

Cultural Studies
Prof. Dr. Liza Das
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati

Module No. # 02
Key Concepts
Lecture No. # 04
Ideology (Part Two)

Hello, welcome back to module 2 of our lecture series on cultural studies. We have already done part 1 of the key concepts, that we are dealing with in this course namely, ideology, and **we have just began to**, we have just began to unpack the various contour and nuances of the term ideology. We are now in part two of the lecture on ideology.

As you are aware, these lectures are being recorded, mainly, for the students of engineering colleges all over our country and **those of**, those who are interested **from**, from abroad, and it is not really, though it is targeted, the main target is engineering students. My hope is that students in the humanities, who of course know so many of these topics, would **find it**, find these lectures useful, if only to recapitulate on what they have learnt earlier.

It is the NPTEL or the National Programme on Technology Enhanced Learning, a joint venture by the Indian Institutes of Technology and the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, that have, that are bringing to you these lecture series.

(Refer Slide Time: 02:10)



The slide features a light gray background with the following text:

'New' Cultural Studies

- Culture is the **webs of significance*** spun by man that he is suspended in.

Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1973

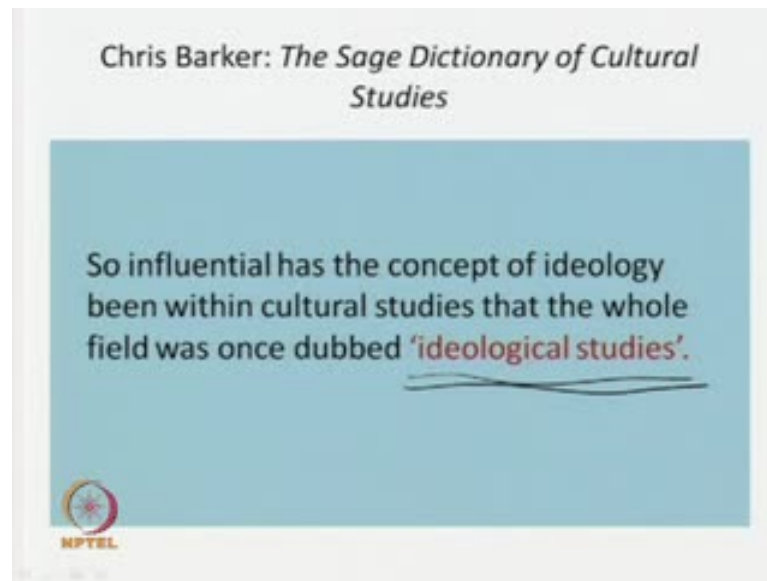
* Webs / networks of meaning and value

At the bottom left is the NPTEL logo, and at the bottom right is the text "NPTEL CD Cell Project IT Guwahati 2009-10".

So, we as always, we will now do a recap of what we have learnt so far, as far as the last module is concerned. Quickly, we saw that we have moved, you know, well, it is in the beginning of the course wherein, we had moved into the new cultural studies. We left behind the basically and largely anthropological focus on culture as a way of life, and we should remind ourselves once again, that we are looking at culture as meaning making.

What Clifford Geertz had so aptly termed, you know, the webs of significance or the webs of creation or the networks of meaning and value that we ascribe to different cultural phenomena?

(Refer Slide Time: 02:55)



We also saw that Chris Barker had at one time even said, that the concept of ideology is so very seminal, so, so important, and so, as he says, influential in cultural studies, that at one time, the, the, you know, the field of cultural studies was dubbed ideological studies.

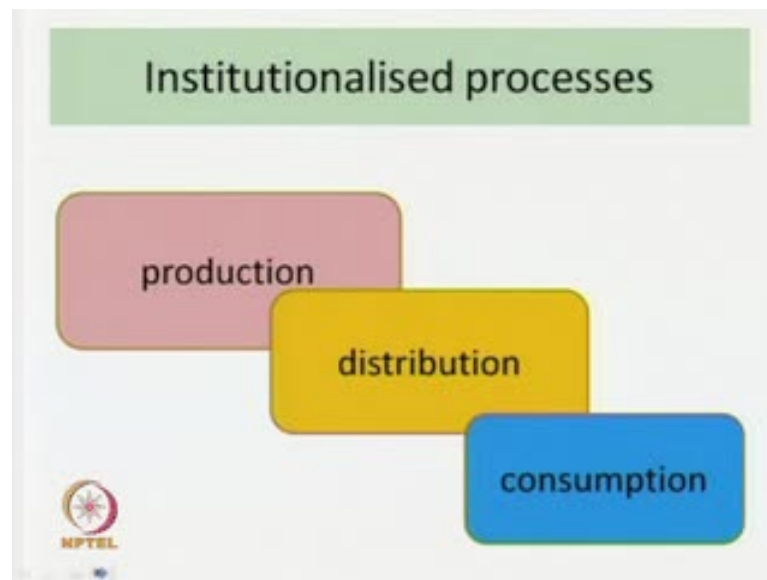
(Refer Slide Time: 03:21)



Then, we saw different variety of definitions of the term ideology, and you will recall, that we, we saw ideology as a set of ideas, as consciousness, and what was the term - received consciousness, if you remember, and as a worldview, as something that may go on to be doctrine or a set of rules, to be strictly followed.

And as I said, importantly, **it is**, ideology is all, is seen as, you know, maps of meaning, something that carries you or points you towards meaning creation.

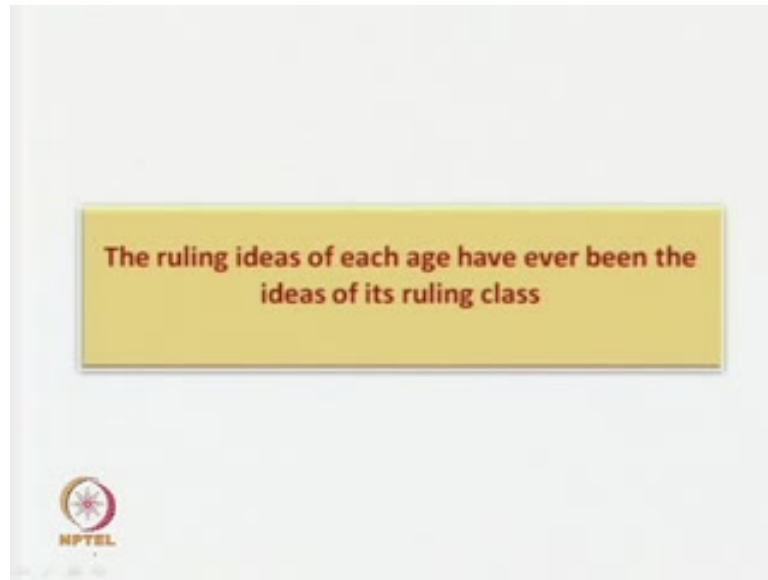
(Refer Slide Time: 04:02)



Then we also looked at **the**, you know, how ideology, how we end up consuming ideology? We have to remember, that before consumption of these views, ideas, values and meanings, these have to come, **through**, to us, and how do they come to us? They come to us through a certain institutionalized processes that have to do with the production of such meaning, values and ideas in the first place. Then there has to be a system of distributing them, for instance as I said, mass media could very well be one, you know, one way of getting ideology to people, and in those senses, ideology is of course, manufactured. And our consumption, you know, our consumption of ideology or ideological artifacts, you know, ideas, thoughts, etcetera are therefore, given to us through institutionalized processes.

Herein, a second point comes to mind, which I have to mention, is that in the whole process of consuming ideology, we would do well to remember what goes into the manufacture of such things, into the manufacture of, in the manufacture, production and distribution of ideology?

(Refer Slide Time: 05:28)



Now, I will take you back, if you recall **to my**, to my lectures, two lectures on Marxism that I had given, and many of you would remember this very important sentence from Marx, and I quote, the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

We cannot over say this, in the sense, that this is, you know, so seminal that it can never be an exaggeration. This, I have brought this quotation from Marx, back from those lectures to you here again, why?

Because this relates **to**, to what we have just spoken about - it is the manufacturing of ideology. So, very obvious question that comes to our mind is, ideology is produced, it is distributed and before it is eventually consumed by us, is not it an important question to ask, who creates it? Who produces ideology? And Marx has a clear answer to this, he says, that the ruling ideas, now just supplant this with the word, with the term - ideology and you will understand, how it ties in; how it is so seminal to our understanding of ideology.

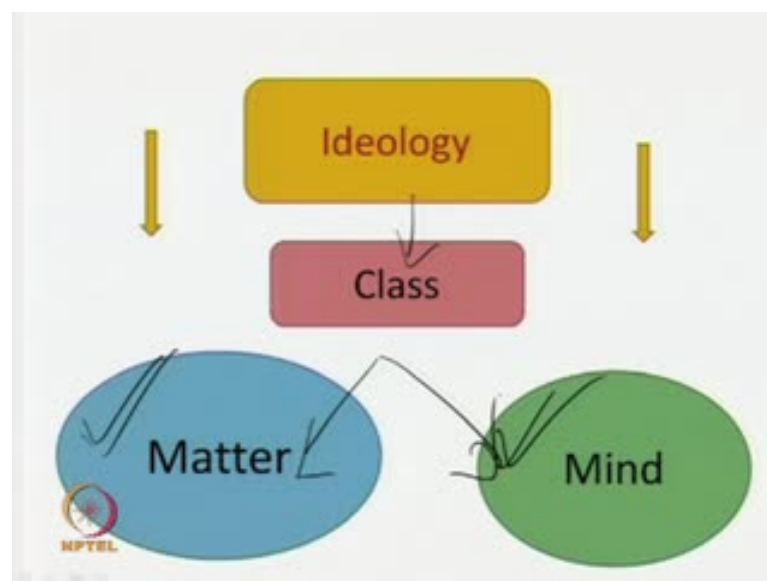
The ruling ideas or the ideologies of each age, **has**, have ever been the ideologies of its ruling class, and you will recall, that class is the most important, perhaps the most important term in, you know, **in**, in Marxism.

Marx saw each, you know, epoch being informed by, you know the, you know by the conflict between two large classes. Whether it was in, in, in ancient slavery, the conflict between the masters and the slaves; whether it was in feudalism, you know, the class conflict between two classes, that of the feudal overlords and the serfs or the vassals; then, we saw in capitalism, we saw the two classes of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

So they, according to the Marxist schema, all, each and every epoch is characterized by class conflict, and in this case, the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class, would mean that these two major classes in every age - it was the privileged class, it was the class that had power of governance, of wealth, you know, of economics, it was that class that defined the ruling ideas; it was that class that defined the ideology; it was that class, it produced and then distributed, you can say, the central ideas or you could say, central doctrines that were to be followed by everyone.

So, this is where the political, this is where issues of power come in between. So, we have to remember, that whenever we consume an ideology, we have to also ask very importantly, ask, who has produced it? By what means has this ideology being disseminated to us? How much of it do I consume? How much of it do I critic? How much of it do I discard?

(Refer Slide Time: 09:33)



So, Marx, of course, is central in any, in any discussion of, of ideology. Look at it in a different way in this slide. Ideology, **is**, effects through a dominant class; ideology is something that affects matter and mind; now, what does this mean?

To say that ideology is a, effects both matter and mind, or that to say it in another way - ideology is both, material and mental **of the**, of matter and of mind and that **it is**, it comes to us **to**, through the filter of a class, which in a certain period of time is the dominant class.

It means, that the, **is**, matter or **the**, the economic base, remember we had looked at the two terms, base and superstructure, and we found that it is the economic base comprising, what comprise? Recall, comprising the forces of production and the relations of production; in a word, the modes of production, that determine the superstructure that rises about it. There is this architecture metaphor here. As we all know, based on our material reality, based on economics, based on the **way**, way the wealth is distributed, labor is distributed, demarcated, divided, on that arises a superstructure.

I will hasten to remind you once again, that this determination is in no way a deterministic one. The point here is, there is a relation between the material base; so, there is a relation, as I say, between the matter, the matter that gives rise to the mind, the matter that gives rise **to the, to the** superstructure.

Now, the superstructure, **sorry**, is where **we would**, we would eventually place ideology. Superstructure comprises what? Superstructure comprises all this institutions that we have: the family, the legal system, the judicial system, the mass media, the educational system, **any**, any institution of society, whether tangible or intangible, falls under the superstructure. And if **you may, you may**, you may well put all of these into one term, you can put them into one term and that term, we would call ideology.

And hence, ideology filtered through a class is a, is both, a material and a mental matter, so to speak.

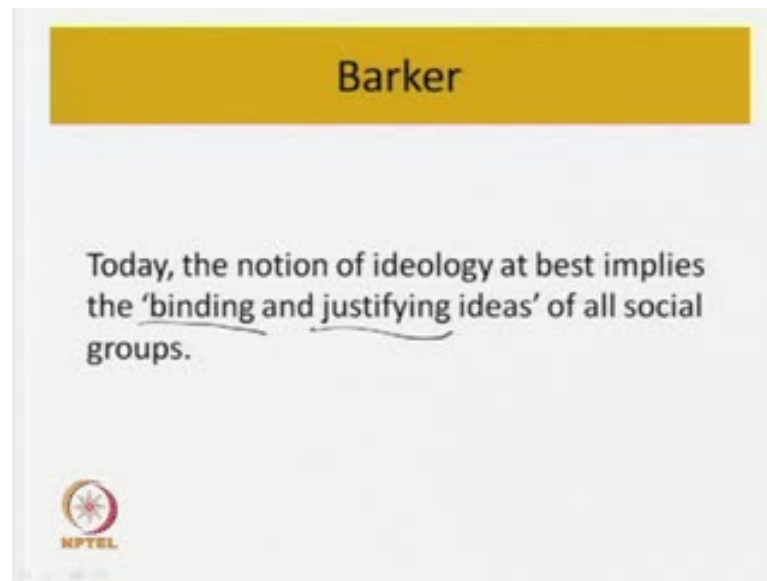
(Refer Slide Time: 12:33)



Then we saw, we ended with political ideologies, and we talked about just a few. And I said, there are so many really, we talked about liberalism and remember **what, what,** what was our important point there? Our point was, political ideologies have as their goal - the organization, the organization of society, in a way, in which each of these ideologies feel is conducive, or is the ideal way in which people should be governed, in which people should be arranged, their lives should be arranged in society or in a culture.

So, given, that we found that some of the, you know, some of the ideologies, political ideologies may be: liberalism, the ideology called capitalism, communism, environmentalism, feminism, anarchism, etcetera; so, these are the political ideologies.

(Refer Slide Time: 13:41)



Now, we will move on to the rest of, rest of this lecture and I will begin by quoting Chris Barker. Barker, Barker's text, cultural studies theory and practice, do you recall is a text, which I said may be, may well be, text book in any, any cultural studies course. And along with his making sense of cultural studies, though I talk about several other books, many other authors and their articles, if you want to really be guided in theory of cultural studies, this is one person to look at.

Now, let us see what Barker says. Barker says, today the notion of ideology at best implies the binding and justifying ideas of all social groups. These two terms, actually if I look at these two terms - binding and justifying.

Why binding? Binding, because the set of ideas, or say, the ruling ideas, to use Marx's term. The ruling ideas of a society are the ideas, which the dominant group would want people to accept, to give them a certain sense of being bound, sense of being bound, or in the sense of being related to one another, could be. Here, binding would mean to, to help people forge a collective identity as a community, that this is what we are, this is the way we should, should look at the world, this is the way our society runs. And as every dominal group would want people to believe, this is the optimal way in which we are bound together as members of a community.

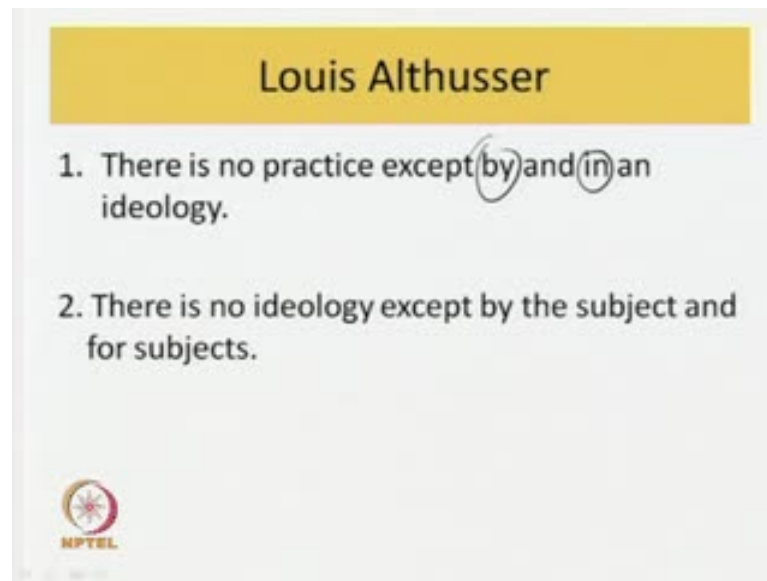
And the second word, justify; look at these words, the binding and justifying ideas of all social groups, **these**, one, in order to have to, if you want, **if you, if you**, if, you are expected to incorporate that particular ideology or set of ideologies. For instance, **I**, let me give you an example, within say, religious set up, you know, you have a worldview, in the sense that if you are, be a Hindu, if you are practicing Hindu; it is a different thing to be born into a Hindu family and a different thing to be a practicing Hindu. Many people who are born into religious setup, may end up being atheist, that is why, I am saying if you are practicing Hindu, then the dominant view of your religion would want you to have a certain worldview.

A worldview here means, not simply a view of what the world is, what it is made up about? They also include your place in it. So, for instance, you may believe that **you are**, you are here on, you know, in this birth to work out your personal karma, to redress some of the things that were done in your previous life, so that, you know, sort of graduate into a better life in your next life, that is an ideology, that is a worldview and that has to be justified; that has to be justified. There has to be enough persuasion, so that you are not, you do not only feel justified, you also feel related to similar practitioners; do you follow?

In the same way for instance, **let us**, let us look at capitalism as a political ideology; and we talked about Hinduism as a religious ideology, and capitalism as a political ideology. Would that ideology, would want the subjects to believe, that individualism is one that characterizes human beings more than cooperation?

On the other hand, the worldview within communist setup would be not competition, but cooperation. You see, how, given different ideologies, you have different worldviews. And as Barker says, here what is important, that you have, should have a feeling of being bound, so to speak, related; so to speak, to your, the people in your community, in your group - sharing, sharing an ideology, sharing a worldview which is justified, which seems to be the best thing possible.

(Refer Slide Time: 18:33)



The slide features a yellow header with the name 'Louis Althusser'. Below it, two numbered points are listed. The first point is '1. There is no practice except by and in an ideology.' The second point is '2. There is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects.' At the bottom left, there is a circular logo with a star and the text 'NPTEL'.

Louis Althusser

1. There is no practice except by and in an ideology.
2. There is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects.

NPTEL

Now, having talked just a bit about, about Karl Marx, there you know I spoke, I spoke at length in the two lectures on Marxism, so I am not bringing in Marxism again, in the big way.

But we can look, look at the French philosopher Louis Althusser. Louis Althusser here is important, because he takes us to, you know, more, more theorizations of ideology. Althusser says this, look at this, one, there is no practice except by and in an ideology.

Look at this, there is no practice except by and in, by and in an ideology. What does it mean? What is the practice being talked about? Here, the practice, here is the practice we call cultural practice. Cultural practice here means the myriad ways in which, in which we practice life, as it work, in which we live out our lives.

So, he says here, that there cannot be any cultural practice, there cannot be any living out of our lives, in what Stuart hall called the grounded terrain of our material practices, of our believes, etcetera, but only through ideology; that is, we live, this practice is by an ideology. By an ideology here means both, constituted and constructed by an ideology, and by also, in the sense of following an ideology; by both constituted, and by as in following something. By and in an ideology, so you do not really see ideology. Ideology is not something that you can go and catch, and go and feel and touch, but in an ideology is that space, is that mental, intellectual, emotional space.

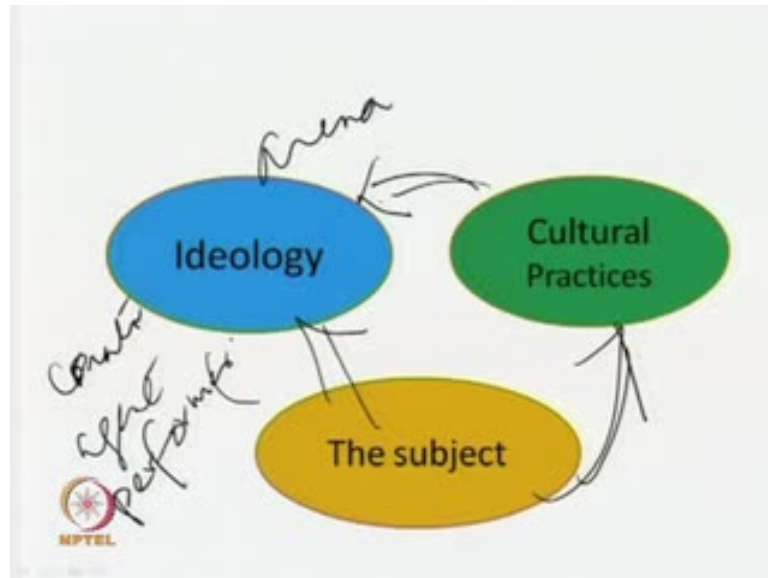
Remember, where identities are created? Where subjectivities are created? Now, you understand, you, why we have to talk about identity and subjectivity before we talked about ideology? And how it ties into **this, this** lecture? In fact, there is, we work all these or we workout our cultural lives in the arena, so to speak, in the arena of ideology.

Second, look at the next point here. He says, there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects. I am reading it again, there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects, in the sense, that there, a, there cannot be any cultural practices without an ideology and, b, in this second point, is that, where is the question of having an ideology if there is **no, no**, nobody to construct it in the first place, and there is nobody for which it is constructed.

Now, this points to a very **important**, important factor, is that it is the subject, the one that experiences. Remember our points on subjectivity, it is the one that experiences, it is the subject that creates; **it is, it is**, it is by the subject, it is created by this subject and also for subjects, that is, for people.

So, what do we learn from these two postulations? Here, a, is that there can be no working out of our cultural lives or everyday lives of everything that is to do with culture. Remember the webs of significance and meaning making, it is possible only in an arena, in mental space, so to speak, of course **given**, given rise to **by**, by matter, by a material lives called ideology; and second, there is no ideology that has not been by the subject and created for the subject.

(Refer Slide Time: 22:49)



So, looking at it **in the, in the,** in diagrammatically, we can therefore see, that cultural practices, ideology and the subject are own intertwined. Ideology is something, is the arena, where we have the subject as, call it an agent, the subject is a creator, at the same time, the subject is performer.

And the subject is the one that carries out the cultural practices, and the cultural practices, in turn, are largely dependent on the ideology. So, this is a schematic way of showing the same thing that was said by Althusser, just a while ago. Fine.

(Refer Slide Time: 23:44)

Althusser

You and I are always already subjects, and as such constantly practice the rituals of ideological recognition, which guarantee for us that we are indeed concrete, individual, distinguishable and (naturally) irreplaceable subjects.

The slide features a yellow header with the name 'Althusser'. Below it, a quote is presented with several terms underlined: 'always already', 'concrete, individual, distinguishable and (naturally) irreplaceable', and 'subjects'. An NPTEL logo is located in the bottom left corner.

Now, let us look at **another**, another postulation by Althusser. He says, you and I are **always, always**, always already, now this is a beautiful way of putting it - always already, that is, you are, and I will, I will talk about this in just a while; let me read this, you and I are always already subjects, and as such constantly practice the rituals of ideological recognition, which guarantee for us that we are indeed concrete, individual, distinguishable and naturally irreplaceable subjects.

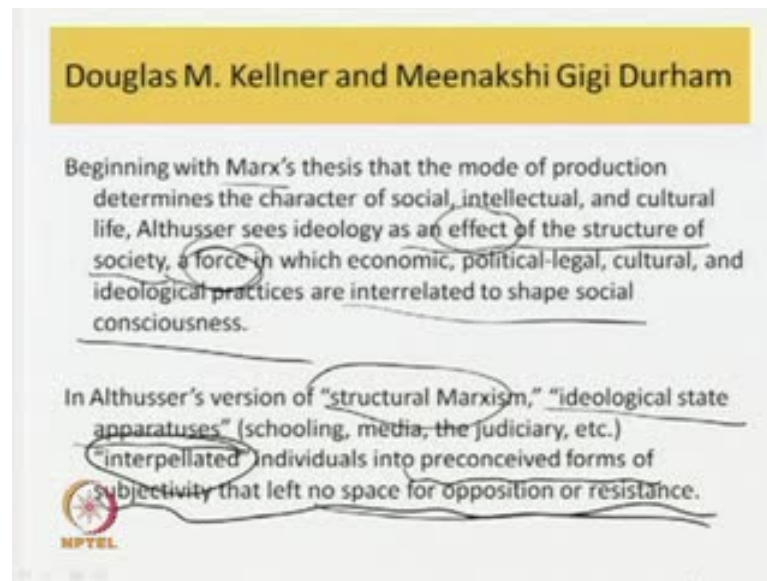
Now, in the first case, look at this, you and I are always already subjects, always already; here always already means a certain givenness, there is a certain givenness. We are always already subjects, that is, our subjectivity, our subjecthood, our experience, or what we are going to experience as we enter the social arena, as we are socialized, is already demarcated for us.

We should not think that this is a certain passivity, that is, talking about we, sort of, enter an arena that is, or **that has**, that has already been laid out to us by tradition, by the practices that are continuing. We do not enter into something that has been sort of, tailor-made for us, or that we immediately plunge into and start creating for ourselves.

Look at this, you and I are always already subjects, and as such, we constantly practice the rituals of ideological recognition. Look at the term rituals; we perform, just a while ago I have said, that we saw that schematic, that the diagram, that we are not just creators. Remember, by subjects and for subjects. We are also performers, **we learn to imbibe**, we learn to imbibe the rituals, say, of ideological recognition, a beautiful phrasing - rituals of ideological recognition, what does it mean?

That the whole process of recognizing every part of the ideology is ritualized, just like we say, all of us goes through certain rites, r i t e s, rites of growing up, what we call, rites of passage. These rites of passage are say, unique or individualized as far as all of us are concerned, each of us is concerned, but these are also rituals that we recognize, others recognize, even as we pass through these rituals. So, **this is**, this is really a sophisticated way of talking about ideology.

(Refer Slide Time: 26:58)



Now, I would like to quote from, you know, Douglas M Kellner and Meenakshi Durham, from there reader on, very important reader on the cultural studies or media studies.

They, they, they show the connection here with Karl Marx, beginning with Marx's thesis, that the mode of production determines the character of social, intellectual, and cultural life, Althusser sees ideology as an effect of the structure of society.

Remember, we began with Marx and this is how Kellner and Durham **are,** are joining Marx and Althusser and sees how Althusser goes on to improvise what Marx has said, that Marx's thesis, that the base, the mode of production, determines the superstructure or the ideology of, or the character, the nature of social, cultural life. What Althusser does here is, he sees ideology as an effect of the structure of society.

So, ideology here is the effect of our society's structure and it is, look at this word, first, is it is an effect, then it is a force in which economic, political, legal, cultural and ideological practices are interrelated to shape social consciousness.

So, what is then **Althusser's,** Althusser's contribution here is he sees ideology as, a, an effect of the structure of our society and, b, it is a force in which the practices are interrelated and which go on to, again as if coming full circle, go on to shape social consciousness.

So, this is known as, look at this term here - structural Marxism. Althusser, in this sense, is a structuralist; he sees all these aspects of Marxism in structuralist sense, in the sense of systems, in the sense of structures.

So in Althusser's version of structural Marxism, Ideological State Apparatuses - this is a very important point, one of the reasons why I have brought Althusser here, or we have to bring Althusser here in the first place, is talking about the apparatuses and describe them just in a while.

I will just read it, and then we will go on to talk about it again, unpack it. In Althusser's version of structural Marxism, ideological state apparatuses like schooling, media, the judiciary, etcetera, interpellated individuals into preconceived forms of subjectivity, that left no space for opposition or resistance. **This is,** this is Kellner and Durham, offering both, a description and perhaps a critique of Althusser's reworking of Marxism, of Marx's idea of ideology. They call it or they may not be, have been the first to call it, but it is usually said that Althusser is a structuralist Marxist.

And there is this very important word called interpellation, which I will talk about just in a while. That, the ideological forms, they interpellate or call upon people into, look at this word - preconceived forms of subjectivity that left no space for opposition, or of opposition or resistance.

Many critics of Althusser, in fact, many critics of anyone who has come after Marx, and have tried, those who have tried to, you know, improvise on Marx, and give additions or contributions or reinterpretations, interpretations of Marx, all of them have come into critique. It may seem in a structuralist that, you know, when Althusser gives us a structuralist explanation, it may seem and it has seem to many critiques, that it **takes away,** takes away the revolutionary element that is there in classical Marxism.

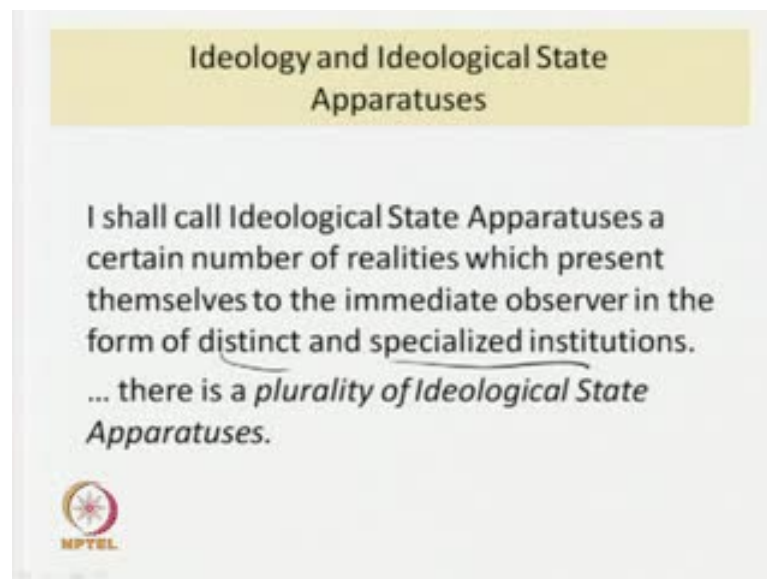
For instance, when we say that, you know, the ideological forms like schooling, the education system, the media, the judiciary, etcetera, that they call upon individuals, and they put them into certain already existing forms of subjectivity.

Now, you will perhaps understand in a better way, the use of Althusser's term - always already. If you remember, just a while ago we have spoken about always already, that

there is a givenness to subjectivity. This, as I said, many feel takes away the revolutionary element of the agents, I mean, the agency of human beings.

Because **you are**, or Althusser is looking at us, has been always called upon by ideological systems, to fit into **preconceived**, preconceived forms of subjectivity, that is said here, look at this slide please, that left no space for opposition or resistance. Now, we will talk about what these apparatuses are?

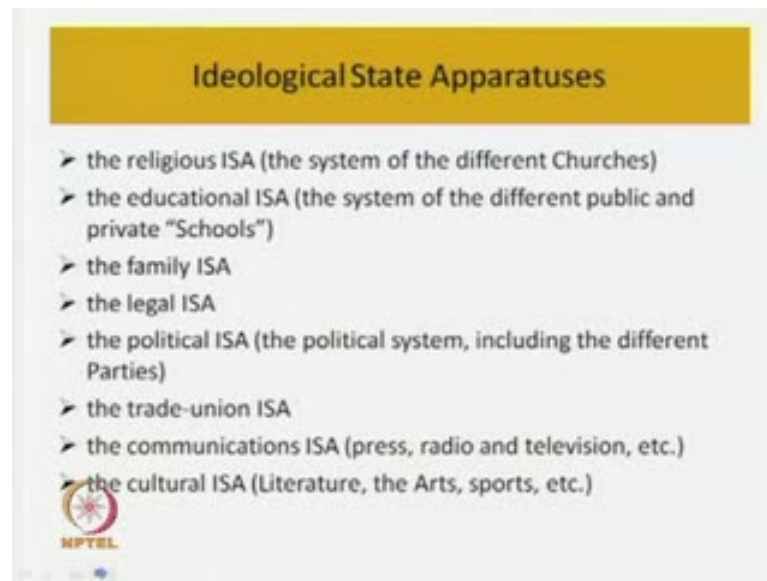
(Refer Slide Time: 32:53)



First is the ideology and ideological state apparatuses. There are two types of apparatuses that were brought to our attention by Althusser, and they are – one, ideological state apparatuses or ISA, and number two, they are the repressive state apparatuses or the RSA.

So, the ISA'S and RSA as a, as we talk about them, in short form, are the two kinds of apparatuses that are used by society to make us, as he says, always already subjects of a given ideological configuration.

(Refer Slide Time: 35:39)



Now, I am quoting from Althusser himself. Please look at this slide; I shall call ideological state apparatuses a certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions. These distinct and specialized institutions are not institutions that use force.

That, he says, there is a plurality of ideological state apparatuses. That is, state here is what? The state is, obviously here we know is not the state of Assam or Manipur or Andhra Pradesh; the state here is the government.

So, every government which is what the Marx would call the ruling class, every government has of course, the roughly, what Marx will call the ruling class, every government has certain forms and what Althusser calls plurality of forms, through which ideology **is**, is tried to be disseminated. Remember, produce and distributed and consumed, ideology is sought to be distributed.

So, he says that there are many such ideological state apparatuses, look at the word, resonance of the word - apparatus. He is not using words like branches or forms or any other things, using apparatuses - this really brings, you know, to us the instrumentalization; apparatus is something you would use in a laboratory, for instance.

Apparatuses brings to us the resonance of the, of words of something like instrumentalization. Now, instrumentalization of our lives by the state in its different

forms, is something which again ties in very neatly to what Althusser calls, are always already, you know, ready for use, subjectivities.

Now, unpacking this - the ideological state; now, what are these ideological state apparatuses? And what are these ideological state instruments? One, it is religious ideological state apparatuses; the religions, I say are, for instance in a Christian country, the system of the different churches. So, the church, the religion, is also seen as an ideological form and the various religious institutions are the apparatuses or the instruments, through which certain ideologies are sought to be distributed **in**, in society **as desirable**, as desirable ideologies.

Then education; education, according to Althusser, I mean, you know, education is a part of the superstructure in the Marx's schema, education is the system of the different public and private schools, that we have. The educational system decides what is going to be taught. Now, that too may be seen as an apparatus because of very instrumentality, that is, there it tells us what to read, it decides beforehand what is to be disseminated in the name of, and, that is why, there is a certain instrumentalization in this ideological form called education.

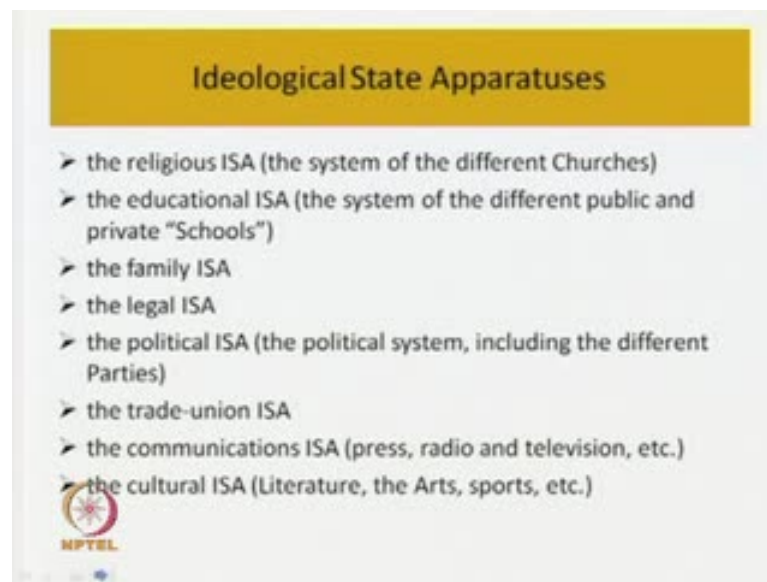
The family; today we can safely say, we know even, while looking back at history and looking even **to our**, to our societies that the family is the, perhaps the oldest social institution, but see, how the family has changed?

When we look at mythologies, when we look at certain tales for instance, in a certain epoch, it would not raise anyone's eyebrows to say, that a king had three hundred wives, or that the king had so many concubines, and there would be the chief queen, etcetera. So, that would be some sort of an extended family.

Today we have different kinds of families - we have the joint family that still survives; and there are the nuclear family with just the father, the mother and the, you know, children; there is a family where there are adopted children; there are even gay families or homosexual families where the two members are of the same sex and they adopt children or they, you know, they have a family.

So we see that, you know, but even though **there is**, there is a sort of tolerance on all forms of families, it is, it would not be wrong to say that **in, in**, in any given setup where there is ideology, there is also the ideology of what is the ideal family? The ideal family, today is certainly not the family of, or a situation in or it is not supposed to be, I would not say in many tribes, still there are many communities in which you will find that it is not unnatural at all, it is not something, you know, something out of the ordinary for a household to have one man with his three or four wives and their extended children; it is, after all, a form of the family.

(Refer Slide Time: 35:39)



But there is always the, you know, the ideology which says **that**, that kind of family is not the ideal kind of family; it is the individual family, with the nuclear family, with the mother and the father and two children, which also, which is supposed to be the best family.

Now, why, how do we call it the **best**, best form of family? How do we measure it? There is no natural way of measuring it. There are different kinds of family, how can you say that the homosexual or the gay family is something **that**, that is a wrong sort of family? No, this ties in to the kind of government and the tolerance **that**, that the government, and also, in an intolerance situation, the instrumentalization of what the family should be like.

So, the sort of, you know, **the normalization**, the normalization of what family should be; the normalization, that is, normalization in the sense of following norms, of what religion should be or religious experience should be; what the education, the best kind of school should be, is not something that is natural; it is created, that is most important. It is created and it is upheld to be the best kind, **that**, that mankind has, sort of evolved to have.

Then, the others are, if you look at the slide, the legal system; the **same**, same thing follows for the legal system. What was legal today, was not legal a couple of years ago, was not legal century ago, or what is illegal today, will in many cases **not be**, not be legal a couple of years later. It is important to realize that the legal system, the laws are created and, **law**, the legal system is a very important part of what Althusser calls - the ideological state apparatuses.

Perhaps, the instrumentality of the legal and the judicial system, instrumentality, instrumentalization of our lives **is**, is at its peak when we talk about these two forms of ideological state apparatuses or ISA, that is the judicial form and the legal forms; these actually, carry out the instrumentalization of our lives.

Then, the trade union; the communications, that is, the press, radio, television, etcetera; then, the cultural systems like, literature, arts, sports, all these are, if we unpack the term ideological state apparatuses, all these are forms.

Now, if you just simply look at the lists, it is amazing, you know, how, this always already that **(())**; so, this Althusser says so beautifully, is created for us, but we have to understand, **we have to**, we have to remind ourselves that this list is something that is not a given. And what the earlier Marx's, you know, rather the classical view of Marxism says, that the revolutionary element should be there, is not just that we simply understand the ways in which life is instrumentalized by the ideological state apparatuses.

We, one has to go forward, in order to contest those, that the processes of normalization that are there.

(Refer Slide Time: 42:38)



Next is the other aspect of, you know, ideology, which is what he says, he calls, Althusser calls, the Repressive State Apparatuses. Obviously, by the moment we use the word like repressive, we will understand that there is a certain amount of violence.

By here violence, I do not mean only physical violence, only coercion; violence; also, means a coercion, coercion **of our**, of our mental forms; coercion of our thoughts, for instance; the violence of our thoughts.

Now, let us look at this quickly. Repressive State Apparatuses, if you look at this slide, the repressive state apparatus or RSA, Althusser quotes here, functions by violence whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses function by ideology, what are the Repressive State Apparatuses?

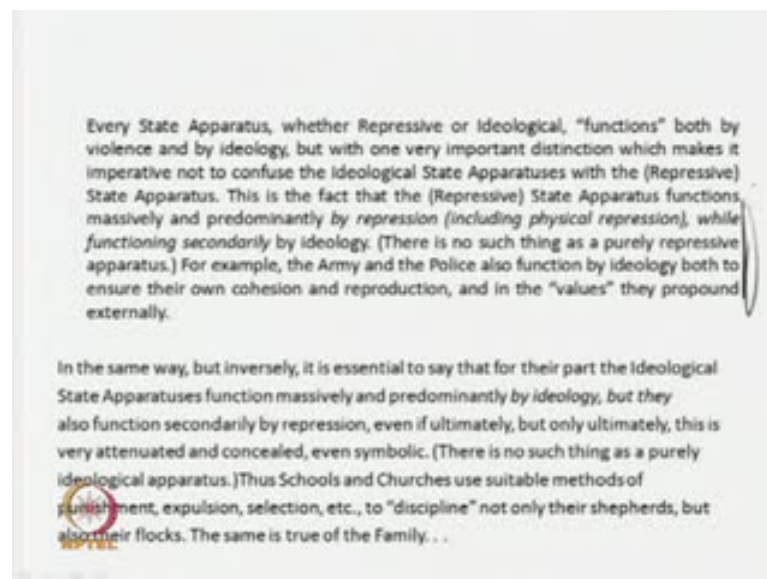
The Repressive State Apparatuses may be the state instruments that are used to repress life, repress our social life and these are the police, the armed forces, where and there may be situations like what we had in India, in the emergency.

Certain situations in which there is, it is not just there is only violence, only open violence or violent repression, there is also the curtailing of so many of our rites; so, there, the situations like the emergency may not happen all the time, but certainly the very presence of the police, the very presence, the very presence of the armed forces are

assigned that the Repressive State Apparatuses are always present; they are there, so to speak, to be used by the state to enforce the ideologies.

So, we will look at this again, the RSA or the Repressive State Apparatus functions by violence, as Althusser says, whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses like - the media, the education, family, etcetera, function by ideology or values or a sets of values and meanings; this is an important distinction, we need to note.

(Refer Slide Time: 45:11)



Now, I will read further and explain a couple of more things, so I am quoting again, every state apparatus, whether repressive or ideological, functions both by violence and by ideology, but with one very important distinction which makes it imperative not to confuse the ideological State Apparatus with the Repressive State Apparatus.

This is the fact that the Repressive State Apparatus functions massively and predominantly by repression, including physical repression, while functioning secondarily by ideology. There is no such thing as a purely repressive apparatus; this is important.

Even, even as we make the distinction between repressive and ideological state apparatuses, and we say that the Repressive State Apparatuses are **purely**, purely, you know, they are purely related to force, even violence; and that the ideological, you know, state apparatuses are **purely**, purely ideological, have to do with meanings, no.

There is a **certain**, certain sophistication, to which is a certain interchangeability to it, they are aspects of one in the other, how? Let us look at this again.

The ideological, you know, Ideological State Apparatuses, it does not mean that the Ideological State Apparatuses are not violent; many today even say that there is even nothing called ideological state apparatuses, many say that all apparatuses are repressive, all apparatuses are violent by degree, all apparatuses, all ideologies are coercive.

We will, we can refer to Antonio Gramsci idea of hegemony; I will talk about this in a while, but again, look at this, what he said here. Let us go through this again, every state apparatus, whether repressive or ideological, functions both by violence and ideology; that is, whether it is the Ideological State Apparatus or the Repressive State Apparatus, the point, the important point we noted is, you know, violence and ideology inform both, and as I said, many would, many today say, that there is nothing called ideological state apparatus; there is all kinds of apparatus, state apparatus are repressive.

I am reading again, this is the fact that the Repressive State Apparatus functions massively and predominantly by repression, while functioning secondarily by ideology. Primarily, RSA may function by repressive measures, by violent measures, but they are this, these apparatuses are also, they are informed by an ideology. For instance, they say here in brackets, there is no such thing as a purely repressive apparatus. A purely repressive apparatus would have to be a mindless one, if it is not informed by ideology.

Then, for example, the army and the police also function by ideology, both to ensure their own coercion and reproduction, and the values they propound externally. If you did not believe **in**, in why you are perpetrating violence then, if there is not an indoctrination to a certain extent.

When you need, see, when you need to kill an enemy in war, you have to believe at least, to a certain degree, that it is worth your while to kill your enemy; you have to be indoctrinated beforehand, that the enemy is something to be done away with, for the sake of your country. So, you cannot say, in the same way, even within a nation, **when you use the armed**, when you use the armed forces against so called, you know, group, that is a violent group, then you have to, in a way, informed by an ideology that, that violent

group is not good for the country. So, violence itself includes ideology, and this is I think good sophistication of what Althusser has said so far.

Then, again look at the slide, in the same way, but inversely, this, in an inverse way, this applies, it is essential to say that for their part the Ideological State Apparatuses function massively and dominantly by ideology, but they also function secondarily by repression; the inverse is true in the case of the ISA's

Even if ultimately, but only ultimately, this is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic. The repression that is there in Ideological State Apparatuses, remember I said that people, there are many critiques who today **would**, would like to tell us, that there is so much violence in Ideological State Apparatuses, so much violence in the education, system, in the legal system, in the judicial system, in the family in fact, that you cannot call it an Ideological State Apparatus, at least in a simplistic way.

Therefore, again reading, thus schools and churches use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection. Look at these, these institutions, these super structure institutions, they too use violence, they punish, they rusticate, they expel, they use systems of selections, upgradations - to discipline not only their shepherds, but also their flocks. The same is true also of the family.


These may raise some uncomfortable feelings in us, in the sense, that we idealize the family, we idealize, and idealize religious systems, but we have to take note of what ideological studies tells us, or what cultural studies tells us, and in this case what Althusser tells us, and our understanding of Althusser's ISA's and RSA tell us is, that things are not so simple.

You have to sort of remove the **vanier**, the veil of these so called ideal systems. If you have to understand these, in a cultural studies sort of way, in that sense, cultural studies may be sometimes a little painful, but I would say, somebody who is being teaching cultural studies, is been talking about ideology, about all these forms, that painful as they may be, these are also ways of growing up.

(Refer Slide Time: 52:11)

Interpellation: *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*

- Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence.
- Ideology has a material existence.
- All ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects.
- Individuals are always-already subjects.

 NPTSL

I would now move on, we are coming to the close of this lecture and we look at the word, remember, we, there is a word interpellation, which we have not talked about, you know, which we said, is to call out.

The word interpellation, which many say, that has sort of, reduced the revolutionary element in Althusser's in structural Marxism. Now, look at the word interpellation and this is from Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays.

I will read it out, ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence. Ideology also has a material existence. Now, the third point is most important, third and fourth points is - all ideology hails - the important word here is hails; you can, if you want a simpler word for interpellation, the word is hails, that is, interpellation is calling out to somebody, hailing somebody. When you greet somebody or you call out to somebody who is far away, you hail, you beckon that person.

Ideology is also to be seen according to Althusser. In those terms on ideology, their forms there, the believes everything, they - all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects, calls out. Remember, just a few slides ago, we have seen that there are certain preconceived slots into which ideology tells us. For instance, the ideology, the dominal ideology of a mother, the cultural role a women, some women play as mothers, that is also calling out by ideology.

Say, the best way to be a mother is this, as I saying hello or calling out somebody, look this is how you should be as a mother, and all the other stories of sacrificing for your children, and all the things that follow from here, are nothing but ideology hailing or calling out to you to perform, given that historical situation of what true motherhood is.

Or for instance, what true nationhood is? How to be a good citizen, for instance? **Ideology**, ideology of good citizenry or citizenship is something that calls out to you, beckons you and tells you, look this is the best way to be a mother or this is the best way to be, to be a citizen.


Now, the important point to be realized here is, this is what the last point here - individuals are always-already subjects. The moment you enter into the cultural arena, what happens is, you are already constituted, your roles, as in this case, mother or the role of a citizen, is always-already ready for you, just have to enter that slot.

(Refer Slide Time: 54:59)

Althusser: Interpellation

... all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects ...

I shall then suggest that ideology "acts" or "functions" in such a way that it "recruits" subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or "transforms" the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called *interpellation or hailing*, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: "Hey, you there!"

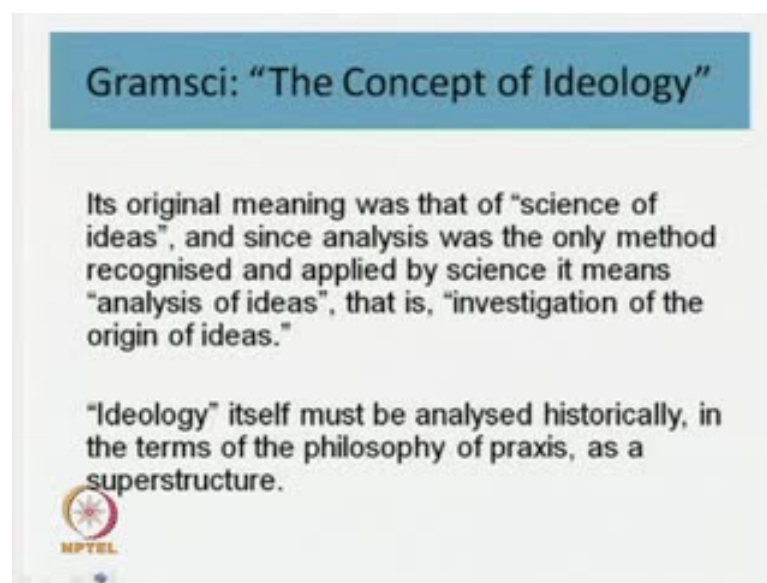
 MPTEL

So, again, Althusserian interpellation - all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects. I shall then suggest that ideology acts or functions in such a way that it - look at the word recruits, so look at apparatus, instrumentalization, recruits - recruits subjects among the individuals or transforms the individuals into subjects by that very precise operation which I have call, this is Althusser, which I have called interpellation or hailing and which can be imagined along the lines of the most

commonplace every day, every day, sorry every day polite or other hailing, hey you there; seems to be as simple as hey you there, somebody calling and this is not overtly by a violence. Most of the time that this is done, it is another matter that there is a certain degree of violence done on you, the moment you are being, the word used here transformed, the moment you are being recruited, that is another matter.

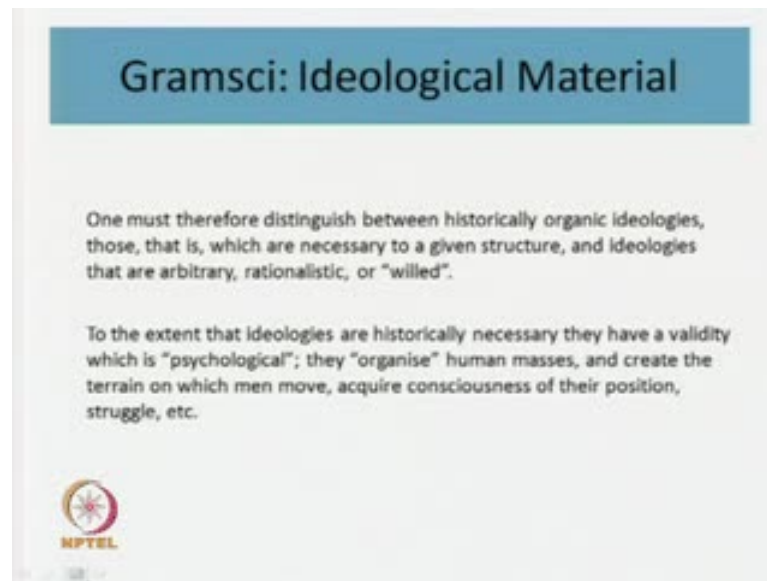
But it may seem to be as simple as something like saying somebody, calling out, hey you there and just look at the intimacy of what is of this phrase here.

(Refer Slide Time: 56:21)



Then, a quick look at Gramsci's concept of ideology, we do not have much time here, but we need to look at this. Its original meaning was that of the science of ideas, and since analysis was the only method recognized and applied by science, it means analysis of ideas, that is, investigation of the origin of ideas.


(Refer Slide Time: 56:51)



Gramsci: Ideological Material

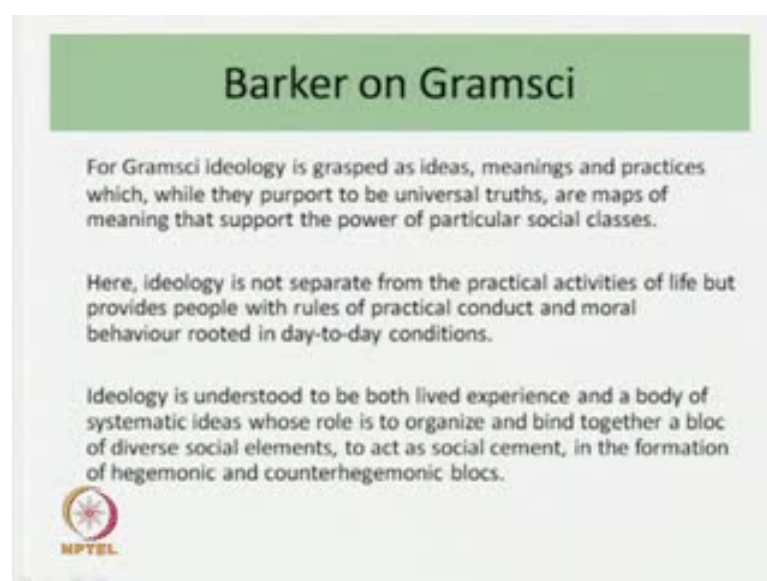
One must therefore distinguish between historically organic ideologies, those, that is, which are necessary to a given structure, and ideologies that are arbitrary, rationalistic, or "willed".

To the extent that ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity which is "psychological"; they "organise" human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc.



This was the concept of ideology understood, simply as **the, the** science of ideas. Ideology itself must be analyzed historically, in terms of the philosophy of **praxis**, as a superstructure. And, one must therefore distinguish between historically organic ideologies, those, that is, which are necessary to a given structure, and ideologies that are arbitrary, rationalistic, or; we can skip this for the moment and move to what Barker has to say about Gramsci.

(Refer Slide Time: 57:06)




Barker on Gramsci

For Gramsci ideology is grasped as ideas, meanings and practices which, while they purport to be universal truths, are maps of meaning that support the power of particular social classes.

Here, ideology is not separate from the practical activities of life but provides people with rules of practical conduct and moral behaviour rooted in day-to-day conditions.

Ideology is understood to be both lived experience and a body of systematic ideas whose role is to organize and bind together a bloc of diverse social elements, to act as social cement, in the formation of hegemonic and counterhegemonic blocs.



And this is what he says, for Gramsci ideology is graphed as ideas, meanings and practices, **while**, which, while they purport to be universal truths, are maps of meaning that support the power of particular social classes.

This is obviously, **same**, the same as what is mentioned in classical Marxism, that ideology are maps of meaning, that support the power of particular social classes.

And the final paragraph, ideology is understood to be both lived experience and a body of systematic ideas whose role is to organize and bind together a bloc of diverse social elements, to act as social cement, in the formation of hegemonic and counter hegemonic blocs.

So, there is certain cementing of people together as a coherent whole, and which is known as hegemony, which **Barker, sorry**, Gramsci called consent, that is manufactured without much over violence.

(Refer Slide Time: 58:17)



So, we move on quickly and end with **the, the** at least, those, the questions, which are relating to, what we have been able to discuss so far. Now, if you ask the question, what are the various Ideological State Apparatuses? Now, the moment you say Ideological State Apparatuses, obviously Althusser has to come to your mind and you have to define them, in terms of Althusser's framework.

(Refer Slide Time: 58:42)



So, this is how you would answer, you would, if it is a short answer, you simply mention these, but if it is a long answer, you have to read this into these points, all that we have discussed so far. So, remember, interpellation, instrumentalization, then, the amount of repression, involved in ideology. All these have to be woven into the answers, but if it is a short answer then, you simply mention the religious, educational, family, legal, trade union, communication systems, and cultural forms, that are, that go in to the making of these ideological state apparatuses.

(Refer Slide Time: 59:22)



(Refer Slide Time: 59:29)

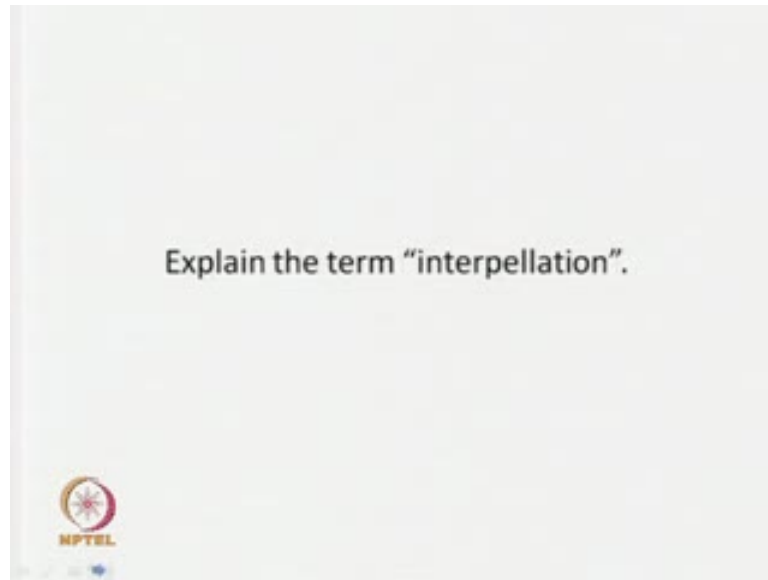


How are the Ideological State Apparatuses and the RSA's or the Repressive State Apparatuses usually differentiated? Then you need to look at it from this point of view, simply speaking, if you look only at the difference, then the police, the armed forces, that form the Repressive State Apparatuses functioned by violence, whereas the ideological apparatuses functioned by ideology.

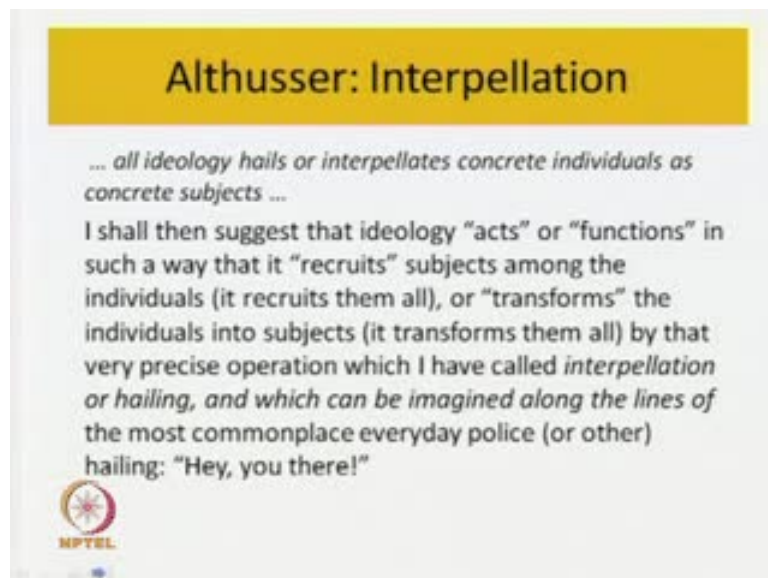
After mentioning this, if it is long, is the question with more marks, then you may also say, however, this is simplistic way of looking at it and that, you know, in both cases, the other element is also present. For instance, in RSA's or Repressive State Apparatuses, it is not a question of pure repression, of pure violence, because that has to be backed by a belief. For instance, as I have said, you can give the example of killing an enemy in a battle field; you have to believe that behind, there is an ideology behind this, that the enemy is to call the enemy, somebody that deserves to die, has to be backed up by a certain set of ideas.

And in the same way, inversely, in Ideological State Apparatuses, there is also a certain violence that has been created. It may not be physical violence, but there is also the violence of categorizing things, the violence that is caused **by**, by leaving out other ways of thinking.

(Refer Slide Time: 60:54)



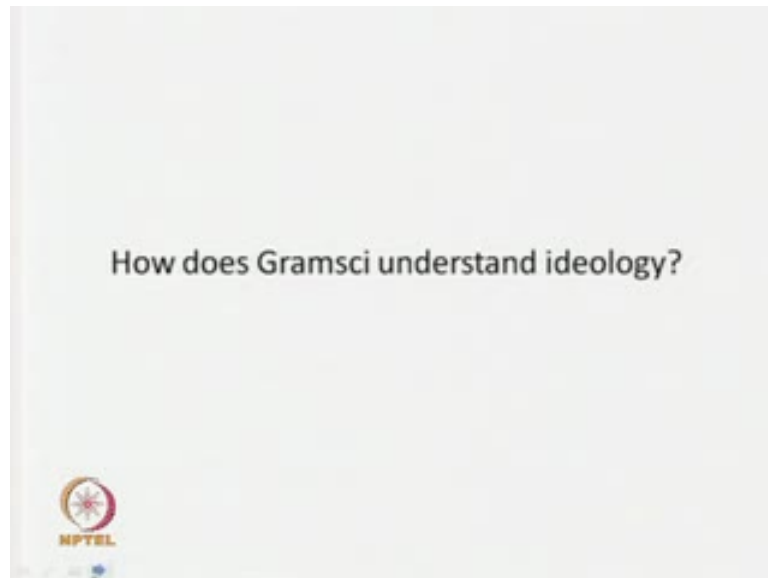
(Refer Slide Time: 60:56)



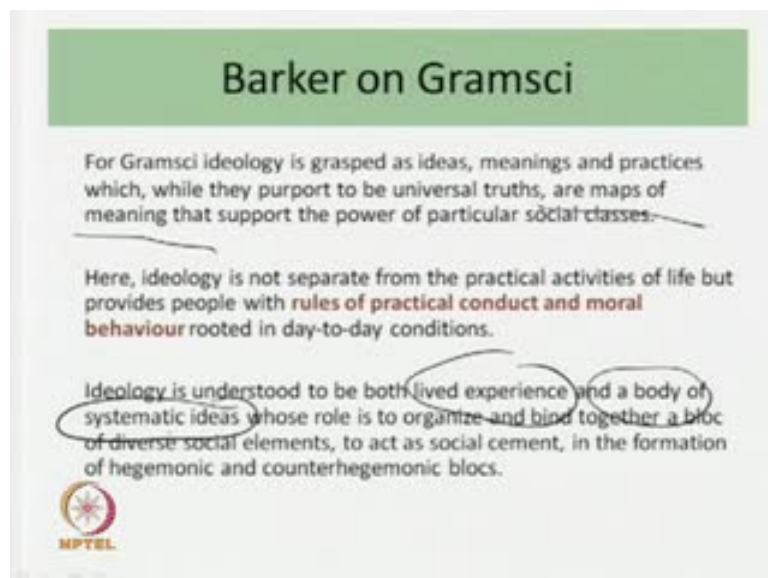
Then, explain the term interpellation? How would you explain the term interpellation? or then, you can look at what Althusser says, that interpellation is a hailing or calling out, and that interpellation, you can use other words, once you hail out, once you respond, then you are recruited in the service of an ideology; you are then transformed according to that ideology and **that**, that interpellation may begin with a **very**, very familiar, hey you out there.

But once that beckoning is responded to, then it is not a very difficult step; the next step is not very difficult, that is, to sort of instrumentalize, ideologize that person into a certain set of beliefs.

(Refer Slide Time: 61:38)



(Refer Slide Time: 61:41)



Then, how does Gramsci understand ideology? And we end with this.

Now, for Gramsci, now this is through Barker - ideology is grasped as ideas, meanings and practices. Now, remember, just look at this familiar term that we looked at a while ago - maps of meaning that support the power of particular social classes.

In this understanding of Gramsci, **we find both**, we find both, you know, ideology as meanings, maps of meanings, and also ideology as the power of particular rolling classes; these two elements are there present.

So, in this case, despite what many may say, we cannot completely say that the revolutionary element is out when it comes to Gramsci. So, here ideology is not separate from the practical activities of life, but provides people with rules of practical conduct.

The normative ideology is normative, and therein is the violence. Many would say, the moment you try normalize things into a certain channel, into a certain set of beliefs, you have already committed a certain violence; so, rules of practical conduct of moral behaviors, rooted in our day to day conditions. Ideology is not something that it is there outside of our society, ideology is in us; ideology, in a way, is us.

So important is ideology to the study of culture and that is why, I have devoted two lectures to this. In the first lecture, what did we see? We saw, that we saw the different nuances of the term ideology. Then, we also looked very briefly at Marx's formulation, that ruling ideas of every age or the ideas of the ruling class, then we looked at Althusser's differentiation within two types of ideological apparatuses.

We also looked at certain crossings between the two and how they, you know, they are inversely related; one is present in the other. Then we looked at Gramsci, when we find both understanding of ideology as maps of meaning **and as**, and as power are related together. Also, importantly, how ideology according to Gramsci is present as hegemony throughout our lives and our day to day lives are informed by ideology.

And then finally, let me just read out this last part of the slide to you, please have a look at this slide - ideology is understood to be **both lived experience**, both lived experience and a body of systematic ideas - you cannot separate them both, it is both lived experience and the body of systematic ideas, and what is the role of ideology? The role of ideology is to organize and bind together a bloc of diverse social elements, to give us

feeling, a feeling at least, a feeling that we are all related in a coherent whole, we are all following the same beliefs, the same ideas; we are all one. So, everything in an end is an ideology, patriotism is an ideology; nationalism is an ideology; everything is an ideology; the family itself is an ideology.

The educational system, we think is the optimum in our time, is also an ideology; a way of looking at the world is a set of ideas, it is sometimes, goes on to become a doctrine and most importantly, in cultural studies, particularly, it is maps of meaning or the pointers to meaning making, and to see, how we may create meanings and values in our lives?

So, I hope this, you know, these two lectures on ideology, there is indeed a lot more that can be said, many theories that, but at least as a beginning for you to feel, feel necessary, to even want to desire to go into further studies of ideology, I hope, these two lectures have sufficed.

The next lecture, we are going to deal with yet another important, the crucial, very central topic, a key concept, and that is that of representation.

Thank you for now