

volume offered, among other things, a valuable translation of Barthes's important essay 'The Rhetoric of the Image'.)

Semiology—the systematic study of social signs—seemed to provide some essential anchorage, some *structural* foundation, for an enterprise which might otherwise float off into an up-dated form of subjective idealism, intuiting cultural meanings in isolation from their 'trans-individual', institutional context. It seemed significant that at the centre of the 1971 collection was a confrontation between the Centre's Senior Research Associate, Alan Shuttleworth, who offered a disappointingly conventional phenomenological perspective for cultural studies, and the Deputy Director, Stuart Hall, who criticized Shuttleworth for what he saw as a new form of methodological individualism by re-posing the (Marxist) question of the relations between social consciousness and social being. The essays which surrounded that theoretical encounter in the 1971 volume on the whole reflected this methodological shift. Richard Dyer's excellent piece on 'The Meaning of Tom Jones', for example, closely 'read' the singer's style and presence but also moved near to grasping the 'experience' of Jones in terms of the ideological structures of 'stardom' and of the social values embodied in his gestures and inflexions. (The essay is worth reading if only for a single, admirably poker-faced remark: 'It is evident that in discussing Tom Jones one must at some point or other mention his penis'.)

If the three major essays in the Centre's most

recent collection of working papers are ranged on a theoretical spectrum which in fact corresponds to the order in which they are printed, some of the constituents of the Centre's way of working, may be observed. At one end of the spectrum lies Phil Cohen's study of sub-cultural conflict and working-class community; at the other is Paul Willis's 'The Sub-Cultural Meaning of the Motorbike'. Cohen's approach is primarily structural and sociological; Willis's is (loosely) phenomenological, centring on the motorbike as a focus of symbolic meanings which can provide access to the lived experience of members of working-class motorbike clubs. In the centre, however, is Stuart Hall's lengthy and brilliant study of 'Picture Post and Social Democracy', which points the way to a possible synthesis. By a sensitive semiological analysis of *Picture Post* photographs—one focused, interestingly, not on their *content* but on their *form*—Hall is able subtly to relate the success of a particular photographic style in *Picture Post* to a particular 'moment' in the collective experience of the British during the war, and that, in turn, to the objective political and ideological structures of British society in that period. There seems here the germ of (in Sartre's term) a 'totalizing' method, grasping at once the peculiar expressiveness of a sign and its objective location within an ideological (and finally political) structure, which one would be glad to see fostered in the Centre's unique and crucial work.

TERRY EAGLETON

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY. Volume 1, Number 1. Routledge and Kegan Paul, £1.25.

This is a new quarterly journal of the social sciences which aims to break down the barriers that divide the discipline internally by concentrating on 'fundamental theoretical and philosophical work, and structural and holistic analysis'. This first issue gives some idea of the range and style of approach: there is an excel-

lent critique of Alfred Schutz's phenomenology by Barry Hindess, launched from a more-or-less structuralist/Marxist standpoint, as well as individual pieces on Marxism and crime, absolute monarchy, economic anthropology and the important Russian sociologist Lublinskaya.

T.E.