object of identification for the child as ego (imaginary axis), as well as the Real emotional object of desire for the child as id. The child now exists in a binary relationship experienced in narcissistic terms as an unmediated and unequal relation of two selves. The child separates and individuates itself from Mom, but remains in the privileged emotional position of being, at least in fantasy, the sole object of her desire. Mom's desire is a mystery the child seeks to understand and to satisfy,

and in the process it acquires a richer sense of self through innumerable identifications with her and her values.

The binary, unmediated relationship between the child and Mom must be interrupted and terminated by a third stage, socialization and sexuation, which we have already described as the Paternal Intervention. Dad embodies the Symbolic Order, O, the Law of Desire that explains and defines Mom's lack in terms of the Phallus, and that compels the child to give up the Real experience of the maternal Thing and to accept socially defined gender roles and objects in return. The discourse and rules of the Other, superego, are internalized by the ego (the symbolic axis) while the pre-Oedipal desire for mother—the intimate Real jouissance of being the phallus for Mom—is repressed. The outcome of the process of subjectification may be represented in a modified form of Lacan's R Schema:
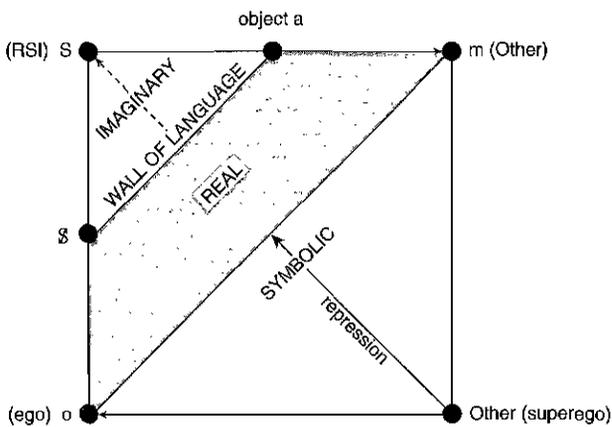

object a

(RSI) S — m (Other)

IMAGINARY
WALL OF LANGUAGE
REAL
SYMBOLIC
repression

(ego) o — Other (superego)

Figure 6   Schema R

The Lacanian subject (RSI) is a totality that only exists as the structural relationship of three distinct yet interdependent registers (Real, Symbolic, and Imaginary). The repressed pre-Oedipal jouissance between Mom, (m)Other, and the narcissistic infant ego, o, constitutes the Real register. In the Symbolic register, the child has internalized its gendered place and function within society and become a social subject, $, alienated or barred from its Real truth, but able to pursue other, substitute objects of desire, objects a. The child has become a "signifier for other signifiers," a social subject able to communicate with other social subjects using their common language, the discourse of the Other. However, psychologically speaking, such communication is alienated or "empty" speech devoid of the emotional truth and authenticity of Real or "full" speech (as in the transference of the analytic situation, for example). Empty speech is the realm of the Imaginary register, the realm of an alienated ego that imagines its meaning is its being, an ego that is constituted by the Other, by the history

of the child's identifications with Other images and signifiers (ultimately with an unchanging, "unary" signifier, the child's legal name). The Imaginary realm of the ego, of consciousness, is separated from Real being by a Wall of Language, yet it is Real being that accounts for the incomprehensible feelings and desires the Subject attaches to its interactions with others.

Not only does the Symbolic Order constitute the meaning of the Subject as a signifier for other signifiers, but it also disciplines the Subject's very being, a process Lacan calls Symbolic Castration. Both processes are represented in a simplified version of Lacan's Graph of Desire.
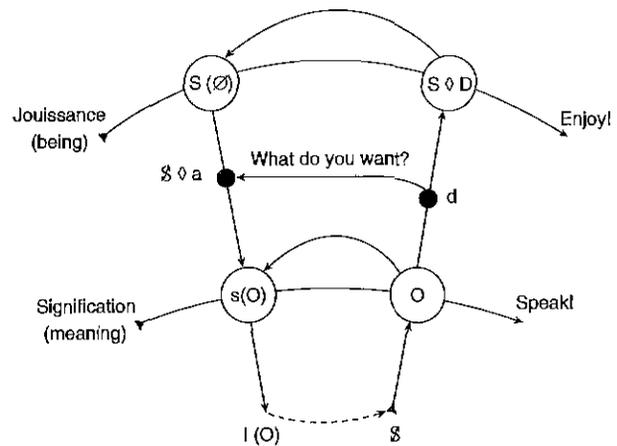

Jouissance
(being)
Enjoy!

S (∅)   S ◊ D

$ ◊ a   What do you want?   d

Signification   s(O)   O   Speak!
(meaning)

I (O) $

Figure 7   The Graph of Desire

The lower portion of the graph depicts the suturing of the Subject into the system of signification. We have already seen how the infant becomes a Subject, $. Here the Subject is shown learning the Symbolic order and thereby identifying with his or her place and function within it, I(O). Every iteration, every new signification, further inscribes the Subject in the Symbolic Order and expands the ego's concept of itself and of reality. The superego command "Speak!" is both enabling, since the Subject is able to function socially by means of language, but also alienating and disabling, since all speech is that of the Other.

At some point, the subject experiences a certain existential deficiency or lack in the system of meaning. As Mom's desire had been a mystery for the infant, so the meaning of the Symbolic Order itself is a mystery to the Subject. The Subject has a desire for meaning and a desire to do the right thing. Thus he or she asks of the Other, "What do you want?" Since there is no ultimate meaning, since there is no reason for its existence, since the system is completely arbitrary from the perspective of the individual, the Other does not have the answer and the Subject must invent one: the

fantasy, depicted by the formula $ ◊ a (the Subject desires object a). If the existential question is "Why am I a man?," then the fantasmatic answer may be "To find a woman." Woman in such a case is the fantasy of Man, the reason for his existence. The object, object *a,* is not simply an actual, concrete woman; rather, it is an actual woman upon whom the Subject projects his fantasy. Thus, object *a* is a sublime, fantasmatic quality, something in the object more than the object itself.

Of course, desire is more than an intellectual desire for meaning; it is also a matter of emotion, a matter of jouissance. The upper portion of the graph deals with the being of the Subject—how the body, its pleasures and pains are disciplined by society. The Subject experiences intense pleasures and traumatic pains that Lacan calls jouissance. The experience of jouissance is inexplicable, an unsignifiable hole or a lack in the discourse of the Other, since the discourse of meaning is incommensurable with being. Of course, the parents and later society respond to my enjoyment by making prescriptive and proscriptive demands upon my enjoyment, demands to which I conform out of my desire, *d,* for the desire of the Other.

Thus is produced the Drive, represented by the formula $ ◊ D (the Subject desires to meet the Demands of the Other). Retroactively, my experience of pleasure is disciplined by the Demand of the Other. My original experience of pleasure is redirected or rechanneled into acceptable forms and onto acceptable objects—that is, signifiers within the Law of Desire organized around the Phallus. Genital sexuality replaces the pre-Oedipal jouissance associated with part objects during infancy and with the intimate jouissance of Mom. Thus at S(Ø), the jouissance that was originally unsignifiable is now signified, but only in the language of the Other's Demand. The Other commands us, "Enjoy!" but only within the Law.

Henceforth, my experience of enjoyment, for example, my relations with women who attract me in certain mysterious ways, serves to reinforce my subordination to the Demand of the Other. Lacan explains the attraction in terms of the fantasy $ ◊ a. Although my jouissance has been disciplined by the Demand of the Other, I have hung on to it unconsciously; it is the mysterious Thing that attracts me to certain women, a little piece of Real enjoyment that I have refused to give up. It is the emotional component of my fantasy; it is the object *a,* the real Thing I project onto certain women, thereby endowing them with the power to attract me. Object *a* is the Real foundation, the fantasmatic support of my identity, and the less I understand it, the more tenaciously I cling to it. Every experience of enjoyment S(Ø) reinforces the fantasy $ ◊ a, the fantasy reinforces the meaning of Other's discourse, s(O), and ultimately my ego identification with the Other, I(O).

Clinically speaking, the goal of Lacanian analysis is to work through the fantasy, to experience the dissolution that

attends the disillusion, to understand that "there is no Other of the Other" (there is no external, ultimate locus of the Truth), and to live accordingly. In terms of social theory generally, Lacan's work has been influential in the field of cultural studies and in the social sciences, where it has functioned as a theory of ideology and as a method of ideology critique (often in conjunction with the work of Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser and/or other feminist, postcolonial, or poststructuralist theories).

— Robert Resch

See also Freud, Sigmund; Irigaray, Luce; Poststructuralism; Psychoanalysis and Social Theory; Saussure, Ferdinand de; Structuralist Marxism; Žižck, Slavoj

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LATOUR, BRUNO

Bruno Latour (b. 1947), French social theorist of science, technology, and politics, was at the forefront of the development and refinement of actor-network theory (ANT) and the emergence of science and technology studies (STS) in Europe. His work has been influential in North American science studies, and many of his concepts have

and scientific thinking. While this mode of thought provides a very easy way to process and view the world, it never adequately describes the complexities of society, and it arbitrarily constructs oppressive hierarchies.

The metaphysics of presence can also be criticized on an even deeper level. If one says, "I exist, here and now," one vocally affirms one's presence. However, there is a minuscule period of time between the thought and its utterance. Therefore, words (signifiers) can never really be descriptive of any particular present (signified). We assume the two different presents as one for sanity's sake, but this is indicative of our desire for coherent and reliable descriptions that can sometimes lead us astray, as exhibited in the West/East example. It is for these reasons that the poststructuralists such as Derrida have aimed to deconstruct and displace the metaphysics of presence, realizing its arbitrary, limited, and oppressive nature.

The exposure of the logocentric nature of philosophy not only reveals the favoring of meaning over language, presence over absence, and speech over writing but also a slew of other hierarchical binary oppositions. Derrida aims to upset these hierarchical relationships by showing that each term is equally necessary, rendering the binary questionable for any descriptive or epistemological purposes. In his view, the two terms of a binary opposition define themselves against each other (which he calls supplementarity), and any hierarchy is therefore merely arbitrary. Derrida favors language, writing, the absent, the empty, punning, metaphor, and wordplay over the absolutism of philosophy in its attempts to discover and describe things like reason, progress, and spirit.

The concepts of logocentrism, phonocentrism, and the metaphysics of presence have all only recently been developed, as the poststructuralist school of thought needed a vocabulary to describe the conditions it sought to critique. However, these terms are subject to the same metaphysics they aim to deconstruct; they too are mere words, subject to the frivolity of language, which can never really adequately describe or represent a true reality. Thinkers like Derrida are aware of this, though. The exposure and deconstruction of logocentrism is not meant to be another grand "end all" narrative of philosophy. It simply aims to heighten our awareness of the world and the methods we use to understand and describe it.

— Zachary R. Hooker and James M. Murphy

See also Derrida, Jacques; Deconstruction; Lévi-Strauss, Claude; Postmodernism; Poststructuralism; Saussure, Ferdinand de; Structuralism

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LORDE, AUDRE

Poet, social critic, activist, teacher, and warrior are some of the words that have been used to describe Audre Lorde (1934–1992). Born in New York City to West Indian parents, Lorde's ideas have become crucial to feminist theory and women's studies. As an African American, lesbian feminist, Lorde was marginalized in a variety of communities. Thus, she spent her life fighting against marginalization and the practices that silence marginal voices.

Lorde attended Hunter College from 1951 to 1959, where she majored in literature and philosophy. She earned her master's degree in library science from Columbia University. In 1968, she left her position as head librarian at the University of New York to accept the position as poet-in-residence at Tougaloo College in Mississippi. There, she published her first volume of poetry, *The First Cities.* Later in her career, she held the post of Thomas Hunter Chair of Literature at Hunter College.

Along with her poetry, Lorde wrote much about the sexism in mainstream white culture, African American culture, and in feminist and lesbian movements. Her prose emphasized the importance of stronger voices for black women in general, and all marginalized groups in particular. Lorde cofounded Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press with Barbara Smith, which explicitly focused on publishing works by women of color. She organized the Sisterhood in Support of Sisters in South Africa, established the St. Croix Women's Coalition, and helped to build coalitions between Afro-German and Afro-Dutch women. Lorde was married for eight years and had two children, Elizabeth and Jonathon. She died in 1992 of breast cancer. Shortly before her death, she took the name Gambda Adisa, Warrior: She Who Makes Her Meaning Known, in an African naming ceremony. When she died, she was living in St Croix, Virgin Islands, with her life partner. Over her lifetime, she had won many honors and awards, and since that time she has had literary awards and activist organizations named in her honor.

One can best become acquainted with the themes in Lorde's work through her biomythography, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982). Lorde created the term

biomythography to describe how her own life story connects to history, biography, and personal memories. In this work, one learns how Lorde came to develop an ethics of reflexive action and how she regularly sought to break the silences often imposed upon marginalized social groups. In this work, Lorde also challenges static sexual binaries. A superficial analysis of her work can lead one to assume that she is promoting the sort of sexual essentialism that is found in some of Adrienne Rich's work. However, while Lorde does value women-centered relationships, she does not do so at the expense of attributing universal characteristics to members of any human group.

Sister Outsider (1984) is a compilation of some of Lorde's most important essays. These essays are central to contemporary feminist theory and other work concerned with social justice. From this volume, the essay "Poetry Is Not a Luxury" is a standard citation for many who contend that poetry, prose, and other creative forms of self-expression interconnect with political activism and self-reflection. "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power" is another work that is widely cited in both feminist and queer theory. In this essay, she examines the power that can be found when one embraces one's sexuality. Lorde purposefully uses the word *erotic* because of the debates, then and now, concerning women's sexuality. In feminist theory, there is the contention that sex, pornography, and thus the erotic can never be an avenue of liberation because these terms and actions are defined within a patriarchal and thus misogynist context. As such, there can be no strength found by dwelling in a sexualized body. However, Lorde reclaims the erotic as it is derived from its Greek root, *eros:* "the personification of love in all its aspects—born of Chaos, and personifying creative power and harmony. When I speak of the erotic, then, I speak of it as an assertion of the lifeforce of women" (1984:55). For Lorde, the erotic fuses women's creative powers with their sexuality, making women-identified love a source of empowerment instead of subordination.

Another crucial and often cited essay is "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." This essay is used by some feminists to discuss the complexities of agency within a postcolonial framework. She argues here that one cannot expect to destabilize and critique the hegemonic culture and its oppressive forces by using the very tools that this culture has promulgated. In exploring this issue, she points to the unacknowledged racism that had become a part of feminist academic practice, and appeals for more inclusive, affirming visions of feminist theory. She argues for valuing differences and embracing the "other" when building communities, and for a more reflective commitment to the practices of living the motto: "the personal is political."

While Lorde thought of herself foremostly as a poet, her prose is important because it grapples with the complexities of oppression. *The Cancer Journals* (1980) and *Burst of Light* (1991) bring to the fore the question of how politics

and structures of power frame our perceptions and, thus, our responses to diseases such as breast cancer. Lorde challenges our common practice of hiding disease and its after-effects. She challenges the cultural dictates about how women should look and act during and after illness, and works, again, to bring voice to those unable to speak.

Lorde's work continues to influence social theory. For example, in *The Wounded Storyteller: Body, Illness, and Ethics,* Arthur Frank (1995) draws on Lorde's essays about her experience of cancer to illustrate "quest narratives" and their ethical possibilities. He builds upon her call for voices as well as her idea of biomythography. He names the latter "automythology," contending that metaphor and storytelling have in them the power to heal and, therefore, even the most challenging stories must be heard. Allan Johnson (2001) is another who uses Lorde's ideas. In *Privilege, Power, and Difference,* he discusses the complexities of privilege and oppression, and like Lorde, emphasizes the taken-for-granted paths we walk in maintaining the institutions that continue to legitimate inequitable social structures.

The ease with which Lorde's essays, poems, and theory translate into disciplines besides women's studies and feminism is testimony to her keen dedication to promoting social justice and unearthing practices of oppression and silencing. Noteworthy, in particular, is how she contributes to postmodernist and postcolonial genres.

— Marga Ryersbach

See also Essentialism; Postcolonialism; Radical Feminism

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LUHMANN, NIKLAS

Niklas Luhmann (1927–1998) was a German sociologist who gained worldwide reputation for his theory of social

See also General Systems Theory; Habermas, Jürgen; Parsons, Talcott; Phenomenology; Schütz, Alfred; Social Structure; Verstehen; Weber, Max

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LUKÁCS, GYÖRGY

György/Georg Lukács (1885–1971) was a Hungarian philosopher, one of the leading theorists of Western Marxism. Born in 1885 Budapest, he spent long stretches before and during World War I in Heidelberg, Germany, on the fringes of Max Weber's intellectual circle. Lukács returned to Hungary in 1917 and joined the newly formed Communist Party in 1918. In 1919, he became responsible for cultural affairs during the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic. After the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, he emigrated to Vienna, Berlin, and after 1933 to Moscow. Following the sharp condemnation of his theoretical and political views by the Comintern in 1928, he completely withdrew from direct political activity. He returned to Hungary in 1945, but with the consolidation of the Stalinist regime there, he was again forced from public life.

During the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, he was nominated minister of culture in the government of Imre Nagy. Following the Soviet intervention, he was first interned in Romania, then under the condition of "internal emigration" in Budapest. He died in 1971.

Lukács's volume of essays, *History and Class Consciousness* (1923), was the founding text of a new interpretation of the meaning of the Marxian legacy, usually referred to as "Western" Marxism. In it he radically criticised the positivist-scientistic interpretation of Marx's theory, prevalent both in the 2nd and the 3rd Internationale. Marxism, for Lukács, offered a solution to the unresolved dilemmas of the Enlightenment and German Classical Idealism, dilemmas that were ultimately rooted in the internal contradictions of bourgeois society. These seemingly abstract speculative difficulties cannot be solved in theory alone, but must be overcome in a practice that radically transcends the horizon of this society. Marxism is the theory of the revolutionary praxis of the proletariat that can abolish its situation as a dominated and exploited class only by abolishing the reified logic of historical development that had reached its culmination in capitalism. Under conditions of reification, individuals and their collectivities become dependent objects of the power of those very social conditions and institutions that they themselves have created in their social—but not collectively organised—activities. Their fate is determined by the laws of separated institutional spheres—first of all the laws of the market, over which they have no control. Overcoming such a situation of reification requires the development of an adequate ("imputed") class consciousness This class consciousness cannot be the mere reflex, or the simple recognition of the economic interests, of the working class. It can only develop in a progressive fusion of the material practice of class struggle and revolutionary theory.

Lukács's pre-Marxist works dealt almost exclusively with problems of literature and aesthetics. He treated, however, the problems of artistic modernity in the context of a broadly conceived cultural crisis. Modernity dissolved any shared framework of a common culture, able to orient the everyday life of the individuals. As such, it was impossible for individuals to endow their life with stable, unique meanings and to achieve genuine mutual understanding. At the same time, in his works of this period—primarily in *The History of the Development of the Modern Drama* (1911) and in *The Theory of the Novel* (1916), he gave new direction to the sociology of literature. He emphasised that the social-historical significance of a work is not primarily located in its explicit or implicit "message," in its meaning-content, but in its form, in the way that it creates this meaning. In the later book, he disclosed the historical grounds and significance of the shift from the classical epic to the novel as the leading genre of a "world abandoned by God." He also followed up the fundamental generic transformation

of the novel form from Cervantes to Dostoyevski as aesthetic solutions to the ever more tragic quest of its hero, the "problematic individual" who is in search of a meaning for his or her own life.

After his Marxist turn, Lukács conceived these cultural antinomies as expressions of much deeper contradictions in human historical development. The concept of reification offered a key to the disclosure of this ground and simultaneously opened up a perspective upon the possibility and conditions of its overcoming.

Reification in Lukács has certain affinities with the Marxian concept of alienation, elaborated primarily in Marx's early manuscripts, at this time unpublished and unknown. Lukács himself arrived at this conception through a philosophical generalisation of the Marxian theory of commodity fetishism that he connected to Weber's critical notion of formal rationalisation.

Reification is the central structuring category of capitalist society. It is both an objective and subjective phenomenon. Objectively, it refers to the transformation of the social world of human relations and institutions into a "second nature" as a realm of dead objectivity with its own laws independent of the will and consciousness of the subjects. Intimately connected with the ever-expanding division of labour and capitalist market economy, it involves the elimination of the qualitative and individual characteristics of all products of human activities, making them standardised and interchangeable commodities, and rendering the labour of their production an abstract activity. Subjectively, it implies the fragmentation and depersonalisation of the individual, the ultimate bearer of conscious rationality. The exercise of reason then becomes equated with the performance of formal operations, allowing the calculative prediction of the behaviour of its object—ultimately amounting to a contemplative attitude. In its totality, reification designates the ever-growing formal rationalisation of all the separated social spheres and institutional units, while their global interaction remains a matter of pure accidents.

Reification of consciousness is an all-encompassing phenomenon—it characterises the immediate, empirical consciousness of the worker no less than that of the capitalist. The difference between them consists in their respective potential to overcome this standpoint of immediacy. The bourgeois is imprisoned in the world of reification that is the realm of its domination. This is because the capitalist can still find forms of activity—both as entrepreneur and as consumer—that it can, at least superficially, regard as the expressions of its free subjectivity. The wage-worker, however, who under the conditions of modernity is also posited as a formally free subject, cannot identify any sphere of its life-activity that it could consider as autonomous, its own. In life, he or she is always a mere object of personal and, above all, impersonal powers exercised upon him or her. The wage worker's recognition of this contradiction, the

consciousness of itself as mere commodity, is the initial step towards the emergence of a mediated, "imputed" consciousness. This consciousness finds its expression in the economic class struggle that, in itself, cannot transcend, or even significantly modify, the structure and the power relations of capitalist society. Precisely through the lessons of its ultimate failure, this consciousness can become a major stimulus furthering the process towards genuine emancipation.

The imputed consciousness of a class represents its maximal cognitive potential, the highest level of insight into social reality that its structural position in society still allows it to achieve as an objective possibility. The imputed class consciousness of the proletariat is the collective recognition of its world historical mission to become the Subject-Object of a history now collectively made. Its actual realisation can only be the outcome of a protracted learning process, the result of a constant interaction between the actual experiences of the class struggle and theoretical insights that both form and inform each other. In *History and Class Consciousness,* Lukács makes strenuous efforts to indicate at least the potential stages of such a process, but in this he undoubtedly fails. Ultimately he "reifies" the notion of imputed consciousness, ascribing to it a separate empirical reality in the form of the Party of a Leninist type as its living and knowing embodiment. Thereby his whole conception also acquires some teleological features, not unlike those assumed by Hegel.

History and Class Consciousness immediately became the object of sustained dogmatic attacks from the side of leading personages of the Russian, Hungarian and German Communist Party. When Lukács emigrated to the USSR, he was forced to renounce the book for its "idealist aberrations." While this was a "self-criticism" under duress, Lukács could acquiesce in it with relative ease, since in the meantime he himself moved away from some of the book's political and theoretical premises.

After his withdrawal from political activity, Lukács similarly abandoned the minefield of Marxist philosophy and general social theory. From the late twenties on, his work was essentially restricted to the field of literary criticism and aesthetics. In his theory of literary realism and its aesthetic generalisation, the conception of the artistic mimesis, he consistently argued for the defetishising capacity of the genuine artwork, in no way identical with its direct, political message.

It was only at the very end of his life that he again returned to the great theoretical issues raised in *History and Class Consciousness.* In the large manuscript *The Ontology of Social Being* (published posthumously in 1976), he again raised—now with a systematic intention—all the great questions that animated the essays of the earlier volume. The central category of this work, that aimed at the general characterisation of the human historical-social form of life as a *sui generis* ontological sphere, a specific way of being,

was that of labour. Labour, as the fundamental form of human activity, represents the fusion of causal determination and conscious teleology. As labouring, objectifying heings, humans are historical and "answering" beings, always acting in the field of some—more narrowly or broadly circumscribed—possibilities, individual and collective alternatives. The work was directed against all those theories—be they existentialist or critical—that transformed alienation into an inescapable human and historical fate. Alienation never can be total—there are always resources for resistance against attempts at tbe total manipulation of human beings—resonrces to which the great works of cultural formations, like art and philosophy, bear witness. Lukács, however, could not undertake the intended fundamental revision of this manuscript. It remains, rather, a document of his internal intellectual struggle with those elements of a dogmatic Marxism that during the long decades of an always partial, resisting and external accommodation to the ideological practices of Stalinism, he nevertheless, unwittingly, internalised.

— György Markus

See also Alienation; Cultural Marxism and British Cultural Studies; Heller, Agnes; Marx, Karl; Marxism; Social Class; Weber, Max

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MERTON, ROBERT

Robert K. Merton is among the most influential sociologists of the twentieth century. He is the founder of a sophisticated variety of structural functionalism, the originator of modern sociology of science, and a prolific contributor to the conceptual and theoretical resources of several sociological disciplines.

He was born on July 4, 1910, in Philadelphia, and died February 24, 2003 in New York. He graduated from Temple College in 1931 and pursued graduate study at Harvard University, where in 1936 he defended a doctoral dissertation on *Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth-Century England*. Merton's thesis about the influence of puritan, pietist religion on the emergence of experimental natural science is still vigorously debated. In 1941 be moved to Columbia University, where he was to remain on the faculty of the Sociology Department for 38 years until his retirement. He has received the highest forms of academic recognition, among them 24 honorary doctoral degrees. In 1994, the president of the United States granted him the top academic honor, the National Medal of Science. His books have gone through multiple foreign editions, with *Social Theory and Social Structure* ([1949] 1968) appearing in more than 20 languages. In the Books of the Century contest organized in 1998 by the International Sociological Association (ISA), this volume was among the top five, which also included work by Max Weber and Émile Durkheim.

Merton is often referred to as a modern sociological classic for two main reasons: first, be made a lasting substantive contribution to general sociological theory, as well as some more specific theoretical contributions to various sociological subdisciplines (in particular the sociology of science and the sociology of deviance, where strong Mertonian schools are still operating), and, second, he exemplified a unique, classical style of sociological theorizing and concept formation.

Merton has elaborated two theoretical orientations: functional analysis and structural analysis. For him, functionalism meant the practice of interpreting data by establishing their consequences for the larger structures in which they are implicated. In 1949 he published his famous paradigm for functional analysis, where he outlined a flexible, undogmatic, deeply revised version of functionalism that allowed for the conceptualization of social conflict and social change. He put an emphasis not only on functions but also on dysfunctions of various components in the social system, and what he called "the variable balance of functional consequences." He argued that the components of a social system may appear not only in harmonious but also in conflictual relations. The effect of a specific balance is not necessarily equilibrium, order, and continuity (as in the earlier structural functionalism), but sometimes disequilibrium, disorder, disorganization, and consequently social change. A quarter century later in 1975, he wrote an important paper, "Structural Analysis in Sociology" (in Merton 1986), which presented a correlative sociological orientation, emphasizing the network of relationships within which components of the system are located. Structural analysis is a natural, complementary outgrowth of functional analysis. Whereas functional analysis specifies the