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Les limites du Centre : Nature, Place et Héritage du CCCS au
sein du monde Académique et Politique (1964-1988)

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THÈSE

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**The limits of the Centre: Nature, Place and
Heritage of the CCCS in the Academic and
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For Richard

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List of acronyms

ACF	Association for Charitable Foundations
AHRB	Arts and Humanities Research Board
AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BFI	British Film Institute
BSA	British Sociological Association
CMCR	Centre for Mass Communications Research at Leicester
CNAAB	Council for National Academic Awards
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
DES	Department of Education and Science
EHESS	École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
ESRC	Economic and Social Science Research Council
GINI	Gini coefficient
GLC	Greater London Council
HW	History Workshop
HWM	History Workshop Movement
ICS	Institute of Community Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISC	Institute for the Study of Conflict
LSE	London School of Economics
NATE	National Association for Teaching of English
NELP	Northeast London Polytechnic
NHS	National Health Service
NLR	New Left Review
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
OU	Open University
PGCE	PGCE, Postgraduate Certificate in Education
RAR	Rock Against Racism
ROSLA	raising of the school leaving age
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
TGWU	Transport and General Workers Union
UCL	University College London
UEL	University of East London
UGC	University Grants Committee
ULR	Universities and Left Review

UoB	University of Birmingham
UPW	Union of Post Office Workers
WEA	Worker's Educational Association
WG	Work Group, see sub-groups
WPCS	Working Papers in Cultural Studies
WS	Women's Studies
WSG	Women's Studies Group, see sub-groups
WTI	Women Take Issue

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INTRODUCTION

A- INTRODUCING THE INTRODUCTION

When walking around on the University of Birmingham campus, it is difficult to know that this was the home of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies for the better part of the latter half of the twentieth century. If one blue plaque celebrating the “birthplace of British cultural studies” can be spotted by the trained eye of the researcher, is it awkwardly placed by a staircase leading to the Muirhead Tower, consisting of a high brutalist pair of buildings on the north-east side of the campus. Nothing beyond that discreet commemorative plaque indicates that on the main university campus existed a place which for better or worse became known as the “Birmingham School”. Founded by Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall in the mid-1960s, it paved the way for a new academic field, that of cultural studies, which redefined the way scholars could look at what constituted the popular, the mundane, the culture of everyday people. The aim of this dissertation is to investigate this strange and paradoxical disappearance by exploring the limits¹ of such an intellectual, political and academic endeavour. What was the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies? How was it founded? What made it special in the academic landscape? Can research centres entirely disappear? Has the Centre left traces beyond the University of Birmingham campus?

The overarching topic of this research is to dive into the institutional history of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (which for brevity will be referred to as the CCCS, or Centre) and to offer some sociological understanding of its structure and evolution so as to answer the following research questions: how could a centre, known worldwide as a renowned school of thought, disappear from the very place of its birth? What were the limits of the CCCS and how did they prevent it from remaining in existence? Furthermore, what has the Centre contributed to the world of academia? How did its nature help shape an academic subfield and forge its frontiers? In order to address these questions, a certain number of aspects of the CCCS will be tackled, including the Centre’s funding, the opposition it faced from the University of Birmingham (its institutional host) and from other disciplines, the complexities of collective working practices and the constant renegotiation of the CCCS’s scope and methods.

The main research hypothesis is the following: the protean marginality of the CCCS as an academic and political structure, which will be explored in this work, was a defining feature of the Centre’s status, which both contributed to its achievements and its precariousness. To mention but a few of some of its marginal aspects, first the Centre’s research objects, long neglected and rejected by other disciplines, including English (of which Richard Hoggart was a member), such as studying the local press,

¹ Considered here in every sense of the word: positive, neutral, negative, protective, defensive, constraining, exploring and so on.

contemporary literature outside the classics, and emerging television programs, gained traction amidst a period of significant change: the long sixties², a historical periodisation discussed in Part I. Then, the theoretical and methodological frameworks used by the CCCS stood at the frontier of several other disciplines and currents, which, while sometimes chaotic, brought to the fore new interpretations and contributed to a wider academic discussion about cultural change. Finally, the CCCS, co-founded by prominent New Left figure Stuart Hall, represented a burgeoning academic institution with emerging politically informed research and working practices, and as this work will argue, this facet of the Centre played a paramount role in the establishment of British cultural studies' academic stature and legitimacy.

Some of the main findings include the following paradox: as these forms of marginality were both sources of strength and weakness, the Centre achieved creating something beyond its own walls, as it became a place where an experiment grounded in academic freedom could take place for, as far as the scope of this research is concerned, close to twenty-five years. However, the CCCS, its growing fame notwithstanding, was never entirely safe and never ceased to be fragile, at the institutional, theoretical and operational levels. Such is the crest line, which will be explored in this work.

B-LITERATURE REVIEW

Precious work³ has already been conducted on the CCCS⁴. The most central of which is the 2016 collective volume edited by Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton in the aftermaths of the fifty-anniversary conference celebrating the founding of the Centre in 2014, along with the colossal work handled by Kieran Connell in collecting and setting up the CCCS's archive with Matthew Hilton and Helen Fisher, the University's Archivist, at the University of Birmingham Cadbury Research Library. Since 2013, this archive has allowed researchers to investigate the Centre, keeps integrating new material, and has enabled the Centre's traces to survive in a collective and official

² Frederic JAMESON, « Periodizing the 60s », dans Sohnia SAYRES, Anders STEPHANSON, Stanley ARONOWITZ et Frederic JAMESON, *The 60s without Apology*, Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1984, pP. 178-209.

³ Tom Steele's *Emergence of Cultural Studies* focuses on decades prior to the Centre's founding and writes a powerful archaeology of British cultural studies which foundations lay in the radicality of adult education. It however stops at the doors of the CCCS, in 1965. See Steele, Tom. *The Emergence of Cultural Studies: Adult Education, Cultural Politics, and the 'English' Question*. Lawrence & Wishart, 1997.

⁴ Richard E. Lee's *Life and Times of Cultural Studies*, while procuring consistent analyses of the political and intellectual evolutions undergone by early cultural studies and providing detailed evaluations of its production, does not dwell on the CCCS's structure and inner practices. See Lee, Richard E. *Life and Times of Cultural Studies: The Politics and Transformation of the Structures of Knowledge*. Duke University Press [u.a.], 2003.

form. This doctoral research owes much to these endeavours, and the CCCS archive is described in the following subsections (see section IV subsection 2 - Sources and Methods). Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton have established the marginality and conflictual position of the Centre within academia and in the political sphere, along with the different but complementary networks, which supported the Centre's endeavours during a period in which the concern for studying popular culture began to emerge⁵. They have also emphasised the increasingly political nature of the CCCS and its diverse theoretical frameworks, and the extending cultural studies academic network, stemming from the Centre to many other universities and polytechnics in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Connell and Hilton have also accounted for the CCCS's "acute sense of its own history"⁶. This characteristic makes the Centre a self-reflective object to investigate, representing both a blessing and a curse to a researcher, especially when considering "that there was never really a moment in the history of cultural studies at Birmingham when diversity and sometimes division were not chief characteristics"⁷. Indeed the plurality of self-reflective viewpoints can at times prove difficult to orchestrate, but they create a nuanced and informed historiography of the Centre. Finally, they have paved the way for a comprehensive overview of the Centre's working practices and their significance in situating the CCCS on the academic and non-academic map.

On the other side of the Atlantic, Dennis Dworkin's landmark work on the history of the New Left and the origins of cultural studies has proven a historian's roadmap to understand debates within the CCCS. Among the first to consider British cultural Marxism as an intellectual tradition in its own right⁸, Dennis Dworkin's account provides a broader and solid framework to assess the Centre's political and academic significance, building on the never-ending question of position:

How were [British left-wing politically committed academics] to successfully meet the demands of both professional scholarship and political militancy? How were they to bring together theory and practice? It is a quandary that has persistently plagued British Marxist debates and other left-wing academic discussions.⁹

⁵ Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton, editors. *Cultural Studies 50 Years on: History, Practice and Politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P. 63-81.

⁶ Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton. 'The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies'. *Social History*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2015, pP. 287-311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 288.

⁷ Ibid. P. 291.

⁸ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 3.

⁹ Ibid. P. 24.

The terrain on which such quandary took place was that of the 1950s and 1960s British New Left, a protean political movement defined thus:

The British New Left was a heterogeneous group of ex-Communists, disaffected Labour supporters, and socialist students hopeful of renewing socialist theory and practice. They came together in response to the Suez and Hungary crises in 1956 and consolidated into a shared commitment to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) of the late fifties and early sixties. New Left activists attempted to create a democratic socialist politics rooted in English traditions but not bogged down by the orthodoxies of the past, a politics that acknowledged postwar economic and cultural changes. They never succeeded in creating a permanent organisation, but they created a new political space on the Left, and their project was critical to the development of radical historiography and cultural studies in Britain.¹⁰

Its main textual organ was *New Left Review*, a journal initially edited by Stuart Hall and which can be considered as one crucible for the CCCS, as the journal both held a central position within a New Left broader network while struggling with its powerful position within the New Left (was it supposed to be “just” a journal, or the central publication organ of a movement which would redefine the broader British Left?), an enduring concern during the twenty-four years of the Centre’s activities. But its lifespan and political impact was limited. As Dennis Dworkin states:

In retrospect, those who saw the New Left as an incubator of ideas had the greatest foresight. Ultimately the original New Left’s legacy was not that of a political movement in the traditional sense, but in its creation of a space for cultural politics and theory in Britain.¹¹

Dennis Dworkin’s comprehensive evaluation of British Cultural Marxism establishes a constant and fruitful renegotiation of cultural studies’ engagement with Marxism and other theoretical frameworks and contributes to a rich intellectual history of the tradition, supported by an analysis of a vast supportive publication network¹². The strength of such account also resides in the identification of historical periods and cycles taking place throughout the second half of the 20th century faced by the British intellectual left, eventually catching up with them:

¹⁰ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 45.

¹¹ Ibid. P. 78.

¹² Ibid. P. 125.

Striking similarities are apparent between the situation faced by the intellectual Left in the 1980s and that in which it found itself in the 1950s. In both decades the Left was confronted with an array of forces - a culture of consumption, a rapidly developing and changing mass media, the expansion of a world market, and new technologies – that were redefining class relationships, cultural life, and the language and substance of politics. As in the 1950s, the politics of the 1980s were dominated by a resurgent Conservative Party that defined the political agenda and consistently defeated the Labour Party in elections.¹³

This doctoral research aims at integrating such historical cycles and periods within research periods established within the CCCS's framework. Within this historiographical framework, it is possible to situate the Centre as an object embedded in politics and deeply engaging with it, in a tidal movement first fostering the opening of a space within the university to produce a new academic field aimed at "bridging the gap between theoretical and scholarly work and a wider political practice"¹⁴ and increasingly struggling with adverse forces (be they internal and external), eventually bringing the CCCS to a close. It also allows the present research to build on some already diagnosed limits of the Centre¹⁵. Nonetheless, while providing a central historiographical background for this research and focusing on defining aspects and publications of the CCCS, Dennis Dworkin's *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain*'s substantial scope and early publication date (*Cultural Marxism* was published in 1997, well before Kieran Connell's and Matthew Hilton's 50th anniversary collective volume) prevents it from developing a meticulous account of the Centre's institutional and sociological history.

In France, the work of Armand Mattelart and Érik Neveu on British cultural studies, beyond their *Introduction to Cultural Studies*,¹⁶ which provides a useful brief historical synthesis of the CCCS and cultural studies, highlights the many ways in which the history of the Centre has been reappropriated by its own successors. In *Cultural Studies' Stories, La Domestication d'une pensée sauvage?*¹⁷, they produced a historical assessment which emphasised the genealogy of cultural studies, its four

¹³ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 249.

¹⁴ Ibid. P. 261.

¹⁵ "The result [of such intellectual effervescence] was a radical intellectual culture larger than anything that had existed before, but one that systematically excluded those unschooled in its intricate and sometimes obscure philosophical language." Ibid. P. 126.

¹⁶ Mattelart, Armand, and Érik Neveu. *Introduction aux cultural studies*. 3e éd, la Découverte, 2018.

¹⁷ Mattelart, Armand, and Erik Neveu. 'Cultural studies' stories. *La domestication d'une pensée sauvage ?* Réseaux, vol. 14, no. 80, 1996, pP. 11–58. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.3406/reso.1996.3799>.

founding figures (Stuart Hall, Richard Hoggart, E. P. Thompson and Raymond Williams), the profound links uniting them to the British New Left and its publications (looser for Richard Hoggart) and to adult education. Mattelart and Neveu also underline the research liveliness and political engagement which defined the Centre, along with its heterogeneous and ideological nature in terms of theoretical backgrounds and research objects. They synthesise the CCCS's legacy thus: "The magic of the CCCS [...] lies in the fact that the Centre embodies one of those rare moments in intellectual life when the commitment of researchers is not sterilised by orthodoxy or blindness, but is based on a strong sensitivity to social issues that counteracts the ivory tower effect of the academic world."¹⁸ However, while contributing a short but accomplished historiography of the CCCS without failing to evoke some of its scientific shortcomings, Mattelart and Neveu only briefly touch upon a sociological understanding of the institutional emergence of cultural studies¹⁹. In their own words: "To recount in detail the moments, debates, confrontations and incessant shifts in method and purpose that have marked the life of the centre would require a book in itself."²⁰ This is what this dissertation offers to do.

This research is the direct descendant of previous contributions by information and communication science professor Maxime Cervulle, whose critical work, along with others'²¹, on the Centre's working practices and on Stuart Hall's more individual work as an essential intellectual contribution of the second half of the twentieth century, has provided a decisive model for the present investigation. Along with some of Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton's contributions, Maxime Cervulle's work may have the strongest links with the current research, as all three have explored and investigated, on each side of the channel, the CCCS in the most detailed way available in the current literature. Maxime Cervulle's work provides some of the most insightful accounts of the Centre's working practices, on some aspects of the CCCS's feminism²², on its members' constant search for improved theoretical frameworks, on the profound links between the place of the CCCS (as in its physical location) and the trajectories of the reflections it produced²³. It also emphasises the difficulty of circumventing too heterogeneous a vision of the Birmingham research collective, by focusing on the practical aspects of the Centre's research: "The aim is to grasp the concrete level of operation of cultural studies' critique of established methods of knowledge

¹⁸ Mattelart, Armand, and Erik Neveu. 'Cultural studies' stories. La domestication d'une pensée sauvage ?' *Réseaux*, vol. 14, no. 80, 1996, pP. 11–58. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.3406/reso.1996.3799>. P. 14.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid. P. 9.

²¹ Including Malek Bouyahia, G r me Guibert, Marc Lenormand, Laurent Martin, Nelly Quemener and Karima Ramdani (this is by no means an exhaustive list).

²² Maigret, Eric, and Laurent Martin, editors. *Les cultural studies: au-del  des politiques des identit s*. Le Bord de l'eau, 2020. P. 209-222.

²³ Bouyahia, Malek, et al. *Penser avec Stuart Hall*. la Dispute, 2021. P. 64.

production.”²⁴ This practicality is embodied by the Centre’s research staff and students and lively influenced by contradictions and conflicts. Such conflicts extended beyond the CCCS’s realm, as Maxime Cervulle highlights, the Centre’s double life led between the maelstrom of CCCS everyday practices and the external “official” figure it had to maintain in the face of its host university²⁵. The conflicts and contradictions explored by Maxime Cervulle find some of their roots in the Centre’s collective organisation²⁶ at the administrative, research and even teaching level, as this thesis continues to analyse. The CCCS’s structural trajectory is also underlined in Maxime Cervulle’s work as a treacherous ridge line, between a state of reflective ebullition on the one hand, and an institutional rigidification on the other²⁷. Nevertheless, most of Maxime Cervulle’s contributions focus on the 1960s and 1970s and have left the Centre’s 1980s and later periods aside²⁸. The present research constitutes an attempt at pursuing this work of exegesis of the CCCS in less investigated decades and in perhaps less scrutinised areas.

Finally, Éric Maigret’s monumental sociological work introducing British cultural studies to the French academic public and reflecting on its intellectual output beyond the Centre should be placed high in this thesis’s very alive pantheon. His multiple contributions have built an academic enclave in which, within French research networks, the CCCS and cultural studies are being reappraised and from which a renewed intellectual project has emerged²⁹:

The world is too violent for us not to commit ourselves body and soul, day by day, to a long-term effort of theoretical construction; the world is too complex and evolving for us to consider that a demonstration is definitive and that we should stop thinking because we believe to be right. This is why we must also give priority to collective work, as exemplified by the CCCS, without shirking our individual responsibilities, and remembering that the aim of research and political action is to make the world liveable³⁰.

To do so, Éric Maigret has assessed previous accounts of the CCCS and underlined that most criticism of the Centre fails to address³¹ its most significant contribution to

²⁴ Bouyahia, Malek, et al. *Penser avec Stuart Hall*. la Dispute, 2021. P. 65.

²⁵ Ibid. P. 76.

²⁶ Ibid. P. 75.

²⁷ Ibid. P. 84.

²⁸ Ibid. P. 72.

²⁹ Ibid. P. 223-242.

³⁰ Ibid. P. 224.

³¹ Maigret, Éric, and Éric Macé. *Penser les médiacultures : nouvelles pratiques et nouvelles approches de la représentation du monde*. le Bord de l’eau, 2020. P. 18.

academia: its indiscipline³². Replaced in the research cycle, Éric Maigret advocates for indiscipline as a cure for science infertility:

*Let's observe that indiscipline is a component of science, and only a component. There is a time for everything in research: the time for disorganised new ideas, the time for structuring them into theoretical and practical elements, and finally the time for fossilisation through sterile repetition of worn-out formulas.*³³

Such indiscipline, though temporary, seems to find a better breeding ground in horizontality³⁴, coupled with the fact of researching marginal or seemingly unimportant subjects. Here Maigret relies on his own analysis of the Centre's research objects, such as marginalised social and cultural practices, to advocate for horizontality. Beyond such claim, the present researcher believes this can also be applied to the very making of cultural studies as well, as if contamination of sorts could beneficially take place between the nature of a Centre's research objects and the political research agenda of its members to shape its working practices in a relatively democratically informed, non-hierarchical way. Horizontality and indiscipline are here seen as relevant antidotes to address the question of power in research networks, as they have been invested by CCCS members.

Still dealing with the question of power, rather than opposing cultural studies and social sciences, Éric Maigret views the former as a continuation of the latter:

*This is no longer a question of cultural studies competing with social sciences, but of cultural studies extending social sciences without replacing them. [...] What codes human relations is no longer reduced to the hardened, naturalised "social" aspect of insufficiently constructivist sociological theories [...] but is broadened to include dimensions of gender, age, religion, migration, ethnicity, regional identity, community culture and culture in general.*³⁵

Therefore Maigret sees in cultural studies a less rigid and more exhaustive way to look at social sciences: "Cultural studies is not a haphazard, whimsical, crazy outgrowth,

³² Maigret, Éric, and Éric Macé. *Penser les médiacultures : nouvelles pratiques et nouvelles approches de la représentation du monde*. le Bord de l'eau, 2020. P. 25-26.

³³ Maigret, Éric, and Éric Macé. *Penser les médiacultures : nouvelles pratiques et nouvelles approches de la représentation du monde*. le Bord de l'eau, 2020. P. 27.

³⁴ Ibid. P. 32.

³⁵ Ibid. P. 27-28.

but a decisive stage in research at a time when the disciplines established in the 19th century were running out of steam.”³⁶

But once the legitimacy of cultural studies has been established and its contribution acknowledged, how to pursue our understanding of the cultural studies legacy? When considering the research cycle going through various instances of indiscipline, stabilisation, and fossilisation, where should the limit to institutionalisation be? Maigret has no definite answer, but still argues that a push towards complete institutionalisation provides the conditions for the unmaking of cultural studies: “The cultural studies milieu will fail in its intellectual mission if it is content to reproduce academic customs of localisation and reproduction.”³⁷ The question is left open, beyond the work started by Maigret and others in building networks and providing support to newcomers in the field. The work has just begun.

The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies: an institutional and sociological history

One of the strongest trends in the existing literature about the CCCS has been to assess the work produced by the Centre and its *a posteriori* scientific validity: the vast majority of CCCS scholars focus on the *what* of cultural studies. This research, drawing on some closer works including that of Kieran Connell, Maxime Cervulle and Éric Maigret, focuses on the *how*. None of the existing accounts published so far have looked at the CCCS on the microscopic level, between 1964 and 1988, as an institution and a field in the making. This thesis attempts to do just that: to put the Centre under a lens and produce a historical and sociological account of the life of the Centre, the people it was made up of, the changes it underwent, the goals it set out for itself, and the problems it faced when trying to achieve these goals. This work also aims at tackling some periods and elements which have been little highlighted by previous accounts, including the 1980s and some aspects of power struggles within the Centre. It also sets out to evidence some policies and facets of the CCCS, which have been paramount in securing its legitimacy in the academic landscape and to safeguard its frontiers as a space in which free collective research could develop. And the question of freedom of academic practices, though always relative, is paramount in this work. Indeed, in no previous CCCS account has the emphasis been laid on the freedom experienced by those inside the Centre. Students and staff members who, once their utopian enclave³⁸ built, however fragile, could spend time discussing what they should be working on and how. They could invent and reinvent the wheel every other year, fail and improve, in constant discussion with the impact the Centre could have outside the university. By highlighting these findings, this research contributes one answer

³⁶ Maigret, Eric, and Laurent Martin, editors. *Les cultural studies: au-delà des politiques des identités*. Le Bord de l'eau, 2020. P. 276.

³⁷ *Ibid.* P. 282.

³⁸ Stuart Hall's "utopian enclave" theory is discussed in Part II. See Hall, Stuart. *The Missed Moment*. Richard Hoggart Papers, Sheffield University Library Special Collections, University of Sheffield, 1971. 4/6/16.

(there are many others) to the question of what can be achieved from the margins of the university. The following section details the theoretical framework and tools used to look at the CCCS as a research object.

C-CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Using the limits (be they conceptual, institutional, political, economic, etc.) of the Centre as a prism to analyse its historical and sociological components provides the necessary means to escape a trap easily fallen into, that of romanticisation. Researching science is indeed a double-edged sword. Several decades separate the present times from the founding moment of British cultural studies, some, if not most the actors who have been members of the Centre are still alive, and some of them are still professionally or intellectually active. This can provide a wealth of information to the researcher who seeks it. However one³⁹ should not judge and be judged, and the abundance of oral accounts surrounding the CCCS may, in their majority, paint too beautiful, idealistic or individual a picture, which would make vain any attempt at assessing the historical and sociological significance of the Centre. Nonetheless, as the period of research could not take place during the CCCS's years of activity, most of what made the process of science production has been lost (the everyday conversations, the physical organisation of the research centre, the tools used by the researchers, etc.). All that is left is therefore found in personal and institutional archives, on the one hand, and in oral accounts on the other. The pitfalls of the latter have already been explained. Those of the former are, so to speak, on the other side of the spectrum: they are lacking in themselves, as they mostly are made out of written or visual sources. They do not move, they are not alive. They do express the feelings of people and they do describe the practices of the Centre but they are only what has been consigned to paper. They are the usual sources of the historian and yet they are a filter through which the CCCS's reality must be viewed, a filter that is no less partial and biased than the oral accounts of the people who were there and now share their memories, accounts that are perhaps too alive. To describe a reality that is forever lost and to struggle to meaningfully appraise its historical and sociological implications is therefore a balancing act between three poles: the archive(s), the oral accounts, and the secondary literature published about the CCCS. To stabilise the conditions in which such exercise should take place, a set of conceptual tools shall be used belonging to the field of history and sociology of science, the most pertinent and commonly found framework when endeavouring to investigate such questions and a powerful lens to look at the Centre.

³⁹ Either myself or any actor within a field.

Scientific Revolutions and Normal Science

Thomas S. Kuhn in 1962 developed the idea of a history of science not as the accumulation of scientific discoveries but as a non-linear, discontinuous process⁴⁰ relying on normal science (“research firmly based upon one or more past scientific achievements, achievements that some particular scientific community acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundation for its further practice”⁴¹) and paradigms (“defin[ing] the legitimate problems and methods of a research field for succeeding generations of practitioners”⁴²). A paradigm includes symbolic generalisations (laws, definitions), models or images for thinking about the world, criteria for what constitutes scientific knowledge, methodological precepts, problems, instruments, and common examples; all at a partly implicit, tacit level. New paradigms, Kuhn argues, have proven more successful than competing ideas in solving the problems of a given field than older ones, and strongly influence the very field they have been set to define⁴³. Kuhn in the scientific cycle distinguishes a pre-paradigm period, “marked by frequent and deep debates over legitimate methods, problems, and standards of solution, though these serve rather to define schools than to produce agreement.”⁴⁴ The end of the cycle is also accounted for and takes the appearance of a process of retooling:

*So long as the tools a paradigm supplies continue to prove capable of solving the problems it defines, science moves fastest and penetrates most deeply through confident employment of those tools. The reason is clear. As in manufacture so in science—retooling is an extravagance to be reserved for the occasion that demands it. The significance of crises is the indication they provide that an occasion for retooling has arrived.*⁴⁵

Only specific crises will, however, lead to paradigm change: a lack of paradigm leaves elements unexplained, thus giving rise to new theories⁴⁶, inducing “significant shifts

⁴⁰ Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2. ed., Enlarged, 21. print, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994. P. 3.

⁴¹ Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2. ed., Enlarged, 21. print, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994. P.10.

⁴² “by achiev[ing] [something] sufficiently unprecedented to attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of scientific activity [and] sufficiently open-ended to leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve” Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. P. 23.

⁴⁴ Ibid. P.47.

⁴⁵ Ibid. P. 76.

⁴⁶ Ibid. P. 96.

in the criteria determining the legitimacy both of problems and of proposed solutions”⁴⁷, to the point that scientific revolutions bring about changes of world view:

*When paradigms change, the world itself changes with them. Led by a new paradigm, scientists adopt new instruments and look in new places. Even more important, during revolutions scientists see new and different things when looking with familiar instruments in places they have looked before. [...] Nevertheless, paradigm changes do cause scientists to see the world of their research-engagement differently. In so far as their only recourse to that world is through what they see and do, we may want to say that after a revolution scientists are responding to a different world.*⁴⁸

For that new world view to be accepted, conflict nonetheless has to be resolved. First by founding a new paradigm, by relying on older paradigms, borrowing from them in untraditional ways⁴⁹ and by undergoing a process of conversion to a “new and more rigid definition of the field⁵⁰”, in the hope for the scientific community facing such a revolution to communicate fully⁵¹.

Kuhn’s framework allows us to view the Centre in terms of normal science and paradigm. For Hall and Hoggart, the answers provided by research (or rather lack thereof) regarding emerging cultural practices in Britain were insufficient and such themes needed to be addressed, as they were viewed as academically and politically meaningful. Both coming from the field of English literature, the two scholars initially used the tools available to them, originating in the literary field, and eventually turned to social sciences. After a time, these theoretical frameworks became relatively stabilised so as to introduce a new paradigm, that of cultural studies, shared by a sufficient number of actors in the field and producing its own newly formed normal science and applying research methods to provide answers in the field. It is therefore possible to look at the Centre in terms of prompting a scientific revolution and breaking away from English literature to provide new research problems to be solved. However, while Kuhn provided such useful concepts as normal science and scientific revolution widely used in the literature and meaningful to this research, other frameworks are needed to explore the complexity of the CCCS’s trajectory.

⁴⁷ Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2. ed., Enlarged, 21. print, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994. P. 109.

⁴⁸ Ibid. P. 111.

⁴⁹ Ibid. P. 149.

⁵⁰ Ibid. P. 18.

⁵¹ Ibid. P. 150.

Fields, Capital and Habitus

When dealing with the science of science, one unavoidably stumbles upon Pierre Bourdieu, who himself quotes the work of Thomas Kuhn. In Bourdieu's eyes, the limits of Kuhn's work resides in the fact that Kuhn views scientific revolutions according to the logic of exhaustion (there is "no more science" to be discovered and scientists must move on to the next paradigm), Bourdieu views the logic of the scientific field as a field of struggle, not exhaustion. Indeed Bourdieu has written extensively on the science of science and the specificities of the scientific field, thus providing a cogent, while rigid framework to analyse the CCCS. In a 1976 article, he laid the groundwork for his reflections, which would be furthered in his 1984 *Homo academicus* and reach their conclusions in a series of lectures at the Collège de France in 2000-2001, a few months before his death (and published as a book titled *Science of Science and Reflexivity*). In these three interventions, he developed canonical concepts for the study of science in the making.

Fields, autonomy

The first of such concepts is that of the scientific field:

The scientific field [...] is the site (i.e. the playing field) of a competitive struggle whose specific stake is the monopoly of scientific authority [...], the monopoly of scientific competence, understood in the sense of the capacity to speak and act legitimately (i.e. authoritatively and with authority) in matters of science, which is socially recognised in a given agent.⁵²

Where Kuhn saw scientific cycles (alternating between normal science and scientific revolutions) as following an immanent logic of exhaustion (when the paradigm no longer explains the main problems a given science has set to resolve, scientific revolutions take over and new paradigms appear), Bourdieu believes that agents in the fields (which he calls "investors") are rather moved by the prospect of the profits they can gain in their field and their will to fight it out⁵³. To analyse the scientific field, Bourdieu argues that one must acknowledge the intertwining of so-called scientific and sociological factors in this search for "a political investment strategy at least objectively oriented towards maximising scientific profit, i.e. the recognition that can be obtained from peer competitors⁵⁴". The concept of field therefore breaks with the

⁵² Bourdieu, Pierre. 'Le champ scientifique'. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1976, pP. 88–104. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1976.3454>. P. 1.

⁵³ Ibid. P. 2.

⁵⁴ Ibid. P.3.

idea that scientists form a homogeneous, unified group⁵⁵. The object of such a struggle is dual: “the scientific field, like other fields, is a field of forces with a structure, and also a field of struggles to preserve or transform this field of forces.”⁵⁶

The scientific field and its subcomponents are relatively autonomous structures, through the founding of disciplines:

*The resulting process of empowerment also takes place in the objectivity of the social world, notably through the creation of those quite extraordinary realities (we do not see them because we're used to them) that are disciplines. The gradual institutionalisation within the university of these relatively autonomous universes is the product of independence struggles aimed at imposing the existence of new entities and the boundaries intended to delimit and protect them (boundary struggles often have at stake the monopoly of a name, with all kinds of consequences: budget lines, posts, credits, etc.).*⁵⁷

Bourdieu uses his own discipline, sociology, as an example, a discipline whose trajectory in the scientific field allows us to draw fruitful comparisons with that of cultural studies:

*Thus, sociology, which could only find a place in the faculties of letters within the framework of a certificate of the philosophy degree (the certificate of moral and sociology) and whose teaching body was not distinguished from that of philosophy, either by its recruitment or by the style of its research, gained independence in 1958 with the creation of the sociology degree, at the very moment when the largest cohorts of students were entering the faculties.*⁵⁸

It follows that, inside the realm of disciplines, the laboratory itself plays an important role in a given field:

The laboratory itself is a field (a subfield) which, while defined by a specific position within the structure of the disciplinary field as a whole, enjoys relative autonomy in relation to the constraints associated with this position. As a specific playing field, it helps to determine the

⁵⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 91.

⁵⁶ Ibid. P. 69.

⁵⁷ Ibid. P. 96.

⁵⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 180.

*strategies of agents, i.e. the possibilities and impossibilities available to them.*⁵⁹

Within this framework, the CCCS is envisaged as the birthplace of a subfield, struggling for independence. Bourdieu adds that such struggles within each field or subfield therefore seem to evolve from a violent formation, a big bang moment (as evidenced by Kuhn's scientific revolution model: new paradigms emerging from scientific disagreement, in short, chaos and density of matter) to the logic of tectonic plates: "The more autonomous a science is, the more [...] it tends to be the site of a genuine permanent revolution, but one that is increasingly devoid of political or religious implications."⁶⁰ The field or subfield, when sufficiently autonomous, regulates itself without seemingly endangering its existence and can survive minor or "ordered revolutions."⁶¹ The more autonomous a field or subfield, the less linked to personal or local contexts it becomes. Autonomy from other fields and internal dependence on certain individuals provide a beneficial set of criteria to assess the various periods in the CCCS's history.

Capital(s) & hierarchy

To understand the logic at play within a field and the ways struggles are played out by each agent to gain profit, the focus must be laid on a specific type of capital:

*Scientific capital is a particular kind of symbolic capital, based on knowledge and recognition. A power that functions as a form of credit, it presupposes the trust or belief of those who are subject to it, because they are willing (by virtue of their training and the very fact of belonging to the field) to grant credit, belief and recognition.*⁶²

Symbolic capital is a set of distinct properties which only agents with adequate perceptions can recognise in other agents. In Bourdieu's words:

I call symbolic capital any kind of capital (economic, cultural, educational or social) when it is perceived according to categories of perception, principles of vision and division, systems of classification, [...] which are, at least in part, the product of the incorporation [by

⁵⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 74.

⁶⁰ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 169-170.

⁶¹ Ibid. P. 169-170.

⁶² Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 70.

*agents] of the [...] structure of the distribution of capital in the field under consideration.*⁶³

Scientific capital is a protean form of capital, following varied principles such as age and reputation. Beyond personal characteristics scientific capital is also divided into two subtypes of capital: “University-based power is primarily founded on control over the means of reproducing the teaching body. Opposed to this socially codified power is a set of different types of power [...]: scientific power or authority.”⁶⁴ The first of these subtypes of capital in currency in the scientific field (university-based power) is also called temporal capital: “Temporal capital is more closely linked to national bodies, to temporally dominant institutions, such as academies, and dependent on temporal authorities, whether economic or political.”⁶⁵ At the other end of the spectrum lies a subtype of capital linked to the production of scientific discourse, which holds the keys to the field’s scientific universalisation and internationalisation. Such universalisation, according to Bourdieu, can become a counter-power against university-based power in times of struggle: “In fact, the international sphere is a means of recourse against national temporal powers, especially in situations of limited autonomy.”⁶⁶ The distribution of these two subtypes of capital, among agents in a given field, follows a law described by Bourdieu:

*It follows that, the more autonomous a field, the more the hierarchy according to the distribution of scientific capital becomes differentiated, until it takes on an inverse form to the hierarchy according to temporal capital (in certain cases, such as the faculties of arts and humanities that I was able to study in Homo academicus (1984), we have a chiasmatic structure, with the distribution of temporal powers having an inverse form to the distribution of specific, proper scientific power).*⁶⁷

In short, the more university-based or temporal power an agent enjoys, the less scientific capital he or she has, and vice versa. In addition, as the accumulation of scientific capital is extremely constrained, actors in the scientific field have no other clients than their very potential competitors in the never-ending struggle to impose one’s own definition of what science actually is, which brings about the notion of hierarchy. Within the scientific field exists a hierarchy of scientific subfields or disciplines which “strongly influence practices [...] and, within each of them, a social

⁶³ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Raisons pratiques*, Seuil, 1994, P.161.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 106.

⁶⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d’agir, 2007. Ibid. P. 150.

⁶⁶ Ibid. P. 150.

⁶⁷ Ibid. P. 114.

hierarchy of objects and methods of treatment.”⁶⁸ Other levels of hierarchies also exist within the CCCS and are explored in this work, particularly as the Centre’s horizontal working practices we built against the shortcomings of hierarchical structures.

Here one problem, already mentioned above, arises once more: “No one is a good judge because there is no judge who is both judge and party.”⁶⁹ Furthermore, this position, as both judge and party, and its nefarious consequences on the field, are reinforced by the legitimisation processes undergone by actors in the field, which rely on the force of the groups which interests they embody. In clear, the stronger a field gets, the more its agents will be inclined to view their own actions and discourse in a positive light, as it will contribute to the field’s (and agents) dominant position. Bourdieu views this “Being a judge and being judged” as one of the limits of the scientific field, where actors fight over the lion’s share of scientific capital, independently from other fields, as scientists alone are able to discern the value of their own production. This question of scientific self-evaluation or self-assessment and self-writing is at the heart of the CCCS’s early years and remained an important aspect of the emerging field of cultural studies. However, this seemingly never-ending competition among a decreasing number of relevant actors in each field or subfield seems to be key to ensure the full force of scientific critique:

*For me, the fact that producers tend to have only their most rigorous and vigorous, most competent and most critical competitors as customers, and therefore those most inclined and most able to give their criticism its full force is the Archimedean point on which we can base a scientific justification of scientific reason, to wrest scientific reason from relativistic reduction and explain that science can constantly advance towards greater rationality.*⁷⁰

Capital and its accumulation in a given field are therefore key to understanding the founding of the CCCS, the successful resistance it led against its adversaries and the building of cultural studies networks in academia, prompted by institutional elements, including the creation of cultural studies degrees in other institutions in the country and the appointment to academic posts of former Centre members.

⁶⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre. ‘Le champ scientifique’. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1976, pP. 88–104. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1976.3454>. P.7.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du College de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d’agir, 2007. P. 108.

Strategies and habitus

Scientific capital, although constrained by the overall number of agents around whom it circulates, can be accumulated, passed on or converted under certain conditions.⁷¹ Within each field, subfield or discipline or laboratory, the struggle to reach a dominant position implies navigating a space in which capital is unevenly distributed between dominant and dominated players (on a spectrum varying from an almost complete monopoly of scientific capital detained by a minority of actors and an almost equal competition between players).⁷² Each group (dominant and dominated) makes use of antagonistic strategies (conservation strategies for the former, and subversion strategies for the latter).⁷³ Conservation or succession-based strategies play into a process of institutionalisation relying on the educational system and scientific journals⁷⁴, and on a shared system of beliefs.⁷⁵ On the other hand, the more marginal the actors, the more likely they are to adopt subversive strategies instead of conservation approaches, leading to:

*Infinitely more costly and risky investments, which can only guarantee the profits promised to the holders of the monopoly of scientific legitimacy at the cost of a complete redefinition of the principles legitimising domination: new entrants who refuse to follow the established career path can only 'beat the dominant ones at their own game' if they commit to additional scientific investment, without being able to expect significant profits, at least in the short term, since they are up against the entire logic of the system.*⁷⁶

Doing so, the founders of “a heretical scientific order”⁷⁷ violently break the accepted cycle of exchange of recognition or peer validation and divert scientific capital away from its usual course to become sometimes only temporarily what Bourdieu calls “consecrated heretics”. One potent strategy to divert entering actors from seeking to attempt such a “coup” consists of granting them administrative responsibilities, making them all the more likely to be absorbed by their tasks and less likely to think

⁷¹ Bourdieu, Pierre. ‘Le champ scientifique’. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1976, pP. 88–104. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1976.3454>. P. 30

⁷² Ibid. P. 13.

⁷³ Ibid. P.13.

⁷⁴ Ibid. P.20.

⁷⁵ Ibid. P. 46.

⁷⁶ Ibid. P. 20

⁷⁷ Ibid. P. 21.

about revolution.⁷⁸ It also provides agents a more powerful position in their own field and in the university hierarchy as a whole, which makes it all the harder to leave the recently acquired pedestal. One may think of Richard Hoggart, who during the 1968 sit-in at the University of Birmingham found himself in a difficult position as a senior member of staff when faced with the fact that his own CCCS students would be the driving force behind the student unrest. But when a revolution does take place, what makes entering actors adhere to the process? Bourdieu argues that scientific revolutions are the stuff of agents with the most accumulated scientific capital among those entering the field in a dominated position. Indeed as scientific resources expand, the knowledge required to command them expands as well along with the field's entrance fee, which is the set of conditions for access to the field and agents' knowledge of the field. Such subversive processes are more represented in new disciplines⁷⁹, and tend to rely on very few agents' accumulated capital:

[Such agents] have a reputation that, for at least some of them, far exceeds the boundaries of the academic field [...] These 'masters', whose names, at least for those who establish schools, are associated with concepts ending in -ism, have rather students or disciples than clients, although symbolic capital tends to be accompanied, at least in some cases, by a certain social power.⁸⁰

Here a clear connection can be made to the status enjoyed by both Richard Hoggart, as the famous author of *The Uses of Literacy*, and Stuart Hall, as a prominent member of the British New Left, who would indeed become associated with concepts ending in -ism (such as Thatcherism).⁸¹ Bourdieu provides the example of the EHESS as a school of consecrated heretics:

The first 'laboratories' of social sciences [...] were not created at the CNRS, nor at the Sorbonne or the Collège de France, but at the École des Hautes Études, which gradually equipped itself with collective working tools, documentation centres, libraries, mapping laboratories, computing centres, etc., and a set of publishing resources (seventeen journals were launched between 1955 and 1970). One of the most important factors in this development, which made this institution the quintessential site of innovation in the social sciences, both in research and in research pedagogy, is undoubtedly a policy of risky investments based, first, on the assertion and rational exploitation of the

⁷⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre. 'Le champ scientifique'. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1976, pP. 88–104. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1976.3454>. P.21.

⁷⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 140.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Thatcherism, a term he was one of the firsts to coin in 1979 shortly before Margaret Thatcher's successful election in May.

*institution's marginality—with, for example, the aim of doing what was not done elsewhere, welcoming ignored and forgotten disciplines, and seeking out future researchers; secondly, on the creation, exceptional in France, of a true institutional patriotism; and finally, and above all, on the openness to foreign influences.*⁸²

The strategies developed by the EHESS described here are intrinsically close to those implemented by the CCCS, as the thesis's development will show. Furthermore, the transfer of capital from one discipline to another is used as an example by Bourdieu to illustrate subversive strategies:

*When representatives of a dominant discipline (philosophy, in the case of Fechner or Durkheim) move into a dominated discipline (psychology or sociology), resulting in a loss of capital for them, forcing them, as it were, to recover their investments and restore their threatened capital, to enhance the invaded discipline by importing the achievements of the imported discipline.*⁸³

The same can be said about English literature, a dominant and revered discipline (the University of Birmingham's English Department was also the home of the Shakespeare Institute at the time of the CCCS's founding), compared to the marginalised and ill-respected prospects of the CCCS during the first years of its existence. This process of enhancement can be evidenced, for instance, by the strong use of literary criticism methods between 1964 and 1968 referred to as “reading for tone, and “reading for value” in a given literary text. This process, Bourdieu argues, can lead to a sizeable scientific shift:

*If I found it important to introduce the discipline, it is because disciplinary struggles can be a factor of scientific change through a whole series of effects. I will mention just one example, described by Ben-David and Collins in a classic article regarding what has been called 'hybridisation': hybridisation, that is to say, the act of 'adjusting the methods and techniques of an old role to the materials of a new role, with the deliberate intention of creating a new role', occurs when field A (physiology) offers competitive advantages over field B (philosophy) and has a status that is inferior to it (Ben-David and Collins, 1997).*⁸⁴

⁸² Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 145.

⁸³ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 134.

⁸⁴ Ibid. P. 133.

The same process took place when the Centre used methods and techniques belonging to existing fields, adapted them and applied them to their own research objects.

Beyond the notion of capital, it is important to analyse the scientific field as a space of positions in which actors continually evolve, determined by the capital owned by agents: “The space of positions, when perceived by an adapted habitus (competent, endowed with a sense of play), functions as a space of possibilities, of possible ways of doing science, between which there is a need to choose.”⁸⁵ It can lead to self-censorship, or to self-realisation. However movement within a field can prompt resistance, as new scientific discourse can discredit previous scientific productions: “A great scientific innovation can destroy heaps of research and researchers as if by accident and without the slightest intention to harm [...] It is easy to understand why innovations are not welcomed, and why they arouse formidable resistance.”⁸⁶ All the more so when revolutionaries “transform the game” by setting up new degrees and waging war on higher education soil. Again this process can be used to describe elements of the Centre’s trajectory: Stuart Hall and Richard Hoggart both took advantage of their own position to establish cultural studies in 1964 and to further it in 1968 to do science with a specific agenda in mind. They were met with heavy resistance expressed by different actors: the English department colleagues not taking the CCCS seriously and openly criticising it, other disciplines warning that the Centre’s proposal was void of any scientific project and discouraging Hall and Hoggart from using sociology. Eventually new cultural degrees were created in the 1970s, attracting students away from traditional disciplines.

No movement within a field brings about as much conflict as inaugural revolutions, opening new domains of objectivity and redefining the frontiers of fields and subfields. Richard Hoggart’s inaugural lecture in 1962 after his appointment in the English department of the University of Birmingham can be seen here as the programme for an inaugural revolution in itself, as he advocated for no less than a complete change of scope for the study of English as an existing discipline.

Here the introduction of another Bourdieusian concept is needed, that of the scientific habitus, on the basis of agents’ practices in the field and expressed through generative dispositions, most of them unconscious and seldom clarified. Bourdieu quotes sociologist Bernard Lahire to describe the concept:

We are dealing with “patterns of action, ways of doing, thinking, feeling and saying that are adapted (and sometimes limited) to specific social contexts. [Subjects] internalise modes of action, interaction, reaction, appreciation, orientation, perception, categorisation, etc., by gradually

⁸⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d’agir, 2007. P. 119.

⁸⁶ Ibid. P. 124.

*entering into interdependent social relations with other actors, or by maintaining, through the mediation of other actors, relations with multiple objects whose use(s) and mode(s) of appropriation they learn.*⁸⁷

Within the scientific field, actors are made up of both a disciplinary and a specific habitus, balanced between school experience and social background. For certain agents, this habitus can be cleaved between one's professional environment and one's social background⁸⁸, at the source of ambivalence and tensions in relation to an individual's relationship to academic institutions. To a certain extent, it is possible to draw a parallel between Bourdieu's own trajectory and that of Hall and Hoggart, as both, like Bourdieu, come from the margins of British society: Hoggart as a working-class, grammar schoolboy and Hall as a Jamaican Rhodes scholar. However, both men thrived in academia and lived through these contradictions of being part of academia without coming from a traditionally privileged intellectual background, which made them more likely to fight for and implement pioneering and marginal research practices, and more especially so when student unrest shook the Birmingham University campus in 1968, bringing politics, literally, into the classroom.

A Moment of Crisis: May 68,

1968 as a political moment, crystallises many important aspects of the early CCCS years, and for this a Bourdieusian framework provides essential tools to look beyond the myth of 68. In *Homo academicus* Bourdieu focused on the significance of the 1968 crisis in the scientific field: "The 68 movement brought to the very privileged terrain of the University a contestation likely to call into question the deepest and most profoundly undisputed principles on which the University rested, starting with the authority of science."⁸⁹ The origin of such contestation is to be found, according to Bourdieu, in the most mundane of events:

⁸⁷ Bernard Lahire, *L'homme pluriel. Les ressorts de l'action*, Paris, Nathan, 1998, P. 204.

⁸⁸ [Referring to his own case] I'd like to come quickly to what appears to me today, in the state of my reflexive effort, to be the essential point, the fact that the contradictory coincidence of election to the academic aristocracy and a popular and provincial (I'd like to say: particularly provincial) origin was at the root of the constitution of a cleaved habitus generating all kinds of contradictions and tensions. [...] On the one hand, a reticent disposition, particularly towards the school system, an Alma mater with two contrasting faces which, no doubt because it was the object of excessive oblate attachment, is the object of a violent and constant revolt based on debt and disappointment. On the other, the height, assurance and even arrogance of the "over-selected", inclined to see himself as a miraculous son of his works, capable of rising to any challenge" Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 214-215.

⁸⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 141.

*The sudden and rapid increase in the student population resulting from the conjunction of the rising fertility rate in the postwar years and the general growth in enrolment rates led, around the 1960s, to a significant increase in the teaching staff. [...] The most direct consequence of this process was a significant increase in the number of positions offered in faculties and, at least for certain categories of teachers, an acceleration of careers.*⁹⁰

In Britain, 1968 is to be linked with the same demographic boom occurring on the other side of the channel, and on a set of legislation which provided increased access to education at the end of WWII. Such broadened access was most famously represented by the 1944 Education Act, making secondary education free and mandatory and implementing a system of local grants, and the 1964 Robbins Report, which provisioned that “Higher education should be available to all those who are qualified by ability and by attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so”. The report recommended that the number of higher education students should close to double within the next decade. Twenty years apart, these two texts contributed to the morphological modification Bourdieu described in the British context, of the academic field, and altered its balance of power. Bourdieu views may 68 as a crisis of reproduction in the scientific field linked to the massification of higher education, as of all teachers who had got new positions faster than usual (as increasing numbers of university teachers were needed to account for new student cohorts) not all of them would eventually access the coveted rank of professor⁹¹. Bourdieu describes the main consequence of such a crisis as questioning the very hierarchies academia was until then founded on, making clear that students and younger members of the teaching staff were closer in status than they were to university professors. In Birmingham the mobilisation opened a rift which, once open, could hardly be entirely closed: students demanded more representation in university governing bodies. And while the campus revolution may not have been complete (as students’ demands were met with minimum accommodation by the administration), the influence of the May 68 events expanded well beyond the scope of the Birmingham week-long sit-in:

*What is likely the most important and lasting effect of the crisis [is] the symbolic revolution, a profound transformation of modes of thought and life, and more specifically, of the entire symbolic dimension of everyday existence. Functioning as a sort of collective ritual of breaking with routines and ordinary attachments, [...] it changes the way agents ordinarily view the symbolism of social relations, especially hierarchies.*⁹²

⁹⁰ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 171.

⁹¹ Ibid. P.225

⁹² Ibid. P. 29.

For the CCCS, this unforeseeable event represented the founding moment onto which the Centre's second period would build its distinct political organisation: when politics slammed the doors of the university open, as Richard Hoggart drifted away (ill-at-ease with the direct action component of 1968 politics), Stuart Hall (whose earlier political career within the British New Left and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament made him better predisposed towards such developments) left these doors open and integrated elements of political and militant organisation into the research Centre, including but not limited to the formation of independent, student-led research groups, a weekly general meeting, horizontal working practices, and the possibility for students to express themselves freely through the use of a Gestetner machine, producing writings considered equal in form to those stencilled by himself. Using Bourdieu's lens to analyse the 1968 moment as a crisis of reproduction in the scientific field allows us to explore the ways in which this symbolic revolution shaped the CCCS and was played out within its walls, as in 1968 the Centre mutated to integrate a more overt political gene into its DNA.

The individual vs. the collective: towards a politically driven intellectual project?

The conjunction of the CCCS's founding years, the massification of higher education and the worldwide May 68 moment has enabled the pursuit of the Centre's collective scientific projects. To illustrate how scientific projects can come into being, Bourdieu uses an example outside the realm of social science to evidence the early steps which a scientific group may undertake to establish a pioneering research project leading to the founding of a discipline around one central figure:

In short, success is marked by the routinisation of charisma. As we can see, the rise and fall of a discipline can only be understood if both its intellectual and social history are taken into account, from the social characteristics of the leader and his or her initial entourage to the collective properties of the group, such as its social appeal and ability to attract students.⁹³

Here the figure of Richard Hoggart, but perhaps more especially that of Stuart Hall, can be analysed, as he was the central figure for the Centre after 1968. As the CCCS's acting and then full director, he is also a personality mentioned in all the interviews conducted for this work, to the point where respondents would sometimes volunteer positive information about Hall. One of the Centre's aspects tackled in this study will be to analyse the centrality of Hall to the project of British cultural studies, and to ponder over the intellectual weight (both positive and negative) he carried on the structure. Such personal weight takes on a particular signification in light of the

⁹³ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 134-136.

political nature of the Centre's project. To deal with such a cocktail mixing the academic, the intellectual and the political, Bourdieu's project is enlightening: "my project had a specific political intention: it was a question of creating a realistic third way [in sociology], capable of leading to a new way of doing social science (from this perspective, translation policy was a key element)⁹⁴". This heretic project resembles that of the CCCS, which also relied on newly translated texts and fought to establish an academic space for contemporary culture to be considered as the crossroads of disciplines. But, as Bourdieu recalls, this was no easy task⁹⁵, and the difficulties faced to "make school" as well as the role played by scientific publications to contribute to the strengthening of an emerging subfield will be explored at length in this work.

In this subsection the importance of Bourdieu's framework when dealing with academia as a field has been highlighted. Indeed, Bourdieu provides an extensive set of theoretical tools to analyse the main movements within the CCCS's history, and many systemic parallels can be drawn between French and British academia, as well as, interestingly, between cultural studies and sociology. But still more precise tools are needed to account for the microscopic level of CCCS-ness. To continue to dive into what made the Centre, it is necessary to turn to Bruno Latour, as his work provides more meticulous tools to account for the informal nature of science making and contributes different answers to Bourdieu's conclusions on the reasons why scientists toil their lives away in the pursuit of research.

The production of scientific facts

For an ethnography of science

Bruno Latour established a methodological framework for the ethnography of science and the sociologist's position as a scientist of science in his 1979 *Laboratory Life*, written with British sociologist Steeve Woolgar. The main components of such a framework are detailed in this subsection.

With Bourdieu, Latour and Woolgar agree that setting out the task of studying sciences in the rough, as they are being envisaged and fought for, justifies all the more the need to associate the social context in which science is forged with the scientific environment being studied by emerging sciences (the new science's object). Drawing

⁹⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 200.

⁹⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 211.

on British sociologist David Bloor's strong program of the sociology of scientific knowledge⁹⁶, Latour and Woolgar asserted that:

*The strong program demanded that we invest in the fortress, the hard core, the holy of holies, the contents - whatever the metaphor. According to him, no study could bear the name of sociology or the history of science if it did not take into account both the social context and the scientific content, even in the theoretical sciences, even in mathematics.*⁹⁷

The present study situates itself in this tradition. From this program arises the obligation to doubt not only the accounts made by scientists, to doubt their language and the representation they give of their work, but also to distrust sociologists working on these very scientists, which can prove a rather difficult task⁹⁸. Doubting everything, no less!⁹⁹ And using symmetry as a guiding principle: "Not only must we treat the winners and losers in the history of science on the same terms, we must also treat nature and society on the same terms. We cannot believe in the former in order to better explain the latter"¹⁰⁰: This proves especially difficult when dealing with academics and former academics being questioned about their own careers, and when receiving individual accounts shedding light on an event in a particular way. But this guiding principle has proven especially useful when uncovering less tackled aspects of the Centre.

Such constant doubt and distrust extend to the necessity to avoid using scientists' own language. Latour and Woolgar bring about this refrain: "Do what you like, but don't let their language be your metalanguage."¹⁰¹ The goal, beautifully evidenced, is the following: "We need to be able to get through the ordered discourse of scholars to the messy but interesting practices and discourses of researchers."¹⁰² This translates into the need for the researcher investigating science and scientists to create and use her or his own language and categories. In reflexivity, Latour and Woolgar find the same source of salvation as Pierre Bourdieu:

⁹⁶ Presented in his seminal 1976 work *Knowledge and Social Imagery*. Bloor, David. Knowledge and Social Imagery. 2nd ed, University of Chicago press, 1991.

⁹⁷ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 20.

⁹⁸ Ibid. P. 18-19.

⁹⁹ Perhaps even cultural studies.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 20-21.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. P. 25.

¹⁰² Ibid. P. 26.

For us, who seek only the materials of this [scientific] construction and the nature of these narratives, we consider ourselves on an equal footing with those we study. They tell, we tell; they experience, we experience; they build, we build. The differences will come later. So we will be just as attentive to the elaboration of our own narratives as we are to those of scholars.¹⁰³

This *a posteriori* work of dissociation is essential to produce an account able to challenge narratives and look at what is being said between the lines.

Observing a lab

This search for symmetry, based on constant scepticism of what is observed and what is being told to the researcher, is inherently linked to her or his own position, which should be not too close, but not too far:

In practice, observers steer a middle path between the two extreme roles of total newcomer (an unattainable ideal) and that of complete participant (who in going native is unable usefully to communicate to his community of fellow observers). [...] Their problem is to select a principle of organisation which will enable them to provide an account of the laboratory sufficiently distinct from those given by scientists themselves and yet of sufficient interest to both scientists and readers not familiar with [a given discipline]. In short, the observer's principle of organisation should provide an Ariadne's thread in a labyrinth of seeming chaos and confusion¹⁰⁴.

This median position applies to observations and discourse, being told, or written. Indeed Latour and Woolgar establish that science heavily relies on “literary inscription”. Indeed, “The production of papers is acknowledged by participants as the main objective of their activity.”¹⁰⁵ Such facts produced by laboratories, the product of scientific work, are the result of the amalgamation of two types of literature, “being juxtaposed: one type is printed and published outside the laboratory; the other type comprises documents produced within the laboratory.”¹⁰⁶ Such written accounts are to be found in the CCCS's archive, in former CCCS members' personal possessions and

¹⁰³ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 28.

¹⁰⁴ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 44.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. P. 71-72.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. P. 47.

in the scientific literature, which are described in detail in section IV, subsection 2, “Sources and methods”.

Latour and Woolgar highlight devices at the heart of this production process, inscription devices:

*A number of other items of apparatus [...] transform pieces of matter into written documents. More exactly, an inscription device is any item of apparatus or particular configuration of such items which can transform a material substance into a figure or diagram which is directly usable by one of the members of the office space. As we shall see later, the particular arrangement of apparatus can have a vital significance for the production of a useful inscription. An important consequence of this notion of inscription devices is that inscriptions are regarded as having a direct relationship to "the original substance".*¹⁰⁷

In the case of the Centre, the main inscription device that will be dealt with is the Gestetner machine and the stencil machine, which gave their names to one of the CCCS's publication formats, the stencilled occasional papers. Inscription devices are especially useful when thinking about the Centre's in-house publication policy, which provided that both staff and students could publish material equally. Furthermore, both accomplished and work in progress writings could be published by Centre members to fulfil different publication goals (work in progress for quick and cheap circulation, accomplished work for more official formats).

Forged in existing and emerging literature, scientists strive to have these literary inscriptions be granted the status of undisputed facts, so as to become consecrated as what Latour and Woolgar refer to as “scriptures”:

*To the extent that such literature represents the scriptures [...] from which participants take the sense of their activities, we can only begin to understand what the literature is about by close inspection of the mythology which informs their activities. Our use of the term mythology is not intended pejoratively. Rather, it refers to a broad frame of reference within which can be situated the activities and practices of a particular culture (Barthes, 1957).*¹⁰⁸

Drawing on their own observation of a neurobiology laboratory, Latour and Woolgar conclude: “Neuroendocrinology seemed to have all the attributes of a mythology: it

¹⁰⁷ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 51.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. P. 54.

had had its precursors, its mythical founders, and its revolutions.”¹⁰⁹ The same goes for the CCCS: it has its precursors, the “culture and society” tradition embodied by Matthew Arnold, Thomas Carlyle, Samuel Coleridge, T. S. Eliot, F. R. Leavis, William Morris, George Orwell and John Ruskin¹¹⁰. It has its mythical founders¹¹¹: Stuart Hall, Richard Hoggart, E. P. Thompson and Raymon Williams; and it has even had its theoretical revolutions, embodied by the rise of feminism and race as a research object at the Centre at the end of the 1970s.

However, one stark contrast with cultural studies in Latour and Woolgar’s work is the fact that “after his first few days in the setting, our observer was no longer told about neuroendocrinology.”¹¹² Indeed, through its twenty-four years of activity as the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, the very research object of cultural studies never ceased to be the subject of discussion, controversy and even conflict. But Latour and Woolgar stress that the setting they were witnessing did not go through a scientific revolution, whereas Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall’s founding of the CCCS is envisaged here as an inaugural revolution, the founding of a new discipline, however unruly.

The material specific configuration of inscription devices, technicians and scientists is, as observed by the two sociologists, “specifically tailored for a particular task”¹¹³ and therefore has a crucial impact on the production of scientific facts of one particular laboratory or research centre. Such production can rely on powerful tools: “By borrowing well-established knowledge, and by incorporating it into pieces of furniture or in routine operational sequences, the laboratory can harness the enormous power of tens of other fields for its own purposes.”¹¹⁴ What Latour and Woolgar stress is the quasi-immediate disappearance of the time and means of production involved in the publication of a scientific statement¹¹⁵: the process’s materiality vanishes at the profit of elements of the mind: ideas, theories and reasons, to the extent that “[...] inscription devices thus appear to be valued on the basis of the extent to which they facilitate a swift transition from craft work to ideas.”¹¹⁶ As if science were the pure product of the mind. Indeed, the scientists observed by Latour and Woolgar rejected this perception

¹⁰⁹ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 54.

¹¹⁰ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 80.

¹¹¹ Whose mythical status must be studied, interrogated and deconstructed.

¹¹² Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 55.

¹¹³ Ibid. P. 65.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. P. 65.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. P. 69.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. P. 69.

of their work as being constructed: “ [...] they claimed merely to be scientists discovering facts.”¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the process of converting a scientific statement into an undisputed fact relies on inscription devices as well as on scientists’ persuasion skills:

*[This skill] enables them to convince others that what they do is important, that what they say is true, and that their proposals are worth funding. They are so skilful, indeed, that they manage to convince others not that they are being convinced but that they are simply following a consistent line of interpretation of available evidence.*¹¹⁸

In the case of the Centre, this evolving campaigning work to convince other academics of the legitimacy of cultural studies will be explored during its three decades of activity, granting cultural studies the status of discipline with the power to establish facts.

Welcome to the fact factory

Here we get to the heart of what Latour and Woolgar view as the core of scientists’ activity: fact production, which eventually erases the historical nature of facts:

*A fact only becomes such when it loses all temporal qualifications and becomes incorporated into a large body of knowledge drawn upon by others. Consequently, there is an essential difficulty associated with writing the history of a fact: it has, by definition, lost all historical references.*¹¹⁹

The role of the historian seeking to uncover the history of facts in the making is therefore far from a descriptive one:

In one sense, historical accounts are necessarily literary fictions [...]. Historians, as portrayed in historical texts, can move freely in the past, possess knowledge of the future, have the ability to survey settings in which they are not (and never will be) involved, have access to actors’ motives, and (rather like God) are all-knowing and all-seeing, able to

¹¹⁷ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 88

¹¹⁸ Ibid. P. 69-70.

¹¹⁹ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 106.

*judge what is good and bad. They can produce histories in which one thing is the "sign" of another and in which disciplines and ideas "burgeon," "mature", or "lie fallow."*¹²⁰

A work of deconstruction is then necessary to uncover the process through which scientific facts are produced and disciplines established. First, facts are only relevant within relevant networks: "If we define a network as a set of positions within which an object [...] has meaning, it is clear that the facticity of an object is relative only to a particular network or networks."¹²¹ These networks are made out of insiders (the scientists working in the laboratory) and outsiders (other scientists who rely on the laboratory work to pursue their own research), for whom a given research object, even when representing a life's commitment¹²², can assume different meanings, relying on the very facts produced by different actors involved. This is especially true of early cultural studies, as its nature was heavily criticised by outsiders and continuously debated by insiders, and the study of these networks will shape the outline of this work.

To produce facts, scientists must be in a position of quasi-monopoly of means (inscription devices, described above), resources and control over the very nature of the object investigated. This is why new facts can become entangled with changes in discipline or subdiscipline, as scientists invest energy in adapting the way a fact is established. Therefore, scientists, through their investment, allow facts to be substantiated, to become real (*prendre corps*¹²³) and create new objects of study by relying on existing neighbouring fields. Such new statements, before acquiring the status of fact, need to be proven right against other scientists' work, and the amount of energy poured into experiments and analyses determines the chances of being countered by colleagues¹²⁴, to the point that some actors (such as CCCS members) set up the shape of the field in such a way that other scientists may mimic the initial actor's organisation in order to research the same object.¹²⁵ Indeed, the first cultural studies departments to appear in Britain outside Birmingham heavily relied on the Centre's validation and literary canon.

¹²⁰ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 107.

¹²¹ Ibid. P. 107.

¹²² Ibid. P. 111.

¹²³ Ibid. P. 117.

¹²⁴ Ibid. P. 126.

¹²⁵ Ibid. P. 150.

Microsociology of Facts

Fact production is therefore dependent on inscription devices, the amount of work and energy scientists are willing to dedicate to them and on the shape of a subfield given by actors. It is also widely dependent on what Latour and Woolgar call the microsociology of facts:

We suggest that the apparently logical character of [scientific] reasoning is only part of a much more complex phenomenon [called] "practices of interpretation"¹²⁶ and which comprises local, tacit negotiations, constantly changing evaluations, and unconscious or institutionalised gestures. Our objective [...] is to show that this is the case and that a belief in the logical and straightforward character of science itself arises in the course of these practices of interpretation¹²⁷.

While Latour and Woolgar favour day-to-day observation¹²⁸, the present research settled for what remained possible between 2019 and 2024, and features microanalyses of archival and interview accounts. Latour and Woolgar argue that small, seemingly insignificant daily events are, in fact, at the core of science production, as that informal conversation is at the heart of science making. Furthermore, scientific claims can be enhanced or discredited along with the people making these claims: "In the course of these exchanges, beliefs are changed, statements are enhanced or discredited, and reputations and alliances between researchers are modified."¹²⁹ One such type of exchange between scientists is concerned with evaluating other researchers.¹³⁰ Scientific actors therefore rely on their colleagues' reputation in order to produce scientific facts. Hence Latour and Woolgar establish that scientific progress, far from emerging from one individual's mind, is the necessary result of the collective and material nature of a research milieu.¹³¹

The present researcher could not witness the CCCS's everyday life. From this follows that the work presented here will lack the data granted by a two-year-long observation fieldwork such as that on which Latour and Woolgar were able to draw. However, using the same attention to the seemingly insignificant, to informal conversations

¹²⁶ Augé, Marc. *Théorie des pouvoirs et idéologie: Étude de cas en Côte d'Ivoire*. ENS Éditions, 2020. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.enseditions.15538>.

¹²⁷ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 152.

¹²⁸ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 153.

¹²⁹ Ibid. P. 157-158.

¹³⁰ Ibid. P. 162-164.

¹³¹ Ibid. P. 171.

about the Centre, to agent's reputations and alliances framed by the CCCS's collective research practices has allowed for the "next best thing", a cold case investigation of the ways in which scientific claims were negotiated, accepted, produced, and published at the Centre. In the midst of the abundance of oral histories and literature published about the Centre by former Centre members themselves, along with a feeling of arriving late at the party¹³², not being part of the Centre in any capacity felt like a strong obstacle to understand its significance. Yet, having been born after the party and not being part of the cultural studies networks has granted me a privileged outsider's vantage point, making it possible to sometimes see what cultural studies actors cannot.

Scientific Credibility

Scientific facts are founded in the informal, on the constant negotiation between actors. But at the end of the day, why spend that much energy in such an uncertain endeavour? Why do scientists agitate themselves in the pursuit of producing facts? What is their motivation? Why are they interested in each other's work? Latour and Woolgar argue that researchers each seek to advance what they call their own credibility cycle of investment and reconversion. Within this framework, credibility and credit have different acceptations. Scientific credit (borrowed from Bourdieu's framework) can be seen as a currency: it can be exchanged, shared, stolen, accumulated or wasted. Scientists themselves often describe their own activities in economic terms: "the description of activity in quasi-economic terms was pervasive, especially among younger scientists."¹³³ However this explanation alone does not suffice in accounting for the complexity of scientists' motivation in doing their work: according to Latour and Woolgar, credit as reward is only a secondary phenomenon."¹³⁴ From the concept of credit, one can turn towards that of credibility: "Credit can also be associated with belief, power, and business activity."¹³⁵ Credibility can be converted between credit as reward for fact production and credibility as the possibility to pursue further research. Indeed Latour and Woolgar illustrate this point through the example of a young researcher who had, early on in his career, "established access to a market for his contributions. As a result, he would be invited to any meeting which discussed [his object of study]. He would be cited in any paper dealing with this issue. He was thus able to transform his small savings into greater revenue."¹³⁶ Furthermore, grants and

¹³² A feeling described by Jo Littler in her chapter included in the Cultural Studies 50 Years On volume. See Littler, Jo. "On Not Being at the CCCS" Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton, editors. Cultural Studies 50 Years on: History, Practice and Politics. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P. 275-284.

¹³³ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 190.

¹³⁴ Ibid. P. 193.

¹³⁵ Ibid. P. 194.

¹³⁶ Ibid. P. 196.

fellowships also play a positive role in the credibility cycle. Such elements confirm the need for the sociologist, according to Latour and Woolgar, to account for both scientific and social factors determining scientists' behaviour in the way they deal with credit: "In this respect, scientists' behaviour is remarkably similar to that of an investor of capital. An accumulation of credibility is a prerequisite for investment. The greater this stockpile, the more able the investor to reap substantial returns and thus add further to his growing capital."¹³⁷ The two-fold definition of the word credit provided by Latour and Woolgar is therefore central here:

By distinguishing between credit as reward and credit as credibility, we are not merely playing on words. Credit as reward refers to the sharing of rewards and awards which symbolise peers' recognition of a past scientific achievement. Credibility on the other hand, concerns scientists' abilities actually to do science (in the future).¹³⁸

This extends to the amalgamation of scientists and their scientific claims: "the credibility of the proposal and of the proposer are identical, the common conflation of colleague and his substance."¹³⁹ From this framework can be derived a credit and credibility-based analysis of the Centre's trajectory, relying on its members' scientific profile and associated credibility. Richard Hoggart, on the one hand, was granted the possibility to open the Centre in Birmingham thanks to the reputation granted by the publication of *The Uses of Literacy*. He decided to hire Stuart Hall on the basis of the work he had conducted to publish *The Popular Arts* with Paddy Whannel, and on his intellectual merits (Hoggart highlighted that theory was not his strong suit, unlike Hall). A few years later, when Hoggart decided to leave Birmingham to work at UNESCO in Paris, the University of Birmingham threatened to close the CCCS. Only on the basis of the Centre's credibility was it saved by a specialist working party, made out of some of the strongest Centre's allies in the academic field at the time¹⁴⁰. These are only but a few examples evidencing how the CCCS can be viewed through the credibility cycle it ceaselessly invested in.

Investment after investment, a researcher's position is envisaged by Latour and Woolgar within what they refer to as the agonistic field. Such a position is threefold: comprised of an academic rank, a situation in the field and a geographical location¹⁴¹. The agonistic field encompasses Bourdieu's scientific field but within it focuses on

¹³⁷ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 197.

¹³⁸ Ibid. P. 198.

¹³⁹ Ibid. P. 202.

¹⁴⁰ Including Raymond Williams and James Halloran, then Director of the Leicester University's Centre for Mass Communication Research.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. P. 211.

the effect individual changes and decisions have on all other actors in the field, rather than depriving individuals of significant agency by seeing structures as the primary determining force behind agents' choices¹⁴². Indeed, Latour and Woolgar argue: "The notion of position is thus very complex. It points to the intersection of individual strategy and field configuration, but neither the field nor the individual are independent variables."¹⁴³ Latour and Woolgar therefore view the agonistic field and individuals as equally important in explaining scientists' trajectories.¹⁴⁴ Scientists are therefore seen as strategists operating within the agonistic field: "Their political ability is invested in the heart of doing science. The better politicians and the strategists they are, the better the science they produce."¹⁴⁵ Each position is, however, relative within the agonistic field:

*The notion of position should not be reified. A position does not exist "out there", simply waiting for someone to fill it, even though this is how it appears to the actor. Indeed, the nature of positions to be seized is constantly the focus of negotiation in the field. [...] Positions are only retrospectively defined as being available for occupation.*¹⁴⁶

But what becomes of fact production as a collective mechanism? According to Latour and Woolgar, "From the point of view of the production of facts, a group can be thought of as the result of the intertwining of several trajectories. Group organisation can thus be interpreted in terms of the accumulated moves and investments of its members."¹⁴⁷ Such accumulation produces an administrative hierarchy¹⁴⁸, including actors whose work is usually undermined in the process of fact production.¹⁴⁹ At the top of this hierarchy, the head of the laboratory is concerned with the need to produce original and therefore valuable facts.¹⁵⁰ The structural hierarchy and role of the laboratory leader provide a useful lens to analyse the CCCS and are described thus:

[The chairman] has sufficient capital of credibility to make unnecessary its direct reinvestment in bench work. He is a capitalist par excellence, since he can see his capital increase substantially

¹⁴² Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 232.

¹⁴³ Ibid. P. 211.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. P. 212-213.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. P. 213.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. P. 216-217.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. P. 216-217.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. P. 232.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. P. 223.

*without having directly to engage in the work himself. His work is that of full-time investor. Instead of producing data and making points, he tries to ensure that research is pursued in potentially rewarding areas, that credible data are produced, that the laboratory receives the largest possible share of credit, money and collaboration and that conversions from one type of credibility to another can occur as swiftly as possible.*¹⁵¹

The pressure to produce credible data can put similar strain on laboratory employees.¹⁵² These antagonistic forces also have an impact on fact production itself: “Economic forces tie down the researcher both as an independent capitalist and as an employee; in this position it is easy enough to squeeze him so as to extract a fact.”¹⁵³ The tension between research activities and the consolidation of the financial conditions necessary to effectively conduct such activities will be explored as a guiding thread through the CCCS’s life, defining each of the three decades tackled in this work: the founding years of the 1960s, the golden years of the 1970s and the dire straight years of the 1980s, each influencing the Centre’s activity to accommodate for fluctuating funding conditions while going through a process of institutionalisation.

Science as Chaos Ordering

Latour and Woolgar affirm with Knorr that science is a construction: “Construction refers to the slow, practical craftwork by which inscriptions are superimposed and accounts backed up or dismissed.”¹⁵⁴ In this sense, laboratories are indeed factories where workers assemble and disassemble facts to improve their facticity on an assembly line.¹⁵⁵ These facts in the making evolve in the same agonistic field as their creators, the agonistic field being the result of all operations on scientific statements and all individual changes and decisions within it.¹⁵⁶ Within this field, according to Latour and Woolgar, battles are not fought for the sake of domination and in that they differ from a Bourdieusian framework. Rather, they argue that the “solidity of the argument is always central to the dispute.”¹⁵⁷ This entails that once the solidity of a fact has been ascertained by scientists, a fact enters the field’s mythology and can be converted into laboratory material and theoretical equipment: “At some earlier point,

¹⁵¹ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 223.

¹⁵² Ibid. P. 229

¹⁵³ Ibid. P. 230.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. P. 236.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. P. 237.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. P. 238.

each item of equipment had been a contentious set of arguments in a neighbouring discipline.”¹⁵⁸ For Latour and Woolgar, this means that no distinction can be made between the “material and intellectual components of laboratory activity”¹⁵⁹, as what was once an intellectual controversy is now part of the laboratory apparatus. Such controversies are seen here as an investment on the part of scientists in their own credibility cycle, and the notion of credibility is central here, as it doesn’t only encompass economic concerns but also epistemological ones, by evidencing that “information is costly”¹⁶⁰ in several senses of the word. It is also highly dependent on circumstances: “we argue that science is entirely fabricated out of circumstance; moreover, it is precisely through specific localised practices that science appears to escape all circumstances.”¹⁶¹ This reading grid is especially useful when considering the Centre’s specific circumstances as a marginal research centre attempting to build a marginal discipline in the British academic landscape, regularly threatened by its host institution and struggling to reach financial stability, while being committed to a project which very aim was to offer an alternative to the traditional academic model.

But beyond these variables determining the agonistic field and researchers’ activity within it, Latour and Woolgar view science as isolating signals from noise¹⁶²: “we have retained the central idea that information is measured against a background of equally probable events.”¹⁶³ Science is therefore seen here as an activity through which sense is created from chaos:

*The operation of information construction, then, transforms any set of equally probable statements into a set of unequally probable statements. At the same time, this operation draws upon the activities of persuasion (agonistic) and of writing (construction) in order to increase the signal-to-noise ratio.*¹⁶⁴

The process through which one statement becomes more probable than other competing ones often consists of “increasing the cost for others to raise equally

¹⁵⁸ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 238.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. P. 238-239.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. P. 239.

¹⁶² BRILLOUIN, L. (1962) *Science and Information Theory*. New York: Academic Press.

¹⁶³ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 239.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. P. 240.

probable alternatives”¹⁶⁵ by incorporating previous arguments into a black box¹⁶⁶, “rendering items of knowledge distinct from the circumstances of their creation.”¹⁶⁷ By hiding how the sausage is made, and making it extremely costly for others to try, scientists make sure that others will most likely fail to make what they call a sausage. This allows Latour and Woolgar to conclude: “the set of statements considered too costly to modify constitutes what is referred to as reality. Scientific activity is not ‘about nature’; it is a fierce fight to construct reality.”¹⁶⁸ The business of science is therefore, according to this framework, to build and keep a monopoly on reality, to the point that scientific facts, once stabilised, become reified and it becomes virtually impossible to question them.¹⁶⁹ In this sense, Latour and Woolgar argue that reality is secreted by scientists, a polysemic process through which they both produce facts and hide their cost to competitors¹⁷⁰ after facts have successfully been reified. This concept of science as isolating signals from noise, when applied to the CCCS, highlights the amount of energy dedicated to building a coherent universe of discourse composed of newly produced facts, backed by a theoretical framework and a common practice that made cultural studies and its production into a unique scientific facts assembly line. The CCCS then became a distinct school which convinced other actors in neighbouring subfields of the Centre’s legitimacy in establishing facts, as during several years, only the Centre’s method could yield cultural studies statements recognised as such in the relevant cultural studies networks, until its theoretical framework was taken up by other institutions to produce their own cultural studies production, originally mimicking the Centre.

However counter-intuitive as it may seem, the production of scientific fact remains the scientific exception. Latour and Woolgar argue that “between scientists and chaos, there is nothing but a wall of archives, labels, protocol books, figures, and papers.”¹⁷¹ Paradoxically, the laboratory’s task is both to create more chaos, incidentally, by gathering more data, and to create order based on these immense sets of data: “Scientific reality is a pocket of order, created out of disorder by seizing on any signal which fits what has already been enclosed and by enclosing it, albeit at a cost.”¹⁷² Scientific statements are therefore attempts, by laboratories, to “decrease their own

¹⁶⁵ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 241.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. P. 242.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. P. 259.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. P. 243.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 243.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. P. 243.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. P. 245.

¹⁷² Ibid. P. 246.

noise.”¹⁷³ This is what Latour and Woolgar refer to as “neguentropy”¹⁷⁴, decreasing the level of a system’s disorder. Occurrences when facts are sorted out from the background noise of the laboratory are rare, as Latour and Woolgar argue that chaos is the norm and order the exception. This means that facts, stabilised statements agreed upon by scientists, are the exception when considering the almost unlimited amount of data available and the indistinguishable noise it makes. In the same fashion, Latour and Woolgar establish that “informal communication is the rule. Formal communication is the exception, as an a posteriori rationalisation of the real process.”¹⁷⁵ From this ensues that the stabilisation of a fact should almost come as a surprise, given the chaos of data found in laboratories¹⁷⁶ and scientists’ informal interactions. The same goes for the CCCS: as a research centre aimed at conceptualising something as wide as aspects of contemporary culture, it seems very unlikely that Centre members would actually succeed in building an ad hoc framework that would be granted credibility in academic circles, and therefore create some pockets of order shared and recognised by others.

The work of the sociologist is no different. Lost in a world of data and observations, they have to make sense of it all to create their own pockets of order based on inscription devices. Latour and Woolgar use their own example to show that no distinction can be made between “hard” and “soft” science. Building on this equal stance given to all sciences by Latour and Woolgar, this research investigates critical social science thanks to a framework initially used for natural science. Indeed, as “informants [neuroendocrinologists] and observer [sociologist] shared participation in the art of interpreting confused texts (texts comprising slides, diagrams, other papers, and curves) and of writing persuasive accounts”¹⁷⁷, the only criterion evaluating the credibility of arguments was the level of prior investments made by scientists to support their claims”¹⁷⁸ The basis for all scientific activity is exegesis, the careful analysis of written documents, or in Latour and Woolgar’s terms, inscriptions, whatever their source. And scientists are lucky, as there is no perceivable end to fact production, contention, discussion and redefining, no matter the field.

¹⁷³ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 246.

¹⁷⁴ MONOD, J. (1970) *Le hasard et la nécessité*. Paris: Le Seuil. ; JACOB, F. (1970) *La logique du vivant*. Paris: Gallimard. ; SERRES, M. (1977a) *La distribution*, Hermès IV. Paris: Ed. de Minuit. ; SERRES, M. (1977b) *La naissance de la physique dans la texte de Lucrèce: fleuves et turbulences*. Paris: Ed. de Minuit.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. P. 251.

¹⁷⁶ A friend oceanographer told me of boxes of samples piled up in hallways for months with no idea what was inside of them and no proper storage conditions.

¹⁷⁷ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 255-256.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. P. 255-256.

Standing on the shoulders of giants

Thomas S. Kuhn, Pierre Bourdieu, Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, among others, have proven instrumental in building a framework for this contribution to the historical and sociological study of science. Through Kuhn's lens, it will be possible to try and assess when cultural studies ascended to the status of normal science, exiting the realm of scientific revolutions. Bourdieu provides fruitful yet implacable concepts to study the CCCS as a subfield of the scientific field and has produced valuable analyses on the significance of the 1968 events, one of the two pivotal historical moments identified in this work to influence the Centre's trajectory. Latour's and Woolgar's framework have contributed a meticulous roadmap to analysing science in the making, which, while it cannot be followed on the ethnographic and anthropological level (as the CCCS was in activity between 1964 and 1988), provides highly adapted tools to study the micro mechanisms at the root of science making as it was shaped during twenty-four years at the Centre.

But beyond this blueprint, both Bourdieu and Latour plead for a certain vision of science, to which this study seeks to adhere. Bourdieu argues that reflexivity in science is paramount so as to relieve scientists from the most hidden biases:

The sociologically armed epistemological vigilance that each researcher can exercise on his or her own behalf can only be strengthened by the generalisation of the reflexivity imperative and the dissemination of the indispensable instruments for obeying it, the only way to institute reflexivity as a common law of the field, which would thus find itself dedicated to a sociological critique of all by all, capable of intensifying and redoubling the effects of the epistemological critique of all by all.¹⁷⁹

This vigilance, according to Bourdieu, would produce what he refers to as epistemological prudence¹⁸⁰, against most likely mistake, and researchers' inclination to use his or her status to assess, somewhat unscientifically, what scientific truth is or isn't. To achieve such epistemological prudence, finding the right position for the researcher to occupy is paramount, but tricky:

We know the obstacles to scientific knowledge that both excessive proximity and excessive distance represent, and the difficulty of establishing that relationship of proximity that has been broken and restored, which, at the cost of long work on the object but also on the

¹⁷⁹ Latour, Bruno, et al. *La vie de laboratoire: la production des faits scientifiques*. Nachdr., La Découverte, 2013. P. 178.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. P. 179.

*subject of research, allows for the integration of everything that can only be known if one is part of it and everything that one cannot or does not want to know because one is part of it*¹⁸¹.

This ridge line is exceptionally difficult to walk when dealing with academia, as one researches the universe in which one works, no matter how distinct on the national and the temporal level. To find balance, one must first conceive the object of research, acknowledging that doing so entails using one's own point of view.¹⁸² Hopefully, there is a silver lining to the early research stages: "To do without completely knowing what one is doing is to give oneself a chance to discover what one has done something one did not know."¹⁸³

The object of this research is therefore defined thus¹⁸⁴: the institution referred to as the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies and the people who were either staff or student members, in activity as a research centre and degree offering centre within the University of Birmingham between 1964 and 1988. The variables include the number of members, the type and origin of funding, the administrative structure, the working practices, the publications, the networks and opponents of the Centre. Within its members, several categories are evidenced: that of director(s), lecturers, research fellows, visiting fellows, students (occasional students, or officially registered at the BA, MA or PhD level), and secretarial staff. The effects observed are the level of stability of the structure, indirectly linked to the degree of institutionalisation of the Centre, both at the intellectual or scientific level, and at the academic or administrative level.

But however well-defined a research object, Bourdieu warns against objectification:

The freedom from the social determinisms that weigh upon researchers is proportional to the strength of their theoretical and technical instruments of objectification and, perhaps most importantly, to their ability to somehow turn them against themselves, to objectify their own position [...] and to work to exclude from scientific objectification

¹⁸¹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 11

¹⁸² Ibid. P. 17.

¹⁸³ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 17.

¹⁸⁴ "Thus, the work of constructing the object delineates a finite set of relevant properties, established by hypothesis as effective variables, whose variations are associated with the variations of the observed phenomenon. At the same time, it defines the population of constructed individuals, characterised by varying degrees of possession of these properties. These logical operations produce a set of effects that must be made explicit, lest they be recorded unknowingly in a purely observational manner." Ibid. P. 25.

*everything that may stem from the ambition to dominate using the tools of science.*¹⁸⁵

Therefore, beyond the process of objectifying what is being researched, one has to look at objectifying one's own position, as "with its ironic gaze on the social world, which unveils, unmask[s] and brings to light the hidden, [the scientific field] must also cast this gaze on itself."¹⁸⁶ Which brings to the fore the main question behind this research, and the one that this research has been resolute in addressing: what can be the role of the university and of the scientific world, beyond reproducing the conditions of access to knowledge and power? As a young PhD researcher and a university teacher, researching the CCCS has provided one example of what it is possible to achieve, though imperfectly, at university, outside the traditional academic model.

To this end, Latour and Woolgar provide one method, described in the previous subsection and synthesised here:

*We have attempted to decrease sources of disorder and to make some statements more likely than others, thereby creating a pocket of order. Yet this account itself will now become part of a field of contention. How much further research, investment, redefinition of the field, and transformation of what counts as an acceptable argument are necessary to make this account more plausible than its alternatives?*¹⁸⁷

By using this theoretical framework, this research offers its own pockets of order, which structure and organisation will be introduced below.

D-SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of the study is dual. First, it aims at providing a precise institutional history of the CCCS between 1964, its founding year, to 1988, its final year as the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies before merging with the University of Birmingham Department of Sociology. As Dennis Dworkin and others have previously focused on the history of ideas as they came to shape the Centre's intellectual trajectory, this work will not dwell on such development and will focus on the establishment of the Centre as an institution. This historiography will draw on existing scholarly accounts, most of them more heavily focusing on the 1960s and 1970s, and contribute to a meticulous

¹⁸⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. 27.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. P. 16.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. P. 258.

analysis of the Centre's historical background, administrative status, working practices, publication policy and networks. It will situate the Centre within a larger movement of academic expansion in terms of size, as the CCCS evolved and flourished through the massification of British higher education, as well as in terms of research fields, as cultural studies' growth took place alongside that of social science more broadly. Second, it seeks to deal with some sociological aspects of the Centre's life to better understand the difficulties it faced, the shifts it overcame, and the specific position it occupied within the scientific field. The precise organisation of this work will be highlighted in the following sections: periodisation, source and methods, and outline.

Periodisation

Periodisation, while often a point of contention in history, is also at the heart of personal lives. Initially the chosen periodisation for this work was 1968-2002, 2002 being the common year agreed upon to mark the end of the CCCS, as it was the year the University of Birmingham unilaterally decided to close the structure the Centre had become after 1988, as a result of a merger between the Department of Sociology and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. This merger has, however, left me with a significant lack of available archive material to pursue the investigation beyond 1988, which also marks the frontier between two administrative entities, marking the end of a significant set of working practices. The present research could not have been sustained in the same conditions when dealing with the end of the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s as it had been when dealing with previous decades, and the decision was made to focus on the 1964-1988 period, for the sake of methodological balance. This choice in no way signifies that the work of the people who were members of the CCCS before 1989 and remained after the merger is not part of the Centre's legacy, to the contrary. The same goes for the people who joined the newly formed Department of Cultural Studies and Sociology. It rather echoes the lack of consistent archival material at the time of this research's fieldwork, and a scientific choice to focus on the CCCS *per se*, so as to provide as comprehensive a picture as possible for the period under scrutiny, which represents, in itself, a considerable endeavour.

The study's periodisation is the traditional periodisation used when investigating the Centre¹⁸⁸, and is the following: the CCCS's founding years, between 1964 and 1968, the so-called golden age, between 1968 and 1979, and the triumvirate, from 1979 to 1988. Each period is defined by the then Centre's director, respectively Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall and Richard Johnson (working alongside with Michael Green and Maureen McNeil). Each period also quite conveniently roughly matches with succeeding decades: the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. But they are also traversed by

¹⁸⁸ See Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton, editors. *Cultural Studies 50 Years on: History, Practice and Politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016.; and Bouyahia, Malek, et al. *Penser avec Stuart Hall*. la Dispute, 2021. P. 63-83.

political events, which represent milestones for the Centre: the events of 1968 and the 1979 election of Margaret Thatcher being the two central milestones identified in this work, to which the history of the CCCS is profoundly articulated.

Sources and method

The primary sources on which this study relies are twofold: the CCCS archive held at the University of Birmingham Cadbury Research Library, and three series of interviews with former members of the CCCS, CCCS historians and the University of Birmingham archivist Helen Fisher.

The CCCS's Archive

The CCCS archive was compiled at the University of Birmingham by historians Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton, along with university archivist Helen Fisher, and catalogued by Kieran Connell in July 2013. Given the conflicted history between the University of Birmingham and the CCCS and the controversial decision by the University to close the Centre for Cultural Studies and Sociology (resulting from the 1988 merger between the CCCS and the university's Department of Sociology) in 2002, the decision to have the CCCS archive hosted by the University of Birmingham was not a unanimous one and attracted heavy criticism. However the decision was eventually backed by Stuart Hall, which contributed to the archive finalisation, along with the deposition of Stuart Hall's own papers at the Cadbury Research Library. As Helen Fisher recalls, "[the constitution of the archive] would only have been possible if they could get somebody very respected within CCCS like Stuart Hall, to say 'yes', he would want to deposit his papers as well and to deposit papers at Birmingham."¹⁸⁹ Helen Fisher also focuses on the primordial role played by other actors in setting up the archive, Matthew Hilton, then professor of history, and Kieran Connell, then a post-doctoral student in history, both at the University of Birmingham:

Matthew was well respected, he was at Birmingham at the time [...] and Kieran as well because he had that family connection with CCCS¹⁹⁰ and he was seen as part of the CCCS, I won't say family but part of the CCCS community I suppose so I think if those personalities hadn't been there, I don't think any of this would have happened.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Fisher, Helen. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview 10 May 2021. P. 2.

¹⁹⁰ Kieran Connell's parents met at the Centre.

¹⁹¹ Fisher, Helen. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview 10 May 2021. P. 12.

But in order that the idea be accepted by the CCCS community, diplomatic work had to be carried out:

There was a sense that a lot of people who were former members would need to trust the institution again and to be assured that people at the institution would undertake to properly preserve and properly care for and properly understand the importance of the work of the CCCS¹⁹²” And [...] because it was an exercise in diplomacy and trying to get people to support it all. [...] If I was there and I knew how Birmingham had treated the legacy of CCCS, I would have concerns about depositing my papers there, so I had to make sure that people could trust me.¹⁹³

All the more so as Helen Fisher is now the only person still working at the University of Birmingham who was involved in the making of the CCCS archive: “I think there are then legacy issues to consider because both Kieran, Matthew have left the university and so now it’s just me who had anything to do with that project and I’m kind of “the” CCCS person now by default.”¹⁹⁴ A legacy she is in charge of maintaining:

I know that it’s a very important part of the history of the University despite the difficult relationship the University had with it for most of its existence, but I am the Archivist of the University so I’m wanting to record all of it [...] I’m now kind of responsible for the legacy of that archive; I want to do the best thing for that material.¹⁹⁵

The archive is organised in a way that reflects the Centre’s original structure, as Helen Fisher explains:

[...] you couldn’t take a lot of material from a lot of different people and just put it all together because that would then deny the concept of provenance and an individual person as the creator of that archive [...] and because of the way CCCS works as well, I thought that it was a lot better to retain that sense of this being an individual’s archive. And [they] get [their] own reference number and then you have the archive of another individual also related to CCCS who has, who has their own

¹⁹² Fisher, Helen. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview 10 May 2021. P. 2.

¹⁹³ Ibid. P. 9.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. P. 3.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. P. 17.

individual reference number¹⁹⁶ [...] I think then you can see the individuals as well as the whole, you know, it's a collective effort to be part of CCCS.¹⁹⁷

This process allowed her to work hand in hand with academics between 2010 and 2018 to create an archive that differs from traditional university departments.¹⁹⁸ This archive is still to this day, an open work in progress: “the CCCS archive isn’t complete, I will always consider and take in additional material, it’s an ongoing thing.”¹⁹⁹ It was also constrained by resources, as its creation was permitted by a successful funding bid granted by the Arts and Humanities Research Council²⁰⁰, without which the archive may have not been compiled at all. This bid came after a first, more ambitious but unsuccessful funding bid. According to Helen Fisher, this first bid would have contributed to a more “polished”²⁰¹ archive, and funding is still needed to digitise material and make it accessible to a wider academic audience²⁰² The CCCS archive itself, as much as the Centre it aims at commemorating, cannot be detached from local circumstances, a component which must be taken into account when dealing with the sources it compiles. Going back to Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar’s idea of science as creating order, it almost seems like a miracle, first that the process of building an archive would be successful at all (given former CCCS members’ opposition to the project and the deleterious relationship between the Centre and the University of Birmingham) and second that it would attract so much attention and would continue to grow thanks to the work of Kieran Connell, Matthew Hilton and Helen Fisher, alongside the former CCCS members who deposited their material. Therefore the physicality of the archive itself reflects the complexity of the CCCS’s structure:

[...] the CCCS archive as a discrete body of material, it exists as that in a virtual form rather than in a physical form [...] if somebody wanted to come into the archive store and say, can you show me all the boxes that form the CCCS archive? I would have to take them to different parts of the store. It could add up how many boxes it is for them, but it's not, it's not like you go into one room and everything is there.²⁰³

¹⁹⁶ Fisher, Helen. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview 10 May 2021. P. 8-9

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. P. 8-9.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. P. 2.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. P. 12-13.

²⁰⁰ *The Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies: Connected Collaboration, Connected Communities and Connected Impact*. UK Research and Innovation, <https://gtr.ukri.org/projects?ref=AH%2FK000500%2F1#/tabOverview>. Accessed 17 Oct. 2024.

²⁰¹ Fisher, Helen. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview 10 May 2021. P. 3.

²⁰² Ibid. P. 17.

²⁰³ Ibid. P. 8-9.

Very few elements of the archive are digitised and the prospect of fieldwork was grim during the early years of the present research, as the archivist recalled in May 2021: “we are hoping that we will be able to open for external researchers from the start of July so you’d need to book an appointment and it would be very limited people in the reading room.”²⁰⁴ Indeed opening hours were strictly limited, so as the number of physical sources which could be explored during fieldwork.

Yet other questions are left open: with the creation of an archive arise ethical issues. The CCCS archive is a living archive in the sense that most people involved in the CCCS’s affairs are alive, which prompts reflections about the most respectful ways to tackle individuals’ accounts. As Helen Fisher underlines concerning interview material:

*[...] you can do something at a certain point in time and not think if things are written down and then resurface in an archive... And that’s not your archive either or you might be the subject of what’s discussed, but you haven’t made the decision to keep that in an archive and then deposit it so that it can be researched by all sorts of people and then the results of that research be available online globally, it’s a lot to think about.*²⁰⁵

As a living archive, it reflects the organisation of social groups and the differences in status within them, which Helen Fisher pointed out when discussing the process of having the Stuart Hall papers deposited at the Cadbury Research Library:

*Interviewer: Is the CCCS archive part of the Stuart Hall archive now?
HF: No, the Stuart Hall archive is part of the CCCS archive (laughs). Yes, so because he was a member of staff at the Centre, his archive is listed as one of those sets of papers within the CCCS archive. But because so everyone, everyone else, their papers are, so ‘papers of [Y], ‘papers of [Z], but the Stuart Hall papers are: ‘The Stuart Hall Archive’ (makes hand gestures to signify its importance and laughs) because it’s more prominent I suppose... I think everyone associated with the transfer of those papers kind of thought that it needed that sort of title rather than just papers of Stuart Hall.*²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Fisher, Helen. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview 10 May 2021. P. 6.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. P. 9.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. P. 11.

This cataloguing choice is meaningful, as it can be linked to the question of leadership and the impact the Centre's directors have had on the shaping of the CCCS project.

And what of the position of the University of Birmingham, which had itself led to the closure of the Centre for Cultural Studies and Sociology in 2002? Helen Fisher recognised that "Birmingham needed to do some sort of reparation for how CCCS had ended"²⁰⁷, in order to be considered a pertinent location for the archive. Catherine Hall, Emerita professor of Modern British Social and Cultural History at University College London and Stuart Hall's widow, when interviewed for this work, acknowledged in a 2021 personal interview that, "it's not as if the university is one thing over all these years, it's been many different things".²⁰⁸ Which also raises the question of the nature and permanence of institutional ideology, or rather lack thereof. But while the diplomatic work undertaken by Matthew Hilton succeeded, it is not insignificant that the CCCS archive would be hosted by the University of Birmingham, and that the faith of the archive would be intertwined with that of the papers of one of its directors, who also happened to be one of the most prominent intellectuals of the second half of the twentieth century. Indeed Stuart Hall's papers, as Helen Fisher pointed out²⁰⁹, could have been deposited at any distinguished institution in the country. This controversial aspect of the archive creation culminated at the 2014 conference celebrating the 50th anniversary of the founding of cultural studies at the University of Birmingham, both organised to celebrate the historical landmark and to officially launch the archive. Helen Fisher remembers:

HF: There was some anticipation that that the 2014 conference would be a forum for people to express their...

Interviewer: Grievances.

HF: Feelings and grievances (both laugh). About what the university had done, there was a little bit of that.²¹⁰

However, for those who attended, the conference was seemingly a way to engage in, to continue to write and to stabilise the Centre's legacy, which through the same process would become an object of research, and marks the beginning of the present research. As I walked the Birmingham campus as an Erasmus student during the 2013-2014 academic, knowing very little about the CCCS, I was entirely oblivious to the fact that this ambitious archival project was taking place. When I came back in 2018 and 2021, a very recent, entire archive was there for me to consult, without which this research would have been a completely different affair, looking for infinite needles in innumerable haystacks. The method used has been to prioritise the collection of administrative documents: thus all the CCCS's annual reports were primarily saved

²⁰⁷ Fisher, Helen. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview 10 May 2021. P. 12.

²⁰⁸ Hall, Catherine. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 25, 2021. P. 7-8.

²⁰⁹ Fisher, Helen. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview 10 May 2021. P. 12.

²¹⁰ Ibid. P. 13-14.

and analysed along with internal administrative documents, as they form the backbone of this research. Then, documents dealing with the working practices, institutional relationships, working groups and day-to-day activities of CCCS members belonging to the three different decades were collected, by focusing on balance and looking for missing or less tackled elements in the existing literature. For instance, if one of the CCCS's staff members or directors was found very present (and there is an asymmetry in the repartition of voices within the CCCS and its archive), the task of the researcher was to focus on less vocal presences. Finally, if the 1964-1968 and 1968-1979 periods are the most investigated periods, this research pursued the objective of finding as much material as possible on the 1979-1988 final period of the Centre's activity in its original structure.

Now a CCCS scholars' network of sorts has formed, thanks to the existence of the archive and the consistent work of Helen Fisher. And the work is far from over, as I was able to capture only but a small fraction of what the CCCS archive has to offer, while trying to contribute some of my own work to the archive. And beyond what is already in the archive, one has to think of what isn't, and will likely never be. Helen Fisher gives one example of such missing voices:

Interviewer: Is there something missing from the archive? What would you like to be there?

HF: actually, I don't know I think, maybe more of the women that were involved in CCCS? So we do have some papers of some of the women and members but I think when it started it was quite a male-dominated centre and a lot of the loudest voices are men and I know there was a bit, there was a debate about the extent to which feminism formed a part of CCCS and I think maybe more of, if there were more papers from women members that would be good if we can find those people if they wanted to.²¹¹

This is one of the gaps the present research has endeavoured to fill outside the archive.

Interviews

Just as I was lucky enough to start working on the CCCS a few years after the creation of the CCCS archive at the University of Birmingham, she was equally fortunate when it came to oral accounts of the Centre in the form of interviews, for which the founding of the archive played no small part. Indeed first, a 2013 issue of the Cultural Studies journal edited by Professor of Cultural Studies and Media Studies Lawrence Grossberg, compiled a series of interviews by researcher Hudson Vincent with former Centre members. The issue of the American journal is titled *Contributions to a history*

²¹¹ Fisher, Helen. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview 10 May 2021. P. 17.

of CCCS²¹² and is part of the wider historiographical movement prompting the constitution of the CCCS archive at Birmingham. It is composed of a small dozen interviews, fragments of the first seven Centre annual reports (covering the first ten years of CCCS activity, some of them covering several years of CCCS activity) and three reflexive articles on the archive and cultural studies as a field. It precedes the Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton edited volume titled *Cultural Studies 50 Years On*, published in 2016 and a product of the archive creation process culminating in the 2014 50-year anniversary conference. The Cultural Studies journal issue also precedes a second series of interviews conducted by Kieran Connell between May 2013 and March 2015 with no less than forty-four former CCCS members and actors close to the activities of the Centre. Unfortunately, as these interviews have not been published, they provided a wealth of invaluable information that is only indirectly referred to in this study. Other valuable interviews include several lengthy interviews with Richard Hoggart²¹³ and Stuart Hall²¹⁴, who both passed away in 2014, before the 50-anniversary conference was held at Birmingham University. In their absence, their biographies, Richard Hoggart's *An Imagined Life*²¹⁵ (especially the third volume, *Life and Times*, 1959 - 1991) and Stuart Hall's *Familiar Stranger*²¹⁶ cowritten with Bill Schwarz, have also proven invaluable sources for this research.

A third series of interviews were conducted, especially for this work with eighteen respondents, including former CCCS students, staff, actors close to the development of the Centre, several CCCS scholars and the University of Birmingham's archivist Helen Fisher, quoted in the previous subsection. The aim of these interviews was dual: first by interviewing not only people who had been members of the Centre, they sought to take a step back and look into the CCCS through external though intensely informed points of view, including that of Catherine Hall. By including the vision of the very

²¹² Lawrence Grossberg. Contributions to a History of CCCS. Taylor and Francis, vol. 27, no. 5, 2013, <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rcus20/27/5?nav=tocList>.

²¹³ See Corner, John. *An Interview with Richard Hoggart Studying Culture: Reflections and Assessments*. In Hoggart, Richard. *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life*. Penguin in association with Chatto & Windus, 2009. P. 346-364. Also Gibson, Mark, and John Hartley. 'Forty Years of Cultural Studies: An Interview with Richard Hoggart, October 1997'. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, Apr. 1998, pP. 11-23. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1177/136787799800100102>.

²¹⁴ The most significant of which may very well be part of the Pioneers of Social Science set of interviews with Paul Thompson conducted in the Spring of 2012. Thompson, P., University of Essex, Department of Sociology: "Interview with Stuart Hall" in "Pioneers of Social Research, 1996-2018" 4th Edition, UK Data Service [distributor], 2019-04-08, SN:6226, Para. 1-427. <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>, <https://discover.ukdataservice.ac.uk/QualiBank/Document/?id=q-445da7a1-14a9-4d2e-86e3-c2b14fcd437b>

²¹⁵ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life, Life and Times 1959-1991*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993.

²¹⁶ Hall, Stuart, and Bill Schwarz. *Familiar Stranger: A Life between Two Islands*. Duke University Press, 2017.

academics who have immensely contributed to the Centre's historiography, including Dennis Dworkin and Kieran Connell, this series of interviews acknowledges the bedrock on which this study is built and wishes to develop. Second, by interviewing former CCCS members, this series was designed first to acquire first-hand knowledge within a research framework in the making (in this sense, early conversations constituted "scoping" interviews), which eventually led me to build lasting relationships with several CCCS actors, including Richard Johnson, the third CCCS director, between 1979 and 1988, through discussions which have since evaded the format of a semi-direct qualitative interview. Finally, this series has endeavoured to fill some gaps identified in the existing accounts and historiography, through several accounts, including that of Chris Griffin, Emerita Professor of Psychology and former research fellow at the CCCS between 1979 and 1982. As highlighted earlier, some of these identified gaps include the less examined period of the 1980s, some aspects of the Centre's feminism and the accounts of more discreet voices.

The architecture of this interview series relies as much on snowball sampling as it does on process tracing. Snowball sampling is a 'reputational' method which allows the interviewer to contact possible respondents on the basis of suggestions made by early respondents. It offers the advantage of opening a network of actors to a researcher, as being contacted on behalf of someone known increases the chances of responding positively to an interview invitation and creates interconnectedness between respondents who take on a new role, knowing former colleagues and friends have already been through the process of contributing to the oral history of a given topic. In the case of the CCCS, this proved especially useful, first because previous series of interviews had been organised and potential respondents were already familiar with such demands, and then because, as respondents were predominantly academics in social sciences, they were extremely self-aware of the interview process. Snowball sampling, however, has its own drawbacks, and who better than Pierre Bourdieu could evidence them:

[Taking into account fixed criteria not determined by questions posed to people] seems infinitely more reliable than all forms of 'reputational' methods, the worst of which is undoubtedly snowball sampling, often used in this kind of research. Indeed, besides the fact that the choice of the initial core predetermines subsequent choices, and thus the final population, it privileges one form of power among others, the one that is based on being known and recognised²¹⁷.

While Bourdieu highlights the limits of a methodological tool, here snowball sampling, with veracity, these limits do not stand in the way of the present research, as one of its goals is precisely to account for the power relationships existing inside the CCCS's networks in order to evidence its structure and inner workings. Snowball sampling is here, therefore, reinforced by process tracing, a process in which, "the key

²¹⁷ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P.104.

issues to consider when drawing the sample are to ensure that the most important and influential actors are included, and that testimony concerning the key process is collected from the central players involved.”²¹⁸ But important and influential do not always have the same meaning. In the case of the CCCS, while power dynamics (just as in any social structure) were undeniably at work, much emphasis was placed on setting up and maintaining horizontal, democratically informed administrative and research practices. This characteristic of the Centre’s structure provides that former student and admin staff voices are endowed with more prominence than they traditionally would in other academic structures. Furthermore, over the defined historical scope of this study (1964-1988), actors who could originally be seen a less important and influential grew to become key in determining the Centre’s future: such is, to some extent, the case of some of the female members of the CCCS. This led the present researcher to select possible respondents according to their lacking presence in existing accounts, to respect the demands of symmetry emphasised in Latour and Woolgar’s framework. Yet outside snowball sampling, process tracing and symmetry, another method, or rather lack thereof, came to define some aspects of the sampling method: chance. Chance and word-of-mouth brought to me one of the most significant interviews of the series, which provides an account of the Centre in the underfunded 1980s. Interview after interview the informal network of actors created by taking part in this research on the CCCS has placed me within reach of someone who volunteered their own account of their time at the Centre, and who would have been unlikely to have done it otherwise. No methodological textbook can account for chance in a research framework. This series of interviews is, of course, incomplete, just like the CCCS archive. It is but a small piece of the overwhelming mass (mess? As Latour and Woolgar highlighted) of data that could be created and collected by researchers.

As continuous work is being undertaken to contribute this interview series to the CCCS archive, only a few interviews will be reproduced in full in the appendix of this work. As this research took place between 2019 and 2024, all the interviews were conducted in an online setting through videoconference applications in the context of the global Covid-19 pandemic. While such circumstances may have prevented more extended periods of fieldwork, the possibility to conduct and record the sound and image of these interviews has enabled me to analyse the produced data in a surprisingly fertile way, as she was able to listen and watch carefully at will what was being said and how, which in some instances led her to understand what was sometimes being dismissed or hidden in tones, silences, laughs, body language and facial expressions. This interview method proved a priceless palliative for many months of quarantine and will continue to be used in future research. The interviews were therefore key to understanding some informal, less official consequences of human interactions in working alongside others to create a new academic subfield and thriving to survive in an unmistakably adverse institutional setting, revolving around various degrees of power struggle. They are the blood of this research: they give life to the inert archive material, continue the discussions initiated in secondary historiographical accounts,

²¹⁸ O. Tansey, ‘Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-Probability Sampling’, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol.40, No.4, (October 2017), pP.765-772, P.769.

and as inscriptions of their own they provide beautiful and complex accounts of the CCCS and the people who made it.

Between Primary and Secondary Sources

One more type of source must be considered in the scope of this research: a strand of literature concerning British cultural studies and written by no other than British cultural studies actors themselves, as, as highlighted by Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton, one defining feature of the CCCS²¹⁹ was its propensity for writing its own history and to reflect upon its own contributions in hindsight. Such literature, while being considered part of the sources on which this work relies, therefore stands at the frontier between primary and secondary sources. Because these accounts originate from actors who were involved in the making of cultural studies, they cannot exactly be treated as secondary, outside sources. They, however, do not exactly fit the criteria to be considered primary sources either, as they reflect, in hindsight, the products of theoretical and historical reflexivity in cultural studies, sometimes published after 1988. The list of such contributions is long and should be treated with caution, as part of the literature dealing with cultural studies with an insider's viewpoint, which from a sociological point of view is as instructive as it is problematic²²⁰: as the conceptual framework section has highlighted, any attempt at creating discourse about science must be made from a position that is neither too close, nor too far²²¹, and these authors' positions are internal to the CCCS, thus belonging to sources at the crossroads between primary and secondary sources. Such list includes but is not limited to the works of Lawrence Grossberg (*Bringing It All Back Home: Essays on Cultural Studie*)²²², Stuart Hall (*Cultural Studies 1983: A Theoretical History*, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* or *Essential essays*)²²³ or Richard Johnson (*What Is Cultural Studies*

²¹⁹ Which has been highlighted elsewhere : Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton. 'The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies'. *Social History*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2015, pP. 287–311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>.

²²⁰ All the more so given the number of critical assessments published in the literature, an aspect previously highlighted by Armand Neveu and Éric Mattelart. See Mattelart, Armand, and Erik Neveu. 'Cultural studies' stories. La domestication d'une pensée sauvage ?' *Réseaux*, vol. 14, no. 80, 1996, pP. 11–58. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.3406/reso.1996.3799>. P. 2.

²²¹ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 44.

²²² Grossberg, Lawrence. *Bringing It All Back Home: Essays on Cultural Studies*. Duke Univ. Press, 1997.

²²³ Hall, Stuart, et al. *Cultural Studies 1983: A Theoretical History*. Duke University Press, 2016. Hall, Stuart. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Edited by David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, Routledge, 1996. Hall, Stuart. *Essential Essays*. Edited by !1662797451!, Duke University Press, 2018.

Anyway?)²²⁴, and David Chaney's *Cultural Turn*²²⁵. While these accounts provide priceless information about the theoretical underpinnings of the Centre and should be acknowledged, they should be treated with caution as they emanate from CCCS former members.

Outline

This study is structured in three parts, each dedicated to a historical period in the CCCS's activity, presented in the periodisation section of this introduction. The first part tackles the founding years (1964-1968), the second the golden years (1968-1979) and the third part the triumvirate (1979-1988). Within these parts, a similar structure of subparts is organised to shed light on various aspects of the Centre and their evolution decade after decade.

This structure tackles the following aspects of the CCCS:

- The Centre's administrative status, including funding, accommodation (while seemingly mundane, accommodation constituted a complex topic for the Centre in its early years), governance, and admissions;
- Its working practices, dedicated to the course structure and research developments;
- The CCCS's publication policy, both in-house and external, and its efforts to build its own library;
- Its supportive networks, be they academic, institutional or political;
- And its adversaries, evolving in the same categories as its allies: in the political, academic and institutional setting.

This structure is not perfectly replicated from part to part, as these five key elements of the Centre's history evolved during the twenty-four years under study; therefore, as early as the summary the reader can witness the CCCS's evolution through the decades and observe its progressive institutionalisation, as well as the varying degrees of stability which characterised it overtime.

The first part dwells on the Centre's founding years, the sixties. It describes the academic conditions in which Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall were able to found the CCCS, and emphasises their respective trajectories and visions of a burgeoning research centre. These founding years were characterised by the emerging framework

²²⁴ Johnson, Richard. 'What Is Cultural Studies Anyway?' *Social Text*, no. 16, 1986, P. 38. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/466285>.

²²⁵ Chaney, David C. *The Cultural Turn: Scene-Setting Essays on Contemporary Cultural History*. First published, Routledge, 1994.

of cultural studies as envisaged by its founding fathers, a relatively stable financial situation thanks to the involvement of Penguin Books, and rather traditional courses and research practices. Its chief characteristic is its avant-garde nature: opening a research Centre at the margin of a discipline, English, without the overt support of its host institution and relying on external funding, the CCCS in its early years was defined by its search for a canon and theoretical framework, which would define its research endeavour in the eyes of its members, of its supporters and its detractors.

At the frontier between the first and the second period tackled in this work is the year 1968, marked at the University of Birmingham by student protests culminating in a week-long sit-in, in which CCCS students played no small part. These unplanned events disrupted the Centre's trajectory on an academic and political level, to the point where Richard Hoggart, the CCCS's first director, began to drift away from the very centre he had created just a few years before. 1968 was therefore the beginning of a period of interregnum during which the status and survival of the CCCS were challenged by the University of Birmingham. Therefore, between 1968 and 1972, instability was the chief characteristic of the Centre on an administrative and structural level. Indeed Richard Hoggart's progressive departure left the way for different, more democratic and horizontal working practices to emerge under the aegis of Stuart Hall, who both looked favourably on collective and politically informed research practices (him being a prominent member of the British New Left was a decisive component of this shift) and found himself in need of administrative and operational support, as he was left alone to steer the boat as the CCCS's initially acting director, then director in his own right. The Centre's mutation taking place during their years led to the implementation of collective working practices defined by research objects and at least partially student-led. While these practices became implemented as a result of an institutional crisis when Richard Hoggart left the University of Birmingham to work at UNESCO in Paris, they nevertheless became the chief characteristic of the period under study, often referred to as the golden age of the CCCS. Once the University was forced to admit to the value of the Centre's work, it entered a period during which funding was rather stable and reinforced by a system of postgraduate grants, which slowly secured an incoming flux of funded research students. This, in turn, led to a fertile, often collective publication output, which allowed the CCCS's mark to emerge and become recognised in a broader academic setting, to the point where originally in-house publication formats became the object of a series published by a private publisher, Hutchinson. However, the Centre's protean work spread across a variety of research objects, including race and gender, and the initial but still young CCCS's theoretical framework, along with the small academic grouping who had elaborated it, suffered from being stretched²²⁶ and challenged. This led the Centre's second director, Stuart Hall, to drift away as well and seek another academic position, which he eventually found at the Open University as Professor of Sociology in 1979. This change in directorship marks the end of the second part.

²²⁶ This is an idea Richard Johnson has worked on in an unpublished manuscript accessed during this research.

From 1979 until 1988, the CCCS's director became Richard Johnson, a History lecturer who had been appointed to the Centre in 1974. However Richard Johnson was not alone and he himself provided the title for the third part in a personal interview: the triumvirate. Along with Michael Green, an English lecturer who had been involved with the Centre since the early period (1964-1968) and had officially been appointed as a CCCS lecturer since 1972, and Maureen McNeil, who was appointed to the Centre shortly after Stuart Hall's departure in 1980, the three unofficially became the CCCS's triumvirate and steered it through the difficult 1980s, amidst severe and continuous funding cuts under Margaret Thatcher's government and accompanied by increasing student fees, which greatly weakened the Centre's stability. This last decade's chief characteristic is therefore constituted by a double and somewhat paradoxical movement: financial difficulties and policy changes in the universities led the Centre to throw its energy into an institutionalisation process, which, while it had steadily begun in the 1970s with the setting up of a master's degree in cultural studies, had by the 1980s to be undergone at full pace, with, as a chief endeavour, the implementation of a bachelor's degree, in order to save the Centre. Time for research progressively became scarce as administrative and teaching time increased. But the nail in the Centre's coffin was not hammered by a lack of time for research. The end of the CCCS's original administrative structure and working practices came from a restructuring policy implemented by the University of Birmingham, which forced departments and research centres to answer to and become assigned to budget centres, thereby losing substantial parts of their historic financial freedom. The Centre was therefore obliged to find a budget centre which would accept being responsible for such a small structure (spearheaded by three lecturing staff members) and after lengthy negotiations ended up merging with the Department of Sociology in 1988. This merger granted the newly formed Department of Cultural Studies a coveted – because supposedly safer – department status on administrative grounds, but it also meant that the CCCS's working practices would have to be adapted to conform to more traditional departmental rules.

These are the three periods under study. But let us start from the beginning. Exterior, day. University of Birmingham campus, October 1964.

1.

**PART ONE – IN SEARCH
OF THE CCCS:
AN EXPLORATORY PERIOD
(1964-1968)**

1.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To depict the historical context of the CCCS's founding years, this section heavily draws on Robert Hewison's last volume of his contemporary cultural history 'The Arts in Britain since 1939'²²⁷ and highlights the main political, cultural and economic elements of the historical context of the long 1960s.²²⁸ This historical framework was developed by Frederic Jameson in 1984, and while Jameson defined the long 1960s as a period between the great movement of decolonisation in British and French Africa²²⁹ (including but not limited to the Independence of Ghana in 1957 and de Gaulle's 1959 speech about Algerian self-determination) and the 1973-1974 years (as the "onset of a worldwide economic crisis [...] which put a decisive full stop to the economic expansion and prosperity characteristic of the postwar period generally and of the 60s in particular")²³⁰ ; Hewison's hypothesis is slightly different : "the Sixties did not really begin until about 1963 and [...] do not fade away until 1975".²³¹ Drawing on such historical periods, the scope of this short section will however take some liberties with the strict decade of the 1960s and provide relevant elements to understand the ways in which the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies emerged in the middle of this period.

First and foremost, in the aftermath of World War II, the 1944 Education Act significantly expanded access to higher education by establishing a comprehensive system of state-funded secondary education and providing tuition at universities. Although adding to an already existing scholarship framework for less favoured pupils, this act played a pivotal role in democratising education and widening the social base of university enrolment. Its implementation led to a substantial increase in the number of students pursuing higher education and Richard Hoggart, among others, stood as the epitome of what became to be known as the scholarship boys in an era characterised by a growing education accessibility. In chapter 10 of Hoggart's first book *The Uses of Literacy*, titled 'Unbent Springs: A Note on the Uprooted and the Anxious', Hoggart explained what being one of the scholarship boys meant to him:

²²⁷ Hewison, Robert. *Too Much: Art and Society in the Sixties ; 1960 - 75*. Oxford University Press, 1987.

²²⁸ Jameson, Fredric. « Periodizing the 60s ». *Social Text*, n° 9/10, 1984, P. 178. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/466541>.

²²⁹ Ibid. P. 180.

²³⁰ Ibid. P. 205.

²³¹ Hewison, Robert. *Too Much: Art and Society in the Sixties ; 1960 - 75*. Oxford University Press, 1987. P. xiii.

*It will be convenient to speak first of the nature of the uprooting which some scholarship boys experience. I have in mind those who, for a number of years [...] have a sense of no longer really belonging to any group. [...] They are declassed experts and specialists who go into their own spheres after the long scholarship climb has led them to a Ph. D. [...] There are some [...] who are at ease in their new group without any ostentatious adoption of the protective colouring of that group, and who have an easy relationship with their working-class relatives [...] Almost every working-class boy who goes through the process of further education by scholarships finds himself chafing against his environment during adolescence. He is at the friction point of two cultures.*²³²

This friction point, and the undergoing social changes on which it relied, were the background to most of Richard Hoggart's work and to the questions that allowed the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies to emerge in Hoggart's first publication, *The Uses of Literacy*, published in 1957, offering a critical analysis of working-class culture and its relationship to mass media and consumerism, influencing debates within the Labour Party and broader New Left movements.

Close to twenty years after the 1944 Education Act, the 1963 Robbins Report, named after the Committee on Higher Education chaired by Lord Robbins, further built upon the principles established in 1944. Commissioned by the British government, the report aimed to assess the state of higher education in the UK and make recommendations for its future development. The report advocated for a significant expansion of university education, recommending the establishment of new universities and the provision of financial support for students. Its most famous recommendation is the following: "Higher education should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so."²³³ The period of university expansion that followed directly shaped the recruitment possibilities and activities of the CCCS.

Beyond the realm of education, the postwar period witnessed a remarkable economic transformation, characterised by a surge in wages and the emergence of what John

²³² Hoggart, Richard. *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life*. Penguin in association with Chatto & Windus, 2009. P. 263-264.

²³³ Halimi Suzi. *L'enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni*. Collection Civilisation. Paris: Ophrys Ploton, 2004. P.40.

Kenneth Galbraith famously termed the "affluent society."²³⁴ For instance, the average working week in the UK dropped from about fifty hours in 1939 to forty-four hours in 1961. During this period, wages rose significantly, estimated to have increased by 72 percent between October 1951 and October 1963, outpacing inflation, which stood at 45 percent.²³⁵ These economic trends contributed to the perception of said "affluent society", characterised by rising living standards and increased consumer spending, which took place hand in hand with the consumption of cultural goods. These questions, again, were at the heart of both Stuart Hall's and Richard Hoggart's early works. As Stuart Hall explained in a 2011 interview:

*Well, why do we have to learn about it? We have to learn about it because that's what 9/10 of the country is listening to every day. How can you not be interested in that? How could I be going down to South London every morning to teach these working-class kids, who'd failed what we call the 11+, so they had no chance of going to a good secondary school; the entire school was what was left after having failed; they were all failures. Their fathers worked in the print. They were going to get jobs in the print. They were interested in football, TV, in rock music — that is what interested them. So the interest in the popular did have this critical edge to it.*²³⁶

Such interests as those listed by Stuart Hall were perhaps best epitomised by the significant cultural changes of the 1950s including the diversification and massification of television channels, including the launch of the commercially driven Independent Television network in 1955, which revolutionised mass media consumption and provided competition to the until then hegemonic and state-controlled BBC. As a matter of fact, the study of television became prominent among the CCCS's research objects during the first period of the Centre's history (1964-1968).

Literature was another area undergoing change in the early 1960s. One paramount example of this work is again linked to the figure of Richard Hoggart. The *R v Penguin Books Ltd* 1960 case was indeed pivotal in UK censorship history. Penguin's

²³⁴ John Kenneth Galbraith was a prominent American economist and diplomat known for his influential contributions to economic theory and public policy. He served as an advisor to several US presidents and held various academic positions, including professorships at Harvard University. Galbraith's seminal work, "The Affluent Society," published in 1958, critiqued the prevailing notion of prosperity in postwar America, arguing that private affluence coexisted with public squalor. His analysis shed light on the growing disparities in wealth and income distribution, challenging conventional economic wisdom. See Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The affluent society*. 40th anniversary ed, Houghton Mifflin, 1998.

²³⁵ Galbraith, quoted in Hewison, Robert. *Too Much: Art and Society in the Sixties ; 1960 - 75*. Oxford University Press, 1987. P. 6.

²³⁶ Hall, Stuart. « Stuart Hall Interview – 2 June 2011 ». *Cultural Studies* 27, no 5 (1 september 2013): 757-77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. P.4

publication of D.H. Lawrence's "Lady Chatterley's Lover" challenged the Obscene Publications Act of 1959, and Richard Hoggart's testimony played a crucial role in securing a positive verdict for Penguin. The trial's outcome signalled a shift in attitudes towards literary censorship, affirming greater freedom of expression in print.

On the political front, the early 1960s witnessed a period of political turbulence in Britain, perhaps best characterised in the context of this work by debates over disarmament heralded by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and fuelled by the British New Left. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) played a significant role in shaping the British New Left, advocating for unilateral nuclear disarmament and peace activism. Founded in 1958, CND mobilised mass protests and campaigns against nuclear proliferation, influencing political discourse and galvanising opposition to Cold War militarism. While the Labour Party Conference in 1960 became the main locus for the possibility of making unilateral disarmament a viable possibility at the national level, the proposition was overturned by Hugh Gaitskell in 1961 and CND slowly began to lose momentum, leaving scores of intellectuals without a political home in the early 1960s.²³⁷ However, the rise of Labour governments after Hugh Gaitskell's death in January 1963 under Harold Wilson, and the implementation of progressive policies such as the expansion of the Arts Council (via a strong funding policy), found an echo in the British population. Harold Wilson's "white heat of technological change" speech in 1963 was key to Labour's electoral victory in 1964. Wilson's vision of modernisation and economic growth resonated with voters, positioning Labour as the party of progress and reform. The narrow majority won by Labour in 1964 nevertheless marked a shift in British politics, signalling the end of thirteen years of Conservative rule and heralding a period of social and economic transformation. To go back to Hewison's historical periodisation²³⁸, this 1963 campaign and the election that followed can be used to mark the beginning of the period he defines as the 1960s.

Beyond CND, the 1960s also saw the rise and fall of the British New Left, which emerged, after a 1956 dual international political crisis with profound implications for the British left-wing political sphere, between 1958 and 1962. Indeed 1956 saw Nikita Khrushchev, first Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964, internationally denounce Stalinism (which prompted a worldwide crisis of faith among communist supporters) while violently suppressing Hungarian alternative political forces; and British and French forces' attempt to seize the Egyptian Suez Canal. According to Madeleine Davis, these events "created the conditions for rethinking and recomposition of socialist means, ends, and values."²³⁹ Such rethinking and recomposition took place among former communist intellectuals such as E. P.

²³⁷ Eléana Sanchez, Mark Wickham-Jones. 'Stuart Hall, the New Left, and the Labour Party'. *Contemporary British History*, Nov. 2024.

²³⁸ Hewison, Robert. *Too Much: Art and Society in the Sixties ; 1960 - 75*. Oxford University Press, 1987. P. xiii.

²³⁹ Davis, Madeleine. "The Origins of the British New Left". Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 45.

Thompson and John Saville, part of an older generation (E. P. Thompson was born in 1924 and John Saville in 1916) and younger independent socialists²⁴⁰ who had met at Oxford including Stuart Hall (born in 1932), who would go on to become the first editor of *New Left Review* in 1960. *New Left Review*, again according to Madeleine Davis, “intended to give shape and direction to this unstable, diverse entity—’a mood rather than a movement’—that became the New Left.”²⁴¹ Stuart Hall indeed later described himself as ‘a child of 1956’:

*They think of me as a post-colonial, as, politically, ‘a product of ‘68’, of the student movement and of the counter-culture. Really, I was formed as one of the last colonials, and politically I was a child of 1956: of Suez and Hungary, of the collapse of the Communist dream, of the Cold War and of postwar decolonisation.*²⁴²

The New Left’s cognitive orientation was articulated between the following themes: “its attitude towards Marxism; its position in relation to domestic politics, especially those of the Labour Party; its pioneering analysis of culture; and its attempt to articulate a positive neutralist position internationally.”²⁴³ Among these four themes, while remaining intertwined with the other three, that of a “pioneering analysis of culture” is of particular interest for the sake of this study, as this particular New Left project “far outlast[ed] the lifespan of the early New Left as a movement”.

Another strong feature of the New Left was its organisational structure:

*The novel organisational politics of the early New Left was one of its most distinctive features. Its self-conception as a movement of ideas saw its publishing enterprises, first Universities and Left Review and then New Left Review, as the hub of a broader grassroots New Left movement comprising semiautonomous local clubs, reading groups, or other centres of cultural and political activity.*²⁴⁴

After a short four years of political ebullition amidst the CND, the New Left progressively dissolved to become a “predominantly intellectual tendency without a unified political or activist agenda.”²⁴⁵ The New Left’s distinctive organisation did,

²⁴⁰ Davis, Madeleine. “The Origins of the British New Left”. Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 45.

²⁴¹ Ibid. P. 47.

²⁴² Hall, Stuart, et Bill Schwarz. *Familiar Stranger: A Life between Two Islands*. Duke University Press, 2017. P. 45.

²⁴³ Davis, Madeleine. “The Origins of the British New Left”. Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 47.

²⁴⁴ Ibid. P. 49.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. P. 45.

however, to some extent endure and take on new forms within the CCCS as soon as 1968, while the New Left failed to build a sustainable grassroots movement.²⁴⁶ Perhaps what is meaningful to highlight is the New Left's attempt to situate itself in regard to the Labour Party, which, according to the New Left, remained the sole left-wing political party potentially able to achieve social change in Britain. This position is described by Madeleine Davis as "parallelism" or in other words, "one foot in, one foot out":

*[The New Left] remained outside party structures (though a number of New Left activists were simultaneously members of the Labour Party) yet closely attuned to its debates and more than prepared to collaborate with sympathetic figures on the Labour Left.*²⁴⁷

It is particularly telling that Stuart Hall went on to describe his own position and that of the Centre in the same fashion in relation to academia. Such a version of parallelism will be explored in this research.

At the end of the decade, perhaps the most defining political event taking place during this first period is the student movement of 1968, as, as will be seen, it both ended the first period of the CCCS's life and set its organisational direction for the rest of the Centre's years. Now while scholars agree that 1968 did not take on the broad, overwhelming political significance it did elsewhere (such as France, Germany or the United States)²⁴⁸; and that the British New Left and the 1968 student movement were "quite distinct phenomena"²⁴⁹, the combined effects of increasing affluence in British society, the development of activist networks parallel or peripheral to the New Left and the expansion of higher education (from just over 80.000 students in 1955 to 235.000 in 1971)²⁵⁰ did produce a British 1968, which some members of the New Left, such as Robin Blackburn, John Saville, Ralph Miliband, Stuart Hall and Tom Nairn, did actively support.²⁵¹ Such events crystallised around political campaigns (such as the anti-Vietnam War) as well as student representation in universities and were supported by left and far-left political parties and movements (the National Union of

²⁴⁶ Davis, Madeleine. "The Origins of the British New Left". Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 50.

²⁴⁷ Ibid. P. 50-51.

²⁴⁸ Nerhing, Holger. "Great Britain". Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 125.

²⁴⁹ Davis, Madeleine. "The Origins of the British New Left". Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 53.

²⁵⁰ Nerhing, Holger. "Great Britain". Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 125.

²⁵¹ Davis, Madeleine. "The Origins of the British New Left". Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 54.

Students rejecting more radical forms of political action).²⁵² The height of the British 1968 was composed of anti-Vietnam protests in London, and university demonstrations and sit-ins in several institutions, including the London School of Economics, Essex, Leeds, Leicester, Hull, Warwick and Birmingham.²⁵³ Arguably, the wave of student protests in 1968 contributed to the emergence and formalisation of the Women's Liberation Movement, the Gay Liberation movement and Black Power movements. The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) emerged as a powerful force challenging gender norms and advocating for women's rights during the decade. Betty Friedan's "The Feminine Mystique", published in the United States in 1963, furthered discussions about gender roles, while grassroots groups provided spaces for women to share experiences and organise for change. Additionally in the UK, Sheila Rowbotham's and Juliet Mitchell's influential works offered critical analyses of gender and class dynamics, contributing to the intellectual foundations of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) and their intertwining with New Left politics, the most famous of which being Juliet Mitchell's *The Longest Revolution*, published in 1966 in *New Left review*.²⁵⁴ The WLM of the 1960s culminated in its first national conference at Ruskin College, Oxford in 1970, paving the way for the subsequent ten conferences of the WLM of the 1970s.

The rise of alternative media outlets, such as the *International Times*, launched in 1966, *Oz*, first published in the UK in 1967, and *Black Dwarf*, launched in 1968, accompanied the militant movements and legal changes of the 1960s. These publications, part of the underground press, provided platforms for dissenting voices and alternative narratives: By 1967 *International Times* was selling 50.000 copies an issue, *Oz* would sell 40.000 copies an issue by 1970 and *Black Dwarf* sold an estimated 12.000 copies an issue.²⁵⁵ This ecosystem of underground publications provided a flourishing network for left-wing and progressive ideals, discussed and furthered by the work of the Centre.

In terms of legislative landmarks and echoing the rise of such social movements, the second half of the 1960s witnessed significant progressive legislative changes in social policy, including the abolition of the death penalty in 1965, the legalisation of abortion with the 1967 Abortion Act, the reform of homosexual laws in 1967 and the 1969 Representation of the People Act, lowering the legal voting age to 18 years. All these legal changes contributed to what some have called the 1960s' permissive society.

²⁵² Nerhing, Holger. "Great Britain". Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 127.

²⁵³ Ibid. P. 131.

²⁵⁴ Hewison, Robert. *Too Much: Art and Society in the Sixties ; 1960 - 75*. Oxford University Press, 1987. P. 216

²⁵⁵ Hendrix, Richard. « Popular Humor and "The Black Dwarf" ». *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 16, n° 1, 1976, P. 108-28. JSTOR. P. 112.

However this flourishing of progressive and left-wing movements, gradual de-censoring of media productions and “permissiveness” did not go unchallenged, as right-wing traditional advocates also fought for the preservation of conservative values in British society. One of the most notable examples of such agents was the Clean Up TV campaign launched in 1964 by teacher and conservative activist Mary Whitehouse, leading to the founding of the National Viewers’ and Listeners’ Association one year later. On the immigration front, one major conservative backlash against an otherwise seemingly progressive, multicultural and permissive decade was Enoch Powell’s 1968 Rivers of Blood anti-immigration speech made in Birmingham, which resulted in the support of over 100.000 Britons through a wave of sympathetic letters sent to the Conservative Wolverhampton MP.²⁵⁶ These elements foreshadow a stronger conservative political wave which would culminate in 1979 with the coming to power of Tory leader Margeret Thatcher.

This brief overview of the main political, cultural, economic and ideological trends shaping what Frederic Jameson called the long 1960s serves as a background in the analysis of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies’ first historical period, its exploratory period, spanning from the year of its founding, 1964, to the year of the student sit-in, in 1968.

1.2. INTRODUCTION

Now that elements belonging to the Centre’s historical background in the 1960s have been introduced, this first part will tackle the most salient aspects of the CCCS’s structure, organisation, policies, networks and (as in any good story) enemies. First, the Centre’s administrative status will be presented and analysed by going through its funding, accommodation, governance and admission policy. Then, its working practices will be explored, divided between the CCCS’s burgeoning course structure, its emerging theoretical framework and the writing of its own history, envisaged here as a practice of self-preservation and legitimation. Its publication policy, still in its infancy, will be considered next, and finally its networks and enemies will be examined, so as to map the field in which the Centre was evolving during this first exploratory period.

²⁵⁶ Esteves, Olivier. ‘Stigmatising the BBC in Letters of Support to Enoch Powell (1968)’. *Mémoire(s), Identité(s), Marginalité(s) Dans Le Monde Occidental Contemporain*, no. 27, Jan. 2022. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.4000/mimmoc.10150>.

1.3. ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS

1.3.1. Funding

The CCCS was founded by Richard Hoggart as a result of his recruitment by the University of Birmingham in April 1961 when given a chair in English²⁵⁷ in April 1961, under three conditions he had named. He was able to name such three conditions thanks to the success of his first book, *The Uses of Literacy*, written while working as an extramural professor at the University of Hull and published in 1957. He was comfortably settled at the Leicester University English Department when the University of Birmingham approached him. The three aforementioned conditions were the following: he would not join the University of Birmingham until the autumn of 1962; he would not move to Birmingham before 1964 and he would be given the possibility to create a research centre focusing on “contemporary cultural studies”. According to his memoirs, in his career this was “the first instance of the freedom the rank of professor confers”.²⁵⁸ Hoggart justified this third, somewhat unusual condition as follows: “because not to use a professor’s position to try to advance the interests which had emerged in the writing of *The Uses of Literacy* would have been to throw away for the sake of a title what now seemed professionally most important”.²⁵⁹

Here Latour and Woolgar’s concept of credibility cycle comes into play. As highlighted in the introduction, Latour and Woolgar establish that advancing one’s own credibility cycle is the drive behind scientists’ motivations:

*The essential feature of this cycle is the gain of credibility, which enables reinvestment and the further gain of credibility. Consequently, it would be easy to say that there is no ultimate objective for scientific investment other than the continual redeployment of accumulated resources. It is in this sense that we liken scientists’ credibility to a cycle of capital investment.*²⁶⁰

Within this framework it is possible to analyse Richard Hoggart’s decision to negotiate the opening of the Centre as a condition for his recruitment as a reinvestment of the credibility previously acquired through his publications, his early academic career and

²⁵⁷ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.76-77.

²⁵⁸ Ibid. P.77.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. P. 77-78.

²⁶⁰ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 197-198.

his committee work²⁶¹, and placing him in a position of relative power, enabling him to pursue his personal research interests. The recruitment process of Richard Hoggart by the University of Birmingham produced credibility for both actors: the University of Birmingham could pride itself on having a well-stocked academic book and Richard Hoggart was able to create the space in which his own inaugural revolution could take place.²⁶² What emerges from the comparison of invested credit on both parts of the deal is the fact that each investment yielded quite different results: while the institution did achieve its goal by attracting a famous academic, it merely kept up with the evolving higher education setting of the period and never supported the Centre publicly during the CCCS's operating years.²⁶³ On the other hand, the academic legitimacy and reputation of the Centre, in other words, the success of Hoggart's initial investment could have never been foreseen in 1961 at the time of the negotiation. This condition was indeed a very successful credibility investment.

This 'first instance of freedom', however, remained to be settled on a financial level (far away from symbolic credit), as the Vice-Chancellor's answer to Hoggart's request came as follows:

*I cannot, of course, have a view on the precise subject. But you will be a professor and, if that is what you want to do, I do not think we would wish to dissuade you. But you would have to find the money for such a centre from outside.*²⁶⁴

After extensive canvassing, external funding was eventually found in the pockets of the man behind Penguin's Books. Sir Allen Lane (1902-1970), cofounder of Penguin Books, contributed a covenant of two thousand four hundred pounds per year for seven

²⁶¹ Between 1960 and 1962 Richard Hoggart was a prominent member of the Pilkington committee on Broadcasting which had to produce recommendations on the future of TV broadcasting in the UK in the context of the launch of the ITV network challenging for the first time the monopoly of the BBC. See Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life 3*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P. 59-75.

²⁶² Richard Hoggart's inaugural lecture, analysed here as prompting an inaugural revolution in the Bourdieusian sense, will be tackled below.

²⁶³ Ironically enough, the University of Birmingham does now celebrate the memory of the Centre and prides itself in having been the host institution of its second director Stuart Hall by naming a meeting space after him in its one of its most recently acquired venues in the city centre. See University of Birmingham. The Exchange. <https://conferences.bham.ac.uk/venues/the-exchange/>. Accessed November 14, 2024.

²⁶⁴ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life 3*, 3., Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.77.

years, to which was added a yearly commitment of one hundred pounds from *Chatto & Windus*²⁶⁵ and the newspaper *The Observer*. Hoggart described the process as such:

*The university did not ask for anything towards the costs of accommodation, light, heat, postage, or any other administrative expense. It was all very simple, unbusinesslike and, by today's standards in university administration [1993 at the time the memoirs were published], impermissible.*²⁶⁶

To understand just how impermissible the process was, it is necessary to describe the widely different frameworks in which university administrations operated during the 1960s. Indeed the University of Birmingham (UoB) enjoyed a special status among British universities: it was one of England's first "civic universities."²⁶⁷ Suzy Halimi describes these civic universities, which emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with the mission of educating the population to meet the administrative and industrial needs required for establishing the United Kingdom as a colonial and commercial power.²⁶⁸ The administrative establishment of UoB in 1900 occurred precisely during a period of university expansion spanning from the latter half of the nineteenth century to the eve of the First World War. This period saw the creation of seven universities in England (Durham, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bristol, Liverpool, and Sheffield), nicknamed the 'redbrick universities', a network that expanded after World War I with three additional universities (Newcastle, Reading, and Nottingham). Suzy Halimi notes that these universities were funded by the cities, regions, and private actors in the areas where they were established and organised under a central structure, contrasting with the Oxford and Cambridge (Oxbridge) model, which consisted of a network of colleges founded by prominent members of society, resulting in relative administrative autonomy.²⁶⁹ The question of university funding remained outside the realm of government affairs until 1889, as this source of subsidy represented a potential risk of loss of autonomy for these universities, though Suzy Halimi highlights that this autonomy was already tempered by the private nature

²⁶⁵ A British publishing house founded in 1873 responsible for introducing several American authors to English audiences, such as Mark Twain, Edgar Allan Poe and Walt Whitman. Chatto & Windus was purchased by Random House in 1987. "CHATTO & WINDUS LTD. ARCHIVE" Special Collection, University of Reading, Date of publication unknow, <https://collections.reading.ac.uk/special-collections/collections/chatto-windus-ltd-publisher/>. Accessed May 2022.

²⁶⁶ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.90.

²⁶⁷ Charle, Christophe. 'Jalons Pour Une Histoire Transnationale Des Universités'. *Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire Critique*, no. 121, Apr. 2013, pP. 21–42. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.4000/chrhc.3147>. P. 8.

²⁶⁸ Halimi Suzi. *L'enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni*. Collection Civilisation. Paris: Ophrys Ploton, 2004. P.28

²⁶⁹ Ibid. P.36

of the funding on which these universities largely relied at the time.²⁷⁰ The educational content of these young redbrick or civic universities was also distinct, dedicated to non-denominational professional training, in contrast to the Oxbridge model, whose gates (and stone walls) remained closed to non-Anglican students until the 1870s.²⁷¹

With this legacy, the University of Birmingham was well aware of the communication challenges impacting its appeal. By hiring, in 1962, a prominent progressive figure like Richard Hoggart²⁷², it created and fostered a bold and audacious image, in alignment with contemporary issues symbolised by the 'Swinging Sixties', highlighted in the above historical background section.

This bold image partially responded to the need to attract an increasing number of students²⁷³ following the demographic boom of the late 1940s (it is estimated that the number of students in England quadrupled between 1945 and 1962).²⁷⁴ This boom was accompanied, legislatively, by the Barlow Report of 1946, which, as highlighted in the historical background section, recommended doubling the student population²⁷⁵, two years after the 1944 Education Act had made school compulsory until the age of 15.²⁷⁶ For Suzy Halimi, the Robbins Committee established in 1960 marked the shift from a 'class-based university' to the gradual establishment of a 'mass university', a shift illustrated by its first recommendation (also briefly mentioned in the introductory historical section): 'Higher education should be accessible to all who are qualified to enter it by their abilities and achievements, if they wish to do so'.²⁷⁷ The ambition at that time was to have over half a million students by 1980.

²⁷⁰ Halimi Suzi. *L'enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni*. Collection Civilisation. Paris: Ophrys Ploton, 2004. P.38

²⁷¹ « Establishment of the University 1900–1949 ». Accessed June 15, 2020. <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/university/about/history/academic-history/establishment.aspx>.

²⁷² According to David Lodge himself, another prominent and progressive author recruited by the University of Birmingham's English department in 1960. See Lodge, David. *Quite A Good Time to Be Born: A Memoir: 1935-1975*. 01 edition. London: Vintage, 2016. P.339

²⁷³ Charle, Christophe. 'Jalons Pour Une Histoire Transnationale Des Universités'. *Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire Critique*, no. 121, Apr. 2013, pP. 21–42. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.4000/chrhc.3147>. P. 13.

²⁷⁴ « Education in England - Chapter 11 ». Accessed June 19, 2020. <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/history/chapter11.html>.

²⁷⁵ Halimi Suzi. *L'enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni*. Collection Civilisation. Paris: Ophrys Ploton, 2004. P.40

²⁷⁶ UK Parliament. « The Education Act of 1944 ». Accessed July 3rd, 2020. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/school/overview/educationact1944/>.

²⁷⁷ Quoted in Halimi Suzi. *L'enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni*. Collection Civilisation. Paris: Ophrys Ploton, 2004. P.40

Inside this evolving higher education institutional field, the University of Birmingham needed to play its cards right to secure a steady and increasing flow of students, as it was facing competition from both (to some extent) Oxford and Cambridge (which, while not playing in the same league, nonetheless provided a fair proportion of professors to other universities), and the other new redbrick universities in the country, also eager to attract a new student population and put themselves on the map. The University of Birmingham can therefore also be considered as an institution struggling to secure a more dominant position within the national scientific institutional fabric.

Hence, by not asking for anything towards administrative expenses, the University of Birmingham did indeed fund the CCCS activity from day one while contributing to improving its own image in the student's eyes. Of all the expenses taken up by the university, accommodation would become one of the most complex to settle, as the Centre's location on campus changed several times over the course of its twenty-four years of activity, from a couple of Quonset huts on the edge of campus²⁷⁸, to a few rooms in the English department in the Arts building, to end up on the eighth floor of the then newly built brutalist Muirhead tower, about which more shall be said later on (for more information on the topographical whereabouts of the CCCS during its exploratory period, press section 1.3.2. for Accommodation).

But before diving into the arcane structure of the research centre, it is important to illustrate how unbusinesslike the search for CCCS funding actually was, as during the Centre's first years of existence, the Penguin's covenant constituted the CCCS's passport to academia. Indeed and paradoxically, the only way for cultural studies to afford the time to grow into an embryonic academic field was to be stably funded by a private entity while operating from the margins of a university setting.

First of all, Hoggart's search for funding took place in a not always supportive environment, from both inside and outside the University of Birmingham English department. On the institutional level and outside the English department, it should be underlined that the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Birmingham at the time belonged to medical sciences and, as such, was part of a category of professors little inclined to feel actively benevolent towards research endeavours emanating from the Faculty of Arts. As Hoggart described in his memoirs:

*The medical, scientific and technological professors had a solid, broad-clothed assurance I had hardly ever seen at Hull or Leicester [Hoggart's previous posts]. [...] Most of them looked on the Arts Faculty with an uninvolved and uncomprehending tolerance, as a forceful eighteenth-century Germanic prince with a strong commercial sense and drive might have looked on a chamber orchestra he had inherited; though glad to know it was rather a good chamber orchestra by national or even international standards and as such things go.*²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Temporary structures built during the war for short term purposes.

²⁷⁹ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.78.

The Vice-Chancellor's support would therefore not go much further than his initial response to Richard Hoggart's request, as it mostly constituted an agreement in principle and the tolerance of CCCS activities on campus expressed through the allocation of a few rooms.

Despite being only tolerated by the University of Birmingham, Hoggart did manage to persuade people to be involved in the Centre's funding, the most influential among them being Sir Allen Lane. Hoggart and Lane's relationship went back to the publishing of *The Uses of Literacy* in 1957. Lane was so enthusiastic about the book that he made it part of its Pelican collection²⁸⁰ in 1958, and the two men remained intermittently in touch²⁸¹, Lane often requesting Hoggart's advice on the Pelican collection.²⁸² By creating this collection, Lane, according to Hoggart,

*[...] had created a major democratic instrument; he had believed in greater access to the world of ideas for 'the people of England / Who have not spoken yet'; he had assumed that they had the capacity to judge those ideas in spite of the barriers which made access so difficult for so many.*²⁸³

More specifically, the Pelican Advisory Group:

*[C]ould make the analyses and then suggest how to reach readers who had hardly been reached before; but, and this was crucial, not by a fashionable intellectualism, nor by talking down or watering down, but by clear, firm speech. They all believed that it is important, in Forster's phrase, 'to connect', and that connecting starts in respect for both the subject and the readers. [...] [Authors] had to bank on people's potentialities — the most important of all rules of thumb in a democracy. In this, Allen Lane stood for more than commercial success.*²⁸⁴

The two men both identified the book form as a cultural space, within which one could access and circulate ideas. In this sense their relationship stood at the crossroads between formalising knowledge (through a book publication and research) and publishing it (through Penguin's editorial activities and Allen Lane's funding of the

²⁸⁰ The Pelican collection was launched by Penguin in 1936 to democratize non-fictional contents in paperback, affordable format.

²⁸¹ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.48.

²⁸² Ibid. P. 49.

²⁸³ Ibid. P.51.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

Centre). Allen Lane's enterprise aimed at guaranteeing access to otherwise unaffordable contents to the humble reader (thereby making a fortune in print).

Richard Hoggart's objective was distinct, and was, during this first exploratory period, enabled by the success of the Penguin empire. Presented in his inaugural lecture given as a professor in 1963 at the University of Birmingham and tellingly titled '*Schools of English and Contemporary Society*', it was expressed as follows:

*English [literature], once again and finally, has to do with exploring human experience, in all its complexity and flux. It is therefore always in an active relation with its age; and students of literature - some more students of literature than at present - ought to try to understand these relationships better.*²⁸⁵

This inaugural lecture would later become one of the CCCS's founding texts, framing, between 1964 and 1968, its theoretical and research output, and represented what Bourdieu refers to as an inaugural revolution. As described in the introduction, scientific inaugural revolutions alter the structure of a field by opening new areas of investigation. Within the discipline of English, concerned with studying the classics written before the end of the 19th century, Hoggart's inaugural lecture emerged as a groundbreaking scientific proposal, as no English department worked on publications belonging to the same century as academics, which professors would have probably instantly caught fire if forced to deal with contemporary popular literature. Richard Hoggart's position as a particular agent within the field of English studies played no small part in this enterprise. In Bourdieu's words:

*[Agents at the origin of inaugural revolutions] are almost always the responsibility of holders of a great deal of specific capital who, by virtue of secondary variables (such as belonging to a social class or to an ethnic group that is unlikely to be found in this universe) find themselves in a cantilevered position conducive to revolutionary inclinations - this is the case, for example, of new entrants who import into a field the capital accumulated in a socially superior scientific field.*²⁸⁶

As a renowned author and successful academic, Richard Hoggart relied on a great deal of scientific capital: one proof attesting to that is the fact that he was hired by the University of Birmingham on that very premise, which, as highlighted above, situated itself in a particular position within the field of British universities. Incidentally, he

²⁸⁵ Hoggart, Richard. « Schools of English and Contemporary Society ». *The American Scholar* 33, no 2 (1964): 237-55. P. 20.

²⁸⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre. 'Le champ scientifique'. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1976, pP. 88–104. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1976.3454>. P. 27.

was also a member of the British working class, who without scholarship support would have never been able to access higher education. This very position (as a working-class academic) provided the material for his 1957 book *The Uses of Literacy* and, a couple of years later, granted him the possibility to open his own research unit formerly attached to the academically speaking superior English department, and to make it benefit from his own accumulated capital as professor of English.

But there is more to the story. Indeed Lane and Hoggart shared mutual interests beyond affordable and accessible literature. In October 1960 Hoggart agreed to appear for the defence in the *R v Penguin Books Ltd* case, an obscene libel case made famous by a BBC drama series in 2010.²⁸⁷ Penguin Books was then prosecuted by the Director of Public Prosecutions (representing the British Crown) under the Obscene Publications Act of 1959, for having published an unexpurgated version of D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in August of that year. *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is D. H. Lawrence's (1885-1930) last novel, first published in 1928 outside of Great Britain. It enjoyed a sulphurous reputation in its almost thirty years of expurgated existence, as the novel was notorious for its graphic descriptions of sexual intercourse involving Lady Chatterley and Mellors, her gamekeeper. As Geoffrey Robertson recalled in a 2010 Guardian article:

*For the next 30 years [between 1928 and 1960] British customs erected a cordon sanitaire to keep out smuggled copies of Lady Chatterley, which by this time was being published in France and Italy. So Lawrence was entrenched in prudish English minds as the filthy fifth columnist, an enemy much more dangerous than predictably dirty foreigners such as De Sade or Nabokov (whose banned Lolita would have been a more sensible target [for such an obscenity trial]).*²⁸⁸

The legal case was one of the first judicial affairs where the 1959 Obscene Publications Act allowed, as Hoggart put it, that:

*[E]xpert witnesses could be called to testify to a book's literary quality. A book was now to be considered as a whole, rather than having its 'dirty bits' extracted and held up to frighten the jury. Even if a book were found to be obscene, its publication might be permitted as in the public interest if it had been proven to have literary merit. These were large liberating steps.*²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ The Chatterley Affair. Directed by James Hawes, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00876jt>. Last consultation November 29th 2022.

²⁸⁸ Geoffrey Robertson. « The trial of Lady Chatterley's Lover ». The Guardian, 22 octobre 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2010/oct/22/dh-lawrence-lady-chatterley-trial>. Accessed May 2022

²⁸⁹ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.52.

This meant that, for the first time, an argumentative, literary and academically driven analysis could be brought forward to defend a book's quality in a British court. Hoggart agreed to appear, for literary reasons: "I agreed, since I admired much in the book and, the abridged version being a filleted and tasteless thing, thought the unabridged version should be published."²⁹⁰

To give an idea of the atmosphere of the trial, one needs to read the words of then New Yorker correspondent Mollie Panter-Downe:

*[Number 1 Court, where the trial would take place, was] an unexpectedly small chamber, full of light woodwork, at one end of which the judge sits in a high-backed chair with a sword in a velvet scabbard hanging on the wall behind him. The general public sits in a gallery that looks like a shallow cupboard and is so close to the ceiling that, glancing up from below, one feels that at any moment the people perched on its shelves may come toppling down on the learned counsels' wigs. [...] [The prosecutor, Mervyn Griffith-Jones] had the sort of well-boned good looks — full-chinned and brought into period by his wig — that you often see in English eighteenth-century family portraits of country squires and their spaniels regarding each other with mutual satisfaction.*²⁹¹

Such overt anachronism expressed in this New Yorker article evidences the cultural gap between the prosecution and the average reader in 1960, a cultural gap the trial ended up partially bridging, partly thanks to Hoggart's intervention. As Geoffrey Robertson concluded his article:

*No other jury verdict in British history has had such a deep social impact. Over the next three months Penguin sold 3m copies of the book. [...] Within a few years the stifling censorship of the theatre by the lord chamberlain had been abolished, and a gritty realism emerged in British cinema and drama. [...] Homosexuality was decriminalised, abortions were available on reasonable demand, and in order to obtain a divorce it was unnecessary to prove that a spouse had committed the "matrimonial crime" of adultery. Judges no longer put on black caps to sentence prisoners to hang by the neck until dead.*²⁹²

²⁹⁰ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.53.

²⁹¹ The American Scholar. « Trial and Eros », September 1st 2010. <https://theamericanscholar.org/trial-and-eros/>. P.7

²⁹² Geoffrey Robertson. « The trial of Lady Chatterley's Lover ». The Guardian, 22 octobre 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2010/oct/22/dh-lawrence-lady-chatterley-trial>. Accessed May 2022

Cultural change and financial prosperity were concomitant in the midst of the verdict, as, thanks to the verdict, Penguin was able to restore both its image and financial stability. It therefore proved easier for Allen Lane to agree to financially support the Centre's work a couple of years later. Such connection has been widely made among CCCS scholars²⁹³, and is perhaps so obvious that Hoggart himself provided a less self-serving explanation to this generous contribution in his memoirs:

*Seven-year, tax-deductible covenants to charitable bodies were easier to acquire then than now. In the early Sixties income tax for the very wealthy reached 19/6 (97.5p) in the pound. 'It only costs me sixpence in the pound to be generous. The Inland Revenue pays well over ninety percent,' said Allen Lane as he agreed to set us up. It was inevitable that some people would say he gave the money as a covert thank-you for my evidence in the Lady Chatterley's Lover case. I am sure I would have asked Allen Lane for funds even if I had not appeared in his defence three years before; I knew him well enough to be sure the idea would interest him.*²⁹⁴

The negotiation that led to the agreement contributed to a different portrait of Lane's personality, somewhat at odds with Hoggart's insistence that Lane fundamentally "stood for more than commercial success":

*Allen Lane asked me to outline the proposal. Williams²⁹⁵ told him he should support it. 'What did you say you wanted?' Lane asked. 'Two thousand four hundred a year for seven years.' A look of enjoyable cunning lit his rather heavy-cherub's face for a moment. 'What if I give you half and you get the rest by asking someone to match Allen Lane's covenant?' 'I'm asking for the minimum needed to set us up. If you give it, I'll ask others for more so we have room for manoeuvre.' He gave a quick smile. Williams intervened: 'Oh, give him what he wants, Allen. You've made a fortune by riding cultural change without understanding it.' Taking a piece of paper from his jacket pocket, Lane said, 'All right. You'll have the agreement next week. Where shall I send it?' he made a note and the meeting ended. The agreement arrived within a week.*²⁹⁶

²⁹³ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton, editors. *Cultural studies 50 years on: history, practice and politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P. 24.

²⁹⁴ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.89.

²⁹⁵ Bill Williams, better known as Sir William Emrys Williams, was Penguin's Editor in Chief from 1936 to 1965, and was the founder of the Pelican collection. For more on the biography of 'The man who made penguins', see Meredeen, Sander. *The Man Who Made Penguins: The Life of Sir William Emrys Williams, Editor-in-Chief, Penguin Books 1936-1965*. Darien-Jones Pub., 2008.

²⁹⁶ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.89-90.

Stuart Hall's testimony adds another colour to the story: "[Richard Hoggart] said, I've got money from Penguin Books because they made so much money out of me, since I saved them from having to pay a huge court fine, by defending the publishing of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*".²⁹⁷

The written word can be a treacherous thing, and Hoggart may have wished to pay tribute in his memoirs to Lane's work as a cofounder of Penguin Books, leaving aside a perhaps too businessman like attitude towards academic research. Whatever the reasons behind Lane's agreement to grant the covenant (no strings attached), the money allowed, in Hoggart's words: "for the appointment of a fairly senior research fellow and a secretary; there was some left over to start buying books and pay travelling expenses for visiting speakers."²⁹⁸

As the first income of CCCS students in the autumn of 1964 amounted to a dozen people, it seems fair to assess that the Centre's financial perspectives were, in its early days, relatively favourable.

Once the financial question settled, a "fairly senior research fellow" had to be found. He came in the form of a thirty-two-year-old Stuart Hall, freshly arrived from London. Richard Hoggart recalled his decision in his memoirs:

*I advertised the research post and some good candidates applied. But I had met Stuart a few times and been very impressed by his grasp of this still inchoate area of work. The thought grew of inviting him to leave teaching in London. I finally asked him, and he agreed readily. The two of us announced the opening of the centre for spring 1964, and invited graduates to apply for entry the following October. For me at least, that was one of the best ideas I had had. Stuart, who had come to Britain from Jamaica as a Rhodes Scholar, was brilliant and particularly at home with theoretical issues, one of my weak spots. He was a Marxist and I a centre socialist; so differences of emphasis reflected differences in our casts of mind. But all was in the open and discussed. Neither of us doubted the importance of the work or, more, the value of different approaches to it.*²⁹⁹

This description of the CCCS's early project highlights a steady component in the Centre's history: the acceptance and circulation of several viewpoints, later turned into theoretical currents, to make and support the Centre's work. It also highlights that the

²⁹⁷ Hall, Stuart. « Stuart Hall Interview – 2 June 2011 ». *Cultural Studies* 27, no 5 (1 septembre 2013): 757-77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. P.3

²⁹⁸ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.90.

²⁹⁹ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.90.

CCCS is the product of discussions between two agents situated at the periphery or, in Bourdieusian terms, in a dominated position in the scientific field in which they wished to intervene, Hoggart as a working-class, scholarship boy turned academic and Stuart Hall as a Jamaican-born Rhodes scholar who was also one of the most prominent figures of the British New Left, and who incidentally never finished his PhD on Henry James.³⁰⁰ It should come as no surprise that they would rely on non-academic, private funding during the first years of the Centre's existence.

However, core structural funding secured as it may, the first CCCS annual report concluded on the necessity to secure more funds, aimed at supporting research projects already underway. The first CCCS annual report reads:

*The Centre is self-financing. The university provides accommodation and furniture. Otherwise we are responsible for raising our own funds. [Two thousand six hundred pounds a year for seven years, and a once for all gift of five hundred pounds is] our total income. But if the Centre is to match its clear possibilities it must have money. A number of foundations are being approached for additional grants towards work now being undertaken.*³⁰¹

Several foundations and trusts did agree to fund the Centre's work, and their role in the early years of the CCCS's history is explored in subsection 1.5.3.1. (Institutional networks: the CCCS as experts, Foundations and Trusts).

The following year (1964-1965), the Centre's report mentions a grant from the United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom, which allowed the CCCS to invite Professor Benjamin DeMott from Amherst College for a three-week visit, on which occasion DeMott gave seminars at both the CCCS and the English department³⁰², again evidencing the close connections between the department and the CCCS, epitomised by Richard Hoggart's position within both research units. For the first time and the very year of its founding, the Centre was able to invite visiting lecturers and even though Professor DeMott also gave lectures in the English department, the fact that funding could be granted by a foreign government body to an American scholar visiting the Centre suggests that the CCCS was already considered by some agents, very early on, as a legitimate research centre. This may have been linked to Richard Hoggart's status and previous connections to government work and

³⁰⁰ Hall, Stuart, and Bill Schwarz. *Familiar Stranger: A Life between Two Islands*. Duke University Press, 2017. P. 215.

³⁰¹ This first CCCS annual report was a preliminary report published before the formal opening of the Centre. *CCCS Annual report 1963-1964*, 1964, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

³⁰² *CCCS Annual report 1963-1964*, 1964, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

UNESCO, as a member of the Ministry for Overseas Development's sub-committee dedicated to culture³⁰³ from 1966 on, and, as highlighted before, to the international success of his book *The Uses of Literacy*. It can also be explained by the formal while discreet institutional support of the University of Birmingham, which had agreed to let the Centre open in the first place. This evidences an early nucleus of an international academic network and will be tackled in the Networks section (press Section 1.6. for more information).

However, the Centre still lacked the possibility to fund research projects autonomously. In an introductory section dealing with the Centre's future developments found in the Centre's second annual report, it is assessed that:

*The [...] urgent priority is to develop a number of projects which are Centre projects in the full sense: designed, mounted and financed by the Centre itself. Only in this way can projects be so styled as to yield answers to some of the problems of method and interpretation which have arisen during the course of the year. This will have the added effect of drawing the Centre's work together, and giving greater cohesion and direction to its efforts.*³⁰⁴

Such "Centre projects in the full sense" would never be developed per se, as the CCCS never acquired sufficient financial resources to independently carry out a project on its own, that is to say, to provide students with CCCS research grants.³⁰⁵ However, two externally funded projects designed and set up by the Centre are detailed in the report, to start in 1965-1966. The first, funded by the Television Viewers' Council³⁰⁶ through

³⁰³ Inglis, Fred. Richard Hoggart: Virtue and Reward. Polity, 2014. P. 171.

³⁰⁴ *CCCS Annual report 1964-1965*, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

³⁰⁵ The Centre did however secure grants from two government funding bodies during the 1970s and 1980s, the Department of Education and Science and the Social Science Research Council, which allowed it to achieve ambitious research projects and to itself publish results of "Centre projects in the full sense". These were, nonetheless, never directly funded by the CCCS.

³⁰⁶ The Standing Conference on Television (Television Viewers' Council (TVC) from 1963) [...] convened educational, children's, consumer and advertising bodies, with the BBC and ITA. Participants included Higgins, Hoggart and TV researchers like Halloran and Himmelweit (who sat on its Committee). For more on the role of NGOs in television and the debates around broadcasting in the 1960s, see Crowson, Nick, et al., éditeurs. *NGOs in Contemporary Britain*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230234079>. P. 194.

a one-year grant from the Gulbenkian Foundation³⁰⁷, focused on television and the public. The second was funded by the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust, already mentioned in the previous annual report as having contributed funds towards a study of the local press. The research was, in this second report, defined as a three-year project on the “role of the press in reflecting, mediating and shaping attitudes.”³⁰⁸ These two programmes were among the first research programmes undertaken by the Centre while funded by non-government organisations, which again legitimised the CCCS as an emerging research unit. Both programmes are discussed in the Networks section (press 1.6.).

But in the search for funding, things were looking up for the CCCS as early as 1965, when the University Grants Committee (UGC) gave the Centre a grant to cover “purchase of books and equipment.”³⁰⁹ The UGC was created in 1919 and served as an interphase between the British government (allocating funds) and universities and colleges (receiving funds)³¹⁰ until 1989. Since 1953, the UGC had been responsible for allocating government funding to universities amounting to up to seventy percent of their global budgets.³¹¹ The UGC therefore appears as a natural government interlocutor to secure some funding for the CCCS. It also shows that by its second year of activity the CCCS was able to favourably make its own case to the UGC. The report, however, still regretted not being able to provide student funding:

³⁰⁷ The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation was created in 1956 by the last will and testament of Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, a philanthropist of Armenian origin who lived in Lisbon between 1942 and the year of his death, 1955. Established in perpetuity, the Foundation’s main purpose is to improve the quality of life through art, charity, science and education. The Foundation directs its activities from its headquarters in Lisbon and its delegations in Paris and London, with support provided by Portugal in Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP) and East Timor, as well as in countries with Armenian Communities. Overview, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Date of Publication Unknown, <https://gulbenkian.pt/en/the-foundation/overview/>, Accessed May 2022.

³⁰⁸ *CCCS Annual report 1964-1965*, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

³⁰⁹ *CCCS Annual report 1965-1966*, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

³¹⁰ The University Grants Committee, created in 1919, is described by Michael Shattock and Robert Berdhal as followed: “It was primarily a mechanism for resource allocation, for the division of a given sum among a group of needy institutional claimants. It was not a planning body, although from time to time it was called upon to advise on where certain facilities or departments should be located. Essentially its role was reactive to the universities and colleges among whom it was charged to distribute Government subsidies.” In Shattock, Michael L., and Robert O. Berdahl. “The British University Grants Committee 1919-83: Changing Relationships with Government and the Universities.” *Higher Education*, vol. 13, no. 5, 1984, pp. 471–99, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3446715>. Accessed 10 May 2022. P. 472.

³¹¹ Halimi, Suzy. *L’enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni*. Ophrys ; Ploton, 2005. P. 45.

*The Centre is not at present able to offer research fellowships or financial assistance to research students. Most graduate students finance themselves, either by State Studentships from the Department of Education and Science, by specific awards for research from private sources, or by other private means.*³¹²

This pattern in student financial support (government studentships, awards and self-finance, which predominantly consisted of part-time work) would remain until 1988 and undergo variations linked to the wider British economic and political climate (following a period of relative increase during the 1970s and a sharp government induced cutbacks in the 1980s).

Funding remained one of the main CCCS concerns during this exploratory period. Indeed, in its third report (1965-1966), the “Future developments of the Centre’s work” section was concerned, first and foremost, with finance:

*An American visitor to the Centre recently observed that research in the humanities must be prepared to be short of money. The point is not lost on us. Indeed, we so stressed our shortage of funds in our Second Report that many friends thought we were running into serious financial trouble. This is not so. The Centre seems to have done very well in two years on rather slender financial resources. But the question of future development is inevitably related to finance.*³¹³

The fact that this Centre’s report would focus so heavily on funding scarcity, so as to be considered in danger financially by its friends and supporters, evidences some aspects of its vulnerability within higher education at this early historical stage. Indeed, as the Centre did not benefit from the heritage of an established field (as the first and only British research centre on contemporary culture, it was not part of a network of other research units in other institutions), it was, as established previously, not funded by the university. Moreover, the Centre reflected upon a very specific list of activities requiring funding beyond the visible tasks covered by a research grant, evidencing the fact that research does indeed cost money, money which the Centre did not possess. As a matter of fact, the final remarks of the second report precisely accounted for the different aspects of research project management undertaken by the Centre and impacted by funding:

³¹² CCCS Annual report 1965-1966, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5-6.

³¹³ CCCS Annual report 1965-1966, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.30

*As we add research projects to our programme of work, so the need develops to service these projects properly. This means that each project has to have research assistance, additional equipment, secretarial help, a proper allowance for books and journals in its field, and adequate provisions for travel and fieldwork, including the preparing, making and coding of supporting survey studies. [...] In part, this means that we still need to raise “free money”; that is, money available to the Centre to dispose in support of its work where the needs arise.*³¹⁴

As a pioneering research unit, the Centre was, at the time, neither fully supported by existing disciplines on an intellectual level (as it was attempting to break away from them), nor enjoying the kind of legitimacy that would sufficiently ascertain its capacity to acquire funding. Furthermore, this very clear self-diagnosis of the Centre's actual financial needs brought to the fore a whole set of administrative tasks that remain less visible to the financial balance and records of a more established department, able to rely on support staff. The Centre was not only creating its own working practices, it was also inventorying its exact needs as its research activity was taking off, a difficult task as the Centre was relying on meagre financial resources.

1.3.2. Accommodation

The Centre's accommodation or location on campus may seem like a mundane element to consider, this work however argues that this question played an essential role in the nature and self-defining of the CCCS. In 1964 the Centre was to be found in two places on the University of Birmingham campus: on the one hand, the staff offices and one workroom were located inside the English department's wing of the Faculty of Arts building, and on the other, three students' workrooms were found in Westmere house, a “ten minute walk away from the main campus”.³¹⁵ A map of the University of Birmingham (UoB) campus is reproduced below³¹⁶ to make it easier to follow the CCCS's topographical early wanderings:

³¹⁴ CCCS Annual report 1964-1965, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 22.

³¹⁵ CCCS Annual report 1963-1964, 1964, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 3.

³¹⁶ Campus maps and directions, University of Birmingham, Date of Publication Unknown, <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/contact/directions/index.aspx>, Accessed May 2022.



Figure 1 – University of Birmingham campus map highlighting the way from the Arts building (in the centre of the image identifiable by the “Start” button) to Westmere house (on the top right, identifiable by the “End” button), both CCCS locations in 1964

As this situation was far from practical, the second annual report, covering the first year of the Centre’s activity, stressed the importance for the CCCS to find a stable and unique place for its activities on campus: “The fifth priority is to enhance the sense of joint effort by acquiring a single geographical location for our work.”³¹⁷ This would unfortunately remain wishful thinking until well into the 1970s. However the Centre’s accommodation began to evolve, as four working rooms in the temporary “Law Huts, [...] adjacent to the Faculty of Arts building on the left of the entrance to the main campus”³¹⁸ had been allotted to the CCCS’s activities in 1964-1965. Stuart Hall

³¹⁷ *CCCS Annual report 1964-1965*, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* P. 20.

reflected on these temporary huts in his 1990 essay “The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis in the Humanities”:

We thought we'd call ourselves a centre because that might rally some troops and make us look a bit more impressive on the academic campus. But we were clearly far from any centre. Throughout the 1960s, in fact, we were moved from one temporary residence to another, in and out of a series of Quonset huts, provisional structures built during the war and intended to last about six months- until the German bombers came. But they never hit the Quonset huts on the Birmingham campus, and we occupied them all in sequence. In case we had any doubts about our marginal status in the field, this physical displacement and the space in which we operated symbolised it for us daily.³¹⁹

This topographic instability, here described as linked to the Centre's status (or rather lack thereof), influenced the Centre's identity, structure and place within its host institution: a constant renegotiation of the terms on which the CCCS should operate, taking place almost every year, any attempt at stability seemed eternally out of reach, especially during the years the CCCS was not directly funded by the university (from 1964 to 1974).³²⁰ Furthermore the fact that the Centre should be placed in marginal, temporary structures contributed to asserting its dominated position as an emerging subfield, as it was not deemed worthy of being allocated long-term accommodation. It seems as though for all the scientific and symbolic capital invested by Richard Hoggart, which allowed him to formerly pursue its research interests as Professor of English at Birmingham, this reinvestment did not, during the Centre's early years, fully extend to a physical recognition of the CCCS's work by the university. One may even say that during this exploratory period the Centre was being put in a corner or even, to a certain extent, hidden, parcelled out and excluded from respectable accommodation, which would make it all the more difficult to create a unified and stable practice and theoretical framework and to work towards establishing the Centre as a less dominated research centre.

³¹⁹ Hall, Stuart. « The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities ». October, vol. 53, 1990, P. 11. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/778912>. P.13.

³²⁰ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.



Figure 2 – University of Birmingham campus map highlighting the location of the temporary ‘Law huts’, on the main lawn, accommodating four CCCS working rooms starting 1965 (identifiable by the indicated address: “Somerset Road, Birmingham B15”).

Evidencing undergoing negotiations, the 1965-1966 report also reflected on future accommodation arrangements: “It is hoped that when the extensions to the Faculty of Arts and Commerce building are completed, it will be possible to house the Centre on one floor of the main buildings.”³²¹ Unfortunately for Richard Hoggart (who left the Centre in 1970), such hope would not materialise before 1976.³²² However this signals the primordial role recurrently played by Hoggart in securing accommodation for the CCCS.

Such negotiations resulted in a stable but highly divided situation for such a small structure, as the Centre’s accommodation was threefold during its second year of activity: split between the Arts building, Westmere house and the temporary huts by the main entrance. To draw on Stuart Hall’s reflections and above analysis of the

³²¹ *CCCS Annual report 1965-1966*, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

³²² *CCCS Annual report 1975-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 29.

marginality of the Centre's early status, the element of fragmentation appears as fundamental, as operating from three different places on campus, one of them temporary, has very likely played a deleterious role in everyday operations and entailed a lack of stability, going against the process of establishing a research centre relying on a recognisable identity. This shows that even though the Vice-Chancellor's initial response to Richard Hoggart's query in 1961 was not unsupportive ("I do not think we would wish to dissuade you")³²³, it represented a discreet type of support indeed. The report however states that for the next academic year the centre would be "located in 'Selly Wick', a house owned at the corner of Selly Wick and Serpentine Roads, a few minutes away from the main Bristol Road entrance to the University"³²⁴. The location of Selly Wick house can be seen in figure 3 below, pointing out to a potentially increasing marginality in the Centre's position on the University of Birmingham map.

³²³ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.76-77.

³²⁴ *CCCS Annual report 1965-1966*, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.



Figure 3 – Location of 'Selly Wick' house (on Selly Wick Road, bottom right of the image), the CCCS's planned location after Easter 1967

However, the move to Selly Wick house never took place and by the fourth annual report (1966-1967), it had become quite clear that accommodation had become a fraught issue for the Centre. The report reads:

The Centre is housed on the main campus of the University at Edgbaston. The Director, Deputy Director and Secretary have rooms in the English department on the second floor of the Faculty of Arts Building. A library and workrooms, seminar rooms, and accommodation for research projects have been provided in huts on the far side of the Main Administration building (in what used to be the Senate Registry Hut and the adjacent building). The Faculty of Arts building is on the east side of the main campus (Edgbaston Park Road entrance). The new Centre hut may be found by taking the main entrance to the Administration building; left along the corridor, first stairs down on the right: left at the bottom and left again into the back

*courtyard. The hut is at the far end of the outer courtyard, overlooking the parapet.*³²⁵

In addition to the paragraph, a drawing of the university campus has been included in the report (see figure 4 below). The fact that accommodation arrangements would necessitate a drawing to be made and inserted in the annual report makes clear that finding the CCCS on the UoB campus was an intricate task. It also highlights the UoB's lack of interest, or maybe perhaps contempt for the CCCS's activities. Furthermore, it may be said that the hut's location, as described in the report ("at the far end of the outer courtyard, overlooking the parapet")³²⁶ could not be any more marginal or any further from the campus's actual centre, materialised by the clock tower, visible from a distance and known in Birmingham as an architectural and city landmark, nicknamed "Old Joe" (see figure 4). It almost feels as though the Centre was being pushed out to the furthestmost limits of the campus's grounds in an attempt to make it disappear, or perhaps fall into oblivion, as it was located above the parapet. On today's University of Birmingham campus, this location has been taken over by parking lots and outdoor sports facilities.

³²⁵ CCCS Annual report 1966-1967, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.8.

³²⁶ Ibid. P.8.

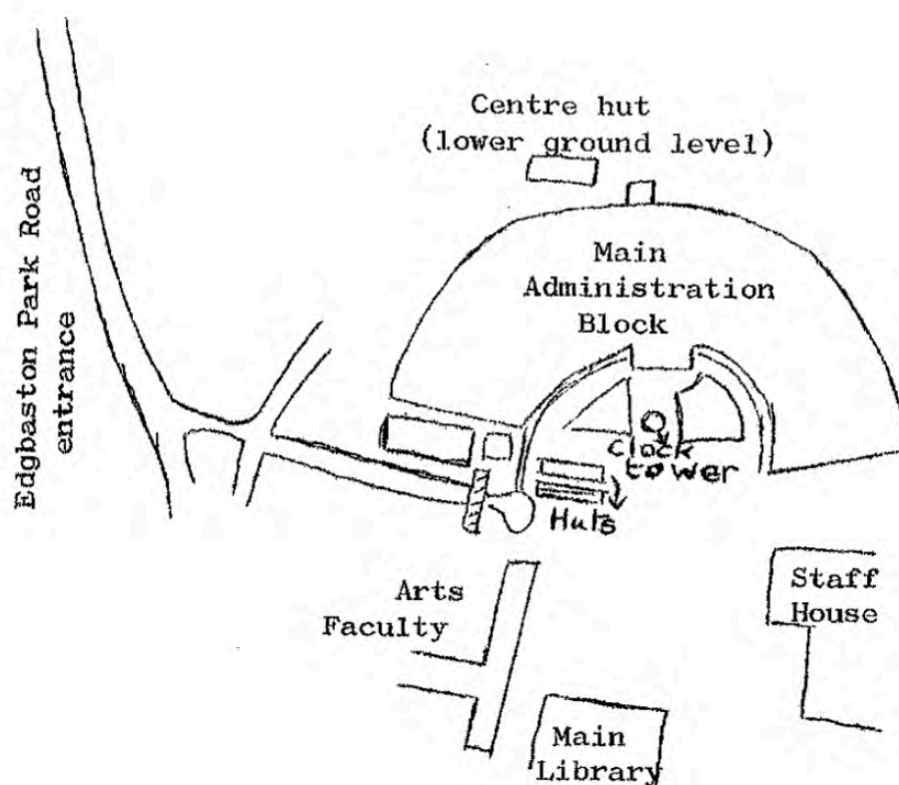


Figure 4 – Drawn campus map provided in the fourth annual report (1966-1967) evidencing the CCCS's different locations during the period

On the whole, it can be said that the Centre's accommodation status was complex, to say the least, so much so that it had an impact on its early constitution and work, in the sense that it could not enjoy the stability and unity of a corridor, situated in an actual campus building. From these early years, it can be said that the Centre struggled and constantly renegotiated the terms on which it was accepted, or perhaps rather tolerated by the University of Birmingham, which, this work argues, shaped the very nature of the CCCS as a marginal and even para-academic structure. By para-academic structure, it is meant that while the CCCS was envisaged as a research unit and was initially a professor's project, which would usually make it fall under the definition of an academic structure, because its scientific purpose was not recognised by its host institution, it was initially forced to exist, to slip into the campus's corner and cracks. The para-academic nature of the Centre would later grow on the political level after 1968, and although the CCCS's location progressively marginally improved over the years, this situation would not be solved before the second half of the next decade. This next step in the Centre's topographical adventure will be tackled in part two.

1.3.3. Governance

The matter of governance is key to this research, as each of the Centre's period under study is defined by its director. Furthermore, during this first exploratory period, the CCCS underwent a shift in directorship. Indeed two competing visions were hosted by the Centre between 1964 and 1968, that of the institutional founder, Richard Hoggart, which prevailed during the first years of the CCCS's activities, and that of the second Centre director after 1970, Stuart Hall. In this section will be presented the initial state of the CCCS's governance and the beginning of this shift, which will be given fuller attention in the second part of this work, dedicated to the 1968-1979 years, during which this shift was completed.

As previously mentioned, Richard Hoggart was a senior lecturer in the English department, and Stuart Hall was originally hired as a research fellow. In the third annual report covering the 1965-1966 academic year however, Stuart Hall is no longer only referred to as a research fellow, as was the case in the 1964 report, but as assistant to the director and research fellow.³²⁷ The structural roles and responsibilities were therefore evolving and becoming more precise, as Richard Hoggart's main engagement remained with the English department, leaving Stuart Hall in charge of most operating aspects of the Centre's life.

Matters of governance also had an impact on the shaping of the Centre's activities. In the first annual report, the Centre was defined such: "The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies is a postgraduate research centre for the study of contemporary cultural problems".³²⁸ In 1968, close to four years later, it read: "The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies is a postgraduate research centre [...] Its main purpose is the study of contemporary culture and its relation to society and to social change."³²⁹ This new broad definition had been implanted in the report the previous year and evidenced a shift in the vision Hoggart and Hall initially had of the Centre. This transition is already telling in light of the soon to come 1968 political events, as it situated the CCCS not only as a space where research was to grapple with social change, but also, as we shall see, as a structure that was itself influenced by the "dirty outside world"³³⁰ and the political changes taking place within it. The 'dirty outside

³²⁷ *CCCS Annual report 1965-1966*, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 21.

³²⁸ *CCCS Annual report 1963-1964*, 1964, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

³²⁹ *CCCS Annual report 1966-1967*, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.5.

³³⁰ Hall, Stuart. « The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities ». October, vol. 53, 1990, P. 11. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/778912>. P. 3 & 8.

world' was indeed a phrase coined by Stuart Hall when discussing the relationship between academic and sometimes elitist and protected work (using the image of the ivory tower) in relation to the world outside academia, with which the Centre sought to grapple. This notion of an outside world was analysed by Stuart Hall in his 1990 article on the emergence of cultural studies:

We [members of the New Left] thus came from a tradition entirely marginal to the centres of English academic life, and our engagement in the questions of cultural change - how to understand them, how to describe them, and how to theorise them, what their impact and consequences were to be, socially - were first reckoned within the dirty outside world. The Centre for Cultural Studies was the locus to which we retreated when that conversation in the open world could no longer be continued: it was politics by other means. [...] it was not possible to present the work of cultural studies as if it had no political consequences and no form of political engagement, because what we were inviting students to do was to do what we ourselves had done: to engage with some real problem out there in the dirty world, and to use the enormous advantage given to a tiny handful of us in the British educational system who had the opportunity to go into universities and reflect on those problems, to spend that time usefully to try to understand how the world worked.³³¹

Thus, the political nature of the Centre, here overtly theorised, had already, surreptitiously made its way into the structure and content of the fourth annual report (1966-1967). This emerging shift in the Centre's 'DNA' was therefore aiming at producing research with a purpose beyond academia. This would become an increasingly significant aspect of its research in the following years.

One last defining element concerning the Centre's governance and foreshadowing the end of this first, exploratory period in the Centre's history (from its foundation in 1964 to 1968-1969 and the aftermath of the student occupation) is linked to Professor Hoggart's professional activity, mentioned page 24 of the 1968-1969 annual report: "During the Year, Professor Hoggart has continued his work as a member of the General Advisory Council of the BBC and for the Culture Advisory Committee for the UK National Commission to UNESCO".³³² Though Richard Hoggart's work with UNESCO seemed to be a stabilising force for the Centre's longevity, Hoggart explained in his memoirs that his work for the UK National Commission was the reason why he ended up being shortlisted as the British candidate to become Assistant

³³¹ Hall, Stuart. « The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities ». October, vol. 53, 1990, P. 11. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/778912>. P. 3 & 8.

³³² CCCS Annual report 1968-1969, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 24.

Director-General of Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture³³³ under René Maheu's directorship in 1969 and eventually leaving the University of Birmingham and the CCCS to join UNESCO full-time in Paris. This career change will be discussed more at length in the Networks section (press 1.5.3.2. for UNESCO). But what can be said here in regards to governance is that although Hoggart was a member of the CCCS board from 1972 on and thus remained a strong ally, he progressively distanced himself from the Centre's activities after 1969. Perhaps a pattern can be drawn into CCCS history in studying this first shift in directorship: most if not all the CCCS's directors left their post in a somewhat complex (one could say conflictual) situation (Richard Hoggart in 1969, Stuart Hall in 1979, Richard Johnson in 1988), as a result of professional opportunity, university pressure and inner-Centre conflict.

Interestingly, in the sixth annual report covering the period from 1969 to 1971, Richard Hoggart is still mentioned as the Centre's director. He is however said to be "in his last of three years leave of absence with UNESCO in Paris."³³⁴ Stuart Hall was then described as 'Acting Director', and Michael Green, then lecturer in the English department, made his formal appearance in the organisation chart of the Centre as 'Acting Deputy Director'. This marked the beginning of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies' 'golden age' and shall be explored in the second chapter.

The 1968-1969 report, as was previously said in this section, covers the period during which the 1968 student sit-in took place at the University of Birmingham. However, little to no mention of the sit-in is to be found in the report, with the exception of a seminar given by Richard Hoggart in the spring term of 1969, titled 'Reflections on the Student Movement'. It can seem odd that the sit-in would not be overtly covered in the report, as the Centre itself undertook a study of the sit-in and its media covering, and described itself in the first pages of the 1968-1969 report as a "postgraduate research centre [...] [which] main purpose is the study of contemporary culture and its relation to society and to social change."³³⁵ It may, however, be understandable that Hoggart made the conscious decision not to mention the sit-in in the report, as it constituted an official document accessible to the Faculty of Arts and the broader university. Indeed, as the university was considering Richard Hoggart and CCCS students to be partly responsible for the sit-in, avoiding mentioning this — in the view of the university — disgraceful event in the annual report may have been a diplomatic

³³³ Late 1969 Hoggart received three professional propositions, the last of which consisting in being fielded as the British candidate to fill a vacancy in the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris as Assistant Director-General. The reason for him to be selected being that Hoggart had served on the Culture Committee of the UK National Commission for UNESCO from 1966 to 1970. Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.111.

³³⁴ *CCCS Annual report 1969-1971*, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

³³⁵ *CCCS Annual report 1968-1969*, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

decision.³³⁶ As such, the lack of reference to the student movement constituted a sort of “report diplomacy”, which was one of the purposes of the CCCS’s annual reports. Such reports, however, seem to have always served a dual purpose during the life of the Centre: an official, institutional one, and an internal and self-serving one. As annual reports they belonged to the documents research centres were expected to provide for admin purposes, however in the case of the Centre, it also represented an attempt at structuring the CCCS’s activities by reflecting on undergoing research endeavours and exposing the working conditions of the Centre in order to keep its allies informed. They act, today, as black boxes for the birth of cultural studies at the Centre.

1.3.4. Admissions

This section focusing on administrative aspects of the Centre will end by discussing its admission process, a thorny facet of the CCCS’s exploratory period, as cultural studies did not exist as such, making the student recruitment process potentially difficult, as no clear academic path could be a priori drawn and making it risky for postgraduate students to apply to the Centre. The second annual report, covering the 1964-1965 period, highlighted the diversity of the CCCS’s students’ statuses and affiliations, proof of the heterogeneity and patchiness of the Centre’s first cohorts. Indeed the Centre’s students were mixed, with students attached to either another department in the university or to another institution, and with people working elsewhere in Birmingham, irregularly attending the Centre’s seminars.

Another feature of this initial structure revolved around the status granted to both full-time and part-time students. As the report underlines:

Some students will be registered for postgraduate Degrees; others will be Occasional Students of the university, engaged in a piece of research but not presenting it for a higher degree. Some students will be working full-time; others will be part-time students, either those already working close at hand who will be joining one of the projects, or those who have taken half-time jobs in Birmingham so as to finance themselves for their research at the Centre. Provided these students make a regular contribution to the Centre and take part in its formal

³³⁶ What follows from this diplomatic decision is the fact that in this case, very few elements can be gathered from the annual reports alone to work out the different periods in the Centre’s history. To be clear, it was expected that more information would be found in the present report (1968-1969) regarding the November 1968 student sit-in, thereby establishing a clear frontier between the first ‘exploratory period’ and the second ‘golden age’ period in CCCS history, articulated around the taking place and impact of the sit-in on the Centre. However historical frontiers are seldom clear and often redefined, as clues that are expected to be found in a given source are often to be sought elsewhere. The November 1968 student sit-in is described and analysed at length in the second part of this work.

*and informal life, no strict distinction will be made between part-time and full-time work. [...] This pattern arises partly from the problem of financing the Centre's work. We have not so far been able to offer direct grants for research to students, and they have had to find ways and means of financing themselves.*³³⁷

This balance between part-time and full-time students became a defining element of the steady life of the Centre very early on. While stemming from a lack of CCCS funding for its own students, it came to define one of the Centre's most defining features: its openness. Indeed the CCCS, from its founding days, was open to students irregularly attending the CCCS's seminar, to interested scholars and to people who were generally interested while not being on an academic path. This openness situates the Centre at the frontier between the traditional university model, open to its students and closed to the general population, and a para-academic structure, open to the general population and more informally structured. The conscious choice not to make a difference between a full-time and a part-time postgraduate student, while being a pragmatic consequence of an initial lack of funding, nonetheless allowed students who relied on part-time work to pursue academic activities, in theory on equal footing with full-time students. While this commitment was honoured by the Centre in many ways (going as far as organising all the courses for one or two days in order to leave the rest of the week free for its students to work part-time), this research will show that there were limits to this pledge. In terms of part-time to full-time balance, at first, numbers steadily evolving favourably for the Centre from 1964 to 1979 (as more full-time students were registered than part-time students and more research grants became available) as the CCCS's institutional networks grew and with them their ability to secure grants. It then evolved unfavourably (as being a 'part-timer' became the norm) following increasing economical stringency after 1979.

Another commitment made by the CCCS regarding its recruitment process was political. Stuart Hall reflected on the admission process in a 1990 article on the emergence of cultural studies:

If someone came to me asking me to suggest an interesting project that could be done in cultural studies, that person would not be a good candidate for us at the Centre because it was not someone who had already engaged with and become committed to a field of inquiry which seemed, to that person, to matter. [...] So, from the start we said: What are you interested in? What really bugs you about questions of culture and society now? What do you really think is a problem you don't understand out there in the terrible interconnection between culture and politics? What is it about the way in which British culture is now living through its kind of post-colonial, posthegemonic crisis that really

³³⁷ CCCS Annual report 1968-1969, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7-8.

*bites into your experience? And then we will find a way of studying that seriously.*³³⁸

Such a reflection was echoed in the fourth annual report, in a much subtler manner: “Candidates should also attach a note indicating the range of their interests in the field of cultural studies.”³³⁹ This remark shows the plasticity of early cultural studies, as the field was not yet defined and the more pressing matters resided in finding people who would be scientifically interested. Furthermore, and drawing on Stuart Hall’s testimony, it is clear that the Centre was, very early on, interested in attracting students who had a political sensibility and could take part in a politically driven research centre.

The following year (1965-1966), for the first time, the report detailed the admission process and presented the degrees awarded by the Centre: “Those reading for postgraduate degrees are enrolled for either the M.A. or PhD degrees of the Faculty of Arts. These degrees are awarded on the submission of thesis only: there is at present no one-year M.A. ‘by instruction’.”³⁴⁰ This M.A. by instruction or “taught MA” would soon become part of CCCS discussions, in order to structure a set curriculum and contributing to the institutionalisation of the Centre’s work. This shows that the Centre offered two types of degrees from the very beginning, even during its early stages. However its curriculum was not precise enough to offer a complete postgraduate course on cultural studies. Such a project is, in fact, discussed in the “Future development” section of the report:

*We have, reluctantly, decided against offering at present a one-year M.A. ‘course’, for which there has been considerable demand. We feel there is not at present a ‘body of knowledge’ to be passed on, but rather a number of issues and problems to be explored. That exploration seems to us, in the present stage, to be a collective operation, an exercise in mutual exchange and self-education, and the severe requirements, in terms of lectures etc., which an M.A. course would entail militates against the more exploratory approach.*³⁴¹

³³⁸ CCCS Annual report 1968-1969, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.8.

³³⁹ CCCS Annual report 1966-1967, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.6.

³⁴⁰ CCCS Annual report 1965-1966, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

³⁴¹ Ibid. P. 31-32.

This reflection on the possibility of an MA in cultural studies echoes the title of this first part, as, as the report states, the CCCS was undergoing an exploratory period prior to its early institutionalisation represented, among other elements, by first the setting up of a taught degree. The taught MA would be offered for the first time close to ten years later during the 1975-1976 academic year, after the appointment of Richard Johnson from the University of Birmingham History Department.

Figure wise, the adequate size of the Centre's student intake was raised as early as 1965:

*We are not anxious to increase the number of graduate students, unless the studies they undertake add to our understanding of the field as a whole. We could not manage to take many more graduates – though applications are heavy – without additions at staff level, unless projects are to be less carefully supervised than we believe necessary at this stage.*³⁴²

At this point in the CCCS's early history, a priority was made by Hoggart and Hall to produce highly respected research in the broader field within which contemporary cultural studies were administratively being born: that of English. To do so, it was necessary for them to keep the cohorts small, as the field was not yet defined and staff levels were low (with Richard Hoggart's work as a senior lecturer in the English department and Stuart Hall as the only other research fellow in the CCCS). Within this early context, the first degrees awarded by CCCS were used as litmus tests for the approval of the Centre's work by relevant academic actors. This emphasis on strict supervision echoed an episode from Richard Hoggart's memoirs, as he recalled the reaction of some of his colleagues from the Arts Faculty as the Centre was being set up:

Most of the Arts Faculty staff seemed to wish the scheme success or, if they didn't, kept their counsel. To my knowledge only one showed malice. He told colleagues in the Senior Common Room that Hoggart was inventing 'a nice line in cheap hats'. It took me a few minutes to see what he meant: that higher degrees from the centre would be easily given. Stuart Hall and I decided that for the first few years we would offer no doctorates, only masters' degrees, and would appoint the most severe external assessors we could find, all from departments of English; if they were not particularly interested in cultural studies, no matter. Within a very few years we had won the Faculty Prize for the best MA twice, and two of our first three or four external judges had asked why we had not changed the candidates' applications into ones

³⁴² CCCS Annual report 1965-1966, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 31-32.

*for PhDs; one assessor recommended an MA to his publisher. That was hard on the first candidates, perhaps too hard. But it stopped malicious remarks about our standards.*³⁴³

This account raises the question of the field's entrance fee: indeed as Bourdieu explains³⁴⁴, a field's autonomy is highly dependent on the level of its entrance fee. Therefore when Hoggart understood that his scientific project would not be considered seriously by English scholars, along with Stuart Hall, they artificially raised the level of the entrance fee in terms of difficulty and by applying criteria belonging to another, more dominant discipline, which temporarily granted legitimacy to the Centre, before it could rely on agents from other disciplines interested in areas adjacent to that of cultural studies (such as mass media studies), and well before an emerging cultural studies scholars network could support the CCCS's work.

Beyond these early concerns about the sheer quality of CCCS postgraduate degrees, the third annual report's remarks on student/staff ratios echo later concerns in the CCCS's history, as the Centre would never be home to more than three full-time lecturing staff members. This is an ambiguous statement, as it both shows that the Centre was eventually able to secure a third post, thereby being recognised by its home institution; and that it was never able to secure any additional full-time posts no matter how many times it tried. It therefore heavily relied on the work of temporary research fellows and postgraduate students in establishing its working practices, which will be tackled in the following section.

1.4. WORKING PRACTICES

The working practices section is devolved to the Centre's scientific production. More specifically, it is concerned with the ways in which the CCCS produced scientific facts during this exploratory period. The section therefore covers elements of both what was produced and how as, as it shall soon become clear, the two were intertwined at the CCCS. In their 2015 *Social History* article titled *The working practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies*, Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton assessed the importance of closely analysing such practices:

The inner dynamics of academic units do not normally make for compelling reading, but the CCCS – or 'the Centre' as former staff and students frequently refer to it – is somewhat different. [...] the collective projects, the breaking down of barriers between teacher and taught, the general theory seminar, the sub-groups, the embrace of continental theory and the engagement with politics beyond the Centre, be it

³⁴³ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P. 91.

³⁴⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 140.

*socialism, feminism, anti-racism or the institutional provision and forms of higher education.*³⁴⁵

It will therefore be divided into three subsections, first dedicated to the course structure, then to the fact that, as an emerging centre, the CCCS's main aim was first and foremost to build a new theoretical framework, and finally to the fact that writing its own history while creating its theoretical framework was a prominent facet of the Centre's identity.

1.4.1. Course structure

In 1964 the two CCCS founders faced the difficult task of creating the Centre's working practices from the ground up, during a phase commonly referred to as the « making it up as you go » phase in the Centre's historiography. In a 2011 interview, Stuart Hall explained the process, consisting of aggregating "anything that anybody thought might be relevant to making up cultural studies, because that's what we were doing. Making it up. Making it up week by week."³⁴⁶ Hall recalled his arrival at the CCCS in a 2012 interview with Paul Thompson, part of the Pioneers of Social Research Project³⁴⁷:

I: So you were one of the first people there?

R: I was the first person. Yes. I was the only person there!

I: Yes.

R: And we planned the programme and eventually opened the Centre. I remember discussions with Richard about, "Well, what shall we call it?" "What is this field?" "Well, sort of cultural studies?" Things like

³⁴⁵ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton. « The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies ». *Social History*, vol. 40, n° 3, juillet 2015, P. 287-311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 287-289.

³⁴⁶ Hall, Stuart. « STUART HALL INTERVIEW – 2 JUNE 2011 ». *Cultural Studies*, vol. 27, n° 5, septembre 2013, P. 757-77. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. P. 763.

³⁴⁷ The Pioneers of Social Research collection includes the full interview transcripts, interview summaries, edited thematic highlights, short biographies and links to audio extracts from detailed life story interviews conducted with some fifty pioneers of social research. Undertaken by pioneering oral historian, Paul Thompson and his colleagues, over a 20 year period (1996-2018) the interviews record the researcher's own account of the influences which shaped the major phases of their research work, and how the research was carried out, including the problems encountered. The interviews begin with family background and education, in order to understand the key influences that originally shaped the researcher's interests, and also include some brief account of later family life, but the focus is primarily on understanding the research work. Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research*, 1996-2018. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>.

that! "Well, is it an Institute?" I said, "It can't be an Institute because nothing is instituted there! People don't believe that the subject matters [...], so it's not institutionalised. We don't have a programme, we don't have a methodology, we don't have a curriculum, we don't have a tradition of ideas". "No. Well, Centre?" "Yes, that's better". A sort of rallying point for this kind of work. "How should we do it?" "Well, we'll try to get good graduate students who have grants, but who are interested in moving away from traditional literary and other topics".

This excerpt from the lengthy interview provides extremely valuable insight into the Centre's early undefined structure. This description highlights the very initial steps of the founding of cultural studies, when this subfield in the making lacked legitimacy in the eyes of other researchers. Measuring scientific activity, with Hall, according to a spectrum ranging from least institutionalised to most institutionalised, allows us to make connections with Éric Maigret's sociological framework: "The history of sciences always unfolds in a sinusoidal manner: institutionalisation occurs, but it is necessary to regularly deinstitutionalise to introduce new perspectives."³⁴⁸ In this sense the Centre's exploratory period was the period for new perspectives within the extended framework of English studies, with the most scientific freedom. The cost of this freedom resided in the lack of support experienced by the Centre, evidenced by Hall in the search for students who were already supported by the institution through good results (Hall refers to "good graduate students" and funding ("who have grants"). During this early period, the CCCS relied on its own postgraduate institutional support in order to create the cultural studies theoretical framework and course structure.

The first annual report, covering the 1963-1964 period prior to the Centre's opening, detailed the CCCS affiliation to the School of English within the university, and the course organisation agreed upon by Hoggart and Hall, in a section titled 'Formal life of the Centre':

The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies is a postgraduate research centre for the study of contemporary culture problems, constituted as part of the School of English in the University of Birmingham. [...] In the main, the Centre will have three kinds of 'formal' occasion. On the Tuesday of each week in Term, a general Graduate Seminar will be held for Centre students and other interested faculty members and research workers. Here topics of general interest will be raised in the form of papers presented, largely, by outside speakers. [...] On Monday afternoons, a 'closed' Seminar, limited to full and part-time workers at the Centre, will be held. These will be critical-analytic sessions [...] The purpose here is to get close work going on a fairly narrow and clearly-defined topic. [...] At a later stage,

³⁴⁸ Maigret, Éric. '« Médiacultures » et Coming out Des Cultural Studies En France'. Cahiers de Recherche Sociologique, no. 47, June 2011, pp. 11–21. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.7202/1004930ar>.

*sections of studies written up, draft chapters or research problems will be presented and discussed at this meeting. Opportunities will also be available for the individual 'project groups' to meet to discuss their work separately. These will be encouraged, but each group will arrange and manage these sessions for itself.*³⁴⁹

Several elements can be highlighted here. The blueprint for a tripartite course structure was being established, with an open graduate seminar given by outside speakers on Tuesdays, a smaller, closed seminar focused on critical analysis on Mondays and a third, loose possibility for students to set up independent working groups during the rest of the week. The openness of the Tuesday graduate seminar should be underlined, as, as previously underlined, it constituted a steady aspect of the Centre's long-term structure.

The second report (covering the actual first CCCS academic year, 1964-1965), underlines that three independent (student-led) 'project groups' had emerged from the initial third leg of the tripartite course structure introduced the previous year: "one on Orwell and the Thirties, one on popular music and one on contemporary fiction".³⁵⁰ The last of these three projects was closely associated with a course on twentieth-century literature taught by Malcolm Bradbury, then a professor in the English department³⁵¹, thus highlighting strong connections between the English department and the Centre's work. In this report, a new formal occasion for student/staff meetings appeared: "Full-time research students of the Centre also have a fortnightly tutorial/supervision; alternatively, with the Director or the Research Fellow."³⁵² This new formal occasion seems to have appeared in an opposite order to what could normally be expected from traditional departments (first setting up a regular supervision scheme, then starting the academic year), which do not need to set up a new curriculum for each intake of graduate students, and could therefore focus on supervision from the start. This a posteriori organisation of postgraduate student supervision is symptomatic of the early "making it up" phase. This lack of structure in postgraduate supervision was, however, not unusual for the period, as Stuart Hall recalled in 2013 with Kieran Connell:

³⁴⁹ CCCS Annual report 1963-1964, 1964, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8-9.

³⁵⁰ CCCS Annual report 1964-1965, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

³⁵¹ Malcolm Bradbury, novelist and critic, taught at the University of Birmingham from 1961 to 1965. See Harriet Harvey-Wood, Obituary: Sir Malcolm Bradbury, The Guardian, November 2000, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2000/nov/28/guardianobituaries.education>, Accessed May 2022.

³⁵² CCCS Annual report 1964-1965, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

[It was] all extremely exciting, but, you know, because we were making it up ourselves, so there was a real sense of, 'You go wherever you want'. It's compounded by the fact that this is an early period in English universities organising graduate studies. So there wasn't really a place into which we could easily fit, but that equally meant that they didn't keep a tight grip on how those students were prepared, so in a way the Centre had an open field as to what they did. Did they do seminars? Did they have tutorials? Did they do individual work and reports, etc.? We could make it up ourselves.³⁵³

On a pedagogical level, according to this second report the course structure underwent several changes since the provisional description made in the first annual report. First of all, “the Monday seminar will [...] be organised by the Centre research students themselves, and it is believed that this method will make it more flexible than it proved in the first year”.³⁵⁴ This was the first explicit instance of student involvement in the CCCS general working practices, and such involvement greatly broadened as to become the Centre’s trademark after 1968. Then, the Graduate seminar was renamed the General Tuesday Seminar and its structure is said to need to become more precise (which emphasises the CCCS’s initial lack of structure): “The pattern and briefing of speakers for the General Seminars on Tuesdays is to be tightened up, so as to achieve greater continuity in the discussions.”³⁵⁵ Finally, a new seminar was created: “[It] is provisionally called the ‘Texts’ seminar. Its purpose is to take members of the Centre in detailed discussion through the most relevant texts in the field of cultural studies. [...] it is hoped in this way to build up a common body of reading in the essential literature [...] and thereby to create a sounder basis for joint discussion and interdisciplinary study.”³⁵⁶ This new ‘Texts’ seminar was meant to play a formalising role in the emerging cultural studies curriculum, and came from Stuart Hall’s own diagnosis of the CCCS’s curriculum early needs:

Well that [early structure] would do for a few weeks. But not really for more than that. So I thought, we’re going to teach some of these basic texts; that’s the origin of the theory seminar. And it continued with reading and discussion, until I formalised it into a theory seminar which

³⁵³ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton, éditeurs. *Cultural studies 50 years on: history, practice and politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P. 290.

³⁵⁴ *CCCS Annual report 1964-1965*, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 17

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ *CCCS Annual report 1964-1965*, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 17.

*I taught. And that became the MA - the exam for the MA and that went on and on and on.*³⁵⁷

The structuring of the CCCS's theoretical framework was therefore built from this early text seminar, as early as the end of the first year of the Centre's life.

In the third annual report (1965-1966), the pattern of work is described thus:

*The academic life of the Centre is divided between individual or project work on special studies, and seminar discussion. There are three graduate seminars each week [...] Individual thesis work, or work on projects are supervised at fortnightly or three-weekly intervals.*³⁵⁸

This description makes clear that the work of the Centre consisted of an articulation between individual and collective work and gravitated around discussion-based seminars, already drifting away from a strict tripartite structure. Therefore, it could be said that the emphasis on collective research practices and the Centre's openness were implemented in the CCCS's structure at an early stage, forming an embryonic form of the CCCS's later subgroups organisation after 1970. Nonetheless, the most powerful impetus for this collective organisation was to be found in the 1968 student protests.

To be precise, the general graduate seminar, the working seminar and the occasional seminars were structured as follows. Visiting speakers were invited to the general graduate seminar (in 1965-1966, several of these speakers were interested in mass communication, which contributed elements towards establishing a blooming discipline-based network), which was open to people outside the CCCS. Therefore, the general graduate seminar could be considered as a showcase for the Centre's activity, and attested to the fact that cultural studies early on was being formed from outside, as the general graduate seminar represented one of the three dedicated CCCS course formats.

It was completed by occasional seminars for people interested in getting acquainted with the Centre's work: "These are special seminars arranged ad hoc to enable visiting speakers to meet members of the Centre".³⁵⁹ This habit of organising ad hoc seminars for visitors fits into the early period in CCCS's founding and institutionalisation. Ironically, such visits would become something of a burden for later CCCS administrations (especially in the late 1970s and 1980s) as, as the reputation of the

³⁵⁷ Hall, Stuart. « STUART HALL INTERVIEW – 2 JUNE 2011 ». Cultural Studies, vol. 27, n° 5, septembre 2013, P. 757-77. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. P. 762-763.

³⁵⁸ CCCS Annual report 1965-1966, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

³⁵⁹ Ibid. P. 23.

Centre grew, more and more people became interested in visiting the Centre and getting to know about its activities, while the number of CCCS staff remained the same after 1974, thus making it difficult to accommodate for such visits.

The selected texts seminar, closed to non-CCCS members, was looking at “texts in fields of work adjacent to [CCCS’ work]. The aim is to build up our background reading, and to familiarise ourselves with methods and concepts drawn from other disciplines.”³⁶⁰ This seminar, linked to the CCCS library project (about which more is said in the Publications section), continued the intellectually structuring endeavour set up the year before and further (slowly but surely) defined the theoretical framework for the Centre’s work.

Finally, the working seminar, introduced in 1965-1966, was also a closed seminar. Its aims were to perform “detailed critical analysis and study of a problem or examples, or group discussion of draft chapters and ‘work in progress’”. This seminar, though vague in its description, was a project of a methodological kind. The emphasis on collective intellectual work was also stated here, as “Centre students are urged to make use of the seminar to gain the benefit of mutual criticism of their own research.”³⁶¹ These elements point towards a burgeoning co-construction of the CCCS framework in its early years, based on Hoggart and Hall’s work, as well as on the fruit of discussion between its visiting researchers and postgraduate students.

As a matter of fact, in 1966-1967, the fourth annual report provides a description of the indeed porous relationship between seminars and individual research: “There is no rigid separation between project work and seminars”³⁶², as the main goal was then for the Centre to work out its research objects and research practices.

Two years later (1968-1969), the search for a CCCS ‘voice’ and methodology continued. In an introductory paragraph on seminar work, the report reads:

Seminars are intended to introduce all graduate students to the field, to build up a common background of reading and research, to create through discussion and close collaborative work a common framework

³⁶⁰ CCCS Annual report 1965-1966, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.22.

³⁶¹ Ibid. P.23.

³⁶² CCCS Annual report 1966-1967, 1967, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.20.

*and approach to problems in the field, and to clarify questions of methods and practice.*³⁶³

By 1969 it was therefore becoming a stable trend that the CCCS's course structure was unsteady because of its lack of theoretical discourse and search thereof. For instance, the working seminar was invested with a new purpose that year: "Seminars were given on the work of outstanding theorists in the field of sociology and literature and culture [Theodor W. Adorno and György Lukács]". The working seminar thus did not solely focus on individual 'work in progress' anymore, as it was during the previous year, as it had become dedicated to theory. This change in the mission of the working seminar again highlights an early Centre instability, justified by the necessity to acquire a sense of identity. Furthermore, the seminar also retained methodological elements, as Richard Hoggart offered "three papers, in an attempt to define 'cultural reading'"³⁶⁴ in the course of the seminar.

Fortunately, that year the text seminar further defined this 'CCCS voice' in the making. Indeed its goals were more clearly defined in the fifth report (covering the 1968-1969 academic year): "The texts are usually drawn from the disciplines (other than literary criticism) most relevant to the Centre's work: the seminar thus functions as an introduction to the social science for those students whose previous training was primarily in the humanities."³⁶⁵ Here the distinction between two strands of students in cultural studies is being evidenced for the first time: the students belonging to the literary criticism tradition and therefore the humanities, and those belonging to the social sciences. This distinction is echoed in the funding bodies on which the Centre would later depend to finance its long-term projects, the DES and the SSRC, as described by Richard Johnson, the CCCS's third director from 1979 to 1988. The SSRC provided funding to social science projects and the DES to humanities or arts projects, a separation that could roughly match that of literary criticism vs. social science in student composition. As it turns out and according to Richard Johnson, the lines between the two were, in the case of CCCS, often blurry and unstable: "So we always had [discussions about] which was the best and which was the safest. [...] I remember that we applied with ones we thought were more social science and they said no, these are arts and we pushed across to the other body (laughs)."³⁶⁶ What this dual component makes clear however is that beyond being physically located at the

³⁶³ CCCS *Annual report 1968-1969*, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

³⁶⁴ The titles of the three papers are the following: 'Representative Selection', 'Values and the Problem of Evaluation', and 'Notes on a 'Cultural Reading''. CCCS *Annual report 1966-1967*, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 40.

³⁶⁵ CCCS *Annual report 1968-1969*, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 15.

³⁶⁶ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15 2022. P.6-7.

margins of the university campus, cultural studies also found itself at the crossroads of two disciplinary sets of disciplines: the arts, and the social sciences. During this exploratory period it was necessary for the Centre to draw from both to establish its curriculum, which it did rather freely.

Several examples of the freedom experienced by CCCS members within the established course structure are found in the 1968 summer term text seminar.

The first one comes from the work and involvement of one particular Centre student. Indeed, in a paragraph dedicated to Mr. Jack Hailey's work, the report states that "as well as undertaking general reading in cultural studies and making an outstanding contribution to seminar work, Mr. Hailey began a study of language and attitudes in West Indian literature [...]"³⁶⁷ It therefore shows that the seminar structure has been enhanced by Jack Hailey's intervention to the point of being mentioned in the Centre's annual report, again highlighting the CCCS's openness and student participation in the course structure. It can also highlight the Centre's dire need for contributions at a time when its scientific legitimacy relied on two staff members only (Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall). Building the cultural studies curriculum therefore was a necessary collaborative enterprise.

Another instance of freedom experienced by Centre members in the devising of the course structure is underlined below. The 1968-1969 report reads:

*In the final weeks of the Summer Term, 1968, these seminars merged with the work being done on Women's Magazines in the Monday afternoon seminar: this gave seminar members some practical experience in the drafting and analysis of a questionnaire, the building of a classificatory scheme for the analysis of the content of women's magazine fiction, and the analysis of a number of interviews related to the story.*³⁶⁸

Here, an individual full-time project, that of Trevor Millum, titled 'The Language of Advertising' focusing on "the advertising of products to women in magazine display"³⁶⁹ merged, or rather, took over the text seminars at the end of the 1968 academic year. Trevor Millum reflected on the project in a July 2022 personal interview:

³⁶⁷ CCCS Annual report 1968-1969, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 11.

³⁶⁸ Ibid. P. 16.

³⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 9.

*Women's magazines [...] just seemed to offer a really fertile area for investigation. [...] I think the interesting thing was, when I started looking at those magazines, I realised that people had written about this kind of thing before and had entirely focused on language and I thought, well, that's not where that actually is. And therefore it could be a new area of study really, not much work has been done on that. And a lot of it was very superficial. And so I spent a long time trying to devise a way of actually analysing pictures, which, as we all know, is not an easy thing to do. So that preoccupied me and I found it fascinating and I discovered then of course, that led me into reading material like the *Feminine Mystique* [by Betty Friedan, published in 1963], and the *Second Sex* [by Simone de Beauvoir, published in 1949, first translated into English in 1953].³⁷⁰*

What is meaningful here is that Trevor Millum had identified a relatively new area of research cultural studies could concentrate on, and the very object on which he was focusing was intrinsically intertwined with the historical context of the emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement. As Trevor Millum funnily recalled:

And I was reading all those books. So I felt that was a way of knowing more about the women's liberation movement than my female friends, although they still overtook me. But it was quite a nice place to be.³⁷¹

This plasticity of the CCCS's course structure, able to merge seminar content with a postgraduate student's individual research project, evidences both the engagement of early cultural studies with social change, and the need for the CCCS to integrate research objects into its core as it was produced by its students, another feature that would become stable in the Centre's history.

In short, by 1968, structural instability was becoming the Centre's norm, as establishing its curriculum and theoretical framework was more urgent than setting up a stable course structure.

This instability allowed, in 1968-1969, for the first instance of formalised collective research work to be undertaken by the Centre (as opposed to previous years, when collective organisation was left open as a possibility rather than formalised in the course structure):

In the last two years, a new pattern has been developed for the Working Seminars. [...] In the second and third term, under Mr. Hall's chairmanship, the seminar has undertaken a common project. This

³⁷⁰ Millum, Trevor. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview July 4 2022. P.3.

³⁷¹ Ibid. P. 3.

*gives graduate students an opportunity to undertake a collective piece of work, to which all members of the seminar actively contribute; and to put into practice in depth over a number of weeks the skills of cultural analysis.*³⁷²

One structural element emerges from this evolution of the working seminar: for the first time, Centre members were engaging in the writing of a collective research project under Stuart Hall's supervision. This was the first time during the CCCS's exploratory period that Stuart Hall was said to be chairing a seminar, and this shift in responsibility matched with changes in tone found in the latest annual reports (see next subsection 1.3.3. Building history). Though subtle, this progressive taking over by Stuart Hall of Centre activities was the blueprint for later CCCS developments (such as the formation of the subgroups in the 1970s) and such a shift made its way into the 1968-1969 report in several ways. One example of this evolution was also found in the working seminar, as it both relied on Stuart Hall's chairmanship and was influenced by the student sit-in, otherwise not overtly mentioned in the report:

In the spring and summer term, 1969, again under Mr. Hall's chairmanship, the seminar made a study of all the available written documentation relating to the occupation of the University Administration building in November, 1968, and the wider conflict between students and the university authorities on questions of student representation and university reform. This seminar paid special attention to the treatment of these events in the local and national press; but it also considered and analysed the underlying attitudes and conflicting views of the situation presented in such documents as: the University Registrar's report on the Sit-In, the account of the conflicts leading up to the Sit-In by Martin Lowe, the duplicated document produced during the occupation, the official document on student representation, Student Role, and other important official statements concerning these problems. Principally the seminar was concerned with the conflicting ways in which the situation was understood by the participant; the attitudes and values revealed in the ways these matters were written about; the controlling but unstated 'myths' concerning student and political conflicts employed in the press; the way the general assumptions of the press concerning politics, conflict, student and university issues, direct political action, etc. affected their reporting of the Birmingham situation. A number of journalists, editors, and participants to the event attended the seminar and discussed their views with seminar students. Some of the papers prepared by the

³⁷² CCCS Annual report 1968-1969, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

*seminar members during this project will also be published consequently as a Centre working paper.*³⁷³

The (long) paragraph is here reproduced in full, as it constitutes the only direct mention of the student occupation in the Centre's annual reports. As the student occupation marks the end of the first CCCS historical period in this work, as it represents both a direct influence of the outside world on the CCCS and the beginning of a shift from Richard Hoggart's initial chairmanship to Stuart Hall's. In a sense, this project, emerging from the working seminar, could be described as the first CCCS project emblematic of the next Centre period, from 1968 to 1979, characterised by established collaborative project-based research, rather than by the three original seminars organised in a more hierarchical and traditional fashion.

In this paragraph, the importance of the sit-in in the Centre's trajectory is suggested in several ways. First, and while it may seem anecdotal, the student occupation is being referred to as 'the Sit-In', with capital letters. The interpretation made of this element is that of a discursive conversion of a series of actions taking place within the walls of the university into a landmark event recognisable on the media level, much in the way the May 1968 demonstrations were eventually coined in French "les événements de mai 68", an expression which subsequently became part of the May 68 journalistic nomenclature in the French context.³⁷⁴

Then, a feeling of urgency and need for exhaustivity arises from the paragraph. The project relied on the study of "all the available written documentation"³⁷⁵, including five different types of internal university documents and the "local and national press".³⁷⁶ It also included outside speakers such as journalists and editors. It is worth remembering Stuart Hall's experience as New Left Review editor from 1960 to 1962 here, as such a project was certainly informed by his former position at the New Left publication outlet and as editor of short-lived smaller New Left publications such as *This Week*.³⁷⁷ These two elements therefore highlight the fact that the student occupation of November 1968 had entirely taken over the working seminar both in

³⁷³ CCCS Annual report 1968-1969, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

³⁷⁴ For instance, see Ignacio Ramonet. « Mille idées pour militer ». Le Monde Diplomatique, juillet 1988, P. 28.

³⁷⁵ CCCS Annual report 1968-1969, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ This Week was an ad hoc New Left produced bulletin covering the Labour Party conferences from 1960 to 1962, which provided exhaustive details about the Conference and its inner workings, while focusing on the broader issue of unilateralism in the context of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). See Eléana Sanchez, Mark Wickham-Jones. 'Stuart Hall, the New Left, and the Labour Party'. *Contemporary British History*, Nov. 2024.

form and content, which would have rapidly perceivable consequences on the CCCS's structure. Furthermore, beyond the two collective influences of the arts and the social sciences, one more characteristic can be drawn on the early founding of cultural studies: that of addressing contemporary, and even sometimes burning issues.

Four academic years after the Centre's founding, an undergraduate optional course appeared in the 1968-1969 course structure: "For the first time, in 1969, the Centre is offering an introductory course in Contemporary Cultural Studies as one of the special options for undergraduate students in the English department in their second and third years."³⁷⁸ Although a contemporary cultural studies undergraduate degree will not appear before 1982 (as a joint honours degree with communications), this course constituted an early attempt at formalising and institutionalising the Centre's work outside its walls, however temporary they may be (by this date the Centre was still partly housed in temporary huts on the outskirts of the University of Birmingham campus). This special option was mostly taught by CCCS students, a tradition that endured during the following decade, as Patricia McCabe, a CCCS postgraduate student from 1977 on, remembered in a March 2021 interview:

It was a whole university thing we had a, I forget what it was but it had a funny title which would make sense to the university. But it was basically, you had all the undergraduates spend a relatively small number of hours, it was probably about two hours a week, it wasn't anything dramatic studying another subject and that's how I got into, ended up in CCCS because I'd chosen their offer in terms of what my extra subject would be and who were examining it. I think it was, it was really a gesture as I said towards a broader education and so every undergraduate had to sign up for something that was offered by another department or school or whatever and, so the Centre did continue to do that as part of the university's curriculum, you know that requirement and so I was involved in, it was mainly students who taught that stuff and I remember certainly from a teaching point, I don't think I knew that when I was an undergraduate but certainly as a postgraduate I did do some teaching on that which was hilarious. [...] so we just talked about our research and what we were working on really. But it was good for me because it was the first time that I'd ever you know, given a lecture or sort of talked in front of a very big group of people and certainly the first time that wasn't in a political context.³⁷⁹

By offering a course to the more senior undergraduate students in the English department with a set bibliography and a fortnightly seminar providing "a brief

³⁷⁸ CCCS Annual report 1968-1969, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 20.

³⁷⁹ McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29 2021. P.17.

introduction to the field”³⁸⁰, the Centre was structuring three facets of its overall activities: first, it was building a minimum viable curriculum, adapted to an undergraduate audience; second, it was setting up a small full-scale laboratory to practise its teaching and research methods, again for undergraduates; and thirdly, guaranteed that a possible steady stream of adequately trained students could apply to postgraduate studies at CCCS at the end of their undergraduate degree. In a sense, through this new undergraduate optional course, the Centre was streamlining segments of its recruitment process, constituting a supply of students who were both acquainted with CCCS research and its working practices, thus contributing to the establishment of the field. One aspect that is particularly valuable in Patricia McCabe’s account is the fact that she experienced the Centre from both an undergraduate and a postgraduate perspective, and that she represented the ideal CCCS postgraduate candidate at the time, coming from the English department.

In addition to this academic fabric in the making, a new course appeared in 1968-1969 at the CCCS: a series of lectures on “‘The Mass Media and Education’, for graduate reading for the Certificate of Education in the School of Education. These lectures could be given by members of the Centre staff and students.”³⁸¹ This new Centre lecture series both showed that the Centre had become a legitimate interlocutor and lecture provider in other departments of the University of Birmingham at the graduate level, and that the CCCS had already implemented at this point in its history certain democratic practices, such as having students teach the classes to other departments, thus having the effect of professionalising its postgraduate student body (and making it able to rely on postgraduate students’ work while still relying on only two staff members). The next subsection will tackle the ways the Centre built its theoretical framework during its exploratory period.

1.4.2. Building Theory

This subsection reflects the CCCS’s early needs to establish itself as a distinct field on theoretical grounds. During this first exploratory period of the Centre’s existence, this need slowly began to appear in the annual reports and finally became a thorny question. As mentioned in the previous Course structure subsection, by the end of the 1964-1968 period this search for a defined and stable theoretical framework had become so pressing that the very Centre seminar structure had become blurred with research projects. Indeed, the porous relationship envisaged by the Centre between seminars and individual research was the seemingly quickest way to set up stricter boundaries in the field of cultural studies:

³⁸⁰ *CCCS Annual report 1968-1969*, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 20.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

*Seminars are intended to develop background reading, to work through methodological problems and to clarify questions of theory and approach which are common to all the individual studies being pursued at the Centre. Their main purpose is to build up a 'universe of discourse' and to develop a common style of work in cultural studies.*³⁸²

This description of the course structure for the year 1966-1967, that of a 'universe of discourse' in the making, evidences the Centre's strategy to acquire what could be called an academic identity, therefore constituting the premise of an academic field. To put this metaphorically, just as the Big Bang consisted in a state of high density and temperature in the history of our universe when primordial elements were condensed and astrophysical objects were yet to be formed, the Centre's early years consisted in a state of high reading and thinking towards expansion but yet without established frameworks to rely on. In all this vagueness the Centre tended towards some sort of homogeneity in the research it conducted, in order to be distinguishable from other contemporary research initiatives, a strategy that could be labelled as 'academic branding'³⁸³, although the term is, quite understandably for a research centre later known as a neo-Marxist one, not accepted by some former CCCS members.³⁸⁴ To follow Thomas S. Kuhn's framework, by founding the Centre Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall established new scientific problems, without having been able to define the legitimate variables (tools, theoretical frameworks, methods, etc.) necessary to answer them. In this sense the Centre's exploratory period falls under cultural studies' pre-paradigm period.³⁸⁵ But beyond strictly scientific considerations, Bourdieu's concept of field as both a field of force and a field of struggle³⁸⁶ allows us to view the Centre's early period both as a period governed by the initial modification of the structure of the field of English studies following the very opening of the Centre and characterised by the need for its founders to then struggle for autonomy, achievable in its early days through the structuring of its distinctive characteristics.

³⁸² CCCS Annual report 1966-1967, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 24.

³⁸³ Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton. 'The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies'. *Social History*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2015, pP. 287–311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 288.

³⁸⁴ "I don't like to discuss this question under the heading of a 'brand' because it seems to me the idea of branding is one of the most sort of early and significant and perhaps pernicious signatures of a certain kind of neoliberal style of thought and... At least that's how it seems to me. Did the Centre have a reputation? It had a reputation, yes. I don't think that's the same as a brand." Connell, Kieran. "Paul Gilroy Interview". June 7 2013. Unpublished interview with Paul Gilroy.

³⁸⁵ Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2. ed., Enlarged, 21. print, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994. P. 47.

³⁸⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du College de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 91.

From this search for a CCCS academic identity aimed at producing a coherent research universe that would set itself apart would also stem other less theoretical objectives: becoming recognisable would make the Centre better equipped to secure funding, attract students, and produce publishable material. In short, further credibility investment was needed in order to settle into a virtuous credibility cycle.³⁸⁷

In the course of this search for a theoretical framework, the description of the seminars on selected texts was actualised in 1966-1967:

*These seminars were initiated as a way of bridging the gap between the background training in literary studies common to most, though not all, of the Centre's students and the literature, methods and problems of the social science, especially sociology, social psychology, anthropology and the sociology of mass communications. This seminar is therefore an attempt to lay proper foundations for inter-disciplinary work in cultural studies.*³⁸⁸

It becomes clear in this report that the Centre's theoretical tradition was built on literary studies and social sciences. What this dual intellectual tradition makes clear, furthermore, is that after grappling with a culture-and-society framework defined by authors and intellectuals such as T. S. Eliot and F. R. Leavis (with its *Scrutiny* literature journal)³⁸⁹ for close to four years, it had become necessary for Stuart Hall and Richard Hoggart, if they were to find this CCCS 'voice', to look elsewhere. As Stuart Hall recalled in his 2013 interview with Kieran Connell:

*Both Hoggart and I were in the literature field, sort of New Criticism, the Scrutiny tendency as it were. We didn't have many other people there with a very strong background. I knew practically no sociology at all at that stage, as a formal discipline.*³⁹⁰

The integration of social sciences into the theoretical fabric of the Centre also underlines the ambition to make cultural studies into an inter-disciplinary field from the start. Lawrence Grossberg offered an exhaustive analysis of interdisciplinarity in

³⁸⁷ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 196.

³⁸⁸ *CCCS Annual report 1966-1967, 1968*, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 28.

³⁸⁹ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 80-83.

³⁹⁰ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton, éditeurs. *Cultural studies 50 years on: history, practice and politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P.290.

the *Cultural Studies 50 Years On* volume, and on its link to the emergence of cultural studies at the Centre:

Some intellectual projects have a unique claim to interdisciplinarity, and cultural studies is certainly at the top of any such list. Part of the mythos of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) is that it inaugurated a significant effort to change the practice of intellectual work in the academy, by emphasising both interdisciplinarity and collaboration, by creating a space of experimentation and convivial dissensus. In fact, one might say that interdisciplinarity is constitutive of the practice of cultural studies.³⁹¹

But it takes more than two to build an interdisciplinary theoretical field. Therefore, one characteristic of this early CCCS period when focusing on the establishing of a cultural studies framework is how much it was based on individual input. Indeed, some of the CCCS temporary members were given enough room to leave their mark on the overall cultural studies defining project. Two examples are described in the 1966-1967 annual report.

First, the work of Andrew Bear is being detailed at length in the 1966-1967 annual report. In a paragraph titled “The Background to Cultural Studies”, it is said that Andrew Bear, a former lecturer at Monash University, Australia, was appointed as a research fellow by the Birmingham University Faculty of Arts in 1967. As a research fellow, Mr. Bear is said to have focused on:

The growth of interest in cultural studies, popular art and mass communication within departments of English Literature. Parts of this study include an account of the rise of English studies; the various turning points (including the impact of Scrutiny) in the debate about the ‘effects’ [...] of serious literature, popular fiction and mass media; and the light which recent work on communication effects throws on the assumptions carried by this tradition. In addition to his research, Mr. Bear has been teaching this year in the English department.³⁹²

Although he is listed on the CCCS’s roster as a temporary research fellow, this paragraph may point to the fact that Andrew Bear was unofficially appointed to the CCCS through the Faculty of Arts, as a member of the English department. He seems to have, however and given his temporary accreditation, heavily contributed to the

³⁹¹ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton, éditeurs. *Cultural studies 50 years on: history, practice and politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P. ???.

³⁹² *CCCS Annual report 1966-1967*, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.11.

cultural studies theoretical *effort the guerre*, as he is described to have taken responsibility for conducting research and establishing in writing the background of cultural studies at the time.

Second, Alan Shuttleworth, identified as a research associate by the Centre's roster, was appointed through a four-year research grant from the Government's Television Research Committee.³⁹³ Mr. Shuttleworth had been formerly appointed to the Department of Sociology at Manchester University and was closely attached to the CCCS before becoming one of its research associates: he was the author of the Centre's second occasional paper, titled 'Two Working Papers in Cultural Studies', about which more shall be said in the publication policy section (1.5.2). The report also states that Mr. Shuttleworth would be "based in Birmingham, but will be available for advice on the content-analysis aspects of research underway at the Leicester Centre for Mass Communication research"³⁹⁴, chaired by Dr. J. D. Halloran, which appears as a complex arrangement, to say the least. Richard Hoggart explained Alan Shuttleworth's role and research production in a 1997 interview:

*When I was still at the Centre I asked [Alan Shuttleworth] to write a paper; and it's a splendid, crucial paper on the differences between the literary and sociological imagination.*³⁹⁵

The paper, titled 'The Content Analysis study', focuses on "One of the centre's problems in cultural analysis, and one of the main areas of overlap with other disciplines, [...] the field of content analysis."³⁹⁶ The work aimed at understanding the strengths and flaws of the major trends in content analysis, namely, quantitative research (the gold standard in sociology and communication studies), qualitative research (used in literature and cultural studies until then), and "modern linguistics, structuralist anthropology and semiology"³⁹⁷. This research project also contributed to the broader theoretical and methodological construction of the field, as it sought to synthesise and reflect on the major research methods in fields adjacent (or considered adjacent) to that of cultural studies. Funnily enough when writing his 'Content Analysis study' Shuttleworth focused on what Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar

³⁹³ CCCS Annual report 1966-1967, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.22.

³⁹⁴ Ibid. P. 23.

³⁹⁵ Gibson, Mark, et John Hartley. « Forty Years of Cultural Studies: An Interview with Richard Hoggart, October 1997 ». International Journal of Cultural Studies, vol. 1, n° 1, avril 1998, P. 11-23. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1177/136787799800100102>.

³⁹⁶ CCCS Annual report 1966-1967, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 21.

³⁹⁷ Ibid. P. 22.

believe to be science's lowest common denominator: exegesis³⁹⁸, at the basis of all content analysis and associated methodology, therefore allowing researchers to bridge the gap between qualitative and quantitative approaches and justify the interdisciplinary nature of cultural studies.

To conclude with this subsection dedicated to the Centre's early efforts to make out its own theoretical background, what can be highlighted here is that the CCCS for a few years was struggling to define its scope, and that it was organised in such a way that its members (temporary or not) were able to contribute to cultural studies in the making. Fortunately, the ties it enjoyed with the English department and the relative freedom it experienced made it possible for the Centre to survive beyond this early search and to go on to find its theoretical universe.

1.4.3. Building History

While the Centre may have struggled with its academic identity, both CCCS scholars³⁹⁹ and former CCCS members⁴⁰⁰ have underlined the CCCS's particularity to tell its own history as it was taking shape. While it was still securing its theoretical foundations, this facet of the Centre became an important part of its surviving strategy. In the words of Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton, in their 2015 article on the Centre's working practices, this tradition of writing itself into history was one of the Centre's most recognisable historical features:

*The CCCS has always had an acute sense of its own history, [and] was, from the beginning, extraordinarily active in the narration of its own contribution.*⁴⁰¹

This narration appears in the Centre's archive and is even present in its official records. When it comes to the annual reports, the third report covering the second year of CCCS activity (1965-1966) makes for an interesting example. It was the first report with an illustration on its front cover, a tradition that would be kept throughout the following twenty years, until the CCCS eventually merged with the Department of Sociology in 1988. This first illustration is a drawing of three little round characters in front of a

³⁹⁸ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 255-256.

³⁹⁹ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton. « The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies ». *Social History*, vol. 40, n° 3, juillet 2015, P. 287-311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>.

⁴⁰⁰ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview January 20 2021. P.9-10.

⁴⁰¹ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton. « The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies ». *Social History*, vol. 40, n° 3, juillet 2015, P. 287-311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 287-289.

television set: two of them are watching the set and the third is taking notes while monitoring the two others' attitudes. As the drawing humorously refers to at least one of the research projects undertaken by the Centre at the time (the Gulbenkian project on television and the public described in subsection 1.6.3.1.), it could be argued that the front cover illustrations of the CCCS's annual reports also form part of the Centre's attempt at both writing and commenting on its own history.

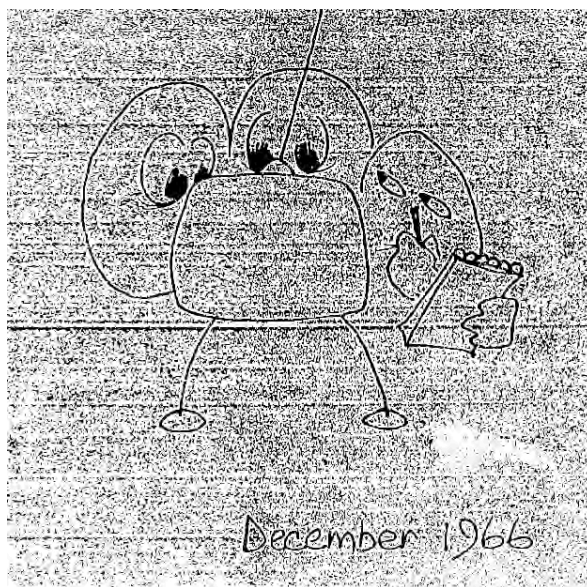


Figure 5 – Drawn illustration on the front cover of the CCCS third annual report (1965-1966)

The following year, the fourth annual report, published in January 1968 and covering the 1966-1967 period, is illustrated by a photograph by Mr. Richard Rogers, a member of the Centre.⁴⁰² The photograph displays the picture of a brick wall with a Brook Bond Tea ad⁴⁰³ and a drawing of a different character to the previous report. The exact signification of this illustration remains unknown (and may essentially be linked to the very common practice of doodling), but it might be another humorous comment on the Centre's tea consumption, used to fuel intellectual discussions. However mundane, it is however important to mention these illustrations. Indeed the fact that the front cover of almost each annual report would display a photograph or illustration made by a Centre member, and in this case, a student, demonstrates two things. First, an attempt

⁴⁰² CCCS Annual report 1966-1967, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.4.

⁴⁰³ Britain had a cluster of large tea marketing companies including Typhoo, Tetley, Lipton Ltd and Brooke Bond, as well as speciality companies such as Twinings and James Finlay. Brooke Bond was probably the world's largest tea company, with one-third each of both the British and Indian tea markets. In Jones, Geoffrey, et Peter Miskell. « Acquisitions and Firm Growth: Creating Unilever's Ice Cream and Tea Business ». Business History, vol. 49, n° 1, janvier 2007, P. 8-28. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/00076790601062974>. P.14.

at editorialising the Centre's institutional internal documents and second, an attempt at involving students in the making of annual reports, an untraditional practice by higher education standards that formed part of, especially after 1968, growingly democratic and horizontal working practices within the CCCS.

The Centre's reflection on its own intellectual tradition and history was also evidenced inside the actual reports. This fourth (1966-1967) report echoes reflections made in the two previous reports. It can therefore be established that a continual reflection pursued from one year to the next was becoming a stable facet of the explicitly self-written CCCS historiography and would remain so until the end. Richard Johnson, the CCCS's third director from 1979 to 1988, reflected on the role of annual reports in a 2022 personal interview:

*I wrote all the [annual reports] after 1980, and we tried to be as explicit as possible about our situation partly for our allies. And so we were conscious that these documents would go to allies as well, they were not just internal documents. So that's related to networking, keeping people informed about our situation.*⁴⁰⁴

The role ascribed to annual reports by Richard Johnson was therefore political, aimed at informing the Centre's allies of its current state (as the second CCCS annual report highlighted, such allies were so worried by the apparent lack of finding that some of them reached out to Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall in response). But beyond this strategic role of the CCCS's annual reports, its successive directors also diverted the reports from only serving an administrative role, and used them to write out their own history and carry out reflections on the future of the CCCS and cultural studies.

During the fourth CCCS academic year, this editorial process was taken to a new level. The 1968-1969 annual report's cover is illustrated with a photograph by Janet Mendelsohn, part of a photo-essay on Balsall Heath, a neighbourhood in the southeast Birmingham area.⁴⁰⁵ The photograph displays a street corner with a brick wall, on the top half of which is a billboard ad for Hunts drinks⁴⁰⁶ representing a woman wearing

⁴⁰⁴ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15 2022. P.3.

⁴⁰⁵ For more information about what would become known as the Varna Road project, see Khaleeli, Homa. « "The wickedest road in Britain": the photos that told the truth about red light Birmingham ». The Guardian, 11 janvier 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/jan/11/wickedest-road-in-britain-photographer-janet-mendelsohn-varna-road-birmingham>. (the CCCS annual report cover is as a matter of fact reproduced in the article); and Hilton, Matthew. « 1960's Varna Road: A photographic memoir of "the wickedest road in Britain" ». University of Birmingham official website, research section, 2016, <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/perspective/janet-mendelsohn>.

⁴⁰⁶ "Hunts Tropical Lemon Advert 1968". Youtube. Uploaded by Anachronistic Anarchist. November 28, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ggdS0G3TjSU>. Accessed May 2022.

sunglasses and sipping the drink through a straw while looking at the camera. The ad slogan reads: “Drink Hunts, taste paradise”. Under the ad stands a man wearing what seems to be a dastar, traditional Sikh headwear. Above his head is also posted a smaller ad for a Jamaican dance event taking place on August 4, 1968. The cover is reproduced below:

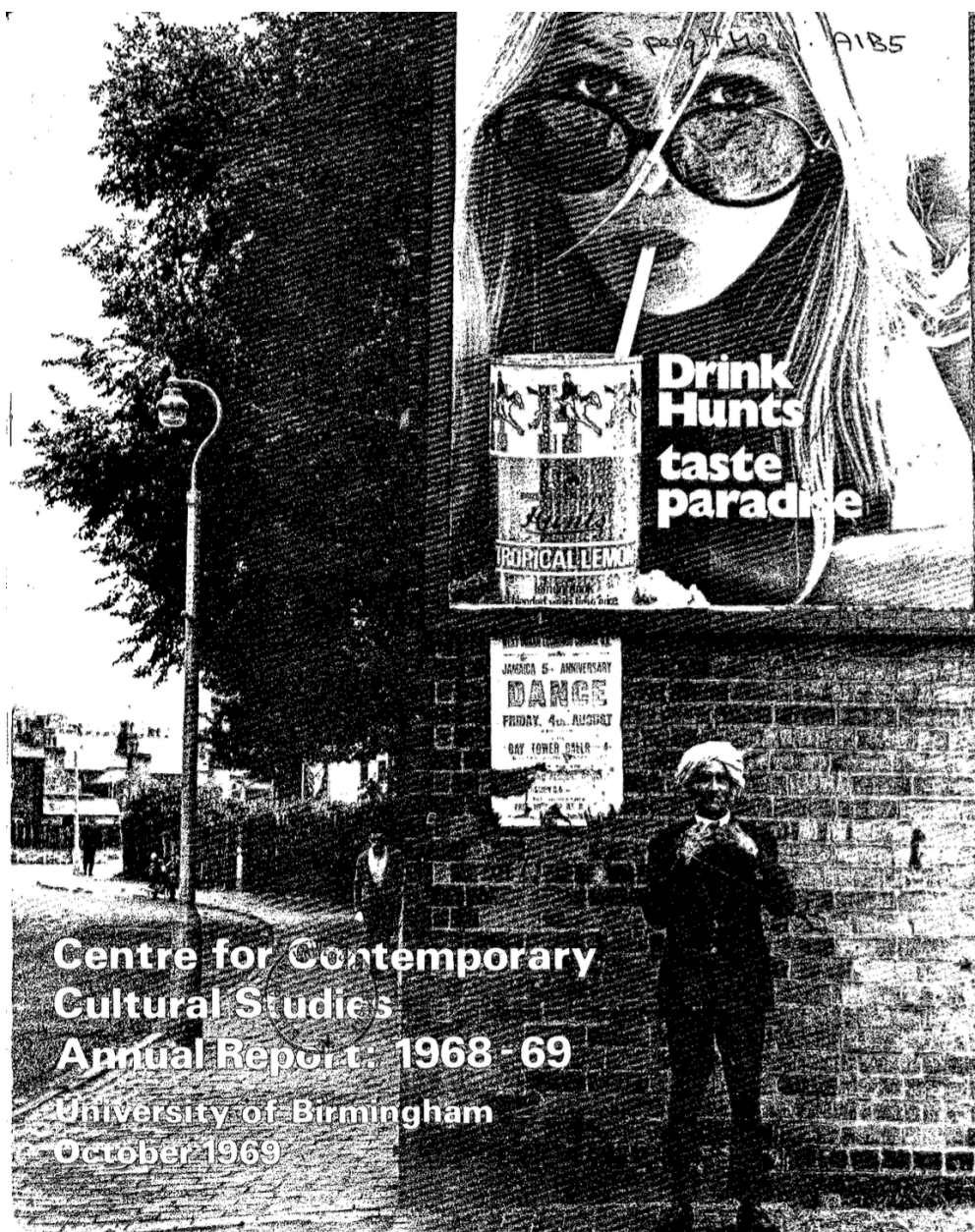


Figure 6 – Photograph illustration on the front cover of the CCCS fifth annual report (1968-1969)

The report was published in October 1969 and covers the period from December 1967 to July 1969: it therefore covers close to a one-and-a-half-year period, during which the student sit-in took place (in November 1968). Such a long period covered by an annual report was not exceptional in the history of annual reports, as several reports written in the 1970s and 1980s covered periods up to two to three years, matching the Centre's institutional complex periods and twists of fate.

This fifth report marks clear changes from the first four. A section titled 'Placing the Centre in its Context' has made its way into the first part of the report, traditionally dedicated to defining the CCCS' origin and letter of intent. This section expresses an intellectual shift slowly taking place at the end of this first exploratory period, towards a clearer definition of the Centre's intended area of work. This fifth report therefore ratifies the Centre's new position intellectually and to a certain extent, ideologically. To a certain extent, the clarification of the CCCS's aim is observable through the evolution of its annual reports' structure. The Centre finally had scriptures, defined by Latour and Woolgar as scientific literature from which agents in a field build a coherent scope of activity.⁴⁰⁷ The founding texts for defining the CCCS's field of study, as the section is titled, are the following: Richard Hoggart's inaugural lecture at the University of Birmingham, his own *Uses of Literacy* published in 1957, and two working papers authored by Hoggart and titled *The Literary Imagination and the Study of Society* and *Contemporary Cultural Studies*. They also include Raymond Williams' *Long Revolution* and *Culture and Society* and E. P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working-Class*.⁴⁰⁸ From this list it can be asserted that the early CCCS theoretical framework was heavily influenced by Richard Hoggart's own work, so much so that he could be identified, for the first few years of CCCS activities, as the only authoritative voice. As Bourdieu argues, scientific revolutions are more likely to be led by agents who, while in a dominated position in a field, have accumulated the most scientific capital.⁴⁰⁹ The strategies implemented by such agents tend to be of a subversive kind and to be built around agents with "a reputation that, for at least some of them, far exceeds the boundaries of the academic field"⁴¹⁰, to the point of having one's work become part of the new scientific mythology.⁴¹¹ The two disciplines represented in this mythology are therefore English literature and history. The questioning behind the need for cultural studies was, according to the text, stemming from perceived change in postwar Britain and so was deeply connected to historical reflections. This theoretical framework in the making was said to have:

Expressed, crystallised and attempted to transcend a peculiar 'moment' in postwar British society and culture. [...] that point in the mid-fifties when we became aware of a profound historical and cultural transformation in British society. [...] This moment was described in

⁴⁰⁷ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 54.

⁴⁰⁸ *CCCS Annual report 1967-1968*, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.1.

⁴⁰⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 140.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ Here mythology refers to "a broad frame of reference within which can be situated the activities and practices of a particular culture (Barthes, 1957)" See Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 54.

*various ways at the time — ‘the onset of the affluent society’, ‘the birth of mass society’ etc. in retrospect, it is perhaps better understood as the emergence of post-industrial society and culture, within a network of historical continuities, a structure of values and relationships, inherited from the past.*⁴¹²

The historical nature of cultural studies was therefore hereby ascertained by Stuart Hall, whose voice became prominent in defining the cultural studies project at the end of the 1960s. Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams being literary academic experts, it seems only natural that the historical shift perceived by them should be explored in literary terms, in a reflexive tension between literature and the society it inescapably described. In the words of the annual report:

*[Hoggart and Williams] were thus both inheritors of, and in an active relation to, that prolonged engagement between the literary imagination and industrial-capitalist culture which constitutes, precisely, the cultural formation which (after William’s own work) we have learned to call ‘the culture-and-society’ tradition.*⁴¹³

Furthermore, the culture-and-society tradition represented by Raymond Williams as its figurehead, was not the only intellectual tradition aiming at explaining British postwar social changes, and

*Stood in a creative tension with the most powerful [...] school of thinking on this question — that represented by F. R. Leavis and Scrutiny; and with the most powerful theoretical formulations of the problem — that of the socialist tradition, especially Marxism.*⁴¹⁴

This is the first appearance of a political framework in the building of the field of cultural studies. Inherited from the British New Left and Stuart Hall’s formation, Marxism and its derivations would become the hegemonic theoretical and political framework of the post-1968 CCCS.⁴¹⁵ The tension between these three schools of thought (literature and society, Scrutiny and Marxism) allowed the CCCS to come to

⁴¹² CCCS Annual report 1967-1968, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. 1-2.

⁴¹³ Ibid. P.2.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Dworkin, Dennis L. Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 141.

terms with the theoretical weaknesses of the literature-and society tradition⁴¹⁶ by trying to understand, beyond the historical shift envisaged as an entry point into the field, culture itself:

*Culture [...] had to be understood as the whole pattern of configuration of values and meaning in a society — both those coming through as living structures from the past, and the active and creative forms in which the society experienced itself in the present and envisaged its future shape.*⁴¹⁷

This definition (broad by any standard) allowed the Centre's scope to expand so as to become a way to look at contemporary society in political terms rather than doing research for the sole sake of doing research. The report indeed presented the ways in which such a wide research object should be tackled, and thus established a clear link between the CCCS's political, therefore non-neutral framework, and its intellectual research object:

*It followed from this that the study of culture had to be the study of meaningful action, the play of values in action, the movement and counter-movement of significant ideas and feelings — those ideas and feelings by which society lived and understood itself, and those ideas by which society changed itself and understood its own process of change. No less 'neutral' activity could be conceived. The figures in the 'culture-and-society' tradition were not concerned with founding new academic empires: they were concerned with coming to terms with, and changing, the drift and direction of society. Therefore, the act of bringing such studies into the university and within the orbit of intellectual inquiry, was not to neutralise and formalise the critical activity, but to hive its proper space to work in, and the disciplined attention such problems deserve and demand.*⁴¹⁸

Cultural studies were therefore not meant to leave their permanent mark on academia; they were concerned with achieving political and social change. This far from 'neutral activity' was, according to Catherine Hall, a defining element of the political ethos of the 1960s:

⁴¹⁶ CCCS Annual report 1967-1968, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 3.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid. P.4.

*What the politics of that period were, because that was what was so important actually, how did you begin to transform the world?*⁴¹⁹

Ironically enough, cultural studies however did succeed in leaving its permanent mark on academia and somewhat did create an academic empire as a legitimised field of study, perhaps more so than achieving social change (it is more difficult to quantify ideological change than the numbers of cultural studies departments and careers). Yet in the early period of cultural studies development at Birmingham the journey to achieve this heavily political task within university walls, the report concluded, was nothing but straightforward:

*The work has been simultaneously practical and theoretical — and therefore, slow and tentative. Necessarily so.*⁴²⁰

This self-reflectiveness expressed by the CCCS founders, as well as the editorial process of its own developments in the annual reports, has therefore contributed to building a history of the CCCS primarily told by its very actors. It has since then become referred to as a myth: as Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton established, when mentioning the “occasional mythologising of the CCCS”.⁴²¹ This mythologisation, largely achieved through this self-narrating has contributed to making the Centre known in early stages in academic and political circles, and to secure a strong enough reputation that allowed the CCCS to grow and survive beyond this exploratory phase.

1.5. PUBLICATION POLICY

One important argument of this work is that central to the CCCS’s burgeoning reputation was its publication policy. Indeed, as Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall were working on establishing the Centre and legitimising its presence within the University of Birmingham’s walls (including on its courts, as much of the centre’s exploratory period was spent in temporary huts on the campus’s loans), the work they undertook was manifold. While the previous sections have focused on administrative work and the Centre’s inner working practices, this section will focus on the ways publication was envisaged as a policy and invested as a means to make the CCCS’s research known outside the University of Birmingham. Such a burgeoning policy proved

⁴¹⁹ Hall, Catherine. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 25 2021. P.6.

⁴²⁰ CCCS Annual report 1967-1968, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.5.

⁴²¹ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton. « The Working Practices of Birmingham’s Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies ». *Social History*, vol. 40, n° 3, juillet 2015, P. 287-311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 287-289.

successful in a tangible way, as several former Centre students, when asked about how they first heard of the CCCS, answered that they had been acquainted with its work via copies of a *Working Paper in Cultural Studies* (a format published between 1971 and 1977) found by chance outside the university, and as a matter of fact, sometimes outside the city of Birmingham. Bill Schwarz, professor of English at Queen Mary University (London) and a CCCS student from 1975 on recalls his first encounter with CCCS publications in a 2020 personal interview:

I: Can you tell me about your educational background before arriving at the CCCS in 1975?

R: I went to York University in the North of England, which is a very small university. And I studied History and English Literature, and I became much more attracted to History than to Literature. And I had a friend there who showed me copies of Working Papers in Cultural Studies. [...] So I applied to Birmingham to the cultural studies centre.⁴²²

This account shows that the Centre's attempt at 'getting itself out there' was an efficient one. In this section will be tackled the ways in which the Centre first articulated this publication policy, before enjoying a nationwide academic and political reputation that could genuinely prompt prospective students from other universities to apply to its programmes.

1.5.1. Building a Cultural Studies Library Collection

Before any publishing could be done, the Centre started by working on building a cultural studies library, serving several purposes. It would constitute the Centre's own theoretical database, be used by CCCS members, and could also be consulted by outside visitors to allow them to get a full grasp of the cultural studies 'universe of discourse' discussed in the Working Practices section (1.4.2. Building theory subsection). This endeavour started as early as 1965, besides the Centre's topographical instability, and allowed the CCCS to develop on both theoretical and institutional grounds:

The Centre is attempting to build up, as support for its research programme, a selection of the relevant literature, and of the wide range of relevant periodicals. The Centre Library received in 1964 generous gifts of books from almost all the publishers in the field, and free subscriptions to a number of journals and periodicals. These form the basis of the small collection to date. It is planned to expand by buying, as a first priority, those books and other materials which relate to the

⁴²² Schwarz, Bill. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview November 24 2020. P.2.

*fields where work is currently being pursued at the Centre. From the beginning of the next academic year, the Centre will have the services of a part-time librarian to assist with the cataloguing of entries and the building of a bibliography.*⁴²³

Such a project tied together several conditions under which the Centre's existence and survival were already starting to become ascertained. First of all, the project formalised the constitution of a stable bibliographical collection highlighting the cultural studies founding texts, thus building a 'physical' repertoire on which the Centre's work could draw. Then, the activation of a publishers' network, which members were willing to contribute free material to the Centre, had different implications, linked to the nature of the provided published items. Books and periodicals serve different purposes in the circulation of ideas: periodicals bring together interventions of a relatively ephemeral kind, but closely attached to the time of publication, they allow for a continuous conversation to take place in the world of ideas by connecting authors and traditions together. Books, on the other hand, make for long and detailed interventions. They are needed to structure debates and controversies in a field. However, they do not directly connect to a wider conversation, as they are often one-time occurrences. Therefore, by providing the Centre with books for their library, publishers allowed new interventions to be informed by previous structuring discourse produced in the adjacent fields. Within Latour and Woolgar's framework, such contributions to a CCCS library anchored cultural studies in the process of scientific production, as the Centre's publication would therefore become the result of merging previous literature into new scientific texts.⁴²⁴ Furthermore Latour and Woolgar highlight how scientists rely on former scientific productions to assist and legitimise their own: "By borrowing well-established knowledge [...] the laboratory can harness the enormous power of tens of other fields for its own purposes."⁴²⁵ Therefore by providing periodicals to the library, publishers made available the means for such new interventions to be powerfully made part of a wider conversation. Such contributions shall not be judged as exclusively philanthropic, as, as we have seen in the case of Penguin Books and shall see with Hutchinson after 1978 (1.3.1 Funding), historically speaking research publishing has seldom been an unprofitable activity. Finally, the library allowed the research unit to become more institutionalised within the University of Birmingham, as it relied on new CCCS staff. The new Centre library allowed for the Centre's work to be administered by not only Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall and Eleanor Insch, the then full-time secretary, but also by a new staff member, Joan Goode⁴²⁶ (part-time librarian in

⁴²³ CCCS Annual report 1964-1965, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

⁴²⁴ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 47.

⁴²⁵ Ibid. P. 65.

⁴²⁶ CCCS Annual report 1964-1965, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 24.

1965-1966), about whom more shall be said later. For now, it can already be said that the fact that one more person became part of the support staff meant that the Centre's library was both expanding and becoming more structured, parallelly to its theoretical framework and working practices.

1.5.2. In-house Publications

Building on the library collection and on the still unstable cultural studies early theoretical framework, the CCCS was able to publish its own first in-house publications as early as 1965, in a format titled Occasional Papers. Seven are listed in the CCCS archive held at the University of Birmingham Cadbury Library and have been briefly mentioned in the previous sections. The first occasional paper, *Possibilities for Local Radio* (1965) was written by Rachel Powell, one of the first CCCS postgraduate students and lead postgraduate researcher on two privately funded Centre research projects. The second series of Occasional Papers, titled *Two Working Papers in Cultural Studies* (1966) was written by Alan Shuttleworth, already mentioned in the Building Theory subsection (press 1.4.2.). *The Literary Imagination and the Study of Society* (1967) written by Richard Hoggart was the third Occasional Paper in Cultural Studies; *Claude Levi-Strauss and the Cultural Sciences* (1968) by Tim Moore, a lecturer in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Birmingham was the fourth. The Fifth, *Sociology and Cultural Studies: some problems* (1968) was written by Rolf Meyersohn, as Visiting Fulbright Professor at the Centre between 1967 and 1968. The sixth, *Contemporary Cultural Studies* (1969) was again written by Richard Hoggart, and finally *New Trends in the Study of Mass Communications* (1968) was the work of no other than Edgar Morin (French Sociologist and Philosopher born in 1921) on the occasion of a UNESCO roundtable organised in 1968 in Montreal, on “the cultural value of film, radio and television”.⁴²⁷

As the list makes clear, while the early CCCS in-house publication format was heavily influenced by Richard Hoggart, it also took into account and highlighted other contributions, such as postgraduate students' contributions based on local radio and funded by the Rowntree Memorial Trust and the Gulbenkian Foundation; visiting and temporary researchers such as Tim Moore, Rolf Meyersohn and Alan Shuttleworth; as well as foreign intellectual figures such as Edgar Morin, via UNESCO connections. While these publications reflect the various networks on which the Centre's early years' work relied, networks which will be analysed in the next section, this list makes clear that as early as 1965 the Centre was actively involved in the sharing and publicising of its early theoretical tribulations, in order to make its presence known in the intellectual landscape. The diversity of interventions observable in the Occasional Papers format is characteristic of this exploratory period and this strategy did seem to

⁴²⁷ Edgar Morin. *New Trends in the Study of Mass Communications*. 1968, <https://calmview.bham.ac.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=XUB%2fCCCS%2fA%2f1%2f6>. Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications.

pay off (as outside scholars and intellectuals did contribute to the publication and to cultural studies at large) even though the cultural studies curriculum or “universe of discourse” was, as underlined in the last annual report of the period, “slow and tentative”.⁴²⁸

The size of this subsection reflects the CCCS’s publication policy burgeoning status during this first exploratory period. One element that is nonetheless important to underline here is the striking absence of Stuart Hall in the early issues of the Centre’s first in-house publications, justified by the fact that the major CCCS voice during this exploratory period was Richard Hoggart’s. Stuart Hall’s voice would soon become one of the most prolific voices of cultural studies over the next decade.

1.6. NETWORKS

While this study emphasises the role of publications in the Centre’s history, this element is embedded in a wider argument about networks. This work argues, in the tradition of previous research such as Nadya Bair’s *Decisive Network*⁴²⁹ published in 2020 on the Magnum photo agency, that the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies relied on a blend of intricate political, intellectual, academic, private and governmental networks, which allowed it to emerge, survive and flourish in a not always welcoming higher education environment. The starting point of this research is found in the interrogations prompted by the apparent invisibility of the CCCS’s existence on the very campus on which it was born, and in the ambivalence displayed by the University of Birmingham in the treatment of, as some CCCS former prominent figures have argued, “one of its unrealised assets”.⁴³⁰ As a matter of fact, the historical scope of this research begins in 1964, the year of the Centre’s founding, and ends in 1988, the year of its merging with the Department of Sociology at the University of Birmingham. This periodisation, explained in the introduction, makes clear that the University of Birmingham failed to see, or rather, refused to see the importance of such an asset and did not create the conditions for the Centre to be fully supported, to the point where it almost directly made sure it could not survive in its original structure. However, cultural studies as an academic field did survive and flourish in universities all over the world, evidencing the strength of the original networks which supported the CCCS. This section, dedicated to networks, will therefore, in all three parts that make up this work, follow the political and academic contexts in which the Centre evolved, so as to

⁴²⁸ CCCS *Annual report 1967-1968*, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.5.

⁴²⁹ Bair, Nadya. *The Decisive Network: Magnum Photos and the Postwar Image Market*. University of California press, 2020.

⁴³⁰ Richard Johnson in CCCS *Annual report 1985-1986*, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

explain their pre-eminence in the Centre's fate. It will also endeavour to explain how the CCCS fitted its historical conjuncture, in an expression dear to Stuart Hall's intellectual framework⁴³¹: how it was as much a product of its time as it responded to it and evolved alongside it to bring about the political project of cultural studies. By bringing to light this intricate web of networks, this section will show that the CCCS founders were no naïve researchers, they were committee experts and political figureheads who had a strong understanding of how to advance their intellectual and ideological interests by focusing on publishing and discussing ideas in the making first, and later on, building on a more sophisticated theoretical framework. This allowed the CCCS to partner up with private publishing houses, institutions and grant providing bodies to further establish their reputation and continue to expand their dense production. Such characteristics of the CCCS's two founding fathers partially match what Latour and Woolgar refer to as scientific "chairmen"⁴³², whose primary concern lies with securing the research centre's stability and material conditions to the detriment of their own scientific work. While Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall did share some of these characteristics, they never renounced their own scientific production while being at the Centre and were instrumental in advancing its work on scientific grounds. They did however invest vast amounts of energy in advancing cultural studies institutionally, to the detriment of what is today commonly referred to as work-life balance.

This study of networks will show that the CCCS was not a mere fashionable repetition of other research endeavours, as it had something new to offer the British academic landscape: a politically engaged analysis of cultural change, aiming at transforming the world.⁴³³ Beyond the sheer audacity of such a research enterprise, it shall be shown that, as Nadya Bair established (drawing on previous work relying on work close to Latour and Woolgar's), that "autonomous activity is itself a myth"⁴³⁴ and that it would be a mistake to attribute the success of the CCCS to the few most famous names around its founding. This section will also show that the Centre did not remain a simple

⁴³¹ Studying the Conjuncture - Stuart Hall: Through the Prism of an Intellectual Life. Directed by Media Education Foundation, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bHpht1nNtBQ>. Accessed March 24, 2024.

⁴³² Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 223.

⁴³³ Quoted earlier in subsection 1.4.3. « The figures in the 'culture-and-society' tradition [the CCCS founding figures] were not concerned with founding new academic empires: they were concerned with coming to terms with, and changing, the drift and direction of society. » *CCCS Annual report 1967-1968*, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.4.

⁴³⁴ Quoted in Nadya Bair's *Decisive Network : From anthropological approaches to science and technology to Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT)*, network methods "share a passionate interest in the ways in which attention to practice reveals networks of collaboration that destabilize powerful theoretical constructs ... that rest on claims to autonomous reason." Hanna Knox, Mike Savage, and Penny Harvey, "Social Networks and the Study of Relations: Networks as Method, Metaphor, and Form," *Economy and Society* 35 (2006), P. 127.

research unit: as the years passed, it became known as a school of thoughts, or more precisely for those concerned, a compound of schools. As Stuart Hall explained in a 1986 interview with Lawrence Grossberg:

But codification makes my hackles rise, even about the things I have been involved in. People talk about “the Birmingham School” (The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham — ed.) and all I can hear are the arguments we used to have in Birmingham that we never were one school; there may have been four or five but we were never able to unify it all, nor did we want to create that kind of orthodoxy.⁴³⁵

The Birmingham School nonetheless became the main name under which the CCCS would be known by the wider academic and intellectual community in the late 20th century and early 21st, an indication that it had succeeded in creating an identity supported by its own networks. Indeed actors of various networks relate and endorse (or, perhaps, buy into) a new structured institution if it offers something valuable to the broader networks in return, thus powering up Latour and Woolgar’s scientific cycle of credibility.⁴³⁶

1.6.1. Political Networks

New left networks and political networks on the broader left were among of the most important crucibles the CCCS emerged from, as underlined in the introduction. Beyond the ideological colourings acquired by the Centre’s theoretical framework at the end of this exploratory period, the mere presence of Raymond Williams and E. P. Thompson in the CCCS pantheon evidences a strong New Left component to the wider web of CCCS networks, reinforced by the active role Stuart Hall played in the New Left. Indeed Stuart Hall underlined this genealogy origin in a 1990 article on the emergence of cultural studies:

Cultural studies would not have occurred, and certainly would not have survived the 1970s, without the enormous program of translation of European work undertaken in the late ’60s and ’70s by New Left Review. The project of the second New Left was crucial, for, along with a few other publishers of that time, it translated books not yet available to us. For the first time it brought us, in English, the major works of the

⁴³⁵ Grossberg, Lawrence. « On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall ». *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10, no 2 (juin 1986): 45-60. [hFps://doi.org/10.1177/019685998601000204](https://doi.org/10.1177/019685998601000204). P.15.

⁴³⁶ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 197.

Frankfurt School, then of Benjamin, and then of Gramsci. Without those "Ur-texts" [the earliest version of a text with which other versions can be compared] which no one was reading inside the academy, cultural studies could not have developed its project: it could not have survived; it could not have become a field of work in its own right.⁴³⁷

The New Left's political project and its translation of European work, done outside the strict boundaries of the academy under the aegis of New Left Review, became intertwined with the Centre's early search for a theoretical framework and realisation that it could not solely rely on literary criticism. The New Left was therefore paramount in shaping the cultural studies project and, more specifically, that of the CCCS.

New Left and communist networks would also prove primordial in the Centre's recruiting process, as Gregor McLennan's⁴³⁸ trajectory attests:

I was wanting to do a master's degree. I thought well I'm gonna be an academic but don't quite know what to specialise in so rather than do a PhD, let's look for an interesting master's programme, and there was a really exciting bunch of people around the journal Radical Philosophy and so at Sussex which was a sort of heartland for those, those kind of young Marxist philosophers, they had, they had a number of master's programmes that I liked the look of so I went down there and got an interview and got a place for a master's in philosophy and Marxism or something like that, and around that same time because I was leaving Bristol then and my old English tutor who was a very kind of liberal Leavisite, [...] she said she had been to this place that was called the centre of cultural studies and she thought I would love it, just right up my street she said. So I thought well that's interesting, and then that summer I went to what was called the communist University of London, which sounds official but it wasn't at all it was just hiring of some rooms and the student union to UCL for three weeks in the summer. And then I heard more about the, the Birmingham Centre, so I made it quite a late application as far as I remember and I was called up for, for an interview.⁴³⁹

Here we have two types of networks intertwined: the academic (the Leavis school, English studies) and the political networks of the Marxist and communist political

⁴³⁷ Hall, Stuart. 'The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities'. *October*, vol. 53, 1990, P. 11. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/778912>. P. 16.

⁴³⁸ Gregor McLennan is Emeritus professor of Sociology, Politics and International studies at the University of Bristol and was a CCCS student from 1975 on.

⁴³⁹ McLennan, Gregor. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview December 5 2020. P. 3.

strands. Gregor McLennan's trajectory is emblematic of one type of CCCS recruitment, attracting prospective students among those already belonging to such networks, thus broadening the recruitment pool beyond the University of Birmingham English department while narrowing it to focus on selecting politically informed, left-wing candidates. Suffice to say, by the end of the 1960s and the formal decline of the New Left political movement, such candidates in search of a politically informed research setting would not be hard to find.

1.6.2. Academic Networks

As the closest networks to the CCCS's activities, academic networks were essential to the early CCCS period. They played an important role in accepting the Centre's very presence within the broader fabric of the university, in supporting the Centre's work, and collaborating with it, and finally, in sending their own students to be attached to the Centre, even as occasional students. These networks were found both inside and outside the University of Birmingham, and are described below.

1.6.2.1. *Within the University of Birmingham*

The first, indispensable network needed for the CCCS to flourish was the University of Birmingham's Faculty of Arts, the Centre's own host Faculty. The Centre had seemingly succeeded in securing the Faculty of Arts' support, as the second CCCS annual report's conclusion thanked the "members of the University, particularly of the Faculty of Arts, who have given this new venture their support"⁴⁴⁰ in 1965. This highlights the importance of Richard Hoggart's diplomatic work in setting up the Centre.

The second indispensable network the Centre relied on to survive was the English department, to which it was officially attached. This support was already partially granted by the fact that Richard Hoggart was a senior lecturer in the department. However, the overall support of the department was not completely ascertained, and doubts had been expressed regarding the quality of postgraduate degrees granted by the Centre.⁴⁴¹ The English department's support was, however, at least partially

⁴⁴⁰ *CCCS Annual report 1964-1965*, 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 24.

⁴⁴¹ This anecdote taken from Richard Hoggart's memoirs highlights such doubts: « Most of the Arts Faculty staff seemed to wish the scheme success or, if they didn't, kept their counsel. To my knowledge only one showed malice. He told colleagues in the Senior Common Room that Hoggart was inventing 'a nice line in cheap hats'. It took me a few minutes to see what he meant: that higher degrees from the centre would be easily given. » In Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P. 91.

secured as the fourth CCCS annual report covering the 1967-1968 academic year. When dealing with 'Other Developments and Activities', several additional activities undertaken by the Centre outside its more regular research framework are highlighted and taken up by CCCS staff as well as members of the English department, illustrating, again, the intimate relationship between the two units. These activities had a beneficial influence on the Centre's potential recruitment process, as its undergraduate course was taken up by English students.

Furthermore, Dr. Peter Davison, a member of the English department, was working on the Centre's behalf to produce several entries for the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature. Here the mission seems to have been secured by Richard Hoggart and devolved to Peter Davison. On the other hand, Roger King, a full-time Centre student, and Godfrey Featherstone, a member of the English department, are in the report said to have taught two series of seminars on 'Contemporary Culture'⁴⁴² organised by the Extra-Mural Department.

In 1966-1968, Andrew Bear's appointment as a research fellow was confirmed by the CCCS list of staff and students for the year 1966-1967. The role of the English department in guaranteeing CCCS survival is therefore ascertained here, as it was also through the department that the Centre could secure new, qualified (as a former lecturer) research staff. Andrew Bear seems to have been "shared" between the English department, as a lecturer, and the CCCS, as a researcher, and recruited through the Faculty of Arts.

Along with the English department, this report shows that other departments, namely the Extramural, and the Education departments, were involved with the Centre a couple of years after its founding. Indeed, the Department of Education is said to have contacted the Centre to give a course on 'Approaches to the Mass Media', a course given by several members of CCCS, both professors and research associates: indeed Stuart Hall, Richard Hoggart and Rolf Meyersohn (visiting Fulbright scholar, already mentioned in the 1.4.2. subsection on in-house publications) are mentioned, as well as Andrew Bear and Trevor Blackwell.

This was proof of the two departments' (Education and Extramural) trust in the CCCS, making the link between the Centre's work and both Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall (Richard Hoggart in a more important capacity) earlier teaching within Extramural departments at earlier stages of their career. Likewise, as both CCCS founders had taught in different settings (especially Stuart Hall, who had taught at secondary schools back in London, before 1964), a connection to the Education Department seems all the more natural for the Centre to establish at such an early stage, echoing concerns expressed in Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel's *Popular Arts* published in 1964 in

⁴⁴² CCCS Annual report 1967-1968, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 125.

which the two authors sought to address issues regarding changes in media access and consumption at school.

The following year (1968-1969), the report shows that the departments of sociology, Russian, Italian, theology, philosophy and German also entertained close ties with the Centre, as “A number of students registered for higher degrees in other departments have participated in the Centre’s internal seminars [...]; staff and graduate students from several Faculties take part regularly in the General Graduate Seminar.”⁴⁴³

To conclude, by 1969 the Centre was embedded in the academic fabric of the University of Birmingham and beyond, and the work it produced attracted the attention of other departments within the University.

1.6.2.2. Outside the University of Birmingham

In the late 1960s, the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies was not the only pioneering research centre in the United Kingdom. As an emerging centre focusing on questions linked to changes in society, it was paramount that it established ties with other similar centres. One such example, and perhaps the most meaningful for this period, was the Centre for Mass Communications Research at the University of Leicester, under the directorship of James Halloran. The fourth annual report (1967-1968) reads: “The Centre tries to keep in touch with research work which is developing in related areas — for example, with the Leicester Centre for Mass Communications Research”.⁴⁴⁴ The following year, James Halloran’s work on the effect of mass communications⁴⁴⁵ was listed on the undergraduate optional cultural studies course’s reading list. Then came the nomination of Alan Shuttleworth as a CCCS research associate, which followed his recent appointment as a Sociology lecturer at Manchester University. The appointment description clearly states that Shuttleworth was available at Leicester although the post would be based in Birmingham, which raises two questions. First, it seems surprising that an appointed lecturer at a given university would take a full-time, four-year grant research project at another university shortly after having taken his post. Second, the precision of the post’s geographical attachment and the mention of Leicester’s Centre for Mass Communication Research (CMCR) do not make clear whether the grant was given to the CCCS alone, as, from the phrasing of the report, it is reasonable to think that it may have been sought by and

⁴⁴³ *CCCS Annual report 1968-1969*, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 23.

⁴⁴⁴ *CCCS Annual report 1966-1967*, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 45.

⁴⁴⁵ *CCCS Annual report 1968-1969*, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 20.

given to both Leicester's CMCR and Birmingham's CCCS, therefore making negotiations difficult between the two centres in terms of research staff resources. The answers to these hypotheses were given by Richard Hoggart in a 1997 interview with Mark Gibson and John Hartley for the *International Journal of Cultural Studies*:

Differences of approach were often discussed when I was still at Birmingham. There's an interesting paper on it by Alan Shuttleworth. Shuttleworth was financed at the Centre, from Leicester, by James Halloran. Halloran's Centre had been given a lot of money to do research into television. Halloran was fascinated by the Centre. He was a 'straight' sociologist but couldn't help being intrigued, especially perhaps by my rabbiting on about imagination and literature, rather than more usual sociological approaches. So one day he said 'I'll give you a fellowship'. It was enough for a person for a year. Alan Shuttleworth left his job at Manchester and came to work with us. He was Stuart's closest friend. I had a letter from him after I came back from Paris all those years later, a very moving letter.⁴⁴⁶

Incidentally, the money given to James Halloran was provided by UNESCO⁴⁴⁷, a shared network between his Centre for Mass Communications Research and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies about which more will be said in a later subsection (1.6.3.2.). However this source of funding and the way it was allocated do show that the CMCR allowed research to be conducted at the Centre through very indirect means (as UNESCO had allocated funds to the CMCR, not to the CCCS). This highlights the interconnectedness and somewhat informality of such networks, evidencing the less scientific aspects of securing a space for cultural studies.

1.6.3. Institutional Networks: The CCCS as Experts

Beyond the realm of universities, the CCCS needed other supporting bodies to make itself known. Such bodies could be sources of funding for its activities and broadcast its results. This section, for the first, exploratory period in the Centre's history, covers grant-making bodies and one non-government organisation, UNESCO.

⁴⁴⁶ Gibson, Mark, et John Hartley. « Forty Years of Cultural Studies: An Interview with Richard Hoggart, October 1997 ». *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 1, n° 1, avril 1998, P. 11-23. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1177/136787799800100102>.

⁴⁴⁷ Griffin, Christine. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 19 2021. P. 10.

1.6.3.1. Foundations and Trusts

Grant providing bodies, such as foundations and trusts, played a meaningful part in the CCCS's stabilisation during its first exploratory period between 1964 and 1968. To get a better sense of the meaningfulness of each of these bodies' roles, first one needs to distinguish what is a trust, and what is a foundation. According to Tobias Jung, the distinction between a foundation and a trust in the British legal framework is sometimes difficult to evidence: "in general debates about the charity sector, the notion of a 'foundation' is frequently used interchangeably with, and indiscriminately from, the idea of a 'trust'."⁴⁴⁸ Furthermore, Jung underlines that:

*The UK's membership association for philanthropic foundations and grant-making trusts, the Association of Charitable Foundations (ACF) [...] simply acknowledges that "there is no distinct legal definition of a charitable foundation". Instead, ACF emphasises that UK foundations are identified through a combination of how they derive their funding and by the activities they pursue.*⁴⁴⁹

The only apparent and consistent legal differences between a foundation and a trust are therefore the following: first, while foundations were originally first legally framed by civil law, trusts were born out of common law; second, foundations are "separate legal entit[ies]" (which means it is not attached to an individual) and not trusts. According to the Incorporated Council of Law for England and Wales:

*Civil law is defined as a legal system, based on a code of laws, as opposed to the common law system, based on the doctrine of precedent. [...] The common law is the law declared by judges, derived from custom and precedent. It originated with the legal reforms of King Henry II in the 12th century and was called "common" because it applied equally across the whole country.*⁴⁵⁰

For the purpose of this work, this legal distinction makes seemingly little difference beyond these definitions. The two grant providing bodies whose role was important in the CCCS's early years are the Rowntree Memorial Trust and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

⁴⁴⁸ Jung, Tobias. « Foundations in the UK: Organizations and Nations in a State of Flux ». *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 62, n° 13, novembre 2018, P. 1933-55, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218773450>. P. 1934.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Incorporated Council of Law for England and Wales. *The English Legal System*. <https://www.iclr.co.uk/knowledge/topics/the-english-legal-system/>. Accessed March 25, 2024.

But let's go back in time, to the Centre's founding year. As soon as 1964, the Centre's institutional networks began to bloom. As Richard Hoggart recalled the first funded research project handled by the Centre in his memoirs: "Quite soon, foundations gave money for specific projects, notably the Rowntree Memorial Trust⁴⁵¹, whose grant allowed us to produce a substantial study of the press, *Paper Voices*."⁴⁵² This policy to seek financial support outside therefore originated in both the Centre's lack of institutional funding, stressed at length in the annual reports of this first period. It also revolved around the sheer critical aspect of securing stable postgraduate student sources of income in order to conduct research and to eventually justify its existence. By producing research and publishing Rachel Powell's results (the lead CCCS graduate student in charge of the project) as the first CCCS Occasional paper (its then in-house publication format, see the Publication policy section, 1.5), the Centre managed to both secure funding from a reliable source⁴⁵³ and to produce its very first publication, publicising its work. Relying on the Rowntree Memorial Trust was therefore key to the Centre's early activities.

The following year, a Gulbenkian⁴⁵⁴ project on "television providers and the public" fostered CCCS activities beyond strict academic research. An archive document provided by the Gulbenkian Foundation indicates that Rachel Powell, again, was the lead CCCS student on the project, and that the work was to be conducted "with a Foundation grant of £2,250 under the supervision of Professor Richard Hoggart".⁴⁵⁵ Such a grant was meant to investigate, on behalf of the National Institute of Adult Education (itself representing the Television Viewers Council, which actually did provide the grant in the first place) "the relation between television and society, with reference to the question of the long-term viability of the Council, as a link between the public and the providers of television programmes".⁴⁵⁶ This grant therefore

⁴⁵¹ Established in 1904 as the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust to alleviate the conditions of working people by providing improved housing. In 1959 the trust changed its name to the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust (JRMT) and its powers were widened to enable it to support research into housing and social questions. Joseph Rowntree Foundation, The Rowntree Society, Date of Publication Unknown, <https://www.rowntreesociety.org.uk/explore-rowntree-history/rowntree-a-z/joseph-rowntree-foundation/>, Accessed May 2022.

⁴⁵² Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.90.

⁴⁵³ Charitable bodies are recognised by the British government and often support research. See Jung, Tobias. « Foundations in the UK: Organizations and Nations in a State of Flux ». *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 62, n° 13, novembre 2018, P. 1933-55, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218773450>. P. 1935.

⁴⁵⁴ « An international foundation, based in Portugal, which promotes the development of individuals and organisations, through art, science, education, and charity, for a more equitable and sustainable society. » Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Art, knowledge and science in a fairer, more sustainable and diverse world. <https://gulbenkian.pt/en/the-foundation/the-foundation/>. Accessed March 25, 2024.

⁴⁵⁵ Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Archive Material. Collected papers on work with the CCCS. Unknown. P. 2.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid. P. 5.

consecrates the Centre as an expert body able to investigate the relevance of another institutional body dedicated to television.

Funded via a grant given to the Television Viewers Council, the project had not only been shaped as a research project, but also as a report containing recommendations towards institutions: "Various proposals may be made as to how the exchange between providers and the public can be improved."⁴⁵⁷ In this the Gulbenkian project was close to the work Richard Hoggart had produced as a member of the Pilkington committee on television broadcasting between 1960 and 1962, which Hoggart proudly described in his memoirs: "Chapter 3 of the [Pilkington] report, on the purposes of broadcasting in a democracy, remains the finest statement in English on those issues. [...] Our proposal for the better future of commercial television was simple and beautiful: that the makers of programmes should not also be those who sold advertising."⁴⁵⁸ Robert Hewison commented on the conclusions of the Pilkington report in his cultural history trilogy opus about the 1960-1975 period:

*The committee tried earnestedly to evolve a philosophy of broadcasting which [...] took into account the fact that the medium was believed to have a profound influence on values and moral attitudes, although nobody knew quite how this influence worked. [...] The committee's main recommendation, that ITV should be restructured, and the functions of making programmes and selling advertising should be completely separated, was ignored. It was not until Channel 4 was launched in 1982 that such a system was put into operation.*⁴⁵⁹

Even though the impact of the Pilkington report was not fully respected by the television private sector in the 1960s, the committee did provide Hoggart with his letters patent. The Gulbenkian project can therefore be seen as a continuation of Hoggart's interests in broadcasting and as a confirmation of his abilities to work fruitfully in collaboration with both grant providing bodies and governmental institutions, as an expert on questions linked to the mass media. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the CCCS's 1965-1966 annual report states in the "Future development" section that "the most important medium, in many ways, is television"⁴⁶⁰, thus positioning the Centre both as a research centre and as an institute aimed at advising on television broadcasting policies. Here Richard Hoggart's

⁴⁵⁷ CCCS Annual report 1965-1966, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 20.

⁴⁵⁸ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.65 and 70.

⁴⁵⁹ Hewison, Robert. *Too Much: Art and Society in the Sixties ; 1960 - 75*. Oxford University Press, 1987. P. 13.

⁴⁶⁰ CCCS Annual report 1965-1966, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.31.

symbolic capital⁴⁶¹ as a former government committee member comes into play, as it allowed him to make a name for himself and to reinvest this previous capital in the Centre and to secure funding for its first flagship research projects.

Drawing on the study of academic and institutional networks, it therefore seems that the mass media were privileged areas of study for the Centre to make its early name in the British academic landscape.

1.6.3.2. UNESCO

UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, “contributes to peace and security by promoting international cooperation in education, sciences, culture, communication and information”.⁴⁶² Founded at the end of WWII, UNESCO’s aim was to think collectively about educational policies in peace time.⁴⁶³ Again, Richard Hoggart’s work on the Pilkington Committee between 1960 and 1962 had made him somewhat famous in government circles, according to Fred Inglis, author of *Richard Hoggart, Virtue and Reward*, Richard Hoggart’s first biography):

*Since in Britain he had become ‘Dr. Culture’ [...] he had become a member of the new Ministry for Overseas Development’s sub-committee on culture. The Ministry was a timely innovation of Anthony Crosland’s (then as Secretary of State for Education and Science under Harold Wilson’s first premiership between 1964 and 1970) [...] [Hoggart] was dispatched to UNESCO’s Biennial Conferences in 1966 and 1968 in order to attend the Cultural Commission which decided on programmes, ranging across the globe, of support for world arts and world anthropological inquiry.*⁴⁶⁴

This appointment to the Ministry of Overseas Development would prove primordial in Richard Hoggart’s later integration of UNESCO as Assistant Director-General for

⁴⁶¹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Raisons pratiques*, Seuil, 1994, P.161.

⁴⁶² UNESCO. UNESCO’s History. <https://www.unesco.org/en/brief>. Accessed March 25, 2024.

⁴⁶³ « The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations. » UNESCO. UNESCO’s Constitution. <https://www.unesco.org/en/legal-affairs/constitution> Accessed November 22, 2024.

⁴⁶⁴ Inglis, Fred. *Richard Hoggart: Virtue and Reward*. Polity, 2014. P. 171.

the Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture Sector from February 1970 to May 1975.⁴⁶⁵

But in the meantime, this early and continuous relationship between Richard Hoggart and UNESCO enhanced the Centre's role as a policy institute. As early as 1967, the annual report mentions a report to UNESCO on "Cultural Policies in Britain".⁴⁶⁶ The report was produced by Michael Green and Michael Wilding, both professors in the English department, on behalf of the Centre. This collaboration between members of the English Department and the CCCS to work for UNESCO evidence that Richard Hoggart did not only secure missions for the CCCS during his time at Birmingham. Incidentally this is Michael Green's first appearance in the CCCS annual reports, who would go on to become officially attached to the Centre in 1969 as acting deputy director (under Stuart Hall, then Acting Director), and eventually a member of the triumvirate at the head of the Centre after 1979. Michael Green's role at the CCCS will be discussed more at length when dealing with the subsequent CCCS historical periods.

This permeability between the Centre's projects and the English department's staff evidences, again, a growing network stabilising the Centre's activities, here at the crossroads within the University (between the English department and the CCCS) and outside (between the CCCS and UNESCO). Indeed work for UNESCO would become a decisive element in the Centre's history after 1970. The following quote illustrates the importance of the report written for UNESCO by the CCCS, investigating the following theme:

*[...] public and private support for the Arts in Britain [the report] ended with some recommendations for future development and policy [...] [and] was considered, along with similar reports from other countries, at a UNESCO's Specialists' Conference in Monaco in December 1967. Professor Hoggart attended as one of the two representatives from Britain.*⁴⁶⁷

This is the first instance of the Centre's work being used by an intergovernmental organisation, effectively making CCCS into a policymaking institution for international use, through the figure of Richard Hoggart.

⁴⁶⁵ UNESCO Archives AtoM Catalogue. Hoggart, Richard. <https://atom.archives.unesco.org/hoggart-richard>. Accessed March 25, 2024.

⁴⁶⁶ CCCS Annual report 1966-1967, 1968, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 23.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

The following year, the Centre's activities linked to UNESCO continued to expand. A second report had been commissioned by UNESCO on 'Cultural Programming on British Television'⁴⁶⁸, and it can therefore be established that UNESCO was becoming a steady financial resource for CCCS activities and providing the Centre with an international platform to present its work (the report was presented by Stuart Hall in Montreal in 1968)⁴⁶⁹ thus allowing its credibility to grow beyond academic circles. Furthermore, on the occasion of the Montreal UNESCO roundtable, Stuart Hall met Edgar Morin, who accepted that his intervention be published as an occasional paper by the CCCS in 1968. UNESCO therefore proved a powerful network in the early history of CCCS, accompanying the Centre through its exploratory period.

1.6.4. The Press

One last type of network should be mentioned: that of the British press. As public intellectuals (Richard Hoggart as the famous "Dr. Culture" and Stuart Hall as a prominent member of the New Left) the two CCCS founders were recognisable voices. This allowed both Hall and Hoggart to make interventions⁴⁷⁰ in less traditional academic press organs, among which the Guardian⁴⁷¹, the New Statesman⁴⁷², New Society⁴⁷³ and the Times Educational Supplement.⁴⁷⁴ Bourdieu analyses such intervention in regard to the scientific field as a way for academics to bypass a longer scientific production cycle:

Journalism offers both an alternative and a shortcut. It allows [actors] to quickly and affordably bridge the gap between their ambitions and

⁴⁶⁸ CCCS Annual report 1968-1969, 1969, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 12.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 13.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid. P. 24-25.

⁴⁷¹ The Guardian is a British daily newspaper known for its progressive editorial stance, in-depth journalism, and coverage of national and international news. Established in 1821, it focuses on topics such as politics, culture, the environment, and social justice, appealing to a left-leaning readership.

⁴⁷² The *New Statesman* is a prominent progressive magazine in the UK, focusing on politics and culture, established on 12 April 1913 as a weekly review of politics and literature.

⁴⁷³ *New Society* was a British magazine dedicated to the social sciences, published from 1962 to 1988.

⁴⁷⁴ The *Times Educational Supplement* is a British weekly trade magazine designed for education professionals. First published in 1910 as a pull-out section of *The Times*, it became an independent publication in 1914 due to its popularity. Focusing primarily on school-related news and features, it covered higher education topics until 1971, when the *Times Higher Education Supplement* was launched as a separate sister publication.

*their capabilities by providing a minor form of the renown usually reserved for great scholars and intellectuals. At a certain stage in the institution's evolution, it may even become a pathway to advancement within the institution itself.*⁴⁷⁵

Therefore this continuous presence of the two CCCS's founders in the printed media was during this exploratory period a means of maintaining a perhaps wider form of legitimacy outside the university field, which could then, in turn, be reinvested into the Centre.

1.7. ADVERSARIES

If the Centre relied on networks, it also faced opposition. This section will examine actors who were not always benevolent towards the CCCS's undertaking.

1.7.1. Within the Academy

As the political climate was not overtly averse to the Centre's existence during this exploratory period, only the academic field will be explored here. This would soon change.

1.7.1.1. The University of Birmingham

The relationship between the University of Birmingham and the CCCS can be at best described as ambivalent. Indeed as early as Richard Hoggart's recruitment, while his condition of accepting the post in exchange for being able to open the Centre was granted, the university would not fund it. This half-hearted authorisation, which Richard Hoggart characterised as "soft-nosed permissiveness and hard-nosed practicality"⁴⁷⁶ came to define the University of Birmingham's consideration of CCCS activities, allowed first and foremost in Richard Hoggart's name. This meant that while Hoggart was at Birmingham, the Centre would be more or less safe, as long as it didn't do anything unpleasant in the university setting (which it would not fail to do as early as during the 1968 student sit in). What would happen after his possible departure was less certain. This ambivalence was illustrated in the CCCS's room allocation on campus, described in subsection 1.3.2. By providing temporary accommodation on the outskirts of campus, the University showed its reluctant support for Hoggart's activities during this first exploratory period.

⁴⁷⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 147.

⁴⁷⁶ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life 3*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P. 77.

1.7.1.2. The Arts Faculty

The Arts Faculty was also ambivalent, as evidenced by one anecdote shared by Richard Hoggart in his memoirs:

Most of the Arts Faculty staff seemed to wish the scheme success or, if they didn't, kept their counsel. To my knowledge only one showed malice. He told colleagues in the Senior Common Room that Hoggart was inventing 'a nice line in cheap hats'. It took me a few minutes to see what he meant: that higher degrees from the centre would be easily given.⁴⁷⁷

As highlighted in the Admissions subsection (1.3.4.), this remark had to do with the values of degrees granted by the Faculty of Arts and pushed the two CCCS's founders to establish a draconian examination process for the Centre's early students.

1.7.1.3. The English Department

For the English Department, the CCCS could, in turn, appear as a peculiar, out-of-place and non-serious offshoot of literature at best and at worse, as competition. As highlighted by Paul Hoggart (Richard Hoggart's son) in a 2015 interview, within the English department (of which Richard Hoggart was a senior lecturer) things could paradoxically be cunning, especially during the early Centre's canvassing process:

I don't know if I told you the story when he was getting funding for the centre, he started canvassing people who might offer money. And I can't remember if he has put this in one of the biographical works or not, but he got somebody from a commercial foundation, which gave money for good academic courses, up to Birmingham, because he had written and this chap was interested to talk about giving money to the centre, and as courtesy Dad took him to see T. J. B. Spencer, the head of Department [of English] then, who was quite a character, and Spencer said 'oh' in an extremely patrician manner but could be utterly charming when he wanted to be, and he said 'Richard, Richard I seem to be out of sherry, would you just go and pop along to the senior common room, and get us a bottle of sherry', Dad went off, have I told you this, Dad went off and by the time he came back, Spencer had persuaded this man that he shouldn't bother with this little fly by night

⁴⁷⁷ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life 3*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P. 91.

*thing, and he should give the money to the Shakespeare Institute, which was Spencer's own research outfit! Dad was absolutely furious!*⁴⁷⁸

This anecdote shows that cultural studies developed in spite of some colleagues' wrongdoings, at a moment when securing funding was essential to the Centre's establishment. The attitude Richard Hoggart met inside the English department from the then head of the department, eager to advance his own research endeavours at his colleague's expense, evidences the overall lack of external research funding in the Arts and competition ensuing from it, prompting colleagues to fight over scarce resources. When considering the academic standing and reputation of both the Shakespeare's Institute and Cultural Studies as a field today, it seems out of place to imagine one stealing from the other. However, as the Shakespeare Institute was founded in 1951 and the CCCS in 1964, they were both in their early institutional periods by the mid-1960s. They were therefore both precarious and lacked autonomy as academic subfields and financial independence at the time. Nonetheless, T. J. B. Spencer was then head of the English Department at a time when Richard Hoggart had recently been recruited, which suggests a strong hierarchical gap between the two professors (underlined by the fact that Hoggart would introduce the foundation representative to Spencer as a mark of respect and diplomacy), making it all the more difficult for Hoggart to pursue his research endeavours in such a setting.

1.7.1.4. Sociology

During its exploratory period, cultural studies did attract some early criticism from colleagues at Birmingham. The most notable example of such comments is that of three sociologists who published a letter in Redbrick⁴⁷⁹, the University of Birmingham student newspaper, in response to Hoggart's initial article publicising the opening of the Centre. It is reproduced below:

SIR, —Your piece (October 14, 1964) on the proposed work of the Centre for Contemporary Studies provokes response from members of a department said to be "working in close harness."

Both your article and the first Report of the Centre, which we have subsequently consulted, cause some concern through their complete lack of precise research proposals. No physical or biological scientist soliciting support for a project would define it as "solid state physics" or "genetics." Yet it is a curious fallacy of popular journalism that the complex phenomena of human social behaviour can be investigated quickly and with a simple and direct approach. It is disturbing to

⁴⁷⁸ Hoggart, Paul. Unpublished interview with Kieran Connell. Interview March 27, 2015. P.2.

⁴⁷⁹ "Redbrick is the student publication of the University of Birmingham. Redbrick was established in 1936 under the original title Guild News." Redbrick. *About Redbrick*. <https://www.redbrick.me/about/>. Accessed 22 Nov. 2024.

discover the field of research to which the Centre is prepared to commit itself.

The impression of the statement makes it difficult to single out points for discussion. However, on their proposal to "... find out what broadcasting really is, that is to say, its effect on people," we feel entitled to comment. Members of the Centre must be aware of the large amount of work that has been done in this field (the main finding of which has been that broadcasting has little or no effect on people's attitudes). Leading researchers are agreed that the research findings to date may not represent the final answer. But it would also be agreed that any advance will require the collaboration of people trained in the methods now available and a budget sufficient to maintain the study over the lengthy period necessary to account for the multiple influences present.

To examine the metaphor used by your reporters, the "ivory tower" is not a place but a way of thinking and working. Researchers have previously gone to the market place for material and have slowly and laboriously developed an armoury of techniques of investigation and analysis. To venture once again, but denuded of this armoury, would be indeed a rash undertaking.⁴⁸⁰

The fact that this reaction from the Sociology Department would be published in the student newspaper instead of being sent directly to the Centre suggests that the authors did not wish to discuss scientific matters but rather to let it known that they did not consider the work of the CCCS as serious or relevant. As this dissertation reaches the end of the first exploratory period in the Centre's history, it appears clear that some of the comments made by the three sociologists are quite accurate. The Centre did lack a definite research object and associated methodology during this early period, while being aware of scientific research in the field of broadcasting. The research perspective of the Centre, however, was distinct to that already existing research, as it emerged from literature, and as will be shown in the second part, as cultural studies would soon take a political turn. That being said, cultural studies' early lack of definition could have been answered without hostility, which evidences concerns over the delimitation of scientific fields and their autonomy. By announcing the project to tackle research objects close to those of sociology, Richard Hoggart was disturbing a power equilibrium, a stable (until then) ecosystem of scientific fields focusing on their own terrains. The message was received loud and clear by the Centre's founders. Stuart Hall reflected on this hostility and the lack of definition of early cultural studies in a recent interview:

Well the important thing was that we started to get applications from people outside of literature: historians, linguists, one or two sociologists. We had a big sociology department in Birmingham. They

⁴⁸⁰ A. D. Chalmers, C. R. Hinings, J. M. Innes. 'Go Not Naked Into The Marketplace - Social Scientists Reply'. *Redbrick*, no. 664, Oct. 1964.

hated us, and they hated Hoggart. They said if you think The Uses of Literacy is a way of doing sociology of culture, you are absolutely wrong, it's speculative ... you can do what you want, but don't claim it's sociology. So we were warned off the terrain. Still we took on two sociologists. So we were clearly in a trans-disciplinary phase, a trans-disciplinary form of work. We didn't have one object except culture, but as you know, culture explodes in your hands in 50 different directions.⁴⁸¹

This quote first highlights the animosity expressed by sociologists towards Hoggart and the fact that the Centre did recruit sociology students, which shows that some actors in the sociological field considered the CCCS's goal as serious enough to commit to postgraduate work in cultural studies while having a background in sociology, against the dominant tide expressed in the Redbrick letter reproduced above. It also means that the Centre's recruitment process could be considered quite irreverent in the sense that even after being 'warned off the terrain' it still selected two sociologists in its first intake. This complex and fraught relationship with Sociology at Birmingham had a lasting impact on the shaping of cultural studies methodologies beyond the early years. Stuart Hall analysed such effects in a 2012 interview:

But the basic methodology in cultural studies did not include [individual interviewing], partly because everybody said, "But you're not proper sociologists, do you know about structured interviews? Could you produce a structured interview of an appropriate kind?" "Do you know about the weight of one cause or another, and how to investigate the level of significance of what is being said? Do you know anything about that?" We were told we didn't, by the Sociology Department in Birmingham. When cultural studies first opened, it said, "Well, don't know what you are, but don't imagine that you're proper sociologists. Stay off our patch". So we were quite reluctant to become interviewers and so on.⁴⁸²

This violent warning against appropriating traditional sociological methods, which public face was expressed in the Redbrick letter, shaped the early construction of cultural studies not because such methods (including qualitative interviews) were not adequate for the work of cultural studies but because colleagues from other disciplines had decided to prevent cultural studies from using such methods. As Hall underlined and future CCCS work would show, such methods were used by some Centre scholars but they did not receive the attention other scientific methodologies did receive during

⁴⁸¹ Hall, Stuart. 'STUART HALL INTERVIEW – 2 JUNE 2011'. *Cultural Studies*, vol. 27, no. 5, Sept. 2013, pP. 757–77. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. P. 761.

⁴⁸² Thompson, P., University of Essex, Department of Sociology: "Interview with Stuart Hall" in "Pioneers of Social Research, 1996-2018" 4th Edition, UK Data Service [distributor], 2019-04-08, SN:6226, Para. 1-427. <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>, <https://discover.ukdataservice.ac.uk/QualiBank/Document/?id=q-445da7a1-14a9-4d2e-86e3-c2b14fcd437b>

this first exploratory period. These restrictions were not driven by scientific reflections in the sense that they were not tried and disqualified by the CCCS, they were part of a forbidden bundle of practices the Centre had to withdraw from if it wanted to pursue its research goals in peace, away from the wrath of sociologists.

1.8. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the CCCS navigated a complex and often challenging landscape during its exploratory period. While the Centre relied on a variety of networks for support—ranging from academic and political circles to non-government bodies—it also faced significant opposition, notably from its institutional host, the University of Birmingham, and neighbouring academic disciplines. The Centre's marginal position within the university, compounded by its lack of academic legitimacy and limited resources, necessitated a careful balancing act, nonetheless secured by the private nature of its early funding. In this sense, the CCCS can be seen as a para-academic structure, existing on the periphery of traditional academic disciplines and at the margin of the university while simultaneously carving out a distinct intellectual space.

The Centre's early administrative and working practices were instrumental in its survival, as it relied heavily on temporary staff, postgraduate students, and the openness of its members to establish a new field of study. While it struggled to define a stable theoretical framework, the self-reflectiveness expressed by the CCCS founders and its editorial work in documenting its own history allowed the Centre to build a strong narrative and begin to secure its position within the academic landscape. This process of self-narration, which some scholars have termed mythologisation, was key to its survival and growth, fostering a reputation that allowed the CCCS to expand its reach and attract collaborators, students and funding.

Moreover, the Centre's publication policy, though in its infancy, proved to be an effective tool for disseminating its work beyond the University of Birmingham. Through early in-house publications and the strategic use of benevolent networks, the CCCS was able to establish its intellectual presence during its early years. The role of the CCCS as experts, and of the British press, drawing on the visibility of figures like Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall, further amplified the Centre's reach, making its ideas accessible to circles outside academia.

However, the CCCS's development was not without its challenges. The Centre had to navigate institutional resistance and overcome obstacles posed by both the university's administration and other academic fields. These external pressures required the Centre to adopt strategies of withdrawal from certain academic practices, distancing itself from disciplines like sociology in order to maintain its intellectual freedom and pursue its research agenda. Despite these difficulties, the CCCS would soon find its voice(s), allowing it to flourish and become a foundational institution. These evolutions will be tackled in the second part of this work.

2.

**PART TWO – THE SEVENTIES:
A GOLDEN AGE FOR THE CCCS?
(1968-1979)**

2.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Much of this section owes a great intellectual debt to Andy Beckett's 2009 account of the seventies, *When the Lights Went Out What - Really Happened in Britain in the Seventies*.⁴⁸³ In his introduction, Beckett describes the 1970s in a way that somewhat interestingly echoes the history of the CCCS:

For many political people in Britain in the seventies, the time was dominated not by Heath and Thatcher and Callaghan but by the rise of environmentalism, or feminism, or the Gay Liberation Front, or Rock Against Racism, and other new forms of politics with their own rhythms and preoccupations, only sometimes connected to those of the House of Commons. In the London listings magazine Time Out in the early seventies, between the sections for children's activities and exhibitions, there used to be a section called 'Revolution'. This is an early entry from 1970: « COMMUNITY ACTION IN CABLE STREET Tenants in the Cable Street area have... a piece of previously derelict land that they seized and cleared. As soon as they did this, of course, the council suddenly discovered the land was theirs and that they needed it. But the tenants threatened to withdraw their kids from the local schools, and made contact with local TV... who also made militant noises. The council gave in, so the tenants now have their own adventure playground. » British politics in the seventies, for all the gothic prose it usually prompts, was about moments of possibility as well as periods of entropy.⁴⁸⁴

In a similar fashion, between chaos and creation the Centre stood for twenty-four years, and amidst this agitation the 1970s were a decade when the CCCS somewhat ceased to solely focus on its survival and enjoyed a growing reputation and stability. The historical content of the 1970s is sketched below so as to give a brief but structured view of the backdrop against which the Centre lived its most famous years.

Historiographically the 1970s are often described as a dark and gloomy decade⁴⁸⁵, when crises (be they domestic or international) were followed by more crises, and all governments eventually caved in front of inflation figures, interest rates or strikes.

⁴⁸³ And to the agrégation course given by Professor Vincent Latour at University Toulouse Jean Jaurès during the 2018-2019 academic year on the 1970s in the United Kingdom.

⁴⁸⁴ Beckett, Andy. *When the Lights Went out: What Really Happened to Britain in the Seventies*. 1. paperback ed, faber and faber, 2010. P.5.

⁴⁸⁵ See for instance Black, Lawrence, et al., editors. *Reassessing 1970s Britain*. Manchester University Press, 2015. P. 3.

Following this starting point, the decade can be described by following its most significant historical trends.

First, let's deal with the economy. It seems that the 1970s saw increasing funding cuts, pay and price freezes, as, as early as October 1970, a 330.000-million-pound cut was announced by the Conservative Heath government (freshly elected in June with a comfortable majority). In 1975 there were 900 million pounds worth of public spending cuts, and a limited wage increase fixed under six pounds per week. In February 1976 one billion pound cuts were announced for the fiscal year 1977-1978, and an additional (and staggering) two point four billion million pound cuts were announced for the 1978-1979 year. In April, £1,3 billion public spending cuts were announced, depending on the upcoming agreement with the Trade Union Congress on a new pay norm. In July, a further 1-billion-pound budget cut was announced for the 1977-1978 year. The final figures for the upcoming years' budget cuts were agreed upon in December in the within the scope of the IMF loan negotiations: Denis Healey (James Callaghan's Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer) persuaded both the Cabinet members and the IMF to accept more moderate cuts in public spending: £1 billion for 1977-1978, £1,5 billion for 1978-1979 and targets to control money supplies. The IMF loan negotiations will be tackled more at length below.

From October 6 to October 25, 1973, took place the most defining international political and economic event of the 1970s, the Yom Kippur War, where Egypt invaded the Israeli-occupied Sinai Peninsula, sparking the first oil crisis of the 20th century.

Strikes were also an important keyword when reflecting on the 1970s. The Night Cleaners Campaign took place between 1970 and 1973, in favour of a pay increase for a mostly female sector, often from an immigration background. Following this first movement in 1974 the Indian Workers Association organised a strike in Leicester at the Imperial Typewriters company. In August 1976 the Grunwick strike began at a photo-processing plant in London, over employees' wish to be represented by a union. The Grunwick strike would not end before July 1978. In June 1977 the first mass pickets appeared at Grunwick, and battles took place between pickets and the police. In July, a boycott of Grunwick mail was organised by the Union of Post Office Workers (UPW), which brought strikers to the verge of victory. However the National Association for Freedom (NAFF), a radical right-wing group close to Thatcher, secretly collected and distributed the Grunwick mail: this came to be known as Operation Pony Express, leading to a decrease in the possibility of strike victory. The strikers conceded victory in July 1978, evidencing the growing tide of support in favour of Conservative and right-wing political values.

During the same period, by December 1970 workers in the electricity sector began work-to-rule⁴⁸⁶, leading to power cuts in the electricity supply. In March 1971 took place the final reading of the 1971 Industrial Relations Bill supported by the

⁴⁸⁶ A job action in which employees do no more than the minimum required by the rules of a workplace in order to cause a slowdown.

Conservative government⁴⁸⁷, which meant to strongly diminish the power enjoyed by unions in collective bargaining, including with the government. In November 1971, the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) began an overtime ban. The following month the National Industrial Relations Court was set up following the Industrial Relations Act, with the power to monitor, settle labour disputes, and grant injunctions should strike actions be deemed “injurious” on other businesses. The following year the Civil Contingency Unit was created by Edward Heath to manage industrial disputes, natural disasters and nuclear wars under the same legal framework. In 1972, the Indian Workers Association organised a strike at the Mansfield Hosiery Mills in Loughborough, which was accompanied by a six-week national strike supported by the NUM. In January, the Wilberforce Inquiry was set up by the Heath government to investigate miners’ pay. During the same month, unemployment rose above one million. In February 1972 took place the battle of Saltley, where a coke depot in Birmingham was closed under union pressure (the NUM, again, led by Arthur Scargill) despite police efforts, resulting in a complete union victory. That same month the Wilberforce Inquiry recommended a 22% miners’ wage increase, eventually leading to the end of the miners’ strike. To counter inflation, in September 1972 the Heath Government introduced pay and price freezes. The Prices Commission & Pay Board was set up, and introduced a further ninety-day prices and wage freeze in November 1972. In October 1973, the Heath government announced the third phase of its anti-inflation measures. In November 1973 the NUM began an overtime ban in order to try and secure a pay increase, which caused a decrease in coal production and severe shortages at power stations. In response, the government announced a state of emergency, leading to a three-day week policy starting in January 1974, rationing electricity consumption, along with petrol rationing planned but not put in place. This marked the start of the worst economic crisis in Britain since World War II. February 1974 was a pivotal month in the decade, as 81% of NUM members voted in favour of a national strike. An all-out strike began a few days later, and Edward Heath was forced to call an early general election to try to garner support. The strategy proved unsuccessful, as the Conservative Party lost the general election (it is worth noting that this general election saw more than thirty women enter the House of Commons). While the Labour Party was more successful than the Conservatives, they did not manage to secure a comfortable majority and were left with a hung parliament. This election marked the end of the state of emergency which had begun a few months prior. In March 1974, Heath failed to secure a deal with Jeremy Thorpe, the leader of the Liberal Party (who had won fourteen seats in the House, representing six million votes and close to twenty percent of the electorate) and eventually resigned, leaving Downing Street to Harold Wilson, the Labour Party leader, to lead a government without a majority. This month saw the end of the three-day week which had begun a few weeks prior, and the calling off of the national all-out strike by the NUM. The Labour Party abolished the Pay Board established by the Conservatives in September 1972 but retained the Price Commission, as inflation was still above 15% and represented a less

⁴⁸⁷ “The Industrial Relations Act 1971 was the outcome of the Conservatives’ belief in the need to radically restructure power in industrial relations. It was, in the words of *the Guardian*, “an attempt to tip the scales of the industrial bargains quite sharply against the unions.” In Ghosh, S. C. « The British Trade Unions and the Labour Law: The Case of the Industrial Relations Act 1971 ». *Relations Industrielles / Industrial Relations*, vol. 35, n° 2, 1980, P. 251-78. JSTOR.

politically burning issue to tackle than wages for Labour. In October 1974 Harold Wilson also called for an early general election to secure himself a majority, and ended up with a majority of three, resulting in an unstable knife edge parliament (this time the number of female MPs was under thirty). During the same month, the Conservative Party Executive of the 1922 Committee (representing the views of the MP backbenchers) anonymously voted in favour of a leadership contest at the expense of Edward Heath. By 1975 less than 50% of workers were part of a union. Tony Benn, then Labour Secretary of State for Industry, created the National Enterprise Board in 1975, resulting in what would be described as half-baked nationalisation (designed to help ailing funds not by nationalising them but by sending them advisors and by subsidising them to a certain extent). In February 1975 Margaret Thatcher won the Conservative Party leadership contest in two ballots (first against Edward Heath, second against Willie Whitelaw, who had been Secretary of State for Northern Ireland in 1972-1973 and who would become Home Secretary from 1979 to 1983). In April 1975, unemployment rose, again, with unemployment figures topping the one million mark, returning to the frightful figure of early 1972. That same month, the Labour Party held a special Party Conference on the common market in London (revolving around the question of the UK's EEC membership): a majority of the party was in favour of leaving the common market. However James Callaghan, the then Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, despite the party's majority position, supported the yes during the referendum campaign in June. The result of the referendum, which took place on June 5th, and was the first ever referendum held in the whole of the United Kingdom, saw the remain vote prevail with a 67% yes vote and a 64% turnout. In August 1975, inflation peaked at a record 26,9% and in November the government announced cash limits to most public expenditures. 1976 marked a change in the tide in British politics, as it was the year the country had to result in asking for an IMF loan. A growing sense of economic panic could be felt as soon as the early months of the year, as between February & April, the Bank of England lost a third of its reserves trying to prop up the value of the pound by buying pound holders (mostly oil producing countries). In March, the same Bank of England cut interest rates, and the pound dropped as a result. This downward economic rollercoaster was echoed in the House of Commons, as the government nearly avoided losing a no-confidence vote (297/280). On the 16th, Harold Wilson resigned as Prime Minister. James Callaghan won the Labour Party leadership and became Prime Minister in his stead in April. Unfortunately for Labour, it ended up losing its knife-edge majority in the Commons due to the result of by-elections during the same month. In May, a 4,5% pay increase formula was agreed upon, later on endorsed by the TUC (Trade Union Congress), which voted in June in favour of a 5% pay rise, between 2,5£ and 4£). At the same time the government secured a 5,3-billion-pound loan from the United States, Japan, Germany and France, to be paid within six months, still to tackle inflation. Thanks to the government's agreement with the TUC, the white paper *The Attack on Inflation: The Second Year* was published in July 1976. In September 1976 the Labour government was in turmoil, as Denis Healey, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, turned back from Heathrow Airport (on his way to meet with the International Monetary Fund), to ask James Callaghan to ask for an International Monetary Fund loan. The request was booed by party delegates at the Blackpool Labour Party Conference. Callaghan addressed the conference with his famous "that

cosy world is gone”⁴⁸⁸ speech, describing the stark economic reality Britain found itself in. The loan requested by Healey was the biggest loan the IMF ever granted: \$3,9 billion, which equalled £2,3 billion at the time. In October 1976, the minimum lending rate was raised to 15%. Arduous negotiations were held between November and December 1976 to agree, first with the IMF, and then to convince Callaghan’s cabinet of asking for an IMF loan which, according to recent accounts including Denis Healey’s, was, in the end, not necessary⁴⁸⁹. The final vote in favour of the IMF loan in the House of Commons was as unusual as the size of the loan the government was requesting, as thirty Labour MPs abstained and 27 voted against, despite a three-line whip.⁴⁹⁰ The next year, 1977, was the year during which the GINI coefficient⁴⁹¹ (indicating the level of income inequality in a given country) was the lowest in the decade, which meant that, despite the seemingly perpetual state of crisis traversed by the country since 1970, the overall level of income inequality was decreasing. Unfortunately, again for Labour, this did not prevent the government from fearing for its own stability and in March 1977 Callaghan negotiated the Lib-Lab pact with the Liberal Party, seeking to shore up the government’s position in the Commons. The pact would not last beyond July 1978. The same month, a vote of no-confidence⁴⁹² moved by Margaret Thatcher, failed in the Commons. In November 1977, the Conservative Party published an economic report titled *Stepping Stones*⁴⁹³ dealing with future Conservative policies. In 1978, a general election was widely expected. By that

⁴⁸⁸ Callaghan, James. « Leader’s Speech, Blackpool 1976 ». British Political Speech, September 1976, <http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=174>. Accessed April 16, 2024.

⁴⁸⁹ Beckett, Andy. *When the Lights Went out: What Really Happened to Britain in the Seventies*. paperback ed, faber and faber, 2010. P. 356.

⁴⁹⁰ “Important divisions are underlined three times - a ‘three-line whip’ - and normally apply to major events like the second readings of significant Bills. Defying a three-line whip is very serious, and has occasionally resulted in the whip being withdrawn from an MP or Lord. This means that the Member is effectively expelled from their party (but keeps their seat) and must sit as an independent until the whip is restored.” UK Parliament. Whips. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/mps-and-lords/principal/whips/>. Accessed April 16, 2024.

⁴⁹¹ “The Gini coefficient is based on the comparison of cumulative proportions of the population against cumulative proportions of income they receive, and it ranges between 0 in the case of perfect equality and 1 in the case of perfect inequality.” OECD. « Income Inequality ». OECD Data, <https://data.oecd.org/inequality/income-inequality.htm>. Accessed April 16, 2024.

⁴⁹² “A motion of no confidence is a motion moved in the House of Commons expressing lack of confidence in the government or a specific minister. Having the confidence of the House of Commons has been seen as central to a government’s authority to govern in the UK. Traditionally, governments that have lost a confidence vote have either resigned in favour of an alternative administration, or the Prime Minister has requested a dissolution from the Queen, triggering a general election.” UK Parliament. ‘Motion of No Confidence’. UK Parliament, <https://www.parliament.uk/site-information/glossary/motion-of-no-confidence/?id=32625>. Accessed 16 Apr. 2024.

⁴⁹³ Conservative Party. ‘Economy: “Stepping Stones” Report (Final Text)’. Margaret Thatcher Foundation, 14 Nov. 1977, <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/111771>. Accessed 16 Apr. 2024.

year, the Conservative Party had lost four out of five general elections. That year was observed the largest proportion of Britons over the poverty line, an increase in disposable income (which had been decreasing since the beginning of the 1970s) and a record number of foreign holidays taken by Britons. In January, unemployment figures decreased after a four-year increase. Inflation went below ten percent for the first time since October 1973. Margaret Thatcher gave her famous “rather swamped”⁴⁹⁴ interview answering questions about planned Conservative immigration policies to Gordon Brown on *World in Action*, which transcript is reproduced in a footnote. In July 1978 the Lib-Lab pact ended, thus precipitating the end of Labour’s fragile majority in the Commons. That same month the government published a white paper titled *Winning the battle against inflation* recommending a 5% pay increase guideline to battle inflation, and a joint agreement between the TUC and the Labour Party National Executive Committee (NEC) titled *Into the Eighties: an Agreement*. In August the Conservative Party launched the Saatchi and Saatchi’s *Labour Isn’t Working*⁴⁹⁵ small, forged and underfunded poster campaign, which nevertheless made the front pages in response to Labour Party MP and Ministers’ outrage (and lack of more politically newsworthy events taking place during the summer). In autumn, the Labour Party was ahead of the Conservatives in the polls. In September Callaghan decided against calling a widely expected general election in the fall. In November 1978, Ford employees won a strike against Callaghan’s 5% pay rise decided upon just a few months prior (and obtained a 22% pay increase). The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), which in the mid-1970s represented two million workers and one in six trade unionists, went on strike for higher pay, followed by other unions. In December, the National Health Service & local authority Trade Union rejected the 5% guideline and called for a strike for the New Year. The Winter of Discontent began. In 1979 fifty-five percent of workers were in a trade union (the number had increased since 1975 when less than fifty percent were represented by unions). In the Commons, forty-three MPs represented small parties, a distribution unprecedented by postwar standards, breaking away from the two-party system. The second most important international political event took place in the early months of 1979, as Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, the leader of Iran since 1941, fled the country as his regime collapsed. This change of regime took place in favour of the Ayatollah Ruhollah

⁴⁹⁴ “Burns: If you do get to power how severely would you cut the numbers? Thatcher: Well now, look, let us try and start with a few figures as far as we know them, and I am the first to admit it is not easy to get clear figures from the Home Office about immigration, but there was a committee which looked at it and said that if we went on as we are then by the end of the century there would be four million people of the new Commonwealth or Pakistan here. Now, that is an awful lot and I think it means that people are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture and, you know, the British character has done so much for democracy, for law and done so much throughout the world that if there is any fear that it might be swamped people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in. [We must be] holding out the prospect of an end to immigration.” Thatcher, Margaret. ‘TV Interview for Granada World in Action (“rather Swamped”)’. Margaret Thatcher Foundation, 27 Jan. 1978, <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103485>. Accessed 16 Apr. 2024.

⁴⁹⁵ Campaign. ‘History of Advertising No 90: “Labour Isn’t Working” Poster’. Campaign, 20 Feb. 2014, <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/history-advertising-no-90-labour-isnt-working-poster/1281255>. Accessed 16 Apr. 2024.

Khomeini, who was less favourably inclined towards British oil interests. This sparked the second oil crisis of the 1970s. Amidst such international tensions, it seemed that pretty much everyone was on strike in the UK: in January the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) called for a lorry drivers' strike demanding a 40% rise. On the 22nd, more than one and a half million public sector workers and railway workers went on strike, marking the most important day of strike in the country since the 1926 general strike. Soldiers were drafted to work as nurses, teachers, airport workers, ambulance drivers, gravediggers, or dustmen. However, from January 4th to January 10th, a Caribbean international summit organised by the French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was attended by Callaghan himself in Guadeloupe, far from the horrendous January London weather and acrimonious industrial disputes. Probed by reporters on his return, Callaghan did not seem to fully grasp the importance of the domestic crisis, and the Sun summarised his response on its front page: "Crisis? What crisis?" Margaret Thatcher, on the other hand, seemed to fully perceive what was at stake, as she gave an interview to Brian Walden for the Weekend World television program in which she stated that trade unions had been above the law since 1906.⁴⁹⁶ The peak of country-wide strike waves took place in February, in exceptionally cold weather. On February 14th the TUC and the government issued a joint statement in favour of wage control being replaced by inflation rates and management agreeing to slightly better pay increases. This prompted trade union action to lose momentum and strike action faded during the following month: in March 1979 the Winter of Discontent thawed to an end. On March 28th, a vote of no-confidence was lost by the Callaghan government by the smallest of margins (311/310). This was the first time a government had lost a no-confidence vote since 1926. James Callaghan had no choice but to call a general election, to be held in May. During the general election campaign, the Conservatives enjoyed a large opinion poll lead, which nonetheless steadily narrowed. On May third the Conservative Party won the general election with a majority of forty-three and Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister. The liberal vote collapsed, and although Labour lost this general election, the number of votes cast in its favour increased by 75,000. To go back to funding cuts, in June, Geoffrey Howe (the new Chancellor of the Exchequer) issued his first budget, which included cuts in income tax (from 33 to 30%), cuts in public spending and the raising of the Value Added Tax from 8 to 15%.

To add insult to injury, the end of the Bretton-Woods system allowed currencies, including Sterling, to float between 1971 and 1973, which proved very unstable for the British currency. In 1972, one pound equalled 2,6 dollars. In January 1976 it fell to two dollars. In March of the same year, Sterling fell under two dollars for the first time in history (some days during that period the value of the pound decreased by as

⁴⁹⁶ Referring to the Trade Dispute Act (1906), protecting trade unions from legal pursuit in response to strike action "After all, there's a tremendous amount of trade union law; the law consisted of exempting trade unions from certain legal provisions, which apply to other people. I just looked back the other day at some of the early history, you know they were put above the law in some respects in 1906, when there were only 1½ million members of trade unions, now there are 11 million members" Margaret Thatcher. 'TV Interview for London Weekend Television Weekend World'. Margaret Thatcher Foundation, 7 Jan. 1979, <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103807>. Accessed 16 Apr. 2024.

much as five percent per hour, and was further weakened by the Bank of England's cutting of interest rates). In May 1976, the pound exchange rate neighboured 1.80 dollars, in June, 1.70 (with at times a fall of several cents per day), to reach an all-time low in October 1976, when one pound could be bought for 1.5 dollars. This infernal spiral seemed to only have been stopped by negotiations in favour of obtaining the already mentioned IMF loan in exchange for government cuts, which were granted in December 1976. The pound then recovered some of its value floating between 1.80 and 1.90 in 1977.

But the decade was not only unfavourable to the government's finances, it was also a difficult one for the private sector, as Rolls Royce was nationalised in February 1971 after having filed for bankruptcy, and the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders announced their insolvency and liquidation in June of the same year (only to be bailed out by the government in February 1972 with a 35 million pound cheque). One hopeful element for the industrial sector was the discovery of oil in the North Sea early on in the decade, leading to the first North Sea Oil concessions being created in August 1971 and the inauguration of the first British North Sea Oil pipeline in Aberdeen in November 1975.

Other economic changes took place during the decade. The value-added tax was announced in March 1971, in anticipation of the UK's entry into the Economic European Community, shifting the government's main revenue from a direct tax system (through income tax, for instance) to an indirect one (through a general sales tax).⁴⁹⁷ It was officially implemented in April 1973. The negotiations for the UK's admission to the EEC had unofficially started as early as June 1970 and ended in June 1971. Edward Heath ruled out a referendum on EEC membership in July 1971. The Commons voted in favour of UK EEC membership in October 1971 with a strong majority (356/244). The second reading of the European Communities Bill was passed in January 1972 by a short margin (309 to 301). The European Communities Bill was enacted in October 1972, two years after the beginning of official negotiations, and Britain was officially entered the EEC in January 1973. In June 1979, the first direct elections to the European Parliament took place in Britain, a few weeks after Margaret Thatcher had become Prime Minister.

Education-wise, the school leaving age was moved from 15 to 16 in September 1972, and the year 1975 saw the generalisation of comprehensive schools in the state-funded sector making partly obsolete the eleven + exam (which decided on which secondary school pupils would attend at the end of their primary education, since they would, in theory, all be sent to a comprehensive).

Regarding immigration, some figures. In 1975 fifty-five thousand immigrants came into the UK. A commission for Racial Equality was set up by the government. In 1977, forty-four thousand immigrants entered the country, mostly dependents of British citizens.

⁴⁹⁷ House of Lords Library. « Value Added Tax (VAT) at 50 ». House of Lords Library, September 2023, <https://lordslibrary.parliament.uk/value-added-tax-vat-at-50/>. Accessed April 15, 2024.

On the less gloomily economic side, the decade was marked by the formalising of several movements in favour of social progress in the realm of feminism, homosexuality and anti-racism. The first National Women's Liberation Front Conference was held at Ruskin College, Oxford, in February 1970, paving the way for the formalising of the Women's Liberation Movement. One instance of feminist activism included the disruption of the Miss World Competition by members of the Women's Liberation Movement in November 1970 at Albert Hall in London. By 1975 the Equal Pay Act was enforced, and the Equal Opportunity Commission was set up and the Sex Discrimination Act, Social Security Pensions Act, and Employment Protection Act were passed, granting provisions for pregnant women, including maternity leave. In 1976 the British Women's Liberation Movement Conference was held in Edinburgh, and the Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act (which implemented a court order against violent spouses) was passed. In 1977 the Housing Act was passed, recognising women and their children victims of domestic abuse as homeless and therefore able to receive temporary state-funded accommodation.⁴⁹⁸ In 1978 the British Women's Liberation Movement Conference was held in Birmingham. In 1979, the TUC adopted a charter in favour of equality for women within trade unions.

In October 1970, the Gay Liberation Front was founded in London, at the London School of Economics. The first gay pride took place in London in July 1972 on Trafalgar Square and in Hyde Park, with a thousand participants.

In August 1975 the free Watchfield Festival took place, welcoming more than twenty thousand people over a fortnight in Oxfordshire, a fermata to the free festival movement which had begun in 1971 at Glastonbury and chaotically lived on under Windsor Castle. In April 1978 the Rock Against Racism (RAR) campaign held a mass rally and festival in London which welcomed between 80.000 and 100.000 people.

The PEOPLE Party was founded in January 1973, later to become the Green Party in 1975.

On the publication side, the first issue of *The Ecologist* was published in July 1970 in London. The first edition of Gay news was published in 1972, and Ann Oakley's *Sex, Gender and Sexuality* was published, expressing the idea that sex and gender are distinguishable for the first time on a broad platform. The first issue of *Spare Rib*, a flagship feminist magazine which ran between 1972 and 1993, was published in July 1972.

It is worth noting that political representation according to race evolved somewhat during the 1970s, as the London Borough saw the number of non-white councillors

⁴⁹⁸ UK Parliament. 'Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977'. Legislation UK, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1977/48/contents/enacted>. Accessed 16 Apr. 2024.

increase from zero to ten in 1974. In 1978, the same election brought the number over thirty.

In June of the same year, anti-National Front demonstrations took place in Red Lion Square in London, leading to the death of Kevin Gately, epitomising the state of racial tensions in the country at the time. In 1976 the Notting Hill Carnival riots took place at the end of August and “around 250 people, including 120 police officers, were hospitalised, and 60 arrests were made”.⁴⁹⁹ In April 1979 confrontations between police forces and demonstrators led to the death of Blair Peach at anti National Front demonstrations in Southall, London.

To humbly conclude with the political and economic context of the 1970s relevant to this study, it can be said that the 1970s were a decade of intense economic turmoil on the domestic and international level, as well as a politically tumultuous period. While instability and social unrest were defining characteristics of the decade, the Centre did evolve and become more stable and renowned during the 1970s. It grew in legitimacy at a time when social progress was actively fought for in the UK, especially in the case of feminism, which would shake the CCCS’s very core. Furthermore, while budget cuts were on the 1970s’ front page, the Centre still found itself in a financially protected situation for the better part of the decade, thanks to government research funding bodies which provided regular grants to CCCS students, thus securing a steadily funded recruitment process.

2.2. INTRODUCTION

The 1970s, nicknamed the CCCS’s « golden years », are referred to as a period of expansion in the academic sphere, when the early strategies implemented during its first, exploratory period paid off. The significance of the 1968 events should not be understated here, as they represented an unplanned event which disturbed the course of the initial cultural studies project imagined by Richard Hoggart and drove it into the hands of Stuart Hall, its second director. From the 1968 moment stemmed the most characteristic working practices the Centre became to be known for in the 1970s, including democratically informed decision making and admin management, and collective research and publishing. The decade saw the Centre secure quasi-stable yearly research grants from two government bodies, the DES (the Department of Education and Science) and the SSRC (the Social Science Research Council) and concluded on the signing of a publication contract with British private publishing house Hutchinson, which would finish putting the CCCS on the academic world map. Parallely the Centre’s research frameworks were also evolving in different directions

⁴⁹⁹ White, Jessica. « Police, Press & Race in the Notting Hill Carnival ‘Disturbances’ ». History Workshop, August 2020, <https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/black-history/notting-hill-carnival-disturbances/>. Accessed April 16, 2024.

so as to become an intellectual space of discussion and contention. This second part will explore these historical developments below.

2.3. ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS

2.3.1. Funding

As briefly stated in the second part's introduction, during this second period the Centre's funding evolved from relying on the Penguin covenant to include different sources of income.

First, in the 1969-1971 annual report, no change is to be mentioned on a financial level, with the exception of a clear indication of the duration of the Penguin Books covenant. Indeed the report states that the Penguin Books covenant had been 'generously renewed for a period of five years'⁵⁰⁰ and should terminate in 1976. This extension of the initial covenant, made at a time of deep uncertainty for the Centre's future (as Richard Hoggart was leaving the University of Birmingham to work at UNESCO on a sabbatical, see Governance, appointments and perspectives section below) was reassuring for the CCCS in the sense that it proved that the exploratory period's activities had been sufficient to secure funding beyond the original date. Furthermore, as Sir Allen Lane passed away in July 1970, it seems unlikely that this particular covenant would be renewed a third time, as its agreement relied on Richard Hoggart's and Allen Lane's relationship, described in part one. This meant that the Centre needed to actively seek other funding bodies in order to survive and pursue its work.

And indeed it did. During the 1970s the CCCS began to apply for postgraduate research grants through two main government bodies, the DES (the Department of Education and Science, founded in 1964 under Labour Harold Wilson's first premiership), and the SSRC, or Social Science Research Council, founded by Royal Charter in October 1965. In the works since 1944, the Council's main aim was exactly what it sounded, to support research in the social sciences, including through the provision of postgraduate grants. The philosophy behind the establishment of such an entity was the following:

The discussion about the need for a Social Science Research Council began in earnest as the Second World War was drawing to a close. It was a time when the thoughts of policymakers and academics alike were turning to how to achieve the changes in society clearly required

⁵⁰⁰ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

*in the wake of two destructive world wars. It was also a time of optimism, with a belief that all social problems were ultimately soluble. As Michael Young [Professor of Sociology and a former head of the Labour Party's Research Department], the first chairman of the SSRC, reflected: 'There were high hopes, even among some normally cautious administrators, about what social sciences should do to illuminate public policy.'*⁵⁰¹

To use a romantic metaphor, the SSRC and the CCCS were perfect for each other, as they both faced strong opposition (the SSRC was finally founded following a twenty-year political struggle) and both sought to work towards achieving social change. Ironically, the SSRC's activities structured themselves in a similar fashion to that of the CCCS. Indeed while undergraduate social science intakes increased by more than 60% between 1962 and 1967, thus evidencing a strong momentum for social sciences, the "priority [for the council] in these early days was establishing a distinctive role and trajectory for the SSRC".⁵⁰² Much like the Centre during its exploratory period, the SSRC was looking for a way to frame its activities in the 1960s and settled for a supportive role rather than a coercive one: the SSRC would fund research projects originating from universities; it would not define universities' social science research agendas.⁵⁰³ The demand for SSRC funding grew so great by the 1970s that the Council found itself forced to decline grants to promising research projects even though it spent a higher proportion of its overall budget than other research councils on postgraduate grants.⁵⁰⁴ As described above, the CCCS was among its regular recipients. Indeed for the first time in 1971 the system of SSRC grant allocation is detailed in the Centre's report:

*The S.S.R.C. offers two kinds of research awards: quota places, for which application is made to the S.S.R.C by the Centre who may then allocate whatever quota awards it may receive, and pool places, a very few of which are available in the late summer to applicants applying directly to the S.S.R.C. with the Centre sponsorship.*⁵⁰⁵

This dual system of quota and pool places indicates several elements integrant to the Centre's financial stability by 1971. First, the fact that the Centre had secured designated quota places from the SSRC evidences that the CCCS had become, in the

⁵⁰¹ Gaber, Annaliza; Gaber, Ivor; Fox, Selina. *ESRC - The First Forty Years*. Dec. 2005, <https://www.ukri.org/publications/ssrc-and-esrc-the-first-forty-years/>. P. 4.

⁵⁰² Ibid. P. 8.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid P. 10.

⁵⁰⁵ *CCCS Annual report 1969-1971*, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

eyes of the SSRC, a serious research body, trustworthy enough to be granted research awards on a yearly basis. These SSRC quota places constituted a steady means to fund several graduate students each year and allow the Centre to sustain its research, without having the dedicated internal funds to do so. In this sense, from 1969 on the SSRC was one of the CCCS's most important funding bodies, with the DES. However, a similar arrangement did not exist between the DES and CCCS. The report also indicates that "very few" pool places were available to CCCS applicants in the late summer. This seems to mean that the SSRC could have more grants to award than it usually did award, or that some students who had received an SSRC award had not claimed the grants they had received. While these pool places were not guaranteed, they could allow a few more people to integrate the Centre with a research award in the late summer and therefore also contributed to the Centre's stability. Patricia McCabe, a PhD CCCS student between 1977 and 1981 provided an account of the CCCS's grant funding in her 2022 interview:

R: I was an undergraduate at the University of Birmingham and I was in the English department. [...] I'd chosen to do cultural studies as my extracurricular subject as part of my, you know it was a gesture towards a broader education. [...] So I've known this bit from doing some work as part of their undergraduate and teaching and so there it was you know, I'd come out with you know a decent degree and they encouraged me to carry on and do more of what I'd been doing so, and I got the grant to do a PhD so I did it. [...] I just thought it was, you know, this is good I've got three years of funding to research something that I'm interested in. [...]

I: Where did the grant come from?

R: It was a, in those days... It doesn't happen now. In those days, you'd get a means-tested grant to do an undergraduate and then there were a limited number of grants available for... (pauses). The way they seemed to do it was: in your department, there'd be a small number of grants available for the top performers each year, who could then go on and study. I mean, it's a remarkable system compared to what we've got now. [...] So there were three grants available which you could then go on and study with. So I don't really understand that when I think about it, that's quite an odd system, isn't it? That I knew that as long as I got a good enough undergraduate qualification, then the Centre would accept me and, and I would get funding. It seems bizarre now.⁵⁰⁶

Patricia McCabe's trajectory corresponds to a recruiting process slowly implemented by the Centre since the start of the optional cultural studies undergraduate course in the English Department in 1968-1969 (which, to get a sense of its popularity within

⁵⁰⁶ McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29 2021. P 4-5.

the university, attracted 29 students in 1972).⁵⁰⁷ The undergraduate course guaranteed access to cultural studies for English department students.⁵⁰⁸ As McCabe explained, among interested students, the top three were given a research grant to do a PhD at the Centre, research grants which, according to CCCS reports, had been secured from the SSRC. Such a virtuous circle enabled a steady stream of qualified students to integrate the Centre each year, and bypassed the Centre's inability to internally fund its student research. This recruitment process echoes the vision Stuart Hall professed in Birmingham when he met Richard Hoggart in 1964: "I remember discussions with Richard about [...] "How should we do it?" "Well, we'll try to get good graduate students who have grants, but who are interested in moving away from traditional literary and other topics."⁵⁰⁹ By 1971 and thanks to the SSRC, Stuart Hall's vision had become integral to the CCCS financial structure, so much so that in 1977 when the Centre had finally moved to the 7th and 8th floor of the newly built Muirhead Tower (see subsection 2.2.2 on Accommodation), "a room [was] given over to the SSRC project"⁵¹⁰ on the floor occupied by the CCCS, thereby evidencing SSRC funding's importance among other Centre projects, which developed during the 1970s.

As a matter of fact, the 1972-1974 CCCS annual report dwells on this recruiting strategy:

Maintaining solid work [...], rather than a rapid expansion of numbers at the introductory level, is how in general terms we see the process of consolidation in the coming year or two. The selection and funding of post-doctoral research is itself something we are beginning to plan for, since the funding process is a lengthy and complicated one, and needs

⁵⁰⁷ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 21.

⁵⁰⁸ The University of Birmingham was founded by Royal Charter in 1900 and was part of the civic universities created at the beginning of the XXth century which admitted students regardless of their religion status. Its English department enjoying close ties to the Shakespeare's Institute (of international standing), and the fact that it is today the 7th largest university in the UK makes plausible the fact that its English department welcomed a generous number of students, a sufficient proportion of which could later become interested in cultural studies and enter the CCCS's postgraduate recruitment process.

⁵⁰⁹ Thompson, P., University of Essex, Department of Sociology: "Interview with Stuart Hall" in "Pioneers of Social Research, 1996-2018" 4th Edition, UK Data Service [distributor], 2019-04-08, SN:6226, Para. 182. <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>, <https://discover.ukdataservice.ac.uk/QualiBank/Document/?cid=q-9f72233e-d038-4ebe-b1cc-d780122fa692>

⁵¹⁰ CCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 18.

*constant attention if we are to build, continuously, on personnel and concerns already present somewhere in the Centre's orbit.*⁵¹¹

Here two concerns are getting tangled: that of being able to recruit postdoctoral students and rely on enough fully trained researchers to continue the work of cultural studies, and that of shaping the expansion of cultural studies as a primarily postgraduate centre. Indeed when the report stresses that increasing student numbers at the introductory level is not the chosen strategy, it implies that the CCCS chose to limit the number of undergraduate students who would have access to the cultural studies introductory course to be able to focus on attracting and selecting postdoctoral students and potential candidates through the process of grant application in order to secure large-scale funding, as SSRC projects provided funding for several years. This strategy, selecting postdoctoral students to be attached to the Centre, echoes the strategy implemented during the first exploratory period, when external contributions were included in the early research output of the CCCS. As underlined in the report when describing this strategy as a consolidation process, this highlights that the Centre was still not steady on its feet as when it came to its recruitment numbers. What is also stressed is the amount of work, time and energy dedicated by the CCCS to obtain funding, away from research work, all the more so given that cultural studies at Birmingham in the 1970s relied on a relatively small number of people, putting all the more stress on the recruitment process in order to create an academic space where research interests aligned and were able to grow.

This process included overseas students, as by 1974, overseas applicants were given indications in terms of funding opportunities, and could apply through “Fulbright awards, British Council Fellowship and the Canada Council”.⁵¹² The fact that these three funding bodies are mentioned in the report is evidence that the Centre had by that date identified a domestic and international financial network able to provide some of its prospective students with funding. This indicates that the Centre had, by 1974, understood how it could survive beyond its structural financial stringency on the domestic and international level.

UNESCO was still an important research funding body for the Centre's activities by that same date, as the annual report lists no less than four CCCS projects and reports commissioned by UNESCO in its report. These projects could be seen as a direct link between CCCS and Richard Hoggart's new position at UNESCO as Assistant Director General to the Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture sector (see Governance, Appointments and Perspectives section below). They could also be seen as proof that UNESCO had renewed its trust in the CCCS and saw it as a serious research unit able to provide meaningful insights into topics such as ‘race and the provincial press’, ‘innovation and decline in cultural programming on British television’, ‘the structural

⁵¹¹ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 22.

⁵¹² Ibid. P. 7.

communication of events', or 'culture and structure in so-called "plural societies" in the Caribbean'.⁵¹³ This list emphasises the diversity of the Centre's research interests during the 1970s. This continuation of UNESCO work proves that the CCCS had become a steady policy provider producing valuable input to UNESCO, as well as a research centre in its own right.

Yet this relative stability and scope of action were threatened as an effect of the end of the Penguin covenant in 1976, as "the ending of the Penguin grant will necessarily mean a reduction in the Centre's secretarial support. [...] This has already involved the loss of a full-time librarian, and will involve further economies."⁵¹⁴ Indeed before 1976 the Centre employed one full-time secretary, Joan Goode, one full-time librarian, Frances Buchanan, and one part-time secretary, Judy Jefferson. By 1977, Joan Goode was the only full-time secretarial member of staff left, and two part-time secretaries, Judy Jefferson, whose work centred on the CCCS journal *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, and Deirdre Barker, who worked on the CCCS Stencilled papers, had been recruited to help manage the additional workload. The loss of a librarian could be felt as late as during the next decade, during which financial stringency would become the norm. Annie Branham, a CCCS student after 1985, reflected upon the tasks taken up by parts of the Centre's students in the mid-1980s in a 2022 interview:

I: And so you talked about answering the phone. You talked about printing the stencilled papers. What else would you do?

R: We would take turns to sit in the library and try and kind of monitor where things were. So because you can imagine, like books kind of developed legs and kind of would disappear for months and months. So it wasn't just generally tidying and just keeping the place habitable, really.⁵¹⁵

The loss of secretarial and library staff at the time did therefore have a lasting impact on the running of the Centre, so much so that secretarial and library duties became part of the Centre's students' activity beyond research. Fortunately, for the Centre since 1974 Stuart Hall's and Richard Johnson's posts were funded by the University of Birmingham after the recommendations of a Faculty Working Party, which had audited the work of the Centre after Richard Hoggart's definite departure to UNESCO. This evaluation process is detailed in the Governance, Appointments and Perspectives subsection.

⁵¹³ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 15.

⁵¹⁴ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 29-30.

⁵¹⁵ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd, 2022. P. 18.

The following year the financial prospects of the Centre, and of the British university system as a whole, took an unfavourable turn: “The major change for 1977 has undoubtedly been the prospective rise in the fees charged for postgraduate study. These have been imposed on universities, generally as a government decision.”⁵¹⁶ This “government decision” fit into a wider wave of public spending cuts after the combined end of the “Robbins era” in 1967, characterised by a “context of declining capital expenditure on new universities”⁵¹⁷ and the aftermath of the 1973 oil crisis, marking another “decline in public funding of the educational system”.⁵¹⁸ As stated in the Historical Background section of this second part, the 1970s were crippled with a succession of public spending cuts with 1976 as the high point of this trend, with the difficult negotiations between Callaghan’s Labour government and the IMF in the autumn and the obtaining of the loan in December, in exchange for a two-and-a-half-billion-pound public spending cut over the 1977-1979 period, amidst a pound devaluation crisis since 1972 and an inflationary spiral (inflation had peaked in August 1975, reaching a staggering 26,9%). Peter Williams described the rise in overseas student fees in a 1984 article:

*In 1974 the Heath administration fell and Labour was returned to power. In the ensuing period of the Labour government, fees were raised every year from 1975, when they were increased to £320 in higher education, to 1979 when they reached £940 at the undergraduate level and £1,230 for postgraduates (differentiation by levels dated from 1977-1978).*⁵¹⁹

This account matches that given by the 1976-1977 CCCS annual report, stating that home students would be charged £750 and overseas students £850 for full-time postgraduate, from October 1977 on. This rise, according to the report, “will make self-finance very difficult”.⁵²⁰ This meant that while the usual number of unfunded CCCS postgraduate students would no longer be able to afford postgraduate fees by the end of the 1970s. In short, within a few years they could no longer afford the same degree. The strategy adopted by the CCCS to counter the effects of this increase in tuition fees consisted of favouring part-time over full-time registration:

⁵¹⁶ CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 1.

⁵¹⁷ Carpentier, Vincent. « Funding in Higher Education and Economic Growth in France and the United Kingdom, 1921-2003 ». Higher Education Management and Policy, vol. 18, n° 3, octobre 2006, P. 1-22. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1787/hemp-v18-art16-en>. P.16.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Williams, Peter. « Britain’s Full-Cost Policy for Overseas Students ». Comparative Education Review, vol. 28, n° 2, 1984, P. 258-78. JSTOR. P. 262.

⁵²⁰ CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 1.

*More hopefully, it is now almost certain that part-time fees will be less than half those of full-time. [...] Therefore, our policy for this year is to positively encourage part-time postgraduate applications. This will mean some changes in the general organisation of the Centre's work, in particular the M.A. course [...] One possibility that we are considering at the moment is holding both M.A. courses on one day. This will leave the first year free for concentration on course work. The second year will then involve attachment to a subgroup and dissertation work.*⁵²¹

This paragraph makes clear that the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies' political stance was, arguably, radical, as it was willing to change both its weekly schedule and its yearly course organisation to counter the effects of a policy aimed at increasing full-time registration fees. At this point in CCCS history, the 1977 a rise in tuition fees was not synonymous with the complete loss of a future student intake, as the Centre had secured quota places through the SSRC and also won pool places on a yearly basis. Therefore, even if the rise in tuition fees had not been dealt with, the 1977 student intake would have diminished but would have not entirely run dry, and student numbers by that date were high enough to maintain the Centre's research work. The decision by the CCCS to encourage part-time applications was therefore a political one, consisting of enabling students to register for a lower fee and accommodating their schedule to make as much free time as possible during the week to allow them to seek jobs to maintain themselves and study at the same time, in close-to-proper conditions. This decision was made to the detriment of the previously established M.A. course structure and shows the level of involvement Centre staff demonstrated towards their own students, be they already registered or prospective.

By the end of the 1970s, the CCCS seemed stable enough to dare to be confident. The academic year 1977-1978 was indeed the year during which the Centre seemed the most optimistic about its prospects since its founding. However, there was still trouble in paradise, as economic stringency continued to impact the Centre's work. The report states:

We have, of course, felt the impact of a period of severe economic stringency. We have a complement of about 40 students (reckoned, by the current jargon, in terms of 'full-time equivalents') [...] Our full-time staff complement has [...] attained the princely figure of 3 plus one full and one part-time Research Fellow. So the range of Centre activities is sustained on a very slender base; which, in turn, means that

⁵²¹ CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.1.

*everyone is at full stretch [...] The pressure on our secretarial support is fierce.*⁵²²

The explanation for this situation is the following:

*The selection of Higher Education as an area of savage economies has taken its toll — above all in the direct limiting of research possibilities for excellent students who happen not to be lucky in the award stakes by the raising of the full-time postgraduate fee to £750 and the overseas fee to over £1000 — punitive figures, even in these inflationary times. This has obliged us to take more part-time registrations than we would normally like.*⁵²³

The prior year's decision to encourage part-time over full-time registration to palliate the raising of student fees had therefore been upheld. Tuition fees had remained high or had continued to increase under a Labour government. The vocabulary used to describe the financial state the CCCS found itself in at the end of the 1970s was bleak: the report refers to 'severe stringency', a 'very slender base', 'fierce pressure', 'savage economies', and 'punitive figures', which would, unfortunately for the Centre, become the norm until 1988. While the strategy to favour part-time registration over full-time began as a political decision, it would prove difficult to uphold when faced with the financial constraints faced by part-time students, preventing them from being as involved as the CCCS's full-timers.

The report also reflected the still (as they were already mentioned during the 1964-1968 period) many invisible missions taken up by the Centre without the financial and structural comfort enjoyed by more traditional research structures. Only in 1976, these missions, although understood as necessary to establish the Centre as more than 'a grouping of graduate students'⁵²⁴, were seen as being threatened by the termination of the Penguin covenant, beyond the sheer loss of its secretarial staff. By 1978 the tone used in the annual report had changed to describe a destitute research centre somewhat ashamed of its own working conditions:

Such work as ours has its unrecognised uses; in lecture courses and seminars given elsewhere in the university, in the stream of consultations on dissertations found 'interesting but', elsewhere; in the

⁵²² CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

⁵²³ Ibid.

⁵²⁴ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

heavy use of our small library. We welcome such work, but it forms no part of our 'recognised' teaching load, while visitors, often bringing expectations of some well-supported think-tank, are found stifling or suppressing the question, 'is this all...'?⁵²⁵

The contrast between the outside reputation of the Centre and its material reality is here starkly described and hints at a certain sense of bitterness behind which one can begin to perceive the state of perpetual fatigue in which staff members found themselves, a state of fatigue which would not resolve itself until the closing of CCCS. One research hypothesis underlying this work suggests that the Centre was maintained in part at the expense of the mental health of its staff and students, as such a gap between the perception of the Centre from the outside and its day-to-day conditions proved challenging to sustain, if not for a strong sense of commitment.

However, with hindsight, the part-time registration policy implemented in 1977-1978 in response to the increase in student fees was described as reasonably harmless: "The Centre prefers full-time membership in its stress on collective work, but this is not always possible and the M.A. has been taken on a part-time basis without serious disadvantage in the last two years."⁵²⁶

However, the loss of two SSRC pool places as a result of already visible budget cuts was perceived as endangering the stability of present and future CCCS cohorts: "The MA by course is supported only at present by SSRC 'pool' awards, which are hard to come by. [...] There has been a reduction from 4 to 2 in these awards for us recently, in line with national reductions."⁵²⁷ However and "surprisingly", Centre students were said to be "well-funded this year", thanks to both DES and SSRC pool place allocation, and to the expanding Cultural Studies network providing "sponsors and secondments to students wishing to join CCCS".⁵²⁸

To conclude with this section about funding in the 1970s, it seems as though the Centre had found a sound financing method depending on government support, which, although successful in securing research grants for the better part of the decade, began to wane as the decade drew to a close, thus slowly reducing the initial window for cultural studies research.

⁵²⁵ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 3.

⁵²⁶ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 13.

⁵²⁷ Ibid. P. 11.

⁵²⁸ Ibid. P. 3.

2.3.2. Accommodation

The Centre's topographical tribulations would finally come to an end during the 1970s. In 1971 the Centre was (finally) housed in the main Faculty of Arts building, on the fourth floor. A campus map highlighting both the old and partial (as the Faculty of Arts always housed at least Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall's offices since 1964, when the CCCS's study rooms were found in the uncanniest places on campus) and the new unique accommodation of the CCCS at the beginning of the seventies can be visualised below.

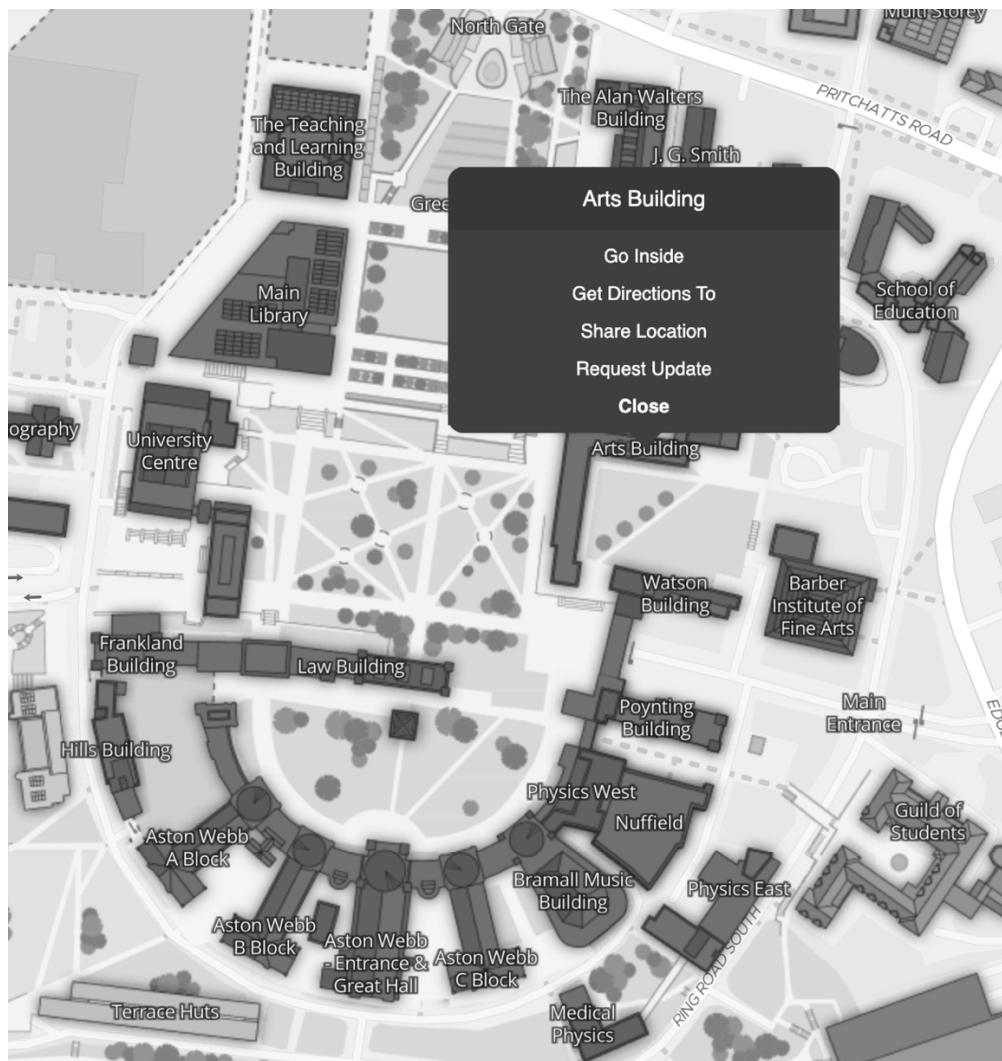


Figure 7 – University of Birmingham campus map highlighting the unique CCCS location starting 1970

Trevor Millum, a student at CCCS from 1968 to 1970, recalled the accommodation change in a personal interview in July 2022:

R: We also changed premises twice while I was there, which was- given I was only there three years was... To move from one building, then to another, then to another one that was... But in some ways we [eventually] moved into the proper Arts Faculty building, we were accepted, you know.

I: So you weren't- you were in the huts?

R: Yeah, no, there were two lots of huts. There was one very small area, we had to have bigger meetings elsewhere. Then we moved into this funny little hut, as you say, on the back of the university, which is what I remember most actually. [...] And then finally, we moved up into the top floor, one of the floors of the Arts Faculty where they'd made- I don't know who had moved out to make room for us. I have no idea. But there was a lot of moving of furniture.⁵²⁹

It is meaningful that the instability of the Centre's location would be remembered and felt as a successful fight to be accepted by the University. The constant moving of places and furniture during the first period in the CCCS's history matches with its exploratory component, and its settling down into a single location from 1970 onwards contributed to establishing the Centre's legitimacy on campus, and allowed it to grow in size and reputation.

By 1976, the Centre had remained stable for six years accommodation-wise, the longest period since its founding. Positive changes were to be foreseen in the 1974-1976 report to match the growth of the research unit, as "during Summer 1976 the Centre will be moving to new and less cramped premises on the 8th floor of the Muirhead Tower, next to the old building."⁵³⁰ The effects of this great moving up show would have to wait until October 1976, when the Centre effectively moved to the 7th and 8th floor of the newly built Muirhead Tower. Below is a map of the University of Birmingham campus, highlighting the Centre's new and final location on campus grounds.

⁵²⁹ Millum, Trevor. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview July 4th 2022. P. 12.

⁵³⁰ *CCCS Annual report 1974-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 29.

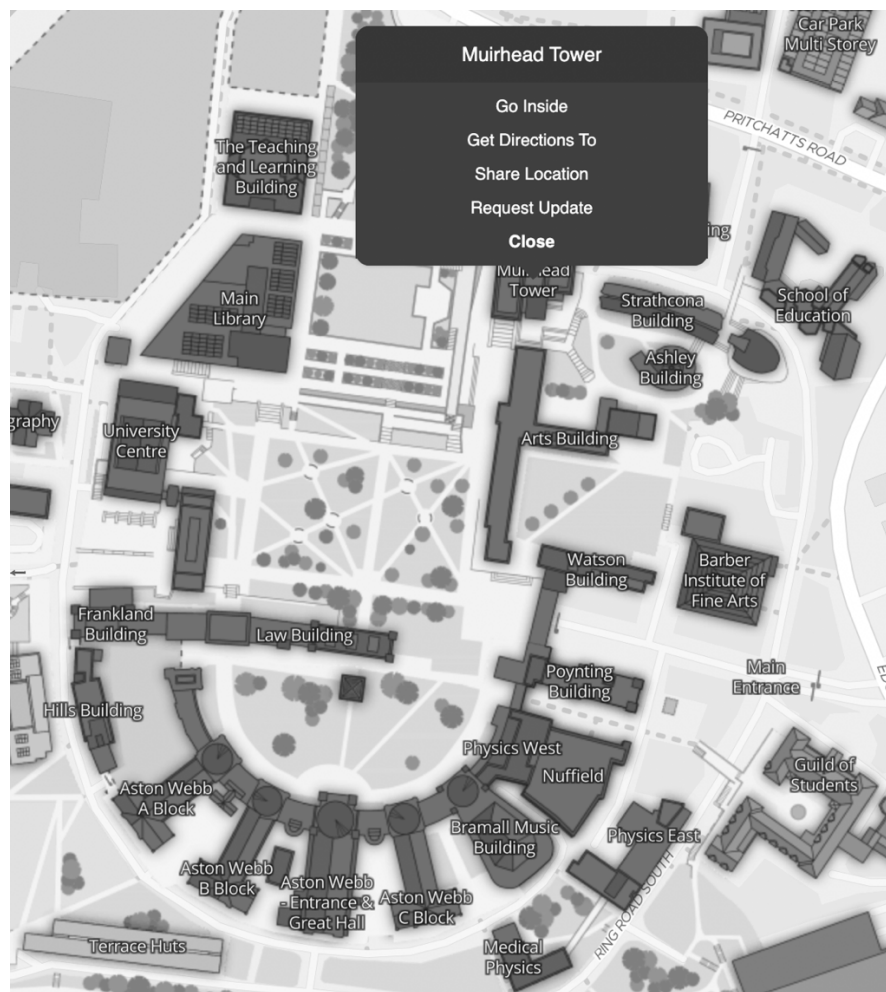


Figure 8 – University of Birmingham campus map highlighting the unique CCCS location after October 1976

The new accommodation included, in the recently built tower:

*Staff rooms, Main office, Equipment room housing typing and stencilling facilities, two seminar rooms, two Project rooms – a Media-equipment room and a room given over to the SSRC project, a room housing current periodicals and newspapers, and the Centre Library. [...] Postgraduate quiet rooms are available on the 7th floor.*⁵³¹

This account seems to describe a rather comfortable work and research environment, including different spaces dedicated to various purposes. Drawing on Trevor Millum's account of the 1970 move to the Faculty of Arts, it seems as though the Centre had been truly accepted by the University of Birmingham by the year 1977, as it had been

⁵³¹ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 18.

Centre's development."⁵³⁶ Furthermore, part 5 of the report, dealing with 'Theses and Group Projects', describes the state of research at the beginning of the 1970s: "Many of the theses and projects undertaken in the early years of the Centre are either finished or nearing completion."⁵³⁷ These two elements mark the end of a first period and the beginning of a second, impacting the teaching and research contents of the CCCS.

It is therefore possible, based on this description, to identify an intermediary period between the student sit-in of November 1968 and 1972, a period we might refer to as an interregnum. By doing so, the initial historical division established in the introduction (1964-1968, 1968-1979, 1979-1988) finds itself nuanced or perhaps further refined, as this interregnum represents years during which Richard Hoggart progressively left the Centre as Stuart Hall was taking on the role of director. In the words of Richard Hoggart:

*My going, in January 1970, to UNESCO naturally caused the stress to fall even more on Stuart's interests, less on mine. Small intellectual communities are living organisms. They take on, until the first departure, defection or revolt, the colourings and dispositions of the founder or founders. Stuart recognised the value of my approach as I did his, and we were without competitiveness towards each other. It was inevitable that when I went the atmosphere would change, that he would be not only the main element but the dead-centre of it.*⁵³⁸

This official version of the interregnum period by Richard Hoggart in his own memoirs attests to the wish of the CCCS's founder to provide a peaceful account of the shift. While it cannot be taken at face value, it does provide meaningful elements to understand the struggle at play during this unstable period. By comparing small intellectual communities to living organisms highly influenced by their founders, Richard Hoggart made his understanding of his own position (as well as Stuart Hall's soon-to-be position) clear in the emerging laboratory of cultural studies. If the Centre's members were strongly moulded by their director's dispositions, they were also, in turn, greatly dependent on them, as their very own precarious position was directly linked to the CCCS's director's ability to secure the Centre's autonomy. At the beginning of this interregnum, this autonomy had not yet been secured to the point where the Centre's future was endangered by Richard Hoggart's departure.

This (relative) autonomy was not achieved in a heartbeat. Let us go back to 1968, which represented a moment of intense tensions between the CCCS and the Faculty of Arts administration, when a group of students decided to occupy part of the

⁵³⁶ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

⁵³⁷ Ibid. P. 16.

⁵³⁸ Inglis, Fred. *Richard Hoggart: Virtue and Reward*. Polity, 2014. P. 98.

university's premises.⁵³⁹ During this several-day occupation, the students published a manifesto: *The Student Role*, supporting demands for better student representation within the university structure. This episode had a significant impact on the Centre's future, as it proposed unprecedented changes to university practices and the distribution of responsibilities among professors, administrative staff, and students.

One of the main proofs attesting to the Centre's involvement in the student occupation of the University of Birmingham's Mail Hall is found in the CCCS archives held at the Cadbury Research Library, on the University of Birmingham campus. Volume 37 Number 3 of *Mermaid* (the historical Student Guild of Undergraduates magazine first published in 1904) was produced by the Centre and titled "To Sir, With Love", ironically addressed to Sir Robert Aitken, the then still current Vice-Chancellor of the University of Birmingham.⁵⁴⁰ The issue contained various pieces and cartoons reflecting on the very nature of universities and the need for more democratic working practices and governance. One example (the whole issue alone could justify a much lengthier analysis) taken from the issue evidences the strong links between the Centre and the "1968 moment" within the university:

*The hostility, suspicion and defensiveness which is fast becoming the predictable protective response of University authorities to inquisitive students is really one of the most worrying problems of all: and deeply paradoxical. Institutions whose very raison d'être [sic] is the fostering of the spirit of scientific inquiry, curiosity and criticism spend a good deal of their time managing and manipulating criticism, drawing invisible lines to circumscribe inquiring minds. What these institutions seem most to require and admire is high motivation (staff are constantly complaining of the lack of motivation on the part of students) in strictly patrolled areas (academic work, almost exclusively) coupled with low information about the process and context in which teaching and learning take place (the university): strong attachment to goals and ideals defined by others (the university, the community of scholars, the higher learning, the Degree) matched by low involvement with the redefinition of goals and ideals to which they must subscribe. This is a recipe for alienation, detachment, anxiety and irritation of almost classical dimensions.*⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ Fisher, Helen, "Student Protest 50 Years On", Old Joe, accessed September 16, 2021, <https://www.oldjoe.co.uk/article/student-protests-50-years-on>

⁵⁴⁰ You may remember him as the person who told Richard Hoggart he could open his Centre without funding from the University, mentioned page 3 of this chapter.

⁵⁴¹ Hall, Stuart. "Blowing in the Wind, a comment and postscript" in *Mermaid*, Volume 37, Number 3, May 1968. Records of the Guild of Students – 1881-2018, Student newspapers and magazines – 1883-2011. Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham. UB/GUILD/F/3. P. 28.

What rather purposely took place within the Centre in the aftermath of the November 1968 student occupation was the setting up, at the Centre, of completely opposite working practices and governance styles to those denounced in this *Mermaid* issue. It is necessary to stress that such shifts were both made possible and imposed by the departure of Richard Hoggart, as the first CCCS's director found himself stuck between the necessity to maintain a favourable relationship with the University administration while not failing to perceive that some of the demands expressed by the students in the sit-in were, if not legitimate, representative of a cultural reality of which the University was blissfully ignorant.

Ros Brunt explained this shift very clearly in a 2015 interview with Kieran Connell:

They [Alan Shuttleworth, Stuart Hall, Richard Hoggart and Andy Bear, two permanent staff and two research fellows according to Brunt] did the syllabus for the following year and we didn't question it. But that term we did, and so we had a sense of the big four who were the salaried people, and so it was the first democratic – as I say, I'm sure it was you [Trevor Millum], me [Rosalind Brunt], Chas Critcher and Richard Dyer. But we did it in a sort of jokey way but there was then a sense that, yes, possibly the postgraduates could be involved in the syllabus. And then, of course – so this was the aftermath of the sit-in. [...] This first move to democracy, and then Richard suddenly has this job at UNESCO, very suddenly, very suddenly goes. And we are put in a whole different position. Much more undefended as well because Hoggart has gone, he played a very useful role in keeping the Vice Chancellor happy etc. and Stuart wasn't in that same place at all and didn't like the committee work that Richard Hoggart had done.⁵⁴²

As Brunt illustrated, some push towards a more democratised organisation of the Centre had been given before 1968, as postgraduate students were both concerned with matters of decision-making and the actual contents of cultural studies courses. However, as Ros Brunt underlines, this drive could only be fully taken into account once the first CCCS director had left Birmingham.

One additional element stressed by Brunt should be emphasised here: “And part of the democratisation [of the Centre, after Hoggart's departure] was sheer resources, that we couldn't leave everything for Stuart to do. It was obviously far too much.”⁵⁴³ This element is important, as it highlights the fact that the CCCS, considered here as a field of struggle (both struggling with external actors to survive and assert its legitimacy and with its own members, who negotiate the very structure of the field amongst

⁵⁴² Brunt, Rosalind, Millum, Trevor and Pawling, Christopher. Unpublished interview with Kieran Connell. Interview March 27 2015. P.12-13.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

themselves)⁵⁴⁴, in keeping with Bourdieu's and Latour and Woolgar's frameworks, was the product of both scientific and personal concerns.⁵⁴⁵ Indeed, on the one hand, it is telling that the first movement towards more democratic practices at the Centre originated in negotiating the Centre's syllabus. This shows that both students and staff members were deeply involved in the making of cultural studies. On the other, it is deeply significant that the very notion of collectivity, something that is part of the CCCS's identity and one of its most distinctive features, would be the product of necessity, rather than the product of a politically informed intellectual reflection on the functioning of universities. As Stuart Hall highlighted in his 2012 *Pioneers of Social Research* interview:

[T] he relationship between me and my students could not be of a traditional kind. We weren't the same, but we were participants in the production of the field of knowledge, rather than my guiding them through from a more authoritative position, an already constituted field of knowledge. So the collective, collaborative mode was there from the very beginning - not as a sort of decision to make it that way, but as a practical outcome of what we were trying to do. Then there's '68, of course, and the whole notion of democratic participation, collectives, reading groups, Feminist reading groups, Marx reading groups, Freud reading groups. [...] So the collective nature of early cultural studies mixes these different elements into the actual practice.⁵⁴⁶

As underlined by Hall, while the collective and more horizontal DNA of cultural studies was present since the beginning, the entire political environment of the period and the state of disarray caused by Hoggart's departure played a decisive role in the implementation of strong democratic and collective practices.

Such a state of disarray began when the university refused to accede to the student's demands in 1968, and the occupation created such a moment of rupture that it became necessary to take a position either for or against the students' actions. Such a stance was untenable for Hoggart: although he recognised the validity of some student demands and considered Vice-Chancellor Robert Hunter's response to the crisis

⁵⁴⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 69.

⁵⁴⁵ On this particular point the two sociological frameworks seem to wholeheartedly agree. See Bourdieu, Pierre. 'Le champ scientifique'. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1976, pp. 88–104. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1976.3454>. P. 3. And Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 196.

⁵⁴⁶ Hall, Stuart in Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research, 1996-2018*. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P.50-51.

inadequate⁵⁴⁷, it was equally impossible for him to officially support the students, as he risked being disavowed by the administration. The situation became even more strained when it became apparent that some of the most active participants in the mobilisation were CCCS students. This made it impossible for Hoggart to maintain the image of a pioneering yet respectable research centre, as some members of the administration viewed the Centre as a "red cell" within the university. This placed him in a difficult position, further complicated by the fact that student mobilisation was not a mode of action he could identify with—Hoggart was a committee man working behind the scenes, not one for direct action.

The situation was different for Stuart Hall. First, he was not yet director but "deputy director" under Richard Hoggart's directorship, which relatively shielded him from the administration's ire. Additionally, Hall saw the "1968 moment" as an opportunity, a door flung open in the university corridors, and placed it at the centre of what the CCCS would become in terms of administrative and pedagogical practices.⁵⁴⁸ That same year, he edited an issue of the student magazine *Mermaid*, dedicated to student life in Birmingham, in light of the issues arising from the events of May 1968. While he did not organise the mobilisation, he supported the students involved in the sit-in.⁵⁴⁹

Unlike Hall, Hoggart did not see a permeability between student demands and the faculty. This moment was decisive for the Centre's future: in 1969, Richard Hoggart joined René Maheu at UNESCO in Paris as Assistant Director-General for the Social Sciences, Humanities, and Culture (while retaining his position at the University of Birmingham through a sabbatical), and Stuart Hall became the CCCS's interim "acting deputy director".

As a legacy of the mobilisation, the CCCS research "subgroups" or working groups, mentioned earlier, emerged between 1969 and 1971. Organised around research themes and independent of each other, these groups structured the life of the Centre and shaped student experiences: no courses were mandatory outside the weekly general assembly, and students chose which groups to join and their level of involvement. The organisation into "subgroups" also marked a departure from the literary criticism central to Hoggart's teachings and vision of cultural studies between 1964 and 1968. While still partially tied to literature, the working groups' research topics evolved to include greater diversity: mass media, subcultures, work and leisure, Marxism, history, the state and psychology became new areas of focus for CCCS students and professors working together.

⁵⁴⁷ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times - An Imagined Life: 1959-1991*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1988. P.77.

⁵⁴⁸ MacCABE, Colin. « An Interview with Stuart Hall, December 2007 ». *Critical Quarterly* 50, no 1-2 (avril 2008): 12-42. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8705.2008.00825.x>. P.11.

⁵⁴⁹ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton. « The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies ». *Social History* 40, n° 3 (3 juillet 2015): 287-311. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>.

Simultaneously, the CCCS's administrative structure evolved towards greater democracy, and the founding principles of openness and freedom embedded in the Centre's original design were allowed to fully take root, albeit not without administrative difficulties.

These years of tension, initiated by the 1968 occupation and marked by Hall's intermediary role (as interim director rather than full director), culminated in 1972, when Richard Hoggart permanently left the University of Birmingham for UNESCO. The CCCS annual report covering 1972–1974 noted: "Professor Hoggart's resignation led to a reconsideration, by the Faculty of Arts, of the continuation and position of the Centre".⁵⁵⁰

This reconsideration took the form of the first attempt to close the Centre, countered⁵⁵¹ by a request to form a committee⁵⁵² to evaluate the Centre's activities. Following an exhaustive evaluation and input from external researchers, the committee delivered a positive assessment of the CCCS, recommending that the Faculty maintain it, fund it, and allow it to recruit an additional researcher. Stuart Hall described this period in a 2011 interview with Hudson Vincent:

Once [...] Hoggart went, they thought this is it. People are coming here for Hoggart, he's going, we can get rid of it. And all we said was why don't you take some samplings? Ask some people. Ask Raymond Williams? Ask Jim Halloran, who was running, not a very cultural studies type mass communications research centre, but nevertheless a friend of Richard's and mine and so on. And other people. And they all said, trouble of course, but a lot of interesting work there, you can't close it. They thought they were going to be able to rap it up. Well what should happen to it? Well you'd better promote the only other person who is there. I was first of all given temporary directorship while Richard was away. Then he decided not to come back. Ah! Now we can

⁵⁵⁰ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.4.

⁵⁵¹ Hall, Stuart. « STUART HALL INTERVIEW – 2 JUNE 2011 ». Cultural Studies 27, n° 5 (septembre 2013): 757-77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. P.14-15.

⁵⁵² WORKING TASK REPORT, 1972, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.5.

*close it! People wrote, made a fuss about it, and they said oh, all right, we'll keep it on.*⁵⁵³

This description is echoed in the CCCS's archive. Indeed the 'Future Developments' section of the 1969-1971 report stresses the uncertainty faced by the Centre at the end of the 1970s:

*The position of the Centre in the Faculty will also, of course, be affected by proposals, now under discussion, for reorganisation of the Faculty and Departmental structures, consequent on the final report of the University Commission which is currently looking into these matters; and again, it is difficult to predict how such changes in structure will bear upon the Centre.*⁵⁵⁴

This sentence concludes the 1969-1971 annual report and foreshadows the first attempt, by the University, to close the Centre. In 1974, for the first time in annual reports, Stuart Hall was presented as director in his own right, as Richard Hoggart was said to have definitely left the University of Birmingham to pursue his work at UNESCO. The report refers to this underlying shift in 'Part I: The Centre — Intellectual Developments':

*The period covered in this Report (1972- February 1974) has been a momentous one for the Centre, both internally and in relation to the wider intellectual context. First, Professor Richard Hoggart, who founded the Centre in 1964, and served as its first Director until his secondment to UNESCO as Assistant Director General (Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture), resigned his chair in the English department and his directorship of the Centre at the end of 1973. It would be inappropriate for this report to attempt any assessment of his contribution to the growth of cultural studies in general, of the Centre in particular, at this time: the more so because his interest in our work is a continuing one, and he remains the only non-university member of the newly constituted board.*⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵³ Hall, Stuart. « STUART HALL INTERVIEW – 2 JUNE 2011 ». *Cultural Studies* 27, n° 5 (septembre 2013): 757-77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>.

⁵⁵⁴ *CCCS Annual report 1969-1971*, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 23.

⁵⁵⁵ *CCCS Annual report 1972-1974*, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 1.

Here Richard Hoggart is described as an ambiguous figure (being the only “non-university member” of the board), as the position of Assistant Director General at UNESCO meant moving Hoggart’s family to Paris and making any other professional involvement difficult. However, Hoggart remained a tutelary figure for the Centre, as he sat on this newly constituted board, becoming an advisor and a guardian, acting as a sort of academic safeguard: had he not agreed to sit on the board, the Centre’s development would have become significantly more difficult. With Richard Hoggart on the CCCS’s board, it was easier to prove that the very founding figure of the CCCS still believed in the project even after leaving the University of Birmingham, so much so that he was willing to spend time in Paris, acting on the Centre’s behalf and supporting its activities. Doubtless, his new position at UNESCO kept on indirectly granting legitimacy to the Centre. In this sense Hoggart was both still there and quite gone by 1974, which would have made it necessary but quite difficult for the Centre’s new director, Stuart Hall, to fully emancipate himself from Hoggart’s early vision of cultural studies.

The constitution of this ‘newly constituted board’ and the reason for its existence are presented in the next paragraph of the report:

Professor Hoggart’s resignation led to a reconsideration, by the Faculty of Arts, of the continuation and position of the Centre. A Faculty Working Party was set up to answer these questions, [...] Its recommendation, subsequently accepted by Faculty and by Senate, was that the Centre should continue to develop teaching and research in cultural studies at the postgraduate and under-graduate levels. Its Report also recommended that the Centre should become an independent unit within the Faculty of Arts, with its own Director, reporting directly to Faculty through its own board. These recommendations have now been put into effect. The report thus ensured the continuing development of the Centre along lines already established. [...] The Report also recommended that an additional member of staff be appointed: funds for this post became available during the present session and Dr. Richard Johnson, a social historian formerly in the Department of Economic History, has been appointed.⁵⁵⁶

This account evidences the strength of the already existing networks the Centre could rely on at this time of crisis when the University of Birmingham was openly attempting to make it disappear. The Faculty Working Party was therefore the result of an aggregation of an academic, political and intellectual network, as it relied on benevolent Faculty colleagues within the same university, academics from other universities, such as Jim Halloran (whose importance in the early years of the Centre was described in Part One), and the both intellectual and political figure of Raymond Williams, as one of the intellectual founding fathers of cultural studies and a prominent

⁵⁵⁶ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 1.

figure of the New Left (he notably edited *Universities and Left Review* with Stuart Hall between 1958 and 1960).⁵⁵⁷ Raymond Williams shared with Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall and Edward Thompson (four paramount figures in the intellectual tradition of the New Left) an experience in extramural teaching. This experience profoundly influenced Richard Hoggart's intellectual work, as a whole section dedicated to his years as extramural professor in his memoirs is titled "Teaching-and-writing".

The role of Raymond Williams in the founding of cultural studies at Birmingham should not be understated.⁵⁵⁸ Beyond extramural teaching and journal editing, Hall and Williams were also colleagues and collaborators in research, as they met at Oxford and Stuart Hall helped Williams in writing *The Long Revolution*, published in 1961.⁵⁵⁹ Raymond Williams was instrumental in the building of Stuart Hall's understanding of culture:

*That's what culture is. That's what Raymond made me see. That's why Long Revolution is the counterweight to Hoggart in thinking about culture, crucial passage in the second chapter where he says, "Not just high culture, but ways of life" - the beginning of the anthropological definition of ways of life. "Culture is there," he said, "along with the families, and the trading and economic life". It's one of those elements that made me see the cultural questions and, therefore, cultural studies.*⁵⁶⁰

To a certain extent, Raymond Williams's work fuelled Stuart Hall's vision of what cultural studies would become after Richard Hoggart's departure. Williams later became a close collaborator to *New Left Review* from 1960 on, with a vision that the review would, by continuously publishing new work, "set up a new kind of socialist discussion, and [...] look all the time for the opportunity of a broader political movement as well."⁵⁶¹ The stress on publications as a key element in the setting up of a political and intellectual agenda is again highlighted here. So much so that Raymond Williams cowrote the *May Day Manifesto*⁵⁶² with Stuart Hall and others in 1967 in the

⁵⁵⁷ « So when we started editorially *Universities and Left Review*, we invited Raymond to become an editor. And Raymond became involved in *New Left Review* through us and the joint Editorial Board Meetings. He was never a member of the *New Reasoner*. I don't think he worked for it. And that was a very long and wonderful friendship." Hall Stuart interview. Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research*, 1996-2018. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P. 32.

⁵⁵⁸ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 94.

⁵⁵⁹ Hall Stuart interview. Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research*, 1996-2018. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P. 32. P. 31.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid. P. 53.

⁵⁶¹ Williams, Raymond. *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review*. Verso, 2015. P. 336.

⁵⁶² Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 149.

hope of reviving the New Left movement at the end of the 1960s in strong opposition to Harold Wilson's right-wing (within the scope of the Left) takeover of the Labour Party, in the hope that the manifesto would indeed be widely read and discussed within the Labour movement.⁵⁶³ But perhaps most important was Raymond Williams's contribution to the early setting up of cultural studies at Birmingham. Stuart Hall described the administrative process (or lack thereof) undergone by the two CCCS founders at the time, him and Hoggart, to set up the Centre in terms of actual content:

*So we will produce what you [the administration] want in its final form [to officially validate a CCCS degree], but we are not responsible to you for how it is produced or developed in the student body, since it is not a discipline. [...] "Well, there must be some wider theoretical framework" - and I was responsible for that. So that's where we read The Uses of Literacy. Raymond began to put together elements of a general theory course, which subsequently did become the theory course. It subsequently then became the basis of an M.A. in Cultural Studies. So it was woven together out of these different bits. It was genuinely an interdisciplinary field.*⁵⁶⁴

This quote proves Raymond Williams' involvement in the devising of the core theoretical structure of the CCCS⁵⁶⁵, understated in most historiographies of the Centre. It should therefore come as no surprise that Raymond Williams would represent a close ally to Hall upon Richard Hoggart's departure, made worse by the looming threat of an attempt at making the Centre disappear. Williams's participation in the Faculty Working Party was therefore a direct result of his involvement in the early construction of the cultural studies framework and his more recent political work in collaboration with Hall at the end of the 1960s.

The activation of such a web of networks proved crucial for the Centre's survival, as the Faculty Working Party's recommendation could hardly be ignored by the University of Birmingham, as they expressed the views of highly established academics who had been appointed by the very Faculty of Arts.

⁵⁶³ Williams, Raymond. *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review*. Verso, 2015. P. 346.

⁵⁶⁴ Hall Stuart interview. Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research, 1996-2018*. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P. 66.

⁵⁶⁵ A quite covert role from what has been gathered from the archive and accessible oral accounts, as Raymond Williams, while quoted as an intellectual influence on the Centre in annual reports, is never mentioned as having actively designed course content other than having given individual seminars for the Centre (including as an external speaker in 1964 on the topic of « Problems of a Common Culture ». His operative importance in the early devising of the Centre therefore seems understated and requires further investigation. See *CCCS Annual report 1964-1965*, 195, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

This interregnum period (1968-1972) was therefore key for the Centre to evolve from its first director's vision to its second. Indeed while the starting point of cultural studies was, in Hoggart's mind, intrinsically linked to the study of literature, for Hall, it was articulated somewhere else:

I didn't know what to call it. It wasn't economics although it had a relation to economics. It wasn't political although it involved a lot of questions of power. It was principally about culture, but it wasn't about culture in the sense of the arts. Though the arts are critically important. [...] Well, why do we have to learn about it? We have to learn about it because that's what 9/10 of the country is listening to everyday. How can you not be interested in that? How could I be going down to South London every morning to teach these working-class kids, who'd failed what we call the 11+, so they had no chance of going to a good secondary school; the entire school was what was left after having failed; they were all failures. Their fathers worked in the print. They were going to get jobs in the print. They were interested in football, TV, in rock music — that is what interested them. So the interest in the popular did have this critical edge to it.⁵⁶⁶

This tension between Hall and Hoggart's vision was further explored by Hall in a 2008 interview:

Remember, nevertheless, that the Centre was committed to singling out the cultural domain from the other questions. And to be honest, I don't think Hoggart would have seen it in the terms I'm talking about now. He, of course, saw the question about what is happening to working-class culture, and he understood the cultural underpinnings of politics. But he didn't see that there were issues about the nature of the relationship between culture and capitalism in a longer more structured sense. I don't think that he saw the Centre as a place for those questions. And to be honest, I didn't go to the Centre with that as a clear-sighted project. It emerged as I insisted on not talking about culture without talking about politics and society.⁵⁶⁷

These elements make it possible to establish that Hall and Hoggart's visions of the Centre were only partially congruent with each other. While the objects of study and genuine interest were akin, the overall framework in which such research should take place was different, as the initial Centre structure established by Hoggart was rather traditional by university standards (while still being operating in the margins),

⁵⁶⁶ Hall, Stuart. « Stuart Hall Interview – 2 June 2011 ». *Cultural Studies* 27, no 5 (1 September 2013): 757-77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. P.4

⁵⁶⁷ MacCabe, Colin. « An Interview with Stuart Hall, December 2007 ». *Critical Quarterly*, vol. 50, n° 1-2, avril 2008, P. 12-42. DOI.org (Crossref), doi:10.1111/j.1467-8705.2008.00825.x.

compared to the later CCCS's structure, which came to prominence in the 1970s under Hall's directorship. The fundamental reason for such contrast between the two periods in CCCS history was rooted in the relationship both scholars entertained with the world of politics, made starkly clear during the 1968 Events.

One aspect of the 1968 events remains to tackle, which would have a lasting impact on the CCCS beyond its working practices:

"The Sixties" or "68", there were teach-ins, and members of staff who were sympathetic would come and give special little courses, you know, to the people who were sitting in on strike - in occupation. [...] And Richard [Johnson], who was then in social history - within the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science - gave one of these, and we got to know him, and we thought, "Really, he doesn't belong over there at all, he belongs with us, and he represents a strand of historical work and knowledge, which we don't have". So we managed to find an opportunity to bring him in.⁵⁶⁸

Indeed the difficult interregnum period was eventually concluded by the Faculty Working Party recommendations, which led to the (while reluctant) administrative acceptance of the CCCS by the University of Birmingham. It additionally led to a change in funding, as the University would, from then on, put Stuart Hall on its own payroll (his salary had been taken out of the Penguin covenant since 1964). Likewise it also led to the only additional full-time position appointment in the entire history of the Centre: that of Richard Johnson.

His own appointment was described by Richard Johnson in a 2021 interview:

I moved to Birmingham, the students were different [from Cambridge, where Johnson did his PhD], they were ordinary people at last. Edward Thompson's book I read just in the last year of my thesis. His influence had begun to influence [Cambridge] but not much. Because you know you have a thesis to finish [and] can't change the whole paradigm in the middle. And Birmingham was terrific because there was social history, a new kind of social history, Edward Thompson, histories from below, you know. Whereas I'd been writing history from above. And magically, Hoggart was there. [...] And there he was in Birmingham, quite by accident. I didn't know when I applied to that Social History job. Then there was a student movement [in November 1968] and I got involved in that and the students from CCCS were in leadership positions sometimes in that. And the reform movement in the University [came] and it was inevitable that when a job came up I would apply to

⁵⁶⁸ Hall, Stuart in Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research*, 1996-2018. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P.71.

*the CCCS. I'd been to a few seminars there, but I couldn't understand a word they were saying to be honest. At least in the Hoggart days, it was very literary. Oh I couldn't really understand what they were doing. Well I knew Stuart and I'd known Michael a long time so, the obvious thing to do was to apply. And they liked me.*⁵⁶⁹

Funnily enough, when Richard Johnson effectively joined the CCCS in 1974, his move was defined by his former History professors as what could genuinely be called a career mistake.⁵⁷⁰ Such professional *faux pas* (according to Richard Johnson's former mentors) can be sociologically described as actors, in a dominated position in the field, following the logic of risky investment. As Bourdieu describes:

*New entrants who refuse to follow the established career path can only 'beat the dominant ones at their own game' if they commit to additional scientific investment, without being able to expect significant profits, at least in the short term, since they are up against the entire logic of the system.*⁵⁷¹

Here Johnson, to follow his own research interests and political beliefs, was forced to go against the advice of not one, but two authoritative figures in his original field, that of History. This represented a risky and costly career move. Furthermore, this move was made to join a research centre which had only started to stabilise in 1974 thanks to the recommendations of the Faculty Working Party, and further heavy investment would be needed from Richard Johnson in order to secure the Centre's longevity.

2.3.3.2. Here comes the sun (1974-1979)

One the recommendations of the Faculty Working Party had been implemented started the most favourable period for the CCCS, between 1974 and 1979. The eighth CCCS annual report covering the period from January 1974 to January 1976 provides important insight into the Centre's atmosphere at the time. First of all, the very front page of the report attests to the degree of student involvement in the making of annual reports and, to a certain extent, student participation in the overall Centre governance. Its front page is a montage of several film rolls most likely from the 1975 Jean-Luc

⁵⁶⁹ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview Jan. 20th, 2021. P. 6.

⁵⁷⁰ "Um, I had two professors. I had a professor who sadly died and then a new professor. My old professor's advice was: 'Richard, in the end scholarship is more important than politics'. That was, these were his parting words to me. And the new professor strongly advised me against doing this and that I had a good future in History." In Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview January 20th 2021. P.5.

⁵⁷¹ Bourdieu, Pierre. 'Le champ scientifique'. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1976, pp. 88–104. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1976.3454>. P. 20.

Godard and Anne-Marie Miéville movie *Numéro Deux*, surrounding a quote in French taken from the movie: “-Ce n’est pas de la politique, c’est du cul. -Non, ce n’est pas du cul, c’est de la politique.”⁵⁷² This aesthetic choice provides information on the Centre’s ethos at the time, an ethos that could broadly be defined as Francophile and to a certain extent elitist, arrogant and provocative. As previous annual reports were made in part by the CCCS’s students, the ethos emanating from the 1974-1976 annual report cover may be attributable to the sole students in charge of the report at the time, only insofar as the cover has been validated by CCCS staff. It also attests to the freedom of action left to students during the period.

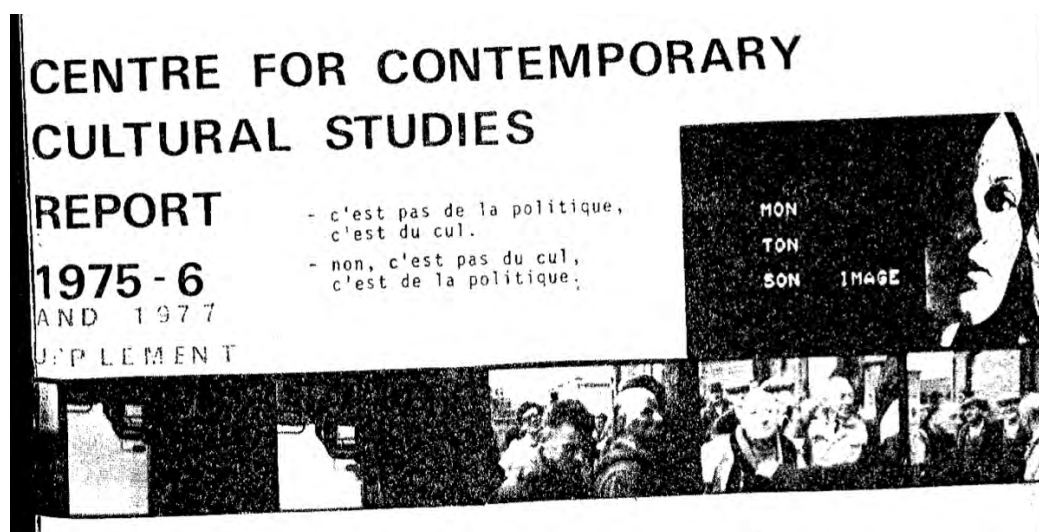


Figure 9 – Lower part of the 1975-1976 CCCS annual report front cover

The first part of the report, “The Centre, intellectual developments 1974-1976”, addresses a key structural element in CCCS history: “This is the first Report which covers the period in which the Centre has functioned as an independent unit within the Faculty of Arts.”⁵⁷³ By January 1976 almost all recommendations by the 1972 Faculty Working Party had been implemented by the University of Birmingham and the Centre had officially become funded by the University. Interestingly and perhaps paradoxically, the tone of the report had somewhat changed to become a little less academic compared to that of previous years: “we were fortunate to secure Dr. Richard Johnson, senior lecturer in Social History, and formerly in the Department of Economic History in the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science, just before the economic ice age descended.”⁵⁷⁴ This “economic ice age”, however mundane in tone, was nonetheless the background of this annual report, as in 1976 Michael Green was not able to be transferred to the CCCS full-time, leaving the Centre with two and a half

⁵⁷² “It’s not politics, it’s sex. No, it’s not sex, it’s politics.”

⁵⁷³ *CCCS Annual report 1974-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 1.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

staff members (Stuart Hall, Richard Johnson and Michael Green half-time while he remained attached to the English department) to deal with “about 30 full-time graduates which [...] must remain for the time being [the] upper limit.”⁵⁷⁵

The change in tone is maintained elsewhere in the report, as comments linked to the then-current government education policy are found in the director’s report: “From our interviewing experience over recent years our impression certainly is that prophecies of doom about falling students standards in the wake of ROSLA [raising of the school leaving age] and the comprehensivisation of secondary education are very wide of the mark.”⁵⁷⁶ This change is meaningful, insofar as annual reports are public and official pieces of writing accessible by University staff. Since the first report published in 1964, annual report writers (mostly Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall) therefore seemed to have been being very careful to phrase matters in an institutional-friendly manner, leaving out any controversial material. Here, and perhaps because the CCCS has become an independent unit within the Faculty of Arts enjoying a certain degree of stability and reputation, the report’s tone had somewhat loosened, as the report’s writers felt comfortable commenting on government policies and on the University of Birmingham’s current affairs. Breaking away from tradition, the 1974-1976 annual report had therefore become less diplomatic, overtly militant and cheeky.

This was the Centre’s atmosphere the year Richard Johnson was appointed as the then second CCCS staff member with Stuart Hall, before being joined full-time by Michael Green in 1976-1977. His appointment, beyond his later role as CCCS director from 1979 to 1988, had a long-lasting influence on the theoretical colourings of the Centre as soon as the 1974-1976 period:

The most significant development appears to be the general strengthening of the historical approach. This involves something more than our ability to produce good work of a historical kind in the field,

⁵⁷⁵ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 1.

⁵⁷⁶ ROSLA refers to ‘raising of the school leaving age’, a result of the 1959 Crowther Report recommendation to raise the school leaving age to sixteen, which eventually took place in 1972 as a result of the 1971 DES Circular 8/71 ‘Raising of the school leaving age at 16’. For more information see Gillard, Derek. Education in England: A History. Timeline: A Chronological List of Events, Reports, Education Acts, Official Papers and Other Publications. May 2018, <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/history/timeline.html>.

CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

*important though it is. It has a significant effect on the way that field as a whole is coming to be defined.*⁵⁷⁷

This 'significant effect' prompted the Centre to envisage culture in the plural form and to anchor its research objects in social history:

*One theoretical effect has been to undermine the use of the term, "culture" in the singular, interpreted in a general, rather abstract and a-historical manner. By giving the term a more concrete historical reference, it becomes easier to see that we are always dealing with 'cultures' in some tension, relation or contradiction with one another.*⁵⁷⁸

This historical shift, still emerging by 1976, has left a strong mark on the Centre's intellectual project, as, as soon as 1974 a Cultural History subgroup was created. But the historical strand of cultural studies developed alongside other strands, as a 2021 interview with Richard Johnson attests:

I: So you talked about being a historian and I think- I think it's funny because the first two interviews I organised were with Bill Schwartz and Gregor McLennan.

R: Yeah (smiles)

I: These two were very- had very strong historical interests at the Centre, so my view of the CCCS that I got from talking to people so far is actually one of a CCCS where history was centre stage. It's not the entire picture is it?

R: No no no, no. Let's see what's a good corrective to this. Well when I first went because of the interest in Hoggart, I did have a sort of a friendship with Paul Willis and Paul was there as a research fellow I think he was doing his research, I can't remember what his status was but he was paid. And with Paul we had a field work group. And I've always been very strongly in favour of the sort of ethnographic element in cultural studies and this is why in my version of the circuit I include everyday life as a kind of category, that was a kind of point of the circuit of culture because of its absence in Stuart's encoding/decoding model. And for me that engagement with everyday life was sort of politically incredibly important and so to speak to "ordinary people" in inverted commas, there aren't any ordinary people really, but you know to address everyday life experiences is so important and there's a whole

⁵⁷⁷ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

*strand in cultural studies that did- that continued that, it wasn't just Paul, it was Christine Griffin, very interesting character.*⁵⁷⁹

Several elements can be drawn from this quote. First, the historical strand of cultural studies is well represented in academia today, as heirs of the CCCS history group have become prominent members of British higher education (Richard Johnson, Gregor McLennan and Bill Schwarz, to mention only a few). Then, that cultural studies as it was practised at the Centre was represented by several other strands, be they ethnographic and psychological, as embodied by Chris Griffin and Paul Willis, or be they media oriented, as exemplified by the Stuart Hall encoding/decoding model. Finally, and as illustrated by the next comment below, that even though history had arrived late at the Centre, as soon as 1974 it started developing as a result of Richard Johnson's appointment.

For the first time in 1976-1977, the annual report lists Michael Green as a full-time lecturer.⁵⁸⁰ Michael Green had initially been a member of the English Department occasionally working with the CCCS, before being appointed to the Centre as a half-time lecturer from 1972 on and finally being granted a full-time position to the Centre in 1976, thus bringing the CCCS research staff number to three full-time positions, at last. Michael Green's involvement in the Centre's project would prove instrumental in securing its stability among the University of Birmingham's networks. His full-time appointment brought about a period of relative stability for the Centre during its most favourable period.

This was reflected in the period's last annual reports. Indeed the unusually positive tone in which the 1977-1978 report was written is striking. For instance, the director's report opens on the following statement: "This has been a period of considerable development and advance for the Centre as a whole, and it gives us some pleasure to recognise in this Report the intensive effort by all concerned with the Centre which has made that possible."⁵⁸¹ The report goes on to assert that "we have survived the first wave of the recession in remarkably good shape."⁵⁸² This tone contrasts with that of the previous report, provocative to say the least. It also starkly differs from the general view expressed report after report since 1964, stressing an overall lack of financial resource, restricting research activities. The academic year 1977-1978 therefore was the year during which the Centre seemed the most optimistic about its prospects since its founding.

⁵⁷⁹ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview January 20th 2021. P. 11-12.

⁵⁸⁰ *CCCS Annual report 1976-1977*, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

⁵⁸¹ *CCCS Annual report 1977-1978*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*

For the first time in the history of the CCCS, in 1978 the annual report mentioned the secretaries by name:

*The Centre continues to be indebted to the hard and invaluable work of the Secretary, Joan Goode, and the part-time secretarial staff, Deirdre Barker and Judy Jefferson, who bear a great deal of the day-to-day administrative burden and service the Centre's intellectual work. Without them the Centre would not sustain anything like its present range of activities and contacts.*⁵⁸³

This is no insignificant detail, especially when it comes to Joan Goode, whose importance will be described in the third part of this work. For now, what may seem like a detail highlights the fact that the CCCS's members started to publicly thank its secretarial staff, which evidences the high level of Joan Goode's, Deirdre Barker and Judy Jefferson's involvement in the Centre's work and suggests that the CCCS's overall workload may have been too great for its own members (be they admin or research and teaching staff).

The tenth annual report, covering the period between January 1978 and December 1978, is the last report dealing with the period under study. It concludes with the general state of the CCCS during its 'golden age' period: "The Centre has opened the year in a healthy state."⁵⁸⁴ Still the year 1978 marked the beginning of a shift for the Centre, when its resources were being overcome by the interest it generated. The Visitors section of the report describes:

*The Centre has tried to encourage appropriate staff, students and other visitors. However, in the last two years pressure of such contacts has created serious difficulties. We are a small unit, and given in addition the nature of our group work, visitors are not always easy for us to respond to and learn from as we should like. [...] We must stress that we are being driven to make priorities in this area, and cannot run a simple 'open doors' policy.*⁵⁸⁵

The Centre's openness to outside academics was one of its chief characteristics during its early period, reflecting the CCCS's need to get itself known, convince adjacent

⁵⁸³ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 18.

⁵⁸⁴ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 3.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid. P. 14.

networks and recruit potential postgraduate students and research fellows. By the end of the 1970s, this openness was slowly diminishing and becoming institutionalised, due to a strong lack of human resources, and it appears as though the Centre had become too famous for its own financial resources and staff numbers, as a result of an excessive number of requests.

2.3.4. Admissions

Admissions for this wider golden age period (1968-1979) is characterised by growing and steady numbers, concerns over part-time registration, a rise in female applicants and an overt politicisation of the recruiting process.

For the first time in 1971, the annual report announced its objective in terms of cohort size: “The Centre has welcomed a very wide variety of students from different countries, and will continue admitting at least eight graduate students each autumn.”⁵⁸⁶ This is worth highlighting, since in previous reports notes had been made expressing the fact that not many new students could integrate the Centre, since its financial and staff resources were limited. A shift seemed to have taken place in terms of stability, as the CCCS could now integrate new cohorts of close to ten students per year. The 1969-1971 student list did not make a distinction between full-time and part-time students, breaking away from the original organisation of the student list in annual reports.⁵⁸⁷ However, while no strict difference was made between part-time and full-time students, the report stresses that:

*Members working full-time are given preference at the Centre, since part-time research work, supported by, for instance, liberal studies teaching at colleges in the city, has often proven difficult or unsuccessful in the past. But a few part-time students may be accepted.*⁵⁸⁸

The Centre would not always be in a position to favour full-time registration to maintain cohort numbers, especially in the 1980s. This remark nonetheless evidences that the realities of part-time research work were perceived and expressed as early as 1971 (and informally probably before), paving the way for the constitution of two different postgraduate student groups at the Centre: the well-funded full-time students

⁵⁸⁶ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

⁵⁸⁷ And making it difficult for researchers to follow individual progressions.

⁵⁸⁸ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8-9.

and the part-time students, whom, to maintain themselves and sometimes their families had to juggle between their own jobs, their work at the Centre (and this research will attempt to show that work at the Centre did require higher-level involvement than other, more traditional research units), and their (very frequent) political activities. This distribution of the CCCS's cohorts (full-time vs. part-time) reflected the wider state of cultural studies at the time, evolving in the academic setting: as a new field of inquiry on the academic scene, the Centre needed to attract people to legitimise its existence and activities. However and critically, the Centre was never able to financially support the number of postgraduate students it sought to attract. It nevertheless accepted part-time students as part of its political openness and interest in prospective students' research projects, but also perhaps in order to maintain cohort numbers, thereby contributing to a sense of stability. This policy was not without its advert effects, which will be explored in the third part of this study.

Indeed, while emphasis was made on full-time scholarship, the reality principle kicked in in the second part of the report dealing with collective work: "The Fact that many Centre members have had to finance themselves has led to a concentration of most collective work into Mondays and Tuesdays, leaving the rest of the week free for members' part-time teaching commitments."⁵⁸⁹ This weekly work pattern already existed before 1971; however, the tension between the Centre's formal wish for full-time student applications and the reality of students' financial situations at a graduate level further highlights a growing atmosphere of economical stringency, as there were more postgraduate students interested in the work of the CCCS than the number of funded places available yearly allotted to the Centre via the DES and the SSRC.

The 1972-1974 annual report provided new information. The cohort size remained the same as the previous year, on top of which "occasional students, graduates and staff from other countries"⁵⁹⁰ could join CCCS each session. The Centre's openness to outside students was ascertained again in the report: "The Centre attempts to provide facilities both for those students who have a clearly defined project, and also for those with a more general interest in the field." In this sense the Centre was a welcoming place, and a noncompetitive one to a certain extent: students did not have to provide a thesis project to be able to attend classes at the CCCS. As we shall see later on, other aspects of the Centre were not without competition. This openness towards students contrasted with previous remarks about the CCCS's openness towards fellow researchers interested in visiting the Centre, as students could be integrated into already existing courses and subgroups, while academics' visits had to be planned and organised.

⁵⁸⁹ *CCCS Annual report 1969-1971*, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

⁵⁹⁰ *CCCS Annual report 1972-1974*, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

The report also voiced the first concerns regarding the gender of CCCS cohorts: “Over the past two or three years, the Centre has become concerned by the small number of women applicants each year: we are anxious that undergraduate departments in other institutions should encourage women students, with a specific of general interest in this field of study, to apply.”⁵⁹¹ Such concern may be echoed in the founding of the Women’s Studies group in 1974, and by growing concerns regarding the politics of intellectual work within the Centre. Such aspects of the Centre’s intellectual evolution will be tackled in the Working Practices section below.

In terms of academic standards, the report states that applicants should normally have a “‘good upper second’ or ‘first class’ honours degree [...]. Special cases will have to be made out for ‘lower seconds’ and sometimes for the B. Ed.”⁵⁹² This was yet another element evidencing the Centre’s openness and willingness to acknowledge that students who were not at the top of their class weren’t necessarily unworthy to become postgraduate students. This was also linked to the dominated position of cultural studies in the scientific field, as prospective students with the highest marks could be tempted to opt for more recognised disciplines, leaving the Centre with less high-achieving candidates. Finally, this policy could also echo the fact that, as cultural studies had been built from the margins of the university system, it could very well attract students who were themselves on the margins of university.

For the first time, the CCCS’s interview process was detailed in 1974:

*The interview is so designed that the applicant can learn something of the form and substance of the Centre’s work, as well as indicating to us his or her own research and general interests. It must be stressed that the interview is thus not simply a means of assessment, but is also concerned with the mutual exchange of information.*⁵⁹³

In this sense, at the Centre, the interview process seems to have taken the form of a more horizontal dialogue, where both the CCCS’s members and the prospective students could learn from each other and express their views. Bill Schwarz, professor of English at Queen Mary University of London and a student at the CCCS from 1975 on recalled his interview for CCCS in a personal interview:

⁵⁹¹ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

⁵⁹² Ibid. P. 7.

⁵⁹³ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

I applied to Birmingham to the culture study centre. And by chance I'd had a History teacher at York who was a great fan of Antonio Gramsci. So I knew about Gramsci. I'd read Gramsci. I wrote a dissertation on Gramsci. And when I went to the interview of the Birmingham culture study centre, and it was a time when most people weren't into film theory or literary theory, and I mentioned Gramsci and Stuart Hall - he was interviewing - his eyes lit up and he said... 'Ah ah!' So that single word got me into graduate school (laughs) and he was just delighted and I said one thing, I said in the interview... I said 'Well look there's a real problem. I've read Gramsci and I know Gramsci and I know some Marxism but I don't know any sociology. I've never studied sociology. I don't know anything about it'. And Stuart Hall laughed and he said 'don't worry about that'. (Laughs) So that's how it happened.⁵⁹⁴

Bill Schwarz's concerns about not knowing any sociology attest to the fact that the CCCS's research objects were perceived as at least partly linked to sociology, echoing earlier concerns expressed (quite violently) by Birmingham sociologists in 1964. However in 1975 the Centre had structured and stabilised itself by taking another distinctive direction. Indeed, as this account makes clear, the political leaning of the Centre was a defining feature of the interview process. The CCCS was therefore, by 1975, already quite an overtly politically left-leaning Marxist research centre. The Centre's Marxist framework and overall political stance had already been questioned by students before that date, during the first CCCS historical period. Trevor Millum (a CCCS student between 1968 and 1970) reflected on the topic in a personal interview:

I: And I did create a bit of a stir at one seminar where I pointed out 'Well, we should be upfront about this. It seems to me that we were expecting people here, over at the Centre, people are expected to be left-wing. And do we, do we have anybody who isn't? Is that right.' And there was a bit of a kerfuffle. And we had quite an interesting discussion about that, because it was true. Well, first of all, the centre attracted people of a certain political persuasion, anyway, not just because they knew that Stuart was one of the leading lines, but because that whole inquiry into the media was not just: 'let's do a bit of film study', it was clearly critical, interrogating if you like, so you wouldn't be- you'd be more likely... [to be on the Left] But nevertheless, they were people who are associated with the Centre, who were definitely middle of the road... Definitely not Marxist. I was not a Marxist. I was a free-floating lefty. And we did discuss that. And I think it was kind of admitted, well, yeah, that is kind of who we are, isn't it? But when we're looking at applicants to come out we didn't look and think, you know, 'where are this person's political sympathies', that was not an issue.
I: Were there people on the right?

⁵⁹⁴ Schwarz, Bill. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview November 24 2020. P. 2.

*R: No, not really. I mean, you can be- you'd get some people who were, as I said, just sort of committed, if you like, middle of the road. I think some people became politicised, sort of being at the centre.*⁵⁹⁵

This overtly politicised component of the Centre's recruitment and inner practices was also reflected upon by Richard Hoggart in his memoirs, as he recalled his going to UNESCO in January 1970:

*Of course, I would have preferred more of my style in some things to have been kept; it was soon challenged. At a centre meeting of staff and students one PhD candidate argued that the centre should only admit those who were already committed to the far-left wing politically. 'We are', she said in effect, 'a Red Cell and have no time to educate people who are not already this far down the line.' Reading that in Paris [at UNESCO], I remembered a student who has become a very respected author in cultural studies. When interviewing him, Stuart and I did not know or ask his politics, or if he had any. We thought him very bright, interested in an important part of the field and likely to contribute effectively. This would not have done for the champion of the Red Cell. 'We have not time', she had continued, 'for the Matthew Arnoldian liberal humanist line of Hoggart!'*⁵⁹⁶

Richard Hoggart was, in this passage of his memoirs and according to several oral sources, referring to Rosalind Brunt. While choosing not to publicly criticise Stuart Hall's approach, who indeed advocated for the Centre to be a type of red cell⁵⁹⁷, Richard Hoggart nevertheless expressed his reserves regarding the Centre's potential political tendencies, which would unequivocally become the CCCS's norm. Here the divide between Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall's visions of the Centre is once more made clear. In an internal document written in the summer of 1971, Stuart Hall detailed and analysed this precise moment in the CCCS's history. Entitled 'The Missed Moment', the document outlines the difficulties faced by Centre members after Richard Hoggart's departure and the shifts — planned and unplanned — which took place within the CCCS between 1968 and 1971. In the document, the very place held by the Centre is envisaged as such, in the tradition of New Left politics and a Marxist framework, Stuart Hall's own political formation:

The first question is the role of the Centre vis-à-vis the university [...] the University is seen as an arena of struggle in a period of transition. Here, new and old modes of intellectual work vie with each other in the re-definition of the role of the university [...] [The Centre's] aim would

⁵⁹⁵ Millum, Trevor. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview July 4 2022. P.11-12.

⁵⁹⁶ Hoggart, Richard. *Life and Times. an Imagined Life* 3, 3,. Oxford Univ. Press, 1993. P.98.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

*be to open up a critical space for knowledge and action, to reclaim territory from the dominant modes of knowledge and authority, and to probe the limits of the technical-liberal university.*⁵⁹⁸

According to Stuart Hall, the Centre's role in this arena would go beyond the identified limits of the university: "We have to penetrate to the core of the institution and confront it at the level of real practice — and that means intellectual counter-practice."⁵⁹⁹ In a sense the Centre was then envisaged by Stuart Hall as a way to perpetuate politically informed modes of doing intellectual work initiated as a student at Oxford among the New Left and later on revived by the student movement of 1968. Within this frame the Centre was, however, never thought of as a panacea, as Hall illustrates with a certain degree of intellectual pessimism: "There is not a great deal that the Centre, as such, can do about the situation."⁶⁰⁰ However, the student movements of 1968 did prompt a reshuffling of the cards and a new impetus for the Centre: "The student movement provided a context for the kind of experiment initiated by the formation of the Centre — while at the same time providing a further impetus towards the radicalisation of that experiment."⁶⁰¹ And thus, the process of fragmentation undergone by the Centre as a result of 1968 became conceptualised into the most beautiful of fragments, a "'Utopian' enclave":

*In the struggle against dominative and repressive structures, [Utopian enclaves] seem to have a crucial function to perform. They experiment with and prefigure, in fragmentary form, what is possible, potential, in new and emergent situations. [...] 'Utopian' enclaves, then, help us to transcend the limits of what appears possible and natural within the existing limits of our situation. [...] Thus [such] experiments have a vital, if necessarily fragmented and incomplete, role to play.*⁶⁰²

Yet utopias are imaginary places, and on the road to become this 'utopian' enclave, the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies faced challenges of a collective kind. Indeed, after Hoggart's departure, making the Centre into a protected, free space to conduct collective and democratised intellectual work in a horizontal structure proved more difficult than Stuart Hall had anticipated:

Certainly, hardly had he [Richard Hoggart] gone when I was ritually enthroned, with all the opprobrium attaching to positions of formal

⁵⁹⁸ Hall, Stuart. *The Missed Moment*. Richard Hoggart Papers, Sheffield University Library Special Collections, University of Sheffield, 1971. 4/6/16. P. 1.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.* P. 2.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.* P. 6.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰² *Ibid.* P. 8.

*power in such situations, and none of the flair for carrying it off. My position in the Centre — I mean people's attitudes to me — changed radically overnight as a direct consequence of this change in formal status. This mobilisation of anti-authority feelings was more powerful and pervasive than I had bargained for.*⁶⁰³

The CCCS project of producing counter-research practices, as articulated by Stuart Hall coupled with the impetus of the student movement of 1968, in the eyes of Stuart Hall, did not suffice to create a working 'utopian' enclave because of this unfortunate reshuffling of power dynamics, to the point where Hall expressed the view that the CCCS project, at that moment, had failed:

*I am making a point about the project as a whole. I am saying that we failed to solve the crucial problem of divorcing intellectual leadership and guidance from the formal exercise of arbitrary power. We failed to solve the problem of replacing formal responsibility with really democratic responsibility. We failed to explore the subjective dimension of new roles.*⁶⁰⁴

But this is the vision of the then CCCS director in 1971. If one looks beyond, it is possible to see the CCCS as an academic and political experiment that went further than the initial project of setting up a centre that would pursue the work initiated in Hoggart's 1957 *The Uses of Literacy*. After 1968 the Centre evolved into something else, as it did at almost every turn: the CCCS annual reports are scattered with these micro-evolutions that made the CCCS into an always-changing structure, adapting to the current context and surviving to extreme conditions. The CCCS may have never become what Stuart Hall had wished for in 1971, but it nevertheless became a democratically informed and intellectually respected research centre in England, under the aegis of Stuart Hall until 1979. And this political vision for the CCCS did break away from Richard Hoggart's initial project, to be explored throughout the Centre's second period. First chaotically during the interregnum as the Centre's very existence was threatened, and during the golden years.

The Centre's political nature seemed to have found its target audience, as recruitment numbers were high in 1976. The report states: "The numbers admitted to the Centre [...] in 1975-1976 were [...] exceptionally high and this level of intake is unlikely to be repeated in the foreseeable future."⁶⁰⁵ Indeed when looking at the numbers, from 1964 to 1976 the CCCS intake evolved so as to almost reach forty-five postgraduate

⁶⁰³ Hall, Stuart. *The Missed Moment*. Richard Hoggart Papers, Sheffield University Library Special Collections, University of Sheffield, 1971. 4/6/16. P. 14.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid. P. 15.

⁶⁰⁵ *CCCS Annual report 1974-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 30.

students by 1976, a numerous cohort, supervised by three (or more exactly two and a half) research staff members, including the then director Stuart Hall.

To conclude on this facet of CCCS politics and the way it shaped, or didn't shape the recruitment process, and in the light of these elements, it appears clear that the political nature of CCCS did create a framework in which it became difficult, after Richard Hoggart's departure, to operate without being on the Left politically, as certain authors on the CCCS curriculum or certain research objects were members a Marxist tradition, as Bill Schwarz's account of his interview process makes quite clear. This shift achieved to do away with Hoggart's vision, and was a conscious choice, following the events of 1968 and the perspective, for Stuart Hall, to establish what could be indeed called a red cell at the University of Birmingham: the utopian enclave described above. In a 2015 Social History article, Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton analysed the CCCS's working practices in depth and illustrated this development based on an internal document written by Stuart Hall in 1970: "As Hall put it in 1970, the aim was 'nothing less than the creation, within ... the existing system, of a *collective* – an intellectual *foco*: a sort of advanced base'."⁶⁰⁶ While the political nature of the Centre's intellectual project was indeed achieved, Stuart Hall's wish for the CCCS to become a tight collective was never completely fulfilled, as different schools began to emerge within the CCCS's subgroup system, which will be described in the Working Practices section.

Beyond politics by 1976 the Centre's recruitment pool was diversifying, as Polytechnics⁶⁰⁷ had by then become a regular source of CCCS applicants. Polytechnics were first conceptualised by the Labour government in 1966 in a White Paper titled "A Plan for Polytechnics and other Colleges" in the hope of creating higher education institutions dedicated to vocational training. By 1969 there were close to forty polytechnics in the UK and their degrees were awarded by the CNAAB (Council for National Academic Awards founded in 1964, which aim was to validate and ascertain the quality of programs and courses). The creation of polytechnics led to the existence of a binary system in higher education in Britain, as traditional and more selective universities evolved alongside polytechnics until 1992. Indeed the 1974-1976 annual report states:

[W]e continue to get a range of excellent applicants applying from other universities and increasingly from Polytechnics. This pool of applicants includes BEd [Bachelor of Education] students, and mature

⁶⁰⁶ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton. « The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies ». Social History, vol. 40, n° 3, juillet 2015, P. 287-311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P.297.

⁶⁰⁷ See Halimi, Suzy. *L'enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni*. Ophrys ; Ploton, 2005. P. 46-50.

*students, sometimes already in full-time teaching careers, seeking to come back into graduate work.*⁶⁰⁸

This account evidences that by the mid-1970s Polytechnics had become part of the CCCS academic networks and constituted an emanation from the late New Left networks as well, as Naomi Paul (a CCCS MA student between 1985 and 1987) evidenced in a personal interview when describing her undergraduate degree at the Polytechnic of Wales:

*It was a fantastic degree. It was relatively new. And so it was taking on a lot of their cultural studies ideas, sociology, all of the kind of new ideas, the New Left, were all kind of amassed in there.*⁶⁰⁹

Gender was also a timely concern by that same date, as the report shows: “Many of our best applicants are women and in our recent intakes we have been able to strike nearly an equal balance in the sex ratio.”⁶¹⁰ When asked about the gender balance at CCCS, Patricia McCabe and Chris Griffin indicated that numbers must have been closer to a third⁶¹¹, thus revealing a gap between the Centre’s will to strike an equal balance in one intake and the reality of student cohorts.⁶¹²

In 1978 the stress put on part-time registration seemed to echo the Centre’s wish to not drive away any candidate and to answer the changing economic climate:

Since the government decision to raise postgraduate fees, the M.A. has been put on a part-time (2-year) basis for those who are unable to obtain a grant and may have to support themselves by part-time

⁶⁰⁸ CCCS *Annual report 1974-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

⁶⁰⁹ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview 2 May 2022. P. 7.

⁶¹⁰ CCCS *Annual report 1974-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

⁶¹¹ See McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29 2022. P 6. And also Griffin, Chris. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 19th 2021. P. 15.

⁶¹² Student part-time or full-time status and ability to commit to collective group work and complete their degrees set aside. Women had notoriously low PhD completion rates at CCCS (which were already low no matter the gender) and the first woman said to ever complete her PhD at CCCS was Hazel Chowcat, who studied at CCCS between 1977 and 1980, when the first men who completed their PhDs did so before 1970. See Chowcat, Hazel. Personal unpublished interview with Kieran Connell. Interview May 20th 2013. P. 12-13.

*employment, in the hope that lack of funds will not discourage would-be applicants.*⁶¹³

The Centre evidenced a renewed capacity to make its own course structure evolve in order to take into account outside forces, as the whole (originally one year) M.A. structure was converted into a two-year structure for a proportion of each student cohort, so as to accommodate part-timers. This can be seen both as proof of the Centre's political stance (is openness to part-time, unfunded students) and the sheer necessity to keep its numbers high in the midst of a financially difficult period. This war of numbers and statuses would grow more acute during the next decade.

The report announced a planned intake size: "It is expected that there will be places for about 15 new students, of whom about 10 would be taking the taught M.A. , in the 1978-1979 session."⁶¹⁴ This means that the Centre had, by that time, gained hindsight on the new M.A. (offered for the first time in 1975) so as to be able to define its ideal cohort size according to its new core course. However, prospective students' general level had to be high to meet Faculty regulations, indicating a certain level of constraints in the choice of CCCS applicants. Indeed, the Centre regretted that "applicants with no first degree, for whatever reason, [could not] be admitted."⁶¹⁵ This marks a strong policy change compared to previous years when the Centre was able to recruit students with lower degree grades. This shift may have been linked to the scaling up of the binary system in which traditional universities were forced to play their cards right when competing with polytechnics for students. Therefore, by choosing to select only the best undergraduate students, the University of Birmingham aimed at acquiring a prestigious gloss polytechnics could not compete with.

Finally, by 1978 the Centre seemed to have established the most adequate size in terms of student numbers, between its will to produce high-standard research and its necessity to not be continuously overworked:

We admitted that number which we felt able to absorb at what we now regard as the upper limit of our present staff strength. This gives us the equivalent of 38 full-time registered students [...] — yielding a staff-student ratio of about 1/12. This is high for postgraduate work [...] We

⁶¹³ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid. P. 18.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

*turned away many good candidates with excellent qualifications simply on these grounds.*⁶¹⁶

It is the first time in the admission reports that it is said that too many students were applying to the Centre. This shows that by 1978 the CCCS had reached a point in its history where its reputation was secured. It had, however, become too great for its own good, as staff members were already wearing themselves thin (1/12 ratio) and turning away prospective students who could have positively impacted the Centre's work and scholarship by relying on three research staff: Michael Green, Stuart Hall and Richard Johnson. By taking these figures into account, it is possible to assess that the CCCS's autonomy was secured by 1978, as its three research staff were funded by the university, it had secured several postgraduate grants per year from several funding bodies, and it received more applications than it could take.

2.4. WORKING PRACTICES

The CCCS's formal integration into the University of Birmingham in 1974 as a result of the Faculty of Arts Working Party recommendations, came with a clearer and more established degree organisation, described in the 1974-1976 report. There were then "four ways of reading for a postgraduate degree in the Centre [...]. The four methods are M.A. by course work and dissertation, M.A. by thesis, MLitt, and PhD".⁶¹⁷ This was the first time a report section was dedicated to the organisation of CCCS degrees, which signals a greater degree of institutional stability ten years after the Centre's founding. The newest of these degrees was the M.A. in cultural studies, offered for the first time in 1975. A small cohort (seven students) registered that year to this taught M.A. made up of three courses, two assessed by examination and one by a 5000-word dissertation.⁶¹⁸ The first course was dedicated to theory and method in Cultural Studies, the second to "Britain Society and Culture, 1880-1970" and the third consisted of M.A. students joining one subgroup and tackling an area of cultural studies currently under study. Some M.A. courses were also attended by other CCCS cohorts, as "Courses I and II are also attended by Centre members other than those registered for the M.A., especially in their first year of research. Wherever possible distinctions between course-work members and others are minimised."⁶¹⁹ The Centre's attempt at bridging the gap between its own students' registration statuses is again made clear here, in order, as is argued in this work, to create a sense of common identity among the

⁶¹⁶ *CCCS Annual report 1978-1979*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 3.

⁶¹⁷ *CCCS Annual report 1974-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.* P. 12.

Centre's students four different cohorts in pursuit of doing cultural studies work. The wish to establish circular practices where one teaching space communicates with others was very much present at the time, as "although the taught-course M.A. is an important innovation in the Centre's pattern of study, we are anxious to integrate it as much as possible with the rest of the collective work."⁶²⁰ Thus the newly taught M.A. course was not isolated in the course structure and was articulated to the CCCS's more established research groups. This both helped preserve staff resources and ensure that common practices would continue to prevail and evolve within the Centre, in order to reinforce the Centre's theoretical and practical approaches in a structured taught M.A. This pattern of work, designated here as circular practices, would become a defining feature of the CCCS. If one considers the Centre as a research space, one can observe several features emerging during the years of CCCS activity from one particular place within this space, which gradually become integrated into most, if not all aspects of the Centre's work and practices. The structuring of the M.A. is one of such features; the founding of women's studies and the dissemination of feminist scholarship are another, as well as collective research and the intertwining between research work and political activism.

The Centre's commitment to collective work became during this second period one of its most salient features, as the subgroup system was described as "a method of support for thesis work and as a solution to the rather precarious situation into which postgraduate students in English universities are frequently thrown."⁶²¹ The subgroup system will be presented in a subsection below.

As this circularity of Centre practices was evolving at the same pace as the individual elements on which they were based (subgroups, general theory seminar, M.A. course), during the 1970s shifts in balance took place between important nexuses of CCCS activity. To be a little less cryptic, this was illustrated in the case of the 1974-1976 report by a shift in importance from the general theory seminar to the sub-groups, as the subgroup system evolved to become the hegemonic mode of research production during the 1970s, while the general theory seminar became less central in the Centre's organisation, to the point where some elements of the general theory seminar were transferred to the M.A. course⁶²², thereby institutionalising undergoing theoretical discussions into the more rigid structure of the M.A. The present working practices section tackles such changes, first by focusing on CCCS degrees and courses, then on the Centre's growing sense of identity, and finally on its research practices.

⁶²⁰ *CCCS Annual report 1974-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 12.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.* P. 13.

⁶²² *CCCS Annual report 1974-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 12.

2.4.1. Building degrees

2.4.1.1. Undergraduate work

The optional undergraduate course introduced in 1968-1969 attracted “29 students in 1972”⁶²³ from the English department and is described as such: “The course involves work on a project or long essay, and a final examination; all members of the Centre were able to be involved in its teaching.”⁶²⁴ This is yet another element of student participation in the CCCS’s activities beyond seminars, a long-lasting practice in CCCS history, which would eventually extend beyond the English department.

As a matter of fact, this expansion was wished for by the Centre’s staff as early as the 1969-1971 period, as the section relating to ‘Future Developments’ underlines:

*We should like to expand and develop the one-year Undergraduate Course, at present offered to second and third-year English Dept. undergraduates into a proper Supplementary or Subsidiary subject, available to the Faculty as a whole.*⁶²⁵

Patricia McCabe, a CCCS student between 1977 and 1981 recalled this ‘Supplementary course’ in a 2022 interview:

R: I think it was, it was really a gesture as I said towards a broader education and so every undergraduate had to sign up for something that was offered by another department or school or whatever and, so the Centre did continue to do that as part of the university’s curriculum, you know as a requirement and so I, I was involved in, it was mainly students who taught that stuff and that I remember certainly from a teaching point, I don’t think I knew that when I was an undergraduate but certainly as a postgraduate I did do some teaching on that which was hilarious.

I: Yeah?

R: Yeah yeah, it was always hilarious, so we just talked about our research and what we were working on really. But it was good for me because it was the first time that I’d ever you know, given a lecture or sort of talked in front of a very big group of people and certainly the

⁶²³ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 21.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Ibid. P. 23.

*first time that it wasn't in a political context, so you know, it was, it was interesting.*⁶²⁶

This project of expanding the undergraduate optional or 'supplementary course' beyond the English department and to integrate it into the formal requirements of the Faculty of Arts for degree completion was used as a means to further legitimise the Centre within the University by becoming an official course provider in the Faculty of Arts first, and then in all faculties. Thus, the Centre would establish connections with other departments through their undergraduate population as well as making connections through research projects. It was also a way to publicise the CCCS's activities and to broaden its student recruitment pool outside the English department, thus slowly breaking away from the *Hoggartian* tradition, deeply rooted in literary criticism.

The undergraduate course was still, in 1974, only open to the English department, although the 1972 Faculty Working Party suggested it be extended to other departments of the University of Birmingham, and the selection of English undergraduates to become CCCS postgraduates was clearly explained in the 1972-1974 annual report: "The course is designed to examine a range of theoretical and empirical issues in a preliminary way; several students on the course normally go on to postgraduate study in the field here or elsewhere."⁶²⁷ This undergraduate course was therefore envisaged by the Centre as a recruitment pipeline for cultural studies. In 1977 the course was extended to both the English and the Drama department.⁶²⁸

The extension of cultural studies courses to other departments in the university had, however, taken the form of a new, interfaculty course, part of a first-year requirement from the University of Birmingham: "The University requires every undergraduate to take an Interfaculty Course in their first year and the Centre this year is giving a course on 'Contemporary Britain and the Media', including lectures, films and seminars."⁶²⁹ Seven topics were being addressed in the context of this interfaculty course and were taught by both the CCCS's staff (Stuart Hall, Michael Green before 1974) and students (Janice Winship, Chas Critcher, and Tony Jefferson, among others). The fact that the teaching of this course would be shared between staff and students further evidences two elements: the sheer lack of resources prompting the Centre's staff to rely on

⁶²⁶ McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Teams, 5 Feb. 2022. P.8.

⁶²⁷ *CCCS Annual report 1972-1974*, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 17.

⁶²⁸ *CCCS Annual report 1977-1978*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 30.

⁶²⁹ *CCCS Annual report 1972-1974*, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

postgraduate students' teaching and active encouragement on the Centre's part to professionalise its own students. For the Centre these two dynamics were often intertwined, as the CCCS was never able to secure more than three teaching and research staff posts. By professionalising its postgraduate population, the Centre was actively involving its non-permanent members beyond their role, making them voluntary cultural studies advocates in the university. This contributed to creating a CCCS *esprit de corps* which fuelled the Centre's activity and acted as a safety net when the CCCS was in danger, as it relied on more than its permanent staff to survive, it relied on the involvement and belief of its non-permanent members. This aspect is also present in the student's involvement in writing and designing covers for the annual reports, and will be further tackled in a later subsection about the Centre's sense of identity.

Beyond the University of Birmingham campus, CCCS's students' part-time professional activities also contributed to the expansion of cultural studies as a field, as 'Centre members are involved part-time in the teaching of courses offered in the City [of Birmingham]'⁶³⁰, including liberal studies courses, and courses on communication, popular and youth culture taught at Aston University, the Extra-Mural Department of Birmingham University and in the context of Workers' Educational Association (or WEA) classes.

This section highlights the various ways in which the CCCS was extending its activities beyond its own structure, as a course provider to the English department, Faculty of Arts and the University of Birmingham as a whole, to reach the entire city of Birmingham through other institutions, including secondary schools, other higher education institutions and further education structures. This expansion both allowed the Centre's own members to financially support themselves during their time as postgraduates and the CCCS's activities to become known and progressively legitimised in an educational environment.

2.4.1.2. Postgraduate Work

One of the most salient aspects of the period regarding postgraduate work was the progressive formalising and establishment of the taught M.A. degree in cultural studies. Discussions about a taught M.A. reappeared in the 1969-1971 report, after having disappeared from the reports since the 1965-1966 academic year. The 1969-1971 report states:

We would like to offer our new entrants the opportunity to read for an M.A. by exam and dissertation, rather than by thesis alone as is now

⁶³⁰ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

the case. This would take formal recognition of the de facto situation, which is that few new graduates are sufficiently well read in the field to undertake at once a field of detailed research. The M.A. course could therefore give us the chance to set out, in a formal way, what we conceive to be the basic background to cultural studies. [...] The details of such an M.A. course have still to be submitted for Faculty consideration and will not be available until some way through the quinquennial period, 1972-77.⁶³¹

This paragraph reflects on studying conditions at the Centre and recognises its failure to provide students with a sufficient background in cultural studies to undertake research in a more stabilised field in 1971. This plan echoed the then-current state of cultural studies at the time, still coming out of its exploratory period and only slowly entering its most flourishing period during an interregnum. Such a degree (no pun intended) of formalisation of the Centre's course structure would, however, have to mature for a few more years and benefit from the recruitment of an additional member of staff, Richard Johnson.

The formalising of the M.A. degree would stabilise the theoretical structure of cultural studies. Indeed the 'Future Developments' section at the end of the 1972-1974 report announced the upcoming start of the cultural studies M.A. course:

The M.A. course will draw together, in a more formal way, what is so far distinctive about the 'cultural studies' approach, and attempt to provide, on this basis, a clearer definition of the field, its boundaries, and methods as an introduction to subsequent research.⁶³²

This new M.A. course would represent the formalisation of what cultural studies were close to ten years after the founding of the CCCS. It is meaningful that the definition of cultural studies through a course and attached curriculum would take place at the postgraduate level, as most disciplines tend to train new entrants from the undergraduate level. However, as cultural studies did not rely on an existing discipline beyond English, its genealogical and academic next of kin, beginning training in cultural studies at the postgraduate level remained the only choice for the CCCS, until the early 1980s, when an undergraduate degree in communications and cultural studies would be launched.

⁶³¹ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 23.

⁶³² CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 22.

While contributing to the stability of the Centre, the new M.A. course did, however, endanger the fragile balance of CCCS activities, relying on slender funding and workforce. This fear was highlighted in the M.A. course description:

We are anxious, however, that the M.A. should be, as far as possible, integrated with other work in the Centre, and not stand apart from its aims. Its aim is to provide a coherent introduction to the field, such as would make either teaching from it or further research in it a natural second stage. The serious work of research⁶³³ (sic) remains our main task, and this is centrally represented by research theses and projects, and supporting seminar work. We are anxious to maintain a proper balance between teaching and research. The M.A. course, PhD theses, and a limited number of fully funded projects, situated at key points on the frontier of the field, are therefore all, together, central to our project. Maintaining solid work in each of these elements, rather than a rapid expansion of numbers at the introductory level, is how in general terms we see the process of consolidation in the coming year or two.⁶³⁴

As the word ‘anxious’ is used twice in a single paragraph, one can make out that the necessary work of formalisation was also and paradoxically a source of concern for the CCCS at the time, signalling the very end of cultural studies’ exploratory period where actors in the field were free to roam between neighbouring disciplines and experiment with theoretical frameworks to assist in the “making it up” of cultural studies described in the first part of the present research. The above reflections quoted from the annual report reflect a strong wish, for the CCCS, to remain a research unit first and foremost and not become a teaching unit. Without spoiling too much of the suspense, this fear would become reality during the next decade, as a response to the Centre’s dire need for institutionalisation and focus on undergraduate teaching to survive within the University of Birmingham.

In keeping with the Centre’s initial plans, the recommendation made by the 1972 Faculty Working Party to launch an M.A. course was achieved in the academic year 1975-1976 and was organised in close connection to the subgroup system, which supported thesis work at the Centre: “[The M.A. course] links ‘taught course’ and

⁶³³ This phrasing (the serious work of research) could, in itself, not seem particularly odd in the context of an annual report. However, it seems to contribute to the idea that research, for the CCCS, stood higher on the academic hierarchy than teaching, which could therefore be considered a trivial activity, not worthy of the Centre’s time.

⁶³⁴ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 22.

thesis people in the group work in our six or seven areas of empirical work.”⁶³⁵ The main issue raised by this new M.A. course was that, unlike undergraduate teaching, its survival depended on the more general financial state of the CCCS, as securing funding for students who wished to register for the M.A. course was found to be challenging:

*The M.A. has been assigned as an SSRC course (though some of our best applicants are from a Humanities background) – but the Quota places we are pleased to have gained from the SSRC are so far limited to graduate work by thesis only (no course work and examination).*⁶³⁶

Two elements are important here: one, the new CCCS degree had been catalogued as an SSRC program and that it was therefore only eligible for funding via the SSRC, meaning that funding was available via a social science project, not a humanities project. This meant that the only postgraduate introductory course in cultural studies was considered by the two main grant-providing government bodies as a social science course, making it out of reach of most humanities students. Two, that even though the SSRC had given quota places to the CCCS, these places were reserved for thesis research and the new M.A. course was therefore financially out of reach for studentship applicants. This placed the CCCS in a paradoxical situation, where the Faculty Working Party, and the CCCS research staff themselves, thought important that the newly taught M.A. should become the main point of entry into CCCS postgraduate studies while remaining unable to provide internal funding for the prospective students it desperately needed. If no student was able to register to the taught M.A. due to the Centre’s inability to secure funding for its students, the taught M.A. project could be stillborn and with it most of the Centre’s hopes for the future. Thankfully, the Centre managed to welcome seven students during the first two taught M.A. years, and the M.A. cohorts evolved to reach a dozen students by the end of the 1970s. Among these students between one and two thirds were part-time students, depending on the year. This meant a less straightforward and more time-consuming recruitment process for the Centre, as up to two thirds of taught M.A. cohorts would depend on student’s ability to finance themselves. This state of affairs was, at the end of the day, a matter of technicality: the SSRC could very well have changed its policy and funded pool places for M.A. courses, not only for thesis work. It nevertheless put pressure on the still fragile burgeoning structure of cultural studies at Birmingham.

However this difficult process was not in vain, as the Centre was able to have a first assessment of the degree, two years after introducing it: “In short, the Course seems to be meeting the criteria originally defined for it: serving, for some, as a (rather intensive) 12-month introduction to the field, while providing, for others, a basis for

⁶³⁵ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 3.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

further research and a ‘bridge’ into Cultural Studies from other disciplines.”⁶³⁷ The M.A. was therefore so far a success in 1978 and had become a central element in the CCCS’s course organisation in only three years.

By 1979 the four years of experience in running the taught M.A. course had allowed the Centre’s staff to determine the type of student the M.A. was best suited for: “applications from teachers and others on secondment are particularly welcome.” This is important insofar as Richard Hoggart was an extramural professor at the beginning of his career, which extensively shaped both his understanding of cultural studies and teaching practices. In addition, Stuart Hall was initially a secondary teacher in London and reflected upon the ways teaching could integrate some of the most contemporary cultural changes in his first book, *The Popular Arts*. Furthermore, the earmarking of the taught MA as a course mainly intended for teachers formed part of the various ways in which the CCCS was involved in a wider reflection on cultural studies teaching as a practice, along with a course given at the Faculty of Education to students working for the postgraduate teaching certificate.⁶³⁸

The relationship between cultural studies and teaching did not stop there. Indeed by 1974, a pattern seemed to have emerged regarding the completion of CCCS’s student theses: “After completing their registration periods, Centre members often take up part-time teaching in Birmingham and are thus able to maintain regular contact with the Centre while completing their research.”⁶³⁹ This pattern has several implications. First, that CCCS students were not usually able to complete their theses (be they for an MA or a PhD) during their registration time, which put them in a precarious position. Indeed after 1975 most annual reports included a list of the names of “attached students for thesis completion”, including between twenty and thirty names, among which are some who never completed their PhDs. Second, that the intellectual training taught at CCCS enabled generations of its students to earn a living as teachers, most of them in Birmingham, thereby making them financially independent before their thesis completion, and allowing that cultural studies as a field of research would be taught in other institutions, thus being at the origin of potential new offsprings of the CCCS’s network. Such students therefore played an evangelising role in cultural studies beyond the walls of the Faculty of Arts building within the University of Birmingham. This was a conscious effort made by the Centre, as the report states: “In these different ways the Centre continues to be concerned with the extension and

⁶³⁷ *CCCS Annual report 1977-1978*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

⁶³⁸ *CCCS Annual report 1978-1979*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 23.

⁶³⁹ *CCCS Annual report 1972-1974*, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

application of its own research to other educational contexts, and with the problems of educational practice as related to cultural studies.”⁶⁴⁰

Richard Johnson reflected on this connection to the broader city landscape and the field of education in a 2020 personal interview:

*A lot of our students actually taught in further education while they were doing their, supposed to be doing their PhDs, or their M.A. s and, and that's the way they made their living, liberal studies seemed to have caught up in those days in further education in the city, a lot of people did that.*⁶⁴¹

Johnson's self-correction that some Centre students “were doing their, supposed to be doing their PhDs or their MAs”, testifies to the difficulties faced by part-timers to complete their postgraduate studies.

This section has highlighted the ways in which cultural studies has become formalised around the structure of the taught M.A. course launched in 1975 and the ways in which students' statuses (full-time or part-time) impacted their own work and that of cultural studies, during a period when as though cultural studies were becoming more established, they still relied on insufficient funding.

2.4.2. Building a sense of identity

During the 1970s the Centre continued its search for a sense of identity. This section will show how the CCCS relied on three chief characteristics: its evolving financial state, its political and its collective nature.

2.4.2.1. Freedom to define: a covenant for autonomy

In the 1970s the CCCS was able to analyse the impact of its initial and most defining source of funding, the Penguin covenant. Indeed, many missions handled by the Centre by virtue of the covenant were described as an essential and yet invisible part of the CCCS's output:

⁶⁴⁰ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

⁶⁴¹ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview January 20, 2020. P. 3.

*Activities like these described above — they could be multiplied in other areas — are, in many ways, the hidden aspects of the Centre's daily work: what makes the difference between a grouping of graduate students, each at work in the lonely task of producing his or her own thesis, and a Centre which also aims, in some concrete though inevitably limited way, to be also a 'centre' of intellectual work, critical study and research.*⁶⁴²

Yet the relative financial stability granted by the Penguin covenant ended in 1976. With the passing of Sir Allen Lane in 1970⁶⁴³, the conversion of Penguin Books into an “[un]identif[ied] economic entity”⁶⁴⁴, and Richard Hoggart's departure to work at UNESCO in Paris, securing the covenant beyond the final agreement made with Lane before 1970 proved impossible. Therefore the Centre was left, after the end of 1976, to function with a significantly lower administrative budget, which was, unlike the Penguin covenant, allocated for specific missions: “Unlike the many other research project grants we have had, the Penguin one was not earmarked in any way, and was thus free for development purposes.”⁶⁴⁵ This was of prime importance, as according to the CCCS's annual reports, this covenant “was just sufficient to paper over that gap between a ‘group of graduate students’ and ‘a Centre’ referred to earlier [of intellectual work, critical study and research].”⁶⁴⁶ Without the covenant, the Centre was left without the economic resources to see through activities “worthwhile in themselves and necessary to the Centre's definition of its own work. [...]”⁶⁴⁷ However, what the CCCS lacked in funding it made up in personal investment:

We are convinced that these complementary activities, which we have sustained so far at the cost of a considerable investment of time and commitment on the part of staff, secretarial staff and students are [...] also one aspect of the things for which the Centre has become known — perhaps it is not too immodest to say, surprisingly well known and

⁶⁴² CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

⁶⁴³ « SIR ALLEN LANE, 67, OF PENGUIN BOOKS ». The New York Times, July 7th 1970, <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/07/08/archives/sir-allen-lane-67-of-penguin-books-founder-of-paperback-firm-in-35.html>.

⁶⁴⁴ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

*even well regarded, given the small size and scale of its infrastructure.*⁶⁴⁸

The Penguin covenant was therefore decisive to open a distinctive intellectual space within the academy, which became the *raison d'être* of the Centre within higher education:

*But also because we believe there must be room, place, space, and resources within the sometimes oppressively traditional and conservation institutions of Academia, for critical intellectual work of our kind, and we are determined to hold and defend that critical space which, through its initial intervention in the field, the Centre has helped to open up and managed to defend. We are, of course, immensely grateful for the support to this initiative which we have gained through Sir Allen Lane's generosity. Our ambition remains to match it and more in the penetration, boldness and critical range of our collective intellectual work.*⁶⁴⁹

This describes an important moment in the CCCS's history. As the Centre had become officially funded by the University of Birmingham, by 1976 and the end of the Penguin covenant, it had to do with significantly less financial support. It was then forced to play by the rules of its host institution alone to secure funding beyond postgraduate grants. It had therefore lost some of its independence, while, paradoxically, becoming officially recognised as a research centre by its own university as a result of the recommendations of the Faculty Working Party. The Centre's position was from that moment on increasingly difficult to maintain, as, as a self-defined intellectual space critical of oppressive and conservative institutions, it was nonetheless deprived of financial independence to uphold that position, and it was left to depend on the budget of the very university it sought to condemn: "we hope that, even in a period of stringency, the University will not be altogether deaf to the needs of our own Centre which, compared with most comparable research Centres, are very modest."⁶⁵⁰ The possibility of being critical of one's own institution would be explored by the Centre with increasing difficulty until 1988.

⁶⁴⁸ CCCS *Annual report 1974-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

2.4.2.2. A Collective Centre

During the 1970s it became increasingly apparent that the Centre's chief characteristic was its emphasis on collective work, which developed as a sense of genealogy was taking root, along with a sense of common history. The CCCS's reports included from 1977 on a "Living in Birmingham" section subtitled: "By public demand we include this information for the first time."⁶⁵¹ Consisting of a collection of tips for newly registered students, the new section attests to the fact that many prospective CCCS students did not come from Birmingham, thus highlighting the Centre's reputation at the time. The introductory paragraph of the section reads as such:

*Birmingham is a planner's waste-land and the prospect from New Street station is sufficient to chill the most dedicated would-be Centre member's heart. Although the cold impersonality of the architecture does reflect, to a certain extent, life in the second city, things are not quite as grim as they could be and those of us who have negotiated our way around the scene in Birmingham thought it might be a good idea to pass on what we know.*⁶⁵²

Beyond the delicious tone of the section, this attempt to "pass on what we know" illustrates the introduction of a common "we" beyond the task of annual report writing: an identifiable group of students and staff facing the same surprising setbacks when moving to England's second city.⁶⁵³ This section therefore contributed to building the Centre's identity on a common support system: "we can put up people when they first come to Birmingham; single, couples, with/without children. [...] Centre people tend to gravitate towards four areas: Moseley, Kings Heath, Selly Oak and Selly Park". Such support extended to childcare: "we can arrange a creche for interviews [...]. Quite a few Centre members have young children and there is an informal system of babysitting to enable people to get out in the evening."⁶⁵⁴ The emphasis on childcare is noteworthy, as it highlights an important sociological aspect of CCCS cohorts: a meaningful portion of the CCCS population were parents, most of them working part-time to support their postgraduate studies and sometimes their whole families, which

⁶⁵¹ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

⁶⁵² CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

⁶⁵³ Setbacks still faced in recent years by Erasmus students spending a year abroad and researchers visiting the Cadbury Research Library.

⁶⁵⁴ CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

makes students' academic commitment and involvement in the Centre's day-to-day management all the more salient.

Yet, conditions still needed to be met in order to ensure the longevity and identity of CCCS work:

*The balance between graduate work and full-time research is still not satisfactory. When a sufficient basis has been laid, over a period of years, in any one area of research — through the grouping of theses and dissertation projects — it becomes necessary to establish a well-planned piece of funded research in order to consolidate and deepen the work initiated. It is also important to develop projects in areas where, perhaps, there is no longer a major thesis interest, but where earlier initiatives need to be strengthened and sustained. This is an essential part of building a distinctive 'centre' of work where, otherwise, only a set of disparate and unrelated, non-cumulative thesis students would be gathered. Our aim is to establish such a long-term research trajectory in each of the major areas of work. We are still a long way off achieving this.*⁶⁵⁵

It is clear from this paragraph that emphasis was, by 1978, still very much laid on the accomplishment of a clearly defined intellectual identity for the Centre. To achieve this goal, the practice of strengthening research interests by converting them into more ambitious funded projects supported by the DES or the SSRC was seen as the most effective one, and Paul Willis' work on labour (described below in the Sub-Group section) was considered a desirable pattern.⁶⁵⁶

However pessimistic the above remark may be, by the end of the 1970s there were reasons to be cheerful, which fuelled the sense of identity built by the Centre outside a strict definition of its intellectual nature:

The major breakthrough in this period has undoubtedly come in terms of getting the Centre's existence and work more widely known, recognised and respected. This breaking of the sound barrier owes a great deal to our limited but increasing success in terms of publications,

⁶⁵⁵ CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

⁶⁵⁶ Paul Willis' work is described at length in chapter three dealing with the historiography of the Work subgroup.

*contacts and contributions to work going on in related fields outside the Centre.*⁶⁵⁷

The vocabulary chosen to describe this positive evolution is hyperbolic: a ‘major breakthrough’ is mentioned and the fact of ‘breaking the sound barrier’. It seems as though the invisible missions taken up by the Centre since its founding in 1964 had finally paid off, culminating in February 1978 with the signing of a publication contract with the private publishing house Hutchinson.

Another instance of student participation is found in the very making of the CCCS’s annual reports. Indeed the sixth annual report’s cover is said to have been designed by Frances Buchanan, Charles Critcher and Bryn Jones. Frances Buchanan was one of the two CCCS secretaries who also acted as librarian at the time, and Charles Critcher and Bryn Jones were two CCCS full-time students. The mention of student and staff participation in the editing of the Centre’s annual report perpetuates a tradition initiated in 1967 when Richard Rogers and Janet Mendelsohn’s photographs were used subsequently in 1967 and 1968 as the annual reports’ covers. While this aspect has been touched upon in the Administrative status section, it is reasserted here, as it evidences a high degree of student participation in the CCCS’s administrative activities.

As a matter of fact, such a degree of student involvement was sustained to the point where the very direction taken by the Centre was envisaged by both staff and students. As an early report from this second period (1969-1971) reads:

*All members of the Centre help determine the shape of the Centre’s seminar work and general development, and take equal part in the editing of the Centre’s books and journals, the establishment and maintenance of links with other interest groups (such as Ruskin College, Oxford), and its general administration. The pattern of graduate work thus involves more collective responsibility for the Centre’s activities and policy decision than is common in many other research departments or units; and requires wider interests than the wish to complete a thesis.*⁶⁵⁸

This is the first annual report containing a paragraph dedicated to the collective ways the Centre was administered, making the expected roles of Centre students clear in contributing to establishing the working practices and intellectual trajectory of the

⁶⁵⁷ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

⁶⁵⁸ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

CCCS. It also stresses that a stronger commitment was required from students than in other research centres, a pattern which survived the end of the post-1968 effervescence and would become integrant to the Centre's survival in later years. One meaningful fact is the mention of Ruskin College as an interest group, thus evidencing already existing strong ties with the History Workshop set up by Raphael Samuel in 1976.⁶⁵⁹ Raphael Samuel was a former fellow student and friend of Stuart Hall's at Oxford with whom (among others) they had founded the journal *Universities and Left Review*, which merged with the *New Reasoner* journal to become *New Left Review*, a central British New Left publication organ, which significance was described in Part One. The History Workshop movement's relationship with the CCCS will be analysed in the Networks section.

From the 1972-1974 period on, a "weekly Administration of Centre staff and student meeting" set up the organisation for the week. This points to a whole way of life inside the Centre, not present in the annual reports and otherwise visible in the CCCS agendas⁶⁶⁰, written in their vast majority by CCCS postgraduate students. One such agenda dating back to May 1976 provides a colourful description of the daily life of the Centre. Such documents were typed by postgraduates and included references to the week's favourite disk (that given week, an album by the Bellamy Brothers), details about the daily organisation of meetings and seminars, relationship to other services in the university, many jokes (including jokes about the Centre's inner workings and on the very writing of the agenda), accounts of the Centre's involvement in outside social movements and the organisation of social events for CCCS members. This agenda points to a whole way of CCCS life and hints at a strong sense of bonding and complicity shared by postgraduate Centre members and staff, in complete rejection of a more traditional model of postgraduate studies. The justification for implementing collective working practices had been made explicit as early as 1971:

The traditional model of the lonely graduate student, with his texts and his file cards, immured in the Library, with occasional visits to a supervisor who keeps his work on the scholarly straight-and-narrow path — a model deeply entrenched in humanistic studies and research — would certainly have made the kind of collective self-reflection which has been integral to our work impossible: we are inclined to believe that it is increasingly anachronistic in other, in well-defined fields too. We have therefore been experimenting with forms of collective

⁶⁵⁹ History Workshop is to a certain extent very similar to CCCS in its formation. For more information, see SCOTT-BROWN, SOPHIE. *The Histories of Raphael Samuel*. ANU Press, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1rfsrqs>. JSTOR.

⁶⁶⁰ CCCS. CCCS Agenda. 24 Apr. 1976. Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library.

*organisation and self-management of intellectual work more appropriate to the project we have undertaken.*⁶⁶¹

The Centre's sense of collectiveness was furthermore strengthened by the political nature of its research endeavours.

2.4.2.3. A political centre

The Centre's core political mission was highlighted in the early 1970s:

*We have been wrestling with two, apparently distinct but in fact closely related questions: how collective intellectual work [...] should be organised, and what relevance it has for social action.*⁶⁶²

This description situates the Centre as a politically informed research centre, to the extent where its very working practices were a product of political reflections on the academic world: the CCCS therefore stood as a counter-power to traditional academic practices. It also envisaged its research missions as closely linked to social action pertaining to the world outside university.

One first step towards the establishment of such a distinctive politically informed academic editorial line had been taken early during this second period. The first part of the 1969-1970 annual report (History and Intellectual Development) describes "the form and thrust of the Centre's immanent evolution, the nature of its self-critique and the elaboration of a new problematic."⁶⁶³ It was therefore clear at this point in the CCCS's history that major shifts were taking place, both on intellectual and structural grounds. In 1970, as a result of Richard Hoggart's definitive departure and the lack of definition of cultural studies so far, the CCCS was redefining nothing less than its research scope, methods and practices. Research, at the Centre, was informed by social action and its collective organisation had to reflect this fact.⁶⁶⁴ This 'immanent [r]evolution'⁶⁶⁵ nevertheless came at a cost, where the Centre's political project found

⁶⁶¹ CCCS *Annual report 1969-1971*, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

⁶⁶² Ibid.

⁶⁶³ Ibid. P. 2.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ One could argue that what the report is describing here is no mere evolution: it consists in a complete revolution of the academic model, in keeping with the 1968 student demands and the political ethos of some of the Centre's networks (the most prominent of which, in this particular case, being that of the New Left). For more information about networks, see Chapter one.

itself struggling with the realities of already existing academic fields: “To live in a sort of no-man’s-land between field places strains of an incalculable kind on students, staff, on the project as a whole.”⁶⁶⁶ Furthermore, no content to establish an emerging academic field fuelled by a political project, the Centre was also redesigning the very power structure on which academia relied:

*The traditional roles of deference and status which enclose staff and students, traditionally, cannot survive for long in a field where teachers are learning the same thing at the same time as their students. But alternative modes of work are difficult to define and carry through in a climate which is, largely, inhospitable to them. These are some of the ‘costs’ of the project we have undertaken.*⁶⁶⁷

The Centre’s obstacles were numerous as it entered the 1970s because its project was nothing less than an entire redefinition not only of the structures and frontiers of existing academic fields but also of the various forms of power existing at universities at the source of scientific capital. Bourdieu describes the structure of a given field’s hierarchy:

*The structure of the field, defined by the unequal distribution of capital, i.e. of weapons or specific assets, weighs down on all agents, even outside any direct interaction, intervention or manipulation, restricting the space of possibilities open to them to a greater or lesser extent, depending on their position in the field, i.e. in this distribution. The dominant agent is the one who occupies such a position in the structure that the structure acts in his favour.*⁶⁶⁸

The Centre’s research staff members took the opposite line and chose to not follow this traditional hierarchical structure faced with the task of formalising what cultural studies would become at the beginning of the 1970s in close collaboration with its students. Such building of collective working practices put, on top of difficulties linked to funding and the sheer defining of the field, even more strain on the CCCS during its interregnum period. It nevertheless produced some of its most distinctive qualities, which began to become recognised as the decade unfolded. Indeed revolutions were

⁶⁶⁶ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d’agir, 2007. P. 70-71.

not only sustained on hopes, and the project seemed to be bearing fruit, as the report refers to some benefits already emerging.⁶⁶⁹

The Centre's growing reputation did not, however, prevent it from continuing to secure out a coherent editorial line. Indeed the tenth annual report (1978-1979), covering the last year of the 'golden' period, describes the Centre's reflections regarding the most appropriate strategy:

*We need to continue to build — so to speak through the varying career paths of individual students passing through the Centre — a long and sustained research momentum, to produce over a reasonably lengthy period, substantive theoretically-informed concrete work on strategic aspects of contemporary society and culture.*⁶⁷⁰

The strengthening of the academic field of cultural studies was still seen as a priority, as working on a continuous 'research momentum' was seen, by the CCCS, as essential to pursue the establishment of an identifiable dynamic field. By the end of the 1970s, the Centre had 'produced' researchers who would go on to have careers outside of universities and polytechnics, thus reinforcing the sense of genealogy highlighted above. These agents would pursue the work of cultural studies in different contexts, and the goal was then, therefore, to go beyond the Centre's subgroup structure and reach other higher education institutions, outside the doors of the CCCS, to extend the momentum of cultural studies and allow it to take root in other contexts, thus in fact achieving the independence of the field.

To conclude with this section describing the ways in which the CCCS produced a strong sense of identity, which, arguably granted it forces to survive beyond financial constraints caused by the end of the Penguin covenant, it seems that the Centre's identity was threefold: it relied on a strong sense of belonging, fuelled by democratically informed and collective working practices; its chief research goal was to find the right balance between intellectual work and achieving social change; and it was in perpetual search of a clear research editorial line by the end of the decade, even though its national and international reputation was becoming established. Paradoxically, this self-perceived lack of definition contributed to sustaining its distinguished academic output.

⁶⁶⁹ *CCCS Annual report 1969-1971*, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

⁶⁷⁰ *CCCS Annual report 1978-1979*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4

2.4.3. Building Research Practices

During the 1970s the CCCS's research practices became structured around the subgroup model, consisting of small and autonomous research groups dedicated to a given research object. This section offers a brief overview of the ways in which this new model became integrant to the Centre's research practices during the decade and contributes a closer historiography of two CCCS subgroups, the work subgroup and the women's studies group. Among the constellation of CCCS sub-groups these two were chosen as, on the one hand, the work subgroup's activity became organised around one of the most well-funded CCCS research projects in the 1970s. On the other, the women's studies group constituted an intellectual space, which while building a theoretical framework for emerging women's studies, came to challenge the Centre's more established intellectual frameworks. It therefore represented a plurality within the CCCS while contributing to the overall cultural studies project.

2.4.3.1. Building Sub-groups

This section describes the emergence and rise to prominence of the subgroup model within the CCCS. It argues that although the subgroup model came to define the working practices of the Centre in the 1970s, traces of proto sub-group practices can be found before the beginning of the decade in the CCCS archive, which points to a will, on the part of the Centre's members, to establish collective practices before the end of Richard Hoggart's directorship. Sub-groups can be defined as small student or staff led groups organised around a specific research theme or object (a list of such themes and objects is given below). Sub-group's life cycles were parallel to the Centre's, as sub-group members would meet on a voluntary basis during the year and would all present their undergoing work at an end of the year meeting gathering all the CCCS's members. The fact that they would be centred on a given topic or object and that their membership would be independently defined allowed the Centre's subgroups the flexibility to constantly redefine its aims and to work in an exploratory fashion within the strengthening cultural studies framework, forming a favourable crucible for potential collective publications. However and similar to other defining elements of the CCCS (such as the democratising of working practices in the wake of the 1968 student sit-in), subgroups were born as much from an ambition for students to take part in the designing of their own curriculum as from the recognition that academic homogeneity was never within the reach of the Centre. According to Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton:

The argument put forward here, however, is that an intellectual heterogeneity was written into the heart of the Centre's working practices almost from the very beginning, belying the apparent unity of an approach embraced by a singular 'Centre'. Of course, a commitment to a collective project does not assume a concomitant intellectual unity, but Hall in particular gave it a political purpose and direction of travel. [...] the 'subgroup' approach was clearly crucial to

*the intellectual vitality of Centre work during the 1970s, and led to some of the most well-known CCCS publications. But as the archive now shows, the very creation of the subgroups was an expedient that was born out of the recognition, as early as 1970, that the overall direction of Centre research could never be as focused as either Hoggart or Hall had envisaged (if for politically different yet academically similar reasons). [...] there was never really a moment in the history of cultural studies at Birmingham when diversity and sometimes division were not chief characteristics.*⁶⁷¹

This section will therefore deal in depth with the birth of the CCCS's diverse and sometimes divided subgroups and show that they were intertwined with the political trajectory of the Centre, its day-to-day organisation, its theoretical framework and its publication policy.⁶⁷²

First, it is meaningful to go back to the early traces of collective research at the Centre. Collective work at the Centre took a new turn in 1969, and drew on a conversation between theory and practice taking place within collective research groups, aiming at reaching some sort of homogeneity: "In 1969 an attempt was made to relate theoretical work to a practical project so that the programme for the year's work was more of an interrelated whole."⁶⁷³ This is linked to the Centre's search for a distinctive intellectual identity during its exploratory period, described in the previous section. The appearance of what could be called a proto sub-group is therefore observable here: "The empirical work was undertaken in small groups of four or five rather than in a whole seminar group. This was an experimental way of working, introducing a more flexible approach to collective work, although it also brought in some new problems."⁶⁷⁴ This experiment, in the service of building a more coherent cultural studies intellectual universe, would result in the later appearance of the subgroup organisation, which emerged as a result of a period of trial and error between 1967 and 1972 when the original CCCS working seminar format evolved to produce the first subgroup experiments in a matter of years. While the Centre's early tribulations

⁶⁷¹ Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton. 'The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies'. *Social History*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2015, pP. 287–311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 291.

⁶⁷² Simply put, as pretty much everything else regarding the Centre, subgroups emerged, flourished and left a mark on an interrelated whole of practices, theory building, publication writing and politically informed research making.

⁶⁷³ As a French British Civilization researcher, it is funny to see that the first project undertaken by CCCS dealt with the Western as a cultural expression, a research object on the programme of the English agrégation from 2018 to 2019. CCCS *Annual report 1969-1971*, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

⁶⁷⁴ CCCS *Annual report 1969-1971*, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 11.

exploring collective research practices were during that period tainted with disappointment and bitterness⁶⁷⁵, the search for a successful model was incessant and fruitful, as it paved the way for the development of the CCCS's most prominent intellectual frameworks and practices.

Indeed in 1969-1971, collective work at the Centre took the Marxist turn. The annual report states:

*The work of the current yeas was designed to enable the study in depth of one relatively coherent theory of economic, social and political structures which incorporated an analysis of ideology and culture, and the subdividing of general theoretical problems into problem areas derived from individual thesis work. We chose as the coherent theory one the Centre had not previously analysed, that of Karl Marx. The theoretical subgroups which emerged were those of work and leisure, sub-cultures, literature and mass media.*⁶⁷⁶

The implications of this turn are preponderant. Here Stuart Hall's overall political career, including connections to the British New Left, and his intellectual involvement at ULR and NLR, can be traced as one of the main sources of the Centre's Marxism. The political shifts witnessed within the Centre since the 1968 student sit-in and Hall's vocal position that the Centre should become a utopian enclave in 1971 eventually also permeated the theoretical framework of the Centre, which in turn gave birth to the four initial subgroups. From this quote one can establish that the Centre's hegemonic intellectual framework became Marxism at the end of the 1960s and that the intellectual stability that ensued allowed CCCS members to build the subgroups within it.

After 1974 the research oriented subgroups were completed by the setting up of a new CCCS body, a 'weekly Administration meeting of Centre staff and students to plan and programme the week's events'.⁶⁷⁷ Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton reflected on this shift towards more democratic practices within the Centre:

⁶⁷⁵ "The work on structuralism and the Western confronted us with problems of theory and method which exposed the experimental and fragile status of the cultural studies perspective." See CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 12.

⁶⁷⁶ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 13.

⁶⁷⁷ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

The Centre's support of the student protests led to a concerted attempt to initiate a democratisation of its working practices. [...] More than this, however, what Hall termed the 'rupture' of staff–student relations arose out of a political and intellectual commitment to the ethos of 1968: 'every Centre meeting' at this time was an inquiry into 'the politics of cultural studies' and 'how we should organise our work so it makes sense' in the context of the student protests. [...] Having assumed the position of effective director in 1969, Hall made efforts to relinquish his authority as leader. Decisions were made at a weekly Centre General Meeting at which everything 'from the politics of intellectual work to how to manage paper supply' was discussed.⁶⁷⁸

This account by Connell and Hilton makes clear that while the subgroup model emerged, there still was a need for the Centre to have a unique instance where all its members would meet, where the cultural studies research agenda would be set, and where decisions would be taken in the open. But making decisions on every single detail of a structure takes time, as Patricia McCabe's account of that same 'weekly Centre General Meeting' a few years later its inception (between 1977 and 1981) makes clear:

I: You talked about the fact that the Centre meetings lasted, like, all day long, and you said also that the interview process was like- there were no breaks. So why do you think time management at the Centre was so non-existent?

R: Oh, that's a, yes, why was it? I don't think anyone even thought about it, to be honest. I mean, I think there was leadership, there was intellectual leadership, but I'm not sure there was management. You know. If I looked at it now, it would drive me bunkers, you know, I'd have to get hold of it and manage it and- (they laugh) Yeah, it's almost like... I don't know why they worked like that, but none of us questioned it at the time. I do remember I took up smoking because I couldn't find a way to sit that long without something to, you know it was a very stupid thing to do but... I don't know why there was all that... I mean I guess it was that it wasn't really a meeting, it wasn't something that was set up with a kind of purpose and items that we went through. I can't- What I remember about it was just being in that room for you know, the whole day and- And it wasn't that it wasn't interesting, but it was just a bit much to- I don't know why nobody ever did anything about it really yeah, I guess I just assumed that was the way academics carried on really yeah. (laughs)⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁸ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton. « The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies ». *Social History*, vol. 40, n° 3, juillet 2015, P. 287-311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 296-297.

⁶⁷⁹ McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29 2022. P.14.

Patricia McCabe's and Stuart Hall's descriptions provide a contrasted description of the practice. The 'weekly administration meeting' (or general meeting as it came to be known in later years), was envisaged by Stuart Hall and Michael Green as a space of freedom for students and staff, to reflect on their own research and administrative practices together, and to create new models of organisation. As directly inherited from the 1968 sit-in, this weekly meeting was thought in theory as a positive practice: making students actors of their own research centre. However, in practice, when ill managed, the general meeting could become burdensome and lose its initial purpose. It could even become an excluding practice, as Patricia McCabe refers to 'the way academics carried on' to describe her own perception of the meetings and to try and explain why no attempt was made to change they were organised. Here it seems as though the general meetings were drawing on a political tradition (that of the general assembly) rather than on an academic one, and that the tacit codes it relied on were not shared by all its members. Indeed it is arguable that the general meeting lacked a set of common background practices shared by all the CCCS's members previous to its inception and members' registration, as not everyone at the Centre had the same political and intellectual background. In this context there was a need for a common culture, in this case informed by political savviness, to build a place of freedom and reflection beyond the traditional boundaries between staff and students. In the case of the general meeting, this culture was somewhat lacking and its initial purpose was sometimes lost to a lack of time and perhaps group management. This is what Trevor Millum, a postgraduate student at the Centre from 1966 to 1969) referred to as navel-gazing:

So one of the discussions, but I think particularly after I left- I think there was maybe a little too much of what we call navel-gazing: talking about what we're talking about, what the centre should be doing, what is to follow, how it works... That took more time than actually doing the work. But it can become just so introspective, it doesn't leave time for things that you're pursuing. This happens in political groups as well. You spend time debating an issue to the fine point, whereas the people out there, you're supposed to be getting them out and vote.⁶⁸⁰

Here the intersection between the political genealogy of the Centre and the academic tradition with which it sought to break comes to the fore: the complexities of politically informed intellectual work and the failure to have them be identified, taught and shared by all the CCCS's members can be seen as one of the limits of the Centre. The CCCS's openness and refusal to establish a unique "school" allowed for multiple trends and academic considerations to be represented at the Centre, thus creating a space where everyone did not have the same background and framework. This diversity meant that more discussions had to take place to agree on the organisation and working practices, and that conflict was necessarily part of the Centre's life to create some sort of common platform. However, this openness allowed for democratic and evolving

⁶⁸⁰ Millum, Trevor. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview July 6 2022. P.9-10.

practices to be implemented and strengthened over the years, among which student participation in admission committees, student-led publications or admin taskforces (which became part of the subgroup system) and student teaching in other departments, all of which gave the CCCS's postgraduate students, to varying degrees, incomparable experience and agency. It also allowed emerging research to come to the fore, as shall be examined in the following sections dedicated to two particular subgroups.

Following the creation of the first four subgroups, by 1974 collective work at the Centre was well established around a semi-stable subgroup structure. The proto subgroups from 1969 had evolved by the mid-1970s and become a core CCCS research practice. Maxime Cervulle, Professor of Information and Communication Science at Paris VIII Université, established a cartography of the subgroups through the years of the CCCS's activity, and the figures reproduced below highlight the evolution of the various subgroups between 1971 and 1979:

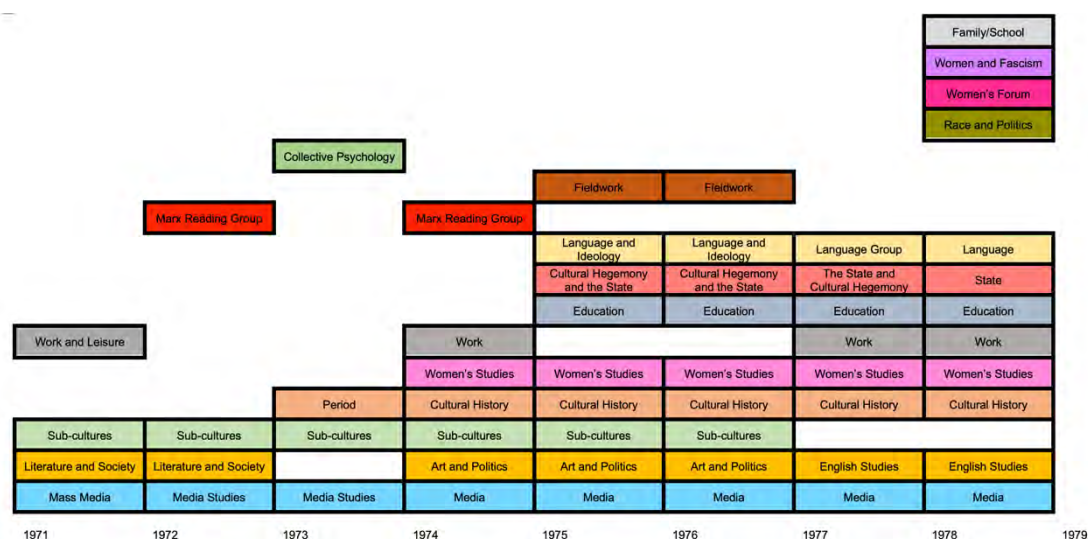


Figure 10 – CCCS subgroups, 1971-1979⁶⁸¹

This chart makes clear that the trajectories of the various CCCS subgroups were far from stable, evolving at the pace of the Centre's cohorts, sometimes disappearing for a year and reappearing the next. While the present section does not dwell on given subgroup trajectories, the next two subsections will offer a precise account for two of these subgroups, the work group (initially Work and Leisure) founded in 1971 and part of the four initial subgroups, and the women's studies group, founded in 1974.

The subgroups did, however, not exist on their own and were part of an integrated whole, described such in the 1972-1974 annual report: "As in previous years, individual research projects are framed and supported by a collective seminar and

⁶⁸¹ Cervulle, Maxime dans Bouyahia, Malek, et al. *Penser avec Stuart Hall*. La Dispute, 2021. P. 73.

group work.”⁶⁸² The CCCS’s research structure by 1974 was therefore articulated between three levels of organisation, or rather three spaces of intellectual work: the ‘General Theory Seminar’, the ‘Sub-Groups’, and ‘individual thesis work’.⁶⁸³ Within this structure, all three levels seemed to fuel the other two, as subgroups are described as ‘closely related’ to individual thesis work, and ‘the intention was to make the work of particular Sub-Groups available to all members of the Centre’⁶⁸⁴ through the general theory seminar. The circulation of research objects, ideas and practices seems to have gradually taken place between these three research spaces, contributing to a virtuous research circle. This virtuous research cycle could, in turn, fuel the Centre’s researchers’ credibility cycles, which contained a strong political agenda. Such circularity was described by Catherine Hall, Emerita Professor of Modern British Social and Cultural History at University College London and former History student at the University of Birmingham in the late 1960s. In a 2021 interview, she reflected on how such a circle operated in her own practice:

R: in a way History Workshop was a very similar kind of project to CCCS, both deeply politically committed, believing that there was a relationship between the intellectual world and work and politics. And the point of doing the work was because you believed in changing the world. [...]

I: [Patricia McCabe] was saying in a former interview that she, she’d rather do the work than write about the work and so I’ve always been interested in like, how do you measure it- what- you put in a little bit of studying, research, then you do stuff on the ground then you write about it and it all circles. I think that’s actually something that you said, that like, there is a circle, there’s a cycle between the student intake, your political work, your editorial work, research and teaching and that’s how you can make a little difference, or big difference [in the world].

R: Of course, people will have different balances, you know. Some people didn’t write, some people stayed with activism, some people thought teaching was the most important thing. I mean, I’ve always, I love teaching. I really love teaching and miss it, um, but I also always wanted to write, or I didn’t always want to write but, I did start wanting to write in my later twenties. So for me, yeah. That circle was that but lots of people had different stopping points on it.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸² CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

⁶⁸³ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Hall, Catherine. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 25 2021. P. 11-12.

It seems as though Latour and Woolgar's model of the credibility cycle⁶⁸⁶ should be amended here to include the wish of CCCS researchers to achieve social change as a byproduct of their research or through the use of their research. In this case, credibility would not only serve to pursue research for its own sake, but rather to take some credibility out of academia and dedicate it to the world. Such conversion is difficult to make, as scientific capital is only relevant to scientists⁶⁸⁷ and converting academic credibility into tools in the service of social change can prove a difficult transaction, as both research and political action are two time-consuming activities.

The graduate seminars, open to people outside the CCCS, constituted yet another space for elaborate research at the Centre. They are described as a dynamic meeting point:

*The main purpose of these seminars is to introduce research work which is going on elsewhere in the field of cultural studies and communications and to raise for discussion general issues and problems. The subject matters of these seminars has expanded considerably in the last two years, in line with the Centre's general development.*⁶⁸⁸

The graduate seminars therefore allowed both external speakers to present their work to the Centre and people outside the CCCS to get acquainted with cultural studies related research. It therefore constituted a window, or an interface for the CCCS to make its work known to external researchers and to benefit from other researchers' expertise. In the 1972-1974 annual report, the graduate seminar also seemed to be in communication with the other three levels of course organisation, contributing, again, to creating an integrated whole of a CCCS research environment, each theoretically serving a specific need, and nourished by the circularity described above.

However, over the 1972-1974 period, outside speaker numbers were limited in favour of inside speakers reporting on their own research.⁶⁸⁹ This shift in speaker frequency seems to echo the fact that the Centre's research, by 1974, had enough currency to become part of the CCCS curriculum itself and to be presented at the graduate seminar: the CCCS postgraduate students had indeed, by the mid-1970s, become the masters of cultural studies.

⁶⁸⁶ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 152.

⁶⁸⁷ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du College de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. Ibid. P. 114.

⁶⁸⁸ *CCCS Annual report 1972-1974*, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 12.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid.

By the end of the decade, the subgroup system (at the centre of which stood the general graduate seminar) had evolved and “flourished”, to become “in many ways the heart of the intellectual life and production of the Centre, to which both M.A. and thesis students are attached”.⁶⁹⁰ The balance of Centre’s intellectual work therefore seemed to have shifted from the M.A. to the subgroups between 1974 and 1978. In the reports, this shift is said to have taken place as an answer to a lack of definition in the field of cultural studies: “In the absence of any clear ‘theoretical’ definition of cultural studies, this range of research areas provides the next best thing – an empirical or working definition of what the field must consist of – for us, within our range of competence.”⁶⁹¹ Nevertheless, this shift was happily welcomed by the Centre, as it seemed to have a positive impact on its research:

*Undoubtedly, the subgroups have become the main centres of productive work and intellectual development in the Centre. Their impact is too (sic) be seen in individual thesis work, in papers and projects produced for the groups which have found their way into our Stencilled papers list, or have been given at Conferences or published somewhere. Subgroups have provided the material for most our recent journals, often taking responsibility for a whole issue.*⁶⁹²

From this description it seems clear that the subgroups had become the CCCS’s most productive research sources, which the Centre was, in turn, able to reconvert into its publication formats. The CCCS’s publication policy during its second period will be tackled in the Publication section (2.5.).

Again, even if a shift in balance had occurred from the M.A. to the research subgroups, a centrifugal movement was needed to make sure research activities could be followed by all members of the Centre:

It is important that the theoretical issues arising at sub-group level should filter back to the more general theoretical debate, so that new developments will be available to everyone, but also so that areas of overlap and convergence, or of fruitful difference in approach can be appropriated by other members of the Centre. So we have now instituted the practice of each subgroup ‘reporting back’ towards the

⁶⁹⁰ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 3.

⁶⁹¹ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

⁶⁹² CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

*end of each session, so that advances, weaknesses and gaps can be registered and discussed by everyone.*⁶⁹³

What is visible here is the constant evolution and of working practices and its influence on the structure of the Centre itself, nourished by work conducted independently in the space provided by the subgroups. Independence, while being a productive tool for subgroup research, could therefore constitute an obstacle to the Centre's overall coherence and stability as a subfield, as its activities evolved in a considerably quicker fashion than more traditional fields of inquiry. According to Bourdieu's concept of the scientific field, emerging fields are less stable than established ones and therefore more prompt to face important changes that might challenge its newly found autonomy.⁶⁹⁴ This made the Centre's need to have its several entities regularly report back to the central general meeting all the more pressing.

As the decade drew to a close, the subgroups appeared to be growing roots, as "the results are beginning to be felt in terms of our ability to sustain a rather longer arc of research, through more than one student generation".⁶⁹⁵ This continuation of cultural studies research beyond the timespan of a CCCS cohort may be linked to the Centre's sense of history tackled in the 'Building an identity' section (2.4.2.). It strongly contributed to its autonomy, as by the end of the decade fewer and fewer subgroups ended up having to start over every other year.

The year 1977-1978 therefore seemed to be a year of maturity for the Centre, as most working practices had become established and the field was by then increasingly well-defined: "By more closely relating thesis topics to these groups, we have found a more organic way of delimiting the range of the Centre's work, as well as deepening it."⁶⁹⁶ From this account it seems plausible to mark the year 1978 as the end of the 'making it up as you go' early exploratory period defining the CCCS's history, which lasted well beyond its founding years. This coming of age of sorts was greatly supported by subgroup research activities, which kept on evolving so as begin to influence the nature of individual thesis work:

Where a subgroup has been working together for some time and has developed a common project, the relation between collective and

⁶⁹³ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

⁶⁹⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 169-170.

⁶⁹⁵ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 3.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid.

*individual work may be well reversed, thesis topics being designed in relation to subgroup work and discussion.*⁶⁹⁷

In this passage it appears clear that a shift in balance took place at the Centre during the 1970s, from a burgeoning subgroup structure attracting postgraduate students and staff with common interests to the establishing of the subgroup system as the very core of the CCCS's research, in turn shaping individual research work, after having been shaped by collective research. The Centre's subgroups had therefore become, in a few years, the centre of gravity of the CCCS and its most productive locus in terms of research output.

However and to conclude with the emergence and rise to prominence of the subgroup model, the organisation of collective work, although constituting a stable and constructive practice within the Centre, was, by the tenth annual report (1977-1978), also understood as potentially "problematic, so much so that the report mentions an attempt at "a running review of such ways of working".⁶⁹⁸ The consequences of these complications will be further in Part Three.

2.4.3.1.1. The Work Group

The Work Group (WG) emerged as a result of the formalisation of the Centre's Marxist theoretical framework described in the previous subpart, during the 1969-1971 period, and some of its work extended beyond the CCCS's second historical period to reach the 1980s.

There is little information about the original « Work and leisure » subgroup in this 1969-1971 annual report, beyond a short bibliography : *Work and leisure* by Nels Anderson, published in 1961 and dedicated to a corpus of sociological studies around Europe⁶⁹⁹, *Towards a Society of Leisure* by Joffre Dumazedier, published in 1962 and dealing with the results of "a study conducted by the Centres for sociological studies (1956-1957) on leisure in the social and cultural development of the city of Annecy"⁷⁰⁰, *The Future of Work and Leisure* by Stanley Parker, published in 1972 and considered the most important monographies coming out of British research on leisure⁷⁰¹ and

⁶⁹⁷ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

⁶⁹⁸ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 11.

⁶⁹⁹ Dumazedier, J., et al. « Work and Leisure ». *Revue Française de Sociologie*, vol. 3, n° 2, avril 1962, P. 195. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/3319386>.

⁷⁰⁰ Dumazedier, Joffre. *Vers Une Civilisation Du Loisir ?* Ed. Du Seuil, 1962.

⁷⁰¹ Spracklen, Karl. « The Future of Work and Leisure ». *Annals of Leisure Research*, vol. 20, n° 3, mai 2017, P. 394-96. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2017.1317462>.

Leisure, by Ken Roberts, a British sociologist, published in 1970. All four publications belong to the discipline of sociology and attest to the subgroups' approach as being centred on European and British work and leisure practices. This early bibliography contrasts with original cultural studies research formalised during the first exploratory period of the Centre in the sense that it does not steer clear of sociology. The development of subgroups and the evolution of cultural studies beyond the Hoggartian vision are therefore marked by an appropriation of a discipline cultural studies was initially warned against using and its association with a Marxist framework would dramatically broaden its scope and allow it to make some of its most recognised contributions.

Between 1972 and 1974, the "Work and leisure subgroup" disappeared. It reappeared in 1974-1975 under a slightly different name, the "Work subgroup", and is presented thus: "This was an entirely new group in the Centre formed at the beginning of the year".⁷⁰² The fact that no mention of the initial Work and Leisure group would be made highlights a certain inconsistency. While the members of this new subgroup could have been entirely different students to the Work and Leisure members, however, the subject matter of the new subgroup remained close to the precedent one. This absence in the annual report of continuity in the memory of the Centre's activities represents an anomaly when dealing with a highly self-aware Research Centre, constantly attempting to write its own history. This inconsistency hints at missing administrative records, which both testifies to a certain lack of stability and a possibility of constant reinvention. A perpetual renegotiation of working practices and sub-groups mutations indeed seemed to have allowed the Centre to do away with what was not working (in this case, the Work and Leisure approach) and to focus on what would work, without necessarily committing to long-term research projects and losing time focusing on a dead-end. As mentioned elsewhere, the CCCS required a higher level of student involvement to survive, as it was chronically understaffed. Therefore allowing students to come and go, found and abandon subgroups, rather than having them officially commit to an ambitious research project, seemed to be the most sensible approach, and the only feasible one. These somewhat erratic working practices nonetheless allowed through intensive trial and error for some of the most well known and recognised Centre interventions to take place, not the least of which through the Centre's journal, *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*.

What was this new version of the Work subgroup's approach, then? The bibliography defers from that of 1971; however, one reference remains (Parker's *Futures of Work and Leisure*). Two hypotheses are possible here.

First, the work of the first sub-group in 1971 was too embryonic to lead to a research output worthy of being remembered: this would have been a fruitless attempt at building a steady subgroup.

⁷⁰² CCCS Annual report 1975-1976, + 1976+1977 Supplement, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 17.

It is also plausible that the first 1971 subgroup, while being successful, had disappeared entirely from the Centre's memory because of its own structural and administrative instability (the period between 1971 and 1974 was not the most peaceful in the CCCS's history, as the Faculty Working Party was auditing the Centre after the University's attempt at closing it upon Richard Hoggart's departure). The need for a new subgroup dealing with work as a research object may therefore have emerged again two years later, as, work would become a strong component of CCCS research in the later part of the decade, most notably through the work of Paul Willis and Chris Griffin. If one dwells on this second hypothesis, the fast evolution of working practices within the Centre may have been the source of counterproductive effects and the effective loss of some of its research efforts.

However, this almost perpetual evolution of practices within the Centre from 1968 on attests to a strong capacity for responsiveness implemented in an extremely free work environment: the trial-and-error method seemed to be the rule, until a sounder methodological and theoretical framework could prevail.

In 1972 the CCCS was awarded a two-and-a-half year SSRC research grant dedicated to the study of "the transition from school to work of working-class adolescents"⁷⁰³ carried out by Paul Willis, who had just completed his PhD at the Centre (the grant was secured by him and Stuart Hall). The project would become one of the most well-funded and long-term projects the Centre would benefit from during the 1970s and would explore methodologies belonging to the disciplines of sociology and ethnography, including participative observation and qualitative interviews applied to a small group of Birmingham working-class schoolboys.⁷⁰⁴ The main argument behind the funding bid as expressed in the Centre's internal document focuses on the apparent lack of influence exerted by institutions on the decision-making process undergone by young men entering the professional sphere: the research project therefore both aimed at providing information towards policy change, by examining how young working-class men escape the influence of school, and social change, by seriously analysing the trajectories of actors who often reject institutions by seeking to understand why. This SSRC project would extend well beyond its initial two-and-a-half years and will be explored further below.

Parallely to the SSRC project in 1975 the new "Work subgroup" had two types of missions: analysing the work experience as a research object and strengthening the Centre's fieldwork methodology. A link between the "Work subgroup" and the "Fieldwork subgroup" can therefore be observed: "The Fieldwork group [...] is the

⁷⁰³ *CCCS Annual report 1972-1974*, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

direct descendant of the Work Group.”⁷⁰⁵ The Fieldwork subgroup’s programme directly refers to “community studies”, inspired by the Chicago School of urban sociology, and to the work of Michael Young as director of the “Institute of Community Studies” (ICS) founded in 1953 in London, and considered one of the most well-known social research institutes in Great Britain.⁷⁰⁶

Many parallels can be drawn between the ICS’s and the CCCS’s trajectories. First, the founding of the ICS came from a political ambition to frame research on the family and social services into a wider reflection on the Labour Party’s policies in the aftermath of World War II.⁷⁰⁷ Both the ICS and the CCCS therefore are loosely linked to the Labour Party and the broader British Left, and evidence a strong porosity between research and social change by endeavouring to influence public policy. These parallels are brought to the fore when analysing the intellectual and financial actors inscribed both in the ICS’s and the CCCS’s networks.

First, Young and Hoggart belong to the same ideological current, and Richard Hoggart published *The Uses of Literacy*⁷⁰⁸ four years after the founding of the ICS.⁷⁰⁹ Moreover, the intellectual networks irrigating the ICS and the CCCS have several common anchor points. ICS members between 1950 and the beginning of the 1960s include the Historian Raphael Samuel, who founded ULR at Oxford in the spring of 1957 with Stuart Hall and was at the origin of the History Workshop Movement.

Before 1963, Charles Madge sat on the ICS’s advisory board. As a pioneer of “Mass Observation” in the 1930s and first professor of sociology at the University of Birmingham until his retirement in the 1970s, he dedicated his career to the Mass Observation Organisation dedicated to social sciences and founded in 1937. Charles Madge and “Mass Organisation” are often cited as possible ascendants to CCCS, most notably by Dennis Dworkin in his chapter of the *Cultural Studies 50 Years On*:

[The CCCS] likewise occupied an ambiguous position in relationship to the established hierarchies of the university. One other precedent for the Centre worth mentioning is Mass Observation. Launched in 1937

⁷⁰⁵ CCCS Annual report 1975-1976, + 1976+1977 Supplement, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 17.

⁷⁰⁶ Butler, L. « Michael Young, the Institute of Community Studies, and the Politics of Kinship ». Twentieth Century British History, vol. 26, n° 2, June 2015, P. 203-24. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/hwu063>. P.206

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid. P.203

⁷⁰⁸ Butler, L. « Michael Young, the Institute of Community Studies, and the Politics of Kinship ». Twentieth Century British History, vol. 26, n° 2, June 2015, P. 203-24. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/hwu063>. P.206

⁷⁰⁹ Institute for Community Studies, “Introducing the Institute for Community Studies”, Institute for Community Studies, 2021, <https://icstudies.org.uk/about-us/introducing-institute-community-studies>.

*(active until the mid-1960s and then revived in 1981), it sought to discover and preserve the views of ordinary people on their daily lives and the events of the time, as opposed to governmental and media representations of them. [...] Mass Observation was funded by its founders and through contributions. It was sustained by hundreds of volunteer observers who kept diaries and responded to open-ended questionnaires.*⁷¹⁰

To evidence the connections between the two research centres, Charles Madge counted among the first CCCS outside speakers as early as 1965, giving a seminar on « Sociological Inquiry and the Discipline of Criticism ».

Beyond their intellectual networks, similarities can be drawn on the financial level. Indeed the ICS, Mass Observation and the CCCS's funding models are comparable in the sense that all three enjoy a hybrid combination of self-financing, political, non-government or charitable (trust and funds alike) funding and private funding, sometimes the most important of the three sources of funding by far. The role of Penguin Publishing has already been discussed for the CCCS (the Penguin covenant provided 2400 pounds per year from 1964 to 1976), and in the case of the ICS, the Ford Foundation analogously benefitted from a 70.000-dollar investment in 1957 in order to produce research on "British contemporary society."⁷¹¹ This generous endowment was secured by American sociologist Edward Shils. The connection between Shils and Young was personal: Shils advised and supported Young as his friend and former professor at the LSE, in the founding of his future institute in 1953. Peter Wilmott, cofounder of the ICS with Young, recalls what were the period's defining elements in Martin Bulmer's *Essays on the History of British Sociological Research*:

*We would have found it difficult to start the Institute at all without the encouragement and backing of friendly academics... Some people were particularly helpful. Edward Shils encouraged us from the start, even to the extent of providing money out of his own pocket during an early period of financial stringency, and supported us in a crucial bid to the Ford Foundation. An eminent theorist himself, his Catholic approach found room for new work in the British "empirical tradition" of Booth and Rowntree. We had, as newcomers to the subject, been excited by an article by Shils in *Pilot Papers on [the present state of] American sociology*, and Young had attended his famous seminars at the London School of Economics in 1948 and 1949. We benefitted from his wisdom and erudition in a series of tutorial sessions that he generously gave us*

⁷¹⁰ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton, éditeurs. *Cultural studies 50 years on: history, practice and politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P.8

⁷¹¹ Butler, L. « Michael Young, the Institute of Community Studies, and the Politics of Kinship ». *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 26, n° 2, juin 2015, P. 203-24. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/hwu063>. P.209.

*in Bethnal Green [where the ICS was located in London at the time] during the Institute's first year.*⁷¹²

The mention of Joseph Rowntree as the guarantor of a theoretical tradition of empirical sociology in which the work of the ICS is embedded makes it possible to establish a new connection between the ICS and the CCCS: if the work of Joseph Rowntree was a theoretical influence for the ICS, his charitable legacy was a source of funding for the CCCS from its very first years of existence. Indeed, the 1965 annual report mentions a research project on the press, funded by a grant from the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust⁷¹³ (and was tackled in Part One).

Another link between the two research units is the presence of the London School of Economics: firstly through Edward Shils, as part of the ICS, and secondly through Hilde Himmelweit, who was involved in an early research project on the press conducted at the CCCS and had already taken part in the Centre's theoretical seminar in 1965, the same year as Charles Madge. Her work was also quoted in Stuart Hall's and Gary Whannel's 1964 *Popular Arts*.

This brief analysis of the congruence between two networks of influence around the ICS and the CCCS gives an account of a common ecosystem within which several research units evolved at the junction of the political, ideological, financial and academic worlds during the second half of the twentieth century. As a matter of fact, beyond human networks, the bibliographies of the two research centres also echo each other. A comparative study of such centres could constitute a worthy research project.

In 1974, the Work subgroup bibliography expanded to include E.P. Thompson's 1967 article *Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism*. E. P. Thompson, cited during the CCCS's founding years as one of the most important influences on the emergence of the cultural studies framework, was a social historian of British radical movements, who co-founded the *New Reasoner: A Journal of Socialist Humanism* in 1957. He was in the process of leaving the British Communist Party at the time of the launch of the *New Reasoner*, which he founded with Doris Lessing⁷¹⁴ and others, and represented the organ of dissent among historians of the British Communist Party in the wake of the 1956 crisis following Nikita Khrushchev's revelations about the crimes of Stalinism and the Budapest uprising. In 1960, the *New Reasoner* merged with the *University and Left Review*, which had been set up four years earlier by a group of Oxford students, including Stuart Hall and Raphael Samuel, who took over the

⁷¹² Bulmer, Martin. "Edward Shils as a Sociologist." *Minerva*, vol. 34, no. 1, Springer, 1996, PP. 7–21, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41821007>. P.14.

⁷¹³ CCCS Annual report 1965, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 17.

⁷¹⁴ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in postwar Britain: history, the new left, and the origins of cultural studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P.51.

editorial board of the brand new *New Left Review*.⁷¹⁵ E. P. Thompson was therefore a prominent figure of the British New Left and a seminal figure for the CCCS, although he later developed a more conflicted relationship to the Centre's work by the end of the decade (see the Networks section below). Beyond his presence in the subgroup's bibliography, Thompson was also invited to speak at the Centre's theory seminar in 1966-1967 on his article *Time, Work and Leisure at the End of the 18th century*, emphasising stronger connections between the work of the CCCS and history as a discipline.

In 1975-1976, the Fieldwork subgroup replaced the Work sub-group and its theoretical framework became clearer: it was to be that of community studies, and Wilmott and Young's seminal work, *Family and Kinship in East London*, figured prominently in its bibliography.

The Fieldwork subgroup itself disappeared the following year, between 1976 and 1977. A Work Group reappeared in 1977-1978, presented as a continuation of the Work/Fieldwork Groups of 1974-1976, after a one-year hiatus.⁷¹⁶ The new sub-group was then moving towards feminist issues: "Our interests are currently developing more to a specific interest in women and the labour process".⁷¹⁷ The bibliography reflects these developments, to include Sheila Rowbotham's *Women's consciousness, Man's world*, published in 1973, and Juliet Mitchell's *Women's Estate* (1971), both published by Penguin Books.

While the Work/Fieldwork subgroups were developing, a number of theses written by students at the Centre focused on research related to work as a research object: Critique of 'Community' and 'Community studies' by Eve Brook, The Development of Secretarial Labour in the 20th century by Hazel Downing, Strategies in Youth Work by Terry Dunham, The Culture of Young Working-Class Housewives by Dorothy Hobson, The Transition From School to Work: Gender and Class in Relation to Girls by Tricia McCabe, and Taylorism and the Labour Process: The Transition to Monopoly Capitalism by Bill Schwarz.⁷¹⁸

During the same period, the research objects of the "Work group" found an echo in the publishing industry, as some of Paul Willis' work, in particular *Learning to Labour*, was published by Saxon House, New Society and Universal Education from

⁷¹⁵ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in postwar Britain: history, the new left, and the origins of cultural studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P.54.

⁷¹⁶ CCCS Annual report 1977-78, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid.

⁷¹⁸ CCCS Annual report 1976-77, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 11.

1976-1977 on. Such publications marked one possible before-last step in the credibility cycle of cultural studies: initiated through the definite securing of a stable environment for cultural studies after 1974 thanks to the Faculty of Arts Working Party recommendations, the definition of an area of research around which the Centre could form a subgroup after 1971, the obtaining of a research grant sponsoring a CCCS researcher (here, Paul Willis) for an ambitious project and publishing its research findings, first inside the CCCS and then outside, through private publishing houses, transforming the scientific credibility into actual currency. One last step in the cycle would be for Paul Willis to secure an academic post at the Centre (which despite several attempts was never possible) or elsewhere, granting him the autonomy to pursue his work in cultural studies further, thus keeping setting off the credibility cycle. This would be achieved during the 1990s at Wolverhampton University and later Keele University after Paul Willis spent a period of time working for the Wolverhampton Council and the Gulbenkian Foundation as head of research programs and policy advisor. Within the frame of the Centre, the strength of this credibility cycle should, however, be nuanced, as collective work did put strains on achieving credit milestones. As Chris Griffin recalled in a personal interview:

I think that one of the difficulties for the centre – because you know, the practice of collective working collectively was so strong – was that it then became really difficult to do your own individual project like a PhD or a master's thesis. And Stuart and Paul used to talk about those as, like, the credits, getting the credits, which of course, became really difficult because quite a lot of people in cultural studies ended up, you know, not finishing their PhDs. And as you know, it's hard enough to do a PhD if you're not trying to work collectively as well. But if you are, it's really difficult. So it was sort of running a collective enterprise, and what the academy wanted and also, some people wanted to pursue their own ideas too.⁷¹⁹

While Stuart Hall and Paul Willis seemed extremely conscious of the need to convert cultural studies research into scientific credit, the very working practices, which became gold standard practices during the 1970s and contributed to the reputation of cultural studies became an obstacle to some of its members in the way of securing their own PhDs, which attests to a still pernicious lack of autonomy for the subfield of cultural studies emerging from the Centre.

By the end of the 1970s, the Work Group continued its activities with an increased focus on women's work: "Women's paid work has become the central concern of the group".⁷²⁰ The 1978-1979 annual report states that the Work Group comprised two full-time research fellows, Paul Willis and Chris Griffin (recruited by the CCCS and also

⁷¹⁹ Griffin, Chris. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview January 6 2022. P. 2-3.

⁷²⁰ CCCS Annual report 1978-79, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

funded by the SSRC until July 1982), the third CCCS research fellow at the time being Dave Morley, funded by the British Film Institute (BFI), whose research focused on television. Work as a research object was therefore one of the main topics funded by the SSRC during the period, concentrating most SSRC research grants in one subgroup.

In 1979-80, in addition to its research work, the Work Group evolved towards a role of providing advice on field research methodology for all Centre's students beyond the privileged themes of the subgroup: help was thus given to students carrying out fieldwork in factories, schools, offices or in people's homes. There was also a return to the theme of leisure linked to the theme of the family, an absent research question since the disappearance of the initial "Work and Leisure subgroup" in 1971. By the end of the decade, the Work Group's bibliography included CCCS references such as *Fads and Fashion* (the result of another SSRC-funded project) and *Women Take Issue*⁷²¹ (1978). Thus, a cultural studies theoretical framework produced by the Centre was gradually emerging throughout the 1970s, within which new research conducted by Centre members could take place in a genealogical fashion. Such genealogy ascertained the autonomy of the emerging field of cultural studies through the securing of the field's reproduction. In the words of Pierre Bourdieu, by the end of the 1970s the Centre had "acquired a degree of autonomy sufficient to reproduce itself and sustain the conviction of the necessity of its founding principle".⁷²² Furthermore, it had done so beyond the space it was initially founded in and extended to other academic institutions.

The two projects funded by the SSRC were running in parallel and appeared to be complementary, focusing on the experience of young white working-class women and young non-or-low qualified male white workers during the transition from school to work. These constituted a follow-up to the research published in Paul Willis's *Learning to Labour* (1977) mentioned above, evidencing that the SSRC had been convinced to renew its grant support beyond the initial two-and-a-half years for Paul Willis' project. A postgraduate student from the Centre, George Miodrag, had also received funding from the SSRC to carry out some of the research required for the project under the supervision of Chris Griffin.⁷²³

The following year (1980-81), the number of individual works devoted to labour themes continued to appear: Black Youth and Unemployment by Errol Lawrence, Women and Work: Ancillary Workers in the Health Service by George Miodrag (as

⁷²¹ CCCS Annual report 1979-80, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 13.

⁷²² Bourdieu, Pierre. 'Les règles de l'art : genèse et structure du champ littéraire'. Editions du Seuil, 1992, P.93.

⁷²³ CCCS Annual report 1979-80, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.15.

part of his SSRC fellowship), Women, the labour process and postwar unions by Mandy Root, Asian Women Workers by Pat Parma, Married Women and Work and Home by Sue McIntosh.⁷²⁴ A multiplication of issues among these research works can be observed, initially stemming from themes linked to a male, white, working-class social group, towards issues of gender and ethnicity. Such an expansion of the Work Group scope could be analysed as one articulation of different theoretical frameworks and as one antecedent to what is now referred to as intersectionality.⁷²⁵

The 1980-81 annual report states that each year the Centre undertook an analysis of the practices of the collaborative working groups.⁷²⁶ This self-assessment of practices further anchored the CCCS in a trial-and-error dynamic where constant reflection took place on research methodologies and practices. This analysis also came at a time when Stuart Hall was no longer at the head of the CCCS and the new directorship composed of Michael Green, Richard Johnson and Maureen McNeil, may have needed to assess the practice and take stock.

The section devoted to the “Work subgroup” in this same report offers, for the first time, a chronological presentation of the subgroup since 1974 (in keeping with the idea of a necessary assessment of practices created in the 1970s), where the group’s methodological and thematic trajectory is retraced. The first work subgroup in 1971 is omitted, and thus seems to be absent from the Centre’s official memory. By that point, the sub-group’s bibliography contained a majority of references from the CCCS. The following year, the diversity observed above in the CCCS dissertations related to the theme of work was reflected in the research ambitions of the ‘Work subgroup’:

*The group is moving on to confront a past absence in Centre work on the labour process: in considering the characteristic ideologies and subjective cultures of work, waged and unwaged, of unemployment and of ‘leisure’, in terms of class, gender and race.*⁷²⁷

Individual research work, therefore, seems to have fuelled wider concerns within CCCS so as to integrate class, gender and race on an equal footing in its research about work.

⁷²⁴ CCCS Annual report 1980-81, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 25.

⁷²⁵ As suggested by Nelly Quemener and Maxime Cervulle in Bouyahia, Malek, et al. *Penser avec Stuart Hall*. La Dispute, 2021.

⁷²⁶ CCCS Annual report 1980-81, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.* P. 16.

SSRC funding increased again in 1980-81, as the two research associates, Paul Willis and Chris Griffin, were now accompanied by not one, but two student fellows attached to Chris Griffin's project: George Miodrag and Errol Lawrence. When asked about her supervising role on the project, Chris Griffin established that she, in fact, did not supervise Errol Lawrence in the context of her SSRC grant.⁷²⁸ This discrepancy (although a change in the research project is also plausible here) is likely to evidence that the Centre may have worked actively to secure postgraduate funding for its students through the SSRC under sometimes false pretence (as Errol Lawrence never worked on Chris Griffin's project according to her) in order to support its students as much as possible by rerouting some of its funding to neighbouring research questions, as evidenced by the list of publications highlighted above Errol Lawrence did work on Black youth and unemployment in the UK.

These two projects funded by the SSRC were also developing to encompass broader themes than those strictly linked to the transition from the world of school to that of work: for example, the project led by Paul Willis undertook an analysis of the attitudes of young men entering the world of work towards women, sex and marriage⁷²⁹, while the second project, led by Chris Griffin, developed on a theoretical level and was integrated into the framework of reflection established by the collective publication *Women Take Issue*⁷³⁰ (1978), which resulted from the work of the Women's Studies Group (a history of which is provided in the following subsection). This second project led by Chris Griffin also evolved thematically, including issues of ethnicity and in keeping with the Centre's integration of class, gender and race in its general framework.

CCCS publications also continued to expand in different areas of research, including labour at the beginning of the 1980s. In the 1980-1981 annual report are listed five stencilled papers published in the "Work Series" category, and other categories include articles on the same theme: for example, Pam Taylor's Women Domestic Servants 1919-1939 in the History Studies category, Dave Morley's Industrial Conflict and the Mass Media in the Media Studies category, and Andy Green's On the Political Economy of Black Labour & the Racial Structuring of the Working Class in England in the Race and Ethnicity Studies category.

The next year, 1981-82 was a pivotal year in the genealogy of the work group: it was the last year in which the 'Work group' appeared in the Centre's reports. That same year, in the section devoted to collective work, one reads:

⁷²⁸ Griffin, Chris. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview January 6 2022. P. 2-3.

⁷²⁹ *CCCS Annual report 1980-81*, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.18

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.* P. 19.

*The Heart of the Centre is found in the weekly subgroups, to one or two of which members belong [...] All members take part in at least one of the groups which run the Centre and help make its policies, for example in connection with the library, or publishing. [...] These modes of work represent, we hope, an advance on many more traditional and individual modes of research, but they can be problematic.*⁷³¹

The Centre's perpetual analysis of its own research practices continues from year to year, and the 1983-84 annual report states:

*Group work is rewarding and challenging: but it only really succeeds when people consciously develop appropriate relationships and skills. This includes things like not talking too much, enabling others to speak, and not retreating altogether into a private silence. It's important to discuss how you are going to conduct your sessions and not expect them to go smoothly without some organisation or preparation. It is impossible to go into more detail here (perhaps we need a 'document' for this too!) but it is important to stress that we see group work as a kind of politics and as hard work and not as some magic panacea.*⁷³²

This reflection on collaborative working practices resonates with the evolution of the CCCS structure over time. Indeed, between 1964 and 1984, twenty years passed, during which took place the emergence of practices stemming from the intellectual and political space opened by the 1968 movement and greatly influenced by the British New Left, transposed into a university environment. This paragraph, taken from the 1983-84 annual report, illustrates the extent to which the political and academic worlds are, albeit porous, distinct, and the extent to which the organisation of work cannot be transferred, as it is from one to the other.⁷³³ It requires a great deal of translation and education work, which is all the more essential given that the Centre was a relatively unstable structure and, as we have seen, in constant evolution. The instability of the Centre, in addition to its financial precariousness and its very existence being

⁷³¹ CCCS Annual report 1981-82, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 12.

⁷³² CCCS Annual report 1983-84, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 15.

⁷³³ I'd like to revisit this analysis: is it a problem of translation from the political world to the academic world that makes the Centre's operations less efficient, or is it simply the fact that there is no permanent and total balance between collective dynamics and central decision-making, which is necessary to 'get things done'. The question that this remark raises is the following: can we function structurally in a revolutionary or militant way, or are there only revolutionary « moments » that inject their demands into an institutional structure that inevitably absorbs them ?

threatened by the University of Birmingham, also stemmed from the constant flow of students, which also changed over the years: a surname could be listed in the 'full-time enrolled' category one year, and end up in the 'part-time enrolled' category the following year (and vice versa). This necessarily had an impact on the student's time and intellectual investment in the Centre. Secondly, as the administrative organisation of the Centre depended on its students, it proved impossible to predict the direction that would be taken by any particular subgroup contributing to the general atmosphere from one year to the next: there was a strong individual component to the Centre's inclination, a usual component of a field or subfield lacking sufficient autonomy.⁷³⁴ The spirit in which the sub-groups were set up in 1971 differed drastically from that of 1983, resulting in a less jaded track record than those provided by earlier annual reports (but perhaps less naïve), focusing on the relative problems brought about by collective research work.

The Work Group's last activity report, in 1981-82, indicated that the subgroup was unable to meet regularly during that academic year due to time and organisational constraints associated with fieldwork, and the Centre's research on work appears to have shifted entirely to SSRC-funded research projects. Indeed, the only two CCCS post-doctoral research projects funded since 1979 have been SSRC projects led by Paul Willis and Chris Griffin. While the presentation of Paul Willis's project did not change, Chris Griffin's project kept on being refined by 1982-83 to include new themes such as gender-based income disparities and institutional racism in a work environment.

In 1982-83, the 'Work group' was listed among the subgroups that were no longer active. The two SSRC projects were also coming to an end: Paul Willis had entered the writing phase and Christine Griffin was working on a book to be published by Routledge Kegan Paul.⁷³⁵

In 1983-84, Christine Griffin and Paul Willis were no longer attached to the Centre. Christine Griffin's book is not mentioned in the report, and it was not until the following year that it was mentioned in the 'forthcoming' section, scheduled for 1985, while Paul Willis's book disappeared from the annual report.

In the same year, other postgraduate students continued their research on the theme of work. These included Bob Holland's thesis Youth, Leisure and Employment: Cultural Experience and the Youth Training Scheme, Jayne Warburton's Women, Work and Literature, Mary Langan's Intellectuals, the State and Unemployment 1880s-20s, and

⁷³⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 169-170.

⁷³⁵ CCCS Annual report 1982-83, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 21.

Mandy Root, whose thesis title had changed since 1980-81: East London Women, Work and Popular Memory.

The description of the working groups in 1983-84 reveals a growing difficulty in developing large-scale collective projects leading to publications:

*Maximally, subgroups develop more ambitious projects involving an agreed research program and form of publication. [...] Most CCCS books have arisen out of projects of this kind [subgroups], though this is less easy, now that three years attachments are less common.*⁷³⁶

These were consequences of financial constraints that are highlighted in Part Three's Admission section.

In 1983-84, the 'Work/Fieldwork groups' were still mentioned among the Centre's past research interests, and still formed the basis to explore new cultural studies projects.⁷³⁷ Here the circularity of practices is very visible: research objects, methodological frameworks, bibliographies and publications gravitated together within and around particular subgroups so as to eventually improve the research output of the whole CCCS subgroup system and overall research scope.

At the same time, the CCCS continued to publish stencilled papers on topics related to the world of work, including Marilyn Moos's Government Youth Training Policy and its impact on Further Education, and Chris Griffin's The Good, the Bad and the Ugly: Images of Young Women in the Labour Market. Chris Griffin's book produced thanks to her SSRC project was published in 1985 by Routledge Kegan Paul, with the following title: *Typical Girls ? Young Women Move From School to Work*.

From this historical account of the Work Group it can be said that research on work endured at the Centre even after the end of the subgroup, and survived in individual work, strengthened cultural studies methodologies and produced publications.

This necessary genealogy of the 'Work subgroup' sheds light on an academic mode of operation that can be found to varying degrees within the Centre's other subgroups. Indeed, several research objects survived from year to year on the basis of a collective organisation, were perpetuated, presented at conferences, published by the CCCS as well as by private publishing houses, and received funding from government research institutes beyond an initial publication. This set of practices constituted the main academic research model within the CCCS during the seventies, which would become endangered during the following decade.

⁷³⁶ CCCS Annual report 1983-84, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 15.

⁷³⁷ Ibid. P. 19.

The ‘Work subgroup’ was thus able to emerge as a sub-group dedicated to a strong cultural studies research area within the Centre, to produce its own theoretical canon and methodology drawing on ethnography and psychology through the work of Paul Willis and Chris Griffin, and to diversify its research scope by devoting itself to issues of gender and ethnicity. It also served to develop a methodology for fieldwork, initially concentrated in the original Fieldwork group initiative, and then evolved naturally towards methodological issues that cut across all the Centre’s working groups. The “Work subgroup” is representative of the history of the CCCS, in that it evolved to build and publish its own pedagogical and theoretical foundations, while at the same time being subjected to the governmental and financial context that forced it, in part, to disappear.

In fact, the last year of activity for the ‘Work subgroup’ was 1981-1982, the year in which the working group and the two SSRC fellowships (those of Paul Willis and Chris Griffin) came to an end. Chris Griffin left the CCCS to join the *Centre for Mass Communication* in Leicester on a new research fellowship, returned to Birmingham University to become Professor of Psychology and ended her career as Emeritus Professor at Bath University. Paul Willis, as highlighted above, after a period working for local authorities and doing foundation work, joined the University of Wolverhampton, then Keele University in Britain and the Department of Sociology at Princeton in the United States. Paul Willis’s trajectory is of particular interest here, as he was a postgraduate student at the CCCS since 1969 (then funded by UNESCO) and was funded by the SSRC and the UGC intermittently from 1972 to 1983. As suggested above in the Centre’s annual reports, it seems as though Paul Willis was meant to become the Centre’s fourth much awaited staff member, a hypothesis confirmed by Richard Johnson in a 2024 personal exchange. In a sense Paul Willis’s path in the 1970s and early 1980s was therefore intrinsically linked to the fate of the Centre and the failure of the Centre to secure his post (despite numerous persistent attempts) is key to understand the later period in the Centre’s history dealt with in Part Three of this work; the Triumvirate (1979-1988).

These trajectories (those of scholars and subgroups) are representative of the CCCS in the 1970s, as they shed light on a complex and evolving web of practices. The influence of the occupation of the University of Birmingham in November 1968 was an undeniable pull factor, opening up the possibility of new practices, which were constantly reinvented around the structure of an autonomous subgroup, enabling the production of publications within and beyond the CCCS by those who were to become the second generation of cultural studies researchers in universities in Great Britain and internationally. The drying up of postgraduate grants from the 1980s onwards led to a weakening in the concentration of full-time students, and signalled the end of regular and ambitious funded research programmes. This marked the end of the golden age of the CCCS, which nonetheless endured in terms of publications, the institutionalisation of its courses and the academic careers of this younger generation, who migrated and established themselves in various universities in the country and around the world.

The following subsection will tackle another CCCS subgroup dedicated to the emerging field of women's studies, which came to redefine the very space of cultural studies at the Centre.

2.4.3.1.2. The Women's Studies group

The 'Women's studies group' (WSG) was formed after the 'Work group' and appeared for the first time in the 1974-1975⁷³⁸ annual report. As shall be shown in this subsection, its trajectory would impact the cultural studies project beyond the limits of the subgroup, as its research objects would become intertwined with other sub-groups and its working practices and theoretical framework would circulate within the CCCS so as to prompt profound renegotiations.

First, the WSG was formed in a context where the Centre itself acknowledged the need for more feminist work within cultural studies. Indeed although the growing input of feminist work is acknowledged in the 1974-1976 annual report, it seems there was still room for improvement, as "the growth of the number of theses in the 'women's studies' area [...] have not as yet made the general impact on the Centre's central theoretical concerns which they ought to, and which those involved in these areas of work would wish to see."⁷³⁹ There therefore seemed to exist a favourable terrain for the development of Women's Studies at the Centre.

The early structuring of the WSG's research topics was accelerated by a request from the British Sociological Association to speak at a conference on women and the media in December 1974, during which the Women's studies group forged its first links with other research groups. Again this request evidences the strong position of the Centre in pioneering research in the social sciences at the time.

The main theoretical challenge faced by the group was the absence of founding texts articulating the class and gender dimensions in the cultural studies canon, both of which, according to the subgroup, were at the root of female identity construction. This search for a relevant framework came in response to the predominant use within the CCCS of a Marxist theoretical framework. As the subgroup report reads:

Taking up the current debate on housework within the Women's movement, we tried to locate Women's labour at home in a Marxist

⁷³⁸ CCCS Annual report 1974-1975, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

⁷³⁹ Ibid. P. 5.

*class analysis. Our basic question was whether housework produces, directly or indirectly, surplus value.*⁷⁴⁰

However the original Marxist cultural studies framework did not account for gender in its analysis of work. Therefore, as the Women's Studies Group's research focused on representation and work (being in fact to some extent quite close to the Work subgroup's scope of inquiry), reflections to build the Women's Studies canon evolved towards the importance of psychology, in which the analysis of Juliet Mitchell's *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* played a key role as one of the major works to emerge from the feminist scholarship of the 1960s and 1970s.

The following year (1975-76) was a continuation of the previous one, in the sense that the group's main concern was to establish links between the notions of class and patriarchy. The sub-group's members set about deciphering seminal texts from the field of psychoanalysis, again with the help of Juliet Mitchell's writings, however, many questions were left unanswered. The decision was therefore taken to conduct new research on the family as a meeting sphere for the two notions of class and patriarchy, in order to lay the theoretical foundations for an analysis dedicated to the study of women at the CCCS.⁷⁴¹ Thus the WSG chose to focus on an area of research, which could, in turn, allow a theoretical framework to emerge.

In 1976-77, the group admitted that it had reached an impasse and relaunched its research into the emergence of women's liberation movement in Britain in the 1960s. This collective project was divided into sub-projects devoted to the areas of research considered most significant, based on the group member's individual research: education, work, sexuality, literature, the family, the health system and the media. These sub-projects organised within the WSG were developed concomitantly to certain themes studied by other Centre subgroups: in fact, that same year, a sub-group dedicated to the media and education was active within the Centre, thus evidencing the existence of parallel research projects maintained within a unique centre. The WSG, once again, admitted that it could not cope with such a large-scale project, both because the workload was too heavy for its members and because its failure had highlighted the need to build a common theoretical framework for all the members of the working group:

In our first term we floundered. [...] The dissatisfaction of this pushed us to the decision to re-read collectively theoretical texts before we could properly embark on the project as a group. We turned to two

⁷⁴⁰ CCCS Annual report 1974-1975, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

⁷⁴¹ CCCS Annual report 1975-1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 28.

*central texts of the Women's movement [...] And beginning with those in our second term we have begun to elaborate an understanding of Women's structural oppression under capitalism in a more fruitful way.*⁷⁴²

From 1974 on the WSG faced similar obstacles in defining its own field of inquiry, as the CCCS had experienced a decade prior. Such difficulties were dual. Much in the way the CCCS had had to claw its way into academia as a centre dedicated to the study of new objects, and had had to fight to implement democratically inclined working practices, the WSG had to face challenges that had to do with both the subgroup research content formalising (defining the what of Women's Studies), and with the way in which one could actually conduct feminist intellectual work. The work of the Women's Studies Group was as a matter of fact the object of contentious discussions within the CCCS. Stuart Hall recalled this moment in the development of cultural studies:

*But when Feminism, as a Movement, developed in the very late sixties and seventies, women wanted to get together as they did elsewhere, and have a caucus, a women's caucus, to which men were not- men, including the Director, and the two male members of staff, were not necessarily admitted.*⁷⁴³

As a matter of fact, a note indicating that the group was open to men appeared at the end of the section of the 1976-1977 annual report dedicated to the WSG. During that same year, a proposition was made by members of the WSG to create a Women's Forum at the Centre, which would not be open to men. Charlotte Brundson describes that the proposition was met with strong opposition, only to be defused by Stuart Hall himself, on the grounds that if the Centre counted more Black members, a Black caucus would most likely have already been created.⁷⁴⁴ The Women's Forum therefore represented a space within cultural studies of which male researchers were not part, but to which the male members of the Centre agreed in the first place. While the work of the Women's Forum was still likely to be reported back to the entire CCCS at the end of each year, such a space enjoyed a high degree of independence from the rest of the cultural studies project and found its root in the political practices of the Women's

⁷⁴² CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 54.

⁷⁴³ Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research, 1996-2018*. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P. 78.

⁷⁴⁴ Brundson, Charlotte in Hall, Stuart, et al., editors. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Routledge, 2005. P. 282.

Liberation Movement.⁷⁴⁵ Charlotte Brundson recalled her own intervention presenting the project at the end-of-the-year presentation meeting in 1976:

I want to raise a series of problems about the Women's Studies Group, and by implication, some questions about the position of women in the Centre as a whole. We appreciate that people may consider it inappropriate to raise these questions at the beginning of a presentation, and we are doing so partly on a captive audience principle, but that is because it seems the only way to have this discussion generally in the Centre, and not individually in the pub. We also think that these questions have affected not just our work, but that of the Centre as a whole, which makes this an eminently suitable context. That is, we do appreciate that the Women's Studies Group exists within an academic institution, and is made up of people engaged in academic work. [...] It is necessary to all the intellectual work being done at the Centre that the women's movement, and the Women's Studies Group as part of that movement, defines its own problematic.⁷⁴⁶

As Charlotte Brundson's speech makes clear, the only way for the members of the WSG to spark a global conversation about feminist intellectual work at the Centre was through the use of a politically informed intervention. The issue raised by Charlotte Brundson was that of the adoption of feminist working practices by the Centre as a whole, rather than confining feminist work to the Women's Studies Group.

One note on vocabulary and self-determination. As the 1970s CCCS's WSG was influenced by the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) of the 1960s, it entertained a complex relationship with the concept of feminism. Charlotte Brundson explains, when describing the difficulties faced by female CCCS postgraduates about their own role as intellectuals:

But there was also the issue of whether feminists could and should be intellectuals. And here it should be remembered that 'feminism' and 'feminist' were not the terms within which second-wave feminism understood itself. Instead, the late 1960s had spawned the 'Women's Liberation Movement'. It was as 'women', not 'feminists' that the early political and intellectual mobilisations were conducted. If there was generally an issue of a mandate for many people at Cultural Studies, for feminists there was the particular burden of the aggressive anti-intellectualism of much of the women's movement. Were language, the

⁷⁴⁵ Brundson, Charlotte in Hall, Stuart, et al., editors. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Routledge, 2005. P. 282.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

*academy and the western intellectual tradition male? Was it collusion to even be in the institution?*⁷⁴⁷

Therefore, by importing a denomination derived from the WLM and relying on some of its political strategies to address the Centre as a whole, the WSG was battling with the very legitimacy of Women's Studies both inside the Centre and inside the WLM. The result of this intellectual battle would begin to form during the following year.

First, the year 1977-78 saw the beginning of formal interactions between the WSG's and another subgroup research themes: the Work Group. That year, the Work Group's bibliography included works by Sheila Rowbotham and Juliet Mitchell, and the Work Group's yearly assessment concluded with the following sentence: "Our interests are currently developing more to a specific interest in Women and the labour process."⁷⁴⁸ Such research interactions between two CCCS sub-groups evidence that the conversation started by Charlotte Brundson and the WSG the previous year with the Centre as a whole had begun to have an impact on the overall research scope of cultural studies.

1977-78 was also a pivotal year for the WSG, as the Centre's academic journal, *Working Papers in Cultural Studies (WPCS)*, was entirely the result of collective work done by the WSG. Furthermore, this particular issue of the WPCS, entitled *Women Take Issue: aspects of Women's subordination*⁷⁴⁹, followed the signing of the contract between the CCCS and the Hutchinson publishing house in 1978. It was therefore the first issue of the Centre's journal to be published externally, which signals a strong interest in the CCCS's work on the part of the British publishing industry. A memorandum of understanding between Hutchinson and the University of Birmingham drawn up in February 1978 provided for the publication of *Women Take Issue (WTI)* by 31 April 1978⁷⁵⁰, making WTI the first collective work produced by the CCCS to be published by Hutchinson: the first-ever issue of the journal to be put on the academic map through the support of a private publisher would be its first integrally feminist issue, addressing the possibility of feminist cultural studies scholarship.

That same year, the WSF's report also shows that it had received invitations to speak at a conference organised by the British Sociological Association (BSA), four years

⁷⁴⁷ Brundson, Charlotte in Hall, Stuart, et al., editors. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Routledge, 2005. P. 281.

⁷⁴⁸ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 12.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁰ University of Birmingham Staff Papers: Papers of Richard Johnson (USS119/2/1), Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, University of Birmingham Staff Papers.

after the group's first contribution to a BSA scientific event in December 1974, signalling renewed interest on the part of the BSA. Besides this intervention the subgroup members not involved in WTI indicated that they were continuing to analyse the founding texts and the work already produced by the group in previous years. That year WTI concentrated most of the group's efforts, while the members not involved in the WTI writing project seemed to be re-evaluating the same theoretical canon as in previous years, and perhaps becoming acquainted with it, as they most likely were newly recruited CCCS postgraduates. Two generations of CCCS postgraduates therefore seemed to cohabit within the WSG that year.

The following year (1978-79), Stuart Hall left the CCCS to join the Open University as a sociology professor. From this tenth annual report onwards, a paragraph introducing the CCCS appears on the title page of each report. The last sentence of this paragraph illustrates the political and organisational debates taking place within the Centre at the time:

*The Centre has tried to break down some traditional divisions and hierarchies of labour within research and to pioneer styles of collective work; also to take up seriously issues raised by feminism.*⁷⁵¹

This paragraph represents the culmination of some of the feminist debates in the very structure of the CCCS's annual report: it brings to the fore the legitimisation of the work of the WSG and the integration of its research issues into the formal and official structure of the Centre.

This rise in power of the WSG's research scope is also reflected in its own bibliography: the collective work WTI, articles by the WSG and other research groups such as the Birmingham Feminist Historians,⁷⁵² no longer share the stage with Freud, Marx and Engels, and only women or feminist research groups now make up the WSG bibliography. This self-referring bibliography evidences the quick establishment of the WSG's cultural studies canon.

In addition to this bibliographical evolution, the group's own account in the annual report shows that its membership has changed significantly, some of its members having joined other working groups devoted to gender and sexuality issues. This illustrates the growth of feminist themes within several of the Centre's working groups, which connect, again (among others), to the Work Group (WG). The WG was then mainly dedicated to women's paid work, and such research was supported by the work of the two fellow researchers specialising in work as a research object (Paul Willis and Chris Griffin, mentioned in the previous subsection dedicated to the WG).

⁷⁵¹ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

⁷⁵² Ibid. P. 12.

The WG also included feminist references such as WTI and Veronica Beechey's 1977 paper *Capital and Class*⁷⁵³ in its bibliography.

In addition, the structure and organisation of the subgroup took on an increased political dimension and resonated with the paragraph of presentation at the beginning of each annual report after 1979, quoted above:

*The group is currently meeting fortnightly, and includes (one or two) men. Some of the problems involved in doing women's studies at the Centre are discussed in the introduction to WTI; the discussion is ongoing but there is a basic commitment to the political and intellectual importance of maintaining a space at the Centre for work specifically on women and feminist theory. In the West Midlands area, there is also a 3-weekly Feminist Research Workshop and a Birmingham 'Women in the 50s' Research group.*⁷⁵⁴

Thus, a para-university research network was set up at the end of the 1970s to support the thinking of its various members across the West Midlands. This was the case, for example, of Hilary Yvonne Homans, a member of the Birmingham-Coventry Feminist Research Workshop with a PhD in sociology from Warwick University. Homans defended her dissertation in July 1980, and in her acknowledgement made clear her intellectual debt to the Feminist Research Workshop:

*My theoretical ideas have developed through meetings of the Birmingham—Coventry Feminist Research workshop and Sociology of Health and Illness seminars at the University of Warwick.*⁷⁵⁵

She also cites in her bibliography a paper by Janice Winship, a member of the CCCS and the WSG, presented at the Feminist Research Workshop in autumn 1978.⁷⁵⁶

In 1979-80, the paragraph presenting the Centre and including a reflection on feminism, was still present and remained untouched until 1985. The WSG no longer

⁷⁵³ Beechey, Veronica. 'Some Notes on Female Wage Labour in Capitalist Production'. *Capital & Class*, vol. 1, no. 3, Oct. 1977, pP. 45–66. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1177/030981687700300103>.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁵ Homans, Hilary Yvonne. *PREGNANT IN BRITAIN: A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO ASIAN AND BRITISH WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES*. Warwick University, juillet 1980, http://wraP.warwick.ac.uk/4188/1/WRAP_THESIS_Homans_1980.pdf. P.19.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid. P. 670.

existed and was replaced by a subgroup formally dedicated to the study of sexuality.⁷⁵⁷ The report stated that this new group had taken over from the WSG, which the previous year had begun to reflect on the need for a theorisation of sexuality. The new working group focused on both male and female sexuality. Within the group, the link was made between theoretical reading and personal experience, and the sub-group was divided into two sub-groups: one mixed, the other made up entirely of women. The research issues were linked to the emergence of the WLM, the interactions between the political and sexual spheres, and the links between the cultural construction and the physical reality of sexuality.

In the 1979-1980 annual report, a new separate sub-group named the Women and Fascism group emerged and was working on a pamphlet aimed at a wider audience than the Centre's, dedicated to the sexist measures implemented by modern British fascist parties, the history of racism, nationalism and sexism as common elements of British culture, the political practices of the Conservative Party and the ways in which a white female population could be seduced by fascism.⁷⁵⁸ It was published in 1979 as *Breeders For Race and Nation: Women and Fascism in Britain Today*. The project's research scope and ambition to reach a wider audience outside academia attest to the political ambition of women's studies at the Centre after the official end of the WSG: it highlights the strength of the women's studies project and the fact that it has become autonomous within the Centre.

Gender politics continued to permeate in the subgroup structure, as a Women's forum was founded in 1976 (discussed above, it did not appear in the annual reports before 1978-1979). It would remain active until 1986. In conjunction with the University Women's Group, the forum worked to set up childcare solutions within the university. In 1978 the subgroup's report defined the Women's forum as such:

*We see the group as important for all women at CCCS because through it we can speak to the Centre as a whole as women. Examples of this have been raising the question of sub-groups meeting between 10 and 3.30 (school hours — although half-term remains a problem). Also, in a general discussion about thesis writing, we are trying to draw together the problems we have as women attempting to do intellectual work in the context of thesis writing, collective work, supervision, struggles around feminism...*⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁷ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid. P. 17.

⁷⁵⁹ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10

The founding of the Women's Forum underlines the ways in which feminism and women's intellectual practices have shaped the Centre's research and inner working practices beyond a male-dominated space, making many aspects of research production visible and providing a support group to address them.

Parallel to the Women's Forum taking shape, identity politics covertly found their way into the Director's report, evidencing that gender was gradually being taken more seriously by Centre staff members:

[The publication of Paul Willis' work on labour] has drawn a number of thesis studies, many by women on aspects of 'women and work' which goes some way to correcting the overwhelmingly masculine focus of much previous work (including our own) in this research area.⁷⁶⁰

Chris Griffin's SSRC project dedicated to girls' transition from school to work from 1978 to 1983.

The following year's report (1980-81) contained an initial assessment of "women's studies" within the Centre, written by the WSG. In the space of six years, this stream of research had emerged from the need to make feminist research legitimate subjects within cultural studies. The major contribution of the CCCS's 'women's studies' was, according to the group, the collective work WTI, published in 1978 by Hutchinson, which grew out of a need to theorise 'femininity' and 'masculinity', on the fringes of the cultural studies practised by the Centre and sometimes in contradiction with them. WTI marked a shift towards greater consideration of gender issues within the majority of subgroups and cultural studies as a whole.⁷⁶¹

In its 1980-81 annual report, the WG also presented its achievements since 1974, and described the development of its research issues, partly in the light of those of the WSG, since the publication of WTI was identified as an important bibliographical milestone for the WG as well. Women's paid and unpaid work became a key issue for the WG, and a conference paper by Chris Griffin, Dorothy Hobson, Sue McIntosh and Tricia McCabe (all members of the WSG), was included in the WG's bibliography.⁷⁶²

The sexuality working group was, that same year, focusing on pornography as a key element in the male representation of female sexuality. The project involved analysing what seemed to determine different categories of pornography with a view to studying

⁷⁶⁰ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4

⁷⁶¹ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 11-12.

⁷⁶² Ibid. P. 13.

the 1979 Williams government report entitled “Obscenity and Film Censorship”.⁷⁶³ This activity may be linked to the role of the Centre as a policy recommendation institution, as while the sexuality group’s work may not have been commissioned by the British government, it, however, served as a watchdog when analysing its most recent reports on key questions linked to its area of expertise.

The next year (1981-82), the Sexuality group devoted itself to the analysis of compulsory heterosexuality and female friendship. The subgroup’s bibliographical references were extremely recent, in fact, the two references in the report dated from 1981⁷⁶⁴, which suggest the intense intellectual activity around questions of sexuality taking place at the time and the existence of a network of publications within which the work of the ‘Sexuality group’ was situated and in which it could evolve.

The WG was by then (as mentioned in the previous subsection) formally concerned with issues of gender, class and ethnicity in relation to the world of work and was still part of the SSRC-funded projects led by Paul Willis and Chris Griffin, who supervised two students (George Miodrag and Errol Lawrence), marking the SSRC’s interests in questions first raised by the WSG.

The following year (1982-83), the Sexuality subgroup’s subjects of study evolved towards an analysis of sexuality in connection with maternity and the family⁷⁶⁵, and these themes were also informed by an extremely recent bibliography.

A new group appeared in 1982-83: the ‘Visual Pleasure Group’, possibly derived from the sexuality subgroup and the media subgroup, and devoted to issues relating to the political, social and economic uses of pleasure-inducing images in the fields of feminist art, food imagery, fashion and advertising.⁷⁶⁶

The following year, 1983-84, saw the emergence of a new subgroup, entitled ‘Women and Culture’. It focused on representations of women in relation to issues of ethnicity, on women as cultural producers and as audiences, and based its reflections on the

⁷⁶³ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

⁷⁶⁴ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 13.

⁷⁶⁵ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

analysis of a corpus made up of films, literary works, photography and other artistic productions.⁷⁶⁷

Meanwhile, the Visual Pleasure Group continued its work on feminist art and thus represented one of the ways in which ‘feminine’ issues, initially contained in the WSG, had found their way into other subgroups within the CCCS.⁷⁶⁸

The Women’s Forum was still active, and reported that it met twice a month to discuss issues relating to gender relations within the subgroups or as part of the Master’s programme. It therefore played a structural role in the CCCS’s course structure. The forum was also the heir to the WSG in that it could organise seminars or discussions on feminist issues in a non-mixed gender environment. The group was highly dependent on the degree of involvement and different interests of the forum members.⁷⁶⁹ As such it could take the form best suited to their needs.

In 1984-85, the Women and Culture group focused on the ‘women and consumption’ dichotomy from the point of view of psychoanalysis and Marxism, and also incorporated elements of analysis relating to age, class and ethnicity.

The Women’s Forum was also explicitly open to female undergraduate, master’s and doctoral students, and met on a weekly basis.⁷⁷⁰ This openness and regularity attest to the institutionalisation of the Women’s Forum within the CCCS.

In formal terms, the introductory paragraph of the CCCS, which had first appeared in 1978-79, was slightly modified in 1984-1985 to include feminist and ethnic research issues:

*The Centre has tried to break down some traditional divisions and hierarchies of labour within research and to pioneer styles of collective work; also to take up seriously issues raised by feminist and black politics.*⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁷ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 13.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁰ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid. P. 2.

The following year (1985-86) saw the introduction of the term 'feminist' to replace the word 'women's' in the nomenclature of the subgroups. The Feminist Forum therefore appeared as the direct heir to the WSG, which mission was described as follows: "We feel it is important to maintain a space for women to communicate their ideas and problems in a supportive women's group."⁷⁷²

The "Thesis-Writers Group", founded the previous year, became in 1985-1986 the "Women Thesis Writers Group" and grew out of the activities of the Feminist Forum:

*We have met every few weeks to discuss our writing – in the form of ideas, plans, or finished chapters. We have also talked more generally about the problems (and pleasures?) of writing processes.*⁷⁷³

The annual report covering the period 1986-88 concludes this genealogy of the Women's studies group in a succinct manner and presents only a list of the subgroups active during the period covered by the report, including the Feminist Theory Group, the Gender Group and the Women's Thesis Writers Group.

This two-year period is covered by a unique annual report and was a tumultuous one for the CCCS. In fact, it was the period when the Jarratt Report was being implemented, which provided for the creation of 'budget centres' in universities dedicated to organising research departments and centres not by research area but by financial endowment. The small size of the CCCS in terms of staff placed the research centre in an extremely fragile and delicate position, with major negotiations taking place to determine which 'budget centre' the Centre could be affiliated to in order to continue its activities (or whether it should join a budget centre and continue its activities altogether). This negotiation and the governmental premises of the Jarratt Report are described in greater detail in the Third Part of the present thesis, dealing with the 1979-1988 period and titled "The Triumvirate", but suffice to say that the Centre's administrative and financial difficulties during the period 1986-88 explain the absence of a detailed account of the activities of the various working groups in the biannual report.

It is possible to draw a parallel with the trajectory of the WG to conclude this genealogy of the WSG. These two groups emerged from individual research issues within the Centre, evolving almost every year in terms of their research topics, their structural form and their methodology. They both gave rise to the creation of other subgroups (the "Field work group" in the case of the "Work group", and the "Women's

⁷⁷² CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

⁷⁷³ CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

forum”, “Feminist Forum”, “Women and Fascism”, “Sexuality”, “Visual Pleasure”, “Women and Culture”, and finally the “Women Thesis Writers group” in the case of the ‘Women’s studies group’), which took on specific themes or methodological issues and developed the original group’s research effort towards a homogenisation of research practices and objects in multiple subgroups. WTI is thus both the fruit of a major collective effort leading to the publication of an initial theoretical framework for feminist studies at the CCCS and the theoretical starting point for these same studies in subsequent years. It also addresses the politics of feminist research within the Centre. The WSG thus created its own theoretical framework, in the same way as the WG’s bibliography coalesced around the writings of Paul Willis and Chris Griffin on work during the same period.

One aspect which differs between the WG and the WSG resides in the particular conversation around feminist research, which started thanks to the WSG, and constitutes one of the most important scientific interventions in the Centre’s historiography. While the WG’s legacy is represented by an ethnographical strand in cultural studies best epitomised by Paul Willis’s work, the conversation between feminism and cultural studies revolutionised the practices and contents of the CCCS from 1979 onwards, opening the way for a whole area of research that had previously only existed in embryonic form. This conversation shall be analysed below.

First, one thing may be said at this point about the Centre’s overall hegemonic theoretical framework. Stuart Hall insisted throughout his later career that the Centre had never been a place of imposed academic orthodoxy, as he pointed out in an interview with Lawrence Grossberg published in 1986:

*Codification makes my hackles rise, even about the things I have been involved in... People talk about "the Birmingham School"... and all I can hear are the arguments that we used to have in Birmingham that we never were one school; there may have been four or five but we were never able to unify it all, nor did we want to create that kind of orthodoxy.*⁷⁷⁴

It is nevertheless important to stress that the theoretical framework of the CCCS, from 1971 onwards, was that of Marxism (however stretched and constantly renegotiated that framework may be). This is illustrated by the theoretical trajectory of the WSG, struggling to say the least between 1974, the year of its creation, and 1978, the year of publication of WTI, which by its very title signals the scientific intervention that took place within the Centre during that pivotal year. The women of the Centre proposed practices and objects that were different to those implemented at the Centre and they imposed their vision, which was to endure formally in the reports until the CCCS

⁷⁷⁴ Grossberg, Lawrence. « On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall ». *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10, no 2 (juin 1986): 45-60. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019685998601000204>. P.15.

merged with the Sociology Department of the University of Birmingham in 1986. This disruption had a profound effect on the Centre.

The WTI volume contains nine articles dedicated to women's studies approaches through the lens of existing disciplines such as anthropology, psychology, and tackle various aspects of women's experiences, including housework, being working-class, sexuality and representation in literature. Its first article provides an account of the emergence of women's studies at the Centre and is aptly titled 'Women's Studies Group: trying to do feminist intellectual work'.⁷⁷⁵ It situates the WSG as being directly influenced by WLM practices, insofar as the WLM was the only existing framework allowing women at the CCCS to address feminist concerns, their own position as female researchers, their own research objects and their relative invisibility at the Centre, and the necessity to build feminist working practices and a feminist cultural studies framework, rooted in political struggle. In the words of the WTI editorial group who collectively wrote the article:

*It is through the questions that feminism poses, and the absences it locates, that feminist research and women's studies are constituted as one aspect of the struggle for the transformation of society which would make 'women's studies' unnecessary.*⁷⁷⁶

The challenges posed by such an intellectual endeavour were manifold. To begin with, the WLM was built on a strong anti-intellectual component, raising the question of whether there should be feminist intellectual work in the first place.⁷⁷⁷ To this first question, the WSG's very existence and legacy within cultural studies provided a positive answer. Furthermore, establishing women's studies within academia meant risking losing its political edge and therefore possibility for social change: "WS [women's studies] courses have to fight for recognition and, at the same time, guard against the inroads of academic respectability, viability and fashionability, which incorporate and politically neuter them".⁷⁷⁸ The same risk was taken by cultural studies as a whole when entering the doors of the university and the question remains today; however, one could argue that by emerging from a political space and by integrating social change into its own credibility cycle, cultural studies and women's studies within and without the Centre did offer the possibility of politically fuelled scientific production, able to contribute to social change. This ambitious question will be further debated in the conclusion of this research. Finally, to whom were women's studies addressed? Who would the ideal reader of WTI be? The article dwells on this particular point: "The problem of who to address is still with us, and we have had lengthy debates

⁷⁷⁵ Bland, Lucy, et al., editors. *Women Take Issue: Aspects of Women's Subordination*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2012.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid. P. 5.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid. P. 6.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid.

over it in the production of this book.”⁷⁷⁹ This research argues that WTI’s ideal readership was women’s studies researchers and CCCS members themselves, as WTI represented the first and most visible intervention made by the WSG during its CCCS life cycle. WTI served as both a starting point to establish the WSG’s position (theoretical and political) and as a future reference for feminist cultural studies scholarship.

This position was not established seamlessly and prompted conflict within the Centre. The introductory WTI chapter reads:

*It was during this period that discussion about this book, in which we had to argue our case in CCCS to write and edit it, began. Over this issue the WSG and some of the Women’s Forum came together to form the basis of the editorial group. What finally made the CCCS let us do this book was not just that we had ‘proven’ ourselves in relation to our theoretical work on the economic level in our presentation [...]; it also had to do with playing the tapes of women speaking about their lives as housewives [...], a forceful demonstration of women’s oppression, and of the political object of our intellectual work. What had started off that year as a disparate group uncertain of its aims had, during these struggles within CCCS, developed a solidarity and purpose which has continued to be worked at during the production of this book.*⁷⁸⁰

This account makes clear that a high degree of formalisation was required of the WSG to get the Centre to agree to greenlight a version of the WPCS entirely dedicated to women’s studies, where WSG members had to prove themselves twice: on a theoretical level and on the very legitimacy of working on topics related to women in the first place. What could be referred to as intellectual hazing, however, provided the WSG with the incentive to complete the book and to achieve the definition of feminist cultural studies.

Stuart Hall described the overall process behind the establishment of women’s studies at the Centre from his point of view as the then CCCS director:

They wanted to go off and bring back a roneo’d critique of our position. And my feeling about it was, "I thought we were making this collectively, as a project. Can you have a caucus, a gendered caucus, while maintaining a collective project?" And the answer to that is, "Ideally, of course, you can. But practically it puts a lot of strain on people". Especially like me, formed in an earlier model, trying to un-

⁷⁷⁹ Bland, Lucy, et al., editors. *Women Take Issue: Aspects of Women’s Subordination*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2012. P. 8.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid. P. 9.

learn that model, and trying to adapt to and learn another more collaborative one. And I wasn't good at it [...] I didn't really like to be told by younger women, "I'm afraid you should shut up", "Why don't you take a back seat?" "Dear Stuart, because it's not your time any longer", in that unmediated way. They were quite right. Quite right. But it's an old habit that I couldn't learn at that stage. It taught me a very very important lesson about the distinction between change in theory, and in practice. Men can be as Feminist as they like in their orientation, beliefs, what they subscribe to, their ideology, their politics, but their actual practice remains stubbornly fixed in older gendered modes. I didn't like being thought of as believing that theory was masculine, but well, I suppose I sort of did. Well, I must have, because I was much more familiar with that than I was familiar with Feminist writing. So maybe I did. So I began to look for a way out.⁷⁸¹

Hence, similar to the way in which Richard Hoggart progressively left the Centre as it gradually became political in its research scope and practices at the end of the 1960s, a decade later Stuart Hall severed his links with the CCCS as a result of the emergence of feminist cultural studies, which revolutionised the Centre internally: Stuart Hall refers to no less than a rupture as well as a reorganisation of the field.⁷⁸² Such a revolution can be seen as what Bourdieu refers to as an “ordered revolution”⁷⁸³, which, while temporarily weakening the structure of the CCCS after its second director had left, did not jeopardise the autonomy of the field of cultural studies and arguably allowed for it to grow. It did, however, mark the end of its second historical period and cause profound turmoil, which will be tackled in Part Three. But the discussion between Stuart Hall and feminism at the Centre did not end there. In 1990 Stuart Hall was invited at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign to give a paper at a conference titled ‘Cultural Studies Now and in the Future’. When tackling the Centre’s theoretical pivotal moments, he described the theoretical interruption made by feminism thus:

It's not known generally how and where feminism first broke in. I use the metaphor deliberately: As the thief in the night, it broke in; interrupted, made an unseemly noise, seized the time, crapped on the table of cultural studies. The title of the volume in which this dawn-raid was first accomplished—Women Take Issue—is instructive: for they

⁷⁸¹ Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research*, 1996-2018. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P. 78.

⁷⁸² Hall Stuart in Hall, Stuart, et al., editors. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Routledge, 2005. P. 268.

⁷⁸³ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d’agir, 2007. P. 169-170.

*'took issue' in both senses—took over that year's book and initiated a quarrel.*⁷⁸⁴

This may be one of the most notorious quotes in the whole cultural studies self-reflective canon, and is inescapably authoritative, as Stuart Hall was the CCCS's second director and may be the most famous name associated with cultural studies. However, beyond the voice of Stuart Hall, it plainly attests to a generalised male resistance to feminist movements claiming equal positions within academia and to the recognition that true democratic collective research is extremely difficult to navigate, as it relies on unresolved issues of power.

Such issues of power were highlighted by Bill Schwarz (who was at the CCCS during the second half of the 1970s) in November 2020:

I: And would you have an example of a confrontation between feminist agendas and non-feminist agendas, because you mentioned earlier that the State group was very boyish, how did that translate?

*R: Very boyish. (speech pace slows down) Um. We did, we probably did talk about feminist theories of the State [Bill Schwarz was a member of the State subgroup]. But only, it wasn't the dominating attitudes to the nature of the State, um, so it's just, it was in the, it was a in the formal make-up of the State group that the State attracted men rather than women who were concerned with kind of big, you know conventional politics of politics. Um. Whereas feminism and feminists were much more concerned with lived cultures, with everyday life, with how politics operates you know outside the State apparatuses and operates, you know in daily interactions and so on. And maybe there was the kind of assumption from me and others, from the men, maybe there was an assumption that it was all rather secondary, it wasn't really political politics, you know, (laughs) we, we soon learned our lesson. (laughs)*⁷⁸⁵

This boyish atmosphere, and its impact on the definition of CCCS research topics went as far as ignoring women's studies themes entirely, preventing them, for a time, to emerge. Tricia McCabe recalls her early work in cultural studies as an undergraduate:

I thought it was quite male. And the reason I thought it was male was because, besides the fact that it was (laughs), was because I'd got interested in, as an undergraduate in the transition from school to work

⁷⁸⁴ Excerpt taken from Stuart Hall's key paper to the conference 'Cultural Studies Now and in the Future', held at the University of Illinois, Urbana—Champaign, in 1990 (see Grossberg, L., Nelson, C. and Treichler, P., 1992). Hall Stuart in Hall, Stuart, et al., editors. Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies. Routledge, 2005. P. 268.

⁷⁸⁵ Schwarz, Bill. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview November 24 2021. P.7.

for girls and young women. At the time, there was a guy called Paul Willis who had studied the transition from school to work. And I remember talking to him about it saying you know, "Why is it, why is it just young men?" He said, "Is it?" (Laughs) [...] But the reality is he hadn't even noticed that everyone in his research was a boy or a young man, he just, it hadn't occurred to him, you know, so, so yes, I think I saw it as very male.⁷⁸⁶

This ignorance was coupled with a specific attitude to academic rigour on the part of the male members of the Centre, linked to the dominated position of the CCCS within academia: as an emerging research centre, it had to play by the strict rules of scientific production and consciously worked to build a dense theoretical framework. Tricia McCabe (a postgraduate CCCS student from 1977 to 1981) described the way this academic rigour could unfold in a personal interview in March 2021: "I think the thing that was the most difficult was you know, the fact that a lot of our thinking wasn't considered academically rigorous enough".⁷⁸⁷ Such attitude on the part of a majority of CCCS members was countered by some of its female members in a humorous way: "Stuart Hall always talked about academic rigour, and we used to quietly call it rigor mortis".⁷⁸⁸ This humorous resistance also extended to intellectual resistance going as far as refusing to read one of the CCCS's most referenced authors at the time. Tricia McCabe relates an example of such practices:

I mean me and Chris [Griffin] we used to have this little joke [...], which was along with rigor mortis, which was that we- you know, because Althusser abused his wife [Louis Althusser murdered his wife, the sociologist Hélène Rytman, by strangling her in 1980] and was you know, not a bloke you'd want to know, so we kind of were a bit anti-Althusser and, and I know I developed an attitude where I was like, you know, "I'll just read them once they're dead, so they can't change their minds", you know, so we kind of had a bit of an irreverence attitude which I think you do when you're coming in, going: "What about, what about this [attempting to introduce feminist work into the Centre]?" and people are just, haven't tweaked.⁷⁸⁹

The coupling of humour and the refusal to engage with the work of certain authors contributed to establishing a counter-power to the hegemonic modes of cultural studies research, in a sense inherently linked to political action. If one takes the 'rigor mortis' joke literally, it provides a vision of cultural studies being so committed to the search for academic performance that it becomes dead (as rigor mortis is a phenomenon

⁷⁸⁶ McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29 2021. P.4.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid. P.7-8.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid. P. 4-9.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid. P. 20.

observed on corpses), making it impossible to achieve political change. By calling certain aspects of cultural studies out, Tricia McCabe and Chris Griffin were reclaiming the possibility of change within cultural studies, epitomised by the emergence and formalisation of women's studies. It is telling within this counter-power practice that Chris Griffin was, first, a paid SSRC research fellow, not a postgraduate student, and second, someone who did not come from a cultural studies background, but from psychology.⁷⁹⁰ Her outsider position within CCCS allowed her to negotiate the hegemonic cultural studies framework in a perhaps easier fashion than other female CCCS postgraduates.

And while pushing for and conducting feminist research was no walk in the park at the Centre, it remained a relatively kinder environment for feminist work than most other institutions. During a personal interview, Chris Griffin was asked about the differences in working conditions between CCCS and the Department of Psychology at the University of Birmingham, where she worked for several years (1996-2003) after her experience as a research associate at the Centre (1978-1983):

I: The resistance that you faced at CCCS, that feminism faced at CCCS, was it sort of similar to the resistances you faced as a social psychologist as a lecturer at the University of Birmingham?

CG: No, I think it was different because I think they, the debates in cultural studies were, you knew you were all on the same side basically, but you were arguing as radicals and progressive, but you were arguing about developing the work and practice. Whereas, issues within the department or within psychology, you'd be up against a power. [...] It was different.⁷⁹¹

This response provides some elements to understand the nature, place and legacy of the CCCS in the landscape of British research in the second half of the twentieth century from a gender perspective: an academic space where disagreements existed and where conflicts could take place and lead to scientific positions, which in turn became part of the Centre's bibliographic canon. Hierarchical and gender dynamics existed at the CCCS, and they had a negative impact on interpersonal relations (Chris Griffin used the adjective 'fraught' several times to describe the atmosphere at the time in her interview), and at the same time they existed to such an extent that their scale made it possible to translate 'women's' research topics into feminist issues dealt with by subgroups other than the WSG. Furthermore, thanks to the pioneering work of the early WSG, research funding, particularly through the SSRC, was channelled into feminist work, and several publications emerged from these dynamics of conflict and research to become important references in their field.

⁷⁹⁰ Griffin, Christine. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 19th 2021. P.4-5.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid. P.12.

This concludes the section on the CCCS's working practices. The next section will tackle the Centre's flourishing publication policy during the 1970s.

2.5. PUBLICATION POLICY

As seen in Part One, the Centre's publication policy, while integrant to its academic proposition, was still burgeoning during its exploratory period (1964-1968). In the 1968-1979 period, the CCCS's manifold publication policy was still paramount to its research work and further evolved towards achieving academic legitimacy on several fronts, still being supported by networks, old and new. In the words of the CCCS's own annual reports:

*We thus regard our editorial and publicity work on finished project, and our production of a journal, as integral to our attempt to establish a radical and disciplined approach to the study of social and cultural communication.*⁷⁹²

Furthermore, in creating an academic journal, the CCCS fulfilled its own perceived responsibility to other actors in the emerging field of cultural studies:

*The quid prop quo for the research on a fairly limited scale which we are able to do must be that we take some responsibility for communicating and transmitting our work, in an available and usable form, to other students and teachers working in similar areas. Our involvement, one way or another, with teaching and curriculum development in 'cultural studies' or 'communication studies' in Colleges and Polytechnics is, therefore, a natural extension of this concern with mediating research to a wider public.*⁷⁹³

Sociologically speaking, the establishment of a journal dedicated to cultural studies played a decisive role in the building of the CCCS's autonomy, especially since its position in the scientific field was dominated (as it constituted a new subfield, dominated by more established disciplines) and marginal on the academic spectrum (as its declared research aim was to have a political impact and a critical role in the university). The creation of an emerging subfield journal was therefore both necessary

⁷⁹² CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

⁷⁹³ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 22.

and difficult⁷⁹⁴, as Bourdieu argues when describing his own project within the discipline of sociology. For Latour and Woolgar, a publication also contributes to the actual production of scientific facts⁷⁹⁵: as the cultural studies literature developed, more cultural studies statements were published in different formats and built a canon which, as observed in the subgroup section, started referencing the CCCS's own work as a basis for future cultural studies work, and gradually erased the conditions in which cultural studies statements were produced, thus consecrating them as scientific facts.⁷⁹⁶ The Centre's publication policy played no small part in this legitimising process.

This section will first deal with the Centre's in-house publications, then with the many different outlets through which the CCCS's work was privately (and therefore externally) published during the decade, and finally, with the culmination of the Centre's publication policy, consecrated by the signing of a contract with the Hutchinson group.

2.5.1. In-house publications

The Centre's in-house publications consisted in two main formats during the 1970s: the Centre journal, *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* (WPCS), which first appeared in 1971, and the Stencilled occasional papers, which appeared in 1974-1975.⁷⁹⁷

2.5.1.1. The Centre journal

Between 1964 and 1969, the seven « white occasional papers » (reminiscent of the white paper format used by the British government) originating in the Centre's research had been the very first CCCS publication platform. From 1971 on, the publication's pace accelerated, and its structure intensified. « Occasional papers » evolved into a biannual⁷⁹⁸ « Centre journal » titled « Working Papers in Cultural Studies » (WPCS) described below:

⁷⁹⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. P. 211.

⁷⁹⁵ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 69.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁷ CCCS Annual report 1975-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 35.

⁷⁹⁸ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 13.

*Working Papers in Cultural Studies was envisaged originally as a replacement for the series of Occasional papers published by the Centre. [...] The journal is of course a much larger undertaking. It is intended as an academic publication although the inter-disciplinary nature of our project and our background means that it is generally less 'closed' and inaccessible than most publications which appeal to an academic audience. [...] The journal represents a considerable investment by the Centre both intellectually and financially, so it is important this attempt to make more public the Centre's work should succeed.*⁷⁹⁹

The WPCS project was a new, regular version of the Centre journal was already present in former annual reports, making it a central project to early cultural studies. In 1971 this long-term project, paramount to the CCCS's continuity, was being reassessed: the report highlights a considerable investment⁸⁰⁰, on which much pressure is placed. The journal was therefore described as profoundly linked to the Centre's future, which relied on the need to reach a wider audience⁸⁰¹, which would be able to support it.

Here a conjunction can be observed between the Centre's early structuring of collective research and the need for the CCCS to create its own publication outlet. Indeed while the earlier format focused on publishing articles written in their majority by Richard Hoggart and recognised academics so as to define cultural studies and its broader framework, the WPCS was meant to contain cultural studies work. The structure of the WPCS would reflect the emerging collective component of the Centre's research (as evidenced in the subgroup section when focusing on WTI). This is an important element of cultural studies as envisaged by the Centre, both linked to its commitment to democratised working practices and to the necessity to take part in the business of science making and its publication. As Latour and Woolgar evidence, scientists recognise that their main occupation is to produce facts through literary inscription.⁸⁰² The CCCS was no exception to the rule. The flourishing of a cultural studies publication environment was also reinforced by the political education of most of its members, as it relied on the logic of the scientific and political field, which both heavily rely, for different purposes, on publications.

⁷⁹⁹ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 17.

⁸⁰⁰ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 17.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

⁸⁰² Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 71-72.

The first two issues of the journal, published in 1971 and 1972, consisted of collections of articles written by CCCS members in their majority, including a few interventions by outside academics, such as Jean-Claude Passeron's introduction to the French translation of Richard Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy* and a translation of an article by Theodor Adorno's article on the sociology of art.⁸⁰³ The cost per issue was seventy pence, making it all the more accessible to a wider audience, thanks to the in-house low cost (DIY?) production process of the journal.

By 1974, the Centre journal circulation was said to be continuing "to increase steadily, [...] reflecting the growth and consolidation of the Centre's work as a whole".⁸⁰⁴ The annual report goes on to describe the editorial process behind the publication of its *WPCS*:

*WPCS is edited on each occasion by a changing editorial group; it aims to present Centre work to as wide an audience as possible; to print work of high quality by people outside the Centre, and to represent some of the debates and tensions within the field.*⁸⁰⁵

Such an editorial process provided that each issue of *WPCS* could focus on specific research areas covered by the Centre's subgroups, and would prove instrumental in the development of later issues of the journal such as *WTI*. The very making of the CCCS's journal was therefore intrinsically embedded in its subgroup structure.

The annual report highlighted yet again the openness of the CCCS's research, which allowed *WPCS* to reach an audience outside the realm of universities, thus highlighting the political component of early British cultural studies:

*Not surprisingly, the immediate context of the journal's reception is academic, though the open and radical nature of work in the cultural studies area finds a growing audience outside the university. It is our aim to foster this development, publishing work of varying topics and styles, and encouraging response and criticism.*⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰³ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 71-72.

⁸⁰⁴ *CCCS Annual report 1972-1974*, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 13.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Such openness went as far as receiving outside contributions (considered essential to the early issues of WPCS) and comments from the journal's audience.⁸⁰⁷

The annual report goes on to present the publication policy, or perhaps rather, its politics of publication, as such:

*The completion of individual theses, publication and work-in-progress in the Journal and the plans for book publication continue to form part of an integrated effort to establish a distinctive approach to the study of culture and social communication.*⁸⁰⁸

It is important here to dwell on the fact that every CCCS course format, piece of research or speaker was considered integral to the Centre's research scope. In other words, the Centre's entire energy was still devoted, in 1974, ten years after its founding by Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall, to the establishment of the field of cultural studies. By publishing its own journal the Centre was not only communicating its fact production to the world, it was also still devising its own universe of discourse.

The last important element present in this seventh report is the fact that for the first time, CCCS publications (at the time, intra-CCCS publications titled *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*) were being presented and advertised in the annual report itself, with a list of prices and the following notice on the back cover: "As a result of the success of the first four issues, we are extending our print order and reprinting all issues to date."⁸⁰⁹ This is meaningful, insofar as the CCCS's practice of advertising for its own work would become traditional in the following annual reports. The reports were therefore not only administrative documents but also intellectual shop windows contributing to the dissemination of the Centre's intellectual work and research practices. Indeed, several CCCS students came to know about the Centre via such publications they had found at a communist manifestation in London⁸¹⁰ or that were passed on to them via friends.⁸¹¹ This turned the CCCS's in-house publications at the time into recruiting tools and diplomatic objects, highlighting the Centre's capacity to elaborate and circulate its work.

In 1976 the *WPCS*'s circulation, by then a regular bi-annual journal, was said to have "increased rapidly in the last year, owing much to the evident success of WPCS 7/8

⁸⁰⁷ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 13.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid. P. 26.

⁸¹⁰ McLennan, Gregor. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview December 5, 2020. P. 3.

⁸¹¹ Schwarz, Bill. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview November 24, 2020. P. 2.

[Resistance Through Rituals] – the Sub-Cultures issue”.⁸¹² Published in October 1975, it was the first WPCS entirely dedicated to a clear theme, focused on “youth sub-cultures in postwar Britain.”⁸¹³ The issue was the product of the Sub-Cultures subgroup in association with a CCCS based editorial group (a smaller collective within the Sub-Cultures subgroup). It offered ethnographic theoretical as well as sociological methodological tools (through the concept of “deviancy”) for the analysis of sub-cultures. By January 1976 half the printed copies had been sold, and the Open University had formulated an interest in adopting the book for its own degrees’ curricula.⁸¹⁴

The annual report provided further information about the WPCS’s audience: “The immediate context of the journal’s reception tends to be within tertiary education as a whole”.⁸¹⁵ This is a slight change from the first description, which referred to an “academic” audience: here emphasis was laid on education, thus possibly highlighting the growing connections between the Centre’s work and educational networks, strengthened by CCCS MA students often working as liberal teachers and/or being teachers on secondment.

The then-upcoming issue of WPCS, number 9, was due by the spring of 1976. The editing process is detailed in the report, showing that WPCS was reaching a stable point in its production process: “All the articles are now received and the copy is being typeset.”⁸¹⁶ It is said to be a ‘mixed issue’, as WPCS alternated between thematic (such as *Resistance Through Rituals*) and non-thematic issues, representing the Centre’s yearly miscellaneous work without having to limit it to a given theme. The ninth issue was composed of a blend of single authored and collective pieces.

Price-wise, the initial affordable price of sixty pence had risen to the excruciating price of one pound for a single issue, one pound fifty for a double issue, such as *Resistance Through Rituals*. This price increase can attest to the growing density of the WPCS format.

In 1976-1977, the initial ambitious and determining project of a Centre’s journal seemed to have produced the intended results, as the report shows:

WPCS continues to be an important element in the publication of Centre work despite increasing success in placing books with

⁸¹² CCCS Annual report 1975-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 33.

⁸¹³ Ibid.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid. P. 34.

*publishers. Partly because of the availability of other outlets, the journal is now published annually, not as hitherto bi-annually. Despite this change, the journal's circulation continues to grow and our print run (2,500 for WPCS 10) has been increased in successive years as a result.*⁸¹⁷

From this quote it seems fair to assess that WPCS had completed its initial mission, that of putting the CCCS on the academic map and providing that other publication channels would be available to the Centre. It had also secured its own reputation and built a steadily growing audience. The latest issue of the journal, WPCS number 10 was a thematic issue centred on the notion of ideology⁸¹⁸ and offered a theoretical synthesis of discussion around Marxism. It also provided insight into community studies, mentioned earlier on as a research centre close to the objects studied at the Centre⁸¹⁹, and the sociological framework on which it relied. This evidenced a strong link between the ICS and the CCCS's concomitant Fieldwork subgroup research.

From 1978 on, the WPCS were published by Hutchinson, and will therefore be dealt with in the 2.5.3 section, titled 'The special case of Hutchinson'.

2.5.1.2. The Stencilled Occasional Papers

In the constellation of the CCCS's publications, the Stencilled Occasional Papers held a particular place. As a new venture appearing in 1974-1975, these pieces represented a means to quickly and cheaply ("They are produced as cheaply as possible, stapled without binding or card covers")⁸²⁰ make accessible burgeoning CCCS work in progress, originating in conference papers, internal seminars, fragments of theses or collective subgroup work. The Stencilled Occasional Papers provided a simple means to shunt a sometimes long, restrictive publication process, in the manner of a political leaflet with a short life cycle. In this sense they became a platform to circulate the prolific and protean CCCS's subgroup research during the 1970s. A Stencilled Occasional Paper would cost between fifteen and forty-five pence, and the collection as of January 1976 listed close to fifty references, including work by both CCCS staff and students (although unsurprisingly staff contributions amounted to about a fifth of the total collection), on topics as varied as Marxism, education, broadcasting, mass media, race relations, immigration, hippies, reggae, football, domestic work, or the

⁸¹⁷ CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

⁸¹⁸ Ibid.

⁸¹⁹ For community studies and the ICS, see 'The Work Group' subsection.

⁸²⁰ CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 35.

1976 Olympics.⁸²¹ In 1978 the CCCS annual report mentioned that the format was “extremely popular”.⁸²² This popularity was proven by the fact that an order form had been placed on the back cover of the annual report, allowing people to order as many Stencilled Occasional Papers as they would like for themselves or for their institution.

The Stencilled Occasional papers therefore provided a rogue format, providing a fast channel to publish smaller elements of cultural studies research into the literature. As it relied heavily on work in progress, it can be envisaged as a piece of the broader collective research practices of the Centre, as it made work from one particular individual or subgroup accessible to the wider CCCS and beyond. It also constituted an easier way for CCCS members to acquire scientific credit through publication. The editorial process defining the Stencilled Occasional paper policy was, however, at times decided upon by students only, which would prompt some difficulties during the 1980s.

2.5.1.3. Pamphlets and other Collective Publications

In the CCCS’s publication constellation also existed other formats dealing with specific themes and their own temporality, often coming from subgroup collective work. One such instance of publication is the Mugging project. Stemming from a mugging case taking place in Birmingham’s Handsworth neighbourhood and resulting in March 1973 in a twenty-year prison sentence for a sixteen-year-old boy, the case’s news coverage was studied by a CCCS dedicated subgroup of which Stuart Hall was a leading member.

The publication’s aim was to explore the concept of ‘moral panic’ and its interrelations with the police, the judicial system and the media, the underlying context of ‘social anxiety’ allowing for moral panic to spread, and the relationships between the local institutions and the State. As described in the report, its purpose was: “to consider the (usually hidden) political dimensions of crime and crime control”.⁸²³ The Mugging project was therefore not a WPCS project, as it was too focused on the Handsworth case and its aftermaths to make up an issue of the Centre journal, and too accomplished for it to be a stencilled occasional paper. It was, however, an ambitious project and resulted in a meticulous and influential publication. In the words of Jayne Mooney,

⁸²¹ *CCCS Annual report 1976-1977*, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

⁸²² *CCCS Annual report 1977-1978*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 24.

⁸²³ *CCCS Annual report 1976-1977*, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 37.

Professor of Sociology at John Jay College of Criminal Justice (City University of New York):

*The 'new' criminology and the work of the Birmingham CCCS has had a lasting impact on debates on criminology, deviance and narratives of social control both nationally and internationally.*⁸²⁴

Another sporadic format of CCCS publications was the pamphlet format, briefly introduced in the 1976-1977 annual report. The CCCS pamphlets were envisaged as long-lasting formats, making an intervention on a very specific topic. In this sense they were, similar to the Mugging publication, more accomplished than stencilled occasional papers and less ambitious than WPCS, but smaller in scope. As the annual report stated, "Unlike the stencilled papers these are bound in stiff covers and are intended for a rather wider distribution."⁸²⁵ The title of the first CCCS pamphlet infringes on the field of cryptozoology⁸²⁶, as it deals with the meaning of the Loch Ness monster. In 1978 the CCCS pamphlets were described as being aimed at a wider, less academic audience than stencilled occasional papers or WPCS, as they were written in a less academic style.⁸²⁷ They therefore represent a less strict channel aiming at vulgarising cultural studies research.

2.5.2. Privately Published Works

The Centre's work enjoyed a privileged relationship with private publishing houses or other publishing bodies since its founding, which allowed it to put itself on the map very early on. By 1971 the first years of research had borne fruit, as the 1969-1971 describes: « The Centre is at present negotiating to arrange publication for a substantial body of completed work."⁸²⁸ In total eight manuscripts were being considered for publication at the time, two of which being CCCS theses by Roger King and Trevor

⁸²⁴ Mooney, Jayne. "Finding a political voice: the emergence of critical criminology in Britain." (2011) in DeKeseredy, Walter S., editor. Routledge Handbook of Critical Criminology. Routledge, 2012.

⁸²⁵ CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

⁸²⁶ The Meaning of the Loch Ness Monster, by Roger Grimshaw and Paul Lester. 1976, 42P.

⁸²⁷ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 24.

⁸²⁸ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

Millum⁸²⁹, attesting to the high academic level of CCCS research. Three of the manuscripts derived from collective seminar work, here testifying to the productivity of the Centre's emerging collective research patterns in the early 1970s.

Beyond this eight-manuscript list, the annual report also listed individual publications in academic journals (British Sociological Association Papers, New Society, Journal of Popular Culture, etc.), academic publishers (Manchester University Press), and commercial publishers, including Chatto and Windus (interested in several pieces of CCCS work), Fontana and Edizioni Officina. Edizioni Officina was publishing an Italian translation of Stuart Hall's *Popular Arts*, here evidencing the early connection between the CCCS and Naples' Orientale through the work of Lidia Curti, who had been a colloquial assistant in the University of Birmingham's Italian department between 1964 and 1966 and returned to the Centre in 1974-1975 as a visiting researcher, evidencing strong ties between the two institutions. For the period the most prolific CCCS author was, unsurprisingly, Stuart Hall (with no less than nine references in the 1969-1971 annual report).

By 1974 the Centre's publication list had developed further, to include specialised interventions in the Times Higher Education Supplement and the Journal of the Howard League for Penal Reform, related to the Centre's collective publication project on mugging and moral panic, the Council of Europe and the BBC. These publications constituted a strong and varied body of work available from different specialised outlets and recognised in their field, evidencing the Centre's upskilling in making its work known and. One important publication from 1973 was Stuart Hall's *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*⁸³⁰, which would become a reference in the fields of cultural studies and media studies.

By 1978, Chatto & Windus were becoming a steady CCCS publisher, along with Routledge and Kegan Paul, Macmillan, Penguin, Pluto and Saxon House.⁸³¹ The Centre's publication list (including academic journals and other publishers) for the 1975-1976 was made out of more than twenty references, including no less than four books (two by Paul Willis), making for a prolific track record for the Centre. By 1978, no less than fifteen academic articles were in the process of being published by six CCCS members (Stuart Hall, Richard Johnson and four postgraduate students).

⁸²⁹ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

⁸³⁰ Stuart Hall. Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse. 1973, <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/2962/>.

⁸³¹ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 28.

By 1979, Stuart Hall's work had been translated into Italian and German, attesting to the growing popularity of the CCCS's second director and the spreading of cultural studies in Europe.⁸³² The report concluded its publication section by the following statement, attesting to the positive dynamic which propelled the CCCS at the end of the 1970s: "Much other work is imminently forthcoming and will be listed in next year's Report."⁸³³ Another argument reinforcing this idea of a golden period for the Centre and a sense of accomplished academic legitimacy was found in the book reviews reproduced in the tenth annual report (1978-1979). Indeed no less than five books⁸³⁴ by the Centre had been positively reviewed by publication outlets (often one book would gather a couple of reviews, attesting to the books' important circulation), and the fact that the Centre would reproduce these reviews in the annual report may hint at a sense of pride and accomplishment. It also attested to the CCCS's growing credibility and reputation. One example of the compiled reviews (although all reviews were not as laudatory) can evidence the reputation enjoyed by the Centre in the latter part of the 1970s:

*This book is a remarkable achievement. To attempt to summarise it is to trivialise its riches. It is the best book on male working-class youth since Whyte's Street Corner Society (1943). It demands to be read and re-read, and we shall feel its resonance for many years. (David Hardgreaves in New Society)*⁸³⁵

To conclude with this section dedicated to the CCCS's privately published works, it seems as though the strategy of intensely focusing on publishing cultural studies work had paid off by the end of the decade, as many actors in the field of academic and commercial publishing had taken an interest in a very prolific and, again, protean CCCS production, building the Centre's reputation in academia and beyond. But no publishing house played a more important role in the Centre's notoriety than Hutchinson, which case is tackled below.

2.5.3. The Special Case of Hutchinson

This growing reputation in the 1970s provided the conditions for the Centre to be approached by the Hutchinson Publishing Group in view of signing a contract to externalise the publication of the Centre's journal, WPCS. The discussions, which led to the signing of the contract, stretched for a couple of years, as the 1976-1977 CCCS

⁸³² CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 21.

⁸³³ Ibid.

⁸³⁴ Ibid. P. 19-20.

⁸³⁵ Ibid. P. 19.

annual report already stated that the 7/8 issue of the WPCS, *Resistance Through Rituals* would be republished by Hutchinson.⁸³⁶ The same report also mentioned that *Working-Class Cultures*, another book by Chas Critcher, a postgraduate CCCS student from 1969 on, was forthcoming and would also be published by Hutchinson.⁸³⁷

The following year (1977-1978), the report announced that the WPCS would, from then on, be published jointly with Hutchinson until 1982, both because “of the growing circulation of the journal and partly because of its increasing pressure on the Centre’s slender financial resources”.⁸³⁸ This move seemingly therefore came from two distinct, however linked elements: the CCCS’s growing academic fame had, at last, resulted in fostering the interest of a publisher for a book deal, and the Centre seemed at the same time to be coming to terms with the fact that production of the WPCS represented too important a workload to be done in-house indefinitely. What is noteworthy here is the duality of the remark, which conveys the idea that the Hutchinson contract was positive for the Centre, as proof of the importance of their research input, although the deal was also perceived as a necessary solution to a lack of human and financial resources. The deal with Hutchinson also sparked political concerns among Centre members, as signing a contract with a private publishing house instead of keeping WPCS production local was perceived as a way of selling out by some CCCS actors. Nevertheless the decision was taken to go ahead and work with Hutchinson.

The deal applied to former issues of WPCS including *Resistance Through Rituals* (issue number 7/8) and *On Ideology* (issue number 10), and the publishing of six upcoming issues of the journal. The first of which would be *Women Take Issue: Aspects of Women’s Subordination*, and would be the product of the WSG, to be published in April 1978. This first CCS-Hutchinson publication would be available in bookshops, which represented a notable change from the Centre’s journal earlier in-house publication policy. *Women Take Issue: Aspects of Women’s Subordination* was eventually published in 1978 and represented one of the most important political interventions in the founding crucible of British cultural studies, discussed in the subgroup subsection.

The following year (1978-1979), the Centre’s report provided further information on the extent of the publishing deal: “as from spring 1978 the Journal is being published by Hutchinson as a series of Special Numbers, individually titled and under a joint

⁸³⁶ CCCS *Annual report 1976-1977*, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

⁸³⁷ Ibid.

⁸³⁸ CCCS *Annual report 1977-1978*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 22.

logos".⁸³⁹ Beyond earlier CCCS efforts at creating a coherent editorial line for the WPCS, the Hutchinson series, part of the group's Hutchinson University Library imprint, was the occasion for the Centre to further reinforce its distinguishable features on the publication market⁸⁴⁰ and to professionalise its publication process. The deal also included the publication of a compilation of older WPCS articles, which attests to the strong interest shown by Hutchinson in the CCCS's work. The WPCS ordering process also underwent a change after the signing of the contract, as people interested in ordering the journal were instructed in the report to get in touch directly with Hutchinson⁸⁴¹, thus marking a period when the Centre had somewhat less control over the diffusion of its own work (and consequently less work), but which could, in turn, focus its energy elsewhere. The report detailed the list of its work available in the Hutchinson series, which included *Women Take Issue* (new issue), *On Ideology* (reprint), and *Resistance Through Rituals* (reprint). It also included two upcoming books: *Policy and Practice: Schooling in England since 1944* by the Education subgroup, and *Working-Class Culture, History and Theory* by two CCCS postgraduate students (John Clarke and Chas Critcher) and Richard Johnson.⁸⁴² Last but not least, the 1978-1979 annual report also included book reviews of some of the Hutchinson issues, including the two following reviews of *Women Take Issue*:

Women Take Issue is a valiant attempt by the Women's Studies Group of CCCS... to help create a theoretical framework for feminism. In fact it attempts to create a Marxist-feminist critique of women's subordination. Central to all of the articles is the fact that class analyses of society are fairly sophisticated and yet the analyses in terms of gender/sex are few and not integrated into the theoretical framework of the Left. They are trying to create that integration. (Trisha Jaffe in Radical Education II).

And:

The most valuable contribution the book makes to the women's studies literature is the introduction by the editorial group on 'trying to do feminist intellectual work'. there they discuss the development of the women's studies group and the problems it poses for women in an academic setting, who come to experience the identification of personal

⁸³⁹ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 15.

⁸⁴⁰ A very "unMarxist" thing to do

⁸⁴¹ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 18.

⁸⁴² Ibid. P. 20.

*with political interest in a most concrete way. (Ann Oakley in British Book News).*⁸⁴³

The fact that two reviews would have been written about the book contributes to showing that the Hutchinson contract had already taken the WPCS to another level, as 1979 was the first year when book reviews were included in the CCCS annual reports. These two reviews focus on the issue's most important aspects, the actual book content and the ways in which the work was made. The fact that the WTI reviews would tackle both indicates that it had found its audience and that the Centre's work with Hutchinson was a fruitful collaboration.

One noteworthy element regarding the CCCS-Hutchinson collaboration is the fact that Hutchinson was a private company, while the Centre was an inherently collective work environment. This difficulty was mentioned by both the CCCS's and Hutchinson members. Claire L'Enfant, Hutchinson's CCCS representative for the better part of this first contract (1978-1982), explained how things were on the other side of the looking glass:

*Working with them when they were in their collective mode was quite challenging because I would go up to Birmingham and they would be all sitting round the table, whoever was the graduate students at the time plus usually Richard [Johnson] and Michael ([Green] who was a little, not lofty exactly but they kind of removed themselves from the fray quite often, and I definitely had the impression that they felt that working with a publisher was a kind of necessarily puzzle and that we were part of the sort of evil capitalist hierarchy and they'd rather not really engage with us [...]) So those kind of collective meetings as I remember them were fairly daunting, but then actually working with individuals on the individual collection was not like that at all and was actually extremely enjoyable, because we did put into the contracts that we wanted sort of one contact for each book rather than trying to deal with the collective, and so as individuals they were all lovely, and came across quite differently, but I do remember I had a feeling of slight panic as I got on the train to Birmingham because one of these collective meetings.*⁸⁴⁴

The duality between the ways meetings were conducted by entire subgroups and the experience working with an individual author belonging to the same subgroup is telling, as it offers a reading on collective, politically informed academic work. A hypothesis was provided by Claire L'Enfant to explain such behavioural change: "I

⁸⁴³ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 20.

⁸⁴⁴ L'Enfant, Claire. Unpublished interview with Kieran Connell. March 2015. P.1-2.

think it may be something which happens when people who have very strong political beliefs get together as a group. That comes across in their dealings with publishers.”⁸⁴⁵ This analysis, linked to what Claire L’Enfant referred to as the CCCS’s “necessary puzzle” to do business with an “evil capitalist hierarchy”, connects back to what was expressed in the 1977-1978 annual report, when the contract with Hutchinson was described as a result of WPCS’s growing circulation and the Centre’s slender resources. According to some CCCS members, this would make the Hutchinson contract a sort of deal with the devil, and would explain the stark contract between group behaviour, where the Centre’s marginal and anti-capitalist ethos would be expressed loudly by collective and individual behaviour, where such collective views would still be represented but would perhaps be contained in the published work and be kept outside the working relationship between the academic author and editor.

On the other side of the mirror, Charlotte Brundson remembered her experience working with Hutchinson, echoing Claire L’Enfant’s testimony:

*Hutchinson could not deal with a collective in terms of editorial. I remember I had to be like the focus point for the meetings with Hutchinson about Women Take Issue.*⁸⁴⁶

Collective antagonism aside, the agreement between the CCCS and Hutchinson was highly beneficial to both, as Charlotte Brundson explained in a 2013 interview with Kieran Connell:

*I remember once being at a conference and somebody, one of the editors from Hutchinson took me and somebody else out to lunch and said, ‘Don’t worry, Culture, Media, Language has made Hutchinson’, because it became, it was like academic best seller round the world really.*⁸⁴⁷

This account provides elements towards a conclusion on the Special case of Hutchinson and the CCCS. It attests to the degree of autonomy reached by the Centre during the 1970s, as one of its publications alone was, according to a Hutchinson editor, able to ‘make’ a publishing house. Furthermore, it highlights how the Centre’s networks were strengthened by this publication contract throughout the end of the decade and the beginning of the next. Finally, it provides a glimpse into the power dynamics within which the Centre was situated. Indeed, as it focused on gradually establishing and ascertaining its intellectual and academic position, it was let into a world of influence and benefits related to work relationships it was not primarily

⁸⁴⁵ L’Enfant, Claire. Unpublished interview with Kieran Connell. March 2015. P.1-2.

⁸⁴⁶ Brundson, Charlotte. Unpublished interview with Kieran Connell. August 4, 2013. P. 6.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid.

accustomed to. This provides an *apropos* transition towards the next section, dealing with the CCCS's expanding networks during the 1970s.

2.6. NETWORKS

As the CCCS entered the 1970s, it found itself in an extremely precarious position, as Richard Hoggart's departure to work at UNESCO threatened the very survival of the Centre at the administrative level, and the shift from Richard Hoggart's vision for cultural studies and Stuart Hall's took its toll on the Centre's stability. The CCCS's interregnum period made it all the more pressing to rely on a steady and developing network, which flourished with the CCCS as the decade unfolded.

2.6.1. Academic Networks

The CCCS built extensive academic networks during the 1970s, so much so that it reached a position where its reputation was too great for its own resources. The 1978-1979 annual report makes the tension between its hopes and its possibilities clear: while the Centre's chief wish was still "to expand wherever possible [the CCCS's] annual intake", the report recognises that the Centre had "reached the tolerance limit".⁸⁴⁸ The report goes on to explain:

*This situation is made more acute because the [...] greater familiarity with our work in universities and among researchers overseas makes the Centre — which, in terms of its specific combination of interests, is still a unique institution of its kind — a 'resource centre'.*⁸⁴⁹

This remark makes clear that by the end of the 1970s the CCCS had become the central nexus of a growing, worldwide academic cultural studies network. This was both a positive step for the Centre, as it had succeeded in securing its independence within academia and was identified in a dominant position within the cultural studies network it had modelled on the basis of its very own research output; and a negative one, as it risked being endangered by the weight of its own success, and end up not being able to meet the demands of this burgeoning network.

⁸⁴⁸ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 3.

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid.

Nonetheless and despite the perpetual state of intense academic activity⁸⁵⁰, the Centre had successfully managed to support its own graduates' careers: "We have also had a modest success in placing graduates — in a period when jobs are scarce and application fields highly competitive".⁸⁵¹ No less than five CCCS graduates had found posts in several higher education institutions by 1978, either in polytechnics or universities⁸⁵², including Manchester University, North East London Polytechnic, Sheffield Polytechnic and Sheffield University. This ability for the Centre to place its own students within a cultural studies burgeoning academic field and beyond (as some of these posts were, for instance, part of Criminology Studies) evidences its reproduction capabilities.

As cultural studies developed from the Centre in the 1970s, it underwent a period of turbulence, followed by heavy expansion and finally early exhaustion of its human resources, which made it all the more reliant on its networks.

2.6.1.1. *Within the University of Birmingham*

The first years of the decade proved paramount for the Centre, as the 1972-1974 report evidences that a benevolent network supportive of the CCCS became part of the newly appointed CCCS board (which creation came as a result of the Faculty Working Party recommendations, see Governance, appointments and perspectives section), monitoring the Centre's activities and answering to the University of Birmingham's Faculty of Arts. This meant that the Centre was no longer attached to the English department and therefore had gained some level of autonomy within the University, being its own entity within the Faculty of Arts. This new position inside the structure of the university had implications on the historical level: the initial project was formally inscribed in the School of English (or English department), as Richard Hoggart's inaugural lecture⁸⁵³ had indicated in February 1963. In 1972 the CCCS had broken away from English and became a research unit in its own right within the Faculty of Arts. The CCCS network was so benevolent, and arguably paramount to the Centre's survival, that its suggestion to appoint an 'additional member of staff' had

⁸⁵⁰ Some could linken to the concept of crunch, belonging to the video game industry. Thomsen, Michael. « Why Is the Games Industry so Burdened with Crunch? It Starts with Labor Laws. » The Washington Post, 24 mars 2001, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/video-games/2021/03/24/crunch-laws/>. [Last accessed December 20 2022]

⁸⁵¹ *CCCS Annual report 1978-1979*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 3.

⁸⁵² By that date, Dan Finn had been recruited by the William Temple Research Unit in Manchester, Alan O'Shea by the North East London Polytechnic 'Cultural Studies course', Charlotte Brunson by the Sheffield Polytechnic, Roger Grimshaw and Tony Jefferson by the University of Sheffield Centre for Criminological Studies. Ibid.

⁸⁵³ Hoggart, Richard. « Schools of English and Contemporary Society ». *The American Scholar* 33, no 2 (1964): 237-55.

been accepted by the Faculty and University Senate. Richard Johnson's appointment was the only strictly new appointment in the History of the CCCS outside already existing positions, such as Michael Green's, who appeared on the Centre roster in 1969-1971 and was said to belong to (and therefore be paid by) the English department (and who would only become a full-time CCCS staff member in 1977-1978).

These benevolent networks allowed the CCCS to force the doors of the University of Birmingham, as this paragraph shall explain. First, although Richard Hoggart was recruited by the University, Stuart Hall was not, and his post was funded by the Penguin books covenant until at least the 1969-1971 period, according to the annual reports.⁸⁵⁴ His position within the CCCs would become prominent with Richard Hoggart's move to UNESCO, without having been directly greenlighted by the University of Birmingham. Second, the only other entirely new position granted by the University of Birmingham to the CCCS was a result of the Faculty Working Party, initially set up by the University to have sufficient evidence to close the CCCS. However, the Faculty Working Party 'backfired', as it recognised the quality of the Centre's work, and ended up recommending that new funds should be allocated to the CCCS, much to the discontent of the University, once again forcing its hand to make the CCCS a legitimate part of the Faculty of Arts.⁸⁵⁵

Stuart Hall's recollection of the events tells a slightly different story. Out of the chaos arising from Richard Hoggart's departure and the danger to which the Centre was exposed, Stuart Hall, by asking, 'why don't you take some samplings? Ask some people'⁸⁵⁶ when the University threatened to close the Centre, relied on the CCCS's supportive networks. Both this benevolent network inside the Faculty and an external network, including people such as James (Jim) Halloran, head of the Centre for Mass Communications Research (CMCR) at Leicester University, and Raymond Williams. Hall's quote makes clear that the 1972 Faculty Working Party suggested he would be promoted to Director and therefore might figure on the University roster. The Faculty Working Party report helps establish a more precise picture:

[The CCCS's] work was initially financed wholly from outside sources; over the past five years the Faculty has made financial provision for the

⁸⁵⁴ The 1969-1971 annual report states that 'The Centre is supported as a graduate research unit by the University'. With the archival and interview elements at hand, it is impossible to assess the shares of CCCS finances actually funded by the University and by the Penguin Books covenant, it is therefore impossible to ascertain that Stuart Hall's salary was paid by the University between 1972 and the end of the Penguin Books covenant in 1976. See *CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971*, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

⁸⁵⁵ It is funny to see that when typing 'Birmingham School' into a search engine the first result coming up is the CCCS Wikipedia page, making the label problematic for both the University and CCCS.

⁸⁵⁶ Hall, Stuart. « Stuart Hall interview – 2 june 2011 ». *Cultural Studies* 27, no 5 (septembre 2013): 757-77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. P. 770-771.

*takeover of the Lectureship to which the original Research Fellowship was converted.*⁸⁵⁷

The Faculty Working Party's report therefore made clear that Stuart Hall's initial research fellowship starting in 1964 and covered by the Penguin Books covenant had been converted into a lectureship for which the Faculty had progressively become responsible. This element validates the theory presented above, arguing that the Centre forced the doors of the University of Birmingham on the financial level, for research activities it never planned to include in the first place. This conversion to a lectureship never translated into a professorship, thereby manifesting the limits of the support the University of Birmingham was willing to provide the Centre with: the minimum acceptable level of support given the conclusions and recommendations of the Faculty Working Party.

Overall, the Faculty Working Party report is a positive and informed one. It states to have taken evidence from Dr. Raymond Williams (Historian and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge), Professor James Halloran (Director of the CMCR), Professor J. M. Sinclair⁸⁵⁸ (Professor of Modern English Language at the University of Birmingham), Professor R. E. F. Smith⁸⁵⁹ (Professor of Russian at the University of Birmingham), Dr. D. J. Lodge (lecturer in the English department and famous novelist), Mr. Brian Wicker (Senior Lecturer in English Literature in the Department

⁸⁵⁷ 1973 Faculty Working Party Report, Records of the Boards of the Faculty of Arts, University of Birmingham. P. 1.

⁸⁵⁸ "John Sinclair was a giant in English language studies and a world leader in three fields, two of which he helped create, as well as a contributor to many others. Birmingham University's professor of modern English language (1965-2000), he was a pioneer in the field of discourse analysis, a superb lexicographer, and an outstanding corpus linguist, whose books are compulsory reading for any serious language student." see Hoey, Michael. « John Sinclair, Brilliant Language Scholar and Deviser of the "Idiom Principle" ». The Guardian, may 2007, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2007/may/03/guardianobituaries.obituaries>.

⁸⁵⁹ "Professor REF Smith, who has died aged 87, was the foremost British historian of medieval Russian agrarian society, and a linguist. These two interests resulted in more than 10 major books: on medieval Russian agriculture and peasantry; several translated works; and a Russian-English Social Science dictionary that went into two editions. He saw his task as a scholar to interpret – literally – from one culture to another. There was therefore a logic, although he was primarily a historian, to his appointment as professor of Russian at Birmingham University in 1967, although it ruffled feathers in a department firmly set in the study of high literature. However, his determination and leadership helped to make the department one of the leaders in the country, and it figured high in the dreaded Research Assessment Exercise." see Munting, Roger, et Stephen Rashid. « REF Smith Obituary ». The Guardian, July 10 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2010/jul/05/ref-smith-obituary>.

of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Birmingham) and Mr. K. M. Green⁸⁶⁰ (Lecturer in the English department and half-time administrator of the CCCS). There is mention that Professor Asa Briggs, then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sussex and a prominent British Historian, ‘wrote briefly expressing his unqualified approval of the Centre’s work and promised to communicate his views in greater detail but has not yet been able to find the time to do so’.⁸⁶¹ On the whole, the people providing written evidence were all sympathetic members of the academic community, some of them themselves operating from the academic avant-garde of their own disciplines (one thinks of Professors J. M. Sinclair and R. E. F. Smith, both leading figures in their respective fields of Linguistics and Russian History). The fact that only ‘sympathetic evidence providers’ were called upon is reinforced in the report by the following mention: “After some discussion it was decided that not to seek the opinions of professional sociologists, as it was felt that the scope, content and methodology of the Centre’s work lay primarily outside their interests.”⁸⁶² This element is important, as sociologists had voiced their concern regarding Richard Hoggart’s cultural studies project as early as 1964 in a letter published in the student/university magazine *Redbrick*, covered in Part One (section 1.7.1.4. Sociology). This letter partially determined the CCCS’s methodological and theoretical frameworks. Therefore the choice not to rely on sociologists to provide evidence on the Centre’s work could have been a conscious choice to avoid producing negative evidence, as the fields of cultural studies and sociology had a complicated and difficult history in the early CCCS years. As Stuart Hall recalled in a 2011 interview:

*We had a big sociology department in Birmingham. They hated us, and they hated Hoggart. They said if you think The Uses of Literacy is a way of doing sociology of culture, you are absolutely wrong, it’s speculative ... you can do what you want, but don’t claim it’s sociology. So we were warned off the terrain. Still we took on two sociologists.*⁸⁶³

What is, however, certain is that facing a very precarious situation, namely the departure of the only person justifying the Centre’s existence since 1964 in the eye of the University, and the University of Birmingham’s wish to ‘wrap [the Centre] up’, Stuart Hall took a gamble by banking on the CCCS’s still emerging networks. Indeed,

⁸⁶⁰ “Born in Sale, Cheshire, and educated at Wyggeston grammar school in Leicester, he graduated in English literature from Queens’ College, Cambridge. With a master’s degree in comparative literature from Harvard University, Michael joined the English department at Birmingham, to which the centre was then attached, in 1964. One of his earliest publications was a critical assessment of the work of the academic Raymond Williams” See Tolson, Andrew. « Michael Green Obituary ». *The Guardian*, 11 février 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2011/feb/07/michael-green-obituary>.

⁸⁶¹ 1973 *Faculty Working Party Report*, Records of the Boards of the Faculty of Arts, University of Birmingham. P. 2.

⁸⁶² Ibid.

⁸⁶³ Hall, Stuart. « Stuart Hall interview – 2 june 2011 ». *Cultural Studies*, vol. 27, n° 5, septembre 2013, P. 757-77. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. P. 761.

by 1972 the Centre's later reputation relying on scholarship excellence and greatly fostered by its publication policy, was still in the making. In short, the CCCS adventure could very well have ended with the year 1973, all the more so since the University of Birmingham's wish to close CCCS in 1972 may have sufficed to discourage Stuart Hall, who could have left the Centre and looked for a career elsewhere. This resistance to the University is therefore embedded in the CCCS academic DNA and should be considered one of its most prominent features.

To understand the decisiveness of the work of the Faculty Party during this interregnum period, one needs to look at the Faculty Working Party report, published on January 17, 1973. The report is five pages long and provides important insights into the ways the Centre was seen from the outside: "Most of those who work outside the Centre know little or nothing of the kinds of activities in which it is engaged and of their academic value, and it is thus often the target of criticism based on ignorance or misunderstanding."⁸⁶⁴ To counter this ill-informed image, the report asserts that the quality of the work conducted at the Centre follows the standards set by the Faculty of Arts and adds that the SSRC "has approved a two-year research project" by CCCS, earning the Centre an institutional stamp of approval, as its work was, by 1972, deemed worthy of government funding (through the SSRC). Here the conjunction of academic and government networks can be observed, as the Faculty working Party used the SSRC's interest in cultural studies to justify its positive assessment of the Centre, again linking back to Latour and Woolgar's credibility circle: "Grants and fellowships constitute an advance made by private or federal [or government] institutions to investigators once they have proven their solvency. Subsequently, such advances are refunded indirectly by way of publication and facts."⁸⁶⁵ By relying on the SSRC, the Faculty Working Party was proving the Centre's scientific solvency in the eyes of the University of Birmingham.

Furthermore, the Faculty Working Party report made a conscious effort to establish the Centre as part of the University of Birmingham, as the following quote shows: "We are satisfied that the contribution [...] made by *our* [emphasis added] Centre is academically important."⁸⁶⁶ The choice of the possessive determiner is meaningful in the sense that it is the only occurrence in the report, as all other mentions of CCCS are under "the Centre". This is the first piece of recovered administrative writing in which the CCCS is referred to as something belonging to the University, and not something external and slightly distasteful the University wished would disappear. The Faculty Working Party's work was therefore paramount in establishing an institutional first evaluation of the Centre's work as an asset to the University, claiming it as its own and securing its future.

⁸⁶⁴ 1973 *Faculty Working Party Report*, Records of the Boards of the Faculty of Arts, University of Birmingham. P. 2.

⁸⁶⁵ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 197.

⁸⁶⁶ 1973 *Faculty Working Party Report*, Records of the Boards of the Faculty of Arts, University of Birmingham. P. 3.

The Centre's work in undergraduate teaching was also seen in a positive light by the Working Party: "In the undergraduate field, the Centre provides a second/third-year option for English students in Special and Combined Honours; this has been an excellent way to reach undergraduates and make a positive contribution to the work of the parent Department."⁸⁶⁷ Undergraduate teaching was therefore seen as a way for CCCS to give back to the English department, its parent department, and was identified as a serious undergraduate course provider. This assessment would prove capital in the later development of the Centre's undergraduate teaching during the 1980s.

In conclusion, the Faculty Working Party report issued a series of recommendations, aiming at both acknowledging the Centre as a valuable research unit within the Faculty of Arts, and structuring its activity to make it viable: according to the Faculty Working Party's report, the Centre should keep its financial support and pursue its activities; a taught MA shall be instituted and constitute the initial step towards a PhD; the Centre should continue to provide undergraduate teaching to other departments; individual research work (namely, thesis work) and collective research projects should be formally separated; a new lecturer shall be appointed (to the pleasure of Richard Johnson in 1974); the Centre should directly receive all university funding it had been endowed with by the university; and must remain in the Faculty of Arts as an independent body with its own management board, reporting directly to the board of the Faculty of Arts, as "it clearly has an academic identity of its own."⁸⁶⁸

As indicated in the 1972-1974 CCCS annual report, all recommendations were accepted and granted by the Faculty of Arts and the University Senate. It was therefore a victory for the Centre, as the Faculty Working Party report allowed for the Centre both to be saved at a time when it had lost its foremost institutional ally (its founder, Richard Hoggart) and was going through one of its weakest periods, and, to a certain degree, to know its own limits in terms of research practices, as the Faculty Working Party's recommendation had made them clear. They were summarised by Stuart Hall: "trouble of course, but a lot of interesting work there, you can't close it."⁸⁶⁹ The 1972 Faculty Working Party therefore represented a nexus of supportive and benevolent networks, which assessment was taken seriously by the University of Birmingham, thus securing the CCCS's future.

⁸⁶⁷ 1973 *Faculty Working Party Report*, Records of the Boards of the Faculty of Arts, University of Birmingham. P. 3.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid. P. 4-5.

⁸⁶⁹ Hall, Stuart. « Stuart Hall interview – 2 june 2011 ». *Cultural Studies* 27, no 5 (septembre 2013): 757-77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.773674>. P. 770-771.

2.6.1.2. Outside the University of Birmingham

During the 1970s the Centre also relied on an expanding academic network outside the University of Birmingham, which partly contributed to the positive assessment made by the Faculty Working Party. One key member of the CCCS's academic network was no other than the Centre for Mass Communications Research (CMCR) at Leicester, mentioned as early as the 1971 annual report:

*One major group project is virtually complete. Alan Shuttleworth, Angela Lloyd and Marina da Camargo have been working on the culture of violence in television programmes. This project was funded by the Centre for Mass Communications research, Leicester University, as part of the Home Office Inquiry into the Effects of Television Violence on Children. The report is due for submission early in 1972.*⁸⁷⁰

This 'major group project' was initially an individual project handled by Allan Shuttleworth starting in 1966-1967 via the Government's Television Research Committee through the CMCR at Leicester. It appears from the present report that the project became a collective endeavour within the Centre and moved from a first paper written by Shuttleworth titled 'The Content Analysis study' to focus on 'the culture of violence in television programmes'. From these elements the conclusion can be drawn that James Halloran (director of the CMCR) had outsourced part of the research for the Home Office Inquiry to the CCCS and provided the Centre with additional funding to produce such research. This matches Richard Hoggart's account regarding James Halloran's fascination with the Centre⁸⁷¹ and his wish to pursue research in collaboration with it, highlighted in Part One.

In addition, collective research, publications and open seminars were not the only instances where Centre members could showcase their research, and the Centre's research was encouraged to go outside its walls. Attesting to this fact is the list of conferences and seminar discussions organised at British (and overseas) universities on topics including media, film, popular culture, sociology, television, deviancy and communication at universities in Cardiff, East Anglia, Essex, Leicester, Hull, York, London, Manchester and Venice.⁸⁷² These occasions, much as in the case of the WSG

⁸⁷⁰ CCCS Annual report 1969-1971, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

⁸⁷¹ Gibson, Mark, et John Hartley. « Forty Years of Cultural Studies: An Interview with Richard Hoggart, October 1997 ». International Journal of Cultural Studies, vol. 1, n° 1, avril 1998, P. 11-23. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1177/136787799800100102>.

⁸⁷² CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 17.

with the British Sociological Association, helped formalise and structure cultural studies research as much as it contributed to its legitimacy in academic circles adjacent to cultural studies.

Other branches of the CCCS's academic networks outside the University of Birmingham campus were linked to the professional activities of most of its students. Indeed the CCCS's students' part-time professional activity also contributed to the expansion of cultural studies as a field, as the reports show:

Centre members are involved part-time in the teaching of courses offered in the City [of Birmingham]', including liberal studies courses, and courses on communication, popular and youth culture taught at Aston University, the Extra-Mural Department of Birmingham University and in the context of Worker's Education Association⁸⁷³ (or WEA) classes.⁸⁷⁴

Thus many CCCS unfunded students made a living out of teaching liberal or cultural studies courses in the city, either at polytechnics or extramural departments. Such departments had historically been closely linked to the Worker's Education Association (WEA) by aiming to make higher education more accessible to the working class since its founding in 1903.

The Workers' Educational Association (WEA) emerged in the early 20th century to deliver higher education to those who could not otherwise benefit from it, enrolling over 111,000 students by 1948-49. A decentralised, self-governing organisation, it was supported by trade unions, co-operatives, political groups, churches, and adult schools. The WEA offered diverse activities such as university summer schools, art exhibitions, and lectures on topics from literature to practical skills, but its core initiative was the Tutorial Class program. This scheme brought university-trained lecturers to working-class communities for three-year courses, funded primarily by universities, the Board of Education, and local authorities.⁸⁷⁵

The presence of the WEA in 1974 within CCCS networks echoes the careers of both Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall prior to the founding of the Centre, as they had both

⁸⁷³ "The Workers Educational Association (WEA) was founded in 1903 and was initially titled Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men. One of its founders was Albert Mansbridge." See Workers' Educational Association Archive. <https://collections.londonmet.ac.uk/records/TUC/WEA>. Accessed 31 May 2024.

⁸⁷⁴ *CCCS Annual report 1972-1974*, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

⁸⁷⁵ Rose, Jonathan. 'The Workers in the Workers' Educational Association, 1903-1950'. *Albion*, vol. 21, no. 4, 1989, pP. 591-608. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/4049539>. P. 592-593.

spent some time during their early career teaching at extramural departments. The WEA and extramural education were therefore significant elements of the original cultural studies crucible.

By 1976 the Centre was also respected and trusted enough by other universities to provide course material, as this other quote from the following annual report (1975-1976) highlights:

*As an indication of this side of our work, it might be worth mentioning that, on a rough reckoning, by the end of the year, no fewer than six of seven papers by Centre staff and students will be taken for different Open University courses and readers this year.*⁸⁷⁶

The Centre was therefore instrumental in providing several ready-made course contents for the Open University (OU) written by staff and students alike. The OU had been received a royal charter in 1969 it was therefore an institution in the making which relied on recognised and pioneering academic work to make a name for itself. Initially conceived by Harold Wilson as the University of the Air as early as 1963⁸⁷⁷, the OU developed correspondence courses and would go on to welcome Stuart Hall as a Sociology Professor not later than in 1979, here evidencing the growing influence of the CCCS's academic network during the 1970s.

As a matter of fact in September 1977, the CCCS's network briefly materialised on campus, as the Centre organised its own day-conference welcoming more than a hundred people, discussing the WPCS issue number 10, which would become published under the Hutchinson contract as the Ideology issue. The annual report underlined the importance of the event and highlighted the strengths of its networks: "The occasion was a valuable reminder of the range of the Centre's connections and of the goodwill towards our work."

By the end of the decade, the Centre's academic networks beyond Birmingham were growing strong, evidenced by the frequency (close to twenty events are listed in the report) at which its members took part in conferences in the country and in Europe (Italy, Germany, France and Finland). The CCCS also relied on a network outside conferences as regular contacts took place between the Centre and several universities

⁸⁷⁶ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

⁸⁷⁷ The Open University was instrumental in making higher education accessible to would be students who would have otherwise never been able to graduate from a university, as all courses were provided on a distant-learning basis and open to all regardless of qualifications. For more on the Open University see The Open University. Open University Digital Archive, Exhibition: The OU Story. <https://www.open.ac.uk/library/digital-archive/exhibition/53/theme/1/page/1>. Accessed 31 May 2024.

in Germany (Bremen and the Max Plank Institute for Historical Studies at Göttingen), Denmark (Roskilde), and Canada (Montreal, McGill University).⁸⁷⁸

Furthermore and to conclude with this section dedicated to the CCCS's academic networks outside Birmingham, the Centre had, by 1978, established "strong connections with the planning and teaching of Open University courses"⁸⁷⁹ along with contributing courses to the Polytechnics of Birmingham and Wolverhampton, and other colleges of Further Education. It had therefore become an institutional collaborator in the burgeoning higher education network of cultural studies.

2.6.1.2.1. The Curious Incident of the 1979 Ruskin's History Workshop

The CCCS established strong ties with the History Workshop Movement (HWM), founded in 1966 at Ruskin College, Oxford by Raphael Samuel. Samuel was a British Marxist Historian and one of the four co-founders of *University and Left Review* with Stuart Hall in 1957 while they were both students at Oxford. Samuel describes the HWM such:

*History Workshop has existed for some thirteen years as a loose coalition of worker-historians and full-time socialist researchers. It started [...] as an attack on the examination system, and the humiliations which it imposed on adult students. It was an attempt to create, within a very limited compass, an alternative educational practice [...] It was our argument that adult students, so far from being educationally underprivileged - the working definition adopted by the College authorities - were peculiarly well-placed to write about many facets of industrial and working-class history.*⁸⁸⁰

Each driven by a political project, HWM and the CCCS developed at the margins of their own academic institutions during the second half of the 1960s and 1970s, and are sometimes seen by scholars through a similar lens. As Catherine Hall highlights:

⁸⁷⁸ CCCS Annual report 1978-1979, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 31.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid. P. 23.

⁸⁸⁰ Samuel, Raphael. *People's History and Socialist Theory* (Routledge Revivals). Taylor and Francis, 2016. P. 410.

In a way History Workshop was a very similar kind of project to CCCS, both deeply politically committed, believing that there was a relationship between the intellectual world and work and politics.⁸⁸¹

HWM can therefore be seen as a brother⁸⁸² intellectual centre within academia and thus as a strong actor in the CCCS academic network outside Birmingham. Indeed several intellectual collaborations are mentioned in the Centre's archive. Among the many intellectual exchanges between the CCCS and HWM, one occasion, however, stands out as the epitome of growing scientific and political divisions among left-wing intellectuals which culminated in 1979. In Maxime Cervulle's words:

[The Centre's second historical] period ended with a major theoretical crisis, which mirrored within the CCCS the tension that had emerged since the mid-1970s in the British Marxist field between the supporters of Louis Althusser and the followers of Edward Thompson. The crisis reached its peak in 1979, during the 'History Workshop' held at Ruskin College, in a debate between Stuart Hall, Richard Johnson, and Edward Thompson over the latter's anti-Althusserian polemic; a debate that devolved into a heated public reckoning. In this context, the reference to Gramsci became predominant, as Stuart Hall's engagement with this thinker provided a way to bridge the two approaches.⁸⁸³

The 'Ruskin incident' became notorious in British Marxist intellectual circles as a "spectacular" moment of rupture⁸⁸⁴ between E. P. Thompson (invited to the HW) and defining elements of the cultural studies project as it had developed since the mid-1970s. This break-up was performed and consummated in front of a large audience of academics in a derelict church, adding up to the symbolism behind the debate between Stuart Hall, Richard Johnson and E. P. Thompson. This debate had begun to formalise a few years prior, as the Centre had tackled to take stock of both the structuralist framework represented by Althusser and culturalist historiography, of which E. P. Thompson was the leading figure.⁸⁸⁵ But Hall was not the main emissary from the Centre attempting this arduous task. It was historian Richard Johnson, who had joined the CCCS in 1974 from the Birmingham Social History Department and who had been trained in history at Cambridge and in social history under the aegis of E. P. and

⁸⁸¹ Hall, Catherine. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 25, 2021. P. 11.

⁸⁸² As they were, in the 1970s, directed by two former Oxford *male* students.

⁸⁸³ Cervulle, Maxime in Bouyahia, Malek, et al. *Penser avec Stuart Hall. La Dispute*, 2021. P. 69.

⁸⁸⁴ Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton. 'The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies'. *Social History*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2015, pp. 287–311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 302.

⁸⁸⁵ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 220.

Dorothy Thompson. Richard Johnson also took part in the events of 1968 on the Birmingham campus, through which he had met Stuart Hall and become acquainted with the CCCS's project, before joining the Centre six years later. He was, therefore, to a certain extent the right man for the job to try and bridge the gap between two important intellectual traditions in politically driven, left-wing British scholarship.⁸⁸⁶ However E. P. Thompson did not see the attempt with benevolent eyes, and violently reacted to Richard Johnson's essay endeavouring to find common ground between both approaches. Dennis Dworkin underlines that the "most controversial aspect of the Cultural History Group's project [at the Centre] was Johnson's critical analysis of culturalist historiography, mainly Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*".⁸⁸⁷ But one mustn't ruffle the sacred cow, and Richard Johnson's attempt to "persuade [E. P. Thompson] to shift his position"⁸⁸⁸ backfired terribly. While Richard Johnson's work was recognised by the HW as an extended hand⁸⁸⁹, his attempt went unheeded prior to the fateful workshop, as E. P. Thompson never directly responded to the content of Johnson's draft.⁸⁹⁰ At the time E. P. Thompson was working on *The Poverty of Theory*, in which he dismissed the Althusserian framework entirely, and which was the object of the Ruskin 1979 debate. His position was so absolute (and Richard Johnson's paper at Ruskin was indeed titled "Against Absolutism"⁸⁹¹ that it could not accommodate any kind of mitigated response. Thompson's absolutism went as far as verbally threaten Richard Johnson that if Johnson did not stop challenging Thompson's position, Thompson would "do everything [he could] to destroy [his] career".⁸⁹² Such threats were made prior to the HW at Ruskin in December 1979. At the Ruskin workshop, Johnson was warned to be careful because Thompson had eventually read Johnson's draft and was furious.⁸⁹³ The debate unfolded with Thompson's attack on Johnson's paper followed by a "not very sideways attack on the Centre not being political".⁸⁹⁴ The two men never spoke again.⁸⁹⁵ This level of violence seems to match Thompson's personality, as Johnson explains: "I knew that they would be very hostile thereafter, because when I was friendly with them, I'd seen a lot of

⁸⁸⁶ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 220.

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid. P. 221.

⁸⁸⁸ Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton. 'The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies'. *Social History*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2015, pp. 287–311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 300-301.

⁸⁸⁹ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 224.

⁸⁹⁰ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 3, 2022. P. 10-13.

⁸⁹¹ Samuel, Raphael. *People's History and Socialist Theory* (Routledge Revivals). Taylor and Francis, 2016. P. 386.

⁸⁹² Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 3, 2022. P. 10-13.

⁸⁹³ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid.

people expelled from the company as it were, on political disagreements.”⁸⁹⁶ According to Johnson while the conflict relied on theoretical grounds, as “many theoretical interventions were made in the history domain at the time”⁸⁹⁷, which prompted the HW audience to become divided⁸⁹⁸, it also was an interpersonal conflict between Thompson, on the one hand, and Johnson and Hall on the other, who had become encompassed by a Centre’s intellectual project of a different nature to Johnson’s.⁸⁹⁹

While Dennis Dworkin underlines the growingly impossible dialogue between the two traditions during the 1970s⁹⁰⁰ and marks the Ruskin HW as the end of a phase in historical and cultural theory⁹⁰¹, one other and completing framework can be used to assess the significance of the event for cultural studies as a project and for its advocates as individuals. Indeed the conflict can be analysed within the framework of the scientific field: E. P. Thompson occupied an extremely dominant position in the field of History at the time, of which Richard Johnson was a member and a disciple, as he himself describes.⁹⁰² Thompson was also a prominent political figure, and an older member of the New Left, who also described as having a destructive personality, who, while benevolent to his disciples, was also extremely violent to those who had failed to agree with him. Richard Johnson had chosen to leave the History Department willingly and had joined a centre of which Thompson was critical.⁹⁰³ He had therefore withdrawn (some could say, sacrificed) his scientific capital in History and had invested it into an intellectual structure that was less prestigious at the time, as it did not rely on any established discipline. But Johnson did not stop there, no content to have left the discipline in which he was born as a scholar, he took to heart to try and bridge the gap between his discipline background tradition (cultural history) and his adoption tradition (the Centre’s 1970s structuralism). To achieve this, he focused on the work of his very mentor, E. P. Thompson (and therefore of his own original discipline tradition), to weigh its strengths and weaknesses. Johnson’s approach relied on his belief that each tradition could be enriched by the contributions of the other:

I wasn’t an Althusserian, but I was interested in the way Althusser just handled the different levels, you know, the ideological, the political and economic level and how he argued there were different forms of power. [...] Thompson’s category of experience, a bit like William’s category

⁸⁹⁶ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 3, 2022. P. 10-13.

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁰ Dworkin, Dennis L. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. Duke University Press, 1997. P. 244-245.

⁹⁰¹ Ibid.

⁹⁰² Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton. ‘The Working Practices of Birmingham’s Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies’. *Social History*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2015, pp. 287–311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 300-301.

⁹⁰³ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 3, 2022. P. 10-13.

*of the whole social process, didn't make enough distinctions [...] I told Stuart [Hall] and I said, well, "He doesn't understand levels of abstraction" because, you know, that's what it's about, really. [...] Stuart said, "He'll never understand that," he said. So I was really trying to persuade him, I was really trying to say: "listen to me"... I don't think he read it. I don't think he read anything I sent him.*⁹⁰⁴

Johnson was thereby challenging the position of the intellectual master and thereby challenging the power structure within the field of History. Unfortunately, Johnson's attempt could only be successful if Thompson agreed to the fact of being challenged and to the possibility of a conversation on theoretical grounds, which he did not: the medium Thompson chose to answer Johnson's message was polemic⁹⁰⁵, relying on the violent exchange of contrary positions and leaving little room for actual dialogue. Johnson's amicable work, conducted by one of the CCCS's three scholars, was envisaged in a politically informed scientific field regardless of the power structure of the field and was met with the violence reserved for those who attempt to work beyond intellectual traditions. While the HWM and the CCCS continued working together afterwards, the Ruskin incident was the very public end of an intellectual conversation that had started during the early New Left and had become a recurrent fight among British Left-wing intellectuals during the 1960s and 1970s. It also had an impact on individual lives and careers, which attests to the degree of involvement of political intellectuals and scholars during the period, when defending one's position at all costs became more important than preserving the wider networks on which such intellectual work relied.

This concludes with the overall section focusing on the CCCS's academic networks, be they formal or familiar to the point of breaking ties. The next section will dwell on the Centre's institutional networks during the 1970s, a period during which the CCCS ascertained its role as an expert for institutions outside academia.

2.6.2. Institutional networks: The CCCS as experts

2.6.2.1. UNESCO

From 1968 to 1979, UNESCO was still an active and steady member of the CCCS's network, though its importance was decreasing by the end of the 1970s. This trend

⁹⁰⁴ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 3, 2022. P. 10-13.

⁹⁰⁵ Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton. 'The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies'. *Social History*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2015, pp. 287–311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 300-301.

seemed to echo Richard Hoggart's move to UNESCO in 1969, who would remain on the CCCS's advisory board for the better part of the decade.

Hence traces of UNESCO work can be found in almost every annual report of the 1970s. For instance, the 'Work in Progress' section of the 1969-1971 report states that "There are at present no funded group projects as the Centre has had in the past, but individual thesis work has considerably expanded"⁹⁰⁶, thus shifting the balance from group to individually funded projects, which seemed to become the norm as the years went by. Paul Willis was the only person funded by an external body (UNESCO) in 1971.

On the publication front, Stuart Hall is said to have contributed to two UNESCO reports in 1971 on "The Role of Cultural Programmes in British Television" and Culture and Mass Media.⁹⁰⁷ Michael Green along with Michael Wilding (a former English department member) are also said to have "submitted a report to UNESCO on Cultural Policy in Great Britain" in 1970.⁹⁰⁸ Two more reports were due and commissioned by UNESCO according to the same report. One conducted by Paul Willis (for which he was presumably being funded) on pop music and lifestyle in Birmingham young people, to be part of UNESCO's "general programme of cultural rights as human rights"⁹⁰⁹; and the other by Stuart Hall, on innovation and decline in British television cultural programmes, with as its framework "a UNESCO study of experimental uses of film and television".⁹¹⁰

A steady number of CCCS works were commissioned by UNESCO, presumably thanks to Richard Hoggart and previous work done by the Centre for UNESCO in the 1960s. This would suggest that Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall may have used UNESCO as a steady (though not sufficient) source of funding and legitimacy to continue establishing cultural studies work on the academic and institutional map. Thus the UNESCO network was acting on two fronts the Centre desperately needed support. This idea of UNESCO being used as a source of funding to advance personal research interests was also present in other research centres at the time, including the CMCr at Leicester. As Chris Griffin recalled her time as a research associate there, from 1983 to 1985, right after the end of her fellowship at the Centre: "[James Halloran] very much had friends in high places, at UNESCO, so he got studentships for students, and students from all over the world came."⁹¹¹

⁹⁰⁶ *CCCS Annual report 1969-1971*, 1971, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* P. 18.

⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* P. 19.

⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹¹ Griffin, Chris. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 19th, 2021. P.9.

By 1978, UNESCO's influence on the Centre's work was notably decreasing, as the only mention of UNESCO in the report was found in the conferences CCCS members had taken part in.⁹¹² No other funded project was mentioned in the report.

This trend was confirmed during the last year of this second period in the CCCS's historiography, as the last mention of UNESCO work in the Centre's tenth annual report (1978-1979) was an essay derived from Charles Critcher, Margaret Parker and Ranjit Sondhi's work on race and the provincial press.

From this overview of the decade, it can be established that while Richard Hoggart's connection to the Centre allowed the CCCS's work to be supported by UNESCO for the better part of the 1970s, UNESCO's involvement in CCCS affairs decreased by the end of the decade, as Richard Hoggart was presumably further moving away from the Centre. This prompted the Centre to rely on other sources, including the SSRC and the DES discussed at length in the Funding section.

2.6.2.2. The British Film Institute

The British Film Institute (BFI) was another member of the Centre's institutional network during the 1960s and 1970s. The role of the institute was paramount in the publication context of Stuart Hall's and Paddy Whannel's *Popular Arts* in 1964, as Paddy Whannel was director of the Education Department in the beginning of the 1960s. At the end of the 1970s, the BFI funded a CCCS project closely linked to the work of the Media subgroup on the BBC current affairs programme *Nationwide*.⁹¹³ The project was meant to be published as a "BFI TV monograph series"⁹¹⁴ and spearheaded by Dave Morley, focusing on "differential interpretations as based on the different cultural and linguistic repertoires of difference audience groups in an attempt to further define the problematic relations of class/race/gender to codes and decodings"⁹¹⁵, echoing Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model.⁹¹⁶ The following year, the project was said to have received a small additional grant from the BFI.⁹¹⁷ Here the Media group

⁹¹² *CCCS Annual report 1977-1978*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 31.

⁹¹³ *Ibid.* P. 27.

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹¹⁶ Stuart Hall. *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*. 1973, <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/2962/>.

⁹¹⁷ *CCCS Annual report 1978-1979*, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 22.

was working within the theoretical framework established by Stuart Hall's 1973 article "Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse", evidencing again the capacity of the Centre's subgroup model: beginning working within the frameworks of other existing disciplines before founding its own theoretical framework and continue pursuing work based on this new framework.

The BFI was therefore instrumental in the evolution of the CCCS's Media subgroup and Stuart Hall's seminal work on the media.

2.6.2.3. Local government

In the CCCS's multifaceted network also stood local government institutions. Indeed, in 1976 the Centre had "been asked to organise a residential course for probation officers, held over two separate weeks, on Images of the Criminal. Three Centre members will teach the course between them.⁹¹⁸" The following year, the annual report described the course in more depth:

Last year, the Centre was asked by the Midland Region Training Office if it would provide a 2-week residential course for in-service Probation Officers. Three members of the Centre, Chas Critcher, Steve Lacey and John Clarke, together with Ken Bartlett, designed and provided a course based on the Centre's work on the media and crime. The first work of the course dealt with stereotypes of the criminal and crime in different fictional and non-fictional forms, and in different media, and with tracing the social sources and implications of those images. In addition, attempts were made to explore the connections between those images and the "professional world" of the probation officer. In the period between the two weeks of the course, the members of the course undertook individual project work on the selected topics connected to the course. There formed the basis for more of the work during the second week, when they were worked on and discussed. In addition, discussions of various topics (eg football violence, women and crime), were arranged, and discussions based around particular films and videotapes. The course is to be repeated this year.⁹¹⁹

This course is further evidence of the building networks around the CCCS beyond the stricter realm of academia and cultural institutions (including UNESCO and the BFI):

⁹¹⁸ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 42.

⁹¹⁹ CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 13.

there the Centre would have an impact on the real world around it and contribute to training actual probation officers on themes about which CCCS members had become experts. The course description attests to the trust placed in the CCCS by the Midland Region Training Office, all the more so, as the course was dedicated to in-service probation officers who would go then go back to their post and reinvest the content of the course within their professional framework. Thus the CCCS was able to have some impact, on a regional scale, on probation work and, perhaps to a greater extent, on criminality-oriented policies.

The “Images of the Criminal” course for probation officers continued during the 1977-1978 session, which attests to the experimental course’s success, as it was deemed to be renewed along with funding and support from the Midland Region Training Office. By the end of the decade, the Centre had therefore managed to become identified as a stable institutional collaborator and course provider at the local government level, as the course for probation officers was still being taught three years after its start.

2.6.2.4. National government

2.6.2.4.1. The Council for National Academic Awards

But the CCCS was also able to extend its network to the national level. In 1974 the Centre’s wish for the future was to “[extend] the work and empirical findings to other educational levels”⁹²⁰, by creating and strengthening a network of regular Centre publications and friendly institutions (such as ‘Colleges’ and ‘Polytechnics’ with degrees in cultural or communication studies) to ‘[mediate] research to a wider public’.⁹²¹ Polytechnics would quickly become key members of the Centre’s network, as cultural studies found a fertile environment, thereby having former CCCS researchers be recruited in Polytechnics through the role of the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA).

The first appearance of the CNAA can be found in the 1975-1976 annual report, which mentions that the Centre had that year attended a CNAA seminar on “The Future of Communications Studies”, thus paving the way for the CCCS to become an indispensable spokesperson for communication studies and, later on, cultural studies. But the Centre’s first acquaintance with the importance of the CNAA came some time before, in 1974. As a matter of fact, traces of this network can be found in several interviews with former CCCS members or important actors of higher education and cultural studies as a whole. One particular interview with Roger Bromley (Emeritus Professor of Cultural Studies at Nottingham University and Visiting Professor at Lancaster University) highlights this network in the making:

⁹²⁰ *CCCS Annual report 1972-1974*, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 22.

⁹²¹ *Ibid.*

The first time that I met Stuart Hall was actually 8.30 in the morning, 1974. He was as busy as ever then, and about four or five of us came up from Portsmouth because we'd launched a Cultural Studies programme in 1973 to a body that was called the Council for National Academic Awards, which oversaw all non-university degree awards. And we were taken apart by that body. They rubbished it in every way possible. Looking back it was probably too advanced for an undergraduate programme, but that wasn't their problem. There was a kind of politics with a small "p" behind the whole thing. It, in some senses, confronted traditional university polytechnic courses of study. And so we were thrown back very much on our own resources and we made contact with Raymond Williams who was very helpful, not personally but he wrote very supportive things for us, and Stuart invited us up, characteristically, but only 8.30 in the morning, so we had to leave Portsmouth at about something like half past five, six, and had a very stimulating session with him and he put, you know, all his support, strength, networks behind us. And then about 15 months later the Council for National Academic Awards Committee for that particular area was reconstituted with Stuart on it, and other people who were obviously supporters, or we thought were supporters, and it got through. I mean it was treated critically as it should have been. We needed advice. It was the first undergraduate programme I think in the world. That always sounds pretentious but I think it was.⁹²²

In this quote are found many elements of the CCCS's network, with the exception that this time, it was the Centre providing pivotal support to another institution instead of being the one benefitting from others' support. This marks a shift in the historiography of the Centre, a point in time when it was able to support other attempts at pursuing the cultural studies project outside Birmingham. This shift attests to the autonomy of cultural studies as an emerging field by the mid-1970s, as it was ascertaining the possibility of reproducing itself in Birmingham and in other institutions.

As Roger Bromley's quote evidences, by 1974 the Centre was considered a serious academic unit, which work was respected enough, according to higher education standards, to sit on the Council for National Academic Awards⁹²³ (CNAA) committee for communications and cultural studies (founded in 1964 and awarding degrees taught

⁹²² Bromley, Roger. Unpublished interview with Kieran Connell. Interview March 27 2015. P. 1.

⁹²³ The CNAA was founded in 1964 by royal charter in order to replace the former National Council for Technological Awards (NCTA), operating from 1955 to 1964 and respecting the University of London's framework for degrees. The CNAA allowed polytechnics to devise their own courses, as long as they respected the CNAA's specifications. All members of the CNAA were appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science. See Records Created or Inherited by the Council for National Academic Awards, and Related Bodies. <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C73>. Accessed 31 May 2024.

at polytechnics). Not only were CCCS members able to sit on the committee, but Stuart Hall had managed to modify the membership of the committee to his advantage, thus making sure the CNAA would look kindly not only on the Portsmouth undergraduate programme, but also on any other future possible cultural studies undergraduate undertaking in the country. Through this strategic move, Stuart Hall partially positioned himself as the chairman of cultural studies, a figure that Latour and Woolgar analyse in their *Laboratory Life*:

*[The chairman's] work is that of a full-time investor. Instead of producing data and making points, he tries to ensure that research is pursued in potentially rewarding areas, that credible data are produced, that the laboratory receives the largest possible share of credit, money and collaboration and that conversions from one type of credibility to another can occur as swiftly as possible.*⁹²⁴

The chairman's description does not entirely fit the role of Stuart Hall within the CCCS during the 1970s for a number of reasons. First, as the Centre was endeavouring to establish democratic working practices, having a full-time chairman at the top of the hierarchy would not have been considered congruent to the CCCS's ethos. Second, as cultural studies were still an emerging field during the 1970s, the CCCS did not rely on sufficient financial stability to have their director administering full-time. Finally, Stuart Hall was a proficient political strategist, but he was also, and above all an intellectual and a scholar, not an administrator.⁹²⁵ However and beyond these differences, the sociological figure of the chairman, as described by Latour and Woolgar, do provide a relevant framework when considering the strategies the Centre was able to implement at the service of the strengthening of the field, here investing Stuart Hall's credibility at the service of the CNAA to allow for more cultural studies degrees to be available at Polytechnics.⁹²⁶

By 1976 the Centre's undergraduate work was being envisaged on the national scale, as the annual report also comments on the redesigning of an undergraduate curriculum relying on the Polytechnic network:

The strength of the field on which we are drawing has been enhanced by the gradual redesign of curricula at the undergraduate level which has been going on — admittedly at a slow and uneven pace — since the

⁹²⁴ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 223.

⁹²⁵ Or worse, a bureaucrat.

⁹²⁶ This strategy would prove especially fruitful in 1992 with the passing of the Further and Higher Education Act, ending the binary system and the polytechnic sector along with it, which enabled the polytechnics in England and Wales to become universities in their own right and award their own degrees without having to rely on the CNAA. Pratt, John. *The Polytechnic Experiment, 1965-1992*. The Society for Research into Higher Education [u.a.], 1997.

*1960s. Again, so far as 'cultural studies' is concerned, more is being done to alter traditional degree curricula to include a 'cultural studies' element in the Polytechnics than in the Universities.*⁹²⁷

Here the report refers to the binary system of British higher education after the publication of the 1963 Robbins Report (in existence between, roughly, the mid-1960s and the beginning of the 1990s), recommending “that courses of higher education should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so”.⁹²⁸ According to C. D. Godwin, this recommendation led, along with a progressive massification of the country’s higher education sector, to a:

*[...] brief flurry of policymaking [...] [at the origin of] the pattern of British higher education [known] as the 'binary system' — a dual system of autonomous universities on the one hand, and on the other polytechnics and colleges offering sub-degrees work and possibly some degree course under the auspices of a central accreditation body.*⁹²⁹

Polytechnics (including Roger Bromley’s Portsmouth) and traditional Universities therefore evolved alongside each other between the mid-1960s and 1992, the year marking the end of the binary system and granting Polytechnics the status of Universities after the passing of the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act, stating that “the power may be exercised so as to include the word ‘university’ in the name of the institution, [where the educational institution is a registered higher education provider]”.⁹³⁰ To a certain extent, between 1963 and 1992 the “polys” were freer than the universities in setting up new courses and diplomas, as they often had a technological edge over universities (and polytechnic graduates were therefore favoured on the professional market for vocational courses). Indeed, in the case of cultural studies, some “polys” progressively became heavens where former CCCS students could be recruited. Such was Bill Schwarz’s case at the North-East London Polytechnic, later known as the University of East London (UEL):

Looking back we can see that we found ourselves operating in a particular historical interregnum. While many of the key institutions of the state were moving into the hands of the Thatcherites or — as with

⁹²⁷ CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

⁹²⁸ Quoted in Moser, Claus. « The Robbins Report 25 Years After--and the Future of the Universities ». Oxford Review of Education, vol. 14, n° 1, 1988, P. 5-20. JSTOR. P. 7.

⁹²⁹ Godwin, C. D. « The Origin of the Binary System ». History of Education, vol. 27, n° 2, juin 1998, P. 171-91. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760980270205>. P.1..

⁹³⁰ Further and Higher Education Act 1992. May 6 1992, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1992/13/section/77>. [Last accessed 20/12/2022]

the Greater London Council and its successors – were becoming the immediate site for open political warfare, for a long while the polytechnics occupied an outpost in the social world which appeared to require no urgent attention from the incoming personnel of the new government, intent on turning the world upside down. Polytechnics were hardly the priority. Indeed, in a strange paradox, Mrs Thatcher herself rather favoured them as they provided tertiary education on the cheap. While the political field was being recast, the polys remained pretty much as they were, unreformed. [...] These circumstances signalled an unexpected historical intermission, in which new collective, intellectual work could flourish relatively unimpeded.⁹³¹

In the context of the binary system in which the “polys” were becoming loci of the cultural studies diaspora, the work of the Council for National Academic Awards (or CNAA) was paramount. Also founded after Robbins Report recommendations, the CNAA became, after 1965, the national degree-award authority in the country and was therefore central in allowing new degrees and courses to be implemented in universities, and the CCCS was instrumental in working within the CNAA as an expert member of the council for communications and cultural studies after 1973. The 1974-1976 annual report states:

The Centre has been much engaged in this process — so to speak, at both ends. Through our work with the CNAA and in advice to Polytechnic staffs preparing submissions, we have played an active part in the design and validation of courses with new emphases. We are also now beginning to get, and can expect more, good applications coming to graduate work in this area from courses which already contain some element of our work and approach in their curricula.⁹³²

An entire network is observable here, where the CCCS had become, by 1974, an advisor to the national degree-award authority and had therefore greatly contributed to shaping the emerging undergraduate degrees in cultural studies in the polys for the entire country. The Centre also reaped the benefits of the establishment of these degrees by recruiting students in the polys, therefore truly engaging “at both ends” in the process of building the field of cultural studies and securing the conditions for the reproduction of the field.

⁹³¹ Alexander, Sally, Hall, Catherine and Schwarz, Bill in Rustin, Michael, et Gavin Poynter. *Building a Radical University: A History of the University of East London*. 2020. Open WorldCat, <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/78987>. P. 188-189.

⁹³² CCCS Annual report 1974-1976, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

Polytechnics therefore relied on the Centre to create their own cultural studies undergraduate degrees.⁹³³ The CCCS's evolving networks shaped first the structure and funding of the CCCS. Then, these networks allowed for cultural studies to exist outside the Centre, to recruit students in other universities who, along with their professors, would begin a conversation with other programs and departments in the discipline, and eventually create their own cultural studies programmes. In that sense the year 1974 was therefore a decisive year for the Centre.

By the end of the decade, the CCCS's contribution to the CNAA kept on expanding, as not only one but two CCCS staff members had become members of the council: "Mr. Hall is a member of the C.N.A.A Communications Studies Panel, Mr. Green of its History of Ideas panel; they have frequently also acted in an advisory capacity."⁹³⁴ This commitment indicates that Centre members had become increasingly respected members of the academic and committee sphere supporting cultural studies, to the point that they were in positions to decide whether or not degrees and course programmes were meeting higher education standards. The CCCS therefore found itself in an academic monopoly position, which shaped the early curricula of cultural studies and positioned CCCS members in a dominant position within their own emerging field.

This concludes the section on the CCCS's networks during the 1970s, a period during which the Centre went through severe turbulence following the departure of his first director Richard Hoggart, until the University of Birmingham was forced to acknowledge the quality of the CCCS's work and to make it an independent research unit within its Faculty of Arts. A flourishing period followed during which the Centre's networks supported its work and legitimacy until the Centre itself began to support emerging cultural studies academic endeavours outside Birmingham. But the picture was not perfect, and cultural studies was not the only network to emerge and come to the fore on the national scale during the 1970s. The next section shall dwell on the evolving political climate of the decade, foreshadowing obstacles to overcome for the Centre during the last period under study: the 1980s.

⁹³³ The filiation between the CCCS and undergraduate cultural studies degrees taught at polytechnics is made very clear in several former CCCS students' interviews, who had graduated from polytechnics before applying to the Centre.

⁹³⁴ *CCCS Annual report 1978-1979*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 24.

2.7. ADVERSARIES

2.7.1. Political adversaries

As the decade unfolded, the Centre's new reputation was also the source of targeted attacks from outside the realm of academia:

*A measure of success brings its unexpected consequences — and not all of them are pleasant. In the sharpening climate of economic recession and crisis, the Centre has found itself selected out as the target for attack — not on the basis of our published and examined work or our record [...] but in a more directly politically motivated way: part of the general backlash against critical research and 'Marxist bias' in higher education, which has had a powerful fillip in the past eighteen months, itself a symptom of the crisis through which society is passing.*⁹³⁵

The only way for the Centre to answer these type of 'directly politically motivated attacks' was, according to the report, to stick to what they knew best:

*We have responded to these assaults — and will respond to those which will inevitably follow — in the only way we can. We take our stand on the merits, the quality of our work — courses, theses, projects, published work — on the sustained productive thrust of the Centre, and the intellectual respect which has gradually accrued from it. We recognise the validity of no other criteria, however motivated.*⁹³⁶

In this sense the very reputation that allowed the Centre to survive and flourish had also become the reason why it should attract political criticism from outside, and foster the renewed Centre's stance to assert being overtly political in response:

We insist that there must be a space for work of this kind and order within the institutional centres of our society: and we are determined to defend and enlarge that space. [...] Contestation is inscribed in the work of those who choose to operate in contested spaces, as we do. This is only a back-handed proof of what we always suspected — that the area of culture and intellectual work is, after all, an arena of struggle;

⁹³⁵ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4-5.

⁹³⁶ Ibid. P. 5.

*and that these struggles — though they may not move mountains, matter profoundly. We intend to press on, regardless, in that knowledge.*⁹³⁷

The broad context of these reflections is no other than the election of Margaret Thatcher at the head of the Conservative Party in 1975 and her subsequent rise to power between 1975 and 1979 (the report dealt with here is the 1977-1978 CCCS annual report, published a year before Margaret Thatcher would become Prime Minister in May 1979). The more specific context of the “assaults” described in the Centre’s report was the publication of another type of report. The Gould Report was published in September 1977 and caused a bit of a stir in the press and academic sphere. Published by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, its actual title (Professor Julius Gould⁹³⁸ being the editor of the report) was “The attack on higher education: Marxist and radical penetration: report of a study group of the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC special report)”. According to Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton, the report was:

*The latest in a series of ‘Black Papers on Education’ spearheading the counter-attack against progressive education: a survey of Marxism in the universities, complete with lists of participants in the various networks and their meetings, it certainly found the ideas concerned very threateningly influential.*⁹³⁹

Professor Julius Gould’s obituary, published in the Times in 2020, provides more details about the scope of the report:

The Attack, also known as “the Gould Report”, claimed that there was Marxist infiltration of sociology teaching and research, indoctrination of students and a left-wing bias in the Open University, Penguin Books and various educational institutions. He provided anecdotes

⁹³⁷ CCCS Annual report 1977-1978, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

⁹³⁸ Born in 1924, Julius Gould became a sociology professor in 1964 at Nottingham. His obituary reads: “Julius Gould achieved some notoriety in the late 1970s, proving himself to be an exception to the stereotype of left-wing sociologists who were critical of capitalism and the established authorities. His publication Attack on Higher Education (1977) caused outrage among many of his fellow academics, but was applauded by some Conservative politicians and the tabloid press. » The Times. ‘Professor Julius Gould Obituary’. The Times, 9 Jan. 2020, P. Accessed May 31st, 2024.

⁹³⁹ Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton, éditeurs. *Cultural studies 50 years on: history, practice and politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P. 76.

*and cases, but his claims were contested and he stood accused of launching a “McCarthyite witch-hunt”.*⁹⁴⁰

In hindsight, the obituary makes apparent the closeness between the groups and institutions targeted by the Gould report and the very CCCS's networks. As the Gould Report came out in September 1977 (at the beginning of the academic year), it benefitted from important press coverage. Indeed it found itself in the columns of *The Times* on Wednesday 20th, where the newspaper dedicated space to it in their first, fourth and fifteenth pages. Page one gave away the headline (“‘Marxists attacking education’”), page 4 introduced the report and provided eight columns worth of the report itself, and finally page 15 contributed a leading article (or editorial) titled “The Enemies of Liberty”. Its conclusion was the following:

*Professor Gould’s fears of academic Marxism as a fundamental threat to liberty may be overstated but he is not wrong to perceive and deplore its tendency as a prevailing programme of thought to make minds narrow and prevent the fresh reexamination of ideas. Nor is he wrong to fear that the quasi-Marxists will offer sympathy to the Marxists who are the unquestioning enemies of liberty.*⁹⁴¹

There are, in the British journalistic landscape, unquestionably more progressive newspapers than *The Times*. However such a partisan coverage of a report emanating from an institute, which was, at best, pro-conservative⁹⁴² highlighting elements of the anti-Marxist consensual atmosphere of the time.⁹⁴³ The following day (September 21, 1977), the *Times* published another article on page 4 titled ‘Marxists see students and schoolchildren as key people in the ideological struggle’, which quoted the report at length. Although it did not provide the reader with the list of Marxist names and institutions found in the actual report, it did provide a manifesto-like introduction expressing the political views of the report’s authors:

The old left, for all its errors and defects of judgment, worked within a framework that accepted, and sought to deploy, canons of rationality

⁹⁴⁰ The Times. ‘Professor Julius Gould Obituary’. The Times, 9 Jan. 2020, P. Accessed May 31st, 2024.

⁹⁴¹ « The Enemies of Liberty ». The Times, September 1977, P. 15.

⁹⁴² And at worse a loose emanation of the CIA in a cold war context. For a full account of the networks behind the Institute for the Study of Conflict as told by Philip Agee and Louis Wolf, see Weissman, Steve, ‘The CIA Makes the News’ in Agee, Philip, et Louis Wolf, editors. *Dirty work: the CIA in Western Europe*. 1st ed, L. Stuart, 1978. P. 204-210.

⁹⁴³ Loosely echoing McCarthyism in the United States and its British equivalent? For more information on Anti-Communism in Britain, see Gerth, Matthew. *Anti-Communism in Britain During the Early Cold War: A Very British Witch Hunt*. University of London Press, 2023, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.2775918>. JSTOR.

and of objectivity. Among some of the “new” left-wing writers, there is a marked tendency to downgrade and undermine such canons: leaning heavily upon shifting the premises of relativism and denying the reality of an ‘independent’ world of facts.⁹⁴⁴

This denied the reality of an ‘independent’ world of facts was, according to the ISC and the Gould Report, felt to be spreading to the world of higher education:

This is our view that, in the recent past, many of those institutions within higher education have with less or more awareness allowed themselves to be used for purposes inimical to those basic ideas [political order depends on educational and cultural institutions]. The main body of this report is concerned to document and evaluate this view. It will be contented that groups and individuals in the fields of education and culture have shown by their theory and, more importantly, by their practice that they reject key notions long associated with the idea of an open, plural society: notions such as freedom of expression and association.⁹⁴⁵

Such rejection of an open and plural society was seen, in the report, as one of the major causes of the social turmoil in British universities at the end of the 1960s, which scope was fortunately less wide than in other European countries:

The intellectual influences which we have been describing are of greater and more continuing importance than the violent and often brutal excitements which many universities encountered in the late 1960s. Britain has, of course, avoided the extremes of politisation that, since those days, have come to weaken or destroy so many German, French or Italian universities.⁹⁴⁶

This political diagnosis concluded on a strategy, reproduced below:

First, it is important to show how wrong the radicals are in what they say. Second, it is important to understand what they do [...] quite undemocratically, to deploy their small numbers so as to secure the maximum leverage. Why need one feel so cautious about the extremists on the left? They constitute a clear and present danger to the liberal norm. They thrive on perversions, theory and distortions of facts. They

⁹⁴⁴ Geddes Diana, Education Correspondent. « Marxists see students and schoolchildren as key people in the ideological struggle ». The Times, septembre 1977, P. 4.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid.

*rely, like any other network, upon mutual support in the making of appointments.*⁹⁴⁷

Such violent attacks were reproduced and given a prominent platform in the *Times*. The article itself consists of three paragraphs introducing the report and its editor, followed by close to forty paragraphs taken directly from the report, making up a third of the newspaper's page and, by far, the lengthiest article in the whole issue. Indeed Julius Gould was a politically informed academic of his own: he worked closely with Margaret Thatcher and Keith Joseph (who would go on to become Secretary of State for education and Science from 1981 to 1986 under Margaret Thatcher's premiership) to formulate Conservative higher education policies in the 1970s and 1980s⁹⁴⁸ and his work for right-wing think-tanks would contribute to "lay the foundations for modern Conservatism".⁹⁴⁹

The debate around the publication of the Gould Report and the then current ideological climate had prompted CCCS members to publicly answer these accusations in the specialised press, among whom Stuart Hall himself:

*As observers of the contemporary scene, we have remarked the growth of the witchhunting (sic) tendency in higher education. [...] As I had occasion to remark in a letter to your sister journal — which has also been playing this theme hard — anyone whose work is even slightly unorthodox must expect, in the present climate, further blows of this kind. In the sociology of culture, Marxist concepts and writing have played a major role: the development of these concepts, among others, had an important part to play in the theory and study of culture; and we shall continue to employ them — until the time comes when intellectuals are told what they are allowed to think and what not.*⁹⁵⁰

Such was the tense political climate at the time when the 1977-1978 annual report was published. This would make it increasingly difficult for the Centre (and other so-called extremists on the left) to operate during the 1980s, as the ideas presented in the Gould report were shared by the soon-to-be Prime Minister, who would begin her premiership

⁹⁴⁷ Geddes Diana, Education Correspondent. « Marxists see students and schoolchildren as key people in the ideological struggle ». The Times, September 1977, P. 4.

⁹⁴⁸ Steven Jay Gould. 'Professor Samuel Julius Gould'. The Jewish Chronicle, Feb. 2020, <https://www.pressreader.com/uk/the-jewish-chronicle/20200228/282415581322298?srltid=AfmBOop-3JYTBS9uSTQVgAUfoRhA5vIJIqGBb-2-uVkod3COzNdjhBjQ>. [Accessed December 19th, 2024]

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁰ Hall, Stuart. « "Marxist Bias" and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies ». The Times Higher Education Supplement, 1 July 1977, P. 11.

by imposing severe funding cuts to the social sciences so as to stifle entire fields of research.

2.8. CONCLUSION

This comprehensive study of the Centre's history during its second period allows us to draw several conclusions. First, the Centre had, by the end of the period under study, built a strong network in higher education in Britain and overseas. It had also built a strong theoretical foundation nurtured by collective research practices and personal student and staff commitment. It had also become the locus of the emergence of identity politics within the Centre, and this work has particularly focused on women's studies.⁹⁵¹ This shall have an impact on the future of the Centre as well, which will be examined in the next and last part. However, these changes had come at a price: working conditions at the Centre were becoming strenuous as the years went by, to reach a point where the tolerance limit had been reached. This rather loaded image is not used lightly to describe the CCCS's state at the end of the 1970s and predicts further detrimental changes in the CCCS's working practices during the 1980s, while it underwent a process of institutionalisation within the University of Birmingham.

⁹⁵¹ The emergence of race as a scientific framework at the Centre is not tackled in this work as it is the object of an upcoming PhD dissertation by sociologist Erik Borda at the University of Campinas.

3.

**PART THREE – THE TRIUMVIRATE
(1979-1988)**

3.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This section draws on Kenneth O. Morgan's *The People's Peace*⁹⁵² and Howard Glennester's *British Social Policy*.⁹⁵³ Kenneth O. Morgan defines two periods in his *People's Peace* during the 1980s, a first, relatively calm period from 1979 to 1983 corresponding to Margaret Thatcher's first premiership and a second period from 1983 to 1990. Although the period covered in this thesis stops in 1988, the overall political context and dynamic of the entire decade provide paramount elements shedding light on the CCCS's trajectory.

Morgan summarises the first 1979-1983 period as a sort of interregnum, when Margaret Thatcher, although carried by an electoral victory which marked "a decisive shift in the national mood"⁹⁵⁴, experienced some difficulties establishing herself as a solid leader on the national and international scale, thus initially rendering complex the task of "totally and utterly"⁹⁵⁵ ending the postwar consensus.⁹⁵⁶ However slow in reaching her cruising speed, Mrs Thatcher's election did represent, according to Morgan, "the triumph of the market philosophy, the private ethic, and the imperatives of early-nineteenth-century liberalism in place of the dead hand of state-directed corporatism which Atlee, MacMillan, Wilson and Heath had variously created".⁹⁵⁷ The reaction to this electoral landslide, on the left and new left, was grounded in words more than in actions:

⁹⁵² Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999.

⁹⁵³ Glennerster, Howard. *British Social Policy: 1945 to the Present*. 3rd ed, Blackwell Pub, 2007.

⁹⁵⁴ Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P.437.

⁹⁵⁵ A task she had pledged to complete during her campaign. Ibid. P. 438.

⁹⁵⁶ Howard Glennester introduces the postwar consensus as such : « the period from 1945 to 1979, when Mrs Thatcher was elected, represented some era of consensus about the Welfare State. It was unievrally supported by both political parties. The Labour Party may have invented the Welfare State, but the Conservative Party came to terms with it and extended it. Only in the age of the Iron Lady did things change. » However this historiographical view is being challenged on one side of the political spectrum : « The Conservative Party did not come to terms with it, at least in the form that it took. [...] It developed a very coherent alternative right at the beginning, in 1947-1950. In many ways what Mrs Thatcher did was to implement that agenda when the economic and social structure made it opportune » ; and on the other as well : « The left began to fo an affective demolition job on the Welfare state long before Mrs Thatcher began. » Glennerster, Howard. *British Social Policy: 1945 to the Present*. 3rd ed, Blackwell Pub, 2007. P. 9-10.

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid. P. 438.

On the political left, a popular approach was to adopt the terminology of the long-dead Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, to argue that Thatcherism was more than a governmental system, more even than an ideological banner. It was truly a hegemony that extended the market ethic beneath the shelter of an increasingly powerful state apparatus, at the cost of both social cohesion and personal liberty. It penetrated the very substructure of national culture, with the message of traditional capitalism proclaimed in an unusually explicit and aggressive form.⁹⁵⁸

Here the collision between the broader historical context and the Centre's theoretical framework makes itself evidently visible, as one of the most vocal contributors to the critique of Thatcherism was no other than Stuart Hall. In his *Great Moving to the Right Show* article⁹⁵⁹, initially published in January 1979 in *Marxism Today*, Hall set out to analyse the ideological mechanisms allowing Thatcherism (a term he was one of the first to coin besides Thatcher) to take centre stage on the British political scene, echoing Morgan's historical argument⁹⁶⁰:

No one seriously concerned with political strategies in the current situation can now afford to ignore the "swing to the Right" [...] We have so far—with one or two notable exceptions—failed to find strategies capable of mobilising social forces strong enough in depth to turn its flank. [...] One [...] encounters in this discussion variants of "revolutionary optimism" and "revolutionary pessimism". The pessimists argue that we mustn't rock the boat, or demoralise the already dispersed forces of the Left. To them one can only reply with Gramsci's injunction: to address ourselves "violently" towards the present as it is, if we are serious about transforming it. The optimists cast doubt on the doubters: look for the points of resistance—the class struggle continues. Of course, in one sense, they are right. We must look behind the surface phenomena, we must find the points of intervention, we mustn't underestimate the capacity for resistance and struggle. But, if we are correct about the depth of the rightward turn, then our interventions need to be pertinent, decisive and effective. Whistling in

⁹⁵⁸ Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P.438.

⁹⁵⁹ Hall, Stuart. *Selected Political Writings: The Great Moving Right Show and Other Essays*. Edited by Sally Davison et al., Duke University Press, 2017. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1220h4g>.

⁹⁶⁰ Ibid. P. 14-15.

*the dark is an occupational hazard not altogether unknown to the British Left. “Pessimism of the intelligence: optimism of the will”*⁹⁶¹

However pertinent and clear-sighted this analysis proved to be, the national mood described by Morgan nonetheless “unhappily floundered”⁹⁶² on the left. Still a revolution, however radically right-wing, does not happen overnight, as, while “the nation expected a radical new impetus from Mrs Thatcher in May 1979, [...] it was curiously long in coming.”⁹⁶³ The reason for such a lack of spontaneity laid in Margaret Thatcher’s “ingrained pragmatism”⁹⁶⁴ and her recognition that, for the time being at least, “for all her election triumph, [she] was far from being mistress in her own house yet.”⁹⁶⁵ Indeed her first cabinet was dominated, if not controlled by Heathites⁹⁶⁶ who were appointed to key government positions. Although it proved difficult to advance her own, very *unHeathite* political agenda, her chancellor’s (Sir Geoffrey Howe) first budget⁹⁶⁷ was starkly monetarist⁹⁶⁸ (characterised by measures including severe decreases in public spending, raising the minimum lending rate to a staggering 14% by today’s standards, the sale of public assets and a switch from direct taxation to taxation on spending). The results of such a budget were not those hoped for by the new Prime Minister, as unemployment spiked, mass deindustrialisation generalised

⁹⁶¹ The last sentence between quotation marks in Hall’s article is a reference to one of Gramsci’s most well-known quotes first written in the pages of the newspaper he had contributed to found, *Il Ordine Nuovo*. See Asad Haider. ‘Pessimism of the Will’. Viewpoint Magazine, May 2020, <https://viewpointmag.com/2020/05/28/pessimism-of-the-will/#f+12532+1+3>. Accessed June 7, 2024.

⁹⁶² Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People’s Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P.438.

⁹⁶³ *Ibid.* P.443-444.

⁹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁶ Edward Heath was the Conservative Prime Minister from June 1970 to March 1974 and, in Margaret Thatcher’s view, abided by the postwar consensus.

⁹⁶⁷ Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People’s Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P.445.

⁹⁶⁸ The International Monetary Fund provides the following definition of monetarism : « One school of economic thought, called monetarism, maintains that the money supply (the total amount of money in an economy) is the chief determinant of current dollar GDP in the short run and the price level over longer periods. Monetary policy, one of the tools governments have to affect the overall performance of the economy, uses instruments such as interest rates to adjust the amount of money in the economy. [...] Today, monetarism is mainly associated with Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman. In his seminal work *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960*, which he wrote with fellow economist Anna Schwartz in 1963 » Sarwat Jahan and Chris Papageorgiou. ‘Back to Basics What Is Monetarism?’ International Monetary Fund, Mar. 2014, <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2014/03/basics.htm>. Accessed June 7, 2024.

and Britain's GDP fell by 2.5%⁹⁶⁹, only to be saved by a balance of payment strengthened by North Sea oil income. The tendency endured in 1981 as "the Prime Minister [...] forced through the most resolutely anti-Keynesian budget of modern times"⁹⁷⁰, prompting her approval rates to plummet. In 1982 the government line somewhat softened, facing the ineffectiveness of such rigid policies. The international context provided relief to an otherwise deleterious political stance, as inflation began to fall (reaching a low 5% by March 1983) and production recovered. This did not prevent Thatcher from being criticised by the very ideological figures she sought to emulate, as Milton Friedman himself considered she was "failing to apply the monetarist remedy with sufficient confidence and determination."⁹⁷¹ During her first premiership, Thatcher was also timid about adopting the social and industrial policies she so strongly advocated in her campaign speeches, with the exception of the sale of council houses passed through the Housing Act of 1980: by 1984 about "800.000 council tenants were buying their own homes."⁹⁷² One other sector Thatcher immediately interested herself in was universities. According to Morgan, by the beginning of her premiership the "era of the 1963 Robbins Report had truly come to an end"⁹⁷³, as a 2% drop in government funding affected universities as early as 1981 (along with a 1979 25% cut to the SSRC, deeply affecting postgraduate funding), and many feared this would severely endanger a number of higher education institutions. These cuts imposed by the then Secretary of State for Education Sir Keith Joseph were, however, only too palatable to a sector for which the dark memory of the 1968 student unrest was still recent.⁹⁷⁴ The party in opposition was left in dire straits, as the Labour Party buried itself in ideological disputes between the "consensual centre right and the doctrinaire, neo-Marxist left".⁹⁷⁵ After Michael Foot's election as leader of the Party following James Callaghan's resignation in November 1980, such ideological decline found itself crystallised on the position of deputy leader. Who, between Denis Healey (consensual centre right) and Tony Benn (doctrinaire, neo-Marxist left), would go on to represent "the very identity of the party"?⁹⁷⁶ Denis Healey prevailed by the smallest of margins, and Labour support continued to dissolve as the party had lost the 1980s ideological battles to the radical right. Morgan ironically concluded on the significance of the 1983 Labour Party manifesto:

⁹⁶⁹ Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P.446.

⁹⁷⁰ Ibid. P. 447.

⁹⁷¹ Ibid. P. 448.

⁹⁷² Ibid. P. 451.

⁹⁷³ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid. P.461.

⁹⁷⁶ Ibid. P.463.

The manifesto Labour finally adopted in the 1983 election paid deference to the wishes of the 'greens', unilateralists, Irish republicans, homosexuals of both sexes, and feminists. It included demands for ending the House of Lords and abolishing fox-hunting. It was a lengthy document, wryly termed, with some reason, 'the longest suicide note in history'.⁹⁷⁷

The early election called by Thatcher in June 1983 left Labour with “209 seats and 27.6% of the popular vote, its lowest since 1918”⁹⁷⁸, while the Conservatives could enjoy a luxurious majority of 142 seats, themselves being in control of 397 seats in the House of Commons (the Alliance between the Liberals and the Social Democrats won 17 Liberal seats and 6 SDP seats, accounting for 26% of the votes, just under Labour). This electoral success may, however, be qualified, as these odd 400 seats accounted for only a mere 43% of the popular vote.⁹⁷⁹ It nevertheless gave Thatcher carte blanche to operate as she pleased during her second premiership.

And she did. During the second period described by Morgan, from 1983 to 1999 Thatcher's pace and political intensity quickly increased, so as to make her first premiership appear like a mere rehearsal. Thatcher indeed did not follow the usual trend of Prime Ministers who ended up losing momentum during their second term. As Morgan describes, “she turned her second term into a crusade of increased radicalism.”⁹⁸⁰ It started with privatisation, as no less than British telecom, Rolls-Royce, British Airports, British Aerospace, Britoil, British Gas and British petroleum were sold between 1984 and 1987, representing a complete reversal “of the growth of corporatism as it had rolled on, government after government, since the centralisation of the First World War”.⁹⁸¹ Thatcher's government's second warhorse heavily relied on monetarist principles, not the least of which being taxation. Public spending cuts continued to paradoxically pour in, only to be matched by personal taxation cuts. According to Morgan:

Under [Nigel-Lawson's aegis, as new Chancellor], the gulf in personal resources between rich and poor became very much wider than it had been in the period 1945-1979. By 1985 it was recorded that the top 6 percent of the population in income terms now received 25 percent of

⁹⁷⁷ Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P. 463-464.

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid. P. 466.

⁹⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid. P. 468.

⁹⁸¹ Ibid. P. 470.

*national income, while for the poorest 20 percent their share had actually fallen from even the 5.9 percent they enjoyed in 1979.*⁹⁸²

However, the top 80% of Thatcherites were seemingly not interested in how the other fifth lived, and while the gulf increased the British economy flourished between 1984 and 1987, with steady annual growth rates and falling inflation.⁹⁸³ While Nigel-Lawson decreased personal taxation, income tax did actually increase under Thatcher's second premiership, as consumer taxes (including VAT) steadily built up during the same period.⁹⁸⁴ The intensity of Thatcher's privatisation and budget policy was only matched by her industrial strategy. The 1982 Employment Act, following the Trade Union Act of 1980, included provisions, though moderate in appearance, which ended up strongly damaging union power in the latter part of the decade, endangering the closed shop practice, banning secondary picketing and challenging union immunity in front of the law, as union members could now be charged with financial damage compensation (such immunity had been granted by the Trade Dispute Act of 1906).⁹⁸⁵ Union members were scared into voting off any strike proposal, afraid of unemployment or court fines, and after a year-long (April 1984-April 1985), a violently repressed strike organised by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and led by the Marxist Arthur Scargill, a clear signal was sent that unions could no longer call the tune. As Morgan concludes on Thatcher's union management in the mid-1980s:

*It was the climax of a long, and indeed largely popular campaign by the Thatcher government to undercut union monopoly in the labour market, and to exorcise memories of the 'winter of discontent'.*⁹⁸⁶

But the ideological and political battle did not stop there. Indeed seemingly every sector of British society ended up being strongly affected by Thatcherism⁹⁸⁷, such as the Arts Council, which was "put to the sword" and given control of by a new chairman who happily applied a market approach to artistic institutions in the country.⁹⁸⁸ Local government was another fighting arena, as it represented several Labour strongholds and (somewhat logically) important spenders. The 1986 Local Government Act simply

⁹⁸² Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P.471.

⁹⁸³ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid. P. 449.

⁹⁸⁶ Ibid. P. 475.

⁹⁸⁷ Even the Church of England was affected, as some of its members were suspected to be of Marxist obedience. Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P.479.

⁹⁸⁸ Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P.478.

and purely abolished metropolitan authorities, such as the Greater London Council, and with it, as Morgan analysed: “a story of local democracy and participatory initiative dating from the reforms of the later 1880s came to its sad close.”⁹⁸⁹ But this radical right-wing raid was nowhere as merciless as in the university sector. In Morgan’s words:

The wheel had come full circle since the heady days of expansion after the Robbins Report in 1963. In the sixties, the universities acquired a public esteem unique in British history. Now, in the bitter 1980s they found themselves facing the impact of annual cuts in real funding⁹⁹⁰, and pressures to apply new codes of managerial techniques and short-term profit-making out of tune with the traditional practices of British universities.⁹⁹¹

According to Morgan, the pressure to apply this new model was strongly linked to Thatcher’s very own beliefs (herself paradoxically an Oxford graduate):

To Mrs Thatcher, universities were an enclosed, complacent guild, managerially incompetent, with little interest in wealth creation and lacking in accountability for government.⁹⁹²

The takeaway from this attack on seemingly every institution in British society seems to be that what Mrs Thatcher was seeking, above all, was to suppress and eliminate any form of counter-power under her premierships, at the forefront of which stood universities, theorised by Stuart Hall in 1971 as possible ‘utopian enclaves’ (see Part II for more information on utopian enclaves). By the end of the 1980s, utopian enclaves were suffocating to the point where their very existence was vigorously threatened. Additionally, the 1985 Jarratt Report (which will be addressed in section 3.7.2. Academic adversaries) “resulted in complex new structures of planning, resource management and managerial accountability”⁹⁹³, meaningfully called ‘budget or cost centres’. The report would have enduring consequences on the very structure of universities, at the forefront of which the University of Birmingham.

⁹⁸⁹ Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People’s Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P. 477.

⁹⁹⁰ The cuts in the U.G.C. grant to universities ranged from 5% to 46% depending on the institution and averaged a yearly 12.5% between 1980-1 and 1986-7. Ibid. P. 480.

⁹⁹¹ Ibid. P. 480.

⁹⁹² Ibid.

⁹⁹³ Ibid. P.481.

Paradoxically, while Margaret Thatcher professedly sought to seek and destroy every pocket of dissent in Britain, she ended up relying on government centralisation more than Clement Atlee's 1945 government.⁹⁹⁴ Such a degree of centralisation, although in theory contrary to Thatcher's political principles, was explained by Morgan thus: "This new centralism was in part because the Thatcher government perceived these institutions as potentially so damaging that they needed the maximum of intervention to suppress them."⁹⁹⁵

Morgan assessed Thatcher's second premiership in dire terms: "The police and the security services grew stronger; the press and media generally were more subject to control. It made dissent, social criticism and alternative scenarios more difficult to articulate."⁹⁹⁶ This and other factors resulted in yet another early general election in the spring of 1987, producing yet another Tory majority with 376 seats won with 42.3% of the popular vote against Labour, with its 229 seats and 30.8% of the popular vote (the Alliance between the Liberals and the Social Democrats won 22 seats with 22.6% of the vote). Morgan thus concluded on the third Conservative and under the aegis of Thatcher in eight years: "The 1987 election marked the high noon of the government of Margaret Thatcher."⁹⁹⁷, and with it the slow demise of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.

3.2. INTRODUCTION

The third period tackled in this part, from 1979 to 1986, is nicknamed 'the triumvirate'. Its name comes from the new three-headed leadership (Michael Green, Richard Johnson and Maureen McNeil, officially under Johnson's directorship) facing challenges at the human, intellectual and financial level from 1979 on. The notion of 'triumvirate' was actually coined by Richard Johnson at the CCCS's 50th anniversary conference as well as in a personal interview: it will be discussed below. The period was marked by this change in directorship, the dilution of certain working practices and the launch of an undergraduate degree in cultural studies and communications (1982). It is, therefore, paradoxically associated with students' broader access to cultural studies and with a continued and strengthened institutionalisation of cultural studies against a backdrop of growing politically motivated financial constraints.

⁹⁹⁴ Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P. 481

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid. P. 486.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid. 491.

3.3. ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS

3.3.1. Funding

As early as 1979, Thatcher's attack on the academic world was already being felt and had made its way on the first page of the report:

The general context, shared by everyone working in education, are the associated moves to cut expenditure and, as important, to re-structure the education system itself. In this consciously-pursued and directly political strategy, many forms of postgraduate education, whether of a traditional 'scholarly' kind or more concerned with collective research are being discouraged. The two salient features here, the way in which policy impacts on most postgraduate work, are the raising of fees, especially but not exclusively for overseas students and the cutting of grant aid, especially as administered through the research councils.⁹⁹⁸

These research councils, the DES and the SSRC, had proven instrumental in the stable funding of a stream of CCCS graduate students, and the progressive loss of grant support for the CCCS negatively shaped the evolution of registration and research practices altogether: in effect this political strategy gradually stifled many research centres in the Arts and the Humanities, including the CCCS.

Coincidentally and as underlined in the historical background section (press 3.1.), the 1979-1980 period was also marked by the publication of Stuart Hall's article *The Great Moving Right Show*⁹⁹⁹ in January 1979 and the growing concern of CCCS research for British domestic policies. Published in *Marxism Today*¹⁰⁰⁰, the article "look[ed] at the

⁹⁹⁸ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

⁹⁹⁹ Hall, Stuart. *Selected Political Writings: The Great Moving Right Show and Other Essays*. Édité par Sally Davison et al., Duke University Press, 2017. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1220h4g>. pP. 172-186

¹⁰⁰⁰ "Marxism Today was a monthly magazine of British political commentary from a leftist perspective, published by the Communist Party of Great Britain. It began publication in 1977 and ceased in 1998." University of Pennsylvania. Serial Archive Listings for Marxism Today. Unknown, <https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=marxismtoday>. [Accessed July 12th, 2023]

shift to the right in British politics”¹⁰⁰¹ and made connections with the context described by Richard Johnson in the annual report:

*In order to bring [debates about education] about, a major restructuring of the state apparatuses themselves has had to be executed. The DES has been set aside, and new state apparatuses, capable of realising the equation [between education and work] in more immediate and practical forms, have moved into a central position in the field.*¹⁰⁰²

The remark on the DES being set aside in favour of market-oriented bodies is a direct reference to the cuts experienced by the SSRC and the DES and the impact of such cuts on the CCCS’ recruiting process. As graduate students’ funded places provided by the DES and SSRC were becoming scarce, it was becoming increasingly difficult for the Centre to secure students on a full-time basis and to guarantee their academic success (let alone the possibility for them to finish their theses). These two different interventions made by members (and former members) of the Centre (a public text published in *Marxism Today* and an internal document, the Centre’s annual report) on the 1979 economic and political climate illustrate the role of the CCCS’s global role on the political and academic front during one of the direst periods in the Centre’s history. Both emanated from the Centre, as both their authors were Centre members at the time of writing. However, these two types of publications served widely different purposes. *Marxism Today* was an overtly political platform, while the CCCS annual reports was an administrative document (though not devoid of political undertones). Nevertheless, both publications reacted to the political changes and voiced comments that would reach different audiences. This plurality of publications was linked to the various activities taken on by CCCS members (political and intellectual) and were part of the wider CCCS networks, always seeking to achieve politically informed intellectual work in adjacent spheres.

Meaningfully enough, the general context described by Richard Johnson early in his Acting Director’s Report was especially significant for small centres such as the CCCS, of a hybrid nature in the world of academia:

A Centre like this is potentially vulnerable to both sets of changes [the raising of fees and the cutting of grant aid]. We continue to combine, in a way we think unusual, the function of postgraduate education and those of a research institute or ‘school’. People learn to research and to write in the course not only of working on theses, but also through

¹⁰⁰¹ Hall, Stuart. *Selected Political Writings: The Great Moving Right Show and Other Essays*. Édité par Sally Davison et al., Duke University Press, 2017. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1220h4g>. P.172

¹⁰⁰² Ibid. P.184

*being involved in [...] group projects, most of which are destined for ultimate publication [...] based on the expectation of a continued complement of full-time postgraduate researchers.*¹⁰⁰³

While Richard Johnson was able to draw on the then established legitimacy of the Centre by referring to the CCCs as a ‘school’, such research patterns particularly suffered from economic stringency, which precipitated the partial erosion of collective work at the Centre. To face these cuts, the Centre first kept on tricking its way through the rise in student fees by favouring part-time registration (an increasingly recurrent pattern since 1977), as part-time fees in 1979 equalled £200 per year, while full-time fees amounted to £1100 for a domestic student, and £2500 for an overseas student.¹⁰⁰⁴ Second, the Centre also strengthened the practice of recruiting teachers in secondments¹⁰⁰⁵, which allowed for at least a portion of the student intake to be financially relatively stable. This “technique” did not, however, entirely slip under the University’s radar, as the following report (1980-1981) would later explain that “those taking the degree on [a part-time basis] may need to satisfy the university that they can make appropriate time available during the week”.¹⁰⁰⁶ Administrative scrutiny was therefore being implemented alongside funding cuts at the beginning of this third period.

The overall funding scarcity experienced by CCCS in the early 1980s did not only determine its chance to secure additional posts, it also shaped the structure and length of the type of research it could undertake. The 1981-1982 annual report indeed states that “the Centre now welcomes requests to undertake shorter pieces of research for particular agencies”.¹⁰⁰⁷ This element echoes early works conducted by the Centre and commissioned by the Rowntree Memorial Trust or by UNESCO during its first and second periods on specific topics, which were more constricted in time and not linked to specific postgraduate students, unlike the later SSRC grants providing funding for several years of research carried out by one main researcher, sometimes overseeing one or two others. This new emphasis on short-term commissioned research consolidated the place of the CCCS as a policy-oriented research unit, while also stressing the necessity for the Centre to diversify its sources of income, as the report

¹⁰⁰³ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ibid. P. 18.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibid. P. 5.

¹⁰⁰⁶ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

¹⁰⁰⁷ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

stresses that this form of research should be “funded where possible”.¹⁰⁰⁸ It signals a necessity for the CCCS to come back to earlier, less stable and long-term modalities of research funding.

In 1981-1982, student fees continued to rise “sharp[ly] [...], particularly for overseas students”¹⁰⁰⁹, who by then had become a financial windfall for universities facing government cuts (as they were charged more than twice as much as full-time domestic students and ten times as much as part-time domestic ones). The UK part-time fee remained the only way for students from less advantaged social backgrounds to afford a higher education degree (£260), while the UK full-time and EEC full-time rose to £1320 for the 1981-1982 academic year and the overseas full-time rate rose to £2657 (almost twice as much). The report highlights that a further ten percent increase should be expected for the upcoming academic year.¹⁰¹⁰ A tab retracing the increase in student fees is provided at the end of this section to make it easier to follow this upward trend during the 1980s.

Such defunding put extensive strain on collective work, and the possibility of carrying it out on a practical level. The reason why most scholars refer to the seventies as the CCCS’s ‘golden age’¹⁰¹¹ is because there was indeed gold for CCCS during that decade: several DES and SSRC quota places were available and reserved for prospective MA or PhD CCCS students on a yearly basis, generating stability. To extend the metaphor, this financial gold, in turn, became intellectual and academic gold, as the CCCS signed a contract with the Hutchinson publishing house and some of the most important CCCS intellectual interventions were made during that decade, because it could financially afford to. Again this idea of gold can be linked back to Latour and Woolgar’s credibility cycle, in which the Centre heavily invested in order to secure some sort of stability and outreach. By that, it is meant that the practical conditions of financial sustainability and academic freedom were secured and allowed CCCS members to conduct research, muddling through a still emerging field. The Hutchinson contract and overall international academic recognition enjoyed by the CCCS from this period on was an acknowledgement of the value of such ways of conducting research, as other actors in the scientific field recognised the value of CCCS work. The shift faced by the CCCS and the wider British postgraduate world in the early 1980s progressively closed the window opened some twenty years before by the Robbins Report (1963), which had originally allowed increasingly more students

¹⁰⁰⁸ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Ibid.* P. 9.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹¹ As mentioned earlier in this work, Geoff Eley refers to the “classic CCCS years”, while Jackie Stacey talks about “the ‘heyday’ years” in Connell, Kieran, et Matthew Hilton, editors. *Cultural studies 50 years on: history, practice and politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P.39, P.168.

to access postgraduate degrees on a full-time and perennial basis, with reasonable chances of converting this education into an actual career. While collective practices were becoming difficult to maintain, collectivity was as a matter of fact reaffirmed in the 1982-1983 director's report, as: "a major CCCS principle – that research and writing are best learned in the practice itself and preferable with the support of a group of co-workers."¹⁰¹² The extent to which CCCS postgraduates were actually able to rely on such support became less and less high as years went by.

To illustrate this growing lack of support resulting from proportionally increasing financial barriers, the fees for this 1982-1983 academic year were as follows: UK and EEC (European Economic Community) full-time students were to pay £1413 per year, while overseas full-time students were to pay close to the double (£2770). Part-time registration fees amounted to roughly £300, and this remained one of the only economically sound options for many prospective CCCS students, further eroding the Centre's collectiveness.

By 1985 it felt as though a breath of fresh air had come to the CCCS through the registration and securing of grants for postgraduate students, at a time when the Centre's human resources were described as frail. Indeed what could be understood as burnout alerts were raised quite heavily in the Director's Report. The CCCS had not secured research grants through the DES or the SSRC (which very existence was threatened as early as 1981, to be rebranded ESRC in 1983 with additional and more Thatcher-compatible research topics to fund)¹⁰¹³ since 1982.¹⁰¹⁴ It would appear that a transitional period had taken place between the beginning of Margaret Thatcher's first premiership, when the first decreasing funding measures were implemented (as early as 1979, when the DES and SSRC were faced with a 25% budget cut in certain areas)¹⁰¹⁵, and the mid 1980s, when the CCCS found ways to "bounce back" by working out ways to bypass this new financial reality. After all the CCCS had heavily relied on DES and SSRC postgraduate funding since its founding in 1964 and had centred its operational and intellectual model on such public sources of funding. It seems only logical that it would take the Centre a couple of years to readjust its postgraduate registration and funding securing policy to the changing higher education landscape (while Thatcherite higher education policies were paradoxically starker during her second premiership from 1983 to 1987). The solution found by the CCCS was logical in the face of funding scarcity: by artificially selecting prospective students

¹⁰¹² CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹⁰¹³ Gaber, Annaliza; Gaber, Ivor; Fox, Selina. *ESRC - The First Forty Years*. December 2005, <https://www.ukri.org/publications/ssrc-and-esrc-the-first-forty-years/>. P. 14-19.

¹⁰¹⁴ Chris Griffin and Paul Willis were, at that point in 1985, the last two funded scholars to have been registered at the Centre.

¹⁰¹⁵ Gaber, Annaliza; Gaber, Ivor; Fox, Selina. *ESRC - The First Forty Years*. December 2005, <https://www.ukri.org/publications/ssrc-and-esrc-the-first-forty-years/>. P. 14-19.

with an excellent academic record, and therefore increasing its own entrance fee, it ended up securing more grants. This policy, however, came as a contradiction to the historical CCCS ethos manifested in almost every annual report, including the 1984-1985 one:

*The Faculty and University, however, have specific requirements for postgraduate work, which we are not at liberty to lay aside. The usual requirement is a first — or upper-second class degree. Those with lower seconds may be admitted unusually, on negotiation. We are sorry that the Faculty does not permit those without a first degree, or its equivalent, for whatever reason, to register for a postgraduate degree. Negotiations over first-degree equivalents from other countries can be complicated.*¹⁰¹⁶

While its original openness (towards candidates without a first degree)¹⁰¹⁷ was still reaffirmed on paper, it seems as though the Centre had no choice when faced with the changing economic landscape of the early to mid-1980s. Could it keep up with the most recent trend of registering less well-funded cohorts, or attempt to break with this financially deleterious trend and allocate a significant amount of energy to the selection of the academically fittest as a new admission policy? Neither option was entirely positive. On the one hand, the lack of postgraduate grants meant that the CCCS core members would eventually be a majority of part-timers, which dangerously threatened the sustained intellectual activity and collective research practices the Centre needed to exist. On the other, as grant funding was not systemic (by the early 1980s SSRC and DES quota places dedicated to CCCS students had disappeared, leaving only rare quota places that had to be fought for with tenacity), the few left grants which could be obtained by CCCS students had become the exception and not the rule of CCCS postgraduate funding. This almost exceptional character of the few lucky funded students could therefore become the basis on which the intellectual life of the Centre could survive in a sustainable way, and research centres rarely survive when funded on an exceptional basis, as the exception is, by definition, not the norm. While not actively preventing less-than-academically-excellent students from applying for a CCCS postgraduate program, this new CCCS registration policy did push for the integration of students who would be more likely to secure grants and more steadily fuel the Centre's intellectual life. This policy, while providing the Centre with academically high-performing students, could be interpreted as going against the political ethos of the Centre, and the historical commitment of the CCCS to relative academic openness and incrimination of University directives (by selecting students with upper-second or lower second degrees, and not only firsts; and officially

¹⁰¹⁶ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

¹⁰¹⁷ Supporting the idea of a non-professional, less elitist-driven academic environment which openness would foster collective and individual quality intellectual work.

regretting that the University would not allow students with lower grades to be admitted.)

While it did allow the Centre to get a second wind after Stuart Hall's departure and in the midst of funding scarcity in the early 1980s, this policy also quite mechanically unfortunately came with serious drawbacks, which will be discussed more at length further on. These drawbacks found their roots in a sheer lack of resources and a consequence of human factors, which, at the Centre, had a stronger impact than on other research units, due to its democratically informed, horizontal working practices. Such impact will be explored below.

In 1986 the political conjuncture would once more make its way to the CCCS's front page, as from then on the SSRC disappeared altogether from the annual report to be replaced by the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council), as the funding body had been renamed and its missions revised by the government after 1982.¹⁰¹⁸ This shift was initiated in 1981 when Sir Keith Joseph, under the aegis of Margaret Thatcher, commissioned an "independent review into the scale and character of the SSRC".¹⁰¹⁹ The Rothschild Inquiry that ensued was seen by the SSRC as a "potentially dangerous attack".¹⁰²⁰ While the press widely circulated the idea that the inquiry would recommend abolishing the SSRC altogether, its final conclusions were somewhat supportive of the work of the council, as, according to Rothschild, "It would be an act of intellectual vandalism to destroy the Council".¹⁰²¹ However, the recommendations included provisions for a change of name whereby the SSRC would lose the word 'science' in favour of the word 'economic' and (as changes are rarely only cosmetic) should focus on empirical research of 'public concern'. In the words of the then SSRC/ESRC chair Michael Posner:

*[Posner] would have been happy for it to have been renamed 'the White Fish Authority' as long as it was allowed to continue funding high-quality social science research. 'We did a deal,' says Posner reflecting on this time. 'The deal was that we suffer more financial deals but the Council survived. The deal was that we had won'.*¹⁰²²

Posner's last quoted sentences could summarise the ethos of most humanities and social sciences research-related structures during the 1980s, evidencing the high price for survival during the Thatcher decade.

¹⁰¹⁸ Gaber, Annaliza; Gaber, Ivor; Fox, Selina. ESRC - The First Forty Years. December 2005, <https://www.ukri.org/publications/ssrc-and-esrc-the-first-forty-years/>. P.19.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid. P.16.

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid. P.17.

¹⁰²¹ Ibid.

¹⁰²² Ibid.

The DES (the CCCS's second most important research grant providing body) was replaced by the British Academy, which "took over the administration of its scheme for Postgraduate Studentships in the Humanities".¹⁰²³ Both institutional changes somewhat felt like the rug was being pulled from under the feet of British cultural studies in the early 1980s. The 'Grants' section of the 1984-1985 report makes clear that the British Academy (BA) had indeed replaced the DES in the terrain of postgraduate funding. Such a sudden transition from a government body to a private (though partially publicly funded) body to be responsible for the allocation of postgraduate grants in the humanities in the country raises questions, which may go beyond the strict scope of this research.¹⁰²⁴ Briefly, however, when looking at the written history of the BA, it is said that the academy's public funding slowly increased from 1962 on¹⁰²⁵, was then directly (though still partly) funded by the UGC in the 1970s¹⁰²⁶, and was, in the 1980s, "invited by the DES to take over the administration of its scheme for Postgraduate Studentship in the Humanities. The Academy felt somewhat bounced into accepting, but did formally take on the role in 1984."¹⁰²⁷ 1984 was the beginning of what Morgan refers to as the new British right's High Noon¹⁰²⁸ moment (which would last until 1990), and the substitution of one public historical body for another private, perhaps more docile one in the context of postgraduate funding seems to be on brand with an increasingly radicalised Conservative government. According to its own historiography, the BA is said to have worked towards the creation of a Council for Research in the Humanities since the 1960s¹⁰²⁹, which would not fully materialise before the very beginning of the next century in 2005.¹⁰³⁰ However when the switch from the DES to the BA took place, the then President of the BA declared:

¹⁰²³ The British Academy. *Some Notes on the British Academy 1902-2002*. <https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/2733/some-notes-1902-2002.pdf>. Accessed October 16th 2023. P.20

¹⁰²⁴ A historical account of the DES explaining why such proregatives were revoked from the Department would be needed.

¹⁰²⁵ The British Academy. *Celebrating 12 Decades of the British Academy*. 2022, https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/4441/Celebrating_12_Decades_of_the_British_Academy.pdf. [Accessed January 30th, 2024]. P. 14.

¹⁰²⁶ *Ibid.* P. 16.

¹⁰²⁷ *Ibid.* P. 18.

¹⁰²⁸ Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P. 468.

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid.* P. 14.

¹⁰³⁰ See Conisbee, Molly. *The History of the Arts and Humanities Research Council*. 2008, [https://archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/AHRC.html#:~:text=The%20Arts%20and%20Humanities%20Research%20Council%20\(AHRC\)%20was%20launched%20on,Humanities%20Research%20Board%20\(AHRB\)](https://archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/AHRC.html#:~:text=The%20Arts%20and%20Humanities%20Research%20Council%20(AHRC)%20was%20launched%20on,Humanities%20Research%20Board%20(AHRB)).

*The development continued a trend visible over recent years by which the Academy was drawn increasingly into the ambit of government; on the other hand, the absence of a research council for the humanities and the importance of maintaining the Academy's responsibility for them made this inevitable.*¹⁰³¹

Although it remains true that an official, clearly identified council for humanities research did not exist before 2005, the DES did act as a funding source for research objects and disciplines, including the humanities, and to some extent acted as a partial de facto research council. And the frontier between the humanities and social sciences is sometimes a fluctuating one. As a matter of fact, the CCCS relied on funding strategies linked to both the DES and the SSRC in order to try and maximise the number of postgraduate grants the CCCS could possibly secure yearly, a strategy that proved successful and rather stable until 1979. Richard Johnson reflected upon such strategies in a 2022 interview:

*I think on the whole the Art Faculty was more favourable to us than the Social Sciences turned out to be. And of course, we did have a dilemma in this university because we could genuinely qualify as social science and genuinely qualify as arts because of the transdisciplinary, interdisciplinary nature of the subject. We had the same possibility with the DES and the SSRC, the humanities and the social sciences. So we could apply for grants for both, depending on the subject, depending on the student. So we always had [to try and assess], “which was the best” and “which was the safest”. It turned out, I think arts was rather the safest. [...] you’d have to conform to the requirements of what a good application would be for the DES or the SSRC, and we did have board disputes. I remember that we applied with ones, we thought were more social science and they said no, these are arts and we pushed across to the other body (laughs).*¹⁰³²

This account somewhat contributes a different account to the BA’s official history and sense of responsibility expressed by its president in 1984, as the DES did fund humanities postgraduate programs up until 1984, however, without the framework of an official dedicated research council. Furthermore, the fact that the DES had begun to severely lose funding since 1979 had certainly weakened its work and scope, making it easier for a government not looking too kindly at the DES to justify switching to the BA, thus politically discriminating funding recipients and diverting funding from a number of research units, which did not politically align with the

¹⁰³¹ The British Academy. Celebrating 12 Decades of the British Academy. 2022, https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/4441/Celebrating_12_Decades_of_the_British_Academy.pdf. [Accessed January 30th, 2024]. P. 18.

¹⁰³² Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15th, 2022. P.7-8.

government¹⁰³³. As a result, the Centre's postgraduate funding was indeed drastically reduced after 1984 and the CCCS, partially as a result, ended up merging with the Department of Sociology a couple of years later.

Perhaps as a result of such an overtly political change in the CCCS's two main grant providing bodies, the tone of the Centre's report became more critical than usual about the University of Birmingham's choice to raise student fees on a yearly basis. Beyond the usual disclaimer ("It is part of the policy of the present government to force universities to extract high fees from postgraduate students")¹⁰³⁴ registration fees were indeed openly criticised in the 1985-1986 annual report in the following manner: "The following were the fees for 1985-6 with their discriminatory distinction between UK/EEC and 'Overseas' students".¹⁰³⁵ They amounted to £520 for a bachelor's degree, £1632 for a postgraduate degree for domestic and EEC students, £3395 for overseas students and £408 for part-time registration. With such figures, one may begin to consider part-time registration as the only viable possibility for postgraduate studies. The 'Project Fund' was still running in 1985-1985 and taken out of the CCCS members' earnings to try and mitigate the rise in registration fees.

It therefore seems that from 1979 the CCCS was financially attacked on several fronts, as it watched its main sources of funding slowly being severed. This would have a dramatic impact on all aspects of the Centre's life, be it governance, admissions, the running of degrees, research practices, teaching and research balance, work and life balance, etc. It eventually led to a suffocating state which could not handle the deathly blow brought about by the infamous Jarratt Report, published in 1985 and discussed in the Adversaries section (press 3.7). The next section will deal with governance and appointments.

Academic Year	Part-time registration fee	Full-time registration fee (Bachelor's degree)	Full-time registration fee (postgraduate degree)	Overseas students registration fee
1980-1981	217	no cultural studies BA degree on offer	1167	2062
1981-1982	260	no cultural studies BA degree on offer	1320	2657
1982-1983	305	no cultural studies BA degree on offer	1413	2770
1983-1984	374	480	1494	2975
1984-1985	392	500	1569	3230
1985-1986	408	520	1632	3395
1986-1987	420	420	1680	3570
1987-1988	435	420	1680	3570

Figure 11 – Table synthesising the rise in student registration fees at the University of Birmingham from 1980 to 1988 (in £)

¹⁰³³ Discussion with Mak Wickham-Jones, Whatsapp, January 30th, 2024.

¹⁰³⁴ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 12.

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid.

3.3.2. Governance and appointments

3.3.2.1. *When panic mellows to challenge*

When one goes over the Centre's annual reports, is it visually and textually difficult to detect that profound changes were taking place in 1979, affecting the core structure of the CCCS. Indeed, the two successive reports covering the period have the same front page and layout, and before reading the first section traditionally dedicated to the Director's Report, the only clue indicating that deep transformations were developing is the mention of Richard Johnson as "acting director" and the fact that Stuart Hall's name is not mentioned on the membership list anymore. The "Acting Director's Report" is therefore a paramount source of information to understand the tidal wave faced by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the very end of the 1970s. It reads:

It is difficult to write a coherent account of the last year since it has been, in many ways, a year of transitions. At the time of writing (November 1979) most of these transitions are incomplete. The most important change has been Stuart Hall's own 'transition' from the Directorship of the Centre to professor of Sociology at the Open University. Immediate response to this news combined a warm sense of pleasure for Stuart, heightened by his evident enjoyment of new prospects, with a rising sense of panic. How on earth were we going to cope without him? Since then, 'panic' has mellowed to 'challenge', but it is still difficult to convey the enormity of the prospect as it appeared after Stuart's first announcement.¹⁰³⁶

One striking element in the CCCS's history is the fact that wherever you go and whoever you talk to, archive material and people who have been members of the Centre either have a strong 'Stuart' component to them, or spontaneously volunteer how instrumental Stuart Hall was to the CCCS project and what an exceptional intellectual and person he was.¹⁰³⁷ The very annual report quoted above also contributed a version of this aspect of the CCCS's history: "The Centre, after Richard

¹⁰³⁶ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

¹⁰³⁷ See for example Schwarz, Bill. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 5 2022. P.3-4.

Hoggart, was, in many ways, Stuart's own creation."¹⁰³⁸ It is therefore possible to suggest that while the Centre was Richard Hoggart's brainchild, it was certainly Stuart Hall who stayed in Birmingham and raised the baby until it could walk and have complex conversations about hidden ideological messages in the media. Stuart Hall leaving the CCCS was one, if not the most difficult chapter in its history, and unsurprisingly accordingly difficult to write about.

Part of the reason why this moment in the CCCS's history is so complex to put on paper is because the actual reasons for Hall to leave Birmingham are intrinsically linked to what made the CCCS so special on the academic spectrum: its collaboration-based model, its dedication to multiple types of research objects, its freedom of research practices and its very high level of personal involvement. In Richard Johnson's own words:

*Many of [the Centre's] distinctive features were initially of [Stuart's] making. This included the early commitment to collaborative styles of intellectual work and, in the last four years or so, the encouragement of a greater degree of pluralism or polycentricity in terms both of approaches and the way the work is organised.*¹⁰³⁹

If one looks at the longest and most exhaustive interview Stuart Hall has ever given to Paul Thompson as part of the *Pioneers of Social Science Research*, quoted elsewhere in this work, it does seem that these very features implemented with Stuart Hall's active support were, in the end, the very reason why he eventually withdrew from the CCCS:

I: So I think we've got a good idea now about the Centre and what you managed to do there. Why did you decide to leave?

R: I decided to leave for two reasons. One was that every year the same pattern would recur. We would start – [...] And [some students would] want to – in the spirit of '68 – re-write the curriculum. Well, was I ready for that? I wasn't sure. [...] So I thought, "Time for you to go. Time for you to go and give it independence. Let it go on. Find another niche for yourself. Another place for yourself". My experience in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and the New Left, had always been that you mustn't confuse personal trajectories with institutional ones. Institutions persist, and you aren't the right person for it any longer, tough luck. Get out. But don't think that because you've gone, the project has stopped. And it hadn't. It'll go on – as it did. It'll develop

¹⁰³⁸ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

¹⁰³⁹ Ibid.

a new emphasis - as it did. But you may not be happy any longer, doing that. The second thing was a sort of version of that, which was we had worked so hard to try to run and organise the Centre collaboratively. [...] well, this [creates] extremely creative tension, but it is a tension, and, you know, well, I wasn't always up to it, is the answer. [...] Well, as you can see, these two aspects come together, because one of the things that the students were criticising were exactly the absence of feminist issues. "Why aren't we reading Juliet Mitchell as much as we're reading Edward Thompson?" "Why aren't we looking at Kristeva as well as Levi-Strauss?" etc.. Well, the answer to that is, "There were no good reasons!" (LAUGHS) [...] It taught me a very very important lesson about the distinction between change in theory, and in practice. Men can be as feminist as they like in their orientation, beliefs, what they subscribe to, their ideology, their politics, but their actual practice remains stubbornly fixed in older gendered modes. I didn't like being thought of as believing that theory was masculine, but well, I suppose I sort of did. [...] So I began to look for a way out.¹⁰⁴⁰

Here Stuart Hall shed light on his political career prior to joining the Centre, which in many ways fuelled his investment in the CCCS's project in 1964 and throughout the 1970s. Being part of CND, the New Left and negotiating the difficult relationship of the British Left with the Labour Party after 1956¹⁰⁴¹ consisted of a dense political upbringing Stuart Hall eventually partly invested in an academic endeavour that lasted well beyond most political projects he had undertaken before. Furthermore, as underlined above, he had become so central to the project that facing a reassessment or challenges to the project came to be too much for one person to handle. Perhaps, and this is only speculation, Stuart Hall's political acumen allowed him not to become the dictator of cultural studies and leave, while other intellectual figures at the forefront of their newly recognised structures may, in his place, have used their accumulated scientific capital in order to secure their high position in an emerging subfield and govern it authoritatively. Perhaps the very fact that the CCCS was imbued with left-wing, radical political values and practices was the reason why its research output and organisation were being challenged from within to the point where the notion of power itself was regularly being discussed and deconstructed, thanks to the development of early women's¹⁰⁴² and race studies frameworks within the Centre. In the end, it is perhaps the political nature of the CCCS which prevented it from becoming enfeoffed to an individual's agenda. The Centre survived Stuart Hall's departure as it took place after its autonomy had been secured.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Hall, Stuart in Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research*, 1996-2018. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P.7-9.

¹⁰⁴¹ Sanchez, Eléana, and Mark Wickham-Jones. 'Stuart Hall, the New Left, and the Labour Party'. *Contemporary British History*, Nov. 2024, pP. 1–35. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2024.2424906>.

¹⁰⁴² The impact of the Centre's Feminism will be tackled below.

Stuart Hall's way out, as Richard Johnson underlined in his 1979 "Acting Director's Report", would take the form of a Chair of Sociology at the Open University. The fact that four of the strongest features of CCCS research (collaborative research, democratic decision-making, high personal involvement and representation of different research objects) were at the core of its second director's decision to leave its post contributes yet another example illustrating the (soon to be) historical rule that each CCCS director has left the role in difficult circumstances, strongly linked to their own investment in the Centre. In each case, the Centre had become too heavy a burden to bear for its successive directors and functioned at the expense of those thanks to whom it enjoyed an international reputation.

Hall's reflection in 2012 (at the time of the *Pioneers of Social Research* interview) that him leaving the CCCS would not jeopardise it was qualified as early as 1979 by Richard Johnson's "Acting Director Report":

*Stuart's departure, then, made it certain that the Centre would not, could not, stay quite the same. It also commenced a period of some uncertainty about what the future would be. We had first to convince the university, in a climate that was adverse in more than one way, that the post of director should be filled at all. This has now been achieved, not without difficulties.*¹⁰⁴³

The tone of the 1979-1980's "Acting Director's Report" finds itself in between the neutral, official tone of the early reports and the partiality and cheekiness of the later director's reports (during most of the 1970s), described in our second chapter dealing with the 1968-1979 period. This change in tone matches the changes in the directorship and marks a shift in the editorial line, as a result of Richard Johnson's appointment and the overall difficult situation faced by the Centre on administrative grounds: the annual report had become more than an internal document, it had become a tool to inform the Centre's network of its current state¹⁰⁴⁴ and to defend it against attempts at closing it altogether. In Richard Johnson's own words, it became a platform used to be "allowed to exist when Stuart left".¹⁰⁴⁵

¹⁰⁴³ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

¹⁰⁴⁴ "I wrote all the [reports] after 1980, and we tried to be as explicit as possible about our situation partly for our allies. And so we were conscious that these documents would go to allies as well, they were not just internal documents. So that's related to networking, keeping people informed about our situation." In Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15 2022. P.3.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibid. P.10.

In a recent interview, Richard Johnson shed light on the circumstances leading to his nomination as the new CCCS director:

I never took any decisions without discussions with colleagues and an also with students. So I- I made a joke at the 50-year conference, someone introduced me as a past director of the central I said, I was never a director. I was a survivor, and we were three. And we always took decisions together. And I was saying, and I believe that Michael should have been director because he was the most fantastically good administrator and networker and I was useless at networking and my skill was with the students and Michael was also a very good teacher but I had a commitment to the project which is very strong, keeping it going and with the students doing that because that was my politics right from 68. And Michael and Maureen were wonderful, but we were a triumvirate. I never took a decision on my own, ever, about anything. [...] And so, I just wanted to say that because I didn't want you to be misled about the type of director I was, because I had more of a publication profile and we talked about it, me and Michael talked about it and decided that I would do it.¹⁰⁴⁶

Richard Johnson's description sheds a different light on the CCCS's 1979 director shift. By using the word 'survivor' he indeed provides a starkly different picture to Stuart Hall's 'institutions endure' discourse. Of course cleaning up the mess is more difficult than causing it by leaving. As a matter of fact, Richard Johnson went on to explain just how sudden and somewhat violent Stuart Hall's departure had been for the remaining staff members:

I: Was- was Stuart involved in the discussions [regarding the new directorship]?

Richard Johnson: No Stuart left us, he really left us.

I: Okay.

Richard Johnson: Yeah. I mean, I can see why- some of the reasons why- that he needed a fresh start, he said- he told me 'I'm no longer able to cope with some of these issues' [...]. But I think he did say to me and- first of all early on he said 'This is hopelessly over ambitious this project' and then later he said, 'I just can't, there are things I can't cope with anymore'.

I: Hmm.

Richard Johnson: He went, and non-surprisingly. He really went. I mean, he didn't- we lost contact.¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴⁶ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15 2022. P.28.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ibid. P.29.

This abrupt departure fits into a wider reflection on individual involvement in the Centre's project, which seems to have cost too heavy a price for its three official successive directors. This point is addressed in more depth below.

Furthermore, this account of the 1979 directorship transition from Hall to Johnson, and should we say, to Michael Green, Richard Johnson and Maureen McNeil, provided the title for the third part of this research: the triumvirate. In terms of governance, this suggests, in hindsight, that it took three accomplished academics working collaboratively to fill the Stuart Hall shaped hole left at the Centre after 1979. To extend the metaphor about the CCCS being Richard Hoggart's brainchild and Stuart Hall's adopted toddler, the Centre, by the end of the 1970s, had become the foster child of a rather peculiar household, going through an adverse political conjuncture in British political history during which less and less child support was granted to academic parents. This director shift, by taking the form of a triumvirate, however, shifted the tide and turned the directorship role into an even more democratic one, as decisions were discussed by all three members of staff, making all three academics accountable for the Centre's survival at a time when its survival was indeed threatened at every corner. It also converted the directorship into a stronger instance: an unofficial (Richard Johnson was sole official CCCS director) shielding hydra, protective of the cultural studies project, drawing on the strengths of each of its members. Nevertheless the new official CCCS director was Richard Johnson, has was appointed after a complex unofficial process which heavily relied on the Centre's academic networks within the University of Birmingham's Faculty of Arts. As Richard Johnson explains:

We decided we couldn't afford- we had to have the best chance we could for one of us [between Michael Green and Richard Johnson] to be actually accepted. Because imagine what would happen if we'd had an appointment procedure, it had to be an unofficial procedure, and they'd said, no, this candidate isn't adequate to being director. Well, that would have meant the end of the project. So we had to put the best bit in we could. So I did that, but we also- and it must have been Micheal I think, who tried to make sure that the appointment panel was constituted a favourable people, people who were on our side. And there was somebody I forgot to mention last time we were talking about this was Professor Fage and he was Dean, I think, at that time it had been or was Dean of Faculty of Arts, and he was also head of the Center of West African Studies. And he was a- A powerful supporter because he was Dean and I think he may have been on the panel. But anyway, he was, along with Rodney [Hilton, Historian], he was one of our best supporters in Arts, and I suspect that he was a major influence on us surviving Stuart's departure. [...] So I had an interview. I wrote a document and I got appointed. So that's how that happened.

This account highlights just how well the Centre was supported by prominent individuals in other academic disciplines, departments or centres within the University of Birmingham, which highlights the strength of its networks at the end of the 1970s,

as one could argue that while the Centre had survived the departure of its first director between 1968 and 1972, it was very unlikely to survive the departure of its second director, who had shaped the CCCS into the Birmingham School, no less.

In the midst of these foreseeable transitions, another change was to deeply impact the Centre:

*It was perhaps appropriate that Stuart Hall and Joan Goode (the Centre Secretary) should leave in the course of the same year, but Joan's departure [...] was a major loss to the Centre. Between them, these two people combined much of the conventional (and unconventional) wisdom of the place, so that their departure has involved successors in a certain amount of improvisation.*¹⁰⁴⁸

Joan Goode has been a rather invisible figure in this work of research so far. She began working at the CCCS as a part-time librarian in 1965, then left in 1968 and came back to become the Centre's main secretary in 1974. She finally left in 1979. Her importance shall not be understated, however, as she was very much present in "unconventional" or, rather, unofficial documents found in the CCCS archive. She seems to have been an essential figure in the overall organisation of the Centre. Such unofficial documents include weekly agendas typed by students, listing Centre events mixed with unofficial information. One example of such a document is the twenty-fifth agenda describing the week starting on Monday 24th of May, 1976 (the scope of which was analysed in the second part of this thesis). The agenda in question described the whole week, including social events in the life of CCCS:

*See also latest publication: why I just love the centre by joan goode. IMPORTANT JOAN is threatening not to show at... the centre 'gig' (put on your dancing shoes). now we all know that joan apart from being a real sweatie is real good at dancing so what can we do. right you've got it. come on joan how can you do this to us. We can promise you a dance with twinkle toes tommy tucker (minus cricket boots) a discussion with ian connell about balck (sic) pudding and a chance to buy everybody a drink. how can you resist.*¹⁰⁴⁹

¹⁰⁴⁸ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹⁰⁴⁹ CCCS Agenda May 24, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 1-2.

Such level of amicable bonding between the Centre's students and its administrative staff members evidenced in this document contributes to indicating that Joan Goode was indeed a member of the CCCS who should not be overlooked, both at an unofficial, such as here, and official level, as shall be shown below.

Richard Johnson's declaration regarding Joan Goode's departure in the 1979-1980 annual report contributed to consecrate her role at the CCCS, a role she described herself in a letter she wrote upon leaving her post, entitled "A Secretary's Progress in the Centre".¹⁰⁵⁰ In this two-page letter, Joan Goode provided insight on the Centre's everyday life, which could be found in neither the annual reports nor the interviews. In keeping with the parenting metaphor used earlier, she states: "I did just miss the confinement and birth of the baby, but perhaps might claim to be its first 'wet nurse'. The first part-time secretary/librarian that SH had."¹⁰⁵¹ During her six years as Centre secretary Joan Goode witnessed the evolution of the Centre up to the last crisis she would observe:

*On my return [in 1974], what impressed me immediately was the complete change in emphasis on the Centre's work. [...] the strong element of Centre feminists [had arrived], as well as the "contradictions" we're talking about. But as Blake says, 'Without Contraries there is not progression'. And to my mind the Centre certainly has progressed. From crisis to crisis, through 'Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Energy....', but – progress. And progressed through the very nature of its crises. The latest one strikes me as being healthier than many preceding ones, partly because it is being brought out and looked at, instead of being buried and skated over. Keep talking!*¹⁰⁵²

This paragraph highlights the fact that the Centre was not only about putting on one's dancing shoes, as some of its agendas highlight, but went through sometimes deeply fraught periods. A direct connection can be made here between this quote and the reasons expressed by Stuart Hall for leaving the Centre. Joan Goode referred to the CCCS as being in a nearly constant state of crisis ("from crisis to crisis") and linked "the latest one" to the arrival of "strong element of Centre feminists."¹⁰⁵³ On that particular subject, she went on to say:

¹⁰⁵⁰ CCCS Agenda May 24, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid. P. 1.

¹⁰⁵² Ibid. P. 1.

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid. P. 1.

*I'm not a militant, but I am [sic] a feminist, and have taken great pleasure in the companionship and growth of feminism in the Centre. I would like to see the women's group not only more certain of their destination, but getting more help from the rest of the Centre members in finding their way there.*¹⁰⁵⁴

This therefore confirms that feminist forces within the Centre were establishing themselves in difficult terrain. While this element of CCCS history is also discussed in chapter two (in the Women's studies group subchapter), these elements nevertheless further evidence that feminism crystallised tensions affecting both the Centre's research practices in the form of the Women's Studies group (let us think again about what Stuart Hall described: "Can you have a caucus, a gendered caucus, while maintaining a collective project?" And the answer to that is, 'Ideally, of course, you can. But practically it puts a lot of strain on people.')¹⁰⁵⁵; and in terms of power dynamics (again, let us see Stuart Hall's already quoted comment: "one of the things that the students were criticising was exactly the absence of feminist issues. 'Why aren't we reading Juliet Mitchell as much as we're reading Edward Thompson?' [...] Well, the answer to that is, 'There were no good reasons!' [LAUGHS]").¹⁰⁵⁶ Such fundamental changes, brought about by an evolution in gender demographics and politics within the Centre and to the emergence of Women's liberation, led to the last crisis Stuart Hall would live through as the CCCS's director: the crisis, which would also prompt him to leave. It therefore appears that the restructuring of the CCCS's practices in response to the appearance of feminism was both a strength, for the Women's Studies group's work and publications became CCCS publication landmarks and led several former Centre members to become successful academics (let us think here of Angela McRobbie at Goldsmith, Dorothy Hobson at Wolverhampton, Lucy Bland at Anglia Ruskin, Chris Griffin at Bath and Hazel Carby at Yale, among others) as they redefined the field of cultural studies quite shortly after it had become established; and both a weakness, as it destabilised the Centre's balance and indirectly made it switch from a single director to a triumvirate. One broader comment could be made about the extent to which feminism rocked the boat of more than one academic structure, as it was partially born out of the Women's Liberation Movement officialised at Ruskin College, Oxford, in 1970, which goal was nothing less than to transform the world. Such tectonic changes would not be likely to be reflected in the Centre's report and administrative structure, as Richard Johnson and Michael Green, shortly after joined by Maureen McNeil, were focused on keeping CCCS alive and dealing with operational matters, rather than yet again revolutionising the entire course structure.

¹⁰⁵⁴ CCCS Agenda May 24, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 1.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Hall, Stuart in Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research*, 1996-2018. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P.7-9.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ibid.

To conclude with this director shift, while it may paradoxically have been one of the most troubled times in the CCCS's history, shaking the Centre's core and leading to an unplanned change in the directorship organisation, the overall structure and work of the Centre remained officially stable and even continued to expand, as if the Centre itself had become, although at great human cost, strong enough to resist the seismic tremors due to the rise to prominence of the Women's Liberation Movement and the power struggles ensuing from it, against a backdrop of growing economic stringency and in the wake of Margaret Thatcher's rise to power.

The following year allows us to enter the 1980s. The twelfth CCCS annual report covers the period from November 1979 to January 1981, and its cover stands out from the previous two reports, which shared the same layout, without images. This new report has an illustration on its cover, reproduced below:



Figure 12 – Illustration on the front cover of the twelve CCCS annual report (1980-1981)

Between 1980 and 1985, the annual report covers were made by Tony Fry, and by *Tony Fry, Collective Design Midlands*. Tony Fry first registered at the Centre in 1980 as a full-time PhD student and studied international design. He is today a professor at the University of Tasmania. The illustration on the front cover of the twelfth report is comprised of a small image of the earth, from which stems what seems to be a brass instrument originating in the West Midlands and playing the sound “Brummm” for the whole world (and outer space) to hear: Brum is Birmingham’s nickname and can also refer to the University of Birmingham. The design represents the voice of Birmingham

as actually being the Centre's voice: in 1980, according to its own members, the CCCS's research aimed at talking to the world.

The then "[new] Director's report" dealt with the process of Richard Johnson's appointment as the new Centre director, in hindsight. Until February 1980 Richard Johnson remained acting director, and was then only offered the official position of director for five years, "in the first instance"¹⁰⁵⁷, thus evidencing the University of Birmingham's lack of trust and support for the future of the Centre. However, the fact that Richard Johnson was already a professor before joining the Centre seemed to have secured the director's position beyond the five-year limit: "The offer was accepted [...] on the understanding that the five-year term was attached to my own position and would not prejudice the future of the Centre as an established department of the University."¹⁰⁵⁸ It was, however, not a guarantee and the CCCS still found itself in a precarious institutional situation.

Beyond this process, the most significant change in 1980-1981 was Maureen McNeil's arrival, described positively in the report: "This appointment was very significant for the Centre in a number of ways. [...] We warmly welcome her."¹⁰⁵⁹ In the report it seems as though Maureen McNeil was a perfect fit for the Centre: "Dr. McNeil's wide range of enthusiasm – especially in the philosophy and history of science and in the history and cultures of domestic and waged labour – have both complemented and extended our present competences."¹⁰⁶⁰ Her appointment represented both the continuity of the Centre's activities, finally accepted by the University of Birmingham (as it allowed for Stuart Hall's post to be filled), and the various research objects the CCCS was interested in at the beginning of the 1980s.

This new appointment's significance was analysed by Richard Johnson in a 2022 interview:

RJ: Maureen made all the difference of course, and was wonderful, supporting the women, and the men as well. I think as feminism sort of gets hold then it fits policies for admission when, we always thought from an early stage that numbers were quite important. The number of women in the centre was really significant. So there was a deliberate policy to try to aim up to a 50/50 membership in the hope... I don't know, whether we reached that, you would be able to tell (laughs) but

¹⁰⁵⁷ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid.

*it was always... It was always an aim, and since women and students and some of the women were on the admissions committee that decided on policy and interviewed people, then it was a real commitment, and of course Stuart's replacement had to be a woman, there wasn't any question about that.*¹⁰⁶¹

Johnson's last remark further highlights the magnitude of the crisis through which the Centre lived at the end of the 1970s, which led Stuart Hall to leave and join the Open University. Beyond the fact that the CCCS was weakened by Hall's departure, the fact that his replacement 'had' to be a woman shows that the Centre, as an institution, recognised the legitimacy and validity of feminist intellectual practices.

However, even though Maureen McNeil's appointment primarily aimed at answering yet another crisis in the CCCS's history, it seems as though it only partially solved the issues at hand at the end of the 1970s:

*RJ: So I think we had, we, one of our tasks was to try and take this [Feminism] on board and then Maureen comes and that has good results because the women are fully supported and it has not such good results I think because it took some of the burden off us [Richard Johnson and Michael Green], so we didn't have to take an initiative in the gender area. [...] I think what happened, what then happened was the- this sort of classic division of the division of labour, really? So that Maureen was looking after the women, produced women's books and then everybody else, included the women, but didn't include the full force of a feminist critique.*¹⁰⁶²

Several things are meaningful here. First, the fact that by solving Stuart Hall's departure by recruiting Maureen McNeil, Richard Johnson and Michael Green had made a decision which impacted women's representation within the Centre: when all staff members had always been men, starting in 1980-1981 a woman was part of the newly formed triumvirate. However, and this is linked to the second elements which should be stressed here, a shift in gender representation did not equal a shift in the overall practices of the Centre. Instead, to some extent, further fragmentation took place at different levels: ideological, seminars and supervision. While CCCS subgroups already illustrated some fragmentation in research objects (be it work, history, education and so on), linked, to some extent, to research structured around a covert fragmentation in theoretical frameworks (Paul Willis' work being more of an ethnographic kind, Christine Griffin's being more tainted with psychoanalysis, Richard Johnson's work being more informed by cultural history, etc.), the way gender and feminism were integrated into the Centre's practices produced an overt erosion of

¹⁰⁶¹ Richard Johnson. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 3rd, 2022. P. 4-5.

¹⁰⁶² Ibid.

the main theoretical framework — Marxism — leading to the integration of a feminist and anti-racist framework, two political hot buttons which had an impact beyond the context of subgroup research. Furthermore, it is also important to focus on the language used to depict Maureen McNeil's "mission" at CCCS. In this quote Richard Johnson describes how McNeil "took some of the burden off us", illustrating, again, that even though attempts were made at "tak[ing] up seriously issues raised by feminism", as the very first page of each CCCS annual report stated after 1978, conducting and supervising feminist intellectual work was still considered a woman's job, even at a time when feminist concerns had made the Centre so fragile that a change in directorship was needed, replacing a lone director with a three-headed directing team. Therefore the intended shift was not complete. While emerging female representation and feminist research interests and agendas had been partially catered to by the CCCS, however, and to quote Richard Johnson again, the CCCS's overall work didn't, even after 1979, "include the full force of a feminist critique".¹⁰⁶³

Maureen McNeil's appointment therefore indirectly prompted the compartmentalisation of some elements of the CCCS's governance, reflected in the triumvirate's division of work depicted by Richard Johnson. Integrating feminist questions, frameworks and working practices thus, in a compartmentalised way, does seem to allow such research areas to flourish under the aegis of a recognised structure, though in a limited fashion. Nonetheless, by not integrating feminist concerns into the main cultural studies framework, by allowing feminism and feminist scholars to evolve alongside cultural studies, by keeping feminism in an awkward position at the margins of cultural studies and not committing to it fully, the CCCS missed out on the possibility of strengthening and expanding its framework beyond further, beyond an older, partially inadequate model. By failing to fully become feminist scholars, the Centre was also unsuccessful in addressing research concerns in an increasingly accurate way, as no understanding of society can be complete without a framework that addresses gendered power dynamics.

As a matter of fact and to link a gendered view of the Centre to the level of involvement afforded by its cohorts, in practice the Centre's gender ratio, according to several former CCCS students¹⁰⁶⁴, was remembered as being closer to a third (one third of CCCS female students, two-thirds male).¹⁰⁶⁵ The membership list provided by

¹⁰⁶³ Richard Johnson. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 3rd, 2022. P. 4-5.

¹⁰⁶⁴ See Patricia McCabe. Personal Interview. March 29th, 2021. P. 6. And Christine Griffin. Personal Interview. April 19th, 2021. P.15.

¹⁰⁶⁵ The question of gender identification and the mention of transgender students is not discussed in any CCCS report and does not appear in the archive documents examined in this research. This present research will therefore discuss the gender ratio in CCCS students using the traditional denomination of male and female students. This does not mean an assumption has been made regarding the gender identification of all CCCS members, it rather reflects the absence of such discussions at the time and the lack of sufficient trustworthy information for the time being.

the 1980-1981 annual report helps establish an actual gender ratio reaching close to 40%, evidencing that, in most cases, the truth is often found in the middle. However, it is important to stress that the annual report membership lists contain all students registered at the Centre during a given year, including full-time students, part-time students, and attached students for thesis completing. This reflects a varying level of involvement on the part of students. Indeed some students were teaching or working elsewhere while taking classes at the CCCS and, therefore, were not available to attend the fortnightly general meetings and all CCCS activities. Others, however, may have only been formerly attached to the Centre and were not attending Centre meetings and seminars anymore, as they were solely focusing on thesis writing. Another group of CCCS students lived in other cities and were commuting every week to take part in seminars, and were therefore not always in Birmingham. As Patricia McCabe remembered, out of the more than seventy students registered at the Centre, only around thirty would attend the general meetings, including staff.¹⁰⁶⁶ This gap between official numbers and everyday research numbers evidences both the impact of government funding policies on the CCCS's activities and the reality of students' involvement in their research centre: not everyone could afford the time to discuss the inner workings of a research unit on a weekly basis and the Centre's administrative organisation did put a lot of strain on people, as it strongly relied on high personal investment. The annual report indeed states: "Applicants should bear in mind that Centre members take more collective responsibility for the Centre's activities and policies than is common elsewhere, and that they should have interests in these ways of working beyond the wish to complete a thesis."¹⁰⁶⁷

To conclude in the 1980-1981 academic year, the last element which shall be stressed is the role played by students in the CCCS's administrative affairs. While the last report read that "as many tasks as possible in the Centre (such as the promotion of contacts with publishers) are undertaken by groups"¹⁰⁶⁸, this 1980-1981 report reads in a somehow more mandatory fashion: "All members take part in at least one of the groups which run the Centre and help make its policies, for example in connection with the library, or publishing, or first-year undergraduate teaching."¹⁰⁶⁹ This required involvement resulted in "an extremely crammed week"¹⁰⁷⁰, a work rhythm which would become difficult to maintain in the following years. It seems as though the initial

¹⁰⁶⁶ See Patricia McCabe. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29th, 2021. P. 6

¹⁰⁶⁷ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹⁰⁶⁸ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹⁰⁶⁹ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibid.

impulse for a democratic and horizontal organisation shortly after 1968 had partially made way for a more pressing necessity: the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies could simply not function on the sole basis of its limited staff and had to rely on graduate student administrative work. While this necessity did certainly not erase the genuine will on the part of graduate students to take part in the Centre's affairs in a democratically informed fashion, it does raise the question of unpaid intellectual and administrative work, a pervasive enduring concern in academia.

The academic year 1981-1982 marked a period of deep pessimism at the Centre. The tone of the thirteenth annual report is the most alarming in annual reports so far, so much so that it reads like a Star Wars opening crawl¹⁰⁷¹:

*The period with which this report deals has been very paradoxical. There can hardly have been a year, since perhaps the height of the old Cold War, less favourable to maintaining a centre of open and critical social research in a British university. [...] In all disciplines, even where research is funded by the Department of Education and Science (its own budget cut by 25pc.), postgraduate students have now to subsist on a grant which provides a weekly income only little in excess of the dole. Evidently the government is committed to further erosion of this pittance. Finally, of course, the Universities have lost their previous relative immunity from a strategy of the open destruction of public institutions. [...] An alliance of public sector professionals and workers with those sectors of the population whose social wage is being eroded remains a feasible general strategy. [...] At Birmingham, the Senate is shortly to discuss, and in all probability approve an 'Academic Plan' which lists, for the convenience of the government and the UGC, those areas of study (and, by implication, actual persons) deemed dispensable at this time.*¹⁰⁷²

Here the political climate regarding higher education is being made painfully visible and echoes the context discussed in the historical background section. As Kenneth O. Morgan described in his *People's Peace*, "No group in society, however, symbolised the alienation of key institutions from the government more clearly than did the university teachers."¹⁰⁷³ In response to these political threats, the 1981-1982 CCCS annual report took the shape of a political pamphlet, as it was forced to defend itself.

¹⁰⁷¹ CCCS WARS. Created by Eléana Sanchez, edited by Kassellabs, mp4, 2023, <https://youtu.be/EklZJMhDe4g>.

¹⁰⁷² CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

¹⁰⁷³ Morgan, Kenneth O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. 2nd ed, Oxford University Press, 1999. P. 480.

Indeed the window was beginning to close on the Centre, which would struggle to stay afloat in its original shape until 1988.

Another structural element linked to the political climate can be found when looking at the Centre's new appointments, or rather lack thereof. Indeed, on the appointment front, one peculiar element found in this thirteenth 1981-1982 annual report is the acknowledgement of a failed attempt at creating a fourth post, aiming at strengthening the Centre. This disappointment is expressed as "a matter of deep regret (but scarcely of surprise)"¹⁰⁷⁴, which marks the last hope to ever strengthen the three-legged team secured by the CCCS during the 1970s. During the first few years of the Centre's life, Richard Hoggart was the only full-time tenured member of the research unit (Stuart Hall was then a research fellow and later on became "acting director"). Then, after Richard Hoggart's official departure from the University of Birmingham, Stuart Hall was eventually made official director of the Centre in 1973-1974.¹⁰⁷⁵ Michael Green, initially a member of the English Department who gradually became involved in the organisation of the Centre and came to define it in more than structural ways, was not transferred to the CCCS full-time before 1976-1977¹⁰⁷⁶, after the only other ever creation of a new post in the unit took place, that of Richard Johnson, who was appointed in 1974.¹⁰⁷⁷ When Stuart Hall left for the Open University in 1979, he was later replaced by Maureen McNeil and no other post was ever created to consolidate the Centre, which faced an increasing student intake, making the teaching staff/student ratio reach a figure of 1:26 (one staff member supervising the work of twenty-six graduate students on average).

As a not so indirect consequence, the report pays homage to the work of Paul Willis, said to be finishing his three-year research fellowship at the CCCS. Paul Willis first registered as a CCCS postgraduate student in the 1968-1969 year and registered as a PhD student and UNESCO research fellow the following year (during the 1969-1971 period). His work was then funded by either an SSRC or UGC grant from 1972 to 1982, except in 1976-1977 when he temporarily disappeared from the Centre membership list. Paul Willis was therefore a fundamental member of the CCCS in the

¹⁰⁷⁴ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Hall is first mentioned as official Director in the 1972-1974 CCCS annual report, published in January 1974 and dealing with the January 1973-January 1974 period. See CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹⁰⁷⁶ CCCS Annual report 1976-1977, 1977, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

¹⁰⁷⁷ CCCS Annual report 1972-1974, 1974, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

sense that he evolved as a precarious member of staff for the better part of the Centre's existence up to the beginning of 1982, being officially part of the CCCS for twelve years out of the total seventeen years since the founding of the Centre in 1964. His work on youth and his micro-ethnographic take on cultural studies is situated by most as being at the core of the CCCS cultural studies canon. His research was not the only aspect of his work that would become instrumental in the evolution of the Centre, as he also supervised graduate work¹⁰⁷⁸ much as would a permanent member of staff.

The CCCS report reflects this trajectory and stresses the importance of Paul Willis' work:

*It does give me a chance to point to the great significance of Paul Willis' strand in CCCS work perhaps the most important, which has taken the everyday life of working-class people as its main focus. He's consistently argued for taking the everyday knowledge produced there seriously, helping to give them, or their realism a greater public visibility and power. Learning to Labour, his first book, [...] stands four-square in our tradition of 'new left' research, recognisably allied, though in a different, more 'sociological', mode, with Richard Hoggart's Uses of Literacy and the finest social-historical writing of the 1960s and 1970s. it would be tragic if we 'lost' Paul after so long an association.*¹⁰⁷⁹

In this paragraph the political nature of the CCCS's research is being reassessed officially for the first time in quite some time, which again echoes the need for the Centre to defend its position within academia against government assaults on the social sciences and humanities. Reaffirming the New Left heritage of the Centre's research was also an answer to the Ruskin debate and E. P. Thompson's suggestion that politics never entered the doors of the Centre in a politically adverse national climate.

The paragraph is written in the first person, which in official CCCS documents is rare enough to be underlined. The first-person voice is that of Richard Johnson as the CCCS's director, annual report writer after 1979 and fervent advocate of social history. It feels therefore rather personal, going beyond the usual tone of an annual report. Although this hope of securing a fourth post for the CCCS does not appear clearly in former annual reports, the fact that this hope would fail to come true at the end of the

¹⁰⁷⁸ Patricia McCabe mentions in a 2021 personal interview that she was initially supervised by Paul Willis in 1977-1978, before switching to Christine Griffin after her recent appointment as SSRC research fellow in 1978-1979. See McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29, 2021. P. 6.

¹⁰⁷⁹ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

year 1981 eventually put an end to attempts at integrating Paul Willis into the Centre in a permanent capacity. To a certain extent, this paragraph reads as much as a homage as a recommendation letter, in the sense that it would likely be capital for the CCCS to support Paul Willis beyond his time at the Centre and help secure him a post elsewhere, as his work has become paramount to the cultural studies project. This paragraph also evidences that the CCCS relied heavily on the work, be it theoretical or administrative, or temporary staff members. In a 2021 personal interview, Richard Johnson reflected on the importance of Paul Willis' work:

Well when I first went [to the Centre, in 1974] because of the interest in Hoggart, I did have a sort of a friendship with Paul Willis and Paul was there as a research fellow I think he was doing his research, I can't remember what his status was but he was paid. And with Paul we had a field work group. And I've always been very strongly in favour of the sort of ethnographic element in cultural studies and this is why in my version of the circuit I include everyday life as a kind of category, that was a kind of point of the circuit and culture, because of its absence of Stuart's encoding/decoding model. And for me that engagement with everyday life was sort of politically incredibly important [...] to address everyday life experiences is so important and there's a whole strand in cultural studies that did that continued that, it wasn't just Paul, it was Christine Griffin.¹⁰⁸⁰

As seen in the Work Group subsection in Part Two, Paul Willis and Christine Griffin were responsible for the two most ambitious funded projects undertaken by the CCCS in the 1970s, a fact underlined by Christine Griffin in a 2022 personal interview.¹⁰⁸¹ As a matter of fact, the annual report also contains an homage to Christine Griffin's work:

There is a good point to report too on other CCCS research projects, especially those less closely connected with research students' work. Christine Griffin has been awarded a further six months grant from the SSRC Psychology Committee for the completion of her project on young women, work and the family [published by Routledge in 1985 under the title Typical Girls? Young Women Move From School to Work]. [...] In general Christine's work is increasingly well known in the various constituencies to which it relates: especially youth work with girls, the sociology of youth and of education, and the newer currents in social-

¹⁰⁸⁰ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview January 20, 2021. P. 11-12.

¹⁰⁸¹ "The only two major funded projects were Paul's and mine" see Griffin, Christine. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview January 6, 2022. P. 6.

*psychological research, a field until recently largely hostile to cultural studies approaches.*¹⁰⁸²

Again the fact that Christine Griffin's work should be described as "less closely connected with research students' work"¹⁰⁸³ is meaningful, a description that did not take into account the fact she was also supervising graduate student work while she was a CCCS research fellow (as she took over from Paul Willis to supervise Patricia McCabe, for instance). As the CCCS first longer-term female research fellow, her arrival at the Centre was welcomed by female CCCS students, as Patricia McCabe remembers:

*[...] there were quite a lot of female students, there was no female staff at the time, later on Chris Griffin joined and certainly from my point of view, that was big hm, a big change [...] As a social psychologist, she wasn't a Marxist. And she brought a kind of legitimacy to Feminism I suppose in a way.*¹⁰⁸⁴

Patricia McCabe's account of Christine Griffin's work at the Centre contrasts with the account given by the annual report, evidencing that Christine Griffin's work was, in fact, very much entangled with many aspects of CCCS students' work:

*[...] what Chris did was, I started working in, at the time I was doing youth work, initially as research, to create a research environment, but eventually also to get paid [...] What we did was that we set up a girl's night at a local youth club and Chris was involved in that with me so you know it felt like she was... Yeah, she was somebody who got on and did stuff really and was engaged and easy to you know, like me. She was very important to me, she was very supportive of that and she did it out of a political commitment you know so it was really helpful for me.*¹⁰⁸⁵

In this quote, Patricia McCabe shows that not only did Christine Griffin get involved in student research work, helping her set up a stable and supportive research environment, but was also deeply involved in organising political work emanating from the CCCS. The girl's nights at the youth centre fitted the organic intellectual

¹⁰⁸² CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5-6.

¹⁰⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁴ McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29, 2021. P. 6-8.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Ibid. P. 10.

description the Centre was aiming to achieve with its work, stressing the importance of popular education. The fact that it came from someone whose background was social psychology and not cultural studies (as by the time undergraduate degrees were available in the country) is meaningful, as it shows that the early vision of the Centre could also be accomplished by members who had not been trained in the cultural studies emerging tradition, signposting yet again the Centre's openness.

In keeping with this political commitment, Christine Griffin and Patricia McCabe also went as far as helping set up the first women's refuge in Birmingham. Patricia McCabe recalled her involvement in the refuge in a 2021 interview, which incidentally drove her away from research and strongly impacted her later career:

I think that probably was what pushed me. Those two things [the refuge and the girl's nights at the youth centre] pushed me away from academic work, yes we, I mean for me I just went to a public meeting and the next morning I was breaking into a listed building, you know, enormous house, almost because hm, you know, again that that's terrifying, so, if, you had the house full of women and children with no electricity sometimes, you know, it was, it was horrifying stuff. But yes, I, I did get very involved in that and it really meant moving in for you know, maybe weeks at a time and... Yeah, it began to be increasingly difficult to keep doing academic work when you were faced with you know, such immediate need really and yeah, so I've got very involved in that. And I think it was the combination of those two things, the work with girls themselves and the work around getting a refuge, the squat and then eventually and I, I mean, I was involved for a while with Women's Aid, I'm involved again now as chair of board of trustees but then I was involved for a while as a child worker, but I didn't stay involved forever, you know. But that, that pressure to create, to create the pressure for a refuge, you know, we didn't have any [women's refuge at the time], I mean now Women's Aid has five refuges in Birmingham. [...] But we didn't have any, there was nothing, there was no refuge there was nowhere for women to go so once we broke into this house and then set it up as a refuge, we were robbed, as you might imagine (laughs sadly). So yeah yeah, that was quite a big, big event in my life, certainly.¹⁰⁸⁶

In her process she was supported by Christine Griffin¹⁰⁸⁷, her graduate research supervisor and friend. This support contributed to enable her to be involved and conducting the type of political work which ended up determining her entire professional career, even at the cost of an academic one. As Patricia McCabe puts it,

¹⁰⁸⁶ McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29, 2021. P. 13-14.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Griffin, Christine. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 19, 2021. P. 8.

“I wanted to do youth work with young women, rather than doing research work with young women and then write about them”.¹⁰⁸⁸ In this account the frontier between academic work and political action becomes materialised. The Centre’s work was always focused on research objects belonging to the ultra-contemporary, to the changes in present conjunctures and by doing so, offered a space for politically engaged intellectual work that could also bring about the possibility of real-world interventions.

This tension between a wish to conduct politically informed academic work and a pull to carry out academically informed political work seems to have been felt by many CCCS members, so much so that it might be the most constant aspect of the Centre’s nature, place and legacy and can be seen as part of its credibility cycle as it is recognised by certain actors in the scientific field as integrant to the work of science. It embodies the strong heritage of the New Left as one of the most important political formations behind the CCCS, as Richard Johnson characterises Paul Willis’ first book, *Learning to Labour*, as “‘new left’ research”¹⁰⁸⁹, and echoes earlier types of initiatives conducted by no other than Stuart Hall himself.

The following year marked the coming of age of the new leadership. Richard Johnson refers in the Director’s Report section to long-planned changes: “We can now discern a new shape and balance of activities, something more like the shape of the future”.¹⁰⁹⁰ Roughly three years since Stuart Hall left the CCCS, enough time had passed to first, come to terms with his departure, and second, to reflect on and agree on the actual way Michael Green, Richard Johnson and Maureen McNeil wanted to head the Centre. In this sense it is possible to view 1982-1983 as the end of the transition between the second leadership and the third.

This completed transition was accompanied by a sense of optimism, as an “almost unlimited capacity for growth”¹⁰⁹¹ foreseen by the then CCCS directors. This perspective was, however, a double-edged sword for the Centre, as it represented an additional workload the three-headed team could not easily take on. This tension characterised the overarching pattern in the later CCCS years: increasingly depleted resources (be they financial or human) strengthened by the inexorable expansion of higher education and supported by a growing student interest in cultural studies. The CCCS had, by 1983, indeed become the true victim of its own success, to the point

¹⁰⁸⁸ McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29, 2021. P. 18.

¹⁰⁸⁹ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹⁰⁹⁰ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid.

where its staff was becoming intellectually quartered between the need to expand its undergraduate teaching programs to survive as a viable unit within the university and the need to preserve themselves on a psychological level. Richard Johnson reflected on this work atmosphere in a 2022 interview:

Richard Johnson: Hmm, so you could look forward to going in each day, which I always found a bit of a test.

Interviewer: Because of external pressures or...

Richard Johnson: Because of all pressures, all the things. I used to... I developed a well-known habit of losing my keys when I was about to go in.¹⁰⁹²

Richard Johnson describes a difficult working environment where directing the Centre seems to have become an almost impossible task, as the CCCS's stability was slowly eroding due to financial increasing constraints. This made it all the more complex to pursue intellectual discussions with the same engagement as during a period during which funding was significantly less of an issue: the margins which had been secured for an intellectual debate about what cultural studies should be doing and how were closing on the Centre. Here the consequences of the first years of Thatcherian higher education cuts, first implemented as soon as 1979, are made brutally clear.

By 1983-1984 an additional piece of information was added in the report about the project fund, which stated that "both loans and grants are available"¹⁰⁹³ from the fund. Initially created to support publication spending, the support fund was aimed at providing very limited financial aid. The CCCS's students could, from 1983 on, therefore request funds in the form of non-reimbursable grants, or in the form of loans. These elements point to the fact that the CCCS was also acting as a small bank for internal use, as the Centre's staff recognised it did not provide sufficient funding for its students. The support fund was also a political measure that acknowledged its members' involvement by aiming at giving them something back beyond strict institutional support.

The 1984-1985 academic year could be dubbed the CCCS's 'burn out year'. The director's report begins with the following statement: "If 1984 has not been a year of dystopia at the Centre, it has certainly been a year of anxieties."¹⁰⁹⁴ The more recent developments causing these anxieties took the form of an upcoming university

¹⁰⁹² Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 3rd 2022. P.27.

¹⁰⁹³ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 11.

¹⁰⁹⁴ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

planning exercise which would threaten the CCCS's actual existence and redefine its institutional structure and practices.¹⁰⁹⁵ However it appears as though the year 1984-1985 marked the culmination of the growing feeling shared by CCCS staff members of being perpetually overworked¹⁰⁹⁶, partly because of the Centre's sheer success as an academic unit:

*Over several years now, as successive Reports have pointed out, the staff members have had to face a steadily increasing load of work. This has been the major consequence of our continuing success in recruiting postgraduate students, and of the great popularity, among applicants, of the undergraduate half-degree which we launched three years ago.*¹⁰⁹⁷

Alarming signs concerning the staff workload and overall wellbeing were very clearly stated in the report:

*With a full postgraduate and undergraduate complement for the first time in the Christmas term 1984, we have certainly reached – or exceeded – the limits of the energy of the teaching staff of three. We are heavily over-worked, merely in keeping the everyday teaching going. Since the Centre has always revolved around an attempt to combine education and some of the function of a research institute, the research and writing has especially suffered in the last two years. Some respite in 1985-1986 will have to be sought as an absolute priority, even if this involves reducing the rather grandiose ambitions which we still tend to live with.*¹⁰⁹⁸

While previous concerns had been voiced in earlier reports, this paragraph is the first to officially ring the alarm. The vocabulary is not understated (contrary to former annual reports), and the very structure of the Centre seems to have been affected by this state of exhaustion. Indeed the Centre was founded in 1964, first and foremost as a postgraduate research unit where the building of a theoretical and intellectual framework was the primary objective, pursuing the research interested first visited in

¹⁰⁹⁵ This planning exercise and its consequences will be dealt with in the analysis of the next three annual reports.

¹⁰⁹⁶ See for instance Richard Johnson's remarks about "develop[ing] a well-known habit of losing [his] keys" on his way to work, in Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 3rd 2022. P.27.

¹⁰⁹⁷ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid. P. 6.

Hoggart's 1957 *The Uses of Literacy*. Degree programs stabilising this framework and extending the scope of cultural studies gradually became more important, as the institutionalisation of the Centre took place during the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, with the launching of the taught MA in 1975 and the undergraduate half-degree in 1982. In 1984-1985, teaching activities had become so overwhelming that anything else was beyond the scope of humanly acceptable working hours and research was put on the back burner, reduced to "an attempt [at] some of the functions of a research institute"¹⁰⁹⁹ and the former CCCS academic ambition was by 1985 seen as 'grandiose', in other words, as too high and demanding to actually be fulfilled. This change in perspective makes quite clear that teaching had become the most immediate way for the Centre to secure its own existence, at the expense of research activities which had made the Centre's reputation during the previous decade. This shift in emphasis from research to teaching characterises the third period of the Centre's activity.

In the face of such extreme conditions, the year 1984-1985 was the year of reassessment. Chances of securing a new post were slim; the CCCS's budget was already in deficit, as the Centre had to raise sums to pay for secretarial and library work from its own earnings (be they staff salaries or publication earnings from Hutchinson) and "administrative reorganisations"¹¹⁰⁰ were planned on the scale of the whole university. This left the Centre with no other choice than reducing the number of students it could admit by 40% for the next two years: "This runs against our wishes and principles; but it is forced upon us by circumstances we cannot control and has to be done in justice to existing students, but also to ourselves."¹¹⁰¹

3.3.2.2. *Small by Any Standard*

Another structural shift seemed to have taken place at the Centre during the 1984-1985 period. While collective work and student participation in administrative work (in ways unheard of in most other research units and sometimes illegal in the eye of the University of Birmingham"¹¹⁰² had become part of the Centre's 'DNA' since the 1968-1972 transition period, the movement towards establishing these practices had been centripetal, in the sense that students had understood the need for their involvement and had chosen to become unofficially part of the CCCS's staff. One paragraph in the Director's report acknowledges this component: "If there is a "secret" about the

¹⁰⁹⁹ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰² Such practices included for instance students sitting on selection pannels and some assessment policies.

Centre's productivity, it lies in [postgraduate commitment] and in the methods of group work and the forms of collective responsibility which are involved."¹¹⁰³ Close to a decade later, the movement was no longer described thus (and to extend the metaphor could therefore be described as gravitational), as the staff made clear that the student's involvement was not only sought, but necessary: "For this reason candidates who are prepared to be 'around', who will involve themselves in collective work, and who will help to organise the everyday business and facilities in the Centre, will stand the best chance of being offered a place."¹¹⁰⁴ As funding became insufficient, the admission policy therefore changed to accommodate this lack, both as described earlier on the level of academic achievements (by seeking the academically fittest), and on the level of personal commitment, making the CCCS admission process rely on factors of a non-academic nature. Such an official stand can seem surprising, as academic and professional recruitment usually comes with a set of untold rules and criteria of which the most involved should normally be aware, personal commitment and a high level of involvement not being the least of them. However, the Centre's situation seemed to be so dire in 1984-1985 that it mandated such an extreme management policy: "We remain viable – as long as staff can rely on this kind of collective support (and criticism!)"¹¹⁰⁵ While the Centre had survived and thrived thanks to the support and involvement of its members during the 1970s, paradoxically, it could no longer exist without it later on, evidencing the loss of stability experienced by the CCCS in the 1980s.

One of the main sources of anxiety for the Centre was the upcoming planning exercise. Johnson described it thus: "The most visible feature of this 'planning' are a preference for highly centralised direction, for secretive procedures and for larger administrative units. The preferred 'solutions' are likely to involve the grouping of smaller departments into 'schools'."¹¹⁰⁶ An analysis of the structural shifts undergone by the University of Birmingham during the same period corroborates this assessment. Indeed a comparison of the university calendars published in 1984-1985 and in 1988-1989¹¹⁰⁷ makes clear that such preferred solutions had indeed been implemented by the end of the decade, as the number of extra-faculty organisations to which the CCCS belonged (including such entities as the Centre of West African Studies and the Centre for Russian and East European Studies) plummeted from ten to three. Furthermore, the number of entities (be they departments or research centres) belonging to the Faculty of Arts neighboured twenty in 1985, while it neared thirty in 1989. This

¹¹⁰³ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁷ The University of Birmingham Calendars ,1984-1985, 1988-1989, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

increase was the product of the integration of smaller, initially independent units (among others, the Centre for West African studies) into the broader faculty. The example of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science is similar, as it encompassed ten identifiable units or departments in 1985, while it brought together fifteen in 1989, including Cultural Studies (which was originally part of the Faculty of Arts) and the Centre for Russian and East European Studies. Overall the planning exercise resulted in rationalising resources inside the University of Birmingham. This planning process would become one of the most determining elements in the last five years of the Centre's existence before its merger with the sociology department, as it redefined the academic and administrative map of the University of Birmingham. As early as 1985, it was already clear that the planning exercise posed a threat to the CCCS's independence. As the report states, "This has obvious implications for the autonomy and distinctiveness of small centres like ours."¹¹⁰⁸ At the heart of this threat was the very status of the Centre, which, while being strongly established as an intellectual centre¹¹⁰⁹, was not robust enough to guarantee its own safety within its own institution in the midst of the then mid 1980s political conjuncture. This would entail that the strength of the Centre's activities and network was of an intellectual kind rather than of an institutional nature: it possessed more scientific capital than university-based or temporal power.¹¹¹⁰ Unfortunately for the Centre, the University of Birmingham's preferred currency was the latter. This matter of status, of course, revolved around the wider question of funding:

[W]e have stressed the importance of departmental autonomies in any new structure of schools, especially in admissions and to the organisation of teaching and research. This can hardly be secured unless CCCS continues as a distinct Centre or Department with its own Director or Head of Department, whatever the larger administrative structure, within which it is placed.¹¹¹¹

This wish for the CCCS to become a department was attached to a search for autonomy and independence within the University of Birmingham and would never be granted

¹¹⁰⁸ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹¹⁰⁹ Which research was highly regarded by the academic community, had been identified by government bodies as a relevant funding recipient, and which activities included the evaluation of other degrees in the field of cultural studies.

¹¹¹⁰ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Science de la science et réflexivité: cours du Collège de France 2000 - 2001*. 3. éd, Éd. Raisons d'agir, 2007. Ibid. P. 150.

¹¹¹¹ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

to the Centre alone: it would have to merge with the Department of Sociology at the end of the 1980s to be granted a long-sought department status.

The planning exercise started the following year, during the 1985-1986 period. The exercise was undertaken by the University of Birmingham in the aftermath of the publication of the Jarratt Report in March 1985, and was defined in the Centre's report as a process "of 'rationalisation', a game played by UGC rules, [according to which] small units are inefficient, perhaps barely viable".¹¹¹² This long-term game had begun a few years prior, in 1979:

In October 1979 [the UGC] embarked on a planning exercise unique in the UGC's history in which universities were asked to prepare three scenario planning documents on the basis of a 2 percent increase in funding, level funding and a 5 percent reduction and to engage in "dialogue" meetings with the UGC at the UGC offices at Park Crescent to discuss the plans submitted. The UGC made it plain that in order to preserve the prospect of innovation it was prepared to make significant cuts across the system and the subject committees were charged with the task of reviewing each academic discipline.¹¹¹³

One may argue that to preserve the prospect of innovation, one mustn't make significant cuts to higher education institutions. Nevertheless, the logic of such an argument put forward by the UGC at the time is clear and relies on the idea that resources must be allocated to the most deserving. In answer an element of discussion can be given here, on the choice of excellence as a selective criterion in academia. As outlined in a 2017 article by Samuel Moore et al.:

Academic research and teaching is not well served by this rhetoric [...] of excellence. Nor, we argue, is it well served by the use of "excellence" to determine the distribution of resources and incentives to the world's researchers, teachers and research institutions. While the rhetoric of "excellence" may seem in the current climate to be a natural method for determining which researchers, institutions, and projects should receive scarce resources, we demonstrate that it is not as efficient, accurate, or necessary as it may seem. As we show, indeed, a focus on "excellence" impedes rather than promotes scientific and scholarly activity: it at the same time discourages both the intellectual risk-taking

¹¹¹² Cynically enough the logic still stands in contemporary French universities. CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹¹¹³ Shattock, Michael L., et Robert O. Berdahl. « The British University Grants Committee 1919-83: Changing Relationships with Government and the Universities ». Higher Education, vol. 13, n° 5, 1984, P. 471-99. JSTOR. P.491.

*required to make the most significant advances in paradigm-shifting research and the careful “Normal Science” (Kuhn [1962] 2012) that allows us to consolidate our knowledge in the wake of such advances. It encourages researchers to engage in counterproductive conscious and unconscious gamesmanship. And it impoverishes science and scholarship by encouraging concentration rather than distribution of effort. The net result is science and scholarship that is less reliable, less accurate, and less durable than research assessed according to other criteria.*¹¹¹⁴

What Moore et al. seem to suggest is that excellence, far from fostering better science, actually impoverishes and weakens science production. It produces a state of gamesmanship, unconscious or not, in which competition for resources can become more important than research itself if it becomes the *sine qua non* condition of research's very existence. As excellence here equals abundance for the few and scarcity for the many, it comes as no surprise that the Centre would not escape the rule of doing poorly on a dramatically reduced budget.

But such was not the political logic at the time, to the contrary. The institutional arguments for such drastic administrative rationalisation were the following, as outlined in March 1987 in a debate at the House of Lords on the Croham's committee report, dedicated to reviewing the role of the UGC:

*Lord Swann summarised the position accurately when he said that the University Grants Committee as it operated in what he called the “golden age for universities” between the Second World War and 1973 was “a benign and friendly institution that co-ordinated our efforts in a quiet way and stood as a buffer between the government of the day and rightfully autonomous institutions of learning”. Such a body “was not designed to oversee a huge part of the public sector at a time of severe retrenchment and under governments more interested in business efficiency than originality”.*¹¹¹⁵

While it played an essential part during the period between 1944 and 1973 (during which it was the source of between 50 and 70% of all university funding)¹¹¹⁶, the UGC's role is described here as unfitting the more recent economic context of the

¹¹¹⁴ Moore, Samuel, et al. « “Excellence R Us”: university research and the fetishisation of excellence ». Palgrave Communications, vol. 3, n° 1, January 2017, P. 16105, <https://doi.org/10.1057/palcomms.2016.105>. P.2.

¹¹¹⁵ And signing its death warrant. See SHATTOCK, MICHAEL. « The Last Days of the University Grants Committee ». Minerva, vol. 25, n° 4, 1987, P. 471-85. JSTOR. P. 471.

¹¹¹⁶ Halimi, Suzy. L'enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni. Ophrys; Ploton, 2005. P. 45.

1970s and 1980s, including but not limited to stagflation, energy crises, and IMF negotiations. While the UGC had already undergone restrictions of its own (less autonomy, end of multi-year funding, end of a UGC general allowance)¹¹¹⁷ during the 1960s, by the end of the seventies and the beginning of the 1980s, the full logic of free market and competitiveness against a backdrop of yearly funding reduction had taken hold.

If the Centre was to survive according to these new UGC criteria, the goal was therefore for the Centre (which would count only three academic staff members on its roster until 1988, supervising and teaching some years more than a hundred students), to find a bigger ‘home’ within the University of Birmingham. The ideal plan hatched by the Centre’s directorship was to plead to become a department in its own right: “I will be arguing that CCCS should be made a Department, with the autonomies associated with departments in a Redbrick University like Birmingham.”¹¹¹⁸ This logic followed in the planning exercise was that of decreasing staff/student ratios across the university sector, which worked in favour of the Centre:

*In both respects — staff/student ratios as an index of efficiency and the volume of student applications as a measure of demand and of social usefulness — CCCS shows up significantly well. Our staff/student ratio, currently 1:12.11 [One staff member for roughly twelve students], has averaged 13.17 [one staff member supervising or teaching roughly thirteen students] over the last five years. This already matches the kind of figures being envisaged for the Arts Faculty in 1989/90.*¹¹¹⁹

By being overworked, the Centre was incidentally meeting the UGC’s expectations well in advance. So much so that the registration process was becoming absurd in terms of numbers, with more than six hundred applications received for the undergraduate half-degree and the General Honours courses (“an option within the Faculty of Arts that gives students access to our courses as a ‘base’ unit”)¹¹²⁰, for a total of ten to twelve available places. The same (though significantly less stark) pattern was observable at the postgraduate level, with more than seventy applications received each year for fewer than twenty places. These figures equalled a two-percent success rate of entry at the undergraduate level, and a fifteen to twenty percent success rate at the postgraduate level. The 1985-1866 CCCS annual report summarises the difficulty of the situation: “We are torn, once more this year, between trying to do some justice to our own popularity by increasing entry and trying to get some breathing

¹¹¹⁷ Halimi, Suzy. *L’enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni*. Ophrys; Ploton, 2005. P. 45. P. 44.

¹¹¹⁸ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹¹²⁰ Ibid.

space by holding numbers down.”¹¹²¹ By the mid-1980s, the Centre was becoming a victim of its own success to the point of reaching institutionalised burnout, fuelled by newly implemented university requirements: supervising more students with less teaching and research staff. This pattern would become extremely difficult to maintain until 1988.

The stakes raised in the 1985-1986 annual report in light of the UGC planning exercise were extremely high for the CCCS, and rhetoric was to be worked out to justify the Centre’s worth beyond already satisfactory student/staff ratios. To defend his own centre, Richard Johnson made the argument that, in the case of the CCCS, small does not necessarily mean insignificant:

*Clearly, then, there is more than one kind of smallness. CCCS is far from being a shrinking enclave in a changing world. These figures suggest, rather, enormous possibilities for useful expansion and development. A unit in this position should surely be cherished even by the most pragmatic of planners, especially planners committed as at Birmingham, to avoiding ‘stagnation’. It seems to us that CCCS should be seen, rather, as an unrealised asset. If such a case can be made by us to our own administration, might not the University put it and similar cases equally forcibly to the UGC?*¹¹²²

While these can be seen as strong arguments, what is striking here is the use of economic market-oriented jargon (‘figures’, ‘possibilities for useful expansion and development’, ‘pragmatic’, ‘stagnation’, ‘unrealised asset’) in order to justify the Centre’s future existence after the planning exercise. In 1985 the logic of numbers and cost effectiveness had replaced the former logic of scientific credibility and intellectual outreach, which had been used since the founding of the Centre to protect itself against the University of Birmingham’s successive attempts at closing it. In 1972 the Faculty Working Party mandated by the University and responsible for auditing the Centre’s work, had recommended the University of Birmingham to keep the CCCS on board, to promote Stuart Hall as director and to hire a third academic to strengthen the Centre’s work (which allowed Richard Johnson to join CCCS) on the basis of its research potential. In 1979, when Stuart Hall’s departure posed a serious threat to the Centre’s survival, the University of Birmingham eventually appointed Richard Johnson CCCS director, once again, on the basis of the Centre’s work and reputation in the academic community, a short few years before the planning exercise reorganised the entire university’s admin structure. In the meantime, before the planning exercise

¹¹²¹ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹¹²² CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

conclusions were implemented, the same strategy was put in place in order to secure a future for the Centre. Richard Johnson described the scheme he had operated in a 2022 interview:

I think the international networks are incredibly important and I've tried to remember, let me tell you about this episode first because I haven't been able to date it and it may be in the archive: one of the fights for survival. There were three fights for survival that are in my memory. One was becoming director, being allowed to have a director, being allowed to exist when Stuart left. Then there was the sociology junction and in between there's another one and the nearest I can get is something like 82. But what is memorable to me is that, in this case, I organised the resistance, and the strategy was to get everybody we knew to write in and say they supported us, how important we were and how we were famous and, you know, we became a school and we got a great big pile of letters and lots from international places, and I wrote a little analysis of them. [...] and I asked for an interview with the VC [Vice Chancellor], and I went into his office, and plumped this big pile down on his desk and made a little speech about how famous we were, and how the university would be losing an asset and that seemed to do the trick.¹¹²³

Several elements are visible in this quote. The fact that, until 1982 at least, the rhetoric of intellectual and academic quality was the chief argument in favour of the Centre's protection from threats of closure in the successive "fights for survival."¹¹²⁴ This account also makes clear that the Centre's networks were active and supportive enough to come to its rescue repeatedly, which testifies to the high level of involvement and care shared among CCCS collaborators and supporters within the still emerging field of cultural studies. It also testifies to the institutional difficulties faced by the triumvirate throughout their period of activity between 1979 and 1988. The last other element emerging from this quote is the use of market-oriented jargon echoing that used in the 1985-1986 annual report (Johnson talks in hindsight about arguing the Centre being an "asset" that could improve the University of Birmingham's reputation), and in 1986 the battle was fought on the battlefield of numbers, ratios and growth projections. Unfortunately, the case made by Johnson, however irrefutable in numeral terms, was not in congruence with the UGC's logic of overall rationalisation: beyond numbers even the argument underlining the Centre's uniqueness in academia did not hold, and eventually seemed insufficient to secure its existence as an

¹¹²³ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15th 2022. P.10-11.

¹¹²⁴ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

autonomous entity at the University of Birmingham, by the end of the planning exercise.¹¹²⁵

The CCCS's answer to the planning exercise is made very clear in the 1985-1986 Director's report, which reads as a plea against any merger with another entity. It rather advocated, in keeping with the previous year, to be granted departmental status. This was seen as the only way, according to the Centre, to be fully protected within the broader administrative structure of the University of Birmingham. The possibility of being granted the status of department on the basis of its original structure was however small.

It is not often that the words 'Birmingham School' are found in the CCCS's archive. However, by 1986 it seemed as though using such collocation had become essential, perhaps both to be recognised as the 'Birmingham School' by the University of Birmingham (as a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy) and to draw on the support such a designation could grant during the planning process. As the report states:

*[The support received] shows the very high regard in which CCCS is held in all these places and the recognition we receive for having done, and having continued to do, something which in academic life is rather special — starting a new 'school' or tendency. We hope, in the coming months, to be able to marshall all this evidence of support in order to pursue further the arguments I have outlined here and to give our hopes and plans more concrete shapes.*¹¹²⁶

For the first time, the argument of academic fame (not of quality of work) was used by the CCCS to defend itself against the prospect of its own disappearance. This points out to the self-perceived strength of the Centre's networks by the mid 1980s, which, by invoking the name of the "Birmingham School", hoped to be making a solid point in favour of its own survival. However although the "Birmingham School" did have (and still has) currency in certain academic and political circles, this academic reputation was not recognised by the actors in charge of the University of Birmingham's planning exercise. As Latour and Woolgar underline using the example of the TRF hormone (linked to the thyroid gland), the knowledge and recognition of an object depends on the networks in which it is situated:

If we define a network as a set of positions within which an object such as TRF has meaning, it is clear that the facticity of an object is relative

¹¹²⁵ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹¹²⁶ Ibid. P. 8.

*only to a particular network or networks. [...] In the hands of outsiders and once devoid of its label, TRH would be merely thought of as "some kind of white powder." It would only become TRH again through its replacement within the network of peptide chemistry where it first originated. Even a well-established fact loses its meaning when divorced from its context.*¹¹²⁷

An object, here the CCCS, could therefore vary in importance from not being known at all to being the goal of someone's life's work:

*For a still smaller group, comprising a few score individuals and half a dozen laboratories, TRH is not merely a tool. For them, TRH represents an entire subfield. Indeed, for a few of the individuals in our study, it represented a lifetime's achievement: TRH constituted their professional life, the justification of their main claim to credit and position. It is clear, then, that TRF can take on a different meaning and significance depending on the particular network of individuals for which it has relevance.*¹¹²⁸

In this case, while the Centre had succeeded in becoming known in extensive academic circles and indeed represented a lifetime achievement along with the main claim to credit and position for some individuals, it had failed to reach the position where its own institution recognised such success for itself. The CCCS would therefore remain at odds with the University of Birmingham until 1988.

Planning exercise aside, economic stringency continued to shape the working practices of the Centre, pushing towards a complete repartition of admin duties between students and staff, as the 1985-1986 highlights:

Indeed, the Centre's day-to-day survival is crucially dependent on member's willingness to set aside time for administration. Administration groups include those responsible for running the library, for producing a weekly agenda of events and chairing and minuting meetings, for advising on financial issues, publications, and so on. [...] Again, the point is that, if you come, you should be prepared

¹¹²⁷ Latour, Bruno, and Stève Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton university press, 1986. P. 107-110.

¹¹²⁸ Ibid.

*to accept these obligations! If you simply want to 'do your own work' you might think twice about applying.*¹¹²⁹

What is observable here is a strong level of staff disengagement from certain admin tasks, made necessary by the sheer size of the workload, increasing yearly following elements, including but not limited to the launch in 1982-1983 of the half undergraduate degree, the increasing difficulty and time spent securing postgraduate grants, or the densifying politicking in view of the planning exercise. Such disengagement (made necessary by the institutional context) relied on a proportional level of trust between staff and students, as some groups would be entirely student led and sometimes left without staff supervision, such as the publication subgroup in charge of the Stencilled Occasional Papers.¹¹³⁰ It did not always work as intended and did have deleterious consequences on some (if not all) CCCS members. Some of these consequences will be dealt with below.

However his expected level of student involvement was not a one-way street, as the CCCS's staff made themselves available to prospective students. The possibility of requesting a talk with one of the three CCCS professors in view of applying for a postgraduate degree based on thesis work was instituted in 1985-1986 and viewed as a "right, and not an obligation" for prospective students. This new policy evidences a will on the part of the triumvirate to aim at securing the most fitting applicants. There were indeed four ways to be registered as a CCCS postgraduate student (already described earlier in this work): the MA by course, the M. Phil. By thesis (validated by a 40.000-word thesis), the M. Litt. (validated by a 60.000-word thesis) and a PhD (validated by a 80.000-word thesis and "worthy of publication in a while, or in part by learned society")¹¹³¹, and the 1985-1986 annual report stressed the fact that transferring from one degree to another is "fairly flexible".¹¹³² The trajectory of some of this period's CCCS postgraduate students illustrates this flexibility very well.¹¹³³

¹¹²⁹ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

¹¹³⁰ « So, the so-called democracy didn't always work as intended, because it had to do with who was in the group so the stencilled paper group contained what we called the A team, so anybody in the B team wouldn't get anything published. » Paul, Naomi. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 15th 2022. P.10-11.

¹¹³¹ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 11.

¹¹³² Ibid.

¹¹³³ For example Baljinder Bhopal, who started off as a MA taught student in 1983-1984, pursued an MA thesis the following year. This flexibility incidentally sometimes makes it difficult to follow certain student's trajectories

If 1985-1986 was rough, 1986-1987 marked the beginning of the end of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. The tone used in the archive is bleak, to say the least, as the 'Director's Report for 1986' thus begins: "Unfortunately 1986 was a year during which much energy had to be spent in defending the Centre's role and autonomy within the university."¹¹³⁴ The director's report explained how the 'Vice-Chancellor's Planning Committee' organised the planning exercise (still undergoing at the time), foreshadowed as early as 1979 in the Centre's annual reports. The initial plan recommended by the planning committee was to merge the CCCS with the English Department, which made sense to the institution on an institutional level, since the Centre had been founded within the English Department in 1964, far from the Centre's wish to become a department in its own right. This recommendation was, however, seen, by the CCCS staff as a deleterious one, since Cultural Studies and English had since become two separate fields. The fear was, at the time, that the Centre would be reabsorbed into the English Department and would therefore undergo a "gradual erosion of our unique character and programme of research and study".¹¹³⁵ The main rationale for the planning committee to advocate for a change in the Centre's status was that the unit was "small by any standard"¹¹³⁶ and that the merger would both save the Centre and rationalise costs for the university. These recommendations came after a year-long campaign led by the CCCS to be made into a department to "clarify our constitutional situation, for long ambiguous".¹¹³⁷ This campaign illustrates the Centre's awareness of its own continuing lack of institutional stability within the University of Birmingham. It was, however, unsuccessful, regardless of the support of the Faculty of Arts, which "rejected the Planning Committee's recommendations"¹¹³⁸ in favour of merging the Centre back into the English department. This rejection attests to the then rather favourable institutional network surrounding cultural studies at Birmingham outside the University's Senate, joined in force by a network lying outside the realm of the University. Indeed, in an attempt to draw additional support, Centre staff began to reach out to academic colleagues in the country and overseas and were positively overwhelmed by the answers: "The response greatly exceeded our expectations. Many colleagues wrote in without being directly approached. Replies often brought to light connections with work in other countries of which we were not aware."¹¹³⁹

¹¹³⁴ CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹¹³⁹ Ibid.

This display of support signals a new stage in the establishment of the CCCS's networks¹¹⁴⁰: a stage where the initial project embodied by the Centre has been recognised by other members of the academic world to the point where seemingly newer, smaller, budding networks could volunteer support without being called upon. Such support may not have been enough to secure the Centre's departmental status; however, it demonstrates that cultural studies as a project had spread, without the active participation of Centre members, to academic sectors unknown to it. By 1987, less than twenty-five years after the Centre's founding, the academic field of cultural studies stood on its own two feet. In other words, it had reached some level of autonomy and would therefore survive the institutional end of the Centre's own initial activities, which would take place a year later when the CCCS would merge with the Department of Sociology of the University of Birmingham. This new stage in the stabilisation of the cultural studies networks emerging from the Centre was neither anecdotal to cultural studies as a field, nor to the CCCS itself. Indeed Johnson emphasised in his 1987 director's report the effects on Centre staff morale of this surge in unexpected support: "The care and thoughtfulness of replies were also very striking – in fact, the letters became our favourite reading after a hard day's night at the Centre."¹¹⁴¹

The strategy implemented by the Centre was partially successful: the planning committee withdrew its recommendation to merge the CCCS back into the English Department at the end of 1986.¹¹⁴² However no clear solution for the future of the CCCS was yet in sight, and the Faculty of Arts remained in charge of devising possible alternatives, excluding the prospect of granting departmental status to the Centre. The main fears entertained by the CCCS at that point were linked to its potential loss of autonomy if it were to integrate another structure on the administrative level and to the danger of being used as a reserve of "first-degree teachers"¹¹⁴³, which would contravene the original nature of the CCCS project, founded as a graduate centre in 1964.

It can be seen as gloomily ironic that a research centre, which started off as a deeply political, anti-neoliberal project, would end up having to fit the needs of the growingly 'technical liberal'¹¹⁴⁴ 1980s British university system, and truly become a victim of its

¹¹⁴⁰ Imperial, Mark T., et al. « Sustaining the Useful Life of Network Governance: Life Cycles and Developmental Challenges ». *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment*, vol. 14, n° 3, April 2016, P. 135-44. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1002/fee.1249>.

¹¹⁴¹ CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹¹⁴² *Ibid.* P. 7.

¹¹⁴³ *Ibid.* P. 7.

¹¹⁴⁴ Hall, Stuart. « The Missed Moment ». *Richard Hoggart Papers*, Sheffield University Library Special Collections, University of Sheffield, 1971. 4/6/16. P.1.

own success in the process. By privileging undergraduate work, the danger was to weaken the other leg on which the Centre could walk (historically its strongest, too), the CCCS's research work. A danger of which the CCCS was painfully aware, as the reports show: "Paradoxically, as more 'centres' of cultural studies develop in polytechnics in Britain and in the range of academic institutions abroad, the demand for our publications and graduate-level work increases."¹¹⁴⁵ This increasing demand could unfortunately only be met by a reduction in postgraduate student intake and a slowing down of research output, as it was becoming urgent that the Centre engage in securing its own survival at the expense of everything else: "Over the last two years, we have responded to these dual pressures by reducing postgraduate intakes, in an attempt to win some space for considering our whole future more carefully – developing in fact, our OWN [sic] plan."¹¹⁴⁶

The 1986-1987 annual report is therefore a warning signal, attesting to the worsening (and already dire) working conditions faced by the triumvirate:

*What these signs of pressure do not reveal is that we all face teaching loads in excess of 25 hours of formal contact time, and, in general, lead lives of manic activity. Often we are conscious of being forced into negative attitudes towards collaborative schemes, or conference proposals, or advice to colleagues, or visiting parties – all of which are essential aspects of being a centre of research and educational innovation. It is simply not possible to respond to these opportunities with the vigour they deserve. Indeed, the question is now seriously posed of how long we can continue with our current work rates.*¹¹⁴⁷

This can be envisaged as administrative proof of exhaustion. Assessing burnout is a complex task, even more so retrospectively. Burnout is defined as:

A state of physical, emotional and mental exhaustion caused by long-term involvement in situations that are emotionally demanding [...] People experience burnout as a gradual erosion of their spirit and zest as a result of the daily struggles and chronic stresses that are typical of everyday life and work—too many pressures, conflicts, demands, and too few emotional rewards, acknowledgements, and successes. There is no quick cure for emotional and physical burnout... [People] burn out

¹¹⁴⁵ CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

¹¹⁴⁶ Ibid. P. 9.

¹¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

*when their work has no meaning and stress continually outweighs support and rewards”.*¹¹⁴⁸

As highlighted by James R. Lackritz in a 2004 study, “University faculty members are not exempt from problems associated with burnout.”¹¹⁴⁹ Faculty burnout has been studied and relies on several factors, including workload, lack of control, insufficient reward, a failed sense of community, unfairness and conflicting values.¹¹⁵⁰ Maslach et al.’s work allows measuring burnout by investigating three dimensions: emotional exhaustion (being chronically emotionally drained), depersonalisation (becoming indifferent and negative towards students) and personal accomplishment (perception of one’s own professional contribution).¹¹⁵¹ According to Lackritz’s study, many aspects of faculty work are positive predictors of some, if not all three dimensions of burnout as characterised by Maslach et al. In the case of the CCCS, when looking at its before-last annual report, it seems like these three dimensions were being alarmingly reported on by the triumvirate: emotional exhaustion (“The question is now seriously posed of how long we can continue with our current work rates”), depersonalisation (“Often we are conscious of being forced into negative attitudes”) and personal accomplishment (“It is simply not possible to respond to these opportunities with the vigour they deserve”).¹¹⁵² For better or worse, even though Richard Johnson admitted that the burn out stage was never entirely reached while at the CCCS¹¹⁵³, things needed to change.

The Centre was conscious of its own fragility and had itself designed three possibilities for its short-term future: expansion, a limited term, and a reduced activities. Expansion was expectedly seen, “as long as it is real [sic]”¹¹⁵⁴, as the most favourable option. It

¹¹⁴⁸ Harrison, B. J. ‘Are You Destined to Burn Out?’ *Fund Raising Management*, vol. 30, no. 3, May 1999, pP. 25–27.

¹¹⁴⁹ Lackritz, James R. ‘Exploring Burnout among University Faculty: Incidence, Performance, and Demographic Issues’. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, vol. 20, no. 7, Oct. 2004, pP. 713–29. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2004.07.002>. P. 713-714.

¹¹⁵⁰ Ibid. P. 714.

¹¹⁵¹ Ibid. P. 715.

¹¹⁵² CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

¹¹⁵³ « I don't think burnt out because that would imply we'd got to the end, you know? [...] I think it was very difficult I think- very demanding. And that it wasn't... Should I say, it wasn't happy. Well, it wasn't happy for me. I mean, there were great satisfactions, but that's slightly different. But there were attempts made by some people to lighten it, but it needed lightning, you know, it badly needed humor.» Eléana Sanchez. Richard Johnson’s Third Interview. 3 Mar. 2022. P. 24.

¹¹⁵⁴ CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

was, however, conditioned by the securing of two more full-time positions, a relevant but extravagant request by mid-1980s academic standards. This expansion would nonetheless contribute, according to the CCCS, to the evolution of the teaching offered by universities: “The benefits not only to us, but to the university and the faculty would be considerable, since one key question, seldom considered, is what new educational developments will British universities be offering some five or ten years hence?”¹¹⁵⁵ Here the Centre relied on its pioneering role within the emerging field of cultural studies as an argument for its own survival.

The second and most pessimistic option, that of a planned termination, was also explored. It arose from the bleak perspectives faced by the Centre’s staff members, who all had “positive alternative plans, some of which involve a continuing CCCS-like project, pursued in other places and by other means”.¹¹⁵⁶ Such projects evidence the triumvirate’s commitment beyond the very structure of the CCCS to the original project, however tainted by the thought of “witness[ing] the slow attrition of our collective project”.¹¹⁵⁷ It also highlights the fact that the CCCS was being squeezed out of the university it had squeezed itself in close to twenty-five years prior. The timeframe considered for this alternative was fairly short, as the report indicates October 1991 as the finish line, less than five years away.

The last option, decreasing the scope of CCCS activities, was not so much a real, new positive alternative, as a recognition of the conditions faced by the Centre at the time, stuck between the impossibility of keeping itself afloat and the bitter prospect of leaving it to die: “If any of us took early retirement or voluntary severance we would not of course be replaced. It is hard to justify selling your job when there are so few academic jobs to be had.”¹¹⁵⁸ Perhaps the positive perception of having been able to be part of the CCCS made it all the more difficult for the triumvirate to “sell [their] job[s]”, a perspective seemingly equivalent to a form of treason, all the more so difficult to make, as the triumvirate identified themselves as some of the lucky few. This feeling may also have been reinforced by the political nature of the CCCS’s project, adding a layer of importance to the work of cultural studies in the minds of its members, making it increasingly arduous to let go of a project in which members believed beyond their career prospects.¹¹⁵⁹

¹¹⁵⁵ CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

¹¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁹ This « intersectionality » of academic and political involvement deserves further investigation beyond the scope of this work.

Two directions were envisaged to make cutbacks. Going the undergraduate way and sacrificing the taught MA, effectively turning the CCCS into a structure predominantly focused on first-degree teaching, and ending up “resemble[ing] the usual university department”.¹¹⁶⁰ The second direction was, in fact, the ‘opposite’, as the Centre considered going the postgraduate way, “phas[ing] out” first-degree teaching, to go back to “the original form of the Centre as an all-postgraduate grouping”.¹¹⁶¹ However this perspective was not seen with a naïve eye, as the report describes:

*It is not possible, however, to recreate the conditions of the 1960s and 1970s that made this possible, in its first [sic] form. The older model, and many of the collective ambitions that went with it, depended on high levels of public funding for individual postgraduates and, perhaps, on the availability of posts in universities and polytechnics thereafter.*¹¹⁶²

Again here the broader context emerges in the annual report, as the Centre was highly aware of the political context it had operated in during the 1960s and 1970s. As the 1980s were coming to a close, the parenthesis opened by the Robbins Report about twenty-five years before had effectively been closed and the remains of some of its offsprings were being financially choked to death.

If the Centre were to go back to its first love and focus entirely on postgraduate teaching, the time and energy allotted to research funding would become integral to the CCCS’s activities, making it a grant-searching centre as well as a research centre. Unfortunately for the CCCS, while none of these options seemed to satisfy the triumvirate, settling the Centre’s future was becoming an urgent matter.¹¹⁶³

3.3.2.3. The Department of Cultural Studies and Sociology

An urgent matter indeed, as the following year (1987-1988) was the last official year of activity for the Centre, in its initial form created in 1964. The precariousness of the period is evidenced by the last and nineteenth annual report of the CCCS, covering the period from 1986 and January 1988 (it was published in April 1988). Its cover is handwritten, contrarily to all CCCS annual reports since the 1965-1966 academic year,

¹¹⁶⁰ CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

¹¹⁶¹ Ibid. P. 10.

¹¹⁶² Ibid.

¹¹⁶³ Ibid. P. 11.

which covers were typed and included illustrations. This cover aesthetic (or necessity) change therefore reflects a turning point. This last report is not a CCCS report per se, as it was written by the triumvirate during a period of transition, but it is not a Department of Cultural Studies and Sociology (DCSS) report yet per se either. It is a hybrid report announcing future developments to come and, unfortunately for this research, the limits of its historic scope.

The new Department of Cultural Studies (soon-to-be Department of Cultural Studies and Sociology) was the result of a merger between the Sociology Department and the CCCS. Its home was not the Faculty of Arts (as was the original home of the CCCS) but the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science, of which the Sociology Department was initially a part of. Its staff members were Michael Green, Richard Johnson and Maureen McNeil from the CCCS and John Gabriel and Jorge Larrain from the Sociology Department.¹¹⁶⁴

The Director's Report for 1987, subtitled: "The Last", recalled the planning process undertaken by the University in order to achieve, among other things, the "rationalisation" of smaller units.¹¹⁶⁵ The results of said planning exercise can be best illustrated by the University of Birmingham's yearly calendars, where the list of all academic staff can be found, sorted by Faculty and research units. The comparison is striking. While in 1984-1985 the number of Faculties was lower than in 1988-1989 (six turned into seven), the new Faculty was actually the result of the separation of the Science and Engineering Faculty into the Science Faculty, on the one hand, and the Engineering Faculty, on the other.¹¹⁶⁶ This means that no entirely new faculty had been created as a result of the planning exercise. If page numbers can be considered a somewhat useful indication of the number of people listed on a piece of paper, the faculties and their committees had undergone a serious diet between 1985 and 1988, as the pages listing faculty committees shrunk from nineteen to fifteen pages. When looking closer and focusing on the academic staff list, the 1984-1985 staff list contained no less than fifty-one pages and included ten extra-faculty organisations, including the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.¹¹⁶⁷ The 1988-1989 academic list, on the other hand, while spreading over a similar number of pages, only accounted for three extra-faculty organisations: the University Library, a bioscience research unit

¹¹⁶⁴ CCCS Annual report 1986-1988, 1988, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 2.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ibid. P. 5.

¹¹⁶⁶ A separation which could evidence the division between the theoretical and the applied aspects of a given area research, but that is a question for another piece of research.

¹¹⁶⁷ University of Birmingham. University of Birmingham Calendar, 1984-1985. <https://calmview.bham.ac.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=XUB%2fP%2f1%2f80>. University of Birmingham Official Publications, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, UB/P/1/80. P. 3.

and accredited teachers in other colleges.¹¹⁶⁸ All seven centres or units mentioned in the previous calendar, including the CCCS, had been either absorbed by a Faculty (which by 1988 also acted as budget centres allocating funding to each of its constituting department and research units, see subsection 3.7.2. for a detailed analysis of the Jarratt report), merged, or disbanded. To zoom in on centres akin to the CCCS (in the sense that they focused on specific research areas in the humanities), the Centre for West African Studies was integrated into the Arts Faculty¹¹⁶⁹, and the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, whose original members had been scattered between the Faculty of Arts and that of Commerce and Social Sciences, was absorbed by the latter.¹¹⁷⁰ In terms of staff numbers, the late Sociology Department listed nine academic staff members in 1985 and just two had joined the Cultural Studies new department. While others may have integrated other centres or departments, they may also have decided to accept an early retirement scheme or had left the University of Birmingham altogether. To briefly conclude with the significance of the Jarratt Report in the history of British universities (described at length in subsection 3.7.2), it seems accurate to say that the whole University of Birmingham suffered profound, structural changes during the 1985-1988 planning exercise and that the Centre, as a small research centre, was not singular in his trajectory.¹¹⁷¹

The two sociologists joining the by then former triumvirate were specialised in areas close to the Centre's core interests: race and education, on the one hand, and Marxism and ideology on the other.¹¹⁷² The head of this new department was chosen among the five researchers, as Jorge Larrain was named head of the department from 1988 on. The conclusion of the last CCCS Director's Report on this merger is rather hopeful:

*The ex-CCCS staff obviously feel that the new Department provides a solution to the long-term structural difficulties they had faced and that, overall, it offers a broader and former base for the further development of Cultural Studies in the University. In many ways it represents the best option, which we hoped for last year, but without, then, any very first expectation of success.*¹¹⁷³

¹¹⁶⁸ University of Birmingham. University of Birmingham calendar, 1988-1989. <https://calmview.bham.ac.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=XUB%2fP%2f1%2f83>. University of Birmingham Official Publications, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, UB/P/1/83. P.3.

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 63.

¹¹⁷⁰ Ibid. P. 68.

¹¹⁷¹ The motto for the whole planning exercise may very well have been "Go big, or go home."

¹¹⁷² CCCS Annual report 1986-1988, 1988, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹¹⁷³ Ibid. P. 6.

This outcome was nonetheless no simple endeavour, as the report finally underlines: “We also want to record the fact that the solution owes a great deal to the perceptiveness and energy of Michael Green who represented CCCS in the negotiations.”¹¹⁷⁴ Indeed the CCCS archive contains numerous documents on the negotiations spanning from 1984 onwards between the triumvirate and several actors of the university, including but not limited to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, the Dean of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Sciences, and the Departments of Sociology, which attests to the long-term strategies implemented by the Centre and spearheaded by Michael Green to secure its own survival in the midst of the planning exercise.

According to the report, the merger had, by April 1988, not entirely been settled and “It would be misleading, at this stage, to attempt to give much detail about the nature and the shape of work in the new department.”¹¹⁷⁵ This study of research has now analysed close to twenty-four years of CCCS working and research practices and it is no understatement to say that they were marginal and untraditional by academic standards. This lack of orthodoxy would necessarily make it more difficult to establish new, common practices and a shared academic culture within an entity made up of two distinct academic units initially belonging to two different faculties within the University of Birmingham.

The 1986-1988 director’s report did, however, underline some definite elements of the new DCSS, among which the fact that the budget centre it depended on was one of the largest on campus, thereby granting it relative security.¹¹⁷⁶ Larrain’s appointment as head of the department was the result of a unanimous vote of the staff, and under his directorship the department would launch a new undergraduate degree in the fall of 1989, in Media, Culture and Society.¹¹⁷⁷ Given the fact that the historical half-degree in Communications and Cultural Studies would survive the merger, the DCSS would teach courses across faculty lines, which administratively was no simple task, as it would have to juggle between two different administrative settings: “The new Department will be teaching both BA degrees in the Faculty of Arts and B.Soc.Sci degrees in the Faculty of Commerce and Social.”¹¹⁷⁸

However, while the undergraduate level seemed to have been settled, the postgraduate level remained inconclusive:

¹¹⁷⁴ CCCS Annual report 1986-1988, 1988, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

*The future long-term pattern of postgraduate work in the Department is still under review. [...] the Department inherits and will continue many of the distinctive features of the graduate school in CCCS, including a commitment to critical intellectual work and democratic and collaborative practices in education and administration.*¹¹⁷⁹

As a matter of fact, as soon as 1987, discussions emerged within the DCSS regarding the ways degrees could be organised and working practices implemented. In a memorandum about the future of postgraduate degrees circulated within the DCSS in October 1987, Jorge Larrain expressed his concerns:

*After one week of “holidays”!!! We have to start thinking about our postgraduate degrees and courses. In some ways this necessary reorganisation may be even more disruptive than the alterations in the undergraduate CCS half degree because the pattern of teaching in the MA in Cultural Studies totally differs from the pattern used in our MSOCSC [Master’s of Sociology granted by the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science] in Sociology and Race and Education and indeed from the general pattern used in the Faculty.*¹¹⁸⁰

The subgroup system and the overall CCCS organisation were, indeed, the odd one out and such discussions prompted an academic cultural shock as both the department of sociology and the Centre wished to conserve their original practices and values. This memorandum was answered by most DCSS staff members, including Richard Johnson, who feared for the original Centre’s working practices, in a document titled “Postgraduate Work: The Future”, circulated among the triumvirate only:

I have many worries, some deep and dire, about the moves sketched in Jorge’s paper. It seems very important to put in play some general considerations based on CCCS experience mainly. These range from the very pragmatic (eg. Brit Academy funding) to the educational-political (some fears I have about the course-ification of p.g. work). It seems important that John and Jorge know more than they currently do (?) about the CCCs postgrad arrangements so at least they can see where Maureen, Michael and Richard start from: one ONE VERSION

¹¹⁷⁹ CCCS Annual report 1986-1988, 1988, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹¹⁸⁰ CCCS. *Material Relating to the Future of Postgraduate Study in Cultural Studies*. 1989 1987. University of Birmingham Staff Papers: Papers of Richard Johnson. Cadbury Research Library. [Accessed October 29, 2021]

*of this, anyway. Since these arrangements are so different from those in force in ANY faculty a purely pragmatic, 'harmonising' approach may be particularly destructive here.*¹¹⁸¹

The diluting of the CCCS's practices was there at stake, and the importance of maintaining some sort of secrecy attests to the fact that the Centre was indeed operating outside the University's formal framework. The walls of the utopian enclave set up in the early 1970s and the experiments that were conducted within them were being threatened by the recent merger. The document quoted above was addressed to "All CS's (presumably all Cultural Studies staff members, aka the triumvirate)¹¹⁸², and highlights the fears entertained by Richard Johnson about the risks of losing some, if not most of the CCCS's defining characteristics. Thus the Centre's fight for survival went beyond mere institutional survival and may not have stopped at the merger, as Johnson further described in his answer to Larrain's memorandum:

*But I could not stand abandoning or watering down THESE AIMS [changing the social relations of academic knowledge production] and will insist on retaining some elements from current practices (see 5 below). In a way the least defensible side of this is the belief in a characteristically Centre-ish type of product. This can easily become a kind of nostalgia or a conservatism or even a spurious academic hype. I accept that the nature of our work will change though I hope it will continue to be distinctive, and be more than the sum of individuals.*¹¹⁸³

Johnson emphasises the collectiveness of the Centre's work, which both relied on collective research and organisational practices. The tone used here is defensive and the merger indeed represented a threat to the CCCS's ethos and long-established processes, especially regarding decision-making. Section 5 of the document (mentioned in the previous quote), highlighted the precise practices Johnson wished the DCSS to integrate:

However important informalities are, some political mechanism is important too. The current mechanisms are twofold: to include pg students on the admin groups that deal with such matters as admissions, library, publications, visiting speakers, finance; to make all major policy matters subject to the sovereignty of a General Meeting, on a one person one vote basis. Again, I'm not implying that all this much be

¹¹⁸¹ CCCS. *Material Relating to the Future of Postgraduate Study in Cultural Studies*. 1989 1987. University of Birmingham Staff Papers: Papers of Richard Johnson. Cadbury Research Library. [Accessed October 29, 2021]

¹¹⁸² Ibid.

¹¹⁸³ Ibid.

held onto in the new circumstances, just that the AIMS have been important and that we have a certain amount of experience in attempting to realise them which we should not allow to be subsumed within some new faculty pattern, just because of the move.¹¹⁸⁴

John Gabriel, the second sociologist to join the DCSS, also contributed to the discussion in a rather CCCS-friendly way (presumably after having received a watered-down version of Johnson's initial "Postgraduate Work: The Future" piece):

I really liked Richard's memo for a number of reasons; because I am committed to many of the educational principles the Centre has aspired to; because I've also struggled with them and often failed and because the issues and questions they raised get ignored or denied most of the time. I think we must try to build on and preserve the essence of what the Centre's been doing. If we concede that to our faculty there will be little left of the Centre, maybe just the name. The most important principles for me are: the creation of conditions under which "oppositional forms of knowledge" are produced which is linked to the principle of student control over educational processes; the acknowledgement and development of a political role vis a vis the outside world; and the need for us to retain some control over our own educational processes, to write, read, have necessary social connections, etc.¹¹⁸⁵

In this passage it seems clear that the merger between Sociology and Cultural Studies could only take place because members of the Department of Sociology were sympathetic to the ethos of Cultural Studies. However with the merger, the Centre's democratically informed horizontal subgroup and collective models were confronted with the institutional academic structure of postgraduate studies. These two models could not coexist within the same academic unit, as such conversations evidenced, and the final framework for postgraduate studies within the DCSS would not emerge before October 1989.

Despite these discussions, the merger remained a positive prospect for the triumvirate:

Despite transitional difficulties of all kinds (including the current physical reconstruction of floor 8, the Muirhead Tower) we have gained much from the move: a larger and stronger staff team; the long sought-

¹¹⁸⁴ CCCS. *Material Relating to the Future of Postgraduate Study in Cultural Studies*. 1989 1987. University of Birmingham Staff Papers: Papers of Richard Johnson. Cadbury Research Library. [Accessed October 29, 2021]

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

*after departmental status; a full single-honours degree. Compared with the cul de sac of the last few years some prospect of progress now opens.*¹¹⁸⁶

This reconfiguration marks the end of the University of Birmingham's rationalisation exercise, which resulted for the Centre in merging with another department with the prospect of taking on more than a double workload and was yet to find the stable common ground on which cultural studies and sociology would live on at Birmingham. The merger can therefore be seen as a double-edged sword, as it both guaranteed the survival of the two structures, but at an indefinably high human cost.

To conclude on this last annual report, 1988 was therefore a year of transitions and of symbols, as the CCCS formerly left the Faculty of Arts and organised a 'Goodbye Arts' party on January 21st, attended by no other than the two CCCS founders, Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall¹¹⁸⁷: "This was an opportunity for reaffirming some of the principles of the Centre, and for expressing some personal and collective debts to the Centre's two founders." Unfortunately, it was also the year of the demise of another founding figure of cultural studies, Raymond Williams. In the guise of a brief eulogy, the annual report stated:

*It was tragic that the year also brought to so premature a close the life and work of Raymond Williams, who contributed so hugely and with such consistent creativity to the study of culture, and who, we all expected, would contribute still more.*¹¹⁸⁸

The last director's report itself concludes with a secular parable for the Centre's future:

*These events reminded us that, in collective as in individual identities, continuities and memories ARE important: it is only possible to change — thoughtfully, effectively, carefully, accumulatively — if some things are also maintained.*¹¹⁸⁹

This remark highlights yet again the CCCS's self-awareness and will to account for its own history. Having lived through almost the entire life of the Centre, the triumvirate (Michael Green became involved With the Centre as early as 1967, Richard Johnson

¹¹⁸⁶ CCCS Annual report 1986-1988, 1988, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

¹¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

1974 and Maureen McNeil 1980) has worked tirelessly to find the right balance between permanence and change and immensely contributed to shaping the CCCS and the early formulations of cultural studies.

The section has explored the upheavals faced by the CCCS's directorship during its last period (1979-1988). The next section will dwell on the Centre's admission policy during the 1980s.

3.3.3. Admissions

The main observable pattern regarding admissions at the CCCS during the 1980s is that of "part-timisation": the fact that most students would register at the Centre on a part-time instead of a full-time basis. This trend is explained in the CCCS's records:

Part-timing [to register part-time] is becoming the 'normal' form of registration for postgraduate work, especially among home students. This shift has involved a movement between the degree categories of registration, away from registration for [...] PhD and towards M.A. registration. It is this structural shift, and all the circumstances which underlie it, which will be the main determinant of our patterns of work in the postgraduate area. [...] There is, of course, no mystery about the reasons for this pattern. The main determination is access to grant aid. The government's systematic reduction of SSRC and DES funding has forced this change. In addition career chances in higher or further education are so slim that the element of professional qualification [...] is greatly weakened.¹¹⁹⁰

Here the consequences of the Thatcher government's policies on research funding can be observed first-hand. Indeed, as soon as its first weeks in power, the Thatcher government imposed budget cuts on all government departments in the late spring of 1979, and the *Department of Education and Science* (DES) chose to make these cuts within the *Social Science Research Council* (for which it was responsible).¹¹⁹¹ The structural impact of postgraduate lack of funding is therefore visible in the very organisation of the Centre's admission pattern. Nonetheless, while registering part-time can be seen as a less enviable way of doing postgraduate work, it can also be analysed as a practice of resistance on the part of the CCCS and its members (present

¹¹⁹⁰ CCCS Annual report 1986-1988, 1988, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹¹⁹¹ Posner, Michael. « Social Sciences under Attack in the UK (1981-1983) ». La Revue pour l'histoire du CNRS, n° 7, novembre 2002. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.4000/histoire-cnrs.547>. P. 3.

and prospective) as part-time registration represented a more affordable way to access postgraduate studies (for the 1987-1988 academic year part-time postgraduate fees were close to four times less high than full-time registration fees). This policy of encouraging students to register part-time in light of the increase in tuition fees was as a matter of fact implemented during the previous period. Through this policy the Centre remained able to welcome new postgraduate students and with them renewed its lifeblood throughout the 1980s.

Indeed in 1985 the overall pattern leading to a ‘part-timisation’ of postgraduate studies at the Centre was clearly observable, as the report provided the table reproduced below:

Degree	Full-time					Part-time				
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
M.Litt/Ph.D	5	5	2	4	3	2	1	0	3	1
M.Phil	5	3	2	0	0	1	3	2	1	0
MA (course)	7	2	5	7	2	3	4	8	5	7
Totals	17	10	9	11	5	6	8	10	9	8

Figure 13 – Table highlighting postgraduate students’ registration status between 1981 and 1985

This table shows a stark decrease in full-time registration, corresponding to the drying up of postgraduate grants provided by the SSRC and DES (replaced in 1985 by the ESRC and British Academy). On the part-time side, the increase was less stark; however, while part-time and full-time registration numbers were roughly equal between 1982 and 1984, the last year mentioned in the table, 1985, evidenced a stronger trend in favour of part-time registration. To summarise this “part-timisation pattern”, from the CCCS’s numbers, it can be established that full-time registration plummeted while part-time registration increased and became increasingly stabilised as the 1980s went by, which could hint at the fact that part-timers constituted the new life and blood of the Centre’s administration, as they were more likely to be domestic students living in Birmingham. This aspect of part-timisation will be further explored below in the Working Practices section (3.4.).

Despite this growing sense of economic insecurity from 1979 on, prospective student interest for the Centre remained high, as “last year indeed there were over 100

applications”¹¹⁹², and the professional perspectives of former CCCS members were still positive: “Most people who have left the Centre over the last year have continued to obtain jobs in higher or further education, often in polytechnics or universities.”¹¹⁹³ It therefore appears that even though the CCCS’s funding bedrock was crumbling, the intellectual work it generated continued to be a strong argument in its favour. As the field of cultural studies became increasingly more established, the Centre found itself in the paradoxical and deleterious situation of attracting people and producing skilful academics, while no longer being able to fund its own research activities and struggling to train future researchers.

Looking at the annual report’s membership list, it is possible to see that out of these hundred applications received in 1979-1980, only about twenty new students were accepted: half of them at the PhD level and half of them at the Master’s level (taught or thesis). This trend continued well into the 1980s.¹¹⁹⁴

This paradoxical situation led the triumvirate to plan for more profound changes in the long term to secure the Centre’s economic survival, beyond encouraging students to register part-time and therefore avoid high registration fees. These changes included a choice between favouring undergraduate teaching over postgraduate programs: “These [changes] may take the form of a greater involvement in undergraduate teaching.”¹¹⁹⁵ However, as it stood, the Centre could not absorb the additional workload associated with the running of a full undergraduate degree: “The major problem here is that in our existing state of resource [...] we could hardly enter first-degree teaching, in any substantial way, without further staff.”¹¹⁹⁶ Without ruining too much of the suspense, it shall be said here that what was foreseen in the 1979-1980 CCCS annual report was partly in the right, as while a new half-undergraduate degree in communications and cultural studies did start in October 1982¹¹⁹⁷, it was unfortunately run by the same distressing staff numbers (three permanent members for eighty-two students).

¹¹⁹² CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹¹⁹³ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹⁵ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹⁷ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

In 1983 the track record of postgraduate work was shifting. While overall interest in postgraduate registration remained high¹¹⁹⁸, CCCS students were attached to the Centre for less time. Trajectories such as that of Paul Willis, for instance, who had been a CCCS member from 1969 to 1982, were becoming rare, both due to a structural lack of grant aid and decreased academic career prospects. This decrease in CCCS attachment duration produced a broad semi-detached cohort of CCCS students still loosely attached to the Centre for thesis completion, long after the start of their postgraduate studies. From 1979 on, such cohorts were listed in the CCCS annual reports and underwent various changes. This cohort of thesis finishers initially counted fewer than twenty students, who swelled up to thirty-two students in 1981-1982 and 1982-1983, before progressively decreasing to less than twenty by 1988. This evolution could be explained by Stuart Hall's departure, as he had been likely to supervise a significant number of CCCS PhD students before 1979. His leaving to the Open University either meant he would supervise his postgraduate students until completion or leave their theses to be supervised by the remaining CCCS staff members. Given the fact that Stuart Hall became professor of Sociology at a different institution, it seems likely that the official supervision of students belonging to his former institution proved difficult to maintain. This increase in students attached for thesis completion could also be explained by the progressive redistribution of PhD students formerly supervised by Stuart Hall among the triumvirate. Four academic years later these changes had presumably been absorbed by the CCCS and cohort numbers showed a significant decrease after 1983. As a matter of fact, starting in 1983, the annual reports mentioned which students, among the global Centre cohorts, were no longer living in Birmingham.¹¹⁹⁹ This move out of the CCCS's home was very likely to have been caused by the need for the Centre's postgraduate students to find work to support themselves and their families, sometimes outside the city. This element underlines¹²⁰⁰ the closer attention given by the triumvirate to this particular cohort: as funding and human resources became scarce, the need to rationalise and manage a sometimes geographically distant cohort was made increasingly pressing. This feeling is expressed thus in the annual report:

The older Centre pattern is also well represented by a good many 'completers', people, that is, who started theses here some time ago, have often been extremely productive in book or article form, but whose major work has (sometimes understandably, sometimes not) been

¹¹⁹⁸ Around a hundred applications were received yearly, for less than twenty places divided into the four postgraduate programs (including part-time students).

¹¹⁹⁹ Between 1983 and 1988, the percentage of students attached for thesis completion who were not living in Birmingham fluctuated thus: it slowly increased from roughly 50% to more than 90% during the last year of CCCS activity. This seems to indicate that the portion of students who did live in Birmingham did complete their thesis more than those who did not, in the event they did not terminate their research before completion. Out of sight, out of mind?

¹²⁰⁰ A verb made from the first syllable of the verb "to underline" and the last syllable of the verb "to highlight", discovered in a second-year student exam paper. Patent pending.

*delayed. We would like to take the opportunity to urge people in this category (see the list of 'attachments' which follows) to complete soon since the time available to help in this is steadily shrinking and advice to you remains a heavy drain on our resources. There's still time to submit in October 1983!*¹²⁰¹

It seems as though 1983 was therefore a crossroads in terms of supervision, as 'too-long-distance thesis runners'¹²⁰² were kindly asked to pack up and leave, expectedly not out of rudeness, but once again out of sheer resource concerns.

This call made in 1983 for students attached for supervision to finish their thesis seems to have been somewhat effective, as five PhD theses were submitted the following year in 1984, out of the twenty-four students registered under this condition. Such supervision was, in all likelihood, made more difficult by the fact that the overwhelming majority of these (long-distance runner) students did not live in Birmingham, making conversations and follow-up in the supervision scheme all the more complex.¹²⁰³ This call made in 1983-1984 was, however, not sufficient, as the 1984-1985 report stated: "Let this be a lesson to the others! 1985 may be your last chance!"¹²⁰⁴ It nevertheless evidences the urgency of the triumvirate to bring these students' research to a close, as the workload it represented could no longer be taken up by the CCCS's research staff.

These tidal shifts in postgraduate funding not only had an influence on individual registration, but on subgroup and collective work as well. Fewer PhDs were being initiated and students tended to focus on the taught MA, the most structured and stable CCCS format available to postgraduate students. This meant that the usual life cycle of a subgroup was becoming significantly shortened and weakened, as opposed to earlier patterns of work. The reports state: "CCCS group work [...] now tends to have a one, or at most two-year cycle, since group membership may have completely changed in the two-year period."¹²⁰⁵ Such change could be seen in both a positive and negative light. The report argues that this shortened life cycle allowed for "a group of trainee researchers, here for only one or two years, to see a group project through from

¹²⁰¹ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹²⁰² Ibid.

¹²⁰³ Let us remind ourselves of ancient times when Zoom did not exist.

¹²⁰⁴ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹²⁰⁵ Ibid.

conception to publication”¹²⁰⁶, which constituted an extremely formative experience for young researchers. On the other hand, these projects were, however, of a shorter and less ambitious nature; and while they were important to the field, they could not match the collective intellectual involvement embodied by issues of the Hutchinson series, or other CCCS book-length publications, as those earlier undertakings had been carried out for usually always more than two years.¹²⁰⁷

From 1983-1984 on, the CCCS membership list included the research topics and advisors of each CCCS student. This new set of data makes it possible to establish that for the last five years of the CCCS’s activity, Michael Green supervised, on average, eighteen postgraduate students per year, Richard Johnson twenty-four and Maureen McNeil seventeen. These numbers included both MA and PhD students, full-time and part-time. In the busiest academic years, the number of students advised by one member of the triumvirate exceeded thirty students.¹²⁰⁸ This dataset makes clear that all three CCCS staff members between 1983 and 1988 were, if not officially overworked, extremely solicited at the postgraduate advising level, as they supervised very different students: graduate students who were part-time researchers, sometimes not living in Birmingham; or students working on a variety of topics not necessarily close to their own area of inquiry. This required additional work in an emerging and protean field of research, no less.¹²⁰⁹ This dataset does not include the list of students still attached for supervision (long-distance runners), which research topics were not listed but who were also supervised by either Green, Johnson or McNeil. This represents a tremendous amount of work, especially since postgraduate supervision was not the only area of work where the triumvirate’s time and dedication were needed: between the setting up of the new undergraduate half degree, the redesigning of the MA, teaching, the Centre’s general organisation, the running of meetings, the management of visitors and external speakers, etc. it seems as though the plate of the triumvirate was well beyond full.

¹²⁰⁶ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹²⁰⁷ It took close to four years for the Women’s studies group to build the theoretical framework and fieldwork to contribute the first of the Hutchinson’s series *Women Take Issue* in April 1978.

¹²⁰⁸ Richard Johnson is indicated as advisor to thirty-one students in 1983-1984. See CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 1.

¹²⁰⁹ In 1983-1984, Richard Johnson advised students working on a variety of subjects including but not limited to the media, linguistics, rhetoric in British Socialism, cultural reproduction, postwar British sociology, Youth studies, un/employment, the peace movement, Foucault and Marxism, class, sexuality, education, feminism, TV, masculinity, war and memory, race, science, sports and nationalism. Half of these subjects is enough to make one’s head spin! Ibid. P. 1-3.

Much as the undergraduate degree, postgraduate application numbers remained strong in 1983-1984 (more than seventy applications were received for fewer than twenty places).¹²¹⁰ However the shift towards part-time registration was complete, as slightly more part-time students were enrolled in CCCS postgraduate degrees. This shift is all the more perceptible that for the first time, a table found in the report compiled student numbers according to their registration status over the last three years. This table, in itself, evidences the fact that the CCCS's staff members perceived and acknowledged a change in the historical balance of postgraduate registration, thus endangering the intellectual work and production of the Centre: as fewer people were registered for less time, this could have the deleterious effect of diluting the CCCS's work.

Fewer people for less time meant more work to share among CCCS members. That same year (1983-1984) the admission process was described in a stricter way, in the sense that strong emphasis was laid on the necessity of student engagement in subgroup work and administrative groups, making evident the dramatic lack of resources experienced by the Centre. That year this pressing need was expressed in a hardened tone: "the point is that, if you come, you ought to be prepared to accept these obligations. If you simply want to 'do your own work' you might think twice about applying."¹²¹¹ All the while, during the admission process, a new possibility was implemented (discussed the previous year) for every prospective student to sit down with a member of staff who may become their research advisor. This policy, while putting extra pressure on already worked out staff members, allowed for a better mixing and matching, sorting and orientation process, thus diminishing the chances of producing eroding CCCS postgraduate cohorts, which numbers would decrease following a lack of advising support.

On the postgraduate front, a close to 30% success rate was observed for 1983-1984, with seventy applicants for twenty admissions, including full-time and part-time students, distributed almost evenly, the majority of whom being registered in the taught MA degree.¹²¹² This registration pattern would remain steady during the next couple of years. This new postgraduate cohort was, however, of a distinct kind by recent years standards, as the report states:

We recruited, this year, an extremely well-qualified group, including a high proportion of people with first-class degrees and/or higher qualifications. We did very well in the competition for public grants as a result, with three minor awards and one major award from the DES/British Academy (which funds Humanities topics), and one pool

¹²¹⁰ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹²¹¹ Ibid. P. 9.

¹²¹² Ibid.

award from the Economic and Social Research Council (which funds social science topics). In addition several students won grand support from public agencies overseas and there were two full-time secondments, one from a polytechnic, the other from a school. [...] It is hoped that this swing back can be sustained as it helps to provide the material basis for the kind of intellectual collective which we seek to recreate this year.¹²¹³

It feels as though a breath of fresh air had come to the CCCS through the registration and securing of grants for postgraduate students, at a time when burnout alerts were raised quite heavily in the Director's Report. 1983-1984 can therefore be seen, as has been emphasised in the Governance section, as a turning point when the chaos following Stuart Hall's departure had indeed mellowed to challenge: by 1983 the CCCS was still standing on its own three legs.

By the mid-1980s, a clear recruitment track from the Open University (OU) undergraduate programs to the Centre's postgraduate programs had emerged, evidencing a clear filiation between the Centre and, one is tempted to assume, Stuart Hall's work as a sociologist at the OU. As the OU was neither a traditional redbrick nor a polytechnic, it represented a new, one of a kind type of institution in Britain where the CCCS wider networks could flourish and support the Centre's independence and reproduction process by supplying postgraduate candidates.

By then the screening process and especially the interview had evolved to include questions about the precise motivation for prospective students to join the Centre.¹²¹⁴ One reason for such emphasis to be included in the recruitment process may be linked to the by then well-established reputation of the Centre. It seems as though 1985 was a complex year for the Centre, as it both faced unwanted attention on the part of prospective students newly joined by curious academics, and dire economic and administrative conditions that threatened its very survival. This dimension of the Centre's struggles during the 1980s will be further explored below in the Working Practices section (3.4.).

One other element in the description of the admission process also stood out in 1985 regarding collective research, as it was linked to an earlier reflection made about the perks and difficulties posed by the subgroup model. Indeed conclusions had been drawn since the previous report, as the most recent report included a paragraph about the complexity of academic collective work regarding navigating power struggles:

¹²¹³ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹²¹⁴ Ibid. P. 9.

We seek to break down the individualistic, competitive and hierarchical ways in which academic work is often organised. The key method is by working in small groups, where these differences and relationships of power do not evaporate, but are often easier to handle.¹²¹⁵

This did not prove sufficient: while the Centre did make a point of describing its collective research practices for its prospective students, the complexities brought about by such working practices seemingly still needed to be tackled. And indeed, another paragraph in the same report presented clear guidelines in subgroup session management:

Group work is rewarding and challenging: but it only really succeeds when people consciously develop appropriate relationships and skills. This includes things like not talking too much, enabling others to speak, and not retreating altogether into a private silence. It's important to discuss how you are going to conduct your sessions and not expect them to go smoothly without some organisation or preparation. It is impossible to go into more detail here (perhaps we need a 'document' on this too!) but it is important to stress that we see group work as a kind of politics and as hard work, and not as some magic panacea.¹²¹⁶

The fact that power dynamics were acknowledged and understood as a determining force in the context of knowledge production at university is one of the defining elements of CCCS research. Here the questions raised in the previous year about subgroup organisation have found partial answers in the form of guidelines, along with the acknowledgement that the early 1968 CCCS energy (which helped subgroups form and become successful) which had carried subgroups through the 1970s, had faded. This awareness of power dynamics is also one of the Centre's limits, as although it did explore power dynamics and try to circumvent them, the Centre did not escape falling into some of the pitfalls expectedly found in a growing neoliberal higher education landscape (but more on that later).

In an attempt to reduce the CCCS's staff workload, the policy of officially orienting new students towards the taught MA instead of the M.Phil, M.Litt or Ph. D had been implemented in 1985: indeed, as shown in Figure 13, the most recent part-time postgraduate cohort was almost exclusively found in the MA course. The problem posed by this artificial policy was of an ethical nature: as the Centre could have "recruited twice these numbers without difficulty [as] indeed really talented and

¹²¹⁵ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹²¹⁶ Ibid. P.15.

exceptional candidates were being turned away”¹²¹⁷, the rarefaction of places made necessary by a suffocating workforce implied making increasingly difficult decisions. How was one supposed to objectively choose between two “really talented and exceptional candidates?”¹²¹⁸ This thorny question may very well have added to the feeling of emotional exhaustion fuelled by conflicting values and unfairness, contributing to the Centre burning out.

Paradoxically, what had saved the Centre institutionally was also, to some extent, what had brought it to near exhaustion: “Currently then our own Admissions tutor faces the almost impossible task of selecting 10-12 students from 500 or so applications!”¹²¹⁹ This success — and the additional and almost absurd workload it engendered — was, according to the Centre itself, linked to the surprisingly adequate positioning of its degrees in the higher education landscape at the time:

*Courses with a quasi-vocational character, but which also have their own kinds of breadth will be particularly favoured [by prospective students]. Again Cultural Studies is exceptionally well-placed to benefit from this trend, because of the links that exist between cultural study and cultural practice and policy, especially through the media, entertainment and leisure industries and institutions.*¹²²⁰

As highlighted before, the appeal of CCCS degrees seems almost dismally ironic in the sense that a research centre, which started off as a deeply political, anti-neoliberal project ended up fitting the needs of the growingly ‘technical liberal’¹²²¹ 1980s British university system without even trying, and truly becoming a victim of its own success in the process. This concludes the Administrative Status section. As shall be emphasised in the next section focusing on the Centre’s Working Practices, the

¹²¹⁷ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹²¹⁸ Unknown Academic. « I Struggle When Hiring Academics – Because the Candidates Are Too Good ». The Guardian, July 1st 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2018/jun/01/academics-candidates-outstanding-application-recruitment>. [Accessed October 18th 2023]

¹²¹⁹ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

¹²²⁰ Unknown Academic. « I Struggle When Hiring Academics – Because the Candidates Are Too Good ». The Guardian, July 1st 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2018/jun/01/academics-candidates-outstanding-application-recruitment>. [Accessed October 18th 2023]. P. 9.

¹²²¹ Hall, Stuart. « The Missed Moment ». Richard Hoggart Papers, Sheffield University Library Special Collections, University of Sheffield, 1971. 4/6/16. P.1.

difficulties faced by the CCCS were not only of an admin nature, as they also spread to its teaching and research.

3.4. WORKING PRACTICES

As the Centre's financial conditions worsened during the 1980s, it became increasingly focused on running degrees to legitimise itself in the eyes of the University of Birmingham, while struggling to maintain its research activity.

3.4.1. Running degrees

3.4.1.1. *The undergraduate half-degree*

The CCCS's course structure and diploma slowly evolved in 1980, in keeping with the previous year's foreseen changes in the CCCS structure towards more emphasis on undergraduate work. The "Director's report" discusses the establishment of a new half-degree in cultural studies at the undergraduate level. Richard Johnson describes this new half-degree as a "new departure", and also as a natural evolution in CCCS history. The CCCS had, by 1981, established itself as a central body within the new network of cultural studies:

*Cultural studies is now a well-established element in a number of first degree programmes, especially in the Polytechnics. The Centre had played a part in advising upon these degrees and in supplying qualified staff. We have, therefore, considerable experience of the problems of teaching cultural studies at this level.*¹²²²

Here Richard Johnson made a reference to the Centre's advisory work at the CNAAB since 1976, providing its expertise and evaluating cultural studies programs offered by polytechnics in the country. This new half-degree by the CCCS, while being described as a natural undertaking by Johnson, did, however, threaten the original mission and core activities of the Centre, by veering away from postgraduate research. This concern is also addressed in the report:

¹²²² CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

It is important to stress, however, that the half-degree will not displace our present role in postgraduate education and research. Initially the numbers recruited to the new half-degree will be quite small; adjustments between the two activities will be made according to circumstances. We are certainly anxious to retain a relatively large postgraduate school and to link this to first degree work. This programme is possible within the existing limits of staffing.¹²²³

It is possible to read this paragraph as optimistic, since annual reports had, since 1964, systematically stressed the issue of understaffing, as there officially were two research staff between 1964 and 1974 and three research staff between 1974 and 1988 (Maureen McNeil having replaced Stuart Hall in 1981). At this time, the only undergraduate teaching activity done by the Centre within the University of Birmingham was the “Inter-Faculty course”, which was often taught by CCCS students. It therefore did not put as much strain on the Centre’s staff as would the devising of a new half-degree. Indeed, while eight students were registered as first-year students in the new “Combined Honours Degree in Communications and Cultural Studies” in 1982, they were about twenty the next year and close to forty after 1985, thus quickly coming to represent close to fifty percent of the Centre’s whole student body. It is difficult to imagine maintaining the same teaching and research pattern while dealing with twice as many students registered in different degrees.

This new undergraduate half-degree came into force in October 1982.¹²²⁴ As concerns were again raised in the annual report about the impact a new half-undergraduate degree offered by the Centre would have on its range of activities (thereby reducing its postgraduate activities and perhaps legitimacy in academia?), it is meaningful to see that the half degree had made it to the front page, as if it had become something of a selling point, probably in keeping with the loss of DES and SSRC postgraduate grants and the need for the Centre to attract different types of students and maintain its legitimacy as a teaching unit in the eyes of the university. The CCCS therefore found itself torn between its original status of an elite postgraduate research centre and the need to survive funding cuts and higher registration fees, an evolution which took place at a time of increased demand in undergraduate studies and an overall massification of higher education, as the student population in Britain increased from just above 200.000 in 1964 to almost 500.000 by 1987.¹²²⁵

¹²²³ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹²²⁴ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. Half-title page.

¹²²⁵ Halimi, Suzy. L’enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni. Ophrys ; Ploton, 2005. P.64.

The report indeed stated that the new half-degree was already, even before its first session, attracting a high number of applicants.¹²²⁶ It had therefore become fairly clear in the minds of CCCS staff members that this diversification of Centre activities beyond the realm of postgraduate work would take place at the expense of such postgraduate work: “It is inevitable that our postgraduate and research work will lose some momentum over the coming years.”¹²²⁷ This loss nevertheless allowed the CCCS to strengthen new ties with other departments and disciplines within the university, such as the Department of Sociology¹²²⁸ (a *rapprochement* which would prove cardinal for the survival of the Centre by the end of the decade, as highlighted in the Governance and Appointments section) and the Social Science Faculties at large. It therefore seems possible to place this move on the CCCS’s part towards undergraduate teaching in collaboration with another faculty within a global movement taking place in British higher education, answering the increasing stream of incoming students and the rise in tuition fees by diversifying its activity, on the one hand, while countering the effects of the cuts suffered by research grant providing bodies on the other: by the 1980s the Centre needed to put its eggs in different baskets.

The new half-degree course was described as having a “pioneering spirit”¹²²⁹ and indeed, this “Undergraduate Combined Honours Degree in Communications and Cultural Studies”¹²³⁰ was the first broad, ambitious institutional move on the part of the CCCS towards providing a set of courses for undergraduate purposes.¹²³¹ The CCCS emerged in 1964 as a postgraduate research centre exclusively and a move towards undergraduate expansion was long felt to be inadequate to the Centre’s original mission, not to mention the fact that stable and reduced staff numbers would face difficulty in being able to provide undergraduate teaching options along with detailed and developed

¹²²⁶ “We cannot hope, in the first year, to recruit more than ten or so undergraduate students, yet applications received so far (at an early stage in the admission procedure) are already in excess of 50” CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.6.

¹²²⁷ Ibid.

¹²²⁸ Ibid.

¹²²⁹ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

¹²³⁰ Ibid.

¹²³¹ Beyond the CCCS’s student’s professional experience as extra-mural teachers and the undergraduate inter-faculty course taught by the CCCS (by staff and students alike) as a mandatory requirement imposed by the University in a move towards a broader education.

postgraduate research.¹²³² The fact that the Centre would make such a move seemed bold and necessary at the same time, as undergraduate teaching could provide the bread and butter the Centre desperately needed in the 1980s and undergraduate and postgraduate work would be organised as intertwined within the Centre's framework.¹²³³ This new degree would also allow for a tailor-made recruitment process for future CCCS students to emerge, as students graduating with a BA half taught by the Centre would be more likely to be interested in pursuing an MA in cultural studies. This "pioneering spirit" of the new CCCS undergraduate half-degree mentioned by Richard Johnson was therefore also a spirit of a strategic nature.

The new degree provided a historical approach¹²³⁴ to cultural studies, an introduction to the analysis of various media forms, and to the cultural studies methodology¹²³⁵ during the first year. The second year focused on the more recent historical period (and therefore integrated the more recent CCCS research interests such as subcultures, working-class culture and 'the feminist critique')¹²³⁶, would continue working on media forms and would, again and through case studies, heavily focus on two key institutions in CCCS research: "school and work. The way in which class, gender and race structure cultural differences [would] be taken up." It therefore seems as though the first version of this new CCCS undergraduate half-degree reflected both some of the most up-to-date Centre work (namely Chris Griffin's and Paul Willis' work on the transition from school to work) and the still recent crises experienced by the CCCS regarding the emergence of new theoretical frameworks such as that of race and feminism within a broader Marxism theoretical framework. The third year of the degree was devoted to the study of 'the idea of a national culture', to an independent study and the writing of a "10.000-[word]"¹²³⁷ dissertation on a given topic completed by "other forms of work [...] for example photography, video or tape-recording, with accompanying critical commentary".¹²³⁸ Such experimentation with form and media in the context of assessment echoes the work of Janet Mendelsohn and Richard Rogers

¹²³² Things seem to have changed however, as if one looks at today's distribution of university lecturers' time and energy, for those working in a department providing undergraduate as well as graduate degrees, much goes to undergraduate teaching in terms of student number and teaching hours, compared to postgraduate and research work.

¹²³³ As highlighted in the "Governance and Appointments" section, subsection "Small by any standard"

¹²³⁴ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10-11.

¹²³⁵ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10-11.

¹²³⁶ Ibid.

¹²³⁷ Ibid.

¹²³⁸ Ibid.

in 1966-1967 about Birmingham's changing neighbourhoods and local subcultures. By relying on tape-recorded interviews, field notes and photographs, the two former CCCS students and photographs were able to create a photo-essay and produce some of the most well-known photographs of 1960s Birmingham.¹²³⁹ Overall, this made for a sturdy half-degree, which reflected the stages of research and institutionalisation the CCCS was going through at the beginning of 1982.

In keeping with this idea, the new undergraduate combined half-degree in Communications and Cultural Studies was described in 1982-1983 (one year after its launch) as having a profound influence on the Centre. The Combined Honours University scheme indeed allowed for a stable student intake than the optional "interfaculty" courses taught by the CCCS for students registered in other departments. If one looks at the annual report membership list from 1983 on, the student cohorts are extremely stable and can be followed from one year to the next, which was the case for neither optional undergraduate interfaculty cultural studies courses (which did not appear on the membership list), nor for the CCCS postgraduate degree schemes, where students would switch from full-time to part-time status or sometimes disappear altogether. As a matter of fact, Johnson acknowledged that "there is now a group of undergraduate students who have much more extended opportunities to study with us, and who, in turn, will become a much more important influence on what we do and how".¹²⁴⁰ Undergraduate teaching did therefore prove paramount in further institutionalising the CCCS and completing the transition from Stuart Hall's leadership to the triumvirate's, all the more so, as the demand for the new degree was strong, as early as its launching year. Johnson highlighted that more than a hundred applications were received in 1982, out of which eight students were given places. This growing interest was a positive sign for the CCCS, according to Johnson, as it provided "the almost unlimited capacity for growth in this area".¹²⁴¹ This is both an argument in favour of the work of cultural studies in itself and for the CCCS at Birmingham as a worthy unit to bank on at the institutional level. The combined degree scheme, however, did not allow a joint venture with the Department of Sociology, since, the CCCS and the Department of Sociology did not belong to the same Faculty (Arts for CCCS, Commerce and Social Science for Sociology). This is emphasised as an "anomaly" by the CCCS director, since it "would be likely to be the second most popular option"¹²⁴² after combining Cultural Studies with English.¹²⁴³ In the report,

¹²³⁹ Hilton, Matthew. 1960's Varna Road: A Photographic Memoir of « the Wickedest Road in Britain ». <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/perspective/janet-mendelsohn.aspx>. Accessed July 21, 2023.

¹²⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁴¹ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹²⁴² Ibid.

¹²⁴³ Students were able to combine their half-degree in cultural studies with different other departments within the Faculty of Arts.

Johnson went on to explain why, according to him, the course was so popular among undergraduate candidates, as this half-degree was the only cultural studies degree offered in the whole of the university sector, by that date kept separate from the Polytechnics¹²⁴⁴, where cultural studies programs were flourishing. As active members of the CNAA (the council awarding degrees in polytechnics), the CCCS's staff members had been playing a paramount role in the establishment of cultural studies beyond the traditional university sector (in the polys) and the setting up of a CCCS cultural studies undergraduate degree was as much a matter of survival (hence the remarks made by Johnson on the possibilities for expansion) as one of enhancing the cultural studies institutional network. If one sees cultural studies as a field, the founding of this undergraduate half-degree was also a means for the Centre to assert its legitimacy over the undergraduate sector of higher education, a sector in which its influence was so far limited to the CNAA, to an advising role in cultural studies programs in polys, and to the inter-faculty course it provided at the University of Birmingham. By offering its own undergraduate degree, the CCCS positioned itself as the central actor in the undergraduate sector thanks to its accumulated credibility and would therefore, as the admission figures show, create a new demand for its degrees. A central position the Centre would keep using to make the cultural studies wider field known, as this remark was also highlighted in the 1982-1983 annual report: "One important part of 'admissions' is to point out to candidates the richness of choice in the polytechnic sector and to urge them to apply there too."¹²⁴⁵

This "almost unlimited capacity for growth"¹²⁴⁶ was, however, a double-edged sword, as it represented an additional workload the three-headed team could not easily take on. Johnson stresses: "So our entry into first degree teaching reproduces the now familiar dilemma – the pull of 'success', but the need to hold back for fear of being overwhelmed by it."¹²⁴⁷ This familiar dilemma would remain the overarching tension

¹²⁴⁴ Polytechnics were, between the mid-1960s and 1992, "a distinctive sector of higher education within the Further Education system to complement the universities and colleges of education [created to answer] the need for the further concentration of courses in the interests of the most effective use of resources" They became known as part of the binary system with universities on the one hand and polytechnics on the other. The degrees (initially vocational) awarded by polytechnics or 'polys' were granted by the Council for National Academic Awards. Polytechnics absorbed a substantial share of higher education expansion after the 1963 Robbins Report, as they 'contained' over 150.000 students by 1973 and 450.000 students by 1992, the year the dual system was abolished by the Further and Higher Education Act. See Pratt, John. The polytechnic experiment, 1965-1992. Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, 1997. P. 10-12. Also see National Archives, Department of Education and Science. *A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges*. May 1966, <http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-129-125-c-70.pdf>.

¹²⁴⁵ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹²⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁷ Ibid.

the Centre needed to articulate for the remaining of this third period, as growth in student intake did not necessarily match growth in institutional support.

But the picture was not all bleak. First, the launching of the undergraduate degree was in line with broader CCCS practices relying on collective work: “We have tried to extend ‘traditional’ CCCS methods of small-group working to the first-degree work.”¹²⁴⁸ Second, the actual teaching was described as “a pleasurable experience (for the teachers!)”¹²⁴⁹, contrasting with the teaching experience at the postgraduate level described by Richard Johnson as “‘super-intellectualistic’.”¹²⁵⁰ This remark again echoes the Ruskin debate and evidences the later positioning of the 1980s CCCS regarding its own relationship to theory. The choice was therefore made to take on cultural studies in an undergraduate setting through the use of historical case studies, providing a much more practical approach to the subject, while still working within a strong theoretical framework. The fact that historical case studies were used to introduce students to theory reflects on Richard Johnson’s formation as a historian prior to his recruitment at the Centre in 1974.

The report makes clear that the undergraduate degree was, during its first year, already having a profound impact on the CCCS. Like a newborn baby, it did prove time-consuming; however a few months after its launch, Johnson reflected on the ways in which the new degree was positively influencing other patterns of work within the Centre, including publication and postgraduate work: “Interesting enough, the undergraduate experiments are already feeding back to the postgraduate work too, meeting other sources of enthusiasm.”¹²⁵¹ Here the circularity of CCCS working practices is evidenced, as every aspect of the Centre’s work (be it subgroups, individual thesis work, admin work, seminars or undergraduate work) was considered as part of an integrated whole. Any experimental change could therefore become a practice in other spheres of the CCCS, even undergraduate level teaching, going against the traditional top-down approach to teaching and research. This feature matches the Centre’s attempts at horizontality.

On the publication level, the undergraduate degree also provided an incentive to produce work of an introductory nature and “encourage the tendency towards explicitness and even codification, especially in relation to methods and skills.”¹²⁵² Just as the taught MA degree had redefined the terrain of cultural studies at CCCS in 1975 by becoming the

¹²⁴⁸ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵¹ *Ibid.* P. 6.

¹²⁵² *Ibid.*

smallest common denominator of all CCCS students¹²⁵³, the half-undergraduate degree launched close to a decade later took this self-defining work to the even more structured and spelled out BA level, thereby opening the door to a series of experiments and activities inaccessible before (and potentially to a broader student population as well). In this sense, Richard Johnson (who had initially been brought in to set up the taught MA), Michael Green and Maureen McNeil have been key actors in redefining a new trajectory for the CCCS, both favourable to its institutional survival and to its actual teaching and research practices.

The new combined undergraduate degree aimed at training students for “real-life needs” as the report stresses the near-vocational nature of the Centre’s newest degree, thereby justifying its existence on market-oriented grounds: “While the course, like other Humanities degrees, has no direct vocational relevance, it is worth noting that inside media practice, in many kinds of educational work, and also elsewhere, this kind of work is starting to have a considerable impact.”¹²⁵⁴ By depicting its new degree as a vocational degree, the Centre was starting to use arguments almost contrary to the original mission depicted by Stuart Hall when he conceptualised the CCCS as a utopian enclave, as a space for critical intellectual work within universities about universities. However, as underlined in the historical background section, the 1980s were not a utopian decade¹²⁵⁵ for critical intellectual work and the Centre needed new arguments to survive within its institutional framework. The implementation of the new CCCS undergraduate half-degree therefore makes it possible to view 1982-1983 as a crossroads between the end of the second leadership (Stuart Hall’s) and the maturity and stability of the third, the triumvirate.

The new undergraduate half-degree’s success was confirmed the following year (1983-1984). The CCCS had received more than 250 applications for the still new half-degree and was able to select 14 students for its second intake, “an absolute maximum”¹²⁵⁶ according to Johnson. The most often chosen combination for the other half of the degree was English, according to the report, which does not seem illogical, since the CCCS had been recruiting among the ranks of the English department since

¹²⁵³ Johnson’s reflections around the impetus for and impact the taught MA ended up having on CCCS could be summarised thus: since most CCCS students were registered with different statuses (part-time, full-time, occasional, etc.) and belonged to different subgroups, the MA theory course was therefore the only common experience they all shared as Centre members. The taught MA therefore became something of a backbone to CCCS work.

¹²⁵⁴ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

¹²⁵⁵ Hall, Stuart. *The Missed Moment*. Richard Hoggart Papers, Sheffield University Library Special Collections, University of Sheffield, 1971. 4/6/16.

¹²⁵⁶ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

its founding by Richard Hoggart in 1964, of which he was a senior member. Another reason for this lineage is the fact that the CCCS's inter-faculty course was a popular option among English Department students, which provided the possibility for the Centre to access a pool of students already aware of the CCCS's work, and willing to register for a postgraduate degree. This success nonetheless came with serious drawbacks, as it added to the Green-Johnson-McNeil triumvirate's already full plate. The report indeed states that "each of the staff members now has up to six hours weekly formal 'contact time' with our first-degree students (excluding tutorials, staff-student meetings, etc.)"¹²⁵⁷, evidencing that undergraduate teaching, beyond being an extraneous source of work for an originally postgraduate-centred research centre, came with an increasing amount of work at the admin level to cater to undergraduates' needs. However, this trend towards an 'undergraduatisation' and 'degreeseation' of cultural studies was shared by other higher education institutions: "We receive more and more news of similar developments in Universities, where several new cultural studies degrees or other teaching ventures are emerging."¹²⁵⁸ This shows that what was taking place within the Centre did not happen in a vacuum and reflects the trajectory of the wider field of cultural studies and neighbouring fields in the humanities and social sciences.

One full year of undergraduate teaching yielded somewhat nuanced conclusions to those made in the previous report. The 1983-1984 report highlights that, although "the pleasures of first degree teaching [...] remain real"¹²⁵⁹, the overall stance of the CCCS's professors was forced to become overtly pedagogic¹²⁶⁰, in the sense that the material delivered to undergraduate students was necessarily more straightforward and spelled out than that delivered to postgraduates, in order to create a sense of collectiveness among undergraduate students: one cannot be expected to build a sense of collectivity with one's fellow students and institution when thrown unmediated theoretical concepts without the necessary tools to understand them. With the launch of the undergraduate half-degree the Centre was compelled to modify its entrance fee, as the previous nature of its entrance fee would have been far too excluding an undergraduate audience. This emphasis appeared clearly in the report and seemed to affect the general handling of the undergraduate degree: "This has put a premium on particular skills: care and thoughtfulness on what have become quite extended presentations; forms of carefully, critical collective reading of key texts; openness to what are, relatively, new interests of an unpredictable (or unpredicted) kind."¹²⁶¹ The CCCS's early days of interminable presentations and building of a tight collective

¹²⁵⁷ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

¹²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

were over, and the emphasis in the 1980s had to be put on undergraduate students' comprehension: as the CCCS had become increasingly institutionalised, its knowledge and teaching practices had to follow the same path.¹²⁶² This was also reflected at the postgraduate level, which seems to follow a general trend towards clarification and simplification: "To a lesser degree this is true of postgraduate work too."¹²⁶³ In a sense the pedagogical challenge posed by undergraduate teaching changed its nature and trajectory, as it had before 1982 enjoyed the luxury of never having to explain or spell out its core concepts to undergraduates by working with politically informed and high-achieving postgraduate students. This pull towards more clarity was made necessary by the Centre's new members and a process of clarification was taken up from floor to ceiling, from undergraduate to postgraduate courses.

In 1985, with all three cohorts of the undergraduate half-degree in operation, the CCCS was faced with a full new degree to handle in an administrative and teaching capacity. Demand for the new degree increased dramatically during its inception years, as more than 350 applications were received for the 1984-1985 first-year intake, leaving the Centre's staff the thorny and time-consuming task of selecting sixteen students out of several hundred applicants.¹²⁶⁴ This task, beyond sheer numbers (such a ratio represents a 4.57% success rate), also seems to have been difficult on human grounds, as the report states: "This year recruitment to combinations with CCCS was, again, yet more competitive, and it was hard, in justice to candidates, to keep the numbers down."¹²⁶⁵ Yet, selecting sixteen students and increasing the original first-year cohort size (twelve was originally seen as the absolute maximum) was decided upon by the triumvirate to allow more candidates to get in, at the expense of teaching conditions.¹²⁶⁶

Some concluding remarks on the CCCS's undergraduate half-degree. Planned for at the end of its second period as a means to become more institutionalised and to fit

¹²⁶² And adapt to a younger generation? From the report one gets the impression that the CCCS had somewhat by 1984 reached its "boomer"¹²⁶² phase: "A lot of work involves [...] a representation of a history and of more or less recent social changes - familiar to ourselves but often new, perhaps strange, to our students."¹²⁶² Indeed the generational gap between CCCS Professors, whose early political formation had been that of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the height of the British New Left in the 1950s and 1960s; and young people turning eighteen in 1983 was made starkly clear. Ibid. P. 4.

¹²⁶³ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁴ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4.

¹²⁶⁵ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹²⁶⁶ Ibid.

advantageously into an emerging landscape of other cultural studies undergraduate programs offered by polytechnics, the undergraduate half-degree in cultural studies was successfully implemented at the Centre between 1982 and 1985. Application numbers were immediately high and the task of selecting a small undergraduate cohort quickly became a difficult and even absurd task. The cultural studies undergraduate degree therefore came to symbolise the tension between the pull towards institutionalisation and the wish to pursue its research activities. As such tension took place in a decreasingly supportive institutional environment, the threat of being torn apart between the two poles was a serious one.

The next section will deal with the ways in which the taught MA evolved throughout the third period of CCCS's activity.

3.4.1.2. The « *fraught*¹²⁶⁷ » MA

The taught cultural studies MA program had been offered by the CCCS for the first time in the 1975-1976 academic year, and Richard Johnson had been instrumental in devising the content of the degree along with Stuart Hall and Michael Green during the CCCS's second historical period, the "Golden Years". As a structuring endeavour meant as defining and stabilising the core theoretical framework of cultural studies, the MA evolved alongside the subgroup system for the better part of the 1970s. In the 1980s, the taught MA gradually became the unique common experience shared by most CCCS students following the partial erosion of the subgroup model, greatly impacted by the decrease in postgraduate research grants provided by the SSRC and the DES. It therefore increasingly became the locus of negotiations and renegotiations, of power dynamics concerning what would be taught as *the* cultural studies curriculum. This trajectory is detailed below.

Indeed the changes brought about by feminism at the Centre, which had come to prominence by the end of the 1970s, influenced as far as the very structure of one of the degrees taught by CCCS: the master's degree by course and dissertation (the taught MA). The shift in the devising of the taught MA is highly visible in the CCCS archive. While in 1979-1980 it was described as such:

As a general review of the issues in the field ¹²⁶⁸of cultural studies, the degree's courses evolved from a study of "the many ways in which 'culture' has been defined in different intellectual traditions: the

¹²⁶⁷ Nickname sometimes given to the degree among the CCCS's staff, indication of Maureen McNeil in a personal interview made late in the research process and not included in the sources.

¹²⁶⁸ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

*culture-and-society tradition; Weber and the 'cultural sciences'; Durkheim and the 'sociological' tradition; the 'anthropological' definition; the Marxist critique.*¹²⁶⁹

Two years later, it had evolved to encompass “the ways in which culture has been defined and handled in different intellectual traditions; the salience of cultural questions within Marxist and feminist debates.”¹²⁷⁰ It therefore appears that the first historic CCCS taught degree had become a discussion forum and arena for successive contemporary debates inside the Centre, thus reflecting and acknowledging the intellectual trajectories of its members and structuring its core degree in response to such trajectories.

This discussion arena was not only paying lip service to the CCCS's internal theoretical debates, as after six years the degree was “completely redesigned, typically through the exasperated but creative energies of those who suffered an older model.”¹²⁷¹ As Richard Johnson was recruited at the Centre with the aim of helping design the said taught MA degree in 1974, it seems only fitting that he should several years later, as the new CCCS's director, undertake its redesigning. This revision played an important role in the consolidation of the Centre as a degree offering institution and as a shared academic experience, drawing away from the fragmented experience of the subgroup model, as the report shows: “Since we hope that the course, or parts of it, are the one common experience of all CCCS members, achieving a better design, will be one of the biggest advances of the year.”¹²⁷² It seems as though by 1981 the years of “making it up as you go”¹²⁷³ belonged to the past, as the cultural studies curriculum, while still being renegotiated, was stable enough to allow for debates to take place without endangering its entire theoretical structure. The successful redesigning of the

¹²⁶⁹ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1980, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

¹²⁷⁰ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹²⁷¹ Ibid.

¹²⁷² Ibid.

¹²⁷³ When asked about the designing of early CCCS course materiel and research activities, Stuart Hall famously with the concept of ‘making it up’, as highlighted in this quote from his Pioneers of Social Science interview, already much quoted in this work “They [students] didn't know what culture studies was, I was making it up, and Richard was making it up! And the students were engaged in making it up! So I couldn't teach - well, there's no cultural studies to teach. We were making it up out of elements, bringing all the different elements together. See Stuart Hall Interview in Thompson, P. Pioneers of Social Research, 1996-2018. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P. 50.

taught MA is also proof of the stability of the Centre hardly two years after Stuart Hall's departure, which had shaken the boat of cultural studies at Birmingham.

Two elements can be drawn for the analysis of this redesigning. First, the fact that the new version of the taught MA heavily drew on some of the most well-funded research undertaken by the CCCS is clear, as students were then required to choose between the three following topics: "work and cultures of work; representations; youth, subcultures and schooling".¹²⁷⁴ Of these three themes, two were directly connected to the SSRC funded research projects of Christine Griffin and Paul Willis, and such a restructuring of the taught MA demonstrates that the Centre's course structure was evolving alongside its most up-to-date postdoctoral research. This element evidences both the strong link between the CCCS's research and its own teaching, and the evolving and progressing nature of the cultural studies canon. It may also point to the fact that cultural studies at Birmingham were not envisaged as a method meant to be set in stone, but as a growing project. The second meaningful element emerging from this redesigning was an attempt at dividing the one item of the MA course into three sections concerned with "key social relations as the interact with cultural forms and processes: with gender, race and class."¹²⁷⁵ Such division eventually proved problematic; however, as Richard Johnson highlighted when asked about the theory course in the taught MA:

RJ: [The general theory seminars were] quite crucial I think, because it gave a coherence to the project and it's inherited by the theory course in the MA, which every student must take [...] And that was an attempt to provide the coherence. [...] And what we were trying to do was, we overpoliticised it. So we were trying to have a class section, a gender section, a race section and a sexuality section was just about coming in. [...] So you- (pauses) you could do it so much better. If you could handle the theory side, not the political side, if you see what I mean. It took me a long time to realise that and I got there in the end. I think about the late 80s (laughs) there were fewer rebellions as a result. (laughs)¹²⁷⁶

This attempt at dividing the theory course thematically around important and polemical cultural studies themes can be seen as a direct answer to the growing influence of feminism and race inside the Centre during the second half of the 1970s, which had indirectly shaken the CCCS' main Marxist matrix to the core. This was a way to create a theoretical space within the one common experience shared by all CCCS students to debate questions of feminism and race and to eventually integrate

¹²⁷⁴ Stuart Hall Interview in Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research*, 1996-2018. 4th Edition, 2019. DOI.org (Datacite), <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P. 50.

¹²⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁶ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15, 2022. P. 25.

these questions into the core of cultural studies. However, attempting to assimilate new theoretical concerns into an already protean and shifting core is a highly hazardous business, and in this case turned our triumvirate into experimental scientists beyond the limits already explored by cultural studies since 1964.¹²⁷⁷ It also segmented several strands of cultural studies into their own theoretical fragments instead of working out a cultural studies curriculum integrating the full arsenal of a feminist and anti-racist critical framework, an aspect which has already been highlighted in the Governance and Appointments section.

Beyond this partial division of the theory MA course, the redesigning of the taught MA was described as an achievement, as it kept pace with undergoing debates at the Centre, so much so that it gradually became the CCCS's gravity centre. Indeed yet another element substantiating that 1982-1983 was indeed a crossroads for the CCCS is found in the joint evolution of the subgroup system and the taught MA. The subgroups had since 1971-1972 progressively become the CCCS's norm and its most well-known feature in terms of research practice. Sub-groups and the taught MA had coexisted since 1975-1976. By 1982-1983 it had become clear that the balance between subgroup participation and taught MA work had changed: "It may be, [...] that the 'classic' subgroup, to date the main form of Centre collectivity, will gradually give way to other forms."¹²⁷⁸ The 'centrality' or 'coreness' of the taught MA is the result of it being the only common experience shared by all CCCS members. This 'coreness' gave the taught MA traction to become the main focus of interest and collectivity within the Centre. Furthermore, the MA course had been redesigned the previous year to echo the latest cultural studies research development emerging from subgroup work, and the new version included project work mimicking the subgroup model: "the MA group itself [...] approximates closer than before to the subgroup model, even producing its own small reading groups."¹²⁷⁹ This focal shift from the subgroups to the taught MA reallocated intellectual work from an 'untamed' form of collectiveness (as subgroups were sometimes if not often student-led without staff supervision) to a tamed and institutionalised one, as the project work done as part of the MA was planned for in the degree structure and had therefore been validated by the faculty and university. A double movement can explain this shift in organisation: both the understanding and appraisal of the subgroup model as a fruitful form of collective work, and the growing influence of the taught MA as the new core of the CCCS in the face of growing pressures to become institutionalised in a decreasingly kind higher education ecosystem. In the early 1970s the CCCS had no core or rather

¹²⁷⁷ The fact that Richard Johnson talks of "overpolitisation" is also meaningful, in the sense that for the first time something was described as being 'too political' for the Centre, which is a hard challenge to complete. It appears here that the fragmentation of the main Marxist theoretical framework was the element which prompted overpolitisation in the eyes of the Centre's third director, which is something immensely interesting that I have yet not had time to fully explore.

¹²⁷⁸ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid.

no set common experience besides the theory course and the administrative general meetings. The launching of the taught MA in 1975 both provided the occasion to create a more structured postgraduate teaching experience and an opportunity to keep on defining what were indeed contemporary cultural studies. It then slowly became the institutionally established core of the Centre and was thus able, to a certain degree, to integrate the subgroup model into itself.

By 1984 the demographics of the taught MA cohort had evolved and so, in answer, had the structure of the degree: “Stress is laid, [...] especially at the beginning of the year, on the discussion of members’ starting points, and especially their previous educational and practical experiences.”¹²⁸⁰ This emphasis on students’ starting points echoes the progressive “undergraduatisation” undergone by the CCCS throughout the 1980s described in the previous section. This may also reflect the CCCS’s newer recruitment stream constituted by students who had graduated with a cultural studies BA at a polytechnic, reflecting diverse experiences according to the institutions with emphasis laid on different points of the cultural studies curriculum. Therefore the need to account for individual knowledge and motivation, before starting building common CCCS knowledge, had become a necessary entry point into cultural studies.

This new emphasis on students’ starting points and thorough and explicit introduction to the CCCS’s framework at the beginning of each academic year may be seen as an answer to the growing gap between the CCCS’s staff ethos and ideology and that of its most recently recruited students. By 1984 there was a recognition that the Centre’s methods were not always straightforward (Johnson refers to the “rather implicit character of cultural studies methods”)¹²⁸¹ and an acknowledgement that past research practices were no longer producing results:

*The (partly mythical) days when we could all afford a long soak in a diffused milieu of cultural-studies research aren’t completely over, but are much less luxurious. Learning by what used to be called ‘osmosis’ still occurs, but time prescribes that we catch up on basics and learn new methods as economically as possible.*¹²⁸²

This was not the first time the term ‘osmosis’ was used to describe the learning process at the Centre. In a 2022 personal interview, Dorothy Hobson, a former CCCS student from 1975 to 1981 (and attached for supervision from 1981 to 1983), thus described it: “I remember saying once, I think that eventually the way you learned things at the

¹²⁸⁰ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹²⁸¹ Ibid. P. 6.

¹²⁸² Ibid.

centre was through osmosis. If you sat there and listened, you would at some point realise that you did understand”.¹²⁸³ However this practice, as highlighted by Johnson, was emblematic of the CCCS’s second period (1968-1979). By 1984 the economic situation and the relative institutional support the Centre enjoyed within the University of Birmingham¹²⁸⁴ had changed so drastically that students were no longer able to afford to learn by osmosis. These economic and political shifts prompted the adaptation of the Centre’s staff to the pedagogical needs of the more recent CCCS cohorts. This adaptation took place in the midst of the democratisation of access to the CCCS, as the Centre could rely on polytechnics to supply a steady flow of graduates from all walks of life (as polys themselves were more accessible than universities). The consequences of that democratisation and facilitated access will be explored below.

This change in pedagogy was also being linked to the fact that the CCCS’s history, up to a certain point, was defined by a long “making up as you go phase”, coined by Stuart Hall and mentioned in his *Pioneers of Social Science* interview¹²⁸⁵:

They were kind of reading groups. They didn’t know what culture studies was, I was making it up, and Richard [Hoggart] was making it up! And the students were engaged in making it up! So I couldn’t teach - well, there’s no cultural studies to teach. We were making it up out of elements, bringing all the different elements together.

This period slowly and progressively began to end as a result of the institutionalisation process and the arrival of the taught MA in 1975. A new culture emerged at the CCCS over several years and the arrival of the undergraduate degree reinforced the already growing necessary trend of structuring degrees making the learning environment more explicit to secure the field’s reproduction: if new cohorts did not adhere to cultural studies because of a lack of clarity and too-high expectations on the part of the teaching body, how was the Centre to survive? It seems expected that ‘osmosis’ could take place in an environment where everyone (students and staff alike) was taking part in the making of a common project — cultural studies. Several years later, integrating new students into (to some extent) a stabilised project — a research unit offering a taught MA and a half-undergraduate degree — consisted of a completely different dynamic where the triumvirate had to adapt to its newest cohorts while it had spent (for Richard Johnson and Michael Green) the better part of their time at the Centre working with students who adapted themselves to the cultural studies project as much as they were able to build its shape. With the taught MA and the half-undergraduate

¹²⁸³ Hobson, Dorothy. Unpublished interview with Kieran Connell. Interview August 4 2013. P. 2.

¹²⁸⁴ Which could be defined as the absence of outright hostility.

¹²⁸⁵ Hall, S in Thompson, P. *Pioneers of Social Research, 1996-2018*. 4th Edition, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6226-6>. P.50.

degree, the question was no longer that of creating a project, but rather to learn on the basis of an already established project.

This reflection on the need for CCCS members to engage echoes Stuart Hall's in a March 1971 essay titled *Think Small – But Hard*. There is a clear parallel between what Johnson underlines in the CCCS 1984 report (“what matters is to engage: on both sides that is, of an initially awkward divide”)¹²⁸⁶ and what Hall described back in 1971:

*The matter at issue here is not the absence of a smooth-running consensus about [CCCS] tasks, but precisely the opposite: the fact that the controversies concerning these tasks do not seem to engage us sufficiently for us to quarrel and argue creatively about them.*¹²⁸⁷

More than a decade apart, both CCCS directors stressed the need for both students and staff to engage in a (sometimes “awkward”)¹²⁸⁸ common discussion (or quarrel) to make cultural studies teaching and research practices viable. In the 1980s, however, the type of engagement needed had changed, as it also required the triumvirate to engage with students' position as they entered cultural studies programmes while informing them about the precise ethos of the Centre. As cultural studies became a wider field evolving in different departments throughout the country, still with the CCCS at its helm, students' situations and their compatibility with the Centre's ethos were becoming more diverse. This prompted creative tensions of a new kind for the triumvirate while adding to its strenuous work environment.

By the mid-1980s, this change in pace towards more pedagogical transparency and institutionalisation was the only way the Centre could survive the emerging Thatcherite paradigm shift, as Johnson underlines: “It seems that in this new form the Centre can be sustained as a viable and productive project”.¹²⁸⁹ Such a degree of institutionalisation did not, however, prove sufficient to prevent CCCS members from further expressing clear disagreement about the way the MA was organised in 1983-1984:

¹²⁸⁶ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹²⁸⁷ Hall, Stuart. *Think Small – But Hard*. Richard Hoggart Papers, The University Library, The University of Sheffield. Reference unknown. P.1.

¹²⁸⁸ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹²⁸⁹ Ibid.

*Some members feel that in term II there should be more scope for new elements to enter the reading programme, especially elements marginalised by some of the dominant definitions in the field – e.g. some corrective to the marked Anglo- or at least Euro-centricity of 1970s cultural studies.*¹²⁹⁰

This paragraph shows that by the time of the publishing of the report in January 1984, these discussions were still taking place and a consensus had not been reached for the next academic year. They were thus made explicit in the annual report, evidencing a certain level of transparency in the accounting of debates taking place at the Centre. Indeed such a remark makes clear that conflicts were continuously taking place between staff and students regarding the very structure of the degree, and that the opinion of students was nevertheless not only respected but printed in the records of the Centre.

This reflection, in hindsight, reflects both a strength and a limit of the Centre's practices. On the one hand, working one's way through a degree structure via trial and error can indeed lead to committing errors, however temporary they may be. On the other, only thanks to a sense of liberty of practice and dialogue could such discussions and curriculum changes take place from one year to the next. This provided the possibility to tremendously improve material and to create a common textual and theoretical base a majority of CCCS members would agree on studying, thus guaranteeing a higher level of personal involvement.

In keeping with the Centre's ongoing efforts towards greater transparency and broader access to its curriculum, after 1984-1985 the MA included "For beginners" sessions¹²⁹¹ dedicated to difficult texts. These sessions were themselves dealt with by several reading groups evolving around the "core lectures" taking place at the beginning of the week. Here can be observed both the effective absorption of the subgroup model into the more institutionalised MA structure, as these reading groups were formed to "work the other way"¹²⁹² (that is to say as independent, student-led entities with moving curricula and adaptability), and the growing interest in transparent and accessible teaching practices.

To conclude with this section dedicated to the CCCS taught MA during the last period of the Centre's activity in its original institutional form, it can be said that both the

¹²⁹⁰ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 12.

¹²⁹¹ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 11.

¹²⁹² Ibid.

content and the organisation of the degree evolved throughout the last decade of the CCCS's activity. First, its theoretical content broadened to reflect Centre debates around the inclusion of a feminist and an anti-racist theoretical framework. Then, the ways it was taught also evolved, aiming at clearer, more transparent and accessible teaching practices, taking into account the diversity of the most recent CCCS MA cohorts coming, for an increasing number of them, from British polytechnics. Finally, while the CCCS subgroup model slowly lost traction during the 1980s, the taught MA increasingly integrated this very model inside its own structure to reinforce its capacity to make its contents more easily graspable while still relying on collective working practices. The taught MA therefore slowly became the very core of the Centre's activities throughout the 1980s.

3.4.2. Running After Research

In the midst of the politically tumultuously adverse 1980s, the Centre, headed by the Green-Johnson-McNeil triumvirate, found it increasingly difficult to work on the original element the CCCS had been founded for: research. As pressures to run degrees, to become institutionalised and to fight for its own survival inside a university deeply affected by government cuts, time and energy for research were becoming scarce commodities.

One first clue attesting to this fact was found in the CCCS seminars. Indeed, as early as 1979-1980, a new occurrence was added to the seminar structure, the "Tuesday morning seminars". These were meant to cover a wide range of topics, from "presentation of thesis work-in-progress for individuals doing work more removed from main areas of Centre work"; to "lectures by visiting speakers", "items requiring fuller discussion than a Monday General Meeting can provide", "working through problems of thesis writing and methodology", "discussion of important new books", or even "investigation of topical social and political issues, informed by Centre work".¹²⁹³ From this heterogeneous and exhaustive list, it appears that the main lacking element in the Centre's organisation was time, and that a new space had to be created to discuss certain aspects that could no longer be addressed in the regular rhythm of the Centre.

Beyond seminars and aimed at fixing this lack of time, administrative practices also evolved so as to create more time for discussion. For instance one example of the visible influence feminism had on the Centre was found in the organisation of admin meetings: "There is a fortnightly general meeting on Tuesdays, on business and policy

¹²⁹³ CCCS Annual report 1979-1980, 1979, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

matters, alternating with a forum for women members.”¹²⁹⁴ This frequency indicates that a general meeting could not take place at the same time as a women’s forum, which made it possible for all female Centre students to attend both meetings, thus placing both meetings on equal footing.

The Centre’s staff faced dual difficulty during the 1980s: they were both representatives of a highly praised research centre, and were therefore sought after, while being forced to focus on undergraduate teaching if they were to survive institutionally. This dual difficulty demonstrated once again that the Centre was a victim of its own success to the point of producing a certain sense of unease among its staff, as the CCCS’s report underlines:

*Invitations to speak have become so frequent that we cannot possibly respond affirmatively to them all; the stream of visitors to the Centre (all of the astonished to find only three baffling busy full-time teaching staff) had become a kind of embarrassing flattery.*¹²⁹⁵

This feeling would only strengthen as the 1980s went by, as the 1983-1984 Director’s Report states: “The ‘holiday operators’ jargon here is not altogether inappropriate, since we do sometimes feel we are a sort of centre of intellectual tourism.”¹²⁹⁶ For a Centre which primary goal was to develop critical work embedded in the political tradition of the British New Left, coming to terms with the Centre’s fame and the gap between an external perception of the CCCS and the reality of those making it work, day by day, could very likely prompt the triumvirate to fail to see the meaningfulness of representing an academic touristic attraction. This resulting loss of sense could, in turn, proceed to consume the CCCS’s research staff drive to pursue its work.

While this move towards undergraduation was in some respects seen as being possible within the CCCS’s then current limits and even positive for its future (representing an ‘endless possibility for growth’), when considering research, this move was prophesied as a fatality, as the undergraduate program was seen only to increase at the cost of long-term graduate research and staff energy. This caused the Centre to contemplate the potential loss of its identity, as it had been founded as a graduate research unit: as it observed the shortening of postgraduate careers, while it

¹²⁹⁴ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

¹²⁹⁵ Ibid. P. 10.

¹²⁹⁶ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

allocated its staff energy towards undergraduate teaching, as the 1981-1982 annual report attests.

*The main changes to date have been a marked shortening of the average period of registration of postgraduate researchers, from a common three years, to a common one or two, and an increase in part-time work. We expect, in the coming years, a gradual movement of staff energies into undergraduate work, maintaining, however, a strong research and writing activity.*¹²⁹⁷

What is visible here is the emergence of shorter CCCS student careers, as while students would remain at the Centre for a longer time during the 1970s, the same could not be said a decade later. This shortening of students' careers at the Centre was accompanied by a process of 'part-timesisation' in answer to the rise in postgraduate full-time tuition fees, which most students could not afford.

But the new undergraduate half-degree was not the unique element to blame for decreased research time, as even the CCCS's subgroup model was affected. Indeed the redesigning and consolidation of the taught MA were part of a process of institutionalisation (described in the previous section) and came at the price of reducing the level of structural instability which initially characterised the Centre's life, and therefore the research creativity that arose from it. The 1981-1982 annual report incidentally states: "Applicants [...] should have interests in these [collective] ways of working beyond the wish to complete a thesis. Thus, subgroup attachment is encouraged."¹²⁹⁸ The fact that subgroup attachment would be encouraged, rather than being at the core of the CCCS's structure and therefore mandatory, is meaningful here, as it signals a dilution of the Centre's 1970s working practices in the early 1980s. Indeed it is possible to establish that subgroups had been at the centre of the CCCS's activities since 1974, when the 'collective work' section of the annual report was placed second in the table of contents, only preceded by the director's report. This likely attests to the fact that at the time, group work was perceived as the first and most important element in the CCCS's working practices. It remained thus until 1981, where it was moved to the third section and was made fourth the following year in 1981-1982. This 'demotion' in the annual report structure reflects a shift in the overall Centre's organisation, as the taught MA was being redesigned and a new half-degree was being launched. Both activities represented arguments for the Centre's survival to present the University of Birmingham in view of the upcoming planning exercise. In

¹²⁹⁷ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹²⁹⁸ Ibid. P. 7.

addition, the fact that research subgroup attachment would no longer be a CCCS prerequisite reflects quite a drastic change from the heydays of subgroup work.¹²⁹⁹

Group participation was not always optional; however, as student involvement in administrative tasks was not an option, as this work previously highlighted in the Governance and Appointments section. The 1980-1981 annual report thus reads, “All members take part in at least one of the groups which runs the Centre and help make its policies, for example in connection with the library, or publishing, or first-year undergraduate teaching.”¹³⁰⁰ While the Centre was slowly withdrawing from some research practices that had proven their value during the 1970s (the flexible and chaotic subgroup model), it was forced to make its students take on more admin responsibilities and rely on their work to survive, which again signals the areas the Centre needed to focus its energy on as its environment became increasingly scarce. This shift towards making optional subgroup membership can also be partially explained the 1979 change in directorship from Stuart Hall to the triumvirate alongside the aforementioned scarcity. Although it might be seen as a seemingly mundane detail at first glance, this progressive retreat from the CCCS’s stronghold that had been the subgroup system was indicative of a slow and inexorable groundswell in cultural studies at Birmingham.

Another element evidencing the gradual Centre institutionalisation was found in the evolution of its open policy. In 1981-1982 it seemed as though the Centre’s historical openness, in terms of allowing people outside the Centre to attend seminars freely without being registered, was coming to a close, as the report states that individuals may “unusually, [...] attend one only seminar of the Centre’s subgroups while based elsewhere.”¹³⁰¹ This tightening of attendance and attachment rules very likely emerged as a consequence of the triumvirate’s excessive workload and the need to know who was where doing what while at the Centre, in keeping with the overall process of institutionalisation taking shape in the 1980s, where activities were becoming more controlled and traceable if they were to remain manageable.

It is possible to pause here, in 1982, and look back at the first thirteen CCCS annual reports with hindsight. This period seems to follow a specific trend, as the reports go from a very detailed overview of the Centre’s work (in terms of what is being done,

¹²⁹⁹ “Undoubtedly, the subgroups have become the main centres of productive work and intellectual development in the Centre” See *CCCS Annual report 1974-1976*, 1976, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 5.

¹³⁰⁰ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

¹³⁰¹ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

what is being studied and researched, at which conferences are the CCCS work presented and which work is being used as a framework) to a more detailed overview of the institutionalisation of the Centre, where there is still talk of content, but much more space and energy are dedicated in the reports to the structure of the Centre and undergraduate teaching. The Centre's institutionalisation is therefore visible at the core of its very archive: the structure of its annual reports.

By 1983-1984 the pull of success and expansion of cultural studies also produced some unfortunate corollaries of a surprising kind. That by 1984 the CCCS had become too well known for its own good or a victim of its own success has already been established in this work. But in this 1983-1984 annual report, Richard Johnson underlined the connection between a sudden spike in American interest for the Centre and a series of lectures given by Stuart Hall at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign¹³⁰² in the summer of 1983. Johnson seems to hint at the fact that certain visitors were more interested in sightseeing and catching a glimpse of so-called cultural studies stars than actually engaging on an intellectual and practical level with the CCCS's everyday life. Here it is possible to make out another of the limits of the Centre: to a certain academic audience, the CCCS had ceased to be an intellectual project (or never was) and had become a celebrity object. In a sense it is possible to establish a point in Latour and Woolgar's credibility cycle applied to the CCCS where there was such a thing as too much credibility for the Centre's own good, as the influx of individuals expressing their interest in cultural studies and travelling to visit its "British birthplace" was indeed hurting the CCCS, as it was unfortunately not connected to a surge in funding. However deleterious, this shift in perception made it possible for cultural studies to progressively become established as a field in the United States thanks to scholars the least peripheral of whom was Lawrence Grossberg (a student at the CCCS in 1968-1969), now Professor of American Studies in charge of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's program in Cultural Studies.

During the same period, the subgroup model was being reexamined. In 1982-1983, the 'Group Work' section contained a statement indicating that "a running review of [subgroup work] ways of working"¹³⁰³ was being conducted by the Centre. The conclusions of this running review were published in the 1983-1984 report, where the subgroup model and its history were described at length and the politics of subgroup management discussed:

Group work is rewarding and challenging: but it only really succeeds when people consciously develop appropriate relationships and skills.

¹³⁰² These lectures belonged to a series titled "Marxism and the interpretation of Culture: Limits, Frontiers, Boundaries" See Hall, Stuart, et al. Cultural studies 1983: a theoretical history. Duke University Press, 2016. P.89.

¹³⁰³ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 16.

This includes things like not talking too much, enabling others to speak, and not retreating altogether into a private silence. It's important to discuss how you are going to conduct your sessions and not expect them to go smoothly without some organisation and preparation. It is impossible to go into more detail here (perhaps we need a 'document' on this too!) but it is important to stress that we see group work as a kind of politics and as hard work, and not as some magic panacea.¹³⁰⁴

This paragraph points out several elements. In keeping with the general shift undergone by the CCCS during the same period, it could be seen as the operational translation of a need to evaluate and reassess working practices in the midst of financial difficulty. Indeed, as during the 1980s postgraduate research grants became increasingly harder to come by, it seems logical that the CCCS would look into its own practices to evaluate which were more likely to yield academic results and remain sustainable professionally. Such conclusions could also stem from a need to thoroughly assess the subgroup model, which had emerged in the early 1970s and could no longer be sustained by postgraduate research grants: while the model had proven highly successful during the previous decade, leading among other things to the signing of a publication deal with Hutchinson, which had contributed to further establish the CCCS's work on the academic map, it may have appeared that the model's potency was likely to wither as institutionalisation as taking hold. Furthermore, one last possible explanation for this evaluation process could be a delayed consequence of the change in directorship in 1979. Indeed the subgroup model had been implemented under Stuart Hall's directorship and with him gone, the need to reappraise the decade-old model under a new directorship may have appeared in light of the model's possible shortcomings: after all, one does not conduct collective research easily. In all evidence, this "running review" of the subgroup model very likely stemmed from a combination of these elements. Furthermore, these guidelines express the extent to which the Centre was self-aware of power dynamics when conducting collective research: acknowledging and addressing them in its own annual reports and overall archive. It therefore can be said that the Centre attempted to address such power struggles, while not being able to fully overcome them.¹³⁰⁵

The Centre still, however, attempted to support its own researchers, as two 'thesis-writers groups' were created in 1983-1984 in order to support CCCS students in their writing process.¹³⁰⁶ This initiative further evidences the institutionalisation of research practices, as the setting up of these two groups ("a group for 'starters' and a group for

¹³⁰⁴ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 15.

¹³⁰⁵ One may wonder if traces of a social group succeeding in that area have ever been found.

¹³⁰⁶ Ibid. P. 19.

‘finishers’”)¹³⁰⁷ illustrates both a general move towards more established forms of training, a recognition of the difficulties of thesis writing and an emphasis on the need to (sooner than later) complete one’s thesis¹³⁰⁸, as the Centre struggled with “long-distance thesis runners” for the better part of the 1980s.

In other developments identity politics was structurally flourishing at the Centre in the mid-1980s, as a Black Caucus appeared in 1984-1985, almost ten years after the setting up of the women’s forum in 1976.¹³⁰⁹ This new caucus was formed “by students who felt a need for a specific forum in which to share experiences and discuss questions of race at the Centre”.¹³¹⁰ The scope of the caucus’s discussion was broad and tackled Centre politics including graduate recruitment, MA course content, and racial issues in subgroup work. While the caucus was primarily aimed at discussing CCCS matters, it also seemed to act as a political base for activism in the West Midlands area, and perhaps the whole country: “[it] serves as an information clearing house for activities and campaigns in Birmingham and elsewhere”.¹³¹¹ It is meaningful that the CCCS’s Black Caucus would be created after Stuart Hall’s departure and not while he was the Centre’s director from 1968 to 1979, as it reflects the extremely low numbers of Black CCCS students during the 1970s. Stuart Hall indeed reacted favourably to the CCCS’s female members’ request to form a Women’s Studies group by arguing that if there were more Black students at the Centre, they would probably caucus too.¹³¹²

By the mid-1980s, it seemed as though the Centre was experiencing increasing difficulties in the devising of its own research practices and attempting to reinvent them. The 1985-1986 annual report focuses on the variety of research teaching and methods practised at the Centre during that year. The report reads:

¹³⁰⁷ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 15.

¹³⁰⁸ As Richard Johnson stressed in the 1982-1983 annual report, “long-distance thesis runners” were becoming a drain on CCCS’s resources and these ‘thesis-writers groups’ may have been a method to encourage such students to finish writing their manuscript. See in CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

¹³⁰⁹ First described at length in the 1977-1979 annual report. See *CCCS Annual report 1978-1979*, 1978, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

¹³¹⁰ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 19.

¹³¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹³¹² Brundson, Charlotte « A Thief in the Night. Stories of Feminism in the 1970s at CCCS » in Hall, Stuart, et al., editors. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Routledge, 2005.

One common method in different groups has been to read quite short texts very carefully, drawing out the main features of particular approaches; another to take readings as the basis for wider discussions of contemporary issues. The reading group pattern for Term II had varied more. One model has been that readings are more closely tied to the presentations on Monday evenings. Another approach has been to design a relatively independent programme of work more loosely related to the lecture programme. Other variations are possible.¹³¹³

While such tribulations made apparent in the Centre reports certainly did take place before 1985, the fact that they would be made explicit in the annual reports signals a shift in the Centre's needs and politics towards broader recognition of dissident voices within the Centre's student body. First, such practical variability signals an emerging lack of stability in the CCCS's research practices. Second, and linked to the first point, the reasons for these variations came in part from the will of the student body to make the cultural studies curriculum evolve to acknowledge emerging theoretical frameworks:

Such structural differences have developed from the wish of some members for more scope for elements which may have been marginalised by dominant definitions in the field (e.g. some corrective to an over-masculine and Anglo-centric view of the origins of cultural studies).¹³¹⁴

This wish on the part of the CCCS's student body echoes the diversification of the Centre's recruitment pool highlighted in the previous sections dedicated to the undergraduate half-degree and the taught MA. This diversification prompted the Centre's teaching and research staff to modify their practices so as to account for different starting points in their student cohorts and to make the cultural studies canon more accessible. It also incidentally opened the door to renewed contestations, which can be seen as a continuation of earlier critiques made about the Centre's framework during the 1970s about feminism and race.

This section has highlighted the difficulties faced in the 1980s by the triumvirate in maintaining sufficient time for research at a time of institutionalisation and the need to reassess some of its flagship research practices over the decade. The next section will focus on one particular aspect of the CCCS's postgraduate work, which developed as a result of the growing state of financial and institutional instability it had experienced since 1979.

¹³¹³ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 13-14.

¹³¹⁴ Ibid. P. 14.

3.4.2.1. *The A Team and the B Team*

Here the matter of writing the Centre's intuitional history becomes difficult. First because this development is mostly traceable through the accessible oral history collected between 2021 and 2024. Then, because it should be told including as many voices as possible in order to recover the more historical elements and try to explain why a research centre, which main ambition was to open new possibilities in academia while operating in a horizontal and democratic — though eclectic/chaotic — fashion, failed to prevent its own students from segregating themselves into what could be defined as financially defined groups. The words 'failed' and 'segregating' are used here in response to the perception of this development not only by Richard Johnson but also by two former CCCS students who shared their history of the Centre in personal interviews. The "A team" and "B team" moment in the Centre's history seems considered a paradoxical and deleterious event and its roots are intricately tangled with the institutional trajectory of the Centre, marked, in its later years, by chronic underfunding, overwork and lack of stability. Richard Johnson's account as then CCCS director of the "A team" and the "B team" was the first to appear in the series of interviews recorded for this research. The second almost appeared by accident, as this phenomenon had neither been detected in the CCCS's archive nor in the literature surrounding the Centre. Questions regarding this topic had therefore not made their way to the interview protocol. Naomi Paul, who was registered as a CCCS MA part-time student from 1985 to 1987, was interviewed in April 2022. She is a writer, a performer and a teacher. Her account of the "A team" and "B team" period provides precious elements to understand this moment in the Centre's history. As a matter of fact, a few weeks after this interview another former CCCS student from the same period, Annie Branham, got in touch with me and we scheduled an interview, which provided another vision of the Centre and the years of the A team and B Team.

Both accounts, by Naomi Paul and Annie Branham, are extremely important to this research. They provide a reading grid into the later years of the Centre's life that is not strictly linked to registration numbers, tuition fees and political agendas within the British university system. The most striking element of this third period of the Centre's history, the triumvirate (1979-1988), is the fact that even though a process of academic legitimisation was well underway for the Centre, the sudden drying up of postgraduate funding from 1979 on progressively made it increasingly difficult for the Centre to maintain its collective working and to sustain the quality of its work, which, in turn, had a deleterious impact on most aspects of the Centre, not the least of which the temporary institutionalisation of the A Team and the Beam Team. Both accounts detail a violent working and research milieu, where the former positive democratisation on which the Centre most desperately relied due to funding constraints was replaced by a constellation of small loci of power unevenly distributed and shaping the very experience of most Centre members. By the mid-1980s, the Centre could no longer afford to be both be an elite international research unit focused on theory as well as an

open research centre, aimed at building a politically informed academic practice to be taken and applied in the “dirty outside world”.¹³¹⁵

Given the number of details provided in most annual reports, it is striking that the A Team and the B Team did not make their way into the annual reports, as only subtle hints can trace back to what could be described as a fraught situation. Indeed a paragraph describing the Monday Evening Lectures begins thus: “Staff now present a ‘position paper’ at the beginning of each year [...]. A detailed programme is then negotiated.”¹³¹⁶ This is one of the only paragraphs where tensions could perhaps be detected, crystallised by this idea of negotiation at the start of the year, and corroborated by both Naomi Paul and Annie Branham when mentioning their later arrival to the course and curriculum-based decision-making. Indeed both former CCCS students arrived at the Centre in the autumn, while other students had been present since the summer and shaped the curriculum in collaboration with the Centre’s staff, leaving late arrivers with little to none informed decisions left to make on the cultural studies courses’ content.

In this section the emergence of the A Team and the B Team will be explored, so as to analyse the conditions in which they were decided upon and the consequences they had on the Centre’s members. To do so, as already mentioned, three testimonies will be first and foremost used (others do also exist), that of Richard Johnson, then Director of the Centre, and those of two former CCCS MA students, Naomi Paul and Annie Branham, registered from 1985 to 1987.

The first overarching element needed to understand the A Team and B Team moment in the CCCS’s history is the fact that (as much of this third part has shown) it emerged in a context of extreme funding scarcity and adverse political climate, at a time when the Centre was sending increasingly desperate distress signals through several of its annual reports about its working conditions. In the words of Richard Johnson: “This division arose when I was in one of the worst years.”¹³¹⁷ The triumvirate indeed faced multiple difficulties since Stuart Hall’s departure in 1979, as it found itself struggling to justify its existence and convince the University of Birmingham of its legitimacy in a changed environment after the 1979 general election had reshuffled the cards with which the academic sector was playing since the early 1960s and the publication of the Robbins Report. By 1985 the triumvirate had not lived through what could be called a normal year and had focused most of its energies on institutionalisation and

¹³¹⁵ Already quoted in the first chapter “In Search of CCCS”. Hall, Stuart. « The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities ». October, vol. 53, 1990, P. 11. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/778912>. P. 3 & 8.

¹³¹⁶ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 14.

¹³¹⁷ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15th 2022. P. 26-27.

working out survival strategies. This context makes it easier to understand why developments such as the A and B team would come into being.

The second element explaining the appearance of the A and B team in the mid-1980s originated in the by then dual aspect of the CCCS's work and organisation. Annie Branham describes this duality in the following way: "There were two sides of the centre."¹³¹⁸ This division was multifaceted. It was first and foremost a division of a financial kind, as Richard Johnson contrasted the drying up of grants for home students to the "wonderful scholarships"¹³¹⁹ obtained by international students, while Naomi Paul emphasised on the fact that the A team was fully funded and registered full-time while the B team was mostly registered part-time¹³²⁰ and worked alongside their studies to support themselves. This financial division also therefore represented quite often a geographical divide between international and domestic students, itself pointing to a social class divide. This element which shall be tackled again later on in this section.

But while the Centre was divided on financial and geographical grounds, it was also the terrain of an intellectual, professional and to some extent ideological split: Richard Johnson described an "incredibly keen and often extremely clever, and ambitious"¹³²¹ A team bunch, while Naomi Paul referred to "highly ambitious, academically motivated students"¹³²² and Annie Branham went as far as describing the A team as a "very much a group that were professional academics"¹³²³, registered at the Centre to "to progress a career".¹³²⁴ This split was also informed by the theoretical positioning of each team, as the A team was described as, one could say, theoretical theorists ("theoreticians first and foremost"¹³²⁵ in the words of Annie Branham), while the B team's focus laid in "using theory as a practical force".¹³²⁶ This ideological split generated tensions, as the A team members seemingly "were against anything that was based on lived experience"¹³²⁷ in favour of theory work, which aligned with certain members of the Centre's staff, including its own director: "So in a sense I was, I got complicit because obviously I chased them if they had interesting ideas and also they

¹³¹⁸ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 3-4.

¹³¹⁹ Ibid.

¹³²⁰ Paul, Naomi. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 15th 2022. P.9.

¹³²¹ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15th 2022. P. 26-27.

¹³²² Paul, Naomi. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 15th 2022. P.9.

¹³²³ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 3-4.

¹³²⁴ Ibid.

¹³²⁵ Ibid. P. 1.

¹³²⁶ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 1.

¹³²⁷ Paul, Naomi. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 15th 2022. P.10.

may have wanted to work with me.”¹³²⁸ It therefore seems as though the Centre was the locus of a strong ideological split regarding the role of theory in academic work and its intertwining with the way the CCCS’s research could impact the world outside Universities.

This financial, geographical and ideological divide aroused much frustration, which ended up producing a violent research environment. Richard Johnson mentioned that members of the A team “dominated discussions in the MA”¹³²⁹ in the rhetorical and the literal sense, and Naomi Paul described the impossibility of working as one cohort:

It would be me and some other people from the B team but it wasn’t possible to put [everyone] in the same room because they. A team were so scathing and so unpleasant and so nasty to those of us who were regarded as I don’t know, second class sounds like the wrong word.¹³³⁰

Although she did qualify the use of the expression “second class”, Naomi Paul’s testimony does reflect on a judgmental atmosphere, which Annie Branham described further:

I can remember thinking somebody calling me vacuous at one point, which was, to a 21-year-old, I was rather devastated. Now I just find it really funny, to be honest. But there were a lot of judgmental kind of behaviours or thing because people came with different ideas of what they wanted from the centre. And I can look back now and I can laugh at it. But it was quite hairy at the time.¹³³¹

The level of violence experienced by some members of the B team reached a level where Annie Branham defined their experience as “academic terrorism”:

I mentioned earlier antagonisms, that was the antagonism I felt. I used to call it academic terrorism. And I think that was quite well known. Because it just felt that we were, some of us felt we couldn’t express ourselves because we didn’t have the language, we didn’t have the tools. [...] There would also be at the Monday lectures there would be

¹³²⁸ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15th 2022. P. 26-27.

¹³²⁹ Ibid.

¹³³⁰ Paul, Naomi. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 15th 2022. P.10. delete this bit?

¹³³¹ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 1.

*people saying, well, let's record it and see who contributes and who doesn't. (laughs) So we felt a lot of us, did feel quite silenced.*¹³³²

Naomi Paul analysed such violence differently, connecting the experience provided by struggles within the Women's Liberation Movement:

*That was another aspect of the A-team, it's a little bit like what they used to call the "tyranny of structurelessness". [...] It came out of feminism. So you know how the early feminist groups didn't want leaders and didn't want to follow male structures and didn't want to have chairs and secretaries. And in this country there was this- it was an ironic phrase and it was called the "tyranny of structurelessness". In other words, there's no structure and that becomes impossible to work within [...] It's about power, really. And misuse of power and not fully, managing it.*¹³³³

The fact that the three people interviewed about the A and the B team would use the lexical field of violence ('dominated', 'terrorism', 'silenced', 'tyranny', etc.) shows that even though the three perceptions are different, they all point out to an unsound working and research atmosphere, to the point where the MA cohort had to split into two groups, the A and the B team. This violence reflected earlier divides which had fuelled debates at the Centre during the 1970s in a distorted fashion: indeed when considering theory as strong academic work and lived experience as weak academic work, it seems as though the A and B team debates replayed some questions that had led to the creation of the Women's Studies group in the mid-1970s. The next paragraphs will explore how this slip was organised within the Centre.

It seems as though the B team crystallised around the figure of Michael Green, who was informally nicknamed "the head of the B team", a nickname which Annie Branham discussed in her interview:

I: You said that Michael Green was the leader of the B team. It's not exactly what you said, but can you describe what you mean by that?
*R: Yeah, I mean that was- that was me being slightly naughty. I think he understood there was a group and we were quite a sizeable group that wanted to bring theory into whatever practice we had. [...] And I think he recognised that there were a lot of us who wanted to do things rather than just discuss ideas all the time.*¹³³⁴

¹³³² Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 1.

¹³³³ Paul, Naomi. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 15th 2022. P.10.

¹³³⁴ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 1.

The split between the A team and the B team was therefore reflected in the triumvirate, as Michael Green is described as having supported the B team's approach to cultural studies, and took the responsibility of organising the B team seminars, which took place at the same time¹³³⁵ as the A team seminars. Such scheduling choices may have both come from the fact that time was, with money, also a scarce resource at the Centre by the mid-1980s, and by the fact that both groups simply could not work together anymore, as Annie Branham highlighted: "I: So if you ever wanted to go to the A-Team seminar, you couldn't. R: No, but wouldn't want to, it'd be brutal. (laughs)"¹³³⁶

While acceptable working conditions had been secured for both teams seminar-wise, the geographical and class divide underlined earlier between the B team's mostly domestic self-supporting part-time students and the A team's rather international full-time funded students continued to make itself visible at the Centre. Indeed and paradoxically, while the B team students were working to support themselves, they tended to end up contributing more to the Centre's administrative tasks than the A team. Such tasks were described as mandatory to prospective students in the CCCS's annual reports (the year's report was sent along with the application file to prospective students), as during the 1980s students assisting the triumvirate and secretarial staff had become paramount to the Centre's survival:

*The necessary administrative chores — or many of them — are also shared between staff and students through administrative groups. Indeed, the Centre's day-to-day survival is crucially dependent on member's willingness to set aside time for administration. Administrative groups include those responsible for running the library, for producing a weekly agenda of events and chairing and minuting meetings, for advising on financial issues, publications, and so on.*¹³³⁷

This exhaustive description highlights how effectively essential these tasks were, and the report emphasises on the burdensome nature of such administrative work by referring to them as 'chores'. It therefore seems as though accepting to take on these tasks could become an entry ticket to the CCCS for students without scholarships, an element corroborated by Annie Branham's testimony:

¹³³⁵ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 1.

¹³³⁶ Ibid. P. 14.

¹³³⁷ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 10.

And a lot of it was about class. As a good example, most of us there that were in the B-Team, I'm sorry to keep using it. We were working or were on benefits. So we were kind of struggling, we weren't funded. And as I said, I was working in a shop for about 20 hours a week just to be there. But then all of the kind of tasks that we'd agreed to take on like looking after the library, printing stencilled papers, answering phones, it was the B-Team that were doing it because a lot of the A-Team were travelling in, staying overnight and then going back to wherever they were living or just weren't engaging with it. Didn't kind of see that they had a part to play. So there were lots of kind of economic kind of disparities.¹³³⁸

Annie Branham mentioned she agreed to take on tasks to integrate the Centre and dwelled upon a disparity in student involvement in performing these very tasks. The disparity she described was distributed along the A and the B team line. She later nuanced her account: "I mean, I think I'm portraying it a little bit unfairly because I think people to a degree did their bit, but there was definitely a disparity".¹³³⁹ Nevertheless, the hypothesis that agreeing to take on administrative 'chores' could result in securing an entry ticket to the coveted CCCS is verified here. However, such involvement in unpaid time and energy no longer corresponded to the 1970s' CCCS's ethos when everyone was part of the cultural studies project on an equal footing. It seems as though the B team was to a certain extent securing its admission to the CCCS by bringing in the promise of admin support, while the A team brought postgraduate grants and scientific credibility while engaging significantly less with the Centre's everyday life. As both A and B team students were officially recruited by the Centre for the same aim of doing postgraduate work, this divide can be seen as deleterious, as each team seems to have performed different tasks during their time at the CCCS.

Such divisions went as far as impacting the Centre's publication policy, as A team members tended to run the stencilled occasional papers group, deciding upon which papers among all students' propositions were to become a stencilled paper, or not. As Naomi Paul recalled:

[My work] probably needed lots of editing but there was no way it would get past the stencilled student group. So, the so-called democracy didn't always work as intended, because it had to do with who was in the group so if the stencilled paper group contained, what we called the A team, anybody in the B team wouldn't get anything published. I'd have to look and see what got published that year.¹³⁴⁰

¹³³⁸ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 8-9.

¹³³⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁴⁰ Paul, Naomi. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 15th 2022. P.10-11.

The number of stencilled papers for the period studied is, however, very low, thus preventing from drawing definitive conclusions. However a search through the stencilled occasional papers list reveals that at least one stencilled occasional paper published by the Centre during this period (from 1985 to 1987) was actually written by someone who was initially registered as a full-time CCCS postgraduate student, and would go on to become an identifiable academic after finishing their PhD at the CCCS.¹³⁴¹ It is not certain that such obstacles to the publication of B team members' work were a fact known by the triumvirate. However the gap between the positions of the two groups in the Centre's informal hierarchy (the A team's research work seems to have been considered more seriously, as they were in charge of the stencilled occasional papers admin group) allows to explain the fact that the B team would not attempt to make its frustrations regarding publications officially known and take it to the triumvirate, as the violent research atmosphere prevailing at the Centre most likely had the result of silencing them.

On the other end of the publication process, the B team would be in charge of actually printing the stencilled occasional papers they seemingly didn't get to choose:

*And it was also [...] the stencilled papers group. Yes, it had to be decided what went through, but then it also had to be... they had to be produced. But we actually had an old, I think it was a Gestetner in the office. We literally would roll them out, some of us, our job would be if we were either asked to produce a certain number or they were getting low in the room they were kept in. That's literally what we did. We were the printers.*¹³⁴²

From this account it seems fair to assess that B team members were performing ancillary work and were in charge of making sure that the Centre's publication process went smoothly, sometimes under the indirect supervision of an unsupervised A team.

When trying to appraise the A and B teams' impact on people's careers, oral history and hard data seem insufficient. However, the people interviewed for this work who had been part of the B team (in itself a derogatory term coined by B team members as a way to denounce their situation) did not choose to have an academic career but rather reinvested their experience at the Centre in their subsequent career, for instance in teaching, acting and filmmaking. Despite the need for further research on this topic, one could nonetheless make out two simultaneous circles at the Centre during the 1985-1987 years. On the one hand, a virtuous circle, supporting the A team's effort by providing better conditions to full-time students, whose work would stand better

¹³⁴¹ Partington, Angela. *Feminist Art and Avant-Gardism*. The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Mar. 1986.

¹³⁴² Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 10.

chances of being published as stencilled occasional papers. On the other, a vicious circle is also observable within the same research centre, where part-time students would be trusted to make fewer decisions, be responsible for more ancillary and time-consuming tasks, and would be less supported and sometimes prevented from having their work published¹³⁴³, thus reducing their chances of improving their research and becoming academics in their own rights. Elements collected point to the fact that the A and B team moment in the Centre's history did have an impact on people's careers, nipping in the bud some students' early research efforts. In connection with the broader context, it may be no accident that the A and B team moment would take place at a time when the CCCS was struggling for financial, time and human resources, making it easier to fail some of its students.

But beyond career concerns, did the A and B team compromise actually make things better for the Centre? It did seem to allow a sense of balance to be reached, as Annie Branham explained:

I: Did the relationships with the A-Team ever evolve and become more cordial, or normalised?

*R: [...] So I think once we'd settled into our little compartments, if you like, it was easier to reach out [...] We all had a purpose. We all had a role to play. And even though it might be completely different to what we had envisaged before we got there. And so and you, you needed that, you needed somebody to bring people together.*¹³⁴⁴

This sense of balance, if ever reached, was nonetheless constrained by people's roles within the Centre, this newly articulated sense of purpose described by Annie Branham, although tainted with disappointment about what the CCCS had represented before belonging to it versus what it actually was like on the inside. By the mid-1980s the collectiveness and horizontal nature of the Centre's working practices had therefore eventually been altered by its financial conditions.

In conclusion to this section dedicated to the A team and the B team "moment" in the CCCS's history, one may look at how it was played out at the 50th anniversary conference in 2014, celebrating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. The event was organised at the University of Birmingham. Annie Branham explained that she chose not to go because she found herself in the same predicament as she had been in the mid-1980s: "I think partly I felt a lot of the feelings that I had when I was at the Centre of being slightly not quite their

¹³⁴³ "I know that my dissertation could not have become a stenciled paper because they published things afterwards but [members of the A team were] on the stenciled paper committee. So it was clear to me I would never ever get anything written through that route." Paul, Naomi. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 15th 2022. P.10-11.

¹³⁴⁴ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 18-19.

type and I didn't feel at that point I had a voice."¹³⁴⁵ Others did choose to go, as Richard Johnson related: "and people in the B team actually came up to me [in 2014, at the 50th anniversary conference] and said 'I was in the B team, don't you remember' (laughs), it was very painful."¹³⁴⁶ These testimonies attest to the fact that the A and B team moment remained in people's memories, be they former CCCS students and staff, and was still a hurtful and issue close to thirty years later.

But in the end, why dig the dirt again, why twist the knife into a wound that is several decades old? Why is this A and B team moment significant within the scope of this research? Partly because it has, as these oral histories attest, stayed with people throughout their careers. Partly because, for at least two years, the A and B team divide became an integral part of the Centre's structure, informed its ways of working and the research it produced, or did not produce. The goal is not to point fingers.¹³⁴⁷ It is to assess the effects of funding scarcity on an institution which had progressively ceased to rely on private funding allocated to administrative and salary spending in the late the 1970s (the renewed Penguin covenant ended in 1976), and had grown to heavily rely on public funding to support its postgraduate students, as the CCCS never enjoyed sufficient financial stability to provide internal funding to its own students. Though dangerous in theory¹³⁴⁸, this financial model (Penguin covenant and DES/SSRC grants) has been at the origin of some of the 1970s and early 1980s most well-known CCCS publications (fostering private interest which resulted in its Hutchinson collection) and the development of its international reputation. Analysing the A and the B team moment is therefore crucial in determining the structural consequences of removing funding from publicly funded research institutions.

Lastly and perhaps equally importantly, analysing the A and the B team moment is meaningful when looking at the oral histories abounding around the Centre. At the beginning of this research, a strong sense of optimism and perhaps admiration developed around the many testimonies attesting to the working practices of the CCCS, the possibilities and the intellectual freedom that they represented. As the research unfolded, increasingly diverse profiles of former CCCS students were reached and reached out in response, and different voices began to volunteer their memories of the Centre. This three-part dialogue between Annie Branham, Richard Johnson and Naomi Paul has made it possible to acknowledge one historical reality of the Centre that has not yet been accounted for in the literature, and this is exactly for

¹³⁴⁵ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 18-19.

¹³⁴⁶ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15th 2022. P. 26-27.

¹³⁴⁷ Although the CCCS's staff in other conditions would have probably reacted in a different way. The triumvirate's responsibility has as a matter of fact been picked up on: "I felt as a teacher, very crossed at the staff because I felt they should have moderated what was happening, and taken some responsibility, as a teacher I wouldn't have let a class divide in two and let them fight it out." See Paul, Naomi. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview April 15th 2022. P.9.

¹³⁴⁸ As it would endanger the Centre's stability if one or the other of these actors was to withdraw its support, which they eventually both at least partly did.

this reason that Annie Branham chose to reach out to me as she heard I was interviewing former CCCS members:

I think when I've read things about the centre that have been written, in retrospect, it is again, it's that one voice. It's the voice of the centre. Whereas to me, the voice of the centre is, is myriad. You could never have a voice for the centre. To me that's kind of how the centre was at its best, when it was like a crowd, it was a crowd all saying relatively similar things, but also kind of recognising that there were a lot of things that we hadn't worked through. So you had a lot of, like, horns locking but in good ways, in good ways.¹³⁴⁹

This statement echoes Stuart Hall's remarks about how the Centre failed to settle for an orthodoxy that would make it, in the strictest sense, "*the Birmingham School*", only to acknowledge that the reality of the centre was made out of several schools evolving alongside each other. And perhaps this is the most important take away when looking at the limits of the CCCS: the centre was a plural place, constantly evolving on the theoretical and practical level, where things could be discussed as a group and fought for or against in a predominantly constructive and positive way, as long as it had enough money to provide stability to the majority of its students. As observed in this subsection, once these financial conditions ceased to be met, the space in which the Centre existed slowly began to wither.

3.5. PUBLICATION POLICY

3.5.1. Theorising the Centre's publication policy

As the Centre became academically established and institutionalised, it was able to reflect on its own scientific contribution by means of publications. This theorisation of the different CCCS publication formats, while already present in earlier decades, became formalised in the 1980s, thereby providing a precise vision of the Centre's vision of its own publication policy. As highlighted in previous parts of this work, this self-reflectiveness is a variation of one of the most important CCCS defining characteristics: its predisposition for writing its own history as it developed into a field.

One element of the 1982-1983 annual report belongs to this aspect of the CCCS. One could even say that one of the most salient features of the "*Birmingham School*" is its propensity to create a field of research along with the adjoining intellectual space to

¹³⁴⁹ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 12.

reflect upon its very creation.¹³⁵⁰ In 1983 the CCCS annual report indeed contained the first overall CCCS publication policy description and theorisation. The report describes four ‘strata’ or ‘levels’ in the Centre’s publication ecosystem.

The first stratum considered was that of collective books, until then published by Hutchinson, which pattern was, according to the report, likely to diminish, due to the aforementioned funding cuts and higher student turnover.

The second stratum was that of the self-published stencilled occasional papers, which were the product of work in progress, or ongoing CCCS individual work. Such papers allowed for a quick publication process, as they were self-published and cheaper than the Hutchinson series. They could also act as a storehouse for future potential Centre publications.¹³⁵¹ It should be said that the group in charge of the stencilled occasional papers was a student-based group and that the possibility for each Centre student to be published via this channel was not always guaranteed, as highlighted in the A and B team section.

The third stratum of publication did not yet exist per se; however in the report, Richard Johnson stressed that there was a will that CCCS publications reach ‘wider readerships’¹³⁵², be they other academic communities (such as the Conference of Socialist Economists, mentioned in the report), local communities outside academia (potentially reachable through the West Midlands Publishing Co-operative for instance), or campaigning bodies?¹³⁵³ While the need for this third level of publication had been identified, discussions at that point had not yielded any concrete results. During the same period, the Centre restated the importance for the CCCS to be open to the local population (be they members of the academic sphere or not): “It is possible for individuals who live and work locally to attend parts of the CCCS programme.”¹³⁵⁴ This possibility placed the Centre within a more informal local network of irregular students (in terms of attendance) who represented a more detached social group from academia than the CCCS core students. Through the years it may have resulted in a greater integration of both CCCS ideas and members in the West Midlands area and may have made it possible for cultural studies to reach this third stratum the

¹³⁵⁰ This particular feature makes the life of a CCCS researcher (as in someone who looks at the CCCS as a research object) incredibly complex, as research objects seldom come with their own self-analysing kits: it sometimes feels as though there has never been anything left to say! Fortunately most times it feels as though one’s research is part of a broader conversation, started by no other than the people and structures being investigated.

¹³⁵¹ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

¹³⁵² Ibid.

¹³⁵³ Ibid.

¹³⁵⁴ Ibid. P. 12.

publication group was seeking, at the frontier between the CCCS and the world outside its academic ivory tower. Such policies (openness and publication to wider audiences) testified to a political ambition to get cultural studies out of the Centre and of academia in the strict sense, perhaps as a result of the growingly adverse political climate the CCCS faced during the 1980s.

The fourth and last level of publication was the outermost, composed of publications from Centre members and ex-members. This fourth level could only begin to appear after the CCCS had become established as a research centre and degree-granting body, by being legitimate enough to support its current and former members to sign publication deals with private publishing houses. This fourth level could only bloom when its former members had joined other institutions and or had become academics in their own right, after graduating from the Centre. Through this fourth stratum, by 1983 the CCCS was taking stock of this production and aimed at keeping a record of such publications, thereby branding them “CCCS made”: “Our strategy to date is to act as a centre of information about all such publications”¹³⁵⁵ An example of such a publication is Dorothy Hobson’s *Crossroads*¹³⁵⁶, described as “the first ‘Centre’ book, to our knowledge, that has been extensively mentioned in the popular press as well as by academic reviewers”.¹³⁵⁷ What seemed to be at stake in this analysis of the Centre’s publication ecosystem was the founding of a cultural studies informal collection or network of publications that extended beyond the seminar rooms of the CCCS and other academic spheres (the popular press).

With this fourth stratum, the CCCS was therefore faced with a growing cultural studies network, which would eventually cease to strictly be its own and slip from its grasp. The issue of branding such publications as “CCCS made” was important to the CCCS’s reproduction and survival, in establishing a tradition and a legacy. The wish to build a cultural studies meta bibliography beyond the Centre was a way for the Centre to designate its own legacy by asserting its cardinal position within the evolving and expanding cultural studies publications network, where its offsprings would flourish. Such concern was also represented by the Centre’s library, which purpose was to centralise such publications, thus creating a CCCS database.¹³⁵⁸

Between these publications strata remained room to explore yet other formats, as the report underlined. Indeed, the Centre’s Publication group was reflecting upon the

¹³⁵⁵ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 12.

¹³⁵⁶ Hobson, Dorothy. *Crossroads: The Drama of a Soap Opera*. Methuen, 1982.

¹³⁵⁷ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

¹³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

possibility of creating another form of published work, “somewhere between the stencilled paper form and the Hutchinson University Library series”¹³⁵⁹, and on the possibility of reaching a more popular audience in collaboration with local printing co-operatives.¹³⁶⁰ This seems to indicate that the Centre’s publication policy was successful, providing the incentive to look for additional formats to further convey CCCS work and ideas. This need for a format that would not be as spontaneous as a stencilled occasional paper but not as accomplished as a Hutchinson issue could also stem from the fact of having lost complete autonomy on the original Working Papers in Cultural Studies series through the Hutchinson deal (while having gained the financial stability that came with the Hutchinson contract). The Centre therefore found itself in need of a new accomplished format, which would be entirely its own and about which it would not have to answer to any outside interlocutor’s demands. Thus, through this new format, it could ascertain its full academic independence once more.

This multilayered publication strategy fitted into the evolution of the cultural studies network as described by Richard Johnson in his 1983 essay. *What is Cultural Studies, Anyway?*:

*There isn’t one Centre, but many centres, both in Britain and abroad. Cultural studies is now a larger tendency especially within academic and educational contexts, with its own first degrees, meetings, networks, journals, conference.*¹³⁶¹

To conclude with this section dedicated to the way the Centre perceived and envisaged its own publication policy, it can be said that the 1980s provided the maturity for the CCCS to think about its own practices in hindsight and within a wider cultural studies network, which progressively ceased to rely on the Centre alone and within which the CCCS attempted to remain central by establishing its legacy manifested by the careers and publications of its former members.

The next sections will deal with some of the precise publication strata described in this section.

¹³⁵⁹ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 25.

¹³⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹³⁶¹ Richard Johnson. *What Is Cultural Studies, Anyway?* Stencilled Paper. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, September 1983.

3.5.2. Writing (and publishing) cultural studies

One defining element of the Centre's publication policy was its ability to provide external sources of funding important enough to afford hiring secretarial staff. Indeed early 1980s reports describe a component of CCCS funding linked with publishing which has rarely been discussed in previous reports. The Centre seems to have steadily been able to secure a rather stable and significant part of its income from its publishing activities. Indeed the 1983-1984 annual report states that Hutchinson has agreed to publish three more books over the next five-year period. This followed the first contract signed between Hutchinson and the CCCS in 1978, which shows that the venture has proven successful for the publishing house. Dorothy Hobson reflected on the contract in a 2013 interview:

I remember once being at a conference and somebody, one of the editors from Hutchinson took me and somebody else out to lunch and said, 'Don't worry, Culture, Media, Language has made Hutchinson', because it became, it was like academic best-seller round the world really.¹³⁶²

The CCCS's external publication therefore represented a meaningful percentage of the Centre's financial resources: in October 1984 Richard Johnson addressed a letter to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts describing the CCCS's state of finances, in which he indicated that the sales of the Stencilled Occasional Papers and of the Hutchinson series combined represented close to 6000£ in royalties for the 1983 period.¹³⁶³ This external source of funding had allowed the Centre to fund extra secretarial part-time posts since the end of the Penguin covenant in 1976. Since that year, at least one full-time and one part-time secretary had worked at the Centre and would go on to do so until 1988, and the number of part-time posts has fluctuated each year between one and four. This both means that the CCCS's publication income was indeed significant, as it allowed for the funding of at least two administrative posts (be they full-time or part-time) and the Centre's library, and that the Centre's activities required a steady number of secretarial staff, increasing proportionally with the number of students and degrees offered by the CCCS.

However, in keeping with the general economic trend, in 1984-1985 the publication's earnings had begun to drop. This had a direct impact on the Centre's hiring capacity: one of the two part-time secretaries, Mary Ballard, left the CCCS to work at the Law Faculty in December 1984 when faced with the lack of a permanent position, and her absence translated into both an administrative and human loss: "Her going left some

¹³⁶² Hobson, Dorothy. Unpublished interview with Kieran Connell. Interview August 4 2013. P. 6.

¹³⁶³ CCCS. *Material Relating to the Future of Postgraduate Study in Cultural Studies*. 1984. University of Birmingham Staff Papers: Papers of Richard Johnson. Cadbury Research Library. [Accessed October 29, 2021]

big holes in the office, in terms both of everyday sociability and the ability to get things done. We miss her a lot and hope she takes every opportunity to call in and see us.”¹³⁶⁴ Just as in the case of Joan Goode discussed earlier, this treatment of human resources by the CCCS, as presented in the annual reports, makes clear that most Centre members, be they academics, students, or administrative staff, were part of the CCCS project and had a lasting impact on the very structure to which they belonged.

Now that the financial significance of the various CCCS publication formats has been evidenced, this section will be dedicated to the evolution of such formats.

3.5.2.1. In-house publications

CCCS in-house publications became somewhat less visible during the 1980s, perhaps again, because of the stresses put on the need for the Centre to heavily focus on its own survival, at the expense of its other activities, including in-house publishing. One notable example is the disappearance of the Centre journal (*Working Papers in Cultural Studies*) as an explicit in-house publication format, as the Hutchinson contract had been established in the late 1970s, taking over the Centre journal publication.

In 1979-1980, however, other in-house publication projects were being undertaken. Indeed the Centre’s course material was used to produce a publication, thus evidencing a circularity between teaching and publishing, evidencing a “curriculum publishing” process, following an early period of theoretical discussions leading to the stabilisation of the cultural studies curriculum, in publication form. This circularity was indeed highlighted in the 1979-1980 report, where an organic continuation of teaching practices implemented in prior years was being envisaged as publication material in the context of the “Inter-Faculty course”.¹³⁶⁵

3.5.2.1.1. The Stencilled Occasional Papers

In the 1980s, the Stencilled Occasional Paper collection had become so extensive that, starting 1980-1981, the stencilled paper list at the end of the annual report became organised with themes reflecting subgroup research activities (Media, Sub and Popular culture, Women’s series, Work, History, General, Race and CCCS Pamphlets)¹³⁶⁶, rather than author alphabetical order. This points out to a strong enough Stencilled

¹³⁶⁴ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

¹³⁶⁵ The CCCS provided inter-faculty courses for students registered at the UoB who were curious to discover other disciplines and subjects, this was part of their university requirement. This inter-faculty was mentioned

¹³⁶⁶ CCCS Annual report 1980-1981, 1981, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 25-26.

Occasional Papers production to be divided into categories forming part of a broader collection, pointing to the success of this in-house CCCS publication, further evidenced by the royalty figures earned by the Centre from selling the Stencilled Occasional papers format (2300£ for 1983 alone).¹³⁶⁷

By the end of the decade, the Stencilled Occasional Paper collection continued to grow and survived the merger between the CCCS and the Department of Sociology, as one positive aspect of the birth of the DCSS laid in the publication sector. Indeed, Stencilled Occasional Papers would undergo a new and better production process under the aegis of the new department: “The new Department is re-vamping the production of these with a more efficient mode of production which also produces better copy.”¹³⁶⁸ Given that Stencilled Occasional Papers used to be made in-house by CCCS students using Gestetner machines, one could only imagine both the time saved for students and the improvements brought to the Centre’s flagship publication format. The fact that the format would not be discontinued after the merger proves the success of the Stencilled Occasional Paper series in terms of audience and finance, which is no small achievement for a format that originally was produced as cheaply as possible to get cultural studies work circulating as quickly as possible in what can be compared to a leaflet form.

3.5.2.1.2. Working Papers in Cultural Studies

The only mention of a Working Paper in Cultural Studies issue is found in 1984-1985. Although delays were mentioned in the report (very likely linked to the difficult context faced by the Centre at the time), a new volume in the “*Working Papers*” series would soon appear in 1985, dealing with Media Studies and as a result of “the close collaboration between the Centre and Christopher Points who worked at the Clwyd LEA’s Teacher Resources Centre”.¹³⁶⁹ Points is said to have taken the MA taught degree and built the volume from there, dedicated to the constitution of a curriculum for media studies in secondary schools and designed for teachers and would be published jointly by the CCCS and the Clwyd LEA. To some extent, this project partly answered the call made by Stuart Hall close to twenty years prior in his first book *The Popular Arts*, cowritten with Paddy Whannel:

¹³⁶⁷ Most Stencilled Occasional Papers were sold for less than a pound per issue as most prices fluctuated between 40 and 80 pence. CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 26-28.

¹³⁶⁸ CCCS Annual report 1986-1988, 1988, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 20-25.

¹³⁶⁹ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 8.

*Our original intention was to produce a book which could have been used by a teacher who already had some idea of what he was trying to do in this field. This would have contained examples with some guidelines for discussion, together with lists of available materials- a practical handbook. But the more we looked at the problem, the clearer it became to us that the gap between the general debate and the classroom was still too wide. [...] Part of the teacher's task is to give his pupils some understanding of the world in which they live. But the media are changing the world in ways important enough for a study of these changes to become part of formal education.*¹³⁷⁰

From this 1980s publication project, the conclusion can be drawn that after twenty years the Centre had become a structure which could provide what Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel had envisaged in the Popular Arts, a tool for teachers to address the changing media landscape in the classrooms. This project furthermore evidences the still (in the 1980s and dare we say, contemporary) vivid need for educators and students to engage with the media in a formal setting, a need reinforced by the passing of the 1980 Broadcasting Act, which granted the Independent Broadcasting Authority the right to open a second television channel in the country. Such need was foreseen by Stuart Hall and Richard Hoggart in the 1960s in a context where educators were not always open to the idea.

This closes the section on the Centre's in-house publications. The next section will dwell on the Centre's external publications.

3.5.2.2. External Publications

By the mid-1980s, the Centre's publication track record was perceived as very positive by the triumvirate, and presented as significantly linked to the doings of the most recent MA cohort: "There was an unusually creative and 'collective' MA group which taught us (staff) a lot of lessons about internal organisation and negotiation."¹³⁷¹ This group helped the Centre secure a loan from the Faculty of Arts to publish a catalogue of Centre publications, contributing to highlighting the CCCS's work within the Faculty and the University of Birmingham. This loan would not have been secured if the Centre was not operating at a horizontal capacity and perhaps if the Centre's postgraduates had not perceived that the triumvirate needed administrative help, as they were working themselves thin since at least the beginning of the 1980s. By the mid-1980s, the Centre was in desperate need of some new administrative blood, which

¹³⁷⁰ Hall, Stuart, and Paddy Whannel. *The popular Arts*. Duke University Press, 2018. P.13-14, 21.

¹³⁷¹ CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

it had seemingly managed to find. The Centre's external publications evolved, during the 1980s, in different directions, which shall be explored below.

3.5.2.2.1. Collective CCCS Books in the Strict Sense

Two collective books came out during that same year (1985-1986) and were both published by Hutchinson, *Crises in the British State, 1880-1930* by Mary Langan and Bill Schwarz (editors), and *Rewriting English: Cultural Politics of Gender and Class* by Methuen, New Accents. As the report states:

*Both books [...] mark our continuing relationship with — but also our distance from — other humanities approaches. [...] Both draw from, but also criticise and transform, adjacent disciplines. In many ways they represent our own recent history.*¹³⁷²

The first book represents the then growing historical trend within cultural studies, looking at the ways history is written as a subject and following a first collective book by the Centre published in 1982 titled *Making Histories*. The second uses English literature as an object rather than an academic framework, thus looking back on the early 'Hoggartian' approach to cultural studies from a distance. Both books are presented as traditional CCCS publications and were seen as outlining the Centre's most recent developments, evidencing yet again the collective scientific process, from collective research to collective publication.

3.5.2.2.2. Not a 'Centre' Book in the Strict Sense

The CCCS's external publication followed an upward trend during the 1980s: "The series of Hutchinson volumes, one of the main ways in which we make some mark in the world, continues to grow."¹³⁷³ It is worth underlining the multiplicity of subjects

¹³⁷² CCCS Annual report 1985-1986, 1986, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹³⁷³ CCCS Annual report 1986-1988, 1988, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P.4.

tackled by the series, dealing with themes varying from history¹³⁷⁴ to education¹³⁷⁵ and feminism¹³⁷⁶, the last of which enjoying a peculiar status among its peers:

*Though not a ‘Centre’ book in the strict sense, Angela McRobbie and Tricia McCabe (eds.), Feminism: An Adventure Story (RKP 1981) drew on research here and elsewhere in a form (but not unfortunately at a price) appropriate to an adolescent readership. In its care for a popular audience, the clarity (and relative brevity) of its expression, and its considerations for format, illustration, etc., this volume pioneers, we hope, one strand in future CCCS publications.*¹³⁷⁷

The fact that this volume would not be described as a “‘Centre’ book in the strict sense”¹³⁷⁸ epitomises some of the inner paradoxes the CCCS struggled with for the better part of its existence: how could CCCS researchers achieve change in the world while still engaging with theory.¹³⁷⁹ This is, again, linked to the idea that the Centre was meant to create a team of “organic intellectuals”¹³⁸⁰, a notion that was paramount to Stuart Hall:

Our aim, in this respect, could be defined as the struggle to form a more ‘organic’ kind of intellectual. Gramsci spoke of the distinction between those ‘traditional’ intellectuals who set themselves the task of developing and sophisticating the existing paradigms of knowledge and those who, in their critical role, aim to become more ‘organic’ to new and emergent tendencies in society, who seek to become more integral with those forces, linked to them, capable of reflecting what Gramsci

¹³⁷⁴ Johnson, Richard, et Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, éditeurs. *Making Histories: Studies in History-Writing and Politics*. Routledge, 2007.

¹³⁷⁵ Baron, Steve, et al., éditeurs. *Unpopular education: schooling and social democracy in England since 1944*. Hutchinson in association with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1981.

¹³⁷⁶ McRobbie, Angela, et Trisha McCabe, éditeurs. *Feminism for girls: an adventure story*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

¹³⁷⁷ CCCS Annual report 1981-1982, 1982, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 4-5.

¹³⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁷⁹ As discussed with Catherine Hall in a 2021 personal interview and quoted elsewhere in this work: “And what the politics of that period were, because that was what was so important actually, how did you begin to transform the world?” in Hall, Catherine. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 25, 2021. P. 6.

¹³⁸⁰ Although one may be tempted to wonder whether creating something that is meant to be organic is not in itself a paradox and therefore an impossible task.

*called the 'intellectual function' in its wider, non-specialist and non-elitist sense. He also designated two tasks for those aiming to become 'organic' intellectuals: to challenge modern ideologies 'in their most refined form', and to enter into the task of popular education.*¹³⁸¹

If one of the main tasks of a team of organic intellectuals was to “enter into the task of popular education”¹³⁸², the *Feminism: An Adventure Story* volume would then represent a Centre book *par excellence*, as it both focused on field and theory work about young women, on creating a space for a type of discourse that did not only belong to academia, in an attempt to reach the widest female adolescent readership possible outside university. However, the volume is described by the CCCS annual report as “pioneer[ing]” a new type of Centre publication, thereby confirming that the Centre’s publications were, until then, primarily focused on achieving academic legitimacy. The book did, however, contribute in a very direct way to bring about social change, as Patricia McCabe, one of the two editors of the volume, explained in a 2021 personal interview:

*I: I just wanted to ask you about, do you remember the work you did with Angela McRobbie called Feminism, Feminism for Girls [the final title under which *Feminism: An Adventure Story* was published], so yeah, can you tell me about the project?*

*R: [...] what we were trying to do was bring girls and young women's own experiences forward and you know trying to collect, producing and collecting a range of views and experiences, so we were to some extent trying to create an opportunity for girls and young women to have a voice. [...] we actually wanted to call it *An Adventure Story* but the publishers wouldn't go with that, which is why there's the subtitle. [...] It's interesting because the, the woman that I've been working with probably for about 12 years, the last 12 years, who's now running the business, she, as a girl, her mother gave her the book.*

I: No way!

*R: She said, it was a really important book to her and... So it must have been useful to somebody but you know, [...] we [in the Women Liberation movement] learned that you don't speak on other people's behalf and I think I took it rather to heart [later on]. (Laughs) [...] Equally I don't think *Feminism for Girls* was, got the right balance, you know it still felt it was “about rather than with”.*¹³⁸³

¹³⁸¹ Hall, Stuart, et al., éditeurs. *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79*. 0 éd., Routledge, 2003. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203381182>. P.34-35 of the introduction.

¹³⁸² Ibid.

¹³⁸³ McCabe, Patricia. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 29, 2021. P. 17-18.

Even though, according to Patricia McCabe, “the right balance” between talking-in-someone’s-place and providing-someone-the-space-to-talk-for-themselves had not quite been achieved in the book, McCabe provided concrete evidence that the volume did reach parts of its intended audience and represented a successful attempt at popular education, which is part of Stuart Hall’s definition of doing organic intellectual work. One might therefore wonder why the book would be described as “not a ‘Centre’ book in the strict sense” in 1982, as it clearly represents one publication strata (the third) the CCCS wished to produce.

3.5.2.2.3. *New Left Publications*

Beyond its wider distribution and its struggle to fully accept work of a less theoretical kind, one of the CCCS’s most prominent features when it comes to its publications in the 1980s is its political quality. Indeed, echoing the growingly adverse political climate and the accusation made by E. P. Thompson that politics had never entered the Centre¹³⁸⁴, the 1982-1983 annual report strongly emphasises the ‘new left’ character of CCCS research, in a way it hadn’t officially been done before. The report focuses on the meaningfulness of the collective book *The Empire Strikes Back*¹³⁸⁵ in 1982 as an ‘important point in the development of our ‘new left’ tradition of research’¹³⁸⁶ in the sense that it is a ‘progressive’ research project, taking the side of ‘subordinated social groups’.¹³⁸⁷

The importance of the book, however, seems to go beyond that of being politically situated, in the sense that it had created its own dynamic inside the Centre’s research practices. The publication of the book was at the origin of the founding of a new ‘Race group’ in the constellation of CCCS subgroups. It was also accounted for in the new version of the MA course and prompted reflections beyond the mere structure of courses: “It [the book] had made many of us think quite freshly and more critically about some key words and theories – including ‘culture’ itself!”¹³⁸⁸ It appears as though the project around the publication of *The Empire Strikes Back* was a significant revolution in itself within the Centre, as while it did align with the general research line of the Centre, it was also carried out by a structure which was flexible enough to continue to evolve by taking on in its framework elements of its own research projects.

¹³⁸⁴ See Part 2 section titled “The curious incident of the 1979 Ruskin’s History Workshop”

¹³⁸⁵ University of Birmingham, editor. *The Empire strikes back: race and racism in 70s Britain*. Hutchinson in association with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1982.

¹³⁸⁶ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹³⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸⁸ Ibid.

This feature of CCCS research, this constant evolution and plasticity, has been present since its founding in 1964 and became stronger in the 1970s.

As the 1980s began, the CCCS was becoming progressively institutionalised, a pattern which seemingly could lead to a loss in plasticity and increasing rigidity. However, to a certain extent, by 1983 the Centre was still able to change in response to then-current collective projects, this time on a structural scale. The report underlines the influence of the book on ‘the direction of several other projects’ and points out the emergence of a new strain of cultural studies work. Just as the Work Group and the Women’s Studies Group had founded their own ‘schools’ of cultural studies within the CCCS as their broader home, the work initially started writing *Policing the Crisis*¹³⁸⁹ (published in 1978) four years later fostered the publication of *The Empire Strikes Back* and became part of the core publication body of CCCS work. As highlighted in the previous sections, the year 1982-1983 was a crossroads year for the CCCS for many reasons, including this one, because, for the first time, the Centre presented and claimed itself to be a new left research centre in its annual records, at a time when new left activism and values were far from fashionable on the mainstream national political stage?¹³⁹⁰

3.5.2.2.4. CCCS and Channel 4

Furthermore, the new-left-oriented work of the CCCS would end up having an influence beyond its own doorstep and in the “real world”, as one of the Centre’s internal forums was discussing the Fourth Television Channel services in 1983 (later known as the BBC’s Channel 4), which had been recently created in 1982?¹³⁹¹ As a matter of fact, no other than Dorothy Hobson, who was a postgraduate student at the Centre from 1975 to 1982, went on to work at Channel 4 in 1982 and 1988 as an ethnographer to write the new channel’s history¹³⁹² (Channel 4 was launched in November 1982. Hobson describes:

There was an influence and shared adherence to the political and intellectual developments which the work of the CCCS had pioneered and which fed into the

¹³⁸⁹ Hall, Stuart, editor. *Policing the crisis: mugging, the state, and law and order*. Macmillan, 1978.

¹³⁹⁰ Published only five years after the Gould Report, also titled ‘The attack on higher education: Marxist and radical penetration: report of a study group of the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC special report)’ (see page X of the previous chapter) and under Thatcher, the 1982-1983 CCCS annual report was contributing clear evidence of its political stance which, during a period of university planning and funding cuts, could be seen as tactical, but rash.

¹³⁹¹ Channel 4. FAQ - How Was Channel 4 Set Up? Unknown, <https://www.channel4.com/corporate/about-4/operating-responsibly/freedom-information/frequently-asked-questions>.

¹³⁹² Hobson, Dorothy in Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton, editors. *Cultural Studies 50 Years on: History, Practice and Politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P. 257-265.

*philosophical guiding of the channel in its early inception [as] it quickly emerged that there was more understanding of the work of the CCCS among broadcasters than there were in reverse by academics.*¹³⁹³

Channel 4 therefore represents one area where the work of the Centre had been considered seriously beyond the realm of academia and integrated into the making of new television programs in the 1980s, a seemingly adverse decade for this type of project to emerge. Hobson explains that the creation of the channel was supported by Lord William Whitelaw, Margaret Thatcher's Deputy Prime Minister from 1979 to 1988, who convinced the Iron Lady that Channel 4 would foster the creation of small businesses she would be able to take credit for.¹³⁹⁴ This prospect alone seemed to be sufficient to live the channel be regardless of the content of its programmes.

To summarise this section on the Centre's external publications during the 1980s, it is clear that by the 1980s the CCCS had managed to convert its mostly in-house publication model in the 1960s and early 1970s into a predominantly external model where most publications, be they collective or not, were privately published. While this process of externalisation came with the Centre's growing legitimacy at the academic level, secured by the Hutchinson contract signed in 1978 and still bearing fruit in the mid-1980s, it also flourished thanks to former CCCS members, who continued publishing their work and formed an outer network of CCCS publications, thereby ratifying the existence and strength of cultural studies as a field.

3.6. NETWORKS

This section will explore how, during the 1980s, the CCCS was forced to heavily rely on its supportive networks, as its existence was being threatened on more than one front.

¹³⁹³ Hobson, Dorothy in Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton, editors. *Cultural Studies 50 Years on: History, Practice and Politics*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016. P. 257.

¹³⁹⁴ *Ibid.* P. 263.

3.6.1. Academic and Education networks

3.6.1.1. *Within the University of Birmingham*

As highlighted in the Governance and Appointments section, during the early 1980s the Centre found itself forced to argue for its value in the midst of a planning exercise meant to rationalise the University of Birmingham's resources. Although successful to a certain extent, the several-year negotiation that led to the merger between the CCCS and the Department of Sociology was extremely costly for the Centre, for multiple reasons. Such reasons included (but are not limited to) the time and energy spent on finding an acceptable solution to the detriment of other important CCCS-related tasks, the dilution of the Centre's working practices into a new structure and the negative prospects faced by the triumvirate until the merger was secured. The whole process nevertheless attests to the existence of a benevolent academic network within the University of Birmingham, without whom such discussions would simply not have taken place. Richard Johnson highlighted the paramount role of Michael Green in leading such negotiations in a 2022 personal interview:

*Michael was the main player in that, Michael saved us, really because he had lots of contacts in the university, did a lot of networking, precisely, that was one of the key networking moments [in the Centre's history]. I think that the internal networks were very important and, and he, his agency was very important.*¹³⁹⁵

Michael Green, who had originally joined the CCCS from the English Department during the 1972-1974 period in a part-time capacity and became a full-time Centre staff member in 1977-1978, is considered the unsung hero of cultural studies, as his intricate knowledge of university politics was key to secure the future of the CCCS. Between 1980 and 1988, he explored every option the Centre could secure at the administrative level¹³⁹⁶, from refusing to merge back with the English Department out of fear of being absorbed into the department that saw it born (Richard Hoggart was originally appointed as a senior lecturer in the English Department at the University of Birmingham, a post which allowed him to found the CCCS) out of fear of disappearing, to handling talks with different departments and faculties in order to find a form in which the Centre could survive. The merger with sociology resulted in a change in faculty, no small institutional feat in the wider frame of a university focused on rationalising costs, seemingly at the cost of dissolving most of its independent research centres in the arts and humanities.

¹³⁹⁵ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15 2022. P.3.

¹³⁹⁶ Options which have been presented in the Governance and Appointments section.

The merger was nevertheless defined as a survival strategy and a forced dilution of the Centre's practices.¹³⁹⁷ While this network was sufficient to grant the Centre a resurrection in the form of a long sought-after department, it, however, came at the cost of closing the parenthesis the CCCS had opened in the 1960s, the utopian enclave Stuart Hall had envisaged and the twenty-four-year-long academic experiment carried out by Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall, Michael Green, Richard Johnson and Maureen McNeil alongside more than a thousand students and research fellows.

This insider's network was complemented by a supportive web of networks outside the University of Birmingham.

3.6.1.2. Outside the University of Birmingham

3.6.1.2.1. The CCCS as a course provider

The Centre strengthened its role as a course provider in the 1980s. It illustrated itself as a training provider in association with actors in the Education sector abroad in cooperation with the "Danish Summer School" held in the summer of 1983. Funded by the Danish Teachers of English Association and the Danish Education Ministry¹³⁹⁸, the programme presented contemporary subjects and regional aspects of British culture to a cohort of Danish teachers of English, thereby establishing the Centre's authority both as an overseas teacher training provider and as a British institution.

The school was successful, as it was organised two years in a row by the Danish English Teacher's Association, in association with the CCCS, St Mary's College (Twickenham) and the University of Aarhus in Denmark, thus making it a binational endeavour supported by two British institutions and the Danish government. The Centre formulated wishes to run a summer school "for British and foreign teachers"¹³⁹⁹ on a yearly basis, although it could only make these wishes come true with "further stamina", a resource the Centre unfortunately lacked.

3.6.1.2.2. Strengthening Links With Foreign Institutions

The CCCS academic networks were still growing strong in the 1980s, as links with European and worldwide institutions were alive and kicking: conferences and visits

¹³⁹⁷ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview February 15 2022. P. 4.

¹³⁹⁸ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 30.

¹³⁹⁹ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 31.

were organised to and from the Centre. Such links can be explored in several ways: it is possible to make out a geographical map (Holland, Denmark, Sweden, West Germany, Australia among others) and a discipline (notably linguistics in this report) map of these academic links¹⁴⁰⁰ illustrating the diversity of locations and fields interested in the work of cultural studies.

One of the most meaningful links between the CCCS and overseas academic institutions is found in Italy. Indeed the close connection between the CCCS and Naples' Instituto Universitario Orientale came to become a defining one. As early as 1965, Lidia Curti came as a colloquial assistant in the Italian Department to the University of Birmingham and introduced the CCCS to the work of Antonio Gramsci¹⁴⁰¹, which became central to its neo-Marxist theoretical framework.¹⁴⁰² She later on came back as a visiting researcher in 1974-1975 and frequent visits took place between the CCCS and Naples' Orientale. Furthermore, the 1984-1985 annual report describes the English department of the Instituto Universitario Orientale in Naples as the Centre's "closest Italian sister-institution."¹⁴⁰³ This description is extremely meaningful, insofar as it shows that Lidia Curti's relationship (and therefore the Orientale's) with the Centre survived Stuart Hall's departure from CCCS in 1979, as three other visiting lecturers came to the Centre in 1982-1983 and 1983-1984: Laura di Michelle, Marina Vitale and Daniela di Fillipio, whose work was fully integrated into the Centre's popular memory subgroup. Collaborations and academic work informed by both institutions were still being pursued in 1985, as the annual report states:

Daniela di Fillipio undertook much of her work on cultural aspects of English pubs from a base in CCCS in 1984 [...] Maureen Mcneil, on the Centre's behalf, visited the Orientale at the beginning of her study leave in April, and was followed there by Bob Lumley a centre

¹⁴⁰⁰ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 31.

¹⁴⁰¹ CCCS Annual report 1965-1966, 1966, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 22.

¹⁴⁰² Bill Schwarz described his interview process and recruitment at the CCCS as linked to his knowledge of Gramsci in a personal interview, see Schwarz, Bill. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview November 24 2020. P. 2.

¹⁴⁰³ Ibid.

*ex-student, and one of our recent PhDs, who will teach there for a year.*¹⁴⁰⁴

The relationship between the CCCS and Naples' Orientale was therefore a defining one, on the intellectual and institutional levels.

3.6.1.2.3. Towards a Cultural Studies Association

In the end, the cultural studies networks expanded well beyond Birmingham, so much so that they became increasingly structured. As Richard Johnson underlined in a 1983 essay titled *What is Cultural Studies, Anyway?*¹⁴⁰⁵, providing meaningful information to understand the way the Centre perceived itself and was perceived in the early 1980s, it was part of the blueprint for a multifaceted expansion: “One symptom of the growth and diversity [of cultural studies centres] is the move to form in February 1984, a Cultural Studies Association with its own membership and annual conference.”¹⁴⁰⁶

The first national conference of the Cultural Studies Association took place in February 1984 after three-day schools were held in Birmingham, Bristol and London. It centred on the theme of “Popular Conservatism” and would be followed by another conference the following year in Middlesex Polytechnic. This structural organisation both evidences an England-based network and the participation of both civic universities and polytechnics, echoing the way cultural studies burgeoned and established itself outside CCCS through the 1970s and 1980s and strengthening itself on the basis of its most active members. The founding of a scientific association can be seen here as an advanced step towards the institutionalisation and therefore stabilisation of the field of cultural studies.

¹⁴⁰⁴ CCCS Annual report 1984-1985, 1985, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Richard Johnson. *What Is Cultural Studies, Anyway?* Stencilled Paper. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, September 1983.

¹⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

3.6.2. Institutional networks

3.6.2.1. *The British Council*

A new actor in the CCCS's institutional networks made its appearance in 1983, the British Council¹⁴⁰⁷ (BC). Indeed the BC organised a workshop in West Germany in collaboration with the CCCS, which provided the Centre with the possibility of developing a curriculum and teaching methods in cultural studies for a West German audience.¹⁴⁰⁸ This collaboration between the CCCS and the BC indicates that the Centre was considered a serious and respected research unit by one of the most prominent British charities and non-departmental public bodies operating outside the UK. It represents somewhat complementary work to the project supported by the Danish ministry detailed in the previous section on the Centre's academic and education networks.

3.6.2.2. *The British Film Institute*

The 1983-1984 academic year saw the birth of the first official¹⁴⁰⁹ BFI¹⁴¹⁰/CCCS collaboration, centred on the study of design. This collaboration stemmed from a need for structured training in higher education¹⁴¹¹ and represented a partnership between an academic entity (the CCCS) and "the most long-standing government-sponsored

¹⁴⁰⁷ Granted Royal Charter in 1940, the British Council's main purpose was 'promoting a wider knowledge of [the UK] and the English language abroad and developing closer cultural relations between [the UK] and other countries.' See The British Council. Our History. unknown, <https://www.britishcouncil.org/about-us/history>.

¹⁴⁰⁸ CCCS Annual report 1982-1983, 1983, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 9.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Stuart Hall was close to the BFI through then director of the BFI's Education Department Paddy Whannel in the early 1960s, which whom he had written his first book *The Popular Arts* published in 1964.

¹⁴¹⁰ The British Film Institute (BFI) is a cultural charity founded in 1933, which founded the National Film Library in 1935. It played a primordial role in the conservation, broadcasting, teaching and making of British cinema. See Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey. « The British Film Institute ». *Cinema Journal*, vol. 47, n° 4, 2008, P. 126-32. JSTOR.

¹⁴¹¹ CCCS Annual report 1983-1984, 1984, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 29.

arts organisation in Britain.”¹⁴¹² This partnership emphasised the BFI’s stress on education policies since the setting up of a “film appreciation department” after the war, renamed “education department” a few years later. This collaboration strengthened the CCCS’s status as a higher education advisor beyond academia, in continuation with its role in the designing of degrees for the Open University and its advising role for the CNAA has already been established in this work. This link, centred on the broader theme of design, was also embodied at the Centre by Anthony Fry, a CCCS postgraduate student from 1979 to 1984, who designed the CCCS annual report covers from 1980 to 1984 with his Collective Design/Midlands¹⁴¹³ cooperative. Anthony Fry was the first designer to study at the CCCS and he may have been instrumental in bringing about the BFI/CCCS collaboration, which further indicates the Centre’s capacity to evolve and grow on the basis of its own member’s initial interests and core disciplines, as design was not on the Centre’s initial research interest list.

The BFI/CCCS collaboration fostered fruitful partnerships in the following years, particularly through the new undergraduate half-degree and its involvement in the West Midlands area. Indeed one of the courses offered in the degree was built in close collaboration with the BFI and the Video Workshop, evidencing once again¹⁴¹⁴ the close ties between cultural studies and film. Annie Branham, an MA student at the CCCS between 1985 and 1987, reflected on this link between the Centre and video making in a 2022 personal interview:

*Michael [Green]’s interest while I was there was very much around education and how that could be both couched in the kind of theoretical framework we wanted to explore, but also the kind of practical work that was done. So it’s very much around the early days of video, montage work, so we had a lot of — in the later time because I was there for two years — we had a lot of work with teachers and we would actually go into schools and do projects. So it was very much a kind of very practical resource.*¹⁴¹⁵

It appears the practice of video making provided both the theoretical and practical playground in which cultural studies could further explore some of its research objects and take part in the world outside academia, which incidentally paved the way for

¹⁴¹² Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey. « The British Film Institute ». *Cinema Journal*, vol. 47, n° 4, 2008, P. 126-32. JSTOR. P.126.

¹⁴¹³ A CCCS member design coop (myself [Tony Fry], Michael Green (my PhD supervisor), Paul Willis (research fellow) and Phillipa Goodall (PhD Student).

¹⁴¹⁴ Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel (who was then director of the BFI’s Education Department) focused much of their first book, *The Popular Arts*, (published in 1964) on the question of cinema.

¹⁴¹⁵ Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 5.

some students' professional careers. As Annie Branham further described in her 2022 interview:

I: What did you do after the degree?

R: Well, I did bits of kind of Further Education teaching, a little bit of higher education as well, but then my real passion at that time was making videos. So I had a couple of jobs in different community project videos, but my main one was in Handsworth in Birmingham, and oh, it was fabulous. I spent five years there and we did a City and Guilds course. And you are gonna like this (laughs) [...] Ostensibly, it was kind of a practical Employment Training Scheme, so we had people locally coming in. We used to have fifteen students and we'd have them for a year. But then I used to do my cultural theory and media studies with them and I'd get them to write essays and then we'd watch films and discuss them. I used to talk to them about Althusser and Gramsci and some of them then went on to do a degree at Birmingham poly. So it was that kind of a really nice way of using what I picked up from the Centre and turning these things into real events, real people.¹⁴¹⁶

Annie Branham's career after the CCCS belongs to the many trajectories of the Centre's former students who did become academics, and who used the Centre's methodologies and research questions and objects to inform their work and make an impact in their own field¹⁴¹⁷, while being supported by the Centre's institutional networks.

These remarks conclude the section about the CCCS's networks. However, as explained and documented, its adversaries eventually got the better of the Centre by the end of the 1980s. Such adverse networks are covered in the next section.

3.7. ADVERSARIES

This section is divided into two subsections. The first will dwell on the British ideological political climate of the 1980s and its impact on the global higher education

¹⁴¹⁶ The project was called "Handsworth's Viewpoint" and came as an institutional answer to the 1985 riots in Lozells and Handsworth in Birmingham. Funding was provided for five years by the local council to several black managers who would run employment training projects, centered on music, film, etc. Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P.14-15

¹⁴¹⁷ They form a different constellation than the academic one, born after the Centre, made out of civil servants, government members, teachers, media specialists, business consultants, writers, theatre performers, photographers, architects, film specialists, etc.

framework, while the second will focus on the specific detrimental policies implemented within the academic field beyond the action of the government, which resulted in the forced merger between the CCCS and the Department of Sociology at Birmingham, marking the end of the historical period investigated in this thesis.

3.7.1. Political Adversaries

It may come as no surprise that the main political adversary faced by the Centre in the 1980s was no other than Margaret Thatcher herself, who had become Prime Minister in May 1979. While the significance of the Thatcher successive governments for the higher education sector has briefly been highlighted in the Historical Background section (3.1.), this section endeavours to take stock of the impact of Thatcherism on the university system and assess the balance of power of the teams in presence.

In his *Crisis of the Meritocracy*, Peter Mandler analysed the progressive political retreat from the principles established in the Robbins Report in the early 1960s (“University places should be available to all who were qualified for them by ability and attainment”)¹⁴¹⁸ operated by Margaret Thatcher and more specifically by her first Secretary of State for Education and Science Keith Joseph.¹⁴¹⁹ As Mandler described:

The 1980s opened with [...] the advent of a government which did not share Labour’s scruples about the Robbins Principle, which was uninterested in pretending to foster minute increases in the participation rate¹⁴²⁰, which was bold enough to renounce Robbins altogether, even in public.¹⁴²¹

This slow repeal of the Robbins Report was driven by cuts in public expenditure¹⁴²², which were implemented almost immediately after Thatcher took office: “Immediate caps on higher-education expenditure (‘cash limits’) were imposed [...] and in March 1981 a cut of over 8 per cent by 1983 was announced.”¹⁴²³ The choice for higher

¹⁴¹⁸ Moser, Claus. ‘The Robbins Report 25 Years After--and the Future of the Universities’. Oxford Review of Education, vol. 14, no. 1, 1988, pP. 5–20. JSTOR.

¹⁴¹⁹ Joseph was a prominent Conservative monetarist and the cofounder with Thatcher of the free-market Centre for Policy Studies in 1974.

¹⁴²⁰ Defined by Mandler as the « proportion of 18–19 year olds who progress to higher education » Mandler, Peter. *The Crisis of the Meritocracy: Britain’s Transition to Mass Education since the Second World War*. Oxford University press, 2020. P. 11.

¹⁴²¹ Ibid. P. 121.

¹⁴²² Ibid. P. 122.

¹⁴²³ Ibid.

education as a sector in which Joseph would be able to make sizeable spending reductions was ideological, in the sense that such policies aimed as much at making institutions more “cost-conscious and efficient” as at restricting their access: “In the field of higher education, [Joseph] certainly worried that ‘more is worse’.”¹⁴²⁴

These ideological policies were not disowned in the following years, to the contrary:

*Accordingly in the next fiscal year the previously announced cuts were extended to 10 percent by 1985, with planned reductions in teaching staff of 1/6th, in what was now explicitly called a ‘rundown’ of higher education.*¹⁴²⁵

This rundown was organised on the basis of a redefinition of the Robbins Principle, applied in the polytechnics in the first instance. Mandler explains:

*Government would now only endeavour to fund places for all those ‘willing and able to benefit’ from higher education. Joseph saw this as an improvement upon ‘willing and qualified’, because it no longer pledged him to regard mere numerical projections of qualified applicant numbers, but introduced an element of judgment as to ‘ability to benefit’.*¹⁴²⁶

Such an ideological shift marked the effective end to the unconditional openness of higher education established by the Robbins Principles twenty years prior. From then on the government would revise its numbers downwards and determine who would go on to study based on merit. Peter Mandler concludes:

*Instead of setting a minimum standard and admitting all who passed it, on the assumption that more and more would pass it, government policy was henceforward to ration higher education, subject to meritocratic competition for a number of places set by governmental assessment of national needs.*¹⁴²⁷

Mandler therefore provides an analysis of the impact of Thatcherite (should we say Josephite) policies impacting higher education funding and student numbers. It

¹⁴²⁴ Mandler, Peter. *The Crisis of the Meritocracy: Britain’s Transition to Mass Education since the Second World War*. Oxford University press, 2020. P. 122.

¹⁴²⁵ Ibid. P. 122-123.

¹⁴²⁶ Ibid. P. 123.

¹⁴²⁷ Ibid. P. 124.

therefore appears clear that such shifts occurring during the 1980s were not only driven by what is commonly called neoliberal ideals (making higher education institutions more cost-efficient and focused on value for money) but also by the assumption that not everyone who can, should go to university, which in itself is a stance at the opposite end of the political spectrum represented by the CCCS. Mandler's work nevertheless does not directly focus on research funding, a paramount facet of the CCCS's struggles during the 1980s.

To appraise the impact of Thatcherism on research funding, one must turn to the work of Ian F. McNeely. In a 2023 article titled 'Research excellence and the origins of the managerial university in Thatcher's Britain' McNeely assesses the progressive process through which British higher education research funding reforms took place:

The reform of British universities in the 1980s and early 1990s evolved in [several] phases. The first, as we have seen, was the protracted period of uncertainty that elapsed after Thatcher's 1979 election and the 1981 budget cuts. Adrift in a policy vacuum amidst a Great Debate on the purposes of higher learning, UK academics invented a system of research selectivity and imposed it upon themselves. The second phase saw a flurry of pent-up activity, as the Conservative government belatedly issued firm guidance on its vision and plans for universities. The policy initiatives of 1985 and 1986 set in motion a ratcheting series of managerial intrusions to align policymakers' emphasis on the economy, efficiency, and utility with universities' desire to protect academic quality and research excellence.¹⁴²⁸

According to McNeely, academic leaders themselves adopted the concept of evaluation and research selectivity¹⁴²⁹ as a result of government financial pressure and the looming prospect of losing their independence between 1979 and 1981. However no clear plan was yet fully constructed by the government for the future of the higher education sector. A few years later, Keith Joseph made his plan for higher education known via his 1985 Green paper titled "The Development of Higher Education into the 1990s" which presented the measures higher education institutions would have to implement, and focused on accountability, productivity and evaluation, announcing the metric regime yet to come.¹⁴³⁰ It was complemented by the publication of the Jarratt report, the importance of which will be detailed in the next section.

¹⁴²⁸ Mcneely, Ian F. 'Research Excellence and the Origins of the Managerial University in Thatcher's Britain'. Contemporary British History, vol. 37, no. 1, Jan. 2023, pP. 1–26. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2022.2098720>. P. 14-15.

¹⁴²⁹ Ibid. P. 8.

¹⁴³⁰ Ibid. P. 10.

McNeely's central argument when considering the emergence of the metric regime at the heart of today's British higher education system, is the following. According to McNeely this cultural change imposed on universities in the 1980s, that is to say, the centrality of 'research excellence' is "the wedge that pried open a functioning university system, long buffered against change, to a universe of later policy manipulations."¹⁴³¹ As such policies were responsible for the Centre's imposed merger with Sociology and with the subsequent closure of the Department for Cultural Studies in 2002, it can be said that when things are pried open, very often, they tend to break. To go beyond the metaphor, the CCCS was founded in the Robbins era and gained stability and legitimacy in a higher education system that played by Robbins' rules. Unfortunately, it was not cut out to survive in the same form in the rationalising post-Robbins era progressively ushered by Thatcher and Joseph in the 1980s.

But the picture is not complete. To understand the processes at work in the CCCS-Sociology merger, one must dwell on the Jarratt Report.

3.7.2. Academic Adversaries

As highlighted in the Governance and Appointments section, the Centre's initial strategy when faced with the prospect of the UGC's planning exercise in the mid-1980s was partially successful, as the planning committee had agreed to withdraw its recommendation that the CCCS should merge back with the English department.¹⁴³² However a solution had yet to be found on slender human resources. The CCCS's report stresses the growing workload induced by the implementation of "cost centres"¹⁴³³ within universities. These 'cost centres' were an emanation of the Jarratt Report, issued in March 1985 by the Steering Committee for Efficiency Studies in Universities and chaired by Sir Alex Jarratt. Incidentally, the Chancellor of the University of Birmingham from 1983 to 2002 was also Sir Alex Jarratt.¹⁴³⁴ It therefore does not seem too rash to assume that the implementation of recommendations issues by his own committee would be taken rather seriously at the University of Birmingham. In his inaugural address given on October 31, 1983, and reproduced in the University of Birmingham weekly Bulletin, Sir Alex Jarratt had already made his views on public funding clear:

¹⁴³¹ Mcneely, Ian F. 'Research Excellence and the Origins of the Managerial University in Thatcher's Britain'. *Contemporary British History*, vol. 37, no. 1, Jan. 2023, pp. 1–26. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2022.2098720>. P. 18.

¹⁴³² CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹⁴³³ Ibid.

¹⁴³⁴ University of Birmingham. Chancellors of the University. <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/university/chancellor>. Accessed February 23rd, 2024.

But perhaps I may be allowed a word on some of the issues that I believe will become increasingly important during my period of office. [...] The first is the future level of public spending and its implications for the funding of University education. [...] Thus, unless and until the tempo of wealth-creation resumes a more accustomed pace, those of us who are dependent in whole or in part on public funds can expect to compete increasingly hard for them. [...] May I suggest that little will be gained by moaning, or feeling hurt, or feeling hard done by. May I suggest we should do instead is to take more of the initiative ourselves. Not to sit back and wait for someone to tell us, always belatedly, the whys and the wherefores of our own future. Instead to present our case, the case for University education, more effectively than I suspect is has been presented so far. [...] Have we yet been sufficiently rigorous in reviewing our own use of resources? After the events of the last two years some might be inclined to say “Yes”. However, it is something that many of us in industry and commerce have had to do in recent years, only to find that we have had to do it all over again — and perhaps been surprised to discover what we could still achieve and achieve to our long-term benefit. Have we been sufficiently rigorous in investigating additional sources of funding, always assuming we can keep what we find? I see no role for a University as a tax gatherer by proxy. [...] This must be part of our case to Government. Ensuring that they do not use the excuse of insufficient national wealth today to incapacitate us in producing the quality of people we will require to create our national wealth for the future.¹⁴³⁵

Sir Alex Jarratt’s inaugural address as Chancellor of the University of Birmingham therefore contained, as early as October 1983, the seeds which would come to fruition in the recommendations of the Jarratt committee: the acceptance of a free-market framework when dealing with university funding. The committee, gathered between April 1984 and March 1985, set the task of examining, “whether management structures and systems were effective in ensuring that decisions are fully informed, that optimum value is obtained from the use of resources, that policy objectives are clear, and that accountabilities are clear and monitored.”¹⁴³⁶ Such objectives should be met on the following premise: “The search for value for money is desirable at any time; in an era of constrained funding, it becomes essential.”¹⁴³⁷ The Jarratt Report was therefore completely consistent with the principles established by Keith Joseph’s

¹⁴³⁵ University of Birmingham weekly Bulletin, October 31st, 1983, issue 466, University of Birmingham Bulletin, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, University of Birmingham Official Publications - 1900-.

¹⁴³⁶ Committee of Vice Chancellors et and Principals. Jarratt report. <https://education-uk.org/documents/jarratt1985/index.html>. P. 6.

¹⁴³⁷ Ibid. P. 12.

1985 Green Paper on the future of higher education. The difference was, Jarratt was “one of ours”.

Indeed, beyond the dire consequences of the report on the future of the CCCS, the recommendations of the Jarratt Report were indeed perceived negatively (prompting moaning and hurt feelings), to say the least, by the academic community:

*Jarratt was self-inflicted. The inquiry was not a government creation. It was established by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals. How well do I remember them, running around like a clutch of headless chickens, trying to fool us youngsters that Maggie Thatcher would love us if we acquiesced in Jarratt, and might even restore some of the cuts she had so savagely and so enthusiastically imposed!*¹⁴³⁸

This rundown (perceived as an attack by many academics) on higher education was therefore conducted by the government on one front, and by academic leaders on the other. It therefore seems clear that, to go back to McNeely’s article, “The lesson of the period from 1981 through 1984, then, was that even under extreme duress, universities were not going to adopt Thatcher’s market-focused mindset without sustained government intervention.” Furthermore, beyond sustained government intervention, the collaboration of higher education leaders was essential in implementing Joseph’s agenda.

What remains clear, however, is the stress put on tuition fees as the second main source of income for universities at the time: “A typical university will received 64% of its funding direct from the UGC and 13% in the form of tuition fees.”¹⁴³⁹ Rough figures regarding the number of students graduating in 1991-1992 establish that out of the close to 121.000 students, more than 80.000 were undergraduate students, while less than 40.000 were graduate students.¹⁴⁴⁰ That is to say that two thirds of all tuition fees collected by universities by the beginning of the nineties stemmed from first-degree teaching and one third from postgraduates. While postgraduate fees were three times higher than undergraduate fees, undergraduates represented a much bigger part of the tuition fees market universities had to increasingly rely on. The recommendations of the Jarratt Report, to increase undergraduate numbers to increase funding sources, were therefore predatory to a research centre that was, unfortunately, “small by any

¹⁴³⁸ Tight, Malcolm. *The Development of Higher Education in the United Kingdom since 1945*. Society for research into higher education & Open University Press, 2009. Quoted in Geatrix, Paul. *The Imperfect University: the Jarratt report 30 years on*. Wonkhe online. <https://wonkhe.com/blogs/the-imperfect-university-the-jarratt-report-30-years-on/>. P. unknown.

¹⁴³⁹ Committee of Vice Chancellors et and Principals. Jarratt report. <https://education-uk.org/documents/jarratt1985/index.html>. P. 14.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Halimi, Suzy. *L’enseignement supérieur au Royaume-Uni*. Ophrys ; Ploton, 2005. P. 97.

standard”: only three teaching and research staff who already supervised too many students (as the Centre’s student/staff ratios were already matching than UGC targets). The only solution found by the Centre after several years of negotiations was to merge with another unit and to acquire the stability only a department would confer, within a different Faculty.

3.8. CONCLUSION

The result of such recommendations and of the overall 1980s political climate, was demoralisation and exhaustion. Here the possibility that the triumvirate was experiencing professional burnout is explored once more and the hypothesis was corroborated by Maureen McNeil in a recent interview. Indeed the 1987 annual report underlined the need for some degree of institutional recognition:

In the absence of tangible recognition, individuals and groups have to make their own decisions about how worthwhile it is to continue nonetheless. One result of the year’s events has been to force Centre staff, as individuals and as a group, to consider their own futures very closely indeed.¹⁴⁴¹

This paragraph illustrates an idea that has been stressed several times in these pages and that could be envisaged as one of the guiding threads (though not the only one) through which the history of the Centre can be seen: the mixing of a political project with people’s academic careers offered too few opportunities for balance. It provided the ideal conditions for an immoderate level of involvement to appear, leading to constant overwork and a growing sense of distress among CCCS staff members and students. This director’s report is riddled with pessimistic remarks about the very future of higher education, such as the following:

It is also very difficult to guess whether there will be academic life beyond the Ice Age, and what kind of life it will be. Has open, critical, reflective, independent academic work, which sets its own criteria of evaluation, reached a kind of limit in universities, at least in Britain? Certainly it sometimes seems so. If that is the case, perhaps it would be more effective to work elsewhere?¹⁴⁴²

¹⁴⁴¹ As a matter of fact Michael Green had been so far as to secure himself a position elsewhere and reports highlight the fact that all three members of the triumvirate had found potential posts elsewhere. CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

¹⁴⁴² Ibid. P. 7.

To some extent the circle was complete. The New Left was the original political crucible in which cultural studies was born, in the midst of the Robbins era. As the 1960s ended, so did the momentum of the movement and New Left members had to find refuge elsewhere. Universities represented adequate sanctuaries for a political movement in part fostered by intellectuals. The sanctuaries provided enough stability to foster the emergence and legitimising of ideas, with their own research frameworks and practices. Twenty years later the political climate had changed dramatically, and former New Left academics were being financially squeezed out of their sanctuaries, only to wonder if they should go on and where they shall go. This question was especially paramount, since CCCS members felt they had a responsibility to the whole cultural studies network, as they had taken part in establishing it: "This is a complicated process because of the shared nature of our project and our sense that we have obligations to wider communities that stretch well beyond the gates of Birmingham University."¹⁴⁴³ Fortunately for the Centre, with the CCCS-Sociology merger, the Centre's members were able to continue their work in a different form, while the wider cultural studies network continued to expand internationally.

¹⁴⁴³ CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 7.

4.

**CONCLUSION –
SIXTY YEARS LATER**

When asked in 2021 whether he regretted not going down the traditional historian road, Richard Johnson answered the following in a personal interview:

I: And do you regret applying to the CCCS and not following that clear historian path?

R: Just a little tiny bit now because now I'm, you know, I'll probably never be able to do it, finish it, and I'm interested in writing a "single-authored scholarly historical work" (he stresses each word and shortly pauses in between; they both laugh) with political implications and a very strong political drive, but nonetheless a single-authored monograph (they both laugh again) hopefully published by a university. (Smiles)¹⁴⁴⁴

Close to six years and five hundred pages after beginning researching the Centre, this interaction remains one of the most beautiful and delightful moments I have ever had the pleasure of sharing for the purpose of writing this thesis. One way to describe the spectrum of academic research is by visualising a line going all the way from absolute individual activity to completely collective research practices (neither attainable in reality, of course). One main reason behind this research is the fact that the Centre, for close to a quarter of a century, stood significantly closer to the collective side than most research structures. It is therefore precious, and funnily paradoxical, that one of the three CCCS's directors' a posteriori career wish would dwell on the possibility of working alone and to leave an individual mark on the academic field.

This wish represents many tensions explored in this work, including the balance between the push to organise intellectual work collectively and the pull to secure an individual academic career. Through this first tension, this research also took into account the politicised component of any work of research, and the extent to which what is said about politics is also being formulated through a politically informed process. It has also focused on tensions between the weight of scientific work and that of work outside the academic field, linked to the question of having an impact on the real world rather than producing scientific facts about the real world. This work has also analysed the degree to which a research project can stretch the academic institutional fabric, tear down the walls between fields, create a new field and reach relative stability and legitimacy through growing networks until pressures become insufferable to the point where the window for such a research project closes. Finally, it has stressed the personal cost of maintaining such a project afloat for twenty-four years and beyond, by examining the constant battle between academic achievement and professional exhaustion.

To study these creative as well as destructive tensions, this work has relied on a historical and sociological approach, arguing that while a historical perception of the

¹⁴⁴⁴ Johnson, Richard. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview January 21 2021. P.7.

CCCS had been one of the main paths towards assessing the Centre's legacy in the published literature¹⁴⁴⁵, a more recent sociological framework addressing the Centre's significance¹⁴⁴⁶ along with an understanding of the power struggles at play within the scientific field¹⁴⁴⁷ has enabled me to take a step back and observe the CCCS through a yet unexplored lens. This vision was further enhanced by the fact of conducting this research well after the end of the Centre's initial project, during a time when new material was being brought to light in the CCCS's archive and beyond. These three elements — a historical, sociological blueprint built and researched a posteriori — have provided the tools and data to shed light on aspects of the Centre too concisely addressed in the existing literature, as a study of this scope, focusing entirely on the institutional history of the CCCS, yet had to be written.

The research questions sought to be answered through this work were the following: How could a centre, known worldwide as a renowned school of thought, disappear from the very place of its birth? What were the limits of the CCCS and how did they prevent it from remaining in existence? Furthermore, what has the Centre contributed to the world of academia? How did its nature help shape an academic subfield and forge its frontiers? The provisional¹⁴⁴⁸ answers to these research questions are presented below.

How could a centre, known worldwide as a renowned school of thought, disappear from the very place of its birth? As highlighted by Catherine Hall, institutions are, after all, many different things¹⁴⁴⁹, and they change through time. The 1964 Civic University of Birmingham, eager to recruit professors with a reputation in the hope of putting itself on the British academic map, was a very different institution to the 1980s University of Birmingham, which faced the challenge of having to do more with less government funding and focused on reducing costs while increasing student/staff ratios. The 1960s University of Birmingham's search for fame and status was the condition under which the CCCS was founded. From the beginning the Centre was always an exception: a breach in a redbrick wall more concerned about its own name than by providing active support to their own professors' intellectual interests. And even though the name of the CCCS, of the "Birmingham School", survived, it survived

¹⁴⁴⁵ See the work of Dennis Dworkin, Matthew Hilton, Kieran Connell as well as Maxime Cervulle, presented in the introduction.

¹⁴⁴⁶ The recent work of Éric Maigret on cultural studies as a field and a scientific methodology has been paramount to assess the scope of the CCCS in Britain and internationally.

¹⁴⁴⁷ The use of a sociological framework built on Thomas S. Kuhn, Pierre Bourdieu, as well as Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar has proven instrumental to complement historical accounts and understand elements of the Centre's construction which implications would have left unresolved otherwise.

¹⁴⁴⁸ As any work of research represents only one step, one intervention in an ongoing conservation.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Hall, Catherine. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview March 25, 2021. P. 7-8.

as a myth¹⁴⁵⁰ and as a field, not as a physical place for research in its original location. Although, this statement should be amended, the CCCS did partly survive at Birmingham, in the basement of the last building it operated from, the Muirhead Tower, host to the Cadbury Research Library. It survived in the form of an archive, which form was designed to acknowledge the working practices of the Centre and its collective nature. And perhaps most importantly, it survives as an archive that still welcomes new material, a *live* archive. To the naked eye, the CCCS may be among the University of Birmingham's most famous (or notorious, depending) memories, but its presence is still very much alive, thanks to the work of Matthew Hilton, Kieran Connell and Helen Fisher, alongside the more than thirty former CCCS members who have deposited their own archive from their time at the Centre. Its disappearance above ground reflects the progressive political and institutional changes which have been highlighted in this thesis, since the 1960s widening of higher education through the Robbin's Report, which endured for most of the 1970s and were stifled in the early 1980s under Margaret Thatcher. As higher education in Britain went through a process of massification, and the economic context deteriorated, the Robbins principles of openness (and funding) became increasingly difficult to maintain. 1979 marked the end of the founding context of cultural studies and new constraints emerged: now that its reputation had been secured, the University of Birmingham later focused on retaining its financial stability, at high human and research costs. What had begun as a tolerable exception was now becoming an extravagance and the CCCS, while being described by University of Birmingham officials as "small by any standard"¹⁴⁵¹, could no longer be part of the University of Birmingham landscape. It was forced to merge with the Department of Sociology and dilute its own working practices, which had brought to the fore the scientific production the Centre had become known for, while being forced to maintain a competitive and strenuous level of activity. Under these conditions it is finally not surprising that it would prove difficult to find traces of the Centre on the Birmingham campus. No one, or perhaps no *thing* likes to call attention to elements of the past, structures and people, which one has actively sought to extinguish.

What were the limits of the CCCS and how did they prevent it from remaining in existence? The Centre's limits were therefore, on the one hand, external. The Centre suffered from a chronic institutional lack of support and even an adverse political environment, which made it difficult to operate from the beginning and eventually made it impossible to survive in its initial shape. While it did find an initial and steady source of funding for its first years of activity, the sum given to the Centre by Sir Allen Lane was never sufficient to expand the initial structure of the Centre as long as the Centre's research staff were not on the University's payroll, which did not happen

¹⁴⁵⁰ Connell, Kieran, and Matthew Hilton. 'The Working Practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies'. *Social History*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2015, pp. 287–311. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043191>. P. 288.

¹⁴⁵¹ CCCS Annual report 1986-1987, 1987, Records of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies publications. P. 6.

before 1974. As if such limits were not sufficient, the Centre's limits were also internal. First, as highlighted in Part I, because the CCCS focused on a newly and ill-defined object, it suffered from incomprehension and a lack of legitimacy. Indeed, the Centre's object was initially perceived as mundane or even unscientific, and this made it all the more arduous for the CCCS's founders to make their work acceptable during the Centre's early years. As the CCCS's first period was, as established in this work, an exploratory one, the search for what the Centre, and by extension, what cultural studies could be, represented one of the most important early limits of the project, as it was seeking to clarify its framework and scope, as it was already conducting research. Furthermore, because of external financial constraints, the Centre's politically informed and horizontal organisation relied (as underlined in Part II and Part III) on individual investment to the point of reaching professional exhaustion, because of power struggles and not always creative conflict. Finally, the CCCS as a structure grappled with finding the right balance between its various missions, be it research, teaching, or intervention in the "dirty outside world".¹⁴⁵² Initially created as a postgraduate research centre, it became increasingly focused on teaching as the years went by, to the point where the process of institutionalisation reinforced by its teaching activities became a matter of survival and the core of CCCS activities. In the same fashion, there seemed to have been two main tendencies among CCCS members: researchers interested in the theory of cultural studies and researchers focused on real life intervention, or, perhaps better said, activism. In this sense, time, or perhaps the lack thereof, was one of the most important limits of the Centre, as an understaffed and underfunded structure cannot be expected to succeed in fulfilling three very different missions (research, teaching and activism) while struggling to maintain itself afloat. One may also argue that the Centre's nature conflicted with the academic setting it was born into, as it did not fit the goal of the university: the utopian enclave envisaged by Stuart Hall was indeed a space which was critical of the university as an institution. As the tension between the CCCS's aims and the University of Birmingham's became more and more acute, they ended up getting the better of the Centre in the late 1980s.

Furthermore, what has the Centre contributed to the world of academia? However gloomy this picture may appear, between 1964 and 1988 the CCCS did exist in its original form and became the founding place of a recognised academic field, with its scientific journals, departments and programmes and scientific organisations. Within this academic field, the contribution of the Centre is two-fold: first, by opening a space dedicated to the study of culture, it progressively gave legitimacy to both marginal research objects and to a marginal methodology at the crossroads of multiple disciplines, fuelled by a political drive to make a difference in the world. This political component also produced what could be seen as the Centre's most valuable proposition: collective research practices. While the CCCS's collectiveness emerged out of necessity in the aftermath of Richard Hoggart's departure from Birmingham in

¹⁴⁵² Quoted in Part I and Part III. Hall, Stuart. « The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities ». October, vol. 53, 1990, P. 11. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.2307/778912>. P. 3 & 8.

1968, they would remain fertile and constantly renegotiated and amended throughout the years until the Centre's resources would wane in the 1980s, to the point where a collective organisation, while fruitful scientifically, proved difficult to sustain.

How did its nature help shape an academic subfield and forge its frontiers? Because the Centre's project could not find a place of its own within an existing discipline, that of English (out of which it was born), its transgressive nature meant subjugating academic means to an academic end. The CCCS's early years were characterised by a search for tools to address a changing cultural landscape, which English as a field could not provide. It was therefore shaped by research questions which lacked legitimacy in an academic setting, and by tools that were not its own. It is therefore not surprising that it would go through an exploratory period between 1964 and 1968, which would extend well beyond the 1960s, as the unifying theoretical framework of Marxism would progressively take hold at Birmingham during the early 1970s. Furthermore, its growingly collective and horizontal nature also influenced its shape and helped design its frontiers. Indeed the Centre consistently drew on its members' (be they staff or students) academic backgrounds to add to the cultural studies mix, to implement different research practices and to focus on new research objects. The subgroup model constitutes the most obvious example of the balance between the CCCS's structure and individual propositions. While it later became peripheral to the Centre's more institutionalised programmes of the later 1970s and 1980s, such as the MA and undergraduate degrees in cultural studies, the CCCS's collective, sometimes piecemeal and makeshift practices were nonetheless tailored to answer the needs (be they theoretical, methodological or object-based) of its subgroups. The Centre's nature therefore allowed for different frameworks and different schools to emerge and allowed such groups, such as the Women's Studies Group, to investigate new theoretical frontiers. This facet of the Centre's nature, again, revolves around the idea of academic freedom: freedom to choose, freedom to experiment, to get things wrong, to start again, to forget what has been done two years prior, to start anew, and to forge, to produce new scientific knowledge collectively. While the CCCS did provide proofs of research excellence and paved the way for a new academic field to emerge, initially its core nature was found in its ability to interrogate current social change with borrowed complementary tools in the hope of achieving political change while being based in an academic protected space where it enjoyed the freedom to do so. It therefore formed a protean and unstable academic field, which could not survive well beyond the Robbins era in its original form. Similar to a heavy and unstable chemical element, the Centre's half-life did not last long in the academic timeframe. However, it did split into a myriad of smaller nuclei which continue operating to this day. In this sense and to draw a metaphor borrowed from yet another academic field, one could say that the CCCS has enduringly changed the DNA of academia.

To answer these questions, this thesis has focused on three historical periods in the life of the CCCS. A first, exploratory period between its founding in 1964 and the 1968 student movement and the progressive departure of the Centre's first director Richard Hoggart; a second, 'golden years' period between 1968 and 1979, in fact, divided into two shorter periods, an interregnum between 1968 and 1974 when the Centre's

directorship, right to exist and model were being negotiated, and a stabler period between 1974 and 1979 during which the Centre's subgroup model became established and produced some of the most well-known publications; and a third period defined by its directorship, the triumvirate, between 1979 and 1988, a last period which was characterised by the institutionalisation of cultural studies at Birmingham and a constant fight for survival for the famous yet small unit, which made it increasingly difficult to pursue its original research project. All three periods represent a part of this thesis, and are summarised below.

In Part One, the Centre's founding parameters and early conditions were explored. Founded as Richard Hoggart's pet project in 1964, it heavily relied on private funding and on the tolerance of the University of Birmingham. Indeed while the Penguin covenant granted the CCCS relative but unambitious stability, it would not find its steady location on campus for years, being located in the most precarious and marginal locations until it was finally granted access to the Faculty of Arts building. These first faltering steps taken on campus somewhat echoed the first theoretical steps taken in academia, as the Centre's early work struggled to achieve a coherent and stable vision. Both Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall therefore strove to achieve legitimacy by insisting on the early CCCS graduate's high-achieving profiles. Furthermore, the CCCS's founding figure, Richard Hoggart, drew on his supportive networks to put the Centre's work on the map and to legitimise its work in the eyes of international bodies such as UNESCO. Other supportive networks included the British New Left, with actors such as Raymond Williams stepping in and helping design the early cultural studies curriculum. This political network proved paramount in securing candidates for the Centre, as several CCCS former members' trajectories suggest. Yet an unexpected event took place at the end of the decade, which would profoundly reshuffle the Centre's cards.

In Part Two, the significance of the 1968 Birmingham student sit-in was assessed, along with the impact of 1968 politics on the Centre. It is argued here that the 1968 moment was an accident which changed the fate of the CCCS, in the sense that what Bourdieu calls the symbolic revolution of 1968¹⁴⁵³, through which the symbolic dimension of academia began to be renegotiated, drew its founder, Richard Hoggart, away from his original project. This accident gave way for Stuart Hall to take over the project alongside CCCS postgraduates who took 1968 to a whole new level: that of a utopian enclave in academia envisaged by Hall, whose aim would be to produce knowledge that would be critical of the traditional university as an institution and of the political state of the world at large, from a place that was university-based. During the interregnum period (1968-1974), the future of the CCCS was ascertained thanks to its supportive networks, which provided proof of the quality and value of cultural studies in the eyes of the University of Birmingham, while the 1968 components of the student movement were being integrated into the Centre's working practices. Between 1974 and 1979, the Centre's activity flourished and aroused the interest of several private publishing companies, including Hutchinson, which signed a series

¹⁴⁵³ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Homo Academicus*. Editions de Minuit, 1984. P. 29.

contract with the CCCS. During this period the Centre's model and framework became stabilised, and the plurality of voices it was composed of began to formulate variants of the cultural studies canon, most notably in the field of feminist and anti-racist scholarship. The 1970s were also concluded by an event which would have a profound impact on the Centre's future in the 1980s.

The May 1979 general election resulted in the formation of Margaret Thatcher's first government, enacting a series of funding cuts for higher education, which challenged the very principles on which the Robbins Report was built in the 1960s. During this third period, the Centre, under the aegis of a three-headed directorship, struggled to keep the cultural studies boat afloat while facing increasing political and institutional hostility. To do so, it focused its efforts on institutionalisation through the strengthening of the MA in cultural studies and the launching of an undergraduate programme which attracted several hundred students each year for a few dozen places, transforming the selection into a preposterous process. Furthermore, higher education funding cuts went hand in hand with a yearly student fee increase, which prompted the majority of CCCS students to register on a part-time basis to be able to afford to go to university. While such institutionalisation was taking hold, the Centre's research activity became difficult to maintain and the Centre increasingly relied on its students' involvement, be they part-time or full-time, as the decade went by. Indeed, this work argues that a point was reached in the 1980s when the Centre was indeed too famous for its own good, as cultural studies as a field was developing in the country and internationally, attracting what Richard Johnson referred to as academic sightseers whose visits further increased the triumvirate's workload. These elements produced a semi-perpetual state of professional exhaustion which greatly damaged the Centre's working environment. The CCCS also led, thanks to Michael Green's institutional networking savviness, supported by the triumvirate, a several-year-long campaign aimed at securing its future in the midst of a planning exercise undergone by the University of Birmingham and aimed at reducing administrative costs, followed by the implementation of the Jarratt report introducing budget centres in British universities. The triumvirate's efforts were rewarded in the late 1980s in the form of a merger with the Department of Sociology, which granted the Centre the protection of a department status while putting an end to some of its collective and horizontal practices, thus closing the initial window through which cultural studies had blossomed at Birmingham.

This study's findings offer a thorough institutional history of the CCCS on the administrative, teaching, research and publication levels, by shedding light on the ways in which the Centre's different facets evolved through the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Some of the most significant conclusions of this study include its publication policy, which quickly enabled it to make its work known to supportive networks, thereby attracting potential applicants and securing funding in the 1960s. In the 1970s, the CCCS's collectively written journal became its flagship format and was later converted into a Hutchinson series, consecrating the work of cultural studies in the academic sphere. During the 1980s, the Centre's publication policy became theorised, as different formats were envisaged as having different roles and the emergence of a

CCCS literature written by former Centre members was seen as a positive sign for the legitimisation of the field. This work also focuses on the Centre as a crucible, a protected and marginal space which enabled collective, independent and politically driven scholarship to take hold and gain legitimacy in the world of academia, as perhaps the most enduring legacy of the Centre has never left the university. Finally, this thesis has also endeavoured to understand the shortcomings of a structure which aim was, in a sense, to deconstruct the neoliberal State and the economic, racial, gendered-based and social inequalities the Centre's Marxism grappled with. Indeed while attempting to address similar power dynamics at play within the CCCS, the Centre failed to lastingly solve them and eventually suffered from such financial stringency that it ended up creating inequalities of its own. Overall, this work's secret question was always concerned with what *is*, indeed, possible to do at university, beyond reproducing an endless cycle of knowledge and ethos acquisition. The CCCS has provided a wonderful and complex answer: while it is possible to do otherwise, it requires more determination, strength and support than going down the traditional academic path. And to go back to Richard Johnson's single-authored scholarly historical work, it requires, perhaps more than anything, sharing and recognition of our work.

This thesis's shortcomings are undoubtedly numerous, as it constitutes a first attempt at an ambitious piece of research. The work does not emphasise the history of ideas that traversed the Centre in an exhaustive fashion, as it does rely on the work of Dennis Dworkin, whose *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain* constitutes an immeasurably far better account of this aspect of the Centre. This institutional history of the CCCS could assuredly have, at times, lost itself less in some of the minute administrative, research or teaching changes it described, as it certainly suffers from a light to medium case of exhaustivity. Complementary to this, it could no doubt have weaved the interviews and archive fabrics in a more synthetic or efficient way. It could have quoted less. Much less. Yet words are treasures, and they belong to individuals. In these pages they were all chosen carefully with in mind the wish they could touch the reader, by offering a glimpse of times and places lost, and showing what I had been lucky enough to see. Many other limitations could be raised about this work but as highlighted in the introduction, in the words of Pierre Bourdieu, no one should be judge and be judged, and it will be my pleasure to discuss them further when they have been detected by more experienced eyes.

No conclusion could be complete without presenting the implications of the thesis and directions for future research. The implications of the thesis are a delicate matter, as this research has dived into the obscure, difficult and sometimes unaccountable moments of the CCCS. To a certain extent, it constitutes a humble attempt at a counter narrative to the existing histories of the Centre, an attempt at careful nuance, at

increasingly recognising the myriad¹⁴⁵⁴ of voices contained and emerging from the CCCS through its twenty-four years of activity. Such voices did not always agree, see eye to eye, and some voices were more heard than others. Alongside the Centre's archive, this research has aimed at assembling material to provide a more complete picture of the diversity of the "CCCS experience", production and legacy. It also opens another door (there are others) for the possibility of continuing addressing the ways research centres function in the English-speaking world. Through such endeavour it would become possible to observe local and regional variations and to establish a map of practices and attempts at more radical scholarship during the second half of the twentieth century and beyond, a work already begun by colleagues, some of them quoted in this work and with whom the prospect of working is elevating. Future research on the Centre should include the Department of Cultural Studies and Sociology (DCSS) period between 1988 and 2002, to address the ways the Centre's practices became indeed diluted while maintaining the work of cultural studies and sociology, during a period when research evaluation schemes slowly became the norm (one may think of the Research Assessment Exercise, which result became the justification for the DCSS's closure in 2002). Further researching the impact of the Centre's work on other universities, on political figures, activists and individuals would prove beneficial to continue to assess how influential the CCCS's research input and practices were. While some elements have been provided in these pages, the work of Erik Borda focuses on the emergence of race as a theoretical framework at the Centre and its embedding in the Handsworth Birmingham neighbourhood; and the work of Delphine Frasc on the History Workshop Movement's feminism and, more broadly, on intellectual populism will bring forward essential contributions. Finally, this research's modest borrowing of sociological tools has itself opened a new door to the perspective of mapping research and teaching practices, that of ethnography. Indeed the prospect of being granted access, to be trusted and to observe individuals evolving within a structure, to create, as Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar did, pockets of order from the chaos of everyday interactions within the world of academia is nothing but an exhilarating project.

¹⁴⁵⁴ "I think when I've read things about the centre that have been written, in retrospect, it is again, it's that one voice. It's the voice of the centre. Whereas to me, the voice of the centre is, is myriad. You could never have a voice for the centre. To me that's kind of how the centre was at its best, when it was like a crowd." Branham, Annie. Interview with Eléana Sanchez. Interview May 2nd 2022. P. 12.

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All transcripts are provided in the Annexes section, subsection 6.2. Personal Interviews Transcripts

6.

ANNEXES:

SOME INTERVIEWS TRANSCRIPTS

6.1. RICHARD JOHNSON (1), 20 JANUARY 2021

Eléana Sanchez: It will tell you that it's being recorded at the top left of the screen.

Richard Johnson: Yes okay, yes.

Eléana Sanchez: Um, so are you okay being quoted and named in my PhD dissertation?

Richard Johnson: Definitely yes,

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, thank you. And would you be willing in a few months to do a follow-up interview?

Richard Johnson: Yes, probably I would like to look at the transcript if that's possible.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes, that's what I'm trying to do. I'm trying to make it as faithful as possible and then I will send it to you.

Richard Johnson: Yes. Because names are a particular problem. I noticed with Greg's interview that some names were difficult to tell.

Eléana Sanchez: I understand, and I will try to find if it doesn't make sense. I will try to find who might be the person you're talking about and put like a question mark or something

Richard Johnson: Yes. This might be important for me because my memory for names is very poor yes.

Eléana Sanchez: I understand. Um, okay so I have a list of questions but if, if you, if you say something interesting that was not part of my question list, I might digress and use what you, what you've been saying so... We'll see. So I read that you, you are a political organizer these days. Maybe not so much recently because of the pandemic but...

Richard Johnson: Yes. I mean, it was what- I always thought my teaching and academic work as political and involved in university reform movements in the sixties and, and early seventies and all that. But it was only when I retired from Nottingham Trent which was my second job that I went a bit mad on politics because I had always, I'd always wanted to be more politically active but I've been you know, the professional work, the teaching especially is so absorbing that although it entered into the teaching it couldn't, I couldn't have time to be what most people call politically active so I was a member of the Labour Party for a long time now, I left over Iraq, the Iraq war and then I, when I retired from Nottingham Trent in 2004 and I was heavily involved in anti-war politics, movement politics, not politics politics, if you know what I mean. I thought it was very much a social movement, "Stop the war" was one movement and the campaign against nuclear disarmament which has existed since the 1950s is very strong in Leicester, had thousands of members in the eighties but were still pretty active, brought alive really by the campaign against the Afghanistan and Iraq wars so that was pretty all absorbing and at the same time got back into the Labour party because Corbyn was elected leader and on the second time he was elected I decided it was safe to join again being somewhat to the Left and so I joined and was very active in my branch and constituency in Leicester. Until the lockdown

we were doing a lot of zooming and we were still having meetings and they were quite well resumed but we can't be out in the streets doing things we do yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: I understand yeah, I really agree with you because I'm a teacher as well, so I teach English to medical and pharmaceutical students and at the end of the day, there's nothing left of me, you know, I don't have the energy to do anything else other than teaching and it's also difficult to work on my thesis, so I can't imagine having a political activity on top of everything else.

Richard Johnson: No, you can only be solid, you can only take an interest and when the war started I did start having you know, special sessions at university, getting people from Afghanistan to come and talk and that kind of thing, but and I started writing I did several research little research things about the discourses on anti-terrorism, you know, because Bush and Blair were speaking this new language of anti-terror which now is routine but in that moment, it was a real discursive innovation, so it was interesting to identify that shift. So intellectual things you could do that were related to the politics. I'm trying to do that in the Labour party, I'm a political education officer for my local branch and trying to... What I've never really succeeded in doing and admire people who do it, you bring your intellectual self into your politics, but changes the nature of the politics it isn't just, (inaudible) the nation if you know what I mean, I think it makes you different, avoiding dualisms for example, which is so tempting in absolute dualisms and political struggles. They are very misleading and we've learned not to do that in the Academy I think (laughs) Anyway.

Eléana Sanchez: So today you're using your educational background to feed your political activities. When you started you did the other thing, you did it the other way around.

Richard Johnson: It's true. It's very true. Good way of putting it.

Eléana Sanchez: (laughs) Um, alright, let's see... What did I want to start with? Yeah, I mean there, there was something in... because I read your interview, the interview that you gave to Kieran Connell and the one that you gave to Hudson Vincent obviously and there is something that you said in the, the Kieran interview. You said that you had to, when you started to act as a political activist you, you had to change your vocabulary you had to change the way you addressed people and the, the things that you would say. So, I was I was curious. I wanted to ask you how because the, the aim of the Center at the beginning was to have an influence on the outside world, right?

Richard Johnson: Yes.

Eléana Sanchez: But there was this this limit this border of academic speech, so how can we, how did you work that out?

Richard Johnson: I don't think I ever worked it out at the Centre and I don't think- a lot of people didn't. Probably one of the reasons why the Centre was, hmm, in an overall judgment more successful in the academic domain than in the political. We can make that separation. We shouldn't underestimate the political effects that it had on individuals, lot of people came, very political, you know in like with the women's movement people or black politics people not necessarily... there were socialists as well so but, it was a very political media. But I think it was genuinely difficult. What is different is when you realise this idea that we were producing organic intellectuals, you know, because we weren't organically placed. And there are separate- real separations between the institutions, the

academy is a separate specific and, in some ways, evil institution, let's face it, but some way it helps intellectual good intellectual work and some other ways it hinders it. And you've got all kinds of ways where we have to be transgressive in the academic terms in order to have a space for the good intellectual work if you see what I mean.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes.

Richard Johnson: So, we were constantly transgressive in academic terms and the paradoxes is that we were academically successful. Or individuals were. There were lots of paradox, which kind of amuses me sort of. Because Birmingham was a horrible university really-

Eléana Sanchez: (Laughs)

Richard Johnson: And you know, we tried to reform it first and succeeded to some extent, I say we, the student movement plus a lot of sympathetic younger teachers. We tried to change it we got it changed we've got representation, you know for students and for all the staff on Senates and things and it was all rolled back or... (there was a) Conservative reaction, but then we had to survive in this very adverse situation and trying to do the things we wanted to do. You know.

Eléana Sanchez: But maybe, maybe the; the impact of the CCCS was in what the people who came from the CCCS did afterwards not only as academics, but as civil servants, as people working in the media.

Richard Johnson: Yes, and artists, teachers, all kinds of... a lot of people I worked with were school teachers because I was in an education group and they came to us to transfer, you know, if you like, humanities or English teachers who wanted to have a cultural studies dimension, a lot of our students actually taught in further education while they were doing their, supposed to be doing their PhDs, or their MAs and, and that's the way they made their living, liberal studies seems to have caught up in those days in further education in the city, a lot of people did that maybe we had, maybe, we had connections to the city through their everyday lives if you like, if you see what I mean, there were some strong previous connections with community work perhaps, not so strong and with us-Michael was particularly active in sort of politics of arts and local art centers and local art policy museums etc. He was very active in that area and got their students undergraduates as well as postgraduates to remember while teaching undergraduates for a great deal of this time as well and called them involved in a West Midlands course about the area. He was the one who is the most involved, I think in the locality. And so do you know we all had different versions of politics, I think as well. I think mine was very academic actually. I think I was very academic.

Eléana Sanchez: But I think it also had an impact on your work, but also on your own life because you, in the, in the interview you gave Kieran you, you mentioned the fact that you had all this theoretical work, you were, you were living through feminism becoming a very important movement and you had this on the one hand and then you had your, your own life and it had an influence on your own life.

Richard Johnson: Yes. It did, it did. It was one of the reasons why I went part-time and then retired. Because I was not doing justice to my partner and, and my family. It was too obsessive a place to work. It was very obsessive very absorbing, and you know it confirmed one version of the heroic man, you know who's carrying doing these wonderful

things. You need imagination anyway, but very one-sided and exploitative to be clear. Not that Jill was in any ways an exploitable person. (Laughs) I'm glad to say so she had her own life. She was a progressive teacher in school and a very good one taught working-class children how to read. You know, I'd written I've written up her career since because my current study is about progressive education, its History. But, yes. But it was a very strange situation because I was exposed to all kinds of political influences. Particularly the influence of feminist women in the Centre, who were pushing like mad changes and getting some, some possibly more in things like admissions and organization of the groups and all that kind of thing than in the informal culture, you know what I mean the way we actually related to each other, who spoke, how much, all those thoughts. There were changes happening. Anyway, I was more exposed to that than Jill was. Because it was a sort of leading sector in the area for feminists thinking. We didn't dialogue enough. We were both too busy in our different ways. I think. So there's an unevenness there. So I was a theoretical feminist but not the practical feminist man, if you see what I mean. (Laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: But it wouldn't have happened if you hadn't been exposed to those ideas at the Centre.

Richard Johnson: No, no it wouldn't. Well, I mean because it was very intimate, you know, we came, came to have groups that were... well eventually... To begin with there were women who organized on their own quite rightly, you know, they had their own groups and women studies group and their own book and everything, but I was supervising, obviously supervising people like Lucy Bland who was a strong feminists who was doing a thesis with me. And we eventually got to have a gender-based, gender-based studies with men and women. I was in a group on education and the family that had men and women and we you know, that was a big learning experience, but that was quite late. That was by the 1980s, I think.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. Let me see. So yes, I was really interested in the fact that when you applied to the CCCS it was a career risk for you and it has become so difficult to make a career as a professor today that I was wondering if you could tell me more about how your colleagues and your former professors perceived the CCCS at the time.

Richard Johnson: Generally the University is a completely wacky and crazy place to be. That was the single discipline mainly a single discipline university, quite a traditional kind. Though with some very interesting people like Dorothy Thompson and Rodney Hilton, an old Marxist tradition now as well, including among the Engineers so it wasn't an uninteresting university but... The CCCS wasn't well thought of internally at the time, not ever probably. (Laughs) Anyway. So where I was I. Oh, yes. Well. When I said I was going to apply, well, my colleague said no you mustn't do that. Um, I had two professors I had a professor who sadly died and then a new professor. My old professor's advice was: "Richard, in the end scholarship is more important than politics". That was, these were his parting words to me. And the new professor, he said, he strongly advised me against doing this and that I had a good a good future in History. I shouldn't leave a historical discipline and he got a senior lectureship for me, so I was on a you know on a career ladder, as quite a young senior lecturer. I had done a lot for the faculty who used to do a lot of administration. And I was a very successful teacher in terms of lots of students wanted to do social history, lots, because it was a booming subject and. But. Well that's another story why I decided to apply (laughs), do you want to hear that story too?

Eléana Sanchez: Of course!

Richard Johnson: It goes back a long way, so it's quite a long story but I'll try and cut it short. I had a very, my father was a successful local businessman fruit importer, vegetable importer in the city of Hull. And he, he was quite, we were quite an ordinary family, sort of lower middle class really but he made a lot of money. He you know, he was a local man spoke a Yorkshire accent, he had left school at sixteen so he wasn't, we weren't from a middle-class background but somehow he learned what you can do to get your children into the upper middle class. I don't quite know how (laughs) and he realized that you, you use this education system. And he had the money, so he bought us places at private schools which are boarding schools, you know, the English boarding school system, this is the system that reproduces the upper middle class in Britain and so I went to school at eight, age eight to a boarding school in the south of England. And then to a public school, quite a minor public school that was called Haundle (?) and which did have a progressive, progressive education tradition, actually but not by the time I got there. And in the last year in this school they had a sort of good line 19th century settlements, posh boys would go and live in a working-class area to see what life was really like and we went to Hunslet, which is of course where Hoggart was born and lived, in Leeds, to clean the church, that was our job. But we got involved peripherally in working-class youth culture now this is fifty-seven fifty-eight rock and roll! So youth subculture is really taking off from areas like... we went to rock and roll dances and we were sort of thrown around by working-class women who thought, girls who pushed us, we didn't know how to do the dance and they used to push us. Which was very stimulating. (Laughs) I mean it sort of got us into it and then I went back, I had an extra year at school because I missed national service and I went back to Hunslet with the intention of making a film. I went with somebody who thought he was a cameraman somebody who thought he was a director from school we were, none of us were neither, I certainly wasn't a producer. And we, we made a hash of it really we didn't produce anything very much, lots and lots and lots of footage but we didn't have a real entry, you know, like the ethnographic entry you need someone who introduces you to the community we didn't have and anyway, it was quite frustrating but it gave me the ambition to be an artist and a sort of socially conscious artists, possibly. A painter. I used to paint pictures of women and putting, hanging up the washing in mean streets. (Laughs) And so I got the ambition, I wasn't going to go to Cambridge because that was my inevitable destination according to the pathway... described. And I was going to go to London to an art school, I applied to Goldsmith's and in my memories I got a place. I can't believe I did but I have a strong memory that I sent in a folder and they said yes, you can have a place. Panic at home. Except for one thing, so my sister who was at the University of Hull gave me a copy of *The Uses of Literacy*. And I read it and of course it was revelation so two things came together, this rather strange encounter with Hunslet and reading *The Use of Literacy* and I realized that not everybody lived the kind of life that my parents lived let alone... I knew that already because, you know, the provincial class life is very different from public schools and the kinds of kids you meet there. But this was in addition. So I, I date, you know, interest in culture- cultural difference and antagonisms to that moment. But I was defeated my... I didn't have the courage to leave my family. I'd have to do that and be independent go to London. And my father and my previous prep school head mastered cooked up a plan. I would teach in the school where I first went. So I taught in the school that I first went for two years where I met Jill. And got, we had a romance. So that's the saving experience but I also so I couldn't teach, why should I you know, my classroom was chaos and very noisy chaos. So the art teacher who was a wonderful woman helped me suddenly died and so the headmaster solved two problems at once by making me teach art right through to school and I read about teaching

art completely, Herbert Read and it worked and I became an art teacher. So I was able to think, recover my artistic self, but then Cambridge, Cambridge came and it was awful just like, dreadful, until I managed to persuade Jill to come and live there and she got a very good job in a progressive school so that worked. So Birmingham was like coming home. Cambridge was horrible. I did enjoy History, I had very conservative teachers. I mean validly conservatives. It was normal given the historiographical context. But then I moved to Birmingham, the students were different they were ordinary people at last. Edward Thompson's book I read just in the last year of my thesis. His influence had begun to influence them but not much. Because you know you have a thesis to finish- can't change the whole paradigm in the middle. And, but Birmingham was terrific because there was social history a new kind of social history, Edward Thompson, so the history from, all the histories from below, you know. Whereas I'd been history- writing history from above. And magically, Hoggart was there. They didn't want him in Hull, they didn't want him in Leicester! And there he was in Birmingham, quite by accident. I didn't know when I applied to that Social History job. Then there was a student movement and I got involved in that and the students from CCCS were in leadership positions sometimes in that. And the reform movement in the University took place and it was inevitable that when a job came up I would apply to the CCCS. I'd been to a few seminars there, but I couldn't understand a word they were saying to be honest. At least in the Hoggart days, it was very literary. Oh I couldn't really understand what they were doing. Well I knew Stuart and I'd known Michael a long time so, the obvious thing to do was to apply. And they liked me.

Eléana Sanchez: So, I have several questions. So you, you went to Birmingham because you were interested in the social history aspect of history but were you allowed to do social history at Cambridge ?

Richard Johnson: It was a very funny thing. My PhD super... my main undergraduate teacher was a man called Jeffrey Elton who wrote about student revolutionary government. And this was quite famous actually as a sort of doyen of conservative government History. The interest in government and administration and the state really and the point of view is within the state if you see what I mean about affected government. And George Kitson Clark who I was recommended to by by Elton. He started as a ordinary political historian, wrote a book about Robert Peel, though was very interested in social policy in the 19th century, Victorian state and social policy, public health, education, condition of the people all that stuff and so from an interest in government they were gradually into a kind of social history but a sort of socialist from the point of view of philanthropy and the church and supposedly humanitarian reformers and so it's within that horizon. It's not... And it adapts a view of working-class culture which is within that horizon: it's a problem, you know, we've got to educate them. You've got to clean out the mess they make. And, very persistent framework as much referred, but that... So that was a big shift but it was social history. And socialism was emerging in three or four different kinds, but also the economic historians getting interested in it as well, you know, they were talking about standard of living, therefore consumption, you know, etc. etc. and the demographers, social demographers were very interesting. I succeeded to a social demographer in Birmingham who was a very, very interesting on social democracy actually. It was just a booming area many different versions, but of course the key version was histories from below, that's where a life was.

Eléana Sanchez: What was your thesis about?

Richard Johnson: My thesis was about the, why government didn't grow in education when it was growing in other areas because there was no, Britain had no Education Act until 1870, which is late in European terms and later in the island. Different from England different from Scotland, Scotland more advanced education, very backward education, so it's a thesis about why, why, well what was done and what wasn't done before 1870. That's quite an interesting topic. And I started to reach out because the orthodoxy was to look to at the internalities of it, the politics of it, the detailed politics, the religious difficulties and to a certain extent how government could generate its own dynamics if we had a (inaudible) core, make a recommendations to the office and other dynamic process. That did work in some things like public health, but it didn't work in education. And why you know, that was the question but I have realized it is a much wider question about ideological presuppositions and class relations and, I hadn't got to gender them, but you know actually it's profoundly about family the household form and that relationship to schooling. So you sort of, I said to my advisor there he asked me a silly question like well, what would you have done if you really wanted looking back and I said I think there needs to be more or Marx and Freud. Which is sort of pointing somewhere. (Laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: And do you regret applying to the CCCS and not following that clear historian path?

Richard Johnson: Just a little tiny bit now because now I'm you know, I'm probably never be able to do it, finish it, and I'm interested in writing a single authored scholarly historical work (they both laugh) with political implications are very strong political drive, but nonetheless single authored monograph (they both laugh again) hopefully published by a university. (Smiles)

Eléana Sanchez: (Laughs).

Richard Johnson: No, no. I don't think now... it'll be published by anybody who'll take it. But so there's a part of me that realizes that there is something that might have to be recovered even at this late stage. Because I am, you know, getting on and there may not be long enough time to do it. My first plans for three volume one the- a three-volume study of the history of education. I shrunk to one now but... So yes there must be something there. But on the other hand I don't know if it's the right thing to do. After you know, what was happening? It was the beginning of Thatcherism. When I when it was just... I came about around the same time as the 79 elections and the 79 election in Northfield, the car workers voted for Mrs Thatcher. So there was this big transition happening and now it's not being stressed enough but it was that transition at CCCS that was being studying in his different ways. Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Well, I think to some extent a good chunk of what the CCCS published is Thatcher studies.

Richard Johnson: Yeah. Explicitly and implicitly of course like the very good stuff done by the women's groups on women's genre which is entirely neglected in the general's stories about CCCS, but it's wonderful work. Not just Angela, but also other, other people who are like Janice Winship writing about women's magazines. And they and also going back- not a feminist work but Paper Voices, which is a very interesting piece of history actually.

Eléana Sanchez: It's the very first CCCS publication.

Richard Johnson: Yes, it's a lovely book apparently about media but really about, again, another transition and I think it's very interesting, it has an interesting take on CCCS to see it as historically located in that way. I would do it if I were- was writing your thesis (they both laugh). I would put it in that context. Because the women were looking at emerging forms for women at the time because it's also paradoxical isn't it, because we have the break big breaks of the seventies into in the new social movements and feminism especially strong and, and at the same time we have emergence of the new right and Mrs T becoming first leader of the party and then winning the election so... Pff... [...] I'm very interested in this three how CCCS felt its own history because that was a teaching problem as well.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Richard Johnson: You know, like all education institutions is a turnover, you are sitting as a teacher and you get different lot of students every year, so I taught the MA, I was appointed to teach the MA course. That was my primary first responsibility because I got involved in everything and so that was particularly the yearly turnover, some did over two years. And the problem was, the year Stuart left, and of course everything was dreadful, chaotic was um, how can we tell the new students what we've already learned if you see what I mean? And in a way that was oppressive. And immediately ran against the idea that they were active producers of the "what happens next".

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Richard Johnson: There's a real problem about how to do that. Someone like Stuart had a wonderful synoptic view of the whole of European thought (laughs) and you know, it was obvious that's what they should know. But increasingly you then had women transforming the terms of the bait. A very active group of black students aided by some white students are doing the same hmm. A more minor emergence of queer politics. It never quite got going when I was there. I've got successive challenges under my last years dominated by challenges by four black women one from South Africa. So, how do you? It was a real problem really how you constructed an MA course, imagine. But also for a large part the university insisted it had to be examined. By the end I think that was quite a problem. It was a curriculum problem. This history thing you were saying, and you're right I think. I think it's very interesting that... You've hit on something very interesting about the history of the history of the place you need to have consciousness as part of its own and its teaching, very interesting. Yeah, that's good.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay well I have a I have a picture because two years ago, I went to the Cadbury research library and I found a document in the CCCS archive that is called *History for the Present*, which I believe you wrote.

Richard Johnson: I may have done yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: And then and I don't know if you will receive it but there's, there's a picture of one of the pages in the chat. I don't know if you can see it.

Richard Johnson: I'll look at the chat, where's the chat?

Eléana Sanchez: If you look at the top of the page, you will see that there's a little bubble speech icon. And you can access the conversation there.

Richard Johnson: Yes, oh yes, I see it. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: And there's a sentence at the beginning of the second paragraph, oh I zoomed too much so yeah there's a sentence that says the more specifically intellectual history of this period is still unfolding and can be written in different ways and the last bit was crossed out and someone wrote and difficult to write.

Richard Johnson: Okay. Is it anonymous?

Eléana Sanchez: Whoops. I'm sorry. I left the conversation by mistake!

Richard Johnson: I've got the text now. Now I've got you again, that's all right, anyway. I yes, I don't know that I wrote it, does it say it's anonymous?

Eléana Sanchez: I think it's um, I think it mentions in the first pages that you wrote it but and I may have been mistaken.

Richard Johnson: I've got no memory of it but we did write a lot of this sort of documents.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes and that's what interests me is that the, you can feel that it was a very, very present worry: what is the story what, what do we what do we say and how how do we leave a mark? Of a of an image that is a the right image, you know?

Richard Johnson: Yeah also I mean, I think it, a lot of it... I think it's, it's very good well, I believe it's very good intellectual practice to locate yourself where you are in your whatever it is disciplinary tradition, surrounding context and Stuart was very very good at that. I think I learned it from him. He used to call it mapping. So there's, he used to produce a map of everything. Everything had to have a map and was really, you know, "where we were in the map". Where we should be or were we could be and, and it was an extraordinary wide map when I went there. I mean, I had such a learning experience just to- historian, historians are very narrow really. They don't do much broader thinking, you know, they worship their sources and the evidence not the thoughts (laughs) of course they do have to think but so it was amazing moving to this very buzzing, intellectual context created largely by Stuart actually because he made them do it in many ways and I took his theory course. We devoted a dry run of the course as we were getting ready for the MA and he did his dry run for the theory course and it was wonderful. I learned so much, I still got all the notes! I don't know whether I deposited them I don't think I did. You know but in my writing it wouldn't be legible. You'd have to... And he was sort of mapped it all out like that. You know, he included all kinds of things we never talk about anymore, like Durkheim was really central. The whole idea of the whole society. How that wasn't good enough, you know. And labour. So a lot of non-Marxist theory, social theory was there. He argued with Anthony Giddens (?), you know. Very good stuff, and with Marxism's central but you know, his Marxism without guarantees that that argument is a very good argument. So he was so clever and...

Eléana Sanchez: There's someone who. I'm compiling everyone who has been read at the centre and there's someone who was influential in France but she's not part of the curriculum. It's Simone de Beauvoir, was she read what she discussed?

Richard Johnson: It may have been by the women's group but I don't remember any, any discussion funny enough my current partner read she was at the Centre too, she read Simone de Beauvoir quite early but I don't think it had any currency. Strange. Foucault,

obviously, Althusser for a while, and then the post-Althusserians, Kiksou, is that how you pronounce her name? (smiles)

Eléana Sanchez: Cixous (smiles)

Richard Johnson: Okay, and the psychoanalytic feminists but, the Lacanians, there were some people who were reading that, there was always a lot of people reading a lot of things which weren't on the curriculum as well, but psychoanalysis really only got on it, I would say in the late eighties in the MA curriculum. I was very keen on including it but it took time yeah anyway, yeah, no that's a strange omission, I mean Sartre was mentioned, I mean he was included in Stuart's overview, but not really studied yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: That was just something that I noticed. So you talked about being a historian and I think I think it's funny because the first two interviews that I organized were with Bill Schwartz and Gregor McLennan -

Richard Johnson: Yeah (smiles)

Eléana Sanchez: These two were very- had a very strong historical interest while at the Centre, so my view of the CCCS that I got from talking to people is actually one of a CCCS where history has a strong place. It's not the entire picture is it?

Richard Johnson: No no no, no. Let's see what's a good corrective to this. Well when I first went because of the interest in Hoggart, I did have a sort of a friendship with Paul Willis and Paul was there as a research fellow I think he was doing his research, I can't remember what his status was but he was paid. And with Paul we had a field work group. And I've always been very strongly in favour of the sort of ethnographic element in cultural studies and this is why in my version of the circuit I include everyday life as a kind of category, that was a kind of point of the circuit and culture because of its absence of Stuart's encoding/decoding model. And for me that engagement with everyday life was sort of politically incredibly important and so to speak to "ordinary people" add in inverted commas, there aren't any ordinary people really, but you know to address everyday life experiences is so important and there's a whole strand in cultural studies that did that continued that, it wasn't just Paul, it was Christine Griffin very interesting character, she might be worth interviewing-

Eléana Sanchez: Can you, can you repeat her name?

Richard Johnson: Christine Griffin .

Eléana Sanchez: Do you have any idea of her whereabouts?

Richard Johnson: We are in contact, we extend cards and we are in contact so I could find out, I got it in my head but I could send it to you.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, thank you.

Richard Johnson: She'd be good person to talk to she had a very particular take, she's critical of Paul for example, you know, on gender issues, but she would be interesting I think, a good way into the women's groups as well. At the time, the other person I'd strongly recommend while we're thinking oh she's not a historian no and it's not the point of the moment I have to store it for later. Lucy Bland, she's a Historian, you know a very good one.

Eléana Sanchez: Where does she teach?

Richard Johnson: She teaches at Anglia Ruskin university in Cambridge . I have contact for her to I mean, she's a friend of... She well, she knows all that generation of women like, you know... I'm trying to get some difference... media studies. Very strong course, but very much dependent on skills so when Stuart went... Michael and I tried to keep it going but we weren't, we didn't, it wasn't our, wasn't really the thing we were interested in so it was difficult and it had to be maintained by the students, a bit lonely. Andrew Goodwin was a student who wanted to do media studies. And became a media studies person and but... Stuart's work did have a big influence in media studies in the whole extended academic sense, communication studies this range of approaches or psychological etc. So that was another strand that I think it is somehow important to include. Education is another one but I mean, I can talk about that but there are other people who... We had two education groups, there was an education group most of the time when I was there when I was in it, and we mainly did this sort of contemporary history. The second one was about the effects of Thatcherism on the schools, first one was about the transition from social democratic policy to beginnings of Thatcherism. And the second one was about the effects of Thatcherism on the schools, mainly schools and teachers wrote with us on that, teachers came to the Centre and they wrote this book with me on what was happening in their schools, which was quite interesting because then- all men, I think yeah they were all men. There was this petition. It's one thing to have women studies and another thing to have a real gender engagement, isn't it? See what I mean?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah (smiles)

Richard Johnson: I'm reading a lot of educational history at the moment, of very strong feminist intervention there. It is all about women, and not... and therefore hasn't transformed the mainstream: the men go on in neglecting it, most of the men scholars in the area when they are writing reviews they neglect, or they have it just mentioned. But it hasn't transformed the field and it should.

Eléana Sanchez: It's a very long process. (laughs)

Richard Johnson: Yeah. I'm very interested in putting those two sides together: history from above history from below. And you can't have them both can you?

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm

Richard Johnson: You can't power in each... not binary perhaps, but certainly no more dominant in the world. But have them both, to make History. Anyway, let's just continue thinking about... There's always a strong interest in high structures theory. It was a bit subordinated to the history of Coward and Ellis, journalists, and hm what was her name... they wrote a book called *Language and Materialism (Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject)*, By Rosalind Coward, John Ellis). And they both still... I don't think, I'm trying to remember the name... John Ellis, I think he'll be retired by now. They were very interested... They tracked developments in French post-structuralism really, including the psychoanalytic feminists. But they were never really, it was never really integrated it was always a bit of a minority and they left in the end because they felt Stuart wouldn't take on their agenda. They were very critical of the subconscious work. And it has come to represent the Centre as a whole you know, it tends to be the exemplary case.

Hm. Let's see. There's a, there was a lot of connection with literature and literary theory. It was Michael's main interest.

Eléana Sanchez: And how did you meet Michael Green ?

Richard Johnson: We were Cambridge together.

Eléana Sanchez: That is true yeah you said it yeah.

Richard Johnson: I only met him through different colleagues, so I just met him because he was a friend of a friend and we did things together. We weren't very intimate actually, he's quite, I think... Maureen was very much closer to him than I was I think though I do respect what he did there, he was the one who really kept it going he was good at administration, decisions, good teacher. Didn't publish much. Stayed there right until the place was closed. And struggled with the project. And was good at planning the survival strategies because we had to have these survival strategies... You know every now and again the university said, well you shouldn't exist we'll merge you with... back with English or maybe you should go to social science and we had to campaign or scheme and find the best way to survive. He was good at that.

Eléana Sanchez: But did you know he was teaching at Birmingham when you when you joined the university?

Richard Johnson: No as a matter of fact I didn't, no. It was the second job I applied for imagine that. Compared with today.

Eléana Sanchez: What was the first?

Richard Johnson: First, Lancaster. Yeah, I really wanted to go to Lancaster, well we both did. Jill did as well. But the second job. Wow.

Eléana Sanchez: That's pretty good!

Richard Johnson: Yeah... but it's really the point is- what the job market was then, the universities were expanding. New subjects new, you know. Unlike today.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. How are you with time?

Richard Johnson: I'm alright I still got energy.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay. I will have to leave at half past noon because I have a meeting this afternoon, but so I will try to, we'll see how it goes, okay?

Richard Johnson: I'll try to be briefer as well. I know because once I get going...

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, but what you're saying is very interesting.

Richard Johnson: Okay.

Eléana Sanchez: Alright so there's, so I'm a teacher as I said and ever since I started teaching I've been quite dissatisfied because I feel like something is really, it's, it's- something is wrong with teaching and I didn't know quite what was wrong and then I listened to the, the audio from the conference, the 2014 CCCS conference and what you said in this conference you said something about, you have to have the consent of the group, otherwise it doesn't work. And I started teaching middle school and then I went off

to university and that's exactly what's missing, it's... if you don't have the consent of the group... You will have some of them you will have most of them because you're the teacher and you're standing up and you're saying the things but you will not have everyone and it's a waste of time for some of them, and somewhat for you as well. And so I was thinking because you had that experience of giving up control and shifting towards another way of teaching. So, what do you think the CCCS changed teaching wise?

Richard Johnson: Very good question. I think it did genuinely change the relations of force in teaching if you like. Hm. It's one thing for that to happen and another thing for me to find the appropriate pedagogy because there is a pedagogy issue there is an issue about how you teach. Hm. And in the, in the academy that sort of levels partly, question of how you, part of the question has to do with knowledge as well as the students and the communication gets solved in the relationship. Hm. So you can trust students because that's the first thing. Most pedagogy, lots of pedagogy seems to be based on distrust basically students are going to be stupid or they're going to be, they've got the wrong ideas, or they're ignorant or they're too much on their mobiles or you know, there's always something wrong with the students. So the thing is, in a context like CCCS, I think because of the occupation, and that was very much about changing the relations between teachers and taught through student's self-assertion. That's essential. So in a way, it's a bit difficult because it has to come from a student. You see what I mean?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. I have tried these things and they're like, they don't know what I'm talking about because they're not used to being addressed in a way in which they're gonna have a say.

Richard Johnson: Yeah. Yeah. Yeah. But then, and it's where I'm critical of what we did, we need a pedagogy carried out forward to make it work because it's no good just having the collective gesture we're doing collective work. You've got to know how groups work and how to organise it. We never, I mean if Maureen was speaking to you or Michael was here, you might have a different version. But my feeling is that we never developed a pedagogy, that was quite, right. We never found a way of being a teacher in this sort of collective context. Because there has to be, you still have to be a teacher. You still have to... What is it? What are you doing? And it was partly for me an intellectual question because I sort of inherited parts of Stuart's job, which was to map theories. That's what I did in my theory course. That was impossible. But the question was how you did it and it was trial and error we didn't have any edu-, we weren't taught, we went we didn't, we didn't know how to teach, university teachers don't get taught how to teach.

Eléana Sanchez: No (smiles)

Richard Johnson: You know, so it was trial an error and learning from students. I had two wonderful people from Australia who came from an Education background and we were into a couple of meetings about the theory course and this was said: "Stop, let's start again." It was a rebellion in short. (They both smile) A Bill type rebellion (Richard smiles). And then they produced a paper and the paper said so obvious things: start with basics. 15 minutes, giving us what you think are the basics of this petition because by then I had got the... well, no I'll leave that aside. Just give us the basics. Then have discussions, feedback see how people are doing and then if you think it's appropriate take us one step further and make it a bit more complicated. Otherwise, you leave some people behind completely and some people get very excited and they take over you know in the student dynamic they take over they're the ones who speak and I needed someone to tell me that

you know, because nobody had told me that before. (Smiles) And we were sort of overwhelmed by, I was overwhelmed by the sense of “we’re a collectivity”, we do things together students take the lead and they did but not a pedagogy but that’s my analysis now and it’s very strange because we were sitting next to an Education department where some really interesting people doing really interesting things about progressive education. It’s such a funny thing the academy, you get all these people doing separate things. But we should have been talking to each other.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Richard Johnson: We didn’t have much contact with the Education Department, we taught for them because we thought we could tell them all about cultural studies. So I suppose my advice is read about teaching and learn about teaching. I don’t know. I think the progressive tradition has a lot to say. About how you, well you start by recognising that people only educate themselves. It’s the only dynamic that’s worth having you can’t... They’ve got to do it themselves and then think about the way to get them to do it, you know, we got so far as thinking you have group projects, that’s a very good way of getting people. And you think of the PhD thesis and some model really. Good supervision, but a thesis really... Don’t take the subject over you. Advise people towards the best version of it, but their version, you know the best version of their project. And that’s the sort of model that I’ve worked with now, well I did I think I’ve learned how to do it actually by the 90s. It took 20 years to learn how. I think I was quite a successful teacher when I went to Nottingham Trent and the last ten years, maybe, no the last five years. (Laughs) CCCS, it seemed to go you know. (There would be) sessions to leave them all pleased. But. Even then you have crises. It’s a very interesting problem.

Eléana Sanchez: What is interesting is that it was as formative for the students as it was for the teachers

Richard Johnson: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: I think that’s a good takeaway yeah because it’s very easy to be too hard on oneself, right?

Richard Johnson: Hm hm.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay Richard, I think. I think it’s been an hour and 20 minutes.

Richard Johnson: Yeah, enough.

Eléana Sanchez: It will take me a few days to finish the transcript because it’s always, you know how these things are so then I will send you the transcript and then if you have any remark, I’ll make adjustments to the transcripts, no problem and then, I will, I will let you know how it goes and I will contact you again in the spring, for example, for another interview if that’s okay with you.

Richard Johnson: Great, yes, very good. Okay thanks very much for the questions they were very thought provoking. (They both laugh)

Eléana Sanchez: Thank you!

Richard Johnson: Bye, bye.

6.2. PATRICIA MCCABE , 29 MARCH 2021

The footnotes are comments made by Patricia McCabe during her review of the transcript and are clarifications and useful additional information to what is being discussed in the interview.

Eléana Sanchez: I understand yeah. I was I was talking to Catherine Hall and I was telling her that most people I interview are about to be retired or retired, which has some good sides because people tend to have time to speak to me, but then on the other side it means that it was a long time ago so.. but I understand that it's been a long time. So, you just retired right, that's what you told me?

Patricia McCabe: I've stopped doing my job. I sold my business through a management buyout and I've stopped doing my job. I'm still doing quite a lot of non-executive work and charities and a bit of voluntary work as well, so I'm, I'm not without anything to do and I'm still doing work but I'm not, you know my main job I've retired from you know, strange time to do it in a pandemic but nevertheless, I'm very happy to have put it all down.

Eléana Sanchez: I understand (laughs), and so can you tell me about your work that you just retired from?

Patricia McCabe: Yeah, yeah. What I've been doing for the past twenty-odd years, is I've been running a consultancy and training business. We're working mainly in housing, so most of our work has been... and we do charity work as well, more broad charities but most is and has been with housing associations that you know, fund and offer social housing to people and I joined the firm when I left the public sector. And really, I wanted to learn how to run a business and reasonably quickly a few years in I ended up taking over the business when my boss retired and at that point we were, well we were very staffed we were modelled on a local authority type model it was it was very bizarre, you can imagine a very small business with limited income that gives people 12 months sick pay. I mean, you just can't do it (laughs). So basically, to cut a long story short, I took over it and then persuaded all of the housing associations to stick with us because we were like membership based in the charity and essentially, I turned it into a private limited company, sort of brought it up to date and then set up an employee shared scheme to keep the mutual ethos, which was a total disaster, I have to tell you (laughs). It was a great idea, and it just didn't work at all and so eventually I bought back all our shares and so I ended up being, rather serendipitously really, but I ended up being the sole shareholder of the company and I've run it until relatively recently and through two recessions, which is why I am so glad not to be doing it now because I didn't need a third recession. It's really, you know, it's really challenging to run a small business and it's it is very small. And now my colleague who originally started as my PA (Personal Assistant) has ended up taking on the firm and running it. So we, it was a sort of deal that allowed her to have enough left in her business to run it and it allowed me to get something back for having not paid myself properly for so many years. (Laughs) So that's where I, that's where I am but essentially it was management consultancy so working around organisational development and in

particular governance, is what I've been doing for quite a long time, in England and in Wales.

Eléana Sanchez: And why besides your wish to learn how to run a small business, why did you leave the public sector?

Patricia McCabe: Hm. Well I was in the NHS, and I think I kind of had had enough of the public... It's interesting, my father said to me at one point: "You know, not everybody's suited to big bureaucracies". (Laughs) And I think I just felt like I was battling all the time in the public sector. And eventually the NHS was going through endless reorganizations, but we're going through a reorganisation and I'd been you know through many before, and I knew I was going to be up against a colleague who I respected, and I just thought: it's time to get out. It was a just a constant battle. I think the National Health Services is the most difficult place to work I've ever worked in and before that I worked for Birmingham City Council, which was like, (pauses) you know that ship that's been stuck in the Suez Canal?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah

Patricia McCabe: The Ever... something? Birmingham City Council is like the local authority equivalent of that ship. (Laughs) Probably stuck and it's just enormous to try and change. So yeah, so eventually I just I, I was a learning and development specialist and I looked for alternatives. And then and I quite liked the look of.. I thought, I'd done bits of consultancy when I was involved in the public sector and I decided that I'd give it a go and see if I liked it. And that's what I've been doing ever since.

Eléana Sanchez: So it worked.

Patricia McCabe: It worked. Yes. Yes, it did work actually yes. And I did end up learning how to run a business. And I did end up running one. I mean, we started it as not-for-profit, and we were very good at not making a profit. (both laugh) And you know, I tried really hard to get more commercial as we went on but you know, it it's a small business and it created a living for a number of people and we did good work. And that's kind of what mattered to me really and no one was ever going to retire to Barbados. A relatively small-scale enterprise, but I enjoyed it.

Eléana Sanchez: What kind of advice would you give to, like, as a consulting manager?

Patricia McCabe: Oh. I mean, I think you have to really... You have to work in things that you really enjoy. You have to have a passion for it. I think. Yeah. Yeah, that's a really difficult question to answer actually because. Yeah. I think the one thing is you really need to have a passion for it. My own view is that what really matters is: helping people solve their particular problems and the model that I really don't like is the one that's about we come in and tell you what to do and we've got a solution off the shelf and we give it to you, which is how you make money. Excuse me I'm just closing my window. So yeah. I'm afraid the way I, the way I like to do it, you don't make a lot of money, but you do do good quality work and you help people change and move. So, you know, I think personally my advice would be do what gives you satisfaction and what you have a real commitment to but that won't ever make you... (laughs) But you know, I mean given where I started in my life I'm alright and quite happy, you know.

Eléana Sanchez: I feel the same as you might have felt about the NHS because I work at a French public university and I feel like you have to battle with things all the time and you would think that universities are well-organized, right? There are well-oiled machines, and everything goes smoothly. But no, now it's really surprising how.

Patricia McCabe: (laughs) You'd be surprised yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. And so I have been... Like I started working there, well, September before last and I've had like the one year of being a good a good soldier and doing the things and being like, reminding my head of faculty like, we could do this and this and we have to hire someone, whatever and then this year I did the same and no one took my voice into account, so I'm kind of getting tired so I kind of get the sense that you would feel the same after so many years at the NHS and I don't know if it's only about the public system. Maybe in the private system, it's a bit twisted but it's a bit of the same thing, but you have more of a say because it's a smaller structure.

Patricia McCabe: Well certainly if you are in a small business. I haven't worked in a large private sector organization, but in a small business. I think what I liked about it was that instead of there being endless reasons why you can't get something done, you can come to get your arms around it and make stuff happen. And that's probably the most critical thing for me. I mean, that doesn't mean that you can make everything happen that you want to because ultimately you are, you know completely dependent on what income you earn. I mean in my business we were, you know, people used to, when we were a charity organization people used to pay us money for us doing nothing. And when I took over, I couldn't understand why we were doing that. (Laughs) And you know, we ended up really, you have to stand on your own two feet if you can't make it work then you go bust. That's in a way, it's a harsh model but it does it really motivates you to get barriers out of the way. You know, so I absolutely get what you're saying, and I think my dad was right really, my father and he said, you know, bureaucrat-, bureaucracies, I just find quite difficult. I felt like I was always holding off the waves and as soon as I stepped aside, they're just coming and overwhelm everybody but my whole approach in the public sector was trying to keep everything away from my team so they can do their work. Yeah, hold it back then. That was about it really. That's the best you can do.

Eléana Sanchez: What did your dad work in?

Patricia McCabe: Oh, he was, he worked in the chemical industry. He was a lab technician and then he worked in, he worked for the local council which he found, yeah interesting, you know, but yeah, yeah he was very, he was an ordinary working man, but a real autodidact, you know, he taught himself. It was remarkable. It was the sort of bloke everyone always wanted on their team in the pub quiz. How he knew what he knew? I don't know, but he read a lot. But he was a very wise man.

Eléana Sanchez: And so did you stay in Birmingham?

Patricia McCabe: Uh, yeah. I'm originally from the North of England. And I moved to Birmingham when I was 18 to go to university and I've stayed here ever since yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: What part of the city do you live in?

Patricia McCabe: Now, I live right in the middle. So literally (laughs) in the middle. I used to live in one of the suburbs that you know, a lot of, I mean a lot of people you would have talked to if they're still in Birmingham, would live in, mostly King's Heath, Harborne, in the south of the city, but I moved into the city Centre about 14-15 years ago, and when there isn't a pandemic on it's a really nice place to live, when there is a pandemic on its hell. (both laugh)

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, I agree. Let's see. I have my whole list of questions. So yeah, if we go back to the moment you joined the CCCS, can you tell me what it sounded like from outside before entering?

Patricia McCabe: That's an interesting question, because I was an undergraduate at the University of Birmingham and I was in the English department. And of course, Cultural Studies grew out the English department, which is why it was so unusual as a discipline, I think. Or as a collection of disciplines. As an undergraduate I'd chosen to do cultural studies as my extracurricular subject as part of my, you know it was a gesture towards a broader education. And so I ended up doing some work with a couple of the lecturers there. So I kind of had an insight into it. Yeah, and what I ended up working around was about, I don't know at what point if that had happened. I thought it was quite male. And the reason I thought it was male was because, besides the fact that it was (laughs), was because I'd got interested in, as an undergraduate in the transition from school to work for girls and young women. I so at the time, there was a guy called Paul Willis who had studied the transition from school to work. And I remember talking to him about it saying you know, why is it, why is it just young men? He said, "Is it?" (Laughs) And that was the part where I thought: "oh!" and he was saying well if you are really interested to do some work around young women... But the reality is he hadn't even noticed that everyone in his research was a boy or a young man, he just, it hadn't occurred to him, you know, so, so yes, I think I saw it as very male and I don't think I understood before I joined just how... (pause, pondering) No, but maybe academic. Those of us that were kind of a, there was a group of women, we used to, we used to... Stuart Hall always talked about academic rigour, and we used to quietly call it rigor mortis. And, we were being a bit rude really but it was, it felt like there was a... You know, you were, you were in a particular sort of intellectual framework really, and, and I mean I kind of joined because of that but it was, it was incredibly academic and... It was, I found it quite difficult, which I can tell you about when I got in there, but I suppose I didn't really understand teaching and so the implications of that really, so I've known this bit from doing some work as part of their undergraduate and teaching and so there it was you know, I'd, I'd come out with you know a decent degree and they encouraged me to carry on and do more of what I'd been doing so, and I got the grant to do a PhD so I did it. I honestly hadn't understood at that point, that the point of doing a PhD is to be an academic. (Laughs) I just it really hadn't occurred to me. I just thought it was, you know, this is good I've got three years of funding to research something that I'm interested in. And I didn't realise that it has no real currency beyond academia, you know, it's not what you're used to in the rest of the world and you know, I probably would have been better doing say an M Phil. But you know, it wouldn't have occurred to me or anyone else that you wouldn't go for a PhD if you were intellectually capable and were given the money.

Eléana Sanchez: Where did the grant come from?

Patricia McCabe: It was a, in those days... It doesn't happen now. In those days, you'd get a means-tested grant to do an undergraduate and then there were a limited number of

grants available for... (pauses) The way they seemed to do it was: in your department there'd be a small number of grants available for the top performers each year, who could then go on and study. I mean, it's a remarkable system compared to what we've got now hm, but what I remember about it was that I got into a bit of trouble as an undergraduate because of I was... Yeah, I upset the, the prof because he was teaching in Rhodesia when he wasn't supposed to be, we had academic sanctions because they still had Apartheid so me and another undergraduate set up a petition against it and he didn't like it but I remember that the lecturers told me, it must have been Michael Green for the CCCS, that at the end of when all the degrees came up there were like two firsts and then the deal they did with the prof was I got the top two one, so there were three grants available which you could then go on and study with. So I don't really understand that when I think about it, that's quite an odd system, isn't it? That I knew that as long as I got a good enough undergraduate qualification, then the Centre would accept me and, and I would get funding. It seems bizarre now.

Eléana Sanchez: I think they got a. They got a path, they got a path funding wise, they got a path and but by the time you applied they had, they had legitimacy in the university system, so they had proven already that they could publish interesting work and that's how they could keep on getting people to come in and publish more work.

Patricia McCabe: And it was enormously popular I do remember that. At one point I was involved in some of the interviews, you know, current students, postgraduate students used to get involved along with the lecturers to interview prospective students and it was, it was enormously, it had quite a bit of status. But I think for me it was just next door, you know, it's... My route to it was through being an undergraduate and doing some work with them as an undergraduate student. And then, you know, them saying to me, why don't you do this and me going: "okay, that's a good idea!", you know, I'd quite fancy that and you know, I didn't really come in completely from the outside and I don't know how many of their students they got through those routes, but I imagine there'd be a few.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm and how did the people around you, when you told your friends or your family, how did they react?

Patricia McCabe: The major issue was that I wasn't going back up North, if I was staying in Birmingham. I mean, nothing, they were just accepting of it really. I mean, I think people thought it was a bit fancy to be doing a PhD but you know, there were perfectly supportive you know. I mean, nobody had any sense of what the Centre was. But you know, they were yeah, they were very supportive, and I ended up doing quite a lot of my research up in the Northeast because I could get access to stuff through my family and so yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, um. Yeah, so yeah in terms of numbers, can you remember roughly how many people were in the Centre and how many people were male and female?

Patricia McCabe: I mean, I'm thinking now of that we had whole Centre meetings frequently which went on for... (laughs) And I would guess there were thirty people max around the table, so that would be students and staff. I mean women were definitely in a minority, it wasn't, there were women there, it wasn't like there was nobody. But yes, it was more, there were quite a lot of female students, there was no female staff at the time, later on Chris Griffin joined and certainly from my point of view, that was big hm, a big

change, you know, but at the time... Maybe a third were female, it certainly didn't feel like we were in a tiny minority.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, yeah. Who was on your interview panel when you applied?

Patricia McCabe: You know, I honestly can't remember that. I think Michael Green was there hmm but beyond that I honestly can't remember. I don't even remember going for an interview. I'm sure I did. (Laughs) Michael was the one I knew because he did the teaching in the English department, him and Paul Willis were the two people... and I knew of Stuart, I knew of Stuart because obviously him and Cath were around in Birmingham and although... I'd probably at that point.. yeah... I'm probably getting ahead of myself there. But certainly Michael and Paul were the two that I...

Eléana Sanchez: Okay. No student?

Patricia McCabe: I don't know. I just don't remember being interviewed. I'm sure I was interviewed but I just don't remember. You see, you can see how impressed I was! (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: (laughs) It um, all right, so you, you told me about your thesis, so you changed supervisors.

Patricia McCabe: I did eventually when Christine Griffin joined I did change to her and but I, I mean Paul was my supervisor for quite a while, you know, probably the first couple years I would have thought. Yeah, yeah and I mean he was, he was you know, he was helpful in a way. I think that he saw me doing as doing the equivalent of what he'd done in his work at Longbridge at the car factories kind of he was seeing me as doing the same thing really but just for girls and young women but because that wasn't quite how it worked out because they're not the same (laughs).

Eléana Sanchez: And when did you leave the Centre what, what year?

Patricia McCabe: Well I started there in 1977 and the money ran out probably in 1980 and then I stayed on then for another year, possibly two hm doing part-time teaching and... Yeah and then. Yeah and then I, I got involved in other stuff and you know put the remains of the PhD in a bag in the attic. And, (laughs) I never wrote it.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay. That was my question because I, I get as, I got the sense that well the numbers of PhDs that were finished was, were low for everyone but I read, I read in Hazel Chowcat's interview that she was actually the first to finish her PhD and I, don't know whether that's true, but I get the sense that it was harder for women to finish their PhD than it were, it was for men.

Patricia McCabe: It might be true. I mean, I don't think there was ever any... I never felt under any pressure to finish, none whatsoever, you know, I don't even remember having a plan to finish. I think I was interested in the work and. Yeah, I did- the next step, I don't think I could. (pause) Yeah, I mean, I never, I don't remember anybody saying, you know, we've really got to get you through this now you need to knuckle under...

Eléana Sanchez: Hmm.

Patricia McCabe: It was not really like that, that I remember so perhaps, you know, perhaps some of the men had more encouragement. I didn't feel like... I mean, this might have just been me, I didn't feel like finishing your PhD was hugely important compared

to you know, political activity and, and publishing and you know doing interesting stuff, really.

Eléana Sanchez: Um, so you worked on Women Take Issue?

Patricia McCabe: I did yeah, that was the first published work I was involved in, on the editorial group.

Eléana Sanchez: Can you tell me about the process behind like, how was the project created?

Patricia McCabe: (pauses) I'm not entirely sure. I mean, there was certainly a group of us women who were starting to challenge the, the thinking within the Centre, you know, it's a bit similar I'm guessing to what happened with race. It was, I think, I mean, I almost, I know I was invited to join the editorial group and that the group worked together a lot, it's difficult for me to, I honestly can't remember very much about the process. I would, I think probably all the women in the Centre ended up on that project. It was. Yeah yeah, it was, there weren't that many of us to do a sort of collective piece of work I guess and those who were a bit older me, who were already very established, they, they were you know, writing pieces for it. I didn't write for it I just did my bit on the editorial panel.

Eléana Sanchez: Hm hm. Yeah you because I read the interview that you gave Kieran Connell a few years ago.

Patricia McCabe: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: And so you, you mentioned that you used the example of women from the Communist Party who were found difficult to deal with and you said that it was a bit of, it was a bit similar at the Centre so I was wondering what the atmosphere was like, did you have to... Were you taken seriously did you have to fight to get your voice heard, how was it like?

Patricia McCabe: I think the thing that was the most difficult was you know, the fact that a lot of our thinking wasn't considered academically rigorous enough. And you know, we were developing a new, you know, relative, I mean it was really new at the time, this idea of feminist theory and so it was very much rooted in the kind of, basically Althusserian Marxism wasn't it? But you know rooted within the kind of ways of thinking that the academic structure, it was very much about, I mean, I think we would have said at that time, that we were Marxist Feminists, and we were all trying to apply Marxist theory to Feminism and Feminism to Marxist theory. Which you know, I eventually came to the view that that was a bit limited because we were starting with something that already existed and trying to add women into it, and of course a lot of the works that we were all doing was quite experiential. You know, I mean Angela McRobbie's work around girls hm, she and I were the two who were doing work around girls and young women. It was very based on people's experience, you know, we were talking to, to girls and young women and hm yeah. I mean, if you think back... and Dorothy Hobson, I mean her work was around TV, popular culture, so we were very, it wasn't a good fit in my view it was a... You know, you, you couldn't actually... We weren't really getting into other areas of feminist theory I think and when I was an undergraduate, I'd been reading some other radical Feminists that weren't really okay in the Centre and then when Chris Griffin came, she wasn't a Marxist, she was a social psychologist. And that was like a complete revolution really, you know, I don't know why it was that they opened up at that point,

but it allowed a different way of thinking about issues, you know, it was it was less, less rooted in the sort of Marxist theory that we were mainly working around.

Eléana Sanchez: When did she arrive?

Patricia McCabe: That's a very good question, it must have been maybe about 79, maybe? I'm, I'm guessing here but I know I'd been around for a while when she came so 78-79 I would think.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah and do you remember the, the discussions around appointing a new person, maybe a female academic?

Patricia McCabe: No no. I don't I don't think I would be involved in that to be honest. I was just very pleased to see her really, you know, I remember thinking this is very different but I wasn't quite sure how they'd come to the view that we needed something different. We did! And I guess some of the other women who were students were involved in those discussions, but I don't remember being involved in it myself and... Yeah, I think I was still quite junior in a way. I mean, I remember some... a particular thing that might explain it that stuck in my memory. I may have said this to Kieran, but I remember doing some work around... The bit I was doing around education, was around education for girls and the sort of 1950s and, would it be 1950s? I think the Newsom Report (1963) which sort of was the foundational text for girls and women's education. I was using it as a, to kind of illustrate some of the underlying attitudes and assumptions within it and I remember (laughs) there was me and Frank somebody, I'm struggling with his name now. It might come to me and Charlotte Brundson I think. And we were doing a paper for the British I think) Sociological Society. And when we were planning it we were going to do this presentation and I remember saying, you know, we need to allow time for people to laugh because the stuff in the Newsom Report, you know, the stuff that was in there, you know, even in the late seventies, you know, it was hilarious, that was funny, and I remember Frank saying to me: "people don't laugh at sociological conferences", you know like, really snotty, you know. I think it had probably more to do with my class background than my gender, but maybe they got mixed up but of course when we did it everybody laughed and you know, it was because, but it was that sort of "uber academic", rigor you know, which is why we ended up calling it rigor mortis because it felt like you were constrained in this, if it wasn't academic, you know, it wasn't you know, really hard to understand (laughs), then it wasn't good enough, you know, and I mean Frank was into Foucault, so it's understandable I think. But you know, he had a different perspective.

Eléana Sanchez: I'm sure Foucault would have made jokes.

Patricia McCabe: I'm sure Foucault would have made jokes as well. I think he just thought I was a bit too working class if I'm honest. But didn't sound like I was yeah intellectual enough.

Eléana Sanchez: But that's funny because the, the, the very project of the CCCS was not to be like academia, like the rest of the university system and then you have people who took themselves so seriously that they had to look like they belong to the rest of the university but it's not what they're part of, they're part of the Centre, so it's almost as if they absorbed their own oppression to be taken seriously.

Patricia McCabe: I mean, I think that's right about the Centre that's it, it was it was more interested in links into the community and into culture and so on, you know, it was very

but, from my point of view, I mean¹⁴⁵⁵, I had enough (of a good degree) to do a PhD at the Shakespeare Institute and I was going like this: Shall I do Shakespeare, or shall I do Cultural Studies, which one shall I pick? So it wasn't as if I was there on a, on a special arrangement, do you know what I mean. I was there in my own right, but you know, they didn't make any special arrangements to, for someone like me, you know, I was, you know from a standard education melee, it's just that my background wasn't, it was just working class not middle class, but you know, I (inaudible). But know, I think sometimes the women were seen as a bit frivolous because we talked about stuff that was personal and you know, I think Dorothy Hobson was never seen as, as academic as some of the other very successful senior, more senior academics and she was terrifically successful, everyone wanted to read her work because nobody had ever done anything like it before and you know, I think she had a similar persona: Not being quite as you know, I'm tempted to say "up herself", as some of the, the others really, you know.

Eléana Sanchez: I get that. Can you tell me about Chris Griffin ? So she was the first female research fellow at the Centre.

Patricia McCabe: She was.

Eléana Sanchez: So yeah, can you tell me about her, when she arrived what did it change?

Patricia McCabe: It changed, I mean from her point of view, I don't know that she ever felt integrated into the Centre, but... She was somebody who had you know, she was also from a, she was from the North of England. You know, I mean, which made things easy, in terms of accent... When I became an undergraduate, you know, they, I was told I didn't know how to speak my native language properly and you know, I think that's, that's about being from the North and so yeah, so with Chris you know it was good for me, she was very down to earth. As a social psychologist, she wasn't a Marxist. And she brought a kind of legitimacy to Feminism I suppose in a way. She was very. She was great to work with. She was very yeah, you know suddenly you're with somebody who isn't in a competition about how intellectual we can be, just you know, getting on with the work and certainly from my point of view it made a big difference. Whether she was ever fully... I just have a suspicion that she may have always remained slightly outside of the mainstream in the Centre, but I mean, she's gone on since as you know, she's done and I don't know if you've spoken to her but she's done, she ended up as a prof at Bath University and she's you know, she's, she's published you know, I think she's doing, she's had a very good academic career and hopefully the Centre was useful for that but from my point of view, well she's the only one who I remained in touch with, so..

Eléana Sanchez: You're you still in touch?

Patricia McCabe: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay

¹⁴⁵⁵ Clarification: What I was trying to say here was that although I was working class I had a conventional education, and was academically successful. I had the option to study for a PhD in English (at the Shakespeare Institute, which was the original reason I chose Birmingham to study !!). I wasn't an access student. And I still found it difficult!

Patricia McCabe: Not, not, I mean. We stayed in touch for quite a long time. Oh that's right, what Chris did was, I started working in, I was at the time, I was doing youth work, initially as research, to create a research environment, but eventually also to, to get paid and you know for a long time I was doing... What we did was that we set up a girl's night at a local youth club and Chris was involved in that with me so you know it felt like she was... Yeah, she was somebody who got on and did stuff really and was engaged and easy to you know, like me. She was very important to me, she was very supportive of that and she did it out of a political commitment you know so it was really helpful for me and so we were. We both.. and she drove a Mini car and you know while we were in the building running these girls nights there would always be somebody who would break into her car and push it around the back of the building and try to burst her tires flat so that she couldn't... she was very capable, you know, sort of, first aid mechanic, you know she needed to be yeah, she was very tolerant of all that because it was a very, you know, in doing what we were, absolutely breaking the mould you know, it was seen as enormously radical and different, you know, really quite threatening to, to have, to run a girls only night at the, and not let boys in and it was it was very, it was very challenging. What we used to pretend, we used to pretend that, one of the things we, we told them was we taught women's self-defense and we used to pretend that we were Karate Black belts. (Laughs) Just trying to keep the level of anger (?) from the boys down, you know, it was yeah, it was quite... But anyway, the point is she got involved in doing stuff like that and you know, that was actually the beginning of a whole area of work with girls and young women within youth work and community work, that was really important and yeah I was doing the work with a group of women and, and Chris was the one from the Centre who came to get involved.

Eléana Sanchez: Where was the, the youth club?

Patricia McCabe: Oh it was in in South Birmingham, on Acocks Green, if you want to know, sort of just not inner city but just outside of inner city so predominantly white young people but with enough black young people to.. and, yeah, it was it was more difficult for them, the way, the way that, you had a predominantly black and asian area and then a predominantly white area, maybe we were just into the white area, but of course, you know, young people were there with like black and asian as well, but not many.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, how old were the girls?

Patricia McCabe: Hm. About 14-15, probably 16 at the oldest some of them even younger than that to be honest, but on average I'd say they were probably about 14.

Eléana Sanchez: How did you advertise, how did you get people to come?

Patricia McCabe: Ah yes, well it got round. (Laughs) We just we, we the must have been. The, the city youth workers¹⁴⁵⁶ for that patch must have agreed to it and we, we basically just went along to the youth club nights and talked to the girls beforehand to see whether they were interested and for example, you know, they would always be sat around the pool tables watching and I remember saying to a couple of them: "do you know how to play

¹⁴⁵⁶ Clarification: I did a training course for part time youth workers run by the City's Youth Service, so I was qualified to run the girls' night. I think I must have done this first, to be allowed to set up the girls' night.

pool?” I said, “oh yeah, we’ve watched lots of times”. But none of them had ever held a pool cue in their hands. So, and the toilets of course that’s where most of them spent most of their evenings. And I mean, they, it was difficult, you know, there’s a lot of stuff in the press at the moment about rape culture and so on in schools, but you know, you- young women have always had to struggle with the kind of (pauses) behaviour of the boys around them and it was no different then. So we basically, we had a group of them who said yes, they would like to do this and we persuaded the city which had a youth service to let us do it and you know the word got around it, it was very popular, but they did have to go through a kind of a gauntlet, they really had to literally push their way through gangs of boys who would object to the whole idea to get in so there had to be pretty determined, you know, we would be out there keeping the boys out of you know, pushing them off to try and create space for the girls to get in. It was a very successful model and it became a model that you know was used a lot across the city and elsewhere.

Eléana Sanchez: But it was the same, the same place as the, so it was the youth club place which sometimes would be mixed and sometimes would be only for girls?

Patricia McCabe: One night a week.

Eléana Sanchez: One night a week, yes, they couldn’t even give you one night a week, right? (both laugh)

Patricia McCabe: Yeah, it’s not as if we asked for an enormous amount of time but yes, one night a week. That was a very very new idea.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, yeah I bet. It echoes with a lot of things that are, that I’m trying to work out in my own life like how to make a change how to do things and I feel like today you could do, you would have to have a degree to be specialised in sex ed to be able to set up an activity like that or you have to find a very specific structure to agree to have you come in and talk about it. Maybe I’m wrong.

Patricia McCabe: I mean I’m quite shocked now, I mean we were brave but we were ignorant you know, and that’s true of a lot of stuff I was involved in at that time that we, we saw a problem and we tried to do something about it. And I mean, I’d, I done... I don’t know if it was before or after I did a course on a youth work course with the city, and I kind of was as legitimate as I could be but I think that might have happened afterwards, I’m not entirely certain but you know, safeguarding type stuff, there was none of that. I mean, we used to go, we used to take them on you know, little holidays away camping on to you know, various places where youth groups could go. I mean, no one was supervising? Except us. You know, nobody at all! It’d be more difficult to do now, you would have all sorts of safeguarding stuff.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, but I’m not saying what you did was, I’m saying it was a good thing to just-

Patricia McCabe: Oh yes.

Eléana Sanchez: You’re going to see a problem and go ahead and do something about it and not having to go through all these hoops because then you can’t do anything right?

Patricia McCabe: Yeah, absolutely. And I was connected with a group of youth workers, nationally, women who were doing similar work, so it was a bit of a movement, we were

the first in Birmingham to do it and it was still pretty new, but we were part of a growing movement so there was a degree of professional you know, (inaudible) but only in the sense that we were, you know, adequately trained of course, but it was minimal. It was minimal right it was. Yeah, I mean. When I think about some of the stuff we used to do, it, it kind of makes me (inaudible), shocking, nobody had ever thought of it. So, you know, nobody, nobody worried about it really.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm.

Patricia McCabe: It's just, you know, it was more, they were so busy being shocked by the idea of it that nobody started, nobody, got angry thinking about whether we were the right people and we had the right structures and processes in place.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, you could have been anybody, you could have been the president of the, (laughs). Yeah, you could have been as legitimate as you, as anyone and they still would have thought it was shocking.

Patricia McCabe: Yes, it was it was shocking. I mean, it was really innovative stuff.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm.

Patricia McCabe: And yeah, you know and it, it did what it needed to do because it did become a way of working that became acceptable but I remember there was a friend of mine, we went to do some training, and for me it's how I got into what I ended up doing for a job. My friend and I, we, we went to some youth work training college to, to talk to the youth workers who were training about single sex work with girls and young women and to get there, there was quite heavy snow. It was quite difficult to access, it was in the middle of the countryside. There used to be a lot of local authority places like that and they ended up being sold they don't to exist anymore, but a lot of those areas used to have these venues and so on. And when we kind of turned up and we both had kind of you know, quite big heavy boots on because the weather was really really bad and when we turned up and we got to, to do our thing and immediately they just went on about why we were wearing jack boots. That we were obviously these mad Feminists who turned up in jack boots and went to, you know. (Laughs) Have you seen the weather? So you know, it was very controversial.

Eléana Sanchez: Hmm was it linked to the Women's Liberation Movement?

Patricia McCabe: Yes, yes it was. Very much so and I think for me I was I mean, it was it was always linked to Feminism for me. Well I'd spent a summer reading, you know, feminist texts and kind of yeah. I mean it was it was always you know, from being a teenager I was very interested in Feminism and I think it then in terms of it, the links were made so it was the, the women who came to help with that kind of work we were all connected to the Women's Liberation Movement and you know, it became, there were connections made. You know, we used to occasionally take the girls to events that were happening, women's events and stuff, you know. I mean again, we probably wouldn't be allowed to do that now but you know we, it.. The girls would then see their teacher, you know, they'd go: "What are you doing here?", so that was quite yeah quite scary for some of them but yes, yes. I think it was and I think most of the women at the Centre had links with the Women's Liberation Movement at that point.

Eléana Sanchez: And they had another activity which was the, the women's refuge house?

Patricia McCabe: Oh yes, yes. I think that probably was what pushed me. Those two things pushed me away from academic work, yes we, I mean for me I just went to a public meeting and the next morning I was breaking into a listed building, you know, enormous house, almost because hm, you know, again that that's terrifying, so, if, you had the house full of women and children with no electricity sometimes, you know, it was, it was horrifying stuff. But yes, I, I did get very involved in that and it really meant moving in for you know, maybe weeks at a time and. Yeah, it began to be increasingly difficult to keep doing academic work when you were faced with you know, such immediate need really and yeah, so I've got very involved in that. And I think it was the combination of those two things, the, the work with girls themselves and the, the work around getting a refuge, the squat and then eventually and I, I mean, I was involved for a while with Women's Aid, I'm involved again now as chair of the trustee board but then I, I was involved for a while as a child worker, but I didn't stay involved forever, you know. But that, that pressure to create, to create the pressure for a refuge, you know, we didn't have any, I mean now Women's Aid has five refuges in Birmingham. And a lot of community services, but we didn't have any, there was nothing, there was no refuge there was nowhere for women to go so once we broke into this house and then set it up as a refuge, we were mobbed, as you might imagine. (Laughs sadly) So yeah yeah, that was quite a big, big event in my life, certainly.

Eléana Sanchez: All right, um. Oh, we're almost like, it's almost, it has been an hour and I'm not even halfway through my questions, I got two thirds of my questions (laughs)

Patricia McCabe: I'll try and speed up.

Eléana Sanchez: No, but it's interesting it's interesting it's... So. Yeah, you, you talked about the fact that the, the whole Centre meetings were like all day long and you said also that the interview process was like, there were no breaks, so why do you think time management at the Centre was so non-existent?

Patricia McCabe: Oh, that's a, yes, why was it? I don't think anyone even thought about it, to be honest. I mean, I think there was leadership there was intellectual leadership, but I'm not sure there was management. You know. If I looked at it now, it would drive me bonkers, you know, I'd have to get hold of it and manage it and. (Eléana laughs) Yeah, it's almost like... I don't know why they worked like that, but none of us questioned it at the time. I do remember I took up smoking because I couldn't, couldn't find a way to sit that long without something to, you know it was a very stupid thing to do but... I don't know why there was all that... I mean I guess it was that it wasn't really a meeting, it wasn't something that was set up with a kind of purpose and items that we went through. I can't- What I remember about it was just being in that room for you know, the whole day and. And it wasn't that it wasn't interesting, but it was just a bit much to- I don't know why nobody ever did anything about it really yeah, I guess I just assumed that was the way academics carried on really yeah. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: I get it okay, did things change with Chris arriving?

Patricia McCabe: Well, certainly I don't remember those meetings carrying on. I think they might have been more of a separation into different areas of work. I know there was a number of a black students who were pushing a lot on, on race and anti-racism and there were the female students and you know, I don't, and I think they were fairly exclusive actually. I don't remember black women in that group, anyway the female students were

working around Feminism. And it wasn't that the Centre was hostile to any of that, it was just that nobody had done it.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm

Patricia McCabe: And and so I don't know that we, I don't think there was as much of a big group, you know we, we kind of worked with smaller groups around our interests, really.

Eléana Sanchez: Do you remember having a sense of, (pauses) being a white Feminist, doing white feminist work?

Patricia McCabe: I think I got more of a sense of that from outside the Centre than from inside. I mean we did a lot of work around racism. I don't think... I mean, what was happening in the Women's Liberation Movement was much more challenging in that sense. Now it may have been that challenge... I mean, I know that Paul Gilroy and others were very challenging but it was never addressed to me, I don't think, I didn't feel it was you know, I mean, I learned, it was, I learned a lot about racism but I didn't have a sense of, of white Feminism at that time and then I think, certainly in the youth work, the work with young women, there was a, there was a significant number of Black and Asian youth workers who were very active and that was the time when you know, we started to do things around race, race was coming firmly onto the agenda and in the Women's Liberation Movement. We saw the development in effect of the black feminist movement attached to that but separate because people felt that the women's movement wasn't diverse enough, it wasn't listening, you know, we had a very... I think for black women in the Women's Liberation Movement, it was often quite an isolating experience and so eventually obviously they, they'd come together and so for me most of what I've learned around racism was outside rather than inside I mean, I loved some of the, the work that the, you know, *The Empire Strikes Back* is still the best title for a book I've ever come across, I thought it was terrific.

Eléana Sanchez: Well, I know, you've said that before you've said that in Kieran's interview, but I do think *Women Take Issue* is a very good title.

Patricia McCabe: Oh! Okay, yes. I always I remember talking to, discussions about the cover image, a lot around that, but I don't think I had to, I mean, I might have, I mean we debated all of this, but I don't remember having a big input into what it was called but you know, I did, yeah. I suppose it is, *Women Take Issue* it was, it was kind of it was saying what it needed to say, wasn't? It yeah yeah, that's true. That's very true.

Eléana Sanchez: What about the refuge, did you did you welcome black and asian women also?

Patricia McCabe: Yes. But I think it was probably a more difficult experience for some of them and I mean, the big issue was much more around... I don't I honestly, I don't remember us providing refuge to very many Asian women, I think it was quite it wasn't culturally, we weren't really culturally competent, you know, and I think, I think for most of the women who came into the squat they had to be able to cope with a very sort of 'rough and ready' and it was, we were squatting. It didn't have many home comforts and. And certainly there were black women, but certainly we wouldn't have attracted and wouldn't have been connected to Asian communities at the time. What we saw eventually was, you know, more (inaudible) 'by and for' services, although Women's Aid is now in

a very different position and is very diverse and in terms of staff and and in terms of the women who use the services, but you know. I think we were, we were in the really early days into, it was very challenging and we I think we moved... We moved a long way and. Yeah, it would yeah, but it was a long learn- that was a long learning process really, you know, there was a lot of white people activity around racism and like Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League and a lot of musical stuff and two-tone and punk and all of that. And so it was mixed but you know, I don't I don't know that, I think when we were faced with quite a lot of anger. I mean, if you think about something like Racism Awareness Training which, you know, I was later on involved in commissioning quite a lot of that and, and but initially it started out being really a bit like now really (referring to Black Lives Matter), a lot of black people were very angry and quite right to but I think we were just going (slows pace) "Okay.", you know, we, I, we had to just do our best to get to grips with it but it was you know, and certainly within the women's movement I remember some pretty difficult meetings and debates because black women were so angry with us-

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm

Patricia McCabe: Quite right too.

Eléana Sanchez: I think it's also about the, the network, you know, you, you if you're a woman and you have a problem you're gonna rely on your network, be it professional, friends or family, and if your network doesn't include the refuge you worked at or the youth club, you're not gonna go, you're not gonna- because information has to be, not everyone has the, the cultural capital to go get the information so if information is not within your reach, you can't access it.

Patricia McCabe: Yes, yes, absolutely and I think you know, we had a lot of, probably more... There was a lot of separation within communities in the city really and so you know. That was a, I mean where we are now compared to where we were, we were then you know, we, it was the very beginning of all of the work around racism and anti-racism, which much happened all over the city, you know, you know in academia, everywhere but we're, that was quite early in that process and I think the women's movement, you know, we, we tried hard to get to grips with it, but we were relatively uneducated about race, you know and with so we you know, actually I feel like I spent quite a lot of my adult life learning about race really, you know, I mean given the city that I live in. You know, and yeah, I mean what's happening at the moment, post Black Lives Matter, it's really very much like we're back in that space again and particularly black people of African Caribbean heritage, people are very angry.

Eléana Sanchez: It's funny to see history repeating itself.

Patricia McCabe: It is, especially when it just means that nothing much has improved and you can't, we think stuff has improved and then you're just faced with people saying actually it really hasn't and that's the issue, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. Okay, um. Yeah you, you mentioned something about each student at the Centre having to do a cross-discipline, a study of sorts and you went to talk to students at other schools like mechanical engineers, so how was that organized, was that a CCCS thing was that an English department thing prior to?

Patricia McCabe: No it was a whole university thing we had a, I forget what it was called but it had a funny title which would make sense to the university. But it was basically, you

had all the undergraduates spend a relatively small number of hours, it was probably about two hours a week, it wasn't anything dramatic studying another subject and that's how I got into, ended up in CCCS because I'd chosen their offer in terms of what my extra subject would be and who were examining it. I think it was, it was really a gesture as I said towards a broader education and so every undergraduate had to sign up for something that was offered by another department or school or whatever and, so the Centre did continue to do that as part of the university's curriculum, you know that requirement and so I, I was involved in, it was mainly students who taught that stuff and that I remember certainly from a teaching point, I don't think I knew that when I was an undergraduate but certainly as a postgraduate I did do some teaching on that which was hilarious.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah?

Patricia McCabe: Yeah yeah, it was always hilarious, so we just talked about our research and what we were working on really. But it was good for me because it was the first time that I'd ever you know, given a lecture or sort of talked in front of a very big group of people and certainly the first time that wasn't in a political context, so you know, it was, it was interesting but yes it was. Yeah it, there wasn't any expectation that you would get dressed up and look like, you know wearing a suit or anything like that. I think it was just you know. Yeah, what I remember about it was just how unusual I was, standing there talking to them compared to the people that they normally listen to.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. Oh!

Patricia McCabe: It still works in the same way by the way, still works exactly the same. Every time I'm working, and what will happen is people will kind of pay attention then they'll say: "You don't sound like you're from Birmingham" (laughs) but what they mean is, you've got a regional accent. It still shuts up groups of people because they just don't expect. Just... Even now all these years later where I've lost a lot of my accent, but still, you know, people don't expect me to talk the way that I do and it's, it's always been quite a handy... Indeed, you know, people will always say: "Oh you're very down to earth", and what they mean is you've got a Northern accent. (Laughs) But it works as an advantage most of the time.

Eléana Sanchez: It's funny. Okay. I think we actually talked about the, the last bit of my questions without thinking about it. Yeah I just wanted to ask you about, do you remember the, the work, the, the work you did with Angela McRobbie that was called *Feminism*, *Feminism for Girls*, so yeah, can you tell me about the project?

Patricia McCabe: Yeah, I mean we what we were trying to do, I'm not sure we did it totally successfully but what we were trying to do was bring girls and young women's own experiences forward and you know trying to collect, producing and collect a range of views and experiences, so we were to some extent trying to create an opportunity for girls and young women to have a voice. And, yeah, I think I had a very strange... attitude to... I mean, it was quite interesting, there was a piece in there that I cowrote with a young woman from the young lesbian group that I was working with but she wasn't, she didn't want her name to be used, so it ended up being slightly odd, anonymous or something. You know, it was using some of the work I'd done, some of the work Angela had done to really try and bring a picture of girls and young women's lives and write something for, and this is the dodgy bit, and write something for girls and young women that would, would just allow them to see themselves in the context of a Feminism, a legitimized

Feminism really, introduce the Feminism of our time because you know unlike now, most young women would never... They would have rather died than say they were Feminists, the image of Feminism was not something that they felt they wanted to identify with, and I think that's probably... Because of where I ended up afterwards, which was deciding to go and you know, create, or not really, focus on facilitating girls and young women to speak for themselves. It's always felt to me after like a bit, quite a patronizing project because in a way we were speaking on behalf of and to and what I eventually felt was the right thing to do was to create a, access for young women to speak for themselves. And I don't think I was right about that, but that's what I thought at the time. And so *Feminism for Girls* was always, it was always... I was never entirely satisfied. I was very unsatisfied with it as a, as a piece of work and we actually wanted to call it *An Adventure Story* but the publishers wouldn't go with that, which is why there's the subtitle. But interestingly, just you know, just to kind of balance my, you know, because I really, I I've got quite sort of... I think I was quite ideological about it, in a funny sort of way¹⁴⁵⁷. I'd come to a point where I was, I was actually, I wanted to do youth work with young women, rather than doing research work with young women and then write about them. So, you know the first thing I did when I, the first job I got was really editing an newsletter that was written by young women and you know trying to make that happen¹⁴⁵⁸ but I think I was too rigid, you know, I sort of reacted against... Yeah, I think I reacted against the sort of, what I saw as a slightly patronizing, speaking on behalf of and actually Chris Griffin was the one who I think got that balance right and I went off on one. (Laughs) I went off to one direction from that. It's interesting because the, the woman that I'd been working with probably for about 12 years, the last 12 years, who's now running the business. She, as a girl, her mother gave her the book.

Eléana Sanchez: No way!

Patricia McCabe: She said, it was a really important book to her and- So it must have been useful to somebody but you know, we were all very radical in the women's movement and in the work areas in politics, we were very radical in, and you know, a bit like with the racism thing, you know, we, we learned that you don't speak on other people's behalf and I think I took it rather to heart. (Laughs) You know, and I don't think I was right about that. Equally I don't think *Feminism for Girls* was, got the right balance, you know it still felt it was "about rather than with".

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, I, I understand but I think it was pretty pioneering work. I mean, if you think about when the CCCS was created and what framework it had, it, you could say it originated in *The Uses of Literacy* which is about the working class... lifestyle I don't want to say "lifestyle", it's a poor choice of word but you know what I mean, and so it took like I don't know it's a, it's a 50-50 year-old heritage that comes, finally gets into university and it starts creating a theory framework and then you get women who have never seen themselves as potentially able to become academics who get grants to do PhDs and think it's amazing because it's so new and then they are creating a framework as well, so they're going to make mistakes, it's not going to be perfect and still today, it's not

¹⁴⁵⁷ Clarification: I was trying to say that I was 'purist', almost workerist about it. I saw it as an either / or and that was wrong. I could have done both, but I didn't see that at the time.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Clarification: My role was to interview, encourage, and edit.

perfect but it's... It was, it was in, I'm sorry I'm talking a lot and I shouldn't be it's your interview-

Patricia McCabe: Oh no please, carry on. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: I think it was in sync with the situation at the time and I think you can only do as well as you can with the tools that you have, right?

Patricia McCabe: Yeah, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: I think what's amazing is that, I read a lot about the CCCS in the past two years and I know of Forty, Forty Hall street? Forty Hall Road, you know, the, the project that Chas Critcher ran, the house and the stuff with the, that, that was inclined towards working on race rather than on gender and I've only learned about your work and Chris's work very very recently.

Patricia McCabe: Oh that's interesting.

Eléana Sanchez: I don't think it has the same. (pauses) I don't want to say "celebrity" but I don't think it has this, it's, it's as talked about.

Patricia McCabe: I think that's right, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: But it's insane like I only this morning I realized, no, yesterday, actually yesterday, I realized that Chris was a woman and that she was the first female staff member at the Centre.

Patricia McCabe: Really?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah and I've read about it extensively. I mean, I've been, I've been focused on the early days of the CCCS obviously (before Chris was appointed) but I'm just like, how could I not know that before? You know. (pauses) So yeah.

Patricia McCabe: That's interesting because that suggests that it hasn't... You know, the stuff that I've been talking about in terms of trying to do stuff around women and girls and developing feminist theory was, I mean, that's quite, I'd expected it to move much more centre stage now. So. That's very interesting, but you can see then why at the time in my day it felt like we were knocking down a few walls yes (laughs), and it takes a lot of energy to knock down walls. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: It does and that's, it's, and that's amazing that's amazing, really. (pauses) I think, I think we touched upon most of what I wanted to talk about but would you, really would you we will (stumbles on words) would you be willing sorry to do a follow-up interview maybe in a few months when I have read more and my reflection has evolved?

Patricia McCabe: Yes, of course if that's helpful, yeah I'm very happy to do that yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: It is, it is absolutely. It's a whole side of the Centre that I was not able to get and because I've worked my way through like Richard (Hoggart) and, Stuart and so then you get to read about people and the first person I interviewed was Bill Schwarz and so he's a man obviously, and then I got to Greg McLennan, then I talked to a few CCCS historians that were also men and then I got to Charlotte Brundson who didn't want to interview, but I know why-

Patricia McCabe: Yeah, yeah

Eléana Sanchez: She's written about it, so I understand, and then I talked to Angela McRobbie who also said no so I was like, it's gonna be harder to talk to women than to talk to men and so it's funny because it echoes the fact that it was also more difficult to get your voice heard at the time as a woman and so, it's 50 years later, 50 odd years later and it's the same, so it's interesting.

Patricia McCabe: Hm, it is isn't it? And you know I feel like there was an expectation that women, we would sort of fit in, you know. I mean me and Chris we used to have this little joke, she was wicked, she was, and very, yeah, shocking sometimes but we used to have this little joke, which was along with rigor mortis, which was that we you know, because Althusser abused his wife and was you know, not a bloke you'd want to know, so we kind of were a bit anti-Althusser and, and I know I developed an attitude where I was like, you know, "I'll just read them once they're dead, so they can't change their minds", you know, so we kind of had a bit of an irreverence attitude which I think you do when you're coming in, going: "What about, what about this?" and people are just, haven't tweaked so yeah, it's interesting isn't it that it's, that still, that process is kind of still ongoing or at least reproduced in the current context. It's really interesting.

Eléana Sanchez: I think in a way, you were telling all these men oh you see that framework you worked so hard on creating which you're so proud of because it explains everything and we're going to change the world with it well, it's not perfect, it's actually deeply flawed.

Patricia McCabe: Yeah

Eléana Sanchez: And I don't think they could hear it very well because it was their life's work at the time.

Patricia McCabe: Absolutely, absolutely and yes. I think you've got that exactly right and, and the way to manage is to say: "What you're doing is not really intellectually rigorous enough."

Eléana Sanchez: Oh.

Patricia McCabe: You know? Certainly, that was my experience and I think you know, there were lots of women like Charlotte and Janice, Janice (thinks of surname), there were a lot of women who were really very: "You know I don't accept that it's not rigorous enough." But I think that was the kind of view.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hm

Patricia McCabe: And you know, sometimes it felt like I was snapping around the edge just going you know "This... actually I see this completely differently" and that's why Chris was so important because she brought a completely different view-

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm

Patricia McCabe: Into the Centre yeah and I don't know that it went down terribly well but I was delighted (laughs).

Eléana Sanchez: I'd be very interested to know about the discussions that led to her being appointed.

Patricia McCabe: Yes, I would as well and I'm sorry that can't help with that. I, I honestly don't know.

Eléana Sanchez: That's my job! I'll tell you, I'll keep you posted.

Patricia McCabe: I'd be very interested to know if we ever speak again.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes, um, are you still in touch with Chris Griffin as of recently? Because I'd been very interested in interviewing her.

Patricia McCabe: Yes, yes. I mean. I'm in touch with her through Facebook and we occasionally exchange messages I can, I can contact her and ask her if she'd be willing.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes, please!

Patricia McCabe: Will do okay, all right. I'll let you know if she says yes. I'll try and persuade her.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm (smiles). Thank you.

Patricia McCabe: I just think she's been missed out. Or she may feel that she doesn't care anymore. I don't know what happened.

Eléana Sanchez: But she's so instrumental, she's like, she hasn't been interviewed yet, which is crazy.

Patricia McCabe: I'll ask her, we'll see what she says.

Eléana Sanchez: You know, and once the transcript is ready from your interview I'll send it to you, and you can send it to her so that she gets a sense of what kind of interview it could be.

Patricia McCabe: Oh thanks yes that's helpful because then I can ask her.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, well thank you so much Patricia, it's been a pleasure.

Patricia McCabe: You're very welcome. I hope it's useful.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes, absolutely. You'll see, well, I don't actually write in English because the thesis is written in French (fortunately this has since changed), but if I get a few pages in English that are decent, I'll send them to you.

Patricia McCabe: Thank you. I'd love to see that. I mean, I think it's great that you're doing this work, really.

Eléana Sanchez: Thank you. (I am very moved)

Patricia McCabe: You know, there's a little blue plaque on the CCCS building. Yeah. And I went to see it quite recently. It did remind me of, you know, those days when we got... so I'm glad it is of interest to someone.

Eléana Sanchez: They are, I think I think (studying the CCCS) is a really important reflection about university on the whole, like what you can do at university. So yeah.

Patricia McCabe: Yes. Well, thank you. It's been a pleasure. I'll let you know when I've been in touch with Chris.

Eléana Sanchez: Thank you.

Patricia McCabe: Thank you.

Eléana Sanchez: Well, have a nice week.

Patricia McCabe: Thank you and you.

Eléana Sanchez: And I'll keep you posted on the transcript. Thank you.

Patricia McCabe: Thank you that's, I really appreciate that. You take care.

Eléana Sanchez: You too.

Patricia McCabe: Good luck!

Eléana Sanchez: Bye-bye!

6.3. CHRISTINE GRIFFIN, 19 APRIL 2021

Eléana Sanchez: Good morning!

Christine Griffin: It's nice to see you!

Eléana Sanchez: You too! Thank you for taking the time. So what I'm going to do is that if you are okay with it, I'm going to record the, the session and it'll it will say so on your screen.

Christine Griffin: I think yes, I think yes yeah yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: All right, okay, so maybe I could start by telling you a bit more about the thesis project?

Christine Griffin: Yeah, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: So what I'm looking for is- because the CCCS hasn't been studied in depth in France.

Christine Griffin: Oh?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah CCCS writing has been, Stuart hall has been studied, but the CCCS as such, as a research unit hasn't been studied comprehensively, so I'm looking for the networks that were...

Christine Griffin: (interested) Oh

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, so the networks that were there, previous to the CCCS foundation and then when the CCCS was up and running and then the networks that emerged after from the CCCS.

Christine Griffin: Right.

Eléana Sanchez: And I'm looking at the people who attended, and the publications and the working practices.

Christine Griffin: Yes, right. (writes something down) Yes. (comes back to the screen)

Eléana Sanchez: And so it was the reason why I asked you for an interview is because your name comes across as Chris Griffin yeah and so I haven't realized that you were a woman-

Christine Griffin: Yes! (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: ...before a couple of weeks ago, which is crazy because (looks embarrassed) it is my research object and I didn't, I mean I had read something about a female research fellow, but I hadn't connected the dots

Christine Griffin: (still laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: And so I'm wondering if I didn't connect the dots because I wasn't in the right stage of research, if it was too early or if it was because, there's a sense of, well you were maybe the only female research fellow?

Christine Griffin: I think I was, I was. Yes, yes because all the other women there would be would have been doing a PhD like Angela McRobbie or a Patricia McCabe or doing the Master's yeah, the MA course yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: So there is a sense of the CCCS being quite a masculine research unit in terms of professors and lecturers.

Christine Griffin: It was, and it was at the time I was there which was 1979 to 82, Stuart Hall was the, like the, head of department well, it wasn't a department the head of the centre and the only other full-time staff would have been Michael Green and Richard Johnson and Maureen McNeil didn't join till later, but there was an awareness that, you know, the, the the staff were, you know all male, and that that should change but it- the university as a whole was very antagonistic to the Center and so simply getting an agreement for a new post, it would have been impossible to do, so, which put a lot of pressure on Stuart, and then Richard Johnson, who was the head of the Centre after he left and one of the reasons Stuart left I think was that he had enough of the pressure, and the job at the Open University came up which would have been more supportive.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, so. Maybe we could start with yes, so I saw on your resume that you have recently retired.

Christine Griffin: Yeah (smiles).

Eléana Sanchez: I was wondering if like most retired academics you were working on something?

Christine Griffin: No I actually decided to stop, and I was, because I've been in this, I've been in this psychology department so I went back into a psychology department and I- I have worked at the University of Birmingham and that psychology department was very traditional, experimental, dominated by cognitive neuropsychology, so what I was doing, which would be qualitative research, interviewing and ethnography was very marginal and so I moved to Bath in 2003 and that, that was a small department that was very, had critical approaches to psychology with I was more sympathetic but then, before I retired in the past, in the maybe the five years before I retired the head of department, well I had been head of the department but the next head of department was very experimental and narrow and then somebody else took over as head, it got even more narrow and I just thought I'd had enough and the, I was interested in two projects about the marketing of alcohol to young people on social media. But so I had a PhD student and a funded research project and they both went wrong-

Eléana Sanchez: Oh

Christine Griffin: Partly because the students had real problems, one his mother was dying of cancer, so he had to stop, and the other at the research project was a working-class woman from Glasgow, a great researcher, I think the pressure of being working class in a university environment and trying to finish a PhD just was too much for her and she, she dropped out so, it's like those two projects just didn't finish. And I thought well, I'm not going to battle I'll bring them to a close and I just wanted to you know, get out of the system really but had enough of the way it was going in higher education generally and that was before COVID happened (laughs) which was even more difficult, so I didn't want this damage on my hands really, so if I can't do what I want to do, then I'm going to stop.

Eléana Sanchez: I mean, you did loads. I was looking at your resume and I was beyond impressed. (they both laugh)

Christine Griffin: Well I think I just always wrote things. So what, yes I always was writing things and then it has also become more difficult to get things published.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Christine Griffin: Particularly in psychology, which is very narrow, so I just thought I'd had enough.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm. I understand. Yes so I don't know if you know but there are two series of interviews with former CCCS staff and members that were done, there's one by Hudson Vincent and one by Kieran Connell and I was wondering you didn't know about them?

Christine Griffin (inaudible)

Eléana Sanchez: You didn't know anything about them?

Christine Griffin: No, I don't know anything about them. I'm going to write it down.

Eléana Sanchez: Well, there's one that was published as part of a special edition of Cultural Studies the, the magazine (journal)

Christine Griffin: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: The editor of which was Lawrence Grossberg and-

Christine Griffin: Yes. (writes)

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah and I think it was published in 2013 and the, the other series was done by Kieran Connell who is one of the researchers who created the CCCS archive.

Christine Griffin: Oh okay.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Christine Griffin: Yeah. Okay, no. I mean, I'm I, I think I knew they had happened, but I haven't read them or seen anything about them.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay.

Christine Griffin: Well unfortunately because I couldn't tell you what I thought. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: Well you can you can tell me today. (both laugh) Okay, so if we go back in time you did your bachelor's degree at Aston University in human psychology and then you went on to do your PhD at Birmingham University in social psychology. So did you want to do a PhD from the start?

Christine Griffin: I think I was interested in doing a PhD although I don't really know what, I don't think I knew what it really involved. But I was interested and I didn't know what I wanted to do exactly, but I knew I wanted to do something about gender and identity. And, I, I got into Aston University and it was, there were only ten students doing the degree, it was the first year it had ever run, it was human psychology which in those

days was unusual because he there was a lot of comparative psychology with animals. Like rats and pigeons do this, as a way of understanding human behavior, so it was very bad. And most of the participants in studies were male and college students and American. So I think I knew I wanted to do something different and when I applied to Birmingham University, Michael Billig (?), my potential PhD supervisor. I didn't know very much about him and at the time, he was, he had broken away from him, experimental research with a guy called Henry Tajfel (?) in Bristol who had been doing experimental work, but really about prejudice and discrimination and Mick had broken away from that, the most-starting to do interview work with members of the national front, which. Hm. (pauses to think) They would be similar to your *Front National*, actually, they were growing as a political power, this would have been the mid 1970s but he was starting to do this interview work, which nobody else was doing in psychology at the time. So I started as his PhD student. But the work on gender then was all about sex difference and biological bases of sex differences, the idea of gender was unusual and, and interviewing people was unusual. And he didn't really know that work, so I just did experimental work and then I think I finished at the end of my PhD doing sort of very open-ended questionnaire about gender. But all the work that I would have been interested in was happening in sociology or somewhere else, it hadn't happened in psychology so after the PhD, although I loved Mick (?) and got on very well with him, I'd thought I had had enough of academia I thought I'm leaving and then the job came up in cultural studies and actually Mick was on the interviewing panel because he you know, as a member of Birmingham University, he knew the Centre, their work and was sympathetic to it and the research job in cultural studies was set up as an initiative by what was the Social Science Research Council in the UK which became the Economic and Social Research Council later. And it was set up by a woman called Halla Beloff, who was a professor at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland I think. And she, with others I'm not sure had set up a group of research projects placing social psychologists in other disciplines. So the idea was that the post was for a social psychologist to go into this interdisciplinary department. So Halla (?) was on the interview panel, Stuart or Paul with us and Mick Billig (?) and I think there was on somebody from the university so, so that's how I got into cultural studies without really knowing a great deal about it beforehand (laughs). So the project I was working on for almost three years, to follow young women from school to the job market. It was parallel to Paul, set up as paralleled to Paul Willis's work and Paul and Stuart Hall wrote the research proposal. So Paul had had three years to look at you know young men in school which was *Learning to Labour* another three years to look at- to follow them up into the job market, but mine was like, "do both school and the labour market in three years", so it (inaudible) up, but there hadn't been then many studies focusing on girls and young women, they were almost all in education, sociology focusing on young men, Hall's/Hallsay (?) and all the others. Yeah so that's how I got into the Centre.

Eléana Sanchez: You, you had never attended any seminar or-

Christine Griffin: (Nods no)

Eléana Sanchez: Okay all right.

Christine Griffin: No, so I was, I'd been to. Yeah, I was completely unprepared for this totally different way of working because the psychology department that I've been in was run by an extremely autocratic (laughs) professor who interviewed me when I joined to do my PhD and asked me something about how I was going to manage housework while

I was doing a PhD. (they both laugh) So here I was suddenly in a sort of Marxist Feminist collective, which was totally different. So yeah, very different way of working.

Eléana Sanchez: Let's see so. Are you from Birmingham?

Christine Griffin: No, I'm from Lancashire, which is Northwest of England further North to Birmingham, but I'd been living in Birmingham since I was six so I grew up in Birmingham and knew it quite well. Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: (Nods) Okay, um. So you've told me a little about the process. Um, are you aware of the CCCS staff conversations or discussions that led to your appointment, how how did they come to write such a research proposal?

Christine Griffin: No I don't really know much about it, apart from that they knew that there was this initiative that had been set up by the research council and I think it was probably Stuart and Paul Willis and others, who were probably involved but decided to go for it and there must, I imagine there was an input from the women's studies reading group because they would have been working on *Women Take Issue* which came out in 78 so, so there already was, was pressure within the Centre to sort of address a gender and feminist theory and practice as well, so I guess it came from there but I don't know in detail.

Eléana Sanchez: Maybe-

Christine Griffin: Janice Winship was involved actually.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm, and maybe your former supervisor had a role because he knew of the Centre and...

Christine Griffin: I don't know, I don't think so I don't think he was that clued up about gender then in fact, no. I don't think he did actually.

Eléana Sanchez: All right, um, so what was the CCCS like when you arrived in January 77?

Christine Griffin: 79

Eléana Sanchez: 79, sorry.

Christine Griffin: Well I suppose well small. I mean, it was small it was sort of half of a sort of 1960s tower block and it was just half a floor, so given the enormous output actually it was really small and there's, well there was like one big room at the end which was the sort of big departmental meetings and a few offices and seminar rooms and I shared a room, an office with Paul Willis, but actually Angela McRobbie worked in there and it was used by other sorts, and there was clearly a lot well, there was a lot of political (inaudible) because Margaret Thatcher, you know, that change was happening of Margaret Thatcher and Reagan getting in America, so there was a lot of change politically. And a lot of very heated debates around gender and class and race particularly which had clearly been ongoing for a while and the... There were a group of primarily men who like Greg McLennan and Bill Schwartz and Stuart who were into Althusserian Marxism and feminism were seen as a bit of a threat to that. So there was a definite tension and tensions around race and class as well. So it was all quite fraught. And the other thing I noticed about it was how middle class it was. Because I'd been in a department of

psychology where we shared a building with mechanical engineers, we used to go to the pub regularly and play darts and go on pub crawls and were, a lot of them were working-class hm, oddly at a university and this was a... There were quite a few people who were... (looks for words) Yes, more middle class than I'd come across which is why I bonded with Trisha McCabe, you know Angela McRobbie came from a posh part of hm, Edinburgh, so it was, I was, I think I was surprised by that because I thought Marxists were working-class and I hadn't had much to do with Marxists before. I thought they were all, very nice people but I was surprised by that. So yes, so they would have wine and cheese parties, which, in the in the UK would be a middle-class thing to do and where, I come from a place where everyone went on pub crawls, so yes, so class was there in the way people interacted as well as theory. And also, there was a lot of emphasis on doing political work that wasn't academic, so things in schools, Trisha and I ran a girls night in a local youth club for several years, things like that going on. Which of course, the problem then, Stuart used to talk about it was how to turn that work into academic credits the university would recognize, because people, people never finished their PhDs. So that was an issue was time went on.

Eléana Sanchez: Oh did you feel like it was a growing concern?

Christine Griffin: I think it had started because in those days academia, I think things were more lax in the UK about whether you finished your PhD. So there was some guy who had been doing his PhD and you know, I think doing a PhD for at least 10 years and he had a grant for three years, but then had probably signed on the dole, employment and just carried on at the centre and never finished. So, but then there was much more scrutiny from above, and from the funders, the research councils in front of these studentships, they would say, where are the PhDs that we funded and that got more probably more into the mid 1980s. It started putting more pressure on, making things more difficult.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm. You said that feminism was seen as a threat. Why?

Christine Griffin: Well because it was seen as I mean in those days, it would be, the debates would be about whether gender, or the- class or gender was the most important in terms of determining the conditions of people's lives, but I think it was also, which is like a sort of hierarchy of oppressions. But I think it was also for Stuart and others, Marxism and Marxist ideas were seen as such an important bedrock that anything that asked questions of them sort of unsettled that. So there were things that Engels had written, of course about the private property and the state and the family and people like Lynne Segal, Hilary Wainwright and Shelia Rowbotham wrote *Beyond the Fragments* trying to sort of increase a dialogue around class and gender for Marxism and Feminism to sort of work together, but I think it was, it was that and then there were more radical feminist ideas about sexuality, about sex and sexuality, which would be the sort of Catherine McKinnon *Lonely American* work and Kate Millet (*Sexual Politics*) I suppose which were giving gender and sex and sexuality and primacy that clashed with Marxism. So there was a lot, I mean, it was a moment of change in terms of, and this was before even, these were structuralist arguments. This was before the moment when Foucault started to be, appeared, like the *History of Sexuality* appeared in Centre discussions in 1977-78 when it was first translated into English, so that was a whole... ideas about postmodernism and (inaudible) ideas were coming in, and unsettling you know, Paul Willis who is a structuralist, you know a Marxist still finds ideas about discourse difficult because it takes, it takes things away from the material, to him so it was like a particular moment I think of change.

Eléana Sanchez: And did your politics at the time, if not aligned with Marxism were at least close to the Left?

Christine Griffin: Well, yes. But I think I'd never been in Left groups like some of those of the Centre. So this is the time when you know Left groups were definitely dominantly or mainly white men, so who expected women to make the tea sort of things (laughs) at that time. So I and because I was looking at young women who were clearly seen at school and in the job market as a sexual beings, including by Marxists who would take about school girls, and be looking at schoolgirls. Have no talk about schoolgirls. So, So I was definitely sympathetic to, but I didn't, I wouldn't have read any Marx then. Only bits. So I was more drawn to radical feminist ideas, but both really I don't think I was quite I was never quite positioned in the debates, somehow like other people because I didn't have the same background in politics, although I did youth work and I was in feminist groups and consciousness raising groups and Birmingham was just starting a women's, we squatted a house to have a Woman's Aid refuge so I was just involved in those groups because that's what my friend Tricia, that's you know, that's what we were doing. (smiles) So I did go to feminist conferences.

Eléana Sanchez: I lost you. I lost- oh yes. I got you, could you just repeat your last sentence?

Christine Griffin: Yes, so I I was involved in feminist groups and although I wasn't in Women's Aid, I supported the squatting of a building that was used as the first Women's Aid refuge I think in Birmingham, so I was more on the Feminist side, I guess and I went to feminist conferences. Because that's where young women's lives were being discussed and politics around gender and class were being discussed. And if you went to more traditional Left meetings, you had to battle to get gender on to the agendas I suppose.

Eléana Sanchez: And you also mentioned that there was a reflection on race at the time?

Christine Griffin: Yes, so the other group was the race and politics group and were involved in work for *The Empire Strikes Back*, so I would I think I was in the, because there were different reading groups. Some of which were working towards a book and some not but I think I was in, I went to the education, I think it was education, work and family reading group. And I can't actually remember which groups I was in but I went to several ones. And people like Paul Gilroy, Errol Lawrence, Palma Balley Moss were in those groups as well. And the race and politics group were working towards a book and it already started that but they, there were debates around I think there was an English studies group which tended to read novels critically, which I wasn't in. I know Hazel Carby was, and she wanted to start looking at novels written by I think, I can't remember who by, but but, maybe black American novelists. I can't remember and there were sort of resistance to it from the rest of the group and she left. Hm. But I wasn't sort of involved in it, but there were things like that so there was you know and Paul, Paul Gilroy and the rest of the race and politics group were developing ideas that were slightly different to the Marxist approach of Stuart and Greg and Bill Schwarz so there were you know, there were and the Women's Studies Group, in *Women Take Issue* were developing ideas around gender and class and raised different.. so there were different strands I think. Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Was there ever a conversation between the race and politics group and the women's study group?

Christine Griffin: I think the connection would have been through Said Prativa (?) and Fain (?) because they had a chapter in... Angela McRobbie and Tricia McCabe edited a book called *Feminism for Girls*. And they did a chapter in that, so that the debates would have been around there and there was a big focus on youth and culture actually. So I think quite a bit of it would be around music and youth cultures as well. Someone like Simon Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth*, whose book would be looking around to race and class particularly in youth. So there were overlaps I think in particular projects.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, um, so how, how did your discipline, your background fit into the CCCS's theoretical frame?

Christine Griffin: Well, I think there was one of a social psychologist there whose name I've completely forgotten, who was doing work around Roy Bescar (?), I can't remember his name, but generally social psychology at that time was talking about gender stereotyping and sex roles, that was as radical as it got, but it wasn't talking about power or patriarchy and so I guess I didn't bother much with social psychology because it wasn't, it wasn't asking those questions it wasn't... It just wasn't useful to me and methodologically it was still very much stuck in questionnaire and experiments. So, I effectively shifted towards more sociology and anthropology in terms of methods. And then I guess I started publishing in psychology, going to psychology conferences sort of brought that back to psychology hm. Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: And I have the, the reverse question so how did you see the CCCS and cultural studies fitting into your own formation?

Christine Griffin: Well, I think it's always been pretty foundational. So I still use cultural studies ideas in what I've been doing recently and I've all, I still read, not all the cultural studies stuff because it's too, not so much the media studies stuff, more the sort of views and consumer culture stuff. I've worked, recently when I was doing a project in New Zealand on social media marketing of alcohol to young people I worked with someone who had done his masters in cultural studies hm, Ian hm, I can't remember his name, I used to know him so well, Ian.. Oh! I can't remember his name. Oh. This is being older. (Laughs) Antonia and Ian.. Gill-More? Oh, how weird. (pauses) Yes, so some of my publications from the New Zealand project with Ian, and he was one of the last cohorts of master's students in cultural studies before it was closed. So, so I worked with him quite closely because he's... we would both be reading stuff about social media that would have been influenced by cultural studies approaches. Which again are looking at power, representation and issues of, well, looking at well like. Hollan Jefferson (?)... a 30 year edition of *Resistance Through Rituals* came out and the introduction to that I still use, because they talk about a symptomatic reading, you know, "what's going on here?", and a conjunctural analysis, "why is it happening now?" so I still use that in my approach so it would be in that sense historic, you know, why is this happening now, what's going on here, so I still got that model well, to me it is psychology. Psychology should be looking at the psychological effects of neoliberalism and like Nick Rose (?) talks about it. That's what psychology should be, governing the psyche, governing the soul, but it isn't doing anything of the kind but for me that's what psychology should be up to.

Eléana Sanchez: No one is doing that type of work?

Christine Griffin: Well they are because the, but not in psychology, there's somewhere else, they're not likely to be in psychology, well some of them are in psychology, but

they're not made very welcome I think. Yes, lots of people are doing the work but seldom in psychology and they're not always psychologists, but. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: Um, right so could you compare the Centre for Mass Communication Research at Leicester to the CCCS?

Christine Griffin: (laughs) Oh, oh wow. I my god. Yes, you could not get more different. Because it'd been set up by (James) Halloran who was an autocrat and very mainstream in his approach, he, it was the opposite of the Centre in every way, so I had a research project I was working on which Hafta Bra (?) had been involved in setting up, I don't think she'd ever been at the Centre but she had a lot of contacts with the Centre and the race and politics group. And Halloran basically controlled our research budget and spent it on his own liquid lunches, because he had a major alcohol problem. Hm. And so yes, so you didn't have control over your own budget, he went off and signed book contracts for, and then came back and said to Brian Murdoch (?), who was a member of, who had been at cultural studies who was working there, "I've just signed up a contract about the pros of cable TV on your behalf, you've got six months to write the book" and he took the advance himself, you know, he was absolutely shameless in that way, but the very much had friends in high places, in UNESCO, so he got studentships for students, and students from all over the world came and then yeah, so that was really really strange and I was working on a like a traditional survey about it was called ethnic minority youth employment, so it was like an absolutely.. funded by a local council so it was very traditional and yeah no nobody talked to anybody about work, about intellectual issues or political issues at all really. I mean I did talk to some of the individual researchers but that was completely different. You know, I just tried to do the job and leave (both laughs).

Eléana Sanchez: Do you think the CCCS well- which Center had a wider impact on the?

Christine Griffin: Oh, cultural studies, absolutely, yeah, no question. And there was also a huuuuge opposition to cultural studies ideas within mainstream sociology, to this day. It absolutely still goes on, rounds, debates about youth subculture have appeared quite recently, which are basically pro and anti CCCS. Absolutely, yeah, amazing. Still going on.

Eléana Sanchez: I think it dates back to the very beginning because I read that two sociology professors at Birmingham University had sent a letter to say that if Hoggart was counting on doing sociology research with like quantitative data, there would be repercussions.

Christine Griffin: Yes I've heard about that but I don't really know the details, but there always was sort of tensions around disciplines and encroaching other disciplines.

Eléana Sanchez: So there was no communication between the Centre for Mass Communication Research and CCCS?

Christine Griffin: Well I think that wouldn't have been direct communication but the link would have been someone like Brian, Ryan, Graham Murdoch (?) who of course had and I think someone else but Graham Murdoch had worked on *Resistance Through Rituals*. And he went into the sort of Media studies, looking at the way you know, the introduction of cable TV had an impact at that point. And analysis of the news. Because I think he, I don't really know the details of this, but I think he, Murdoch and (?) were involved in a study of media coverage (tries to remember), maybe the special control group, special

patrol group with the, and the Mass Communication Centre was broken into a couple of times and some of that material was stolen.

Eléana Sanchez: Wow.

Christine Griffin: Yeah, so there was sort of radical work going on. That would have been the link I think. Otherwise it was quite mainstream, really.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, so you've answered this without me asking which is very good. (both laugh) Yeah, I mean one last question on your general career. How is it to make it as a lecturer in social psychology in England in the 1990s? 1980s?

Christine Griffin: Oh, I just missed what you said. How did I?

Eléana Sanchez: How was it? Was it hard? Was it easy? Was it..?

Christine Griffin: Well... So (remembering) in 1985 I would have moved to the University of Birmingham and I ended up getting the job that happened to be my old supervisors Mick Billing's (?) job. And the department was very unsympathetic to what I was doing. But I had a network already outside of, well overlapping with psychology. So, and I think primarily through working with people like Sue Wilkinson, who was the sort of editor of *General Feminism and Psychology* and so there were women who were doing that sort of work, and I think because I had got a network that was outside of psychology I just had confidence to talk about these issues plus I was angry, I was angry at the way young women were seen, so fucking angry at the way they were seen as idiots, sex objects, jailbait, ignored. And so yes, so I went, yes that was a diversion (laughs) but. Yes, so I. So I worked with Sue and other women in set setting up when we started off having small meetings at psychology conferences, there was a "Women in Psychology" section of the British Psychological Society. So we, we organized spaces, just to talk about what we wanted to talk about rather than spending all our time arguing with these guys who didn't want to know and ignored our work anyway. To give you an idea of what it was like in the eight-, in the early eighties in terms of Feminism being seen as a threat, to Marxism, Dorothy Hobson and I went to a conference in Wolverhampton organized by a research institute about sport, sport and leisure. John Clark was there. It was organized by Allen Tomlinson, so it's a British sociological association leisure studies section before it had started I think. And Dorothy and I, I talked about young women leisure. Dorothy talked about housewives and TVs and soap and a guy in the audience, who was a Marxist, sociologist jumped up and asked me to define the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy, which was like a major touchy subject at the time and I said well, I'm talking about young women and leisure so I don't have to do that, I'm not going to, and he said: "So you're just like Hitler? You're a fascist?" That's how touchy the boys were, I mean, and Dorothy and I were like what is going on here? And yeah that was sort of really: "Why are you not talking about boys, why are you talking about women all the time", so it was in a context where the entire focus had been on men. So Stan, what was his name there was a guy who had written *The Sociology of Leisure*, and it was all about men, it's all about leisure for men and women were sort of marginalized so to talk about women, actually was a major threat, they didn't like it. So it was in that context, well okay, let's organise our own space. And at the time you know, my department just ignored me and we got on with it and so I could teach what I wanted and you know publish where I wanted.

Eléana Sanchez: But you got the job. I mean, they must have thought that you were relevant.

Christine Griffin: Well I got the job, I was, I had written a book, I'd written *Typical Girls*, and I was in competition, the main other applicant was a guy called Peter Marsh, who would have gotten the job. I know because someone on the interview panel told me, (laughs), because he was more senior than me, and he'd written a- you know he was more senior than me. But his, I think his partner didn't want to move from Oxford so he stayed in Oxford. So I got the job because of that (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, there was something else that you said (trying to remember) yeah so the resistance that you faced at CCCS, that Feminism faced at CCCS was it sort of similar to the resistances you faced as a social psychologist as a lecturer at Birmingham University?

Christine Griffin: No I think it was different because I think they, the debates in cultural studies were, you knew you were all on the same side basically, but you were arguing as radicals and progressive, but you were arguing about developing the work and practice. Whereas, issues within the department or within psychology, you'd be up against a power. More, you know, the hierar- the, more from a position of power, so yeah, it was different.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay all right, so if we could focus on the CCCS more precisely, can you tell me about your activity at the CCCS in terms of teaching, research supervision?

Christine Griffin: Yes. I didn't, so well I didn't, I think I might have officially been Patricia McCabe 's supervisor at one point, but I didn't do anything, like supervising, and I don't think I taught anything I didn't, I don't think so. Like on the MA, it would have been the main teaching at least I can't remember teaching anything. I would have been in reading groups. So they're various different reading groups. And that was involving a lot of you know, collective reading of different texts that the group ought to read and do commentaries on it and meet every week and discuss. I would have gone to the main collect- the main meeting that was every week, there was a collective meeting but I sort of have a bit of a blur to be honest (laughs) about what I did because it wasn't cut and dried what people did, like that, it was much more informal.

Eléana Sanchez: Mh-hmm. Did Paul Willis teach?

Christine Griffin: Ouh. I don't know, he might have done. I actually may have taught extramural classes which had nothing to do with cultural studies. I think I did, which were like psychology, I think.

Eléana Sanchez: Oh, I think I lost you again.

Christine Griffin: Okay I taught psychology at evening classes, which had nothing to do with cultural studies and Paul, I can't remember whether Paul taught anything. He might have been on the MA. I don't think I knew much about the MA or taught the MA or how that worked.

Eléana Sanchez: So, how did you get on with Paul Willis ? Michael Green and Richard Johnson?

Christine Griffin: Well, Michael less, I had less to do with Michael because I think he was more in the English studies group and he was interested in debates about Eurocommunism

and I never knew what that was. (Laughs) The debates I mean. And Richard I've got on really well with and still we went, carried on after he left cultural studies we were in the narrative reading group together and we met in each other houses really carrying on a cultural studies practice. So I got on really well with Richard and Paul actually, although I we had different ideas about things. But yes, we got on very well with Paul as well.

Eléana Sanchez: How did the CCCS connect with the rest of the university?

Christine Griffin: Well, it didn't because the university hated it. But there were individual members of staff from other departments who would engage with cultural studies though I can't remember who off hand but yes, I mean, it was very fraught. And particularly the head, the tenured members of staff like Stuart and then Richard and Michael just had battles all the time really.

Eléana Sanchez: How did that translate into?

Christine Griffin: I think they were placed in just terribly difficult positions in between this chaotic collective (makes wide hand gestures) that was always having arguments about political theory and practice and how to do collective work and this very hier-, quite hierarchical university structure, that was not sympathetic. So they were in the middle, having to deal with the demands and expectations from outside. Rough.

Eléana Sanchez: So you mentioned the girls nights, can you tell me more about your activities outside the Centre?

Christine Griffin: Yes (laughs) I think I was in a women's consciousness raising group briefly and sort of just as I was joining cultural studies, but I think the main thing I did was the girl's night and that was, so the whole of Birmingham had 26 full-time youth workers whom all of them were male there were no female youth workers, full-time youth workers, that would have been some part-timers. Youth clubs then, now a lot of them have closed, they would be funded by the local authority the local council, and heavily dominated by young men, girls didn't go and there was a woman called Leah, I can't remember her name. Who I think was funded maybe by the National Association of Youth Clubs, which was a voluntary set group, who had a girl's work officer called Mel Carpenter or something, who'd funded her to go and set up a girl's night in the youth, some youth clubs in Birmingham to encourage girls to go. She battled away, got these couple of nights set up and one was the one in Acocks Green, which was sort of an outer suburb of Birmingham and I think she left or something and then Tricia and I took it over. So the idea was there were women workers and girls only because if boys were there they just dominated everything. And so we did this for a few years and it was great but were there, they're just- it was great but very fought on. Because the boys, well male workers weren't sympathetic, the girls loved it but the boys wanted to come in as well. So we had to be on the door, dealing with the boys, to try and stop them coming in at the same time. I think we went on holiday with the girls. So yes. I mean, it was great and it was absolutely overlapped in the research project because the girls were... Yeah, there were of a similar age and younger but yes and they just... wanted the space and behaved differently when they were in a space that was single sex.

Eléana Sanchez: I talked to Patricia McCabe

Christine Griffin: Yes (smiles)

Eléana Sanchez: And she told me that the, the girls would sometimes go to the youth club, but they would be in the bathrooms or they would, they would stand around the pool tables, but they would never play.

Christine Griffin: Yes yes yes because if they did play, the boys would make comments about their bodies. And so it put them off.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. Okay, um and. Yeah, could you tell me about the networks in which the CCCS was integrated during the years you were there like publications or..?

Christine Griffin: Do you mean like *Women Take Issue*, do you mean particular books or...

Eléana Sanchez: So there was the CCCS and there would have been like connections with other universities there would be a connection with Hutchinson ...

Christine Griffin: Oh, yes. There was a yeah, there was a big connection with Hutchinson . Oh publishing was so different (laughs). There were people you talked to. Yes, who edited books. Yes, so there was a big link with Hutchinson and Richard Johnson would be very involved in that, Hutchinson Education and a particular woman, Claire someone (L'Enfant). So, so there were links with publishers, so you know to talk about the development of books as they were progressing. I mean, I wasn't really involved in any of that. But yes, so and there would have been others. Yeah, I don't know much about other links.

Eléana Sanchez: You said that when you got to take over your former supervisor's job, you had a network.

Christine Griffin: Yes.

Eléana Sanchez: Can you tell me about it?

Christine Griffin: I suppose the network was youth... Well, it would be youth researchers. So it would be people that I'd met in cultural studies like Angie McRobbie , Trisha McCabe , Roger Shannon, Paul Willis . So people I'd, but it would also be Feminists in psychology, so like Susan Condor (?) who was doing work around gender, when we started the feminism group psychology journal, which took us two years to do that didn't, that was late eighties but I was there would have been women I'd met in psychology too in the women and because women, we had women in psychology conferences. I organized one in Birmingham in 1991, which was modelled on... but there would also be from feminist conferences that were not academic, and a lot of them were sociologists so like Diana Leonard (?). Yeah, so God loads of.... Cynthia Coban (?) and Hazel Downing so it was well within cultural studies, so it was women who were doing... and it was primarily women at that time. They were... and also international because there were, there were a sort of beginnings of girls studies. That might have been a bit later, so I probably look at the conferences that I went to, that would be where the networks were... Well that I'd have to look at the conferences and yeah, so there were networks.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, how are you with time because I still have a few questions.

Christine Griffin: (laughs) I'm okay for another half hour I think.

Eléana Sanchez: That's perfect that should be enough all right, so let's talk about women at the Centre so yeah, could you tell me in terms of numbers the proportion of women in the overall CCCS population roughly, roughly.

Christine Griffin: Ouh! Yeah, that's quite, that's quite hard to do actually because the overall CCCS well if I think of the, say that department meetings, Centre meetings. I don't know seems like about a third? But yeah hard to know.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm, okay. So I read that the first woman to complete her PhD at CCCS did so in 1977 or something like that, (Christine Griffin is surprised) yeah. I know do you know, did you notice that women had a lower PhD completion rate than men.

Christine Griffin: No, I didn't I wouldn't know who had completed and who hadn't, no. I don't know. I have no idea, so did women, I don't know.

Eléana Sanchez: I'm not sure it's true.

Christine Griffin: I know because. It wasn't such an issue, it was an issue, you know for Stuart, Richard wasn't. I mean, it was an issue we just didn't bother about it.

Eléana Sanchez: So Patricia told me that you, you had a- how could I say this, you have a certain attitude towards people like Althusser or other people who were being read and how was this point of view perceived by other faculty members.

Christine Griffin: Oh yes. I mean, I guess we, we were just asking different questions, we were looking at different things and they, like the sum of the Marxists texts that were being read didn't really speak to what we were interested in. I suppose by us saying yeah, "but what about such and such?" you know, what about I don't know some other text or a feminist texts, it would be just either ignored or... yeah just, just seen as seen as, as if you were threatening a bit like the guy saying I was like Hitler because I wouldn't.... You know, so there was like, a resistance to take it seriously what you were interested in I suppose.

Eléana Sanchez: What about the fact that you were raising concerns that were, I want to say valid concerns?

Christine Griffin: Yes. Well wait, I think in those days it would be just... Yeah because there's the thing about Althusser being in some sort of suicide pact with this partner (Louis Althusser murdered his wife Helene Rytman in 1980), which is... and I remember, I think maybe we put something in the corridor, and it got ripped off the wall, you know like "don't criticise the great man" type of thing so yes, so there would, but I'm in those days those sorts of issues well, they were not taken seriously as they should be now but they certainly weren't then and I think that I was surprised by that, people who I assumed would be would take those sorts of issues seriously didn't. But then in those days in the youth work side of it we had a male youth worker say to us "oh so and so you know if you... this girl, you know, she says, she's been raped but I think you'll find she's just making it up" so those sorts of issues were not, issues of sexual violence, rape, social violence, pornography were not taken seriously and there's antagonism to those ideas now, on the Left. So it was all... fraught. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah was it difficult?

Christine Griffin: Yes it well yeah because there were some arguments, you know, they were real heated arguments. Yeah so yes it was, and there was a sense you had to sort of fight for a space to do the work you wanted to do.

Eléana Sanchez: Even at CCCS?

Christine Griffin: Yes I think so, I think so. It was different but you still had to, you wouldn't be, those sort of ideas, were not popular.

Eléana Sanchez: Were there men who were working on female, girls issues?

Christine Griffin: Not really, there started to be men looking at masculinity from the mid 80s. Andrew Tulsa (?) and Jack Earl (?). And in fact Jewis Cane (?) and I went to an early conference about the work on masculinity. So I think critical work on masculinity started. I don't think there were men doing research around girls and young women's lives, that I know of.

Eléana Sanchez: So was it something that was also present in other institutions that you were part of before or after CCCS?

Christine Griffin: Was what?

Eléana Sanchez: This, this tension between you wanting to do such work and having to create the space you mentioned it at the sociology department, at the psychology department.

Christine Griffin: Yes, I think so I mean once you are... Yeah, so definitely... So what I've found is that the people who are doing the work I'm interested in. Move in different, they're in different disciplines. So they, sometimes they're in sociology, sometimes they're in anthropology, sometimes they're in business schools, management, actually. So, but they're, they're asking those same questions I'm interested in. So I tend to go around looking for where they are and not stick to one discipline, but I think early on there was a sense of having to make the space yourself, you know yourselves to do that work.

Eléana Sanchez: Did you have to do that Bath university as well?

Christine Griffin: No, that's actually that's the first place I didn't have to do it because somebody else had already done it, (laughs) which was Helen Haste (?) who had set, with others had set the department up and who was you know, psychologists. So she would have been in the late seventies, she would have been one of those doing the work on gender stereotyping and sex roles. So she'd already forged a space which again the university looked down on and was a bit antagonistic to at the time but yes, for once I was joining a space that was... So that's the only time I've worked in a space where my work is actually valued. I think that's the only... and then it changed because, you know, the department expanded changed the head of the department and it turned into what Birmingham was like before so that was the only time and the only time therefore when my work was taken seriously, because I think that's the thing, if you're a feminist, and your interest is in girls and young women, you're very unlikely to be taken seriously. And if you're a woman. So, you just have to keep going. (both laugh)

Eléana Sanchez: Oh my god, okay. Yeah, so I have two more general questions, so I don't know if you've looked at it or how much you looked at it, but I was wondering if you had a take on the CCCS's historiography.

Christine Griffin: No. I don't really think I've looked at it much. I mean, there was *Culture Media Language*, which was quite a lot the type ago, but I haven't looked at the recent stuff unfortunately. I mean, I'd be happy to if you want to send me a text, I'd be happy to do a follow up, and tell you this is what I think. But I haven't really read...

Eléana Sanchez: Well, hold on a second. There's a book. (exits screen to get the book) Okay. There's a book but it's at the back of the shelf. I can't quite reach it right now, but I will send you the, the reference it's a book that was made at the CCCS 50th anniversary in 2011. Yeah and so it's it's quite a big book but it contains a lot of articles on-

Christine Griffin: Yes. Not those big blue books with all the collective papers though, isn't it?

Eléana Sanchez: I don't think so. I don't think so. Um, and so maybe you could tell me what you think about it.

Christine Griffin: Yes, okay.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay yeah well and I think my before last question is from a social psychology point of view is there anything to say about the CCCS?

Christine Griffin: Do you mean what's the connection do you mean or?

Eléana Sanchez: Well you it could be what's the connection but you've talked about it a little, or what could we say in terms of analysing the CCCS as a research institution?

Christine Griffin: I mean, I think it as a, at the moment when it was operating, it was an amazing place to be. Because of this, partly because of the engagement with the political theory and practice inside and outside academia, and so there are a lot of debates now about research ethics. But actually what the Centre was doing was those debates, engaging with those debates but actually in terms of power and politics. A lot of the debates about ethics now have not to do with the political or power well they are about power, but it's not it's not politically engaged so there was a, a sense of a being involved in a project that was aiming to be radical and progressive and to engage politically with what was going on at the time so that research was not separated it was actually part of some movement or movements. Hm. So that was really important I think and also moving on theoretical ideas of people with sort of radical and was particularly Left and Feminist and anti-racist agenda. So yes so that, that I think was really important but it was a political, it was a moment it was a conjuncture that has passed.

Eléana Sanchez: And what would you say did social psychology bring to the table of cultural studies?

Christine Griffin: Well, I think it's a bit like saying what did sociology bring or? Or history bring? I think cultural studies was and is sort of beyond disciplines. I don't think in terms of academic disciplines. I mean, I see them as power entities. But when I'm doing work, intellectual work I don't think in terms of disciplines at all, absolutely meaningless. But you know, there are these conferences and all that sort of stuff and departments and jobs, so it's quite hard to say. I mean it brought ideas, ideas from social psychology and some practices and you know, I came in as a social psychologist. I guess I find it quite hard to answer the question really, strange.

Eléana Sanchez: Maybe you could- maybe you were able to open a field.

Christine Griffin: Yes, (hesitating) I think so because you know, there are strands of cultural studies that are you know, very media studies, sociologically informed and so on social psychologists slightly different. So I guess, probably an engagement with identity as something dynamic. So not just the struct-, you know the structure or the ideology, but a lived experience. And I suppose the other thing with yes, so yeah an emphasis is on lived experience and the sort of, what I call micro-ethnography. So not the ethnography of institutions but of everyday lives and smaller groups. Yeah, so yeah, that's sort of things, the sort of thing like *Learning to Labour* was, in a way. Though Paul is not a social psychologist (laughs), but yes.

Eléana Sanchez: And perhaps another way of looking at it.

Christine Griffin: Yes yes yes.

Eléana Sanchez: All right. Okay, so well, I think that's- I- with- I've had so I had so many questions. I'm actually really glad we got through all of them, all- thank you for taking that extra time. I know it was, it was quite a long interview.

Christine Griffin: It was a lot of questions! (Laughs) I'll let you know what I think of the book.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, I will send you the reference and I will do the transcript and send it to you and you can tell me if everything is correct if something is wrong I we'll, we'll change it into a correct version and yeah, so thank you very much.

Christine Griffin: That's great, thanks a lot, best of luck with the PhD job.

Eléana Sanchez: Thank you, thank you, have a nice day and and I'll keep in touch.

Christine Griffin: Right thanks a lot.

6.4. HELEN FISHER , 10 MAY 2021

The footnotes are comments made by Helen Fisher during her review of the transcript and are clarifications and useful additional information to what is being discussed in the interview.

Eléana Sanchez: Is it okay if I record this video call? It will say so on your screen. Because then I have to transcribe everything.

Helen Fisher: Oh (laughs) do you do that manually or do you have something that will automate it?

Eléana Sanchez: There's the- there's a- an app by Google that records and if you speak English, if you record English speech, it will turn it into a transcript but it doesn't work with French so it's very lucky that I'm working with English people.

Helen Fisher: Have you done lots of interviews with people? I know you've spoken to Kieran and Matthew Hilton and others.

Eléana Sanchez: I think you're the ninth person I'm interviewing.

Helen Fisher: Okay, yeah and you have more after me?

Eléana Sanchez: I think so a few people but I am, I don't know I'm being, because it depends on whether people agree or not so there's like the ideal list of people I would like to interview and then there's the people who say yes and then there's there are people who show up on my radar with, about whom, I didn't think about before so I can adapt but I think at some point like I can't do so many interviews because it's going to be too much to, to analyze I think.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, so let's say this- the interviews and the material from that forms just forms part of your thesis or a big part or?

Eléana Sanchez: Well that- I was going to say, like maybe I should start by presenting the the the work so it's a good idea. So like my two corpuses, corpora are the archive and the interviews so we have two sets of interviews that are already published well one of them is actually not officially published but I found it so there's the, the one that was published in Cultural Studies the- in the journal I think it was in 2011 that were made by Hudson Vincent and there's another series of interviews that were made by Kieran Connell and this one is very- like you have 50 or so people who were interviewed so it's very rich so I'm trying to fill the gaps, people who may have not been interviewed yet and I'm interviewing CCCS historians and archivists, people such as yourself because you have a very rich and interesting viewpoint on the object.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, it's quite an interesting, in itself the archive isn't that different from maybe some others but the way that it came about or the way that it was established and the way that I worked with academics is, is different to what I would normally do I think so that's, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: How different?

Helen Fisher: Well. So did you – (laughs) because... So sometimes. I'm the University's Archivist and my main responsibility is the university's institutional archive so that's the "official" archive and material would come to us via transfers from different academic departments. As well as that I look after papers of former members of staff and former students and that's where the CCCS archive is, is mostly connected with. So most of that would come to me via personal contact, so it's usually, often it's when a former academic has died and their family are looking for a home for their papers, although sometimes when people are still alive, they're aware that their research papers are of value and relevant so they would enter into that discussion with us. With former students, it's mostly different types of material and mostly relates directly to their time at Birmingham as students, so it's more kind of personal and ephemeral material, so photographs or programs or flyers and things like that that relate to or reflect student life. But with CCCS, the drive for it came very much from Matthew Hilton and from Kieran I think so I guess as part of Kieran's work on his PhD and I think because Kieran's parents have been connected with the CCCS so he had that personal connection and he knew people like Michael Green who I think was a family friend and a mentor. So there are obviously conversations going on between them in about 2010 and with I think Michael and someone called Dave Morley, David Morley who was also a CCCS member, and they were both talking about sets of papers that they had and I think Matthew was thinking: 'why don't we gather papers together to make a CCCS archive?' But I think there was a sense that, that would only have been possible if they could get somebody very respected within CCCS like Stuart Hall to say 'yes', he would want to deposit his papers as well and to deposit papers at Birmingham. So, you will know about the history of CCCS and the way that CCCS ended at Birmingham, so I think there was a sense that a lot of people who were former members would need to trust the institution again and to be assured that people at the institution would undertake to properly preserve and properly care for and properly understand the importance of the work of the CCCS and open it to research for people now and kind of make a connection between those papers of former members of staff and students of CCCS and whatever we might be able to find from the "official" departmental archive and I think, I knew from what little I knew at the time of how CCCS worked was that the best way, or the most, the most comprehensive way of telling the story of CCCS would be through those papers or former members, rather than through the departmental archive, if it existed because it was less structured than maybe some other academic departments because it was more, it was less hierarchical, people worked in those groups a lot of the time. I think they did, they generated a lot of material because they had the photocopy machine and they could send out, so all the material that we got there was a lot of it but it was quite hard sometimes to place it into a structure, as you might do for a normal organisational archive so I think, if it had been me working on my own I wouldn't have known about any of these former members necessarily and I wouldn't have been actively seeking them. I would have probably waited to see whether they contacted me, and the only way they were going to is if Matthew and Kieran had done that kind of diplomacy work with them, and then I also was able to say, 'but this is what we would do with your material', and also I think it probably made a difference that the people responsible for the end of CCCS weren't at the University anymore and it was all senior management, they had left it was quite, and I -we in the archives- had nothing to do with it anyway so archivists, you know, we're not neutral because no one is neutral but we can be more objective I think than academics because we have less we're not working in the same way if that makes sense. So I think (pauses), yeah Matthew said he knew some of

the people who had been at CCCS in the nine- in 2002 when it ended and they would know people who were at CCCS in the 1970s, so I think, I then kind of had... you asked how material came in, and it was mostly Kieran- he did a lot of the work in trying to find people and trace people but sometimes, he would just give my address out and they would contact me directly so I think... Oh yes at the same time, Matthew had said that there was some stuff in a cupboard in Sociology, so we went to look at that and that turned out to be what was left of the departmental records so, that would be the things like the annual reports and the stencilled occasional papers they had a set of those they also had some sets of periodicals and magazines that I think had formed a, I guess a library for people to use, but not very much of the kind of what you might expect from a departmental archive so there was a, there was a CCCS committee, and we do have some minutes of that committee, but they came via the council and senate records and the registry there, and we didn't have personnel records or material relating to staff's official positions in CCCS or I don't know programs of events a little bit but not, not from the department, so the departmental archive is great in itself, but it doesn't really tell you that much that's not already in the public domain because the annual reports, you know, there are, they exist somewhere else, the stencilled occasional papers there were lots of them, so it's really the, material that comes from individuals who had kept papers and who generated their own papers, that is the CCCS archive I suppose.

Eléana Sanchez: So have you, were you already, had you already worked on the University archive before?

Helen Fisher: Yes, yeah I was I was appointed in 2008 and then, it was in 2010 that they started having this conversation and it came initially through my boss, so the director of special collections at Cadbury Research Library, but because it would relate to the university it was then passed on to me and I started talking to Kieran and Matthew about it and how we would do it. And what we, what we could offer, and I think at the beginning we didn't know how much material would come and I think they put in a funding bid in... the first funding bid didn't succeed but in that first funding bid they included a post for an archivist who would have worked on all of that material, the second funding bid did succeed but it was smaller so it didn't have that archivist role so Kieran did a little bit of the work and I sort of trained him to catalogue and I did some, but I'm aware that the CCCS archive is not fully cataloged so, you probably have seen there are some box lists, there are some summary descriptions there are some full catalogs but some are not at all so, I think if the first funding bit had come off it would have been, it would have been more of a polished or more of a finished archive than it is now, but that's just how it happened I think. So I ended up, I think at first I thought I would have some involvement in it, but in the end I had more, more direct involvement than I anticipated at first and I think, we might discuss this later but I think there are then legacy issues to consider because both Kieran, Matthew have left the university and so now it's just me who had anything to do with that project and I'm kind of "the" CCCS person now by default and I know I didn't really anticipate that that would be the case. That did I did have concerns about that at the time I did say well what happens if you're not here anymore and they were both oh no that's fine, but there's been a couple of things that have happened since that have made me realise that I was right to raise that, so Kieran who had put all the digitized versions of the annual reports and the Stenciled Occasional Papers on the History department website and then somebody took them all down in October last year, and people who'd use had used them in the university or elsewhere were saying 'well where are they what's happened to them' and so I had to, Kieran sent me the PDFs because we

didn't have them and then I had to talk to people in the library about getting them put on their repository and then we put some of the annual reports on ours so it's just, things like that that because you haven't got a clear necessarily a clear academic involvement after it starts as an academic project and we are not that well-resourced, I mean we are to some degree but not for that type of activity necessarily, so it's just me trying to think of all what can we what do I have control over, what can we do that doesn't cost any money, this is a way of making things available to people and so yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Don't I know what you mean. I think that's what happened to the, to Kieran's interviews because I found them I didn't find them on the university website per se, I found them by looking up Bill Schwarz, and then there was a one-link that led me directly to the PDF and then I, I worked out that if I took out Bill Schwartz and I just, left the root as it was I would find like other interviews and that's what yeah and that's what happened and I downloaded all of them because I didn't know if they would still be available that way.

Helen Fisher: Yeah yeah, I mean the interviews, there is another issue that I will tell you but this is a bit so when they did the interviews, they didn't have any informed consent so you know, you sent me the informed consent form, they didn't do that and I said at the time, we can't as an archive we can't make these available without the informed consent because it's their it's not ethically, I don't want to do that, I'm not going to do that, so they kind of said oh no, it's fine, it's fine and I said well if you want to do it, then that's fine and you take the responsibility. That's why they were on the History department website, so they've all been taken down and then Kieran said to me can you put the interview up and I said no because I said this before I'm not doing it without the informed consent.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm

Helen Fisher: And I do, I think, that makes me feel bad because I had I do have copies of those interviews but, we can't put them on, we, I don't want to put them online because no one, you know the sorts of things that people in CCCS would say, a lot of them are still alive there will be lots of debate lots of discussion lots of things that they, they might feel happy about doing it but unless they've signed the form to say that they're happy with doing it it's not, I can't do... Anyway I'm glad that you've got (laughs) access to the interviews now¹⁴⁵⁹.

Eléana Sanchez: I think if I wanted to use this set of interviews, I have to ask permission to every person who was interviewed.

Helen Fisher: I think so.

Eléana Sanchez: But I'm not the one who made the interviews, so I don't know how that would work.

Helen Fisher: I think if you cite the interviews but don't quote from them, then you might be able to get around it. But if you quote from them, you would need to ask for those

¹⁴⁵⁹ I was trying to say here that the people being interviewed might be happy with what they were saying being in the public domain but if they were talking about their contemporaries and we didn't have that informed consent then it is more difficult if there are contentious statements about other living individuals in those interviews and they are available online.

individuals and for their permission. It's very difficult. It's very frustrating because it's very rich as you said at the beginning it's- they are amazing but they don't have the informed consent or, and that's another legacy issue because we all know what happened so, this is not even ten years or, he made them in 2013-2014, so this is still several years. I know what happened with those interviews. But in another 10 years another 20 years, the archive would be left with, will be left with all these interviews but has no paperwork. We've already got this from a set of interviews from 1990, another set of really good interviews no one did recording agreements or informed consent and I'm having to try and contact people who were maybe 60 no not 60, so 30 years ago, they might not be alive, I'm trying to contact them or their family members if I can find them, similar to what you're doing some detective work, oh that's that person, can I contact them is that an email address for them. I will try and then you don't know whether you're gonna hear back so it's really time-consuming, but in order to use those or to make them available online which is what we're trying to do with these old ones it's very difficult.

Eléana Sanchez: So this is from the 90s?

Helen Fisher: This is yeah, nothing to do with CCCS, but it's from the early 90s yeah they were on audio cassette and then I was trying to digitize them and yeah, so nothing to do with what you're asking about, but it's a similar problem.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah it is, it is. Okay. Um, all right, it's funny because without meaning to we've covered some of the points I wanted to ask you about. Hm yeah a very a very specific question, you know, there are annual reports up until 1988. I think yeah and then there's *Cultural Studies from Birmingham* that starts in 91. Is there something that bridges this gap of a few years?

Helen Fisher: Hm I'm not sure. Because *Cultural Studies from Birmingham* is more of a kind of current research, isn't it? It's what people were working on there at the time?

Eléana Sanchez: And it also acts as a sort of annual report?

Helen Fisher: Okay. Let me just check the catalogue. The last annual report doesn't. They started to, they weren't strictly annual at that point so you've got 86 to 88 or then whenever they decided to do the next one yeah. Let me just check the catalogue. I think maybe as well because CCCS was in different, structurally within the University it was being moved around, wasn't it, so I don't know whether. Maybe they didn't. That's interesting because the university has been something called research and publications report, which came out every year and CCCS would have contributed to that as well, but I haven't actually checked that to see what, what the content is, but I can I can do that if you wanted to know.

Eléana Sanchez: Well that brings me to the parts yeah, so I was supposed to come hm, now that I can't obviously come and so I will see like the as soon as I can come. I will travel-

Helen Fisher: Yes, I was going to talk to you about that. It depends on when you can travel from France, but we are hoping that we will be able to open for external researchers from the start of July so it would be a book, you'd need to make a- book appointments and it would be very limited people in the reading room, but but we should be able to do that if things stay the same. If things keep on getting better then yes. Because I know, yeah, do you have funding to come?

Eléana Sanchez: I should get funding.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, how long would you plan to come for?

Eléana Sanchez: It depends because I have, I have work to do on the CCCS archive and I also want to work on the University Heritage Archive because I think there might be a lot of things in there about CCCS.

Helen Fisher: Yeah and I can talk, I can talk to you about not in an interview but if you want to email me about more material for your visit and I can point you in the right direction. And would this be the whole history of CCCS existence so the 1960s right away through to (2002)

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Helen Fisher: Yeah so I think most of it should be fine apart from committee minutes where there's a closure period, so some of the later material may not be accessible but to be honest the committees don't tell you that much about CCCS I think Kieran found that is quite frustrating because they don't talk very much-

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, that's what we, we said because he was, I was asking him about what would be interesting to find out and he told me about how the university viewed or referred to the CCCS. I think they were embarrassed (laughs).

Helen Fisher: Yeah! They did, and also because they kind of changed in it, it started as being very kind of literary criticism and you know, it was very English language and literature based because of Richard Hoggart and then it moved quite far from its initial existence and then maybe the university thought 'oh this is fine in the mid 60s', but then it turned into something they weren't expecting at all and just thought 'oh we don't really understand that, we'll just let them go on with it' and... Yeah, I don't know about the annual reports and then the... Yes *Cultural Studies from Birmingham*, that's from 1992 date to 1997, it's no so I've said in my description that *Cultural Studies from Birmingham* was designed to replace the Stenciled occasional papers, so... But then it said it acts as a kind of annual report. I must have said that I must have thought that it did, but I don't know what I'm basing that on just on the content of the, of the piece. I don't know whether it was planned to do that.

Eléana Sanchez: I think it's because it contains a list of students and staff.

Helen Fisher: Yeah. Well and maybe. And maybe they're just bringing everything together into one publication rather than having the two series and it's so yes and it became a department in 1988 so perhaps that's why they did it. I don't know, sorry its not that's not definitive at all, it's just...

Eléana Sanchez: That's okay! I think I think there are gaps in the, in the archive because there are gaps in the history of CCCS there because for example the, the last annual report, or the 72 seventy- 74 covers the whole period when Richard Hoggart left.

Helen Fisher: Yeah

Eléana Sanchez: So you have a you have a seventy seven, no seventy four hindsight of things that happen two years before, so it's very dialed down, very short, synthetic.

Helen Fisher: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, so, so how long did it take to have like the first version of the archive?

Helen Fisher: So... We got... I'm just trying to think. Most of the material came to us while Kieran was working as research assistant on that project because it was generating a lot of interest and people he was talking to were depositing material and then they were talking to colleagues and saying, oh you can also deposit material and I think some people wanted to deposit because they had, they knew that they had significant material and I think some people were quite surprised that they had things in their attic that they didn't want and it was a good opportunity to get rid of it. So I think people really differed in what they thought about the concept of their material. I think by the time of the fiftieth anniversary conference we had quite a number of collections. But material continued to come in after that. I've got a list somewhere of, or I can go back through the catalogue records to see when I was taking receipt of each of them, so I can, I could, after this I can tell you how many came in up to 2014 and how many came in after that, which might be a good indicator. I think we had probably over ten sets of, over 10 sets of papers from individuals. Probably more than that, sorry. I haven't thought about numbers. So Richard Johnson gave his papers very early. I think 20, maybe 2012. Kieran got Michael Green's papers, but he sadly died during this process and that was really difficult for everyone. David Morley and Green, I'm just thinking of the names I can remember from the beginning, Tony Jefferson has Chas Critcher. A lot from the earlier period or I think people who'd kept their association with the centre like Richard Johnson, his papers were really good in that they gave a good overview of what the Centre was doing over quite a long period of time. I'm trying to think of.. Col- is there someone called Colin Sparks?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, yeah.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, Colin Sparks. I'm just gonna have a check and see. And some people who'd, I suppose it's, it was mostly people who'd been students at the Centre rather than people who had worked to staff at the centre which I guess makes sense because that's going to be the bulk of the people that were associated with it because it didn't have that many permanent staff and, (browse through the catalogue) I think probably most of it will have come when Kieran was working on that project because then he moved on to working on an associated project to do with papers of Janet Mendelsohn, so the Janet Mendelsohn material came to us by 2014. I think the bulk of it had come by 2014, you know, and it's just... Kieran moved to Belfast for- after the Janet Mendelsohn... I'd say yeah most of it by 2014, a little bit more up to say 2016 and then since then it's been very sporadic apart from Stuart Hall's papers which we got in 2018 when, we had known from the start that Stuart Hall was happy to deposit but it would happen after his death and then quite some time after that I started talking to Catherine Hall about the transfer of the papers but it was quite a slow incremental process because she had people working on the papers at her house and then she also wanted to feel comfortable with finally, finally get, them leaving and it was a it was quite a big thing for her for that to happen so that was 2018, and I think since then attention has mostly been on the Stuart Hall archive rather than on the rest of the CCCS archive because it's very big in itself and I think the interest is maybe now more in him or there is some material to do with CCCS in his archive but not as much as you might think and nothing that's massively different from what appears in some of the other people's archives because there's a lot of working group material and a lot of drafts of CCCS papers and things like that, so yeah, you were, sorry, you were saying what size?

It's difficult because, because we've made it, it is a, it is an archive, it is the CCCS archive as a discrete body of material but it exists as that in a virtual form rather than in a physical form because I had to explain to Kieran and Matthew that you couldn't take a lot of material from a lot of different people and just put it all together because that would then deny the concept of provenance and an individual person as the creator of that archive and... I can see the temptation to think well you've got some annual reports from those years from that person and from those years from that person, why don't you just all put them together to make a set of annual reports, and I think you can do that, but, because of the way CCCS worked as well, I thought that it was a lot better to retain that sense of this being an individual's archive. And it gets its own reference number and then you have the archive of another individual also related to CCCS who has, who has their own individual reference number. And then you just cross refer online and it's clear, you have a list of these are all the CCCS stuff and then from a very boring unintellectual just ease of use, you know, somebody else tries, decides to give me an archive, I generate the next reference number, and that's (inaudible) the CCCS but it's not 'oh I'm going to have to try and find somewhere in the CCCS archive to put this material' and I think it can help and I think it certainly did help when Stuart Hall was considering, where we could say we'll know this would be your archive deposited in Birmingham, but intellectually part of the CCCS archive but physically, it's the Stuart Hall archive, you have your own reference number you have your own intellectual control and you can see, I think then you can see the individuals as well as the whole, you know, it's not, it's a collective effort to be part of CCCS. And I think Matthew and Kieran in the end understood that concept and thought it was probably better than what they had suggested at the start, hm. So, but it does make it difficult, if somebody wanted to come into the archive store and say, can you show me all the boxes that form the CCCS archive? I've, I would have to take them to different parts of the store. It could add up how many boxes it is for them, but it's not, it's not like you go into one room and everything is there, hm. And I think it's some people, I had to send a lot of emails explaining how we were going to do it and explaining why it was important that we did it that way, hm. But and that's the other thing I think a lot of people don't, they wouldn't have had to understand concepts of archive management or cataloging, so. But so I had to try and explain that to people as well and, in a way that they would understand and, and be happy with. Which was, that's different as well, most people don't- I think when I'm approached about material most people aren't going to be asking those questions. But I think partly because of the way CCCS had ended at Birmingham and partly because people haven't necessarily thought about depositing before. And partly because it was an exercise in diplomacy and trying to get people to support it all. I knew that it was very important to try and build up those relationships with people and even more so I think for Stuart Hall and for Catherine and because it's, I, if I was there and I knew how Birmingham had treated the legacy of CCCS or CCCS, I would have concerns about depositing my papers there, so I had to make sure that people could trust me. And, I suppose that's different to the relat- to the discussions that Kieran and Matthew were having with them because they probably already knew Kieran and Matthew to some extent but they didn't know me at all and they didn't know, to them I was part of the university and part of the establishment. So I had to, I had to do probably more work than Kieran and Matthew did to, to build up a good relationship. Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: So, did you, did you? It seems to me like you took into account the shape and the nature of CCCS to have it be reflected into the archive's structure.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, I think so. I think... Yes, having it as a set of collections of different people who all happened to be parts CCCS and had that link made it, I think fitted much better with how CCCS worked than... Although to be honest, I don't know how you would do it in a different way with a, with a more sort of traditional university department where you've got lots of papers of lots of different people who were involved in an organization over a quite a wide period so some of those papers are from the 1960s and some of them are from the 1990s or very soon, very soon before it closed. But I am quite pleased that it does, it's not, that wasn't necessarily, my, my main thought was to make it fit with archival principles at the start, that's what I wanted. But it made it easier to explain to people in terms of 'this is how CCCS works so this is what we want to do', but that wasn't my primary concern I think at the very start... At the very start it was quite difficult I think because I didn't know, I didn't know what we would get, we might, we might not have got anything. I don't, you know people can say oh yes, they're interested, it's like people can say to you yes, they'll do an interview but they might not ever get round to it just because other things happen and it's not a priority for them, and I didn't know what type of material we would get either and I don't think Kieran and Matthew did either, so. I think you know, Janet Mendelsohn is a really good example of that, we didn't, I had no idea that that would be such an amazing collection and she was only, she was in Birmingham for two years, and that all of those photographs had been kept and you know, there's problems in themselves with those photographs and the story of the woman that she was photographing and everything but that was a, you would never have predicted that you would have been given that material I think when this all started, hm. And, I think they were expecting to receive the kind of working documents and the subgroup material that they did receive. But when it came to doing the exhibition in 2014, it was, it was quite difficult to... they're not very visual (laughs) those, you know is quite hard to think how exciting is this, you have to read it's quite dense, it's quite intellectual in an exhibition, it doesn't necessarily work that well, whereas on the other hand, Janet Mendelsohn's photographs... brilliant for an exhibition but sensitivities associated with the people in those photographs and the circumstances under which they were involved in that and photographed and you know, they are still living in Birmingham now and that is even more difficult because they were not expecting photographs that were taken 50 years ago to then suddenly be on display in the city that they live in so yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: It's very. I like it because it's- it echoes with a lot of questions that I've been asking myself with the interviews, with how do you, how do you quote someone- to respect- because especially with interviews? I'm trying to- I'm not trying to steal. I'm really trying to respect and I'm really trying to get a fuller, more complete picture, but you can't do it without risking hurting people.

Helen Fisher: Hm-mm. Yeah it's because it's so because people are still alive, it's a lot easier to do say 19th century history because you don't have any of those concerns and I think archivally it's difficult as well when people are still living and family members are involved and especially when the material is quite personal and open to different interpretations so. People, people who create material that deals with other, other people can say, oh well I would, that it's clear I was doing it in this way and they knew that but unless there's something written down where both parties definitely agreed to that at the time it's one person's word against another person's word and I think you can do something at a certain point in time and not think if things are written down and then resurface in an archive it's... And that's not your archive either or there, you might, you might be the subject of what's discussed, but you haven't made the decision to keep that

in an archive and then deposit it so that it can be researched by all sorts of people and then the results of that research be available online globally, it's a lot to think about.

Eléana Sanchez: Especially since there was no internet in the sixties, so you couldn't project yourself in that kind of network.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, you would have no idea so the Janet Mendelsohn's photographs that she took with the woman that she called Kathleen, they were never exhibited in, in the UK in the sixties, she went back to the States she did exhibit that material at Harvard I think in 1970 but the subjects of her photographs wouldn't have known that except somebody has digitized the Harvard University magazine from 1970 that talks about that exhibition, so if you were looking for yourself online, you could find that. Then the photographs come back to Birmingham in 2014, then an art gallery in Birmingham does a big exhibition of them in 2016 and the woman in those photographs finds herself on an advert on the bus in Birmingham.

Eléana Sanchez: Wow.

Helen Fisher: So. Just, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: And in the Guardian and in many newspapers, because I've seen half a dozen articles on the, on the exhibition online.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, yeah. I think I had a... I... This is another... I'm probably very risk-averse and I'm very I was very... I was a bit concerned about them doing it at the time or, or at least focusing on those particular photographs and then when the, when the women came forward and it was quite difficult, I think since then Kieran has done quite a lot of work with that person and has talked to her a lot about everything. But I think... I had a meeting with somebody from the Ikon gallery, which was where the exhibition was, about something completely different and he said 'oh I think if we were deciding on that now we wouldn't do that exhibition, or not do it in that way' because I think they just didn't think about it necessarily. To me I thought there is a chance that if she's not living in Birmingham her family or her children will be.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. It's difficult.

Helen Fisher: It's really difficult because they are they are amazing photographs and I think as well because... Because Janet Mendelsohn, her memories of that time are not very clear now so it's, it's hard to get a sense of what she... What she remembers about her relationship with that person and then that woman has her own reasons for displaying or putting forward a certain narrative about what she was doing at that time so it's very hard to get a sense of what actually, what was the understanding what was what were the truths of that and it's... a minefield it's really difficult.

Eléana Sanchez: It is but on the other hand if you're studying the end of 19th century literature, you wouldn't get this kind of material.

Helen Fisher: No.

Eléana Sanchez: So it's a tough line to walk.

Helen Fisher: Yeah yeah, really tough.

Eléana Sanchez: Um, So do you think hm, yeah, you said something interesting just a few minutes ago you said that... Is- is the CCCS archive part of the Stuart Hall archive now?

Helen Fisher: No the Stuart Hall archive is part of the CCCS archive (laughs). Yes so because he was a member of staff at the Centre, his archive is listed as one of those sets of papers within the CCCS archive. But because so everyone, everyone else, their papers are, so 'papers of Richard Johnson', 'papers of Colin Sparks', but the Stuart Hall papers are: 'The Stuart Hall Archive' (makes hand gestures to signify its importance and laughs) because it's more prominent I suppose so that... I think everyone associated with the transfer of those papers kind of thought that it needed that sort of title rather than just papers of Stuart Hall.

Eléana Sanchez: (both laugh) He was, he was, yeah. So can you tell me about the discussions that took place, you touched a bit, you touched upon it a little but about having the CCCS archive held at the University of Birmingham or not, was it...

Helen Fisher: Yeah. I think I think at the start when Kieran and Matthew were talking to various people including Stuart Hall there was a sense that, if there was to be an archive then it could go anywhere because anywhere, anywhere else in the UK would be pleased to have it because the CCCS was innovative and very different and a lot of people associated with it, it became important and because it kind of drove that development of cultural studies everywhere, and certainly if Stuart Hall was depositing his archive it could have gone anywhere: places that he worked at other than Birmingham so the Open University or any institutions in London he was associated with, or really just any national, you know, national institutions like the British Library or some somewhere else or Black cultural archives or just anywhere so. I think, I think Matthew was aware that in order for Birmingham to have a... Have a claim to it, Birmingham needed to be more, needed to do some kind, some sort of reparation for how, it how CCCS had ended or to make clear that that was in the past and that Birmingham deserved to get that archive basically I think and I've, but I think a lot of that was to do with personalities. Matthew is quite a strong personality, he was well respected, he was at Birmingham at the time, he was able to do, have some of those conversations and I think maybe personalities with Kieran as well because he had that family connection with CCCS and he was seen as part of the CCCS, I won't say family but part of the CCCS community I suppose so I think if those, personalities hadn't been there, I don't think any of this would have happened, not, and I if there hadn't been an archive and if Stuart Hall's family hadn't given his papers, they probably wouldn't have given them to Birmingham. I don't think.

Eléana Sanchez: Hm-mm. Do you remember people strongly rejecting the project?

Helen Fisher: I wasn't directly involved in those discussions, because I think by the time people got to speak to me the preliminary work had already been done so that Kieran would put people in touch with me once he'd spoken to people and they were happy to deposit their papers, but I think there probably was some resistance and I think, I think it was very much a personal choice I think they were probably some people Kieran spoke to and maybe interviewed that either thought they didn't have papers that were worth giving or didn't have anything left or probably didn't want to but I don't I don't know who those people were and what, what the extent of that was. I think maybe other people were, would have been willing but just never got around to and maybe will do in the future, you know, I have had in the last couple of years people that evidently had been involved with Kieran several years ago and had only now thought 'oh yes. I could now get rid of this material

if they still want it' and so that so the CCCS archive isn't complete, I will always consider and take in additional material it's an on-going thing and I think there were a couple of people that were worried about sensitive material in their papers so, as we were discussing, you know, the, the nature of research that people were doing or the correspondence people were having with each other especially where it's people that are still alive and you're talking about quite personal sensitive or ethically problematic things. They did ask me will these be available immediately or what will you do, and so then I would talk people through what we would do with anyone's papers if there is material like that you would talk about do we set closure periods for these, how long would we set the closure period for and in that way you would, you would be able to make most of the collection available but you would have some files that you kept back or maybe some files where you would provide redacted copies, so we ended up doing that with Janet Mendelsohn because some of her notes she had given the real name of the woman that she photographed so I had to go through and make photocopies of those notes and you cross out or you know, black out the, the names so we explained that those were things that we would do and kind of assure them about procedures that we would follow that which are the same for everything and I think there's a couple of people that were concerned about that who were reassured and I think there are a couple of collections where we've got a little bit of redacted or closed material. But I suppose that might have been people that had concerns about the entirety of their material and so they never got as far as discussing with Kieran depositing but he never told me about any of that so I, so maybe that wasn't any of it and I think with Stuart Hall as well. Catherine yes, we've got the bulk of that material but Catherine has retained some material to do with I think to do with their relationship when they were younger and family material which is completely understandable and I would do the same I think. The archive that has come to us is his professional and public and research life and she has left open that some of that more personal and family material might come to us at a later date and I've left that open with her and I think you know, that's what I do in this sort of situation with anyone regardless of whether it's Stuart Hall or not you're talking to the family and you're making the family comfortable with what you do and I wanted them to see me as a trusted person who would do the best but, the best for them and the best for the material, so I know that there is this material that she has retained and I don't think the archive loses its significance, or its importance from not having that yet and we may never get that, and it doesn't really matter. It would matter to people that really want to know everything about Stuart Hall, but you can't ever know everything about anyone so. That's just how it is.

Eléana Sanchez: Were there... people in the university who did not want the archive to be created?

Helen Fisher: That's interesting. I, again, I wonder whether. I wonder whether the Vice Chancellor and maybe some senior people in the University were a little bit apprehensive about having memories of the CCCS revived, even though they had not been the people making the decisions about the closure, it still brings up uncomfortable discussions about the university and its reputation and so I think Matthew was quite careful to have discussions with the Vice-Chancellor about what they were proposing to do and I think he had quite a good working relationship with the Vice Chancellor so he was able to say, 'This is what we're doing' but I think yeah around the time of that 50th anniversary conference I think. Yeah... it was a, it was a bit of a conflicted... hm... there was publicity about it, but I wonder whether, the University (inaudible) had been something purely to

celebrate would have made more of hm.... So and I think there was some anticipation that that 2014 conference would be a forum for people to express their...

Eléana Sanchez: Grievances.

Helen Fisher: Feelings and grievances. (both laugh) About what the university had done in- there was a little bit of that. I didn't go... I went to I think. It was over two days and I think I went to one day of it or part of one day and there were certainly questions from the floor and parts of panel discussions where people did talk about that. And that's I think that was going to happen anyway. Because if you're providing people with an opportunity to get together to discuss the creation of an archive you are going to talk about what happened before that, and for a lot of people it was coming back to Birmingham for the first time I think since, since closure so it's a lot of, there's a lot of stuff going on there for them, but because I wasn't Kieran or Matthew I wasn't involved in... Certainly no one came up to me and said anything negative. I think there was maybe a couple of questions about the archive and I had to say something about how the archive was constituted. What I was saying wasn't contentious and obviously you know, that was that. But I think that conference was good because it got people to, to see CCCS as something that was really unique and really a good you know, despite how it ended, the sense that I got was that people were so pleased to have been part of that and, and they were pleased that there was now a kind of written legacy that had been collected for people to carry on research in, and certainly, the other thing when we created it is I didn't know how much research interest there would be you know, and that's the other, you can be a bit unsure when you're approached about a collection, purely from a kind of, no, we don't have unlimited space, so if I give space to this collection is it going to be used or is it just going to be stored and no one uses it and what's, not what's the point in having it but you can't show, oh well since we've had this we've had 10 people come so I was really pleasantly surprised at how much interest there has been in it since. Lots of inquiries all, all the time, lots of people doing postgraduate work and on it and always quite you know, interesting and different as well. And so out of all the staff and student-related collections those CCCS sets of papers are yeah among the most heavily used even though a lot of them aren't fully cataloged, you know, you have a summary description but you don't have a lot more, so it has it, has been a really good thing to have created that archive I think. Hm. Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: So, there are people, other people from France studying the CCCs.

Helen Fisher: I think maybe yes but. Not that many but certainly yeah we've had. I can't say for sure but I think there has been somebody from France maybe more than one person. South-America, students are quite different countries in South America students are quite interested, or I have had interest and the US and Canada a bit, the UK some, yes other country- other countries in Europe there has been interest in that so? The work of CCCS in the UK has that translated to is it known about in France? I mean, it had an impact on cultural studies in France or not? Or...

Eléana Sanchez: I think it was the other way around.

Helen Fisher: Oh really (smiles)

Eléana Sanchez: I think they were really. They read quite a quite like many French authors and the other way around hasn't quite happened in the same way. I mean, there's, there's

a very strong interest in Stuart Hall but there is no. Yeah, they read, they read the French but the French didn't read them. It's really it's really strange.

Helen Fisher: Yeah. I'm sure that's... Because I think certainly the people in the 1960s, especially Stuart Hall was reading Gramsci who's Italian isn't he, so and I think this sort of tradition from the 60s, that would be right, so yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: There is also a connection to UNESCO which could have it could have transferred into Parisian universities but I don't see it happening in the material I've come across.

Helen Fisher: Hm-hm.

Eléana Sanchez: It would be very interesting to create a CCCS scholars network from the post graduates students that have come in contact with you.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, I can. Some of those contacts come directly to me and some of them come to our mailbox the general. I think you maybe contacted me through the mailbox at first. Yeah, but yes, I thought that before it would be interesting because there is there are various people that have worked on it and in the last seven years or so. There is somebody else who, someone who's contacted me since since Corona who has not been able to visit. I can't remember where they're living or studying but. Yeah and this is I think in normal times you would have more people coming but I think a lot of people have just either they've diverted their research into things that they can do at home or they're delaying and maybe they'll contact me hopefully in the autumn if things are better then or maybe next year or don't know. Then, Yeah... And I think, I don't know you see I would have thought that there would be more interest in Stuart Hall now and there is but I don't know of anyone doing a PhD on Stuart Hall. And that's, the archive is his archive has gaps in it, quite... There's a lot. There's not a lot to do with... people want to know what he was doing in Birmingham while he was at CCCS and there isn't a lot of that you know, there's his CCCS work, but he was living in Birmingham and he, we know that he was involved in lots of community work in Birmingham but that, there is no evidence there is no written evidence of that in the archive and that's quite frustrating I think.

Eléana Sanchez: Is there anything you like or you find interesting or particularly important in the archive? Like your favourite piece.

Helen Fisher: (smiles and nods) Hm. I like, I suppose, I, because I don't have a background in cultural studies and I find some of it quite complicated so I. So, the things the obvious things I like I really like the Janet Mendelsohn material. I think not necessarily because of the, it's ethically very complicated and I'm always thinking about that. But I think the photographs that she didn't use for the exhibition there are 3,000 negatives that have been digitized and she was working in an area of Birmingham that was very interesting in the 60s, so you've got, there was a lot of Irish migration followed by South Asian followed, and African Caribbean migration. So and it's a quite, a deprived area of the city, there was a lot of bomb damage in the second world war and, there's a lot of street photography and children playing and that aspect of it I find really really interesting. And it's visual and it's you know, it's, it's very immediate photography. And the Stuart Hall, parts of the Stuart Hall archive I find interesting but again not the cultural studies necessarily he was really involved in CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) in the late fifties early sixties and there's some, there's some really interesting material there and, and then I was

lastly interested in (pauses) colonialism and how migrants to Britain are treated and how there's a lot, to, a lot of what I was reading about what he was writing in the eighties and nineties and now me reading it in the context of Brexit is very interesting to me and very sad because what I, for me one of the reasons for Brexit is because people in the UK don't have any understand- there's no there's no memory work done about the British Empire and about you know, what that famous thing Stuart Hall says: 'We are here because you were there' and there's no there's no understanding of that. And a lot of what he was writing about I thought oh yeah this is he's writing this 30 40 years ago, but you can see things coming through now but that's you know, that's me just as a person living in Britain now not someone who knows about cultural studies but that speaks to me quite clearly but I suppose this is when he's writing as a commentator for newspapers and periodicals rather than as a cultural theorist, which I find quite hard to get my head around and then I suppose the other thing is just I'm quite interested in how people at CCCS in the 60s and 70s were working with each other because there's all the subgroup things and I find that you know it is... They're having minor disagreements about things and it comes across in these endless different colored photocopies of things that they're talking about week to week. And I suppose I'm looking at that from my job as University Archivist you know, I'm quite familiar with newspapers from the seventies and how the campus looked in the seventies and then I'm thinking oh for CCCS student they're working on this but they're also on the campus and they're going to I don't know, music concerts and things and just how their lived experiences played out, but that's again not very intellectual (laughs).

Eléana Sanchez: But I think to, to, to go back to what you said about Stuart Hall writing, the fact that it wasn't really the cultural theorist part, I think that was the point I think it was very interesting that they, they were trying to transfer to translate very complicated jargon and authors and which I don't even, I don't, I don't want to read (both laugh) it would be a whole different thesis altogether but I think they really tried to transfer and to translate it into something that could be widely read.

Helen Fisher: Yeah yeah, and he really succeeded in that I think, but then I had somebody else in the States had asked recently about a VHS tape in his collection to see whether we can digitize it and I just played it through last week to see how long it was and he's talking in California to a group of students in the late eighties and he talks for over an hour and it's but it's very complicated and I just thought oh no, I'm not listening to all of this so I'm just gonna play it through to the end to see how long it is. So he could do both of those things and depending on who he's speaking to, but yeah I've certainly, but you know as an archivist you learn you learn about all sorts of things from dealing with collections where you don't necessarily have a specialist knowledge at the start but by the end you have things that you like, you have things that you're interested in you have things that you know about and I suppose that's what I've taken from CCCS: there are things that I'm interested in and know about and I'm quite relieved that you know, that the deep cultural theory don't (laughs) I don't need to know about.

Eléana Sanchez: Well it's, it's good if you have the time but it's a full-time job in itself.

Helen Fisher: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: So it sounds like it's, it's a special project for you.

Helen Fisher: Yeah. I've really, yeah. I know that it's a very important part of the history of the University despite the difficult relationship the University had with it for most of

its existence, but I am the Archivist of the University so I'm wanting to record all of it and I think yeah, the way it came about, it enabled me to work with academics more than I might do other situations and as well because I'm now kind of responsible for the legacy of that archive, I want to do the best thing for that material so I am happy to work with people who want to come and research and if people want to give me more material that's great as well, and ideally it would be nice to get somebody from Birmingham who wants, an academic from Birmingham who wanted to work on it, who wanted to work on funding bids because so in the Stuart Hall material there's a lot that we would like to digitize and should be digitized but we need the money to do that and catalogue it properly, it's so big and sort of make sure that we continue to do projects on that set of material in the future so that it's not just, we've collected it it's there we forget about it', it needs to be, there needs to be engagement and interaction with it, continuing.

Eléana Sanchez: Is there are something missing from the archive like, what would you like it to be there?

Helen Fisher: Yeah. I'm quite interested in the gaps in the departmental archive because I feel like what came, what was in those cupboards in sociology is probably just what someone kept, there will be a lot of stuff that got destroyed I think and I don't think you can, I don't think that we're gonna find that or be able to reconstitute that. That is a gap. I don't know but I'm sure there are gonna be papers of people who may be- Kieran interacted with or maybe Kieran couldn't find- that might fill in some of those gaps. Again, that's an unknown I don't, you know, I don't know. And if Catherine finds some material that's Stuart had to do with his time in Birmingham (laughs) and whether he worked with various groups, that would be really interesting and actually, I don't know I think, maybe more of the women that were involved in CCCS? So we do have some papers of some of the women and members but I think when it started it was quite a male dominated centre and a lot of the loudest voices are men and I know there was a bit, there was a debate about the extent to which feminism formed a part of CCCS and I think maybe more of, if there were more papers from women members that would be good if we can find those people if they wanted to.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah that's, that's also what I've been finding out and I- I've been trying to interview more women and I've been trying to fill the gaps because when you, when you talk, when you read the, the interviews that already have been published you get a sense that there were some friction but the interviewer was male and it was it's just very lightly touched upon and I talked to two people, to two women so far and when you, when you kind of dig into it you get a more precise picture, I'm just trying to get a sense of what it was like and I think I got a bit of- the beginning of an answer.

Helen Fisher: I think I think that's right from what I know and which is not very much but I think that's right I think there was some friction hm and then I know CCCS is very different to the rest the university but, and probably all universities were like this, but Birmingham was very was quite conservative outside CCCS and was called and was very male and still is quite male, you know, a lot of the sets of papers we have of staff that are not from CCCS, it's mostly men academics because it's going to be hm, and I've been, I've been looking at some transcripts of oral histories of former members of staff who were talking in the early 1990s and they're nearly all men and it's all talking about male professors and women are the secretaries or that, you know, that that's how it was on I suppose even though CCCS is a lot more progressive, it's still, has all of this history and that's how society was working and I think the, the proportion of men to women at

Birmingham in the seventies in terms of students is something like four to one so four men to one woman, that's quite it's not very many women and in student newspapers, it's so, from the sixties and seven even seventies it's so sexist it's really shocking so you're working in that, that's the environment you're working in, even in CCCS I think.

Eléana Sanchez: But you know what, I've been asking about the proportion of men and women at the Centre and I think the answer I got was closer to a third than a fourth so there might have been improvements compared to the rest of the university but it was still very, it was it was still there, you know.

Helen Fisher: Yeah yeah. Which women have you spoken to?

Eléana Sanchez: I spoke to hm Patricia McCabe and Chris Griffin .

Helen Fisher: Okay, I don't think either of them have given papers.

Eléana Sanchez: So Chris Griffin was not contacted by Kieran and Patricia McCabe was interviewed by Kieran and I don't know if she has deposited anything, I'm not sure.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, I don't think she has. Someone called Rebecca O'Rourke deposited papers and they're quite interesting.

Helen Fisher: And. Then. (bad connection)

Eléana Sanchez: Well, I think I lost you yeah.

Helen Fisher: I'm back

Eléana Sanchez: Oh yeah.

Helen Fisher: It did go very briefly. Janet Batsleer as well?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. As well I just found her in the student archive actually because I've been going over who from CCCS was part of the university heritage archive but I just saw her name but I didn't know her through CCCC.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, so looks like she was working on Feminist... Yeah, I don't know what she's...

Eléana Sanchez: But Chris would be good because she was the first female research hm staff, I guess. She came about in, was it 82 or 81 (1979)? She was like the, one of the first female appointments.

Helen Fisher: Okay

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah and I didn't, I never knew she was a woman because she comes across as Chris and not as Christine in the annual reports and so I thought that this was in itself very interesting.

Helen Fisher: Yeah

Eléana Sanchez: But yeah, if, if, if I had interviews that were valuable or interesting from that point of view, do you think it would be relevant to include them into the archive?

Helen Fisher: Yeah, if they would, if they, if the people you have spoken to would be happy to do that, we have a, there's a separate section where I have added material generated as a result of work on the CCCS archive so for the 2014 exhibition, there were some artists in residence that were commissioned to do some work and so I've put their material there and so yeah, there would be a place for if they were happy and if you want, if you thought that was something appropriate and that they were happy to do it, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Because that's what I'm trying to do. I'm trying to feel the gaps a little if, if it can be done,

Helen Fisher: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, I think well, it's been it's been an hour and 20 minutes so I don't want to keep you forever.

Helen Fisher: That's fine. I'm sorry, I'm sorry I had to say 11am because I know it's lunchtime for you.

Eléana Sanchez: That's fine (smiles) I just, I'll have lunch now it's fine.

Helen Fisher: What did I say I would do, I said I would do something tonight how many collections came at what point?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, if you have different versions of the, the archive catalogue that would be good to, for me to see the evolution, it would be very interesting and then, yeah, there was something that filled the gap between the last annual reports and the first Cultural Studies from Birmingham, but I don't think, I don't think there is.

Helen Fisher: No, but I said that I would look at hm giving you- signpost you to material in the University Institutional Heritage archive that might be useful for your visit.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah

Helen Fisher: And then so, I'm hoping that we can book people from July on but I think if I, I will contact you or if you contact me in the middle of June, you just say that we know that things are okay and that you can do that and then I can book or you can book an appointment or more than one, I don't know how long you would be in Birmingham for but, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Well the longer the better but yeah, it would initially if it if I didn't have to book appointments I would have come for two weeks and just be over every day, because I think they're there's quite a lot of material that I haven't-

Helen Fisher: I mean that might be possible that's kind of what we're anticipating that people who have not come or haven't been able to come for a long time will want more than one but we're trying to work at how we, anticipate demand and then how we use our reading room. It's not, it's okay for ventilation but it's not brilliant so we need to space people out and yeah, it's just, every different thing that we think about that's more to think about so yeah, but I will, I'll get back in touch with you in the middle of June and we can talk about how it works, is that too late or too soon before your visit or?

Eléana Sanchez: I'll adapt because I know things are difficult and I'll come whenever I can come comfortably I guess.

Helen Fisher: Okay and you'll be able to travel by then?

Eléana Sanchez: Hopefully I think so yeah might have to get vaccinated.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, but things are improving for vaccinations now?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah they are.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: And also if I don't know if that's okay because people have contacted you and they're, it's not like a public endeavour, but if you could tell me who has contacted you as part of their research on CCCS I would be very interested in contacting them.

Helen Fisher: Yeah, I can. Yeah, I'm just thinking about the ethics of giving out people's names. But I, what I can do is. I can contact them on your behalf and say,

Eléana Sanchez: But that's a lot of work. (smiles) I don't want you to...

Helen Fisher: Oh, first of all I'll see how many people there are, and if it's people that have already finished then presumably their thesis will be in the public domain so that's all okay, but if it's people that are still working then I can't... Let me see how many people there are first and then we'll see how big a job it is?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. Because it's information I could find out online, but it would be like finding (I meant to say it's like looking for a needle in a haystack)

Helen Fisher: It is yeah exactly yeah, If I can make it easier for you then.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, yeah. Okay, all right, well Helen thank you so much that was, I lost that I lost track of my guide because what you were saying was so interesting. (both laugh)

Helen Fisher: Oh that's good because I thought I was just rambling. I lost track of my guide too! So that's okay if it was useful too.

Eléana Sanchez: It was very useful because I think you had a major influence on what the archive was and I think it's key to understanding what the archive wants to say and what the CCCS was so it was very very useful.

Helen Fisher: Good, I'm pleased. Alright, nice to speak to you.

Eléana Sanchez: Thank you! Okay have a nice afternoon and I will send you the transcript when it's ready.

Helen Fisher: Thank you, okay great, all right, all right, I'll speak to you soon. Bye-bye!

Eléana Sanchez: Bye bye!

6.5. RICHARD JOHNSON (2), 15 FEBRUARY 2022

Eléana Sanchez: It should say so somewhere. Yes, there we go. I'm recording and it should say so on your screen as well. Okay, all right.

Richard Johnson: So I'll give you feedback and you can stop me, ask questions, don't just let me talk if I go on, but I've got quite a lot of suggestions today. There's the question of persistence. I like it. And I was thinking what would you need to develop. So it was an, a surprising story in a good, a surprising question. In a good sense. Why did it last so long? Because everybody, everybody else was asking the other question, why did it disappear? You know, or what were all the difficulties? So for me, it was a new question and I like that, it made me think differently about the experience. Actually, why did it last so long?

Eléana Sanchez: Oh no, I lost you. Okay, I'm sorry. Can you repeat your last sentence? I think the connection...

Richard Johnson: Yes. How, how, to... I can see how the main question about persistence is related to the thesis about networks. So the two, it would provide a strong explanation of persistence if you could show the density and extent of networks and support.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay. Networks and publications which are part of the network.

Richard Johnson: Yes. I think I think you've got a quite wide sense of what a network might be: readership, after all.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes.

Richard Johnson: So publication readership, but in different audiences in different, in different, contexts, academic ones. You know, the extraordinary thing about these stencilled papers, the little stencilled papers was that it went to students and all sorts of people because it was so cheap and it's a pity you couldn't get hold of the two women who administered it because they would tell you the extent of the circulation. It always astonished us, they were getting for pennies, you know, they were getting for 30 p you know, less than a pound. So as a, and they were just run off on you know the old Gestetner machines.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm.

Richard Johnson: Where you just ran them off on demand, you know? So it was very, it was a very... but networks in the broad sense, yes. Good explanation, a good explanation. I could so, I could see how it held together in that way. The other questions were slightly different, but I could see related. What's a school? Why a school? Which posed to me, slightly different questions. Perhaps about distinctiveness, something distinctive makes you a school and then perhaps about fame or some celebrity in a sense and to the schoolness of it. So it had to be distinctive. You have to be. Then it got famous in some circles somewhere. And 'landmark' is a bit similar, perhaps landmark for me suggests a longer history, because you've got a sequence and then there's a landmark, marking the land. What does it mean? For me, those are slightly different questions.

Eléana Sanchez: Well, when I talk about landmarks, I think one of the most important landmarks is 1968 and the sit-in...

Richard Johnson: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Which was as a... political explosion, in a sense and the way it had repercussions on the Centre and because I see the subgroups, the origin of the subgroups in 68.

Richard Johnson: Yes.

Eléana Sanchez: So that's what I mean. When I talk about landmarks.

Richard Johnson: Yes, I see. So it's a lot marketing in a larger history.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Richard Johnson: But connected to the history of the Centre. Yeah, okay. So landmarks the, maybe there are several landmarks in this history. Okay, I I've got a better understanding of that now (laughs). And then, I'm going through your document really. So those are the aims and I do very much like the persistence question because, perhaps, for obvious reasons (laughs), the, the archives and have you looked at the archives in the university?

Eléana Sanchez: I spent 10 days, at the end of October... you know, I realized that it's been a year since we last spoke.

Richard Johnson: Yeah. Really?

Eléana Sanchez: Well, it was January 2021. So it's like close to a year.

Richard Johnson: Time goes by really fast.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes! And so I I've had time to research and think about the subject differently, and so I spent 10 days at the archive and I think one of my most impactful memory is when I came and I think it was in one of your boxes or in Michael Greens boxes, there was a whole file which is like this wide (shows with her fingers) of everything that led to the creation of the departments of cultural studies and sociology.

Richard Johnson: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Things from... We hear about budget centres. We hear it's not going to go well for us because we're small, we should be merged back with English and then we have Michael Green, who's looking for another job. And I have, like, I digitized the whole thing because I think I might be one of the only people in the world interested in that, but I think it's fascinating the, the discussions because I'm not-

Richard Johnson: That would be Michael's archive because Michael was the main player in that, Michael saved us, really because he had lots of contacts in the university, did a lot of networking, precisely, that was one of the key networking moments. I think that the internal networks were very important and, and he, his agency was very important. I wasn't very much involved in that. He was much, much better, at that kind of thing, I've always said that he should have been director really.

Eléana Sanchez: Well, that was one of my questions, but we can maybe touch upon that later.

Richard Johnson: Sure. Sure.

Eléana Sanchez: I wanted to ask about the change of directorship, how, how it happened but we can talk about that later.

Richard Johnson: So you know the archive quite well, there's mine obviously and now Michael deposited things that's brilliant. The annual reports are particularly useful I think.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes.

Richard Johnson: I wrote all the ones after 1980, and we tried to be as explicit as possible about our situation partly for our allies. And so we were conscious that these documents would go to allies as well, they were not just internal documents. So that's related to networking, keeping people informed about our situation.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay. And after, after the merger with the sociology department and the CCCS, is there anything that would replace the annual reports?

Richard Johnson: Well, I was sort of. I went, I went part-time. I went part-time and I decided not to, try not to be head of the new department. I didn't want to be the head of the department and this was the domestic reasons partly, just to be more at home and all that. And so I withdrew, I did my teaching, but I reduced from being anything... Well we had departments meetings so... I don't really know what the policy was. I think that, I'm sure they finished, didn't they? There aren't any more annual reports?

Eléana Sanchez: No.

Richard Johnson: No, I thought so. Some aspects of the CCCS have disappeared then. You had to accommodate the new members, and I withdrew a bit and tried to do CCCS things in my own teaching. And, but it did not exactly ended, but sort of dissipated.

Eléana Sanchez: In the archive, there are discussions about the sociology people who get acquainted with the CCCS way of doing things and they're like, we can't do that. (laughs)

Richard Johnson: It's exactly... So it was a survival strategy, but it was also a sort of dilution as well. Not that they weren't good people. They were, I mean, particularly well, all three actually were good people, but why should they adapt these crazy ideas? But they were fairly conventional academics actually. Particularly Jorge Larrain was a conventional Marxist academic, you know what I mean?

Eléana Sanchez: It takes time. This kind of practice, these kinds of practices, they take time to get used to and to get implemented. And you can't just like do that in the blink of an eye.

Richard Johnson: I'm glad you picked up on that because it was quite difficult for me in a way to make those points. And of course I don't know anything really so much about after I left in 93 and I was really withdrawing during the last three years. It must have been in the last three years I was part-time. I don't know, I think it must be the last three years from 90 to 93, I was part-time. So it's a little bit later but, and then after that, I don't really know anything and I don't know really- about why it was closed, the details. Have they got material on that?

Eléana Sanchez: On the closure? There is a long article by I think it's Michael Green who explains the RAE and how it ended up closing, being the excuse to close the Centre.

Richard Johnson: Yeah. Yeah. Maureen McNeil has written about it too and Ann Gray.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, yes. There is a lot of literature on the closure. That's the, the from the merger to the closure, is the part when we have least information, I think.

Richard Johnson: Yes. Yes, I wanted to see if university had material that you could see.

Eléana Sanchez: That's, I wanted to find things and I talked to Helen Fisher, who is the archivist and, the University's Archivist. And she told me that Kieran Connell had been disappointed because he wanted to find things in the University archive, when they referred to CCCS, how they talked about the Centre and there's not much and that's, I think Kieran was disappointed and I think the, the harsh truth would be that in the scheme, in the grand scheme of university organization, CCCS was not that important because there were so many other Centres and departments to deal with, and it's not like it were the grand central services that were dealing with CCCS, but people more, the network you were talking about. So and-

Richard Johnson: Yes. Yeah, okay. I think that's probably true. We always felt we were not regarded. And if we were regarded, we were not well regarded. And what about Stuart's papers, they deposited anywhere?

Eléana Sanchez: They are, they are in the archives and they are 89 boxes. I think his archive is huge. It is his archive, you know, and he wanted it to be at the University.

Richard Johnson: It is?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. And I think that's one of the reasons why the archive is so successful.

Richard Johnson: Yeah, I didn't know, if he put them there, I wondered if he'd, if they were at the Stuart Hall Foundation which is a sort of thing, they started to celebrate, him you know, they're at Birmingham. Yeah. I'm glad it's in one place.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes, I think that was one of the issues because they could have gone anywhere, really? Because he was such a, an important figure. But I think he decided to, to have them there.

Richard Johnson: It's good, we talked about it. We talked about it. We were in contact again after a long silence precisely about the archive and we agreed that we would put them there. But there was so much opposition from other people about giving Birmingham the chance, you know, after what they did, I think he had some doubts. But anyway, I'm glad that happened.

Eléana Sanchez: I think it's good because, I mean obviously the University at the time did not 'deserve' to have that kind of material but universities change, and the fact that it's there gives people like me or people like, any people, the chance to see the contradictions.

Richard Johnson: Yes.

Eléana Sanchez: And I think it's good thing.

Richard Johnson: Yeah. Good way to put it. You know, there's a plaque that says 'It was here', you know, and this is...

Eléana Sanchez: You know, you you picked up on the question 'why it lasted so long' and I, I don't want- I don't mean that in the distress- disrespectful way. I mean that in a way, that when I first came to Birmingham as an Erasmus students, I had heard of the CCCS but I did because I was also studying Spanish and I think the CCCS is quite famous in like left leaning scholarship in Latin America and so I had heard of this school, but when you get to campus, you can't see the CCCS anywhere. And I thought that was interesting. You can see it if you can find the plaque which is very small, and on a weird spot on the wall, if you're lucky. But it feels as though the university is a little embarrassed of the past and I think that's a very interesting question because that's the thing they're most famous for.

Richard Johnson: Yes, it's interesting. I didn't know you were there.

Eléana Sanchez: I was there in 2014 as a bachelor student.

Richard Johnson: And you knew about this, right?

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. This is yeah. My backstory. (laughs)

Richard Johnson: That's very interesting. So, you know, the campus, you know...

Eléana Sanchez: I do. And when I came back in October, I went to Muirhead tower, on the eighth floor.

Richard Johnson: Okay. Oh wow. That's very interesting. So I'm glad that's Stuart Hall's papers there. That's very good but they're huge. Are they cataloged?

Eléana Sanchez: They are like halfway through being cataloged. You have boxes that are themed and named. So, you have like 'open university material', which is box number X from box number Y... You have, it's roughly cataloged. Not detailed.

Richard Johnson: As big blocks.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes!

Richard Johnson: So not item by item. No, no, okay, quite difficulty to use.

Eléana Sanchez: It's okay. I found interesting things. I didn't have time to go through the whole archive, but it's a- lifetime work.

Richard Johnson: Yeah. And the university material, is it as extensive.

Eléana Sanchez: So you have the, basically you have the documents that were found in, on campus and you have the people's papers, like your papers, like, Stuart's papers. And so, it's quite big. I think it's- I can send you the file. There's, I have a table with all the people who deposited things to give you a grasp of how big it is.

Richard Johnson: I was thinking of going back just for one or two personal questions (laughs), but anyway, I'm glad it's there. That was my- I think you've got enough material for this study.

Eléana Sanchez: I have too much material. (they both laugh)

Richard Johnson: Okay networks, it's the next thing I wanted to talk about. It's such a good idea in relation to this topic. I think inside the university, I think it was as much individuals as disciplines and Rodney Hilton was really important. So, he was a Marxist historian in the history department and Dorothy Thompson - They were always, I'd come to their buildings to talk about things. And so it tends to be particular people, Tony Davis in English, rather than whole departments. So, I mean, no, I know you were summarizing, so, but you couldn't rely on a whole department. I think on the whole the Art Faculty was more favourable to us than the Social Sciences turned out to be. And of course, we did have a dilemma in this university because we could genuinely qualify in social science and genuinely qualify as arts because of the transdisciplinary, interdisciplinary nature of the subject. We had the same possibility with the DES and the SSRC, the social science and the humanities. So we could apply for grants for both the, depending on the subject, depending on the student. So we always had [questions about] which was the best and which was the safest. It turned out, I think arts was rather the safest. But anyway, you might be able to make a judgment about that better than me. But I'm saying that what we experienced- it was individuals who came to our rescue, rather than hold departments as you were describing.

Eléana Sanchez: And when you talk about the DES and the SSRC, do you think it was also linked to personal relationships? Or do you think it was more a body of funding?

Richard Johnson: You know, not so much. I think if it was personal relationships, there were more distant perhaps people. We knew the grant bodies but I didn't myself... Michael was better at... but I can't remember anybody there being an influence element, it's even more bureaucratic and distant and you'd have to conform to the requirements of what a good application would be for the DES or the SSRC, and we did have board disputes. I remember that we applied with ones, we thought were more social science and they said no, these are arts and we pushed across to the other body (laughs).

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, I remember Chris told me, because you suggested that I contacted Chris, and I, I did and I interviewed her two times, and she told me that her funding, her SSRC project for the CCCS was created by a woman who was teaching in Edinburgh, and who was aiming at getting people from social psychology, social psychology into other disciplines.

Richard Johnson: Oh.

Eléana Sanchez: So her coming to the Centre, was somewhat linked to a person trying to get her discipline into other disciplines.

Richard Johnson: Okay. Yes. The reasons why we had such good networks was because people were so interested in this problem of interdisciplinarity, you know. So yeah. I think it was political often too. The- I mean Rodney Hilton, I think Rodney was on the body that appointed me to be director. He was, he was, he was a, he was a supporter and very consistently and was like me in the occupation. And so, yes.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay. But it's funny because Dorothy Thompson and Rodney Hilton and the person you mentioned in English, Tony something?

Richard Johnson: Davis.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes. Yeah, they don't show up in the archive. They don't like- Dorothy sometimes and of course she- we know of her, but they're not seen as key elements to the CCCS life, but-

Richard Johnson: No, not not to the life and not involved in the work. And there's a particular story about the Thompsons which is complicated. You probably know some of it, Edward was never very much in favour of CCCS ever and that, but that became only really became clear and bitter when in 79 when we had the confrontation issue and, and his increasing... anger, really, with me. Yeah. But the part of that was anger towards the CCCS, which he didn't trust. So although we thought of him as a kind of founding father, though don't particularly like the term-

Eléana Sanchez: What term would you use?

Richard Johnson: Influences? I'm not very good on fathers and I'm not (pace slows down), don't like fathers very much and he wasn't paternal.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, that's yeah. That's what I got as well.

Richard Johnson: Not too paternal. He was a polemicist, he was an old style politician from the Communist party, even though he was, and in his morality, he was very absolutist.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm.

Richard Johnson: Pretty unmodern, very much like hard... Just and a later generation suddenly shifted from that, started to shift from that because we know on the right, they went the other way. But on the left, people tend to be more tolerant and synthetic and Stuart was representing that precisely, synthetic thinker open always changing his mind, always growing and Edward, very, very firm lines, moral lines and I was caught in the middle of that I think and trying to be synthetic and getting the sharp edge of his tongue. Anyway, that's another story but that's why I'm wondering about- Raymond was different. Raymond Williams was different because he was very, he was much more open and I never heard anybody say he was critical of CCCS. And Hoggart was definitely critical of the Stuart Hall version.

Eléana Sanchez: That's funny because it doesn't show anywhere, it doesn't, he mentions it in his memoirs but very briefly because they, he doesn't mention Ros Brunt by name. But we know it's her he's talking about like 'it was kind of a red cell' (the CCCS was seen as a red cell and Ros Brunt said that the CCCS did not have time for the kind of Hoggart literary criticism method in an interview with Kieran Connell), whatever, but we don't, he never really voiced it officially no.

Richard Johnson: Not in his autobiographies? That's interesting, but we knew he was, he examined a thesis for us and it was a disastrous event, but I think it was when he was quite old and he may have been at Goldsmith, but it was a terrible occasion. This was an older working-class man who had written a thesis about, working-class writers. We thought he (Hoggart) would be interested in, it was a way to kind of bring him in again and he did nothing but quarrel with the language. This chap was not, you know, high theory but it was any word that smacked of high theory that Colin used that was crossed. So we had we had to cancel the- Michael did this. Michael was the internal examiner and we got a new

examiner because we couldn't- we didn't think it was fair. But I think all this stuff that language, and theory and, and being more down to earth, sort of thing was, was his worry.

Eléana Sanchez: Are you talking about Colin Sparks?

Richard Johnson: No. It was Colin (?) who was, who didn't do it in the end. Get his PhD. He is only one of two people that didn't when I was there and he didn't because you didn't do what we suggested. I suggested he should talk about the writing itself and he refused and said he thought he wouldn't set himself up as a judge of other people's writing. So it just sort of blocked the completion because you couldn't do that, he wouldn't do that and you knew he was... He was risking (not to get his PhD?) and we thought I would be sympathetic, you see? But no, he didn't do it. So founding fathers' a bit, has a bit of an odd feeling to me. You see, for one reason or another? Because they weren't very paternal.

Eléana Sanchez: That's yeah, I think we could change, but I think I can keep it and debate it because there were not fathers. I mean, I wanted to make like- this whole metaphor about having a four-father family kind of thing. Having like the two fathers who were always absent, because they're theoretical fathers, the father who was there at the beginning and then left and the father who really stayed with the baby, who would be Stuart.

Richard Johnson: Yeah. So there are different kinds of fathers.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, I think it could work also because 'founding fathers' is so, you know, it's 2022. It's it's an old way of seeing history, so I thought it would be interesting to see how paradoxical and contradictory it could be.

Richard Johnson: Well I like that. I like that. I like the twist to that. Yes, I would like that. It's undoubtedly. I mean, in a way, I would say, it was constructing the tradition for ourselves as we did our history for ourselves, they're figure. So certainly there are treated like fathers even if they were quite bad or fathers that were not particularly kind.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, good. Okay, yeah.

Richard Johnson: Students. So many layers. Yeah, I don't. That's very interesting. Can you follow the careers, would you want to follow the careers?

Eléana Sanchez: I'm not gonna be able to follow everyone's career. I think the easiest is to kind of make a tree of people who became professors. So that would be easy because they're very easy to find. I can, I also have a few names in politics like that Valerie Amos and so Tom Jeffery.

Richard Johnson: Yes.

Eléana Sanchez: Who was an MP? I think a labour MP.

Richard Johnson: Gosh, did he become an MP? I didn't know that.

Eléana Sanchez: I'm pretty sure he was. No! He wasn't in the education department.

Richard Johnson: Yes he was, civil servant.

Eléana Sanchez: But pretty high up in the education-

Richard Johnson: Yeah, I think he had things to do with the special needs programs. There was relative progressivism in the department.

Eléana Sanchez: And I have a few names like that. And I also have traces of people who came and didn't really adhere to the model and just went their ways. So I think I'll try to have the most complete picture but I don't think it's possible.

Richard Johnson: It's not possible, but it's a very interesting idea, because I think, I think it's the way that the networks proliferate. And so, for example, the connections with East London Polytechnic come from people who went there, like Bill, and then other allies like Mica Nava who used to come to our seminars. She was never a member. But produced a very- one of the strongest connections with a poly.

Eléana Sanchez: What is her name?

Richard Johnson: mica nava m I c a nava.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes.

Richard Johnson: Yeah, she came to- an she was involved in the English and the family school group, we were in it together.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay.

Richard Johnson: Let's look at the networks a bit then because it's such a good argument. I think the international networks is incredibly important and I've tried to remember, let me tell you about this episode first because I'm- I haven't been able to date it and it may be in the archive: one of the fights for survival. There were three fights for survival that are in my memory. One was a, when the, what you mentioned, becoming director, being allowed to have a director, being allowed to exist when Stuart left. Then there was the sociology junction and in between there's another one and the nearest I can get is a something like 82. But what is memorable to me is that, in this case, I organized the resistance, and the strategy was to get everybody we knew to write in and say they supported us, how important, we were and how we were famous and, you know, we became a school and all the things you, you know, and we got a great big pile of letters and lots from international places, and I wrote a little analysis of them. I didn't keep a copy. I didn't keep a copy of the letters, and I asked for an interview with the VC ([Vice Chancellor of the University]), and I went into his office, and plumped this big pile down on his desk and say, and said, made a little speech about how famous we were, and how the university would be losing an asset and that seemed to do the trick. But I can't remember, I can't remember when it was. No. Can't remember exactly what the threat was. But I think it might be about centres in the university. Generally, there was Central West African studies and Central Russian East European studies and us. And I think there was some discussion at the time, whether these centres were too small or should they exist right with the be anything in the archive?

Eléana Sanchez: It sounds like the discussions when the budget centres were created, but that would be 86. But that would be the whole discussion that led to the fusion with sociology, but maybe it was because the Jarratt Report was 86 and the fusion was 88, so it could be in the discussions that led to the passing of the Jarratt Report, maybe the university felt like economically, the centres, the small centres were not going to survive. I don't know, I didn't pick up on that.

Richard Johnson: It's a surprise that it didn't appear in the, in the reports because it was notable.

Eléana Sanchez: Or maybe it was, maybe I did see it. But then I associated it with the 86 events.

Richard Johnson: Yes, it's the only. It's only very clear memory I have of a survival battle. I have a bit of a memory of the directorship change we talked about, but it's a very clear memory that one partly because I was, I took the lead, I think I suggested this strategy and I remember writing these letters asking for help and I remember the great pile of replies and how nice it was reading them and a lot of them from all over the world, mainly the states, European states. And so I've tried to remember and sort of list of kind of international contacts that I can remember because memory, very poor and very unspecific. One is you probably, you know this already but increasing numbers of students from other countries came to the Centre, from Holland, Germany, Australia, the US, those particularly Canada, I think Greece in one case. So that was one, obviously that's one aspect of networks because these students then create connections with their teachers. And so on. Erasmus of course, Erasmus was very important for us as well. And there was another cultural study's network and, and we held conferences in different parts of- well once in Middlesex, well it was poly or university (?) then and there were publications of that network and one called: this one is quite a useful source of information.

Eléana Sanchez: Watching Europe.

Richard Johnson: Yeah, and -

Eléana Sanchez: Can you hold it a little bit further away from the screen? Media and cultural studies reader? Okay? Okay-

Richard Johnson: It's got lots of names. It was a big network. Got all the names of the people involved. So like the editors.

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm. Oh, that's perfect. You know, let me take a screenshot, a bit higher slightly, higher thing, perfect. [Watching Europe – A Media and Cultural Studies Reader] Okay, perfect, thank you.

Richard Johnson: And I've got a piece in there. But also, Bausinger, who was a researcher in folklore studies in Germany, at Tübingen. And we had one conference in Tübingen and it was interesting because of this, kind of tradition, which is this German tradition of folklore studies, which is quite near cultural studies in some ways. But it was nazi, it was definitely national socialist, it permeated and was all about, you know, what national socialism is all about. But then they revived it and revised it. And so could keep it up. And it was very interesting going there and seen these different versions of culture studies, hearing Bausinger talk because he was like, a kind of founding father of that revised version. And after that I did write for folklore studies journals with other people because this was really the nearest thing we'd found to the everyday life kind of cultural studies you know though they're increasingly interested in media and I gave some talks. I think I was to stay in a while, I did a little course actually I think about a national identity which was, there was a certain amount of lack of communication, I think. Because the terms of a discussion about national identity were so different in the two countries and I hadn't really grasped just how different they were. Well, I did speak from any English particularly perspective. I think they found interesting but they wouldn't make the comparisons and

I've wanted them to make them because, and I sort of understand now. Anyway so the Erasmus thing was incredibly important I think and also students came through it too.

Eléana Sanchez: When did you when would you say the Erasmus that works started?

Richard Johnson: Ouh. I wish I knew the answer to that. It was, it was certain, I would guess, I was guess it was after 79 and I guess it's mainly eighties.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay. And what's the date of-

Richard Johnson: It's a guess. We seem to get loads and loads students, students coming from all over the world in the 80s but- not all over the world from white western Australia, Canada, US, Europe and-

Eléana Sanchez: What's the date of the book you just showed me?

Richard Johnson: Yeah, it's late this book. It's 93. We were part of activities a lot earlier than that.

Eléana Sanchez: It's normal because it would take a few years to have a network that would be ready.

Richard Johnson: It probably gives the dates of the meetings. I'm not sure. You might be able to get code of a copy of I think, secondhand somewhere.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, I'll try to find this.

Richard Johnson: If not let me know and I think you can borrow it.

Eléana Sanchez: Thank you!

Richard Johnson: But there may be other maybe other publications of that network. Amsterdam is crucial. They seem to be, they published this and it's published by Tübingen and by the Amsterdam Cultural Studies Foundation. So Holland was a really crucial part of the network, the Netherlands connections were quite strong. Okay, Erasmus... Then visits. I tried to remember about my visits because they would indicate a network. And all I've got sometimes is a paper I wrote and occasionally, there's a book, but I'll give you the list because it's quite interesting: the Humboldt University in Berlin, Tübingen, this is folklore studies, Roskilde in Denmark, which was progressive education, and that was quite early and Michael was involved in that I remember because they did interesting things with student projects on the graduate level, if you're interested in them, and Aarhus in Denmark, Naples of course, with Lidia and Orientale, and Iain. I did a South Italian tour starting with Naples and then going to Pescara and ending in Palermo. And I can't remember any names except in Napoli. There was the Modern Language Association in New Orleans and I was on the platform with Gayatri Spivak, and this a very interesting story about, I think it's interesting here, American academic life. So she stood up, but it was packed, absolutely packed and I was very pleased because, you know, and it was planned by the sort of materialist cultural studies people. I was to confront Gayatri Spivak. So this was to be a confrontation. Well, she gave a very good talk and as soon as she'd finished half the audience left.

Eléana Sanchez: No!

Richard Johnson: Yes. The very keen students went off to another session because there was somebody else famous speaking there. So I got through all right, I did it and I think it was all right, but it just told me about something about American academic life, that was quite interesting. Perhaps it is like that everywhere. I don't know. But these keen eager students, you know, or like you know, academics were keen to get to the next famous talk and she was wonderful of course, she had punk red hair style and, and commented on a label on my jeans that said authentic, just a tiny label she must have seen when I stood up.

Eléana Sanchez: Did you have a Q&A session?

Richard Johnson: No, there was no discussion.

Eléana Sanchez: That's so strange. I mean you get, you get Richard Johnson and Gayatri Spivak on the same platform and you, you have them deliver their speech and you don't make them speak.

Richard Johnson: Maybe it was kind of traumatic. So it may be that I blanked it out but I don't remember any questions. We certainly didn't have a chance to discuss each other's papers. Which you might expect, response. I was second I remember that. I was so shocked by her 'authentic' comments and her general subversiveness, she was very clever and I didn't have the presence of mind to engage. I just gave the paper I prepared. So, anyway, it was an interesting experience. But anyways, that was in New Orleans and there was, there were very nice people in Austin Texas, who organized the conference. I can probably recover the names, if I think very hard, but there was that connection. Then the New York connections, (CUNY) graduate Centre, and Stanley Aronovitz with whom there were events where I spent several days doing seminars and things and Elisabeth Long, an American Sociologist, I can't remember where she was, and Larry Grossberg who's always quite engaged with the Centre and these people who were Freirians from Paulo Freire who called it, critical pedagogy and Henry Giroux and they were big supporters and drew a lot on cultural studies in rethinking pedagogy and connecting that with Paulo Freire and the pedagogy of the oppressed. So this is sort of critical pedagogic tradition. I don't know where I could find out where Henry is now, they tend to be professors of education and it crossed in different universities but Stanley Aronovitz, wrote things with Henry Giroux. I think I got to know Henry Giroux through Stanley Aronovitz and we recovered all that lately because I'm writing about critical pedagogy now and I'm recovering that tradition, my friend, Joyce Canaan, who was from Chicago also was a critical pedagogue and I wrote for her professorship (?). Anyway, so that's another set of connections, so there's that tradition. Then this Frigga Haug and female sexualization and Das Argument in Germany. Das Argument started as a communist magazine. I don't know what it is now and Frigga Haug started this method of memory work, written memory work, which we adopted in our popular memory group. They came to the Centre, this group of women to talk about method. This was in the early to mid-eighties. And so that was a network, quite a strong little network and this whole memory work network grew and grew. So, now this work now is, you know, everywhere. And there are public- a whole series of publications about memory work. And I've used it in my teaching and other people are using it, you know, and you know, now older men who are doing it. Perhaps some of that is a bit later, but it starts in this Frigga Haug visit.

Eléana Sanchez: You went there or they came to the Centre?

Richard Johnson: Yes, they came to us in that case. But my German visits were Humboldt and Tübingen and I also went to Norway to talk about working-class culture and Finland to talk about something (laughs). I remember Sweden as well, and that was another set of connections through working-class history and working-class culture, the book, has stuff on history, and it was perhaps a bit more of a personal connection and it was within the Centre context. So, you know.. Hm, yes, I mentioned the Amsterdam Cultural Foundation. While as I was looking for my book I found another Italian connection with the Gentr studio (?) Piero Gobetti (?) and we'll have a journal called *Mezzo Secular* (?) and I noticed there was a paper from me in so I must have gone to a conference, and also the European University at Fiesole, we definitely had contacts there. So the international context was really quite extensive. Those were mainly in the 80s I think. Fantastic hectic times the eighties.

Eléana Sanchez: That's interesting because the, the golden age, and that's another set phrase like 'founding fathers', 'golden age'... Is supposed to be the 70s and then you see that in the 80s these whole networks evolve and it's very diverse and it's very intellectually, I don't know... exploding.

Richard Johnson: Yes I think so. It's like it's, like the bomb is the, it is like an explosion. And it's impossible to be in the middle of it really because all the demands are coming from outside, it's like implosion in a way... On a very small group of people, tiny group of people who are also very- under pressure from the universities. So it's a it's an astonishing time. Really, I had forgotten how many visits I'd made. So what demands there must have been for contacts, I had forgotten. I just looked at the papers I had written and the books I've got on my shelves where I, you know, usually contribute to collection, which was a conference or collection or was asked to do something and it amazed me actually. And it was mainly 80s, early 90s perhaps and it was still, it was still taking up in the early 90s. And my last subgroup is in the early 90s, on politics and sexuality subgroup. What I felt was my last CCCS subgroup, and that was so set of interventions in things like sex education and the discussions around the politics of sexuality, age of consent, so that was that was the late 90s, it was still going on and a whole lot of other connections with gay, lesbian organisations. And I co-authored with Debbie Epstein who's a gay activist. She was at the Centre. We were at the Centre together. That was the department by then and so some of that continues into the 90s. Definitely to my knowledge you know, I don't know really what happens after that, but it was crazy. And then I thought about the home networks and again, my shelves, and you probably know all the History Workshop obviously it's important.

Eléana Sanchez: I was wondering if you could tell me about the connections with the History Workshop throughout the years...

Richard Johnson: Well, they go back to Stuart's relations to Raphael Samuel and the New Left. So he and- he and Stuart got in communication, I don't know how you know, I found out about this in his archive long before any of this happened. Then the history group which you know about starts off quite early, I must have been there from the beginning I think and it came out of the history course in the, in the MA with Bill and Greg and others. And, the first set of connections where around the history theory questions and the critique of Thompson because we were working on theory and history and historiography. So everything, all that stuff that's in the history book (*Making Histories*). And in the associated stencilled papers. And obviously the big confrontations in the 79 History Workshop. But then Raphael got really interested in what we were working on,

nationalism, national identity and that became the popular memory group, because we wanted to find ways of looking at the everyday impact of the nationalist press and discourse. So, we started doing memory using ourselves as the subjects to try and see how it related to the Falkland War. It was 82 and we started publishing that and talking about it and Raphael got very interested in that and he says somewhere that it sort of inspired his approaches to Britishness and Englishness, which he wrote three volumes on and was very interested in. And we, I too I remember talking to him about, about this in the pub and there's a particular park near the British museum we used to meet (laughs) people and his enthusiasm was you know, we were pleased at this connection- It was different from the confrontation that we had because the historians on the whole took Edward Thompson's side in the debate, not all of them. Not some like, Geoff Eley didn't but he was a more, theoretical historian who sided with us. But mainly the historical public especially with the History Workshop, was probably fairly hostile, but we made this new connection through this- because this was more Raphael type work and we made a connection with him personally through that. And then Graham Dawson and others gave papers that other, I think we gave a joint paper at History Workshop about the popular memory work to the late workshop and Graham Dawson who wrote this wonderful book about masculinity and empire (*Soldier Heroes*) I would say in the popular memory group and he had further connections with History Workshop and then of course Bill becomes editor of the History Workshop Journal, so and it's a long if not always easy relationship.

Eléana Sanchez: What about? Because okay, the history group gets created around, 74 75, maybe-

Richard Johnson: Yes it does because it comes out of the MA.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes. So you have four years until Ruskin, until the conference. So what's the relationship? Do you go to the History Workshop do you get people to come in? What's the relationship?

Richard Johnson: Yes. I was giving papers at the History Workshop.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes! I saw a file in one of your boxes there.

Richard Johnson: Yeah, okay. Yeah, and it was before 79. I'm thinking about 76 because the work was, it was work I did before I went to the Centre on the history of education. And I wrote a paper, for Radical Education, which was a radical teachers' magazine called *Really Useful Knowledge*, which was about early working-class radicalism and their views of education, they were kind of more enlightened than the bourgeoisie were at that time about education and they linked it to politics and really useful knowledge was knowing why you were oppressed basically, that's what really useful knowledge was, and it was a satire of *Useful Knowledge*, which was just for business. So and this paper actually caused a bit of a stir, and is still read. And I did a more academic version of it later and I presented it at the History Workshop. So I remember that, that must have been quite early so we did have connections before 79. I suspect I think, Stuart may have contributed to History Workshop before, then as well. I'm pretty sure he did, and on cultural studies theories possibly.

Eléana Sanchez: Did the students-

Richard Johnson: That I can't remember I'm afraid.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay.

Richard Johnson: It wasn't the sort of history we were doing so I think it's probably unlikely because Greg particularly, not so much Bill, but Greg particularly was interested in history Marxism, Marxist theory and that first part of the history group was all about historiography and history and theory. And Bill did it in a more historical way. But he was part of that formation and it was only a new group of students who started the popular memory work and there was a feminist element because the old history group, who was about theory, and was unpopular with some of the women in the Centre for being too theoretical?

Eléana Sanchez: I heard (laughs)

Richard Johnson: Okay (laughs) And I think getting, helping the popular memory group to develop was bit of my response to that, we would do something different and then the same division of emerged in the popular memory group, of course. So what you do? (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: Start another group. (both laugh)

Richard Johnson: That's about contact. That's about networks. There's also a network around adult education, because I was, I examined. I was an external examiner for Coleg Arlik (?), which was the Welsh working-class college and short- more briefly for Northern College, which was the English version. And I wrote for books edited by Tom Lovett who was a key person in adult education theory. I wrote the *Really Useful Knowledge* stuff about that. And- and so we did have that adult education connections. And also all these connections through the students with liberal, liberal education in the colleges and a lot of people were making, getting their money through that source. And that's my phone, but not going to answer it.

Eléana Sanchez: Are you sure?

Richard Johnson: Okay, because it goes on, too long.

Eléana Sanchez: Can you, you mentioned that you wrote, *Really Useful Knowledge* and that was a satire of *Useful Knowledge*. But what was useful knowledge, was it published?

Richard Johnson: It is a satire at the time of the early 19th century. And the- there was a movement within the bourgeoisie really particularly in education at the time to set up mechanic institutes and something called the society for the diffusion of useful knowledge. And this was a kind of middle class attempt to recruit the support of skilled workers and it was bourgeois economic which was updated economy plus, you know, skills, useful skills. It was really sort of manufactories business and lower middle-class people, particularly who got involved. Some skilled workers were involved. And the radicals, the popular radicals who were Tom Paynites and early nights and- and Chartists said it does not- it's not really useful. It's just their knowledge. And so that was what *Really Useful Knowledge* was. So it's that was... Henry Broom and useful knowledge. (Laughs) So and that was a very interesting moment because it seemed to connect with what was going on in education, because of education in the 1970s. So, it was sort of taken up by teachers and teacher's magazines as an idea. And it informed our work on education, because we were critical of social democratic positions, always, educating them rather than them educating themselves. So, there was a sort of rich education ferment into the time. I think

it's bit of history that I remember. But was it- Anyway, one of the women in the audience when I gave a talk at Ruskin History Workshop said 'That was a very nice paper Richard. We liked it a lot, but what about women?' and there was nothing about women in it. Nothing.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah (both smile)

Richard Johnson: And *Eve in the New Jerusalem* by Barbara Taylor, which is this wonderful book about women, and I had read all the same sources she did, I didn't see it, I didn't see that Sapphire was writing, all these anonymous women were writing. So that was quite an experience. Actually I think that must have been mid-70s.

Eléana Sanchez: That's really interesting, you know?

Richard Johnson: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Because today in France we're having a debate. Well, they're having a debate about like some people wanting to study post colonialism and being I think there might be a term that- a trend that calls itself indigenous studies and a very broad sense, but some people, mainly old white right-wing people are thinking that some objects are not really. They're too political, whereas the science and knowledge that has been produced for years is also political, but it's their politics. So the new, the new people creating knowledge are not viewed as standard and neutral because they have such a radical view. So, it's, I think what you were saying just now is really important because you can try as hard as you can, as long as it's not your experience, it's not going to inform your knowledge production in the same way as a woman, or as a black man or as a working-class person,

Richard Johnson: It's more difficult. And you know this phrase it's been used, "woke". Yeah, well, I always think of myself as woke, but I go to sleep again. (Laughs) Wake up to- wake up again because I think if you're not, you know, if you're not the oppressed group, then that's how it is. You, you wake up when you're challenged.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Richard Johnson: And you do, you can wake up (laughs), but probably it's more difficult.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Richard Johnson: But easier in a way because you've got privileges so it's more difficult to be conscious.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, that's right. Yeah. Okay.

Richard Johnson: Anyway we did have earlier connections with History Workshop in other words is what I'm saying. I remember some, I think they're probably more books, probably not the students. Not that group of students, you could ask Bill and Greg, but I don't think they were that involved. We were a bit critical of them because they were so untheoretical, at that time. (Eléana Sanchez laughs) There was just very detailed history, just particularly Raphael telling the story all the time. Not just telling the story, being theoretical really, of course, but you know what I mean?

Eléana Sanchez: You were talking about memory work , and I was thinking about Mass Observation in the sense that it has been described as a precursor to CCCS. Although it it's- it is- it's its own school, of course. But so I was thinking did you think about it?

Richard Johnson: Well, I'm pretty sure Tom Jeffery wrote an article about Mass Observation. It's a little bit of a memory, but it's definitely there, it sticks. It might be a stencilled paper (*Mass Observation – A Short History* published in 1978). I'm sure he wrote about and he was interested, Tom is in the history complex but doing his own thing and was always looking for something different, you know, (laughs) but he was very engaged in empirical work particularly.

Eléana Sanchez: And did you feel like Mass Observation may have informed, some of the practices at the Centre?

Richard Johnson: No, I don't think so.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay.

Richard Johnson: Only as a kind of memory of something similar, you know?

Eléana Sanchez: Okay.

Richard Johnson: Not as an active model. No, we were aware of it though.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Richard Johnson: There's also all the assessment going on about the history, neighbour history tradition as well. We wrote about that and radical liberal history as well. So adult education, history workshop... Humanities associations, Teachers associations, the Humanities Association. People came out of that to the Centre and I gave talks to the Humanities Association about what was happening about, you know, Thatcherite reconstruction of education, and things like that. The Open University before Stuart went there, was an important connection. I was writing stuff for the education people and we certainly had students who applied, not from, well, did we have students from the Open University? I don't know, and I think people from, our people went and got jobs in the Open University like Peter Edmond (?) and is still there, actually. The polytechnics you've already keyed into. Middlesex, Portsmouth, East London , Birmingham to some extent. So, and the important thing there was the CNAA , we picked up on that, the something national academic awards (Council for National Academic Awards). It was an official body, a quango which- which inspected polytechnics and validated their degrees. And I was, Michael and I were on this CNAA panel for cultural studies because of course there wasn't anybody else (laughs). So but the cultural studies were starting in the polys. This must be one of these other eighties madnesses and so we visited a lot of polytechnics and had talks with staff and supported them. Really, you know you have to validate it but what it really was, was mutual discussions about what teaching we're doing. By that time, we were quite heavily involved in undergraduate teaching. So it was useful to us to to, you know to be able to talk to other first degree teachers.

Eléana Sanchez: How did the undergraduate came to be?

Richard Johnson: Well, I remember it in stages. Stage 1 was... well, pre-stage. We used to teach a special course into faculty studies and our students used to do some of this and we taught it. And we also taught this course in the education department. So that was stage

one. Stage two is a joint degree, joint degree. Half-degree in cultural studies with other subjects in Arts I think. We were in Arts then. That lasted a while. And then a full degree in cultural studies. Without sociology at this stage must have been in the 80s and was a part of survival, because it was a hugely popular and got fast applications and it was the thing to boast about and to do our job for the university and we had to limit the numbers and we had, you know, our figures, you know what I mean? The statistics were very good.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Richard Johnson: So it did us good but it was exhausting. And of course we were also trying to apply CCCS methods to first degree teaching, which is different. So what we did really was put a lot of stress on projects. I think that might be the origin of the Roskilde connection because Roskilde were teaching those students entirely by projects. So a group, or individual. And it could be either, you could declare and register a project and follow it. And that would be, a series of projects would be their degree to, but Roskilde... and of course we were doing something slightly lighter that because that was just sort of equivalent, we sort of had some groups. I'm not sure we had subgroups. We had projects and they could be more than one person and but very exhausting to deal with that along with the only three of us.

Eléana Sanchez: What's the name of the? Rosk-?

Richard Johnson: ROS k I l d e, and it's in Denmark. But there were also connections with Aarhus , which is another university in Denmark. Roskilde was founded particularly as an innovative education university. A bit like the one in Finland I went to which was also education.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, so your undergrads could do research and be graded on projects even if they were not alone?

Richard Johnson: I wish I could remember that. I think so.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay

Richard Johnson: I think so, I think so. Yes, we were constrained by the university on examination methods. Like we tried to push the assessment elements. Remember how far we succeeded, but we had that battle with our MA courses. Well, trying to get assessment. So then we used to compromise by just making our own arrangement, which was what we call same papers. So you gave the students topics to research. They chose the topic. Yes, I remember it. Now they could choose. Any would choose topics for each course within the course framework. Now, and we would guarantee the questions would come up in the exam.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay. Yeah, it would make sense. The dates of the BA is 82-83 and you said it was part of your survival strategy. So it would align with what you said about the, the letters.

Richard Johnson: Yes, I think there's something happening in the early 80s and not sure what it is exactly.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay, I'll look into it.

Richard Johnson: I'd expect it to be there in the in the annual reports (1981-1982). Okay, this network it goes on forever you see. Because, when a subgroup is formed, it creates its own network. So if it's good, if it's working well, think of race and politics, everything that happens around that, that's incredible. I wasn't involved in it but it doesn't only produce very good work and I mean I was involved to the extent that I supervised Paul Gilroy at the end when Stuart had left and I supervised other people in the group and- he Jones, he did something on the- James, Gosh! Names... Anyway, he did a very nice thesis on white kids and reggae and he was in the race and politics group. But you know, all the connections of the- Hazel Carby going to the States, her partner came from the States and they became a unit when they were in the Centre (inaudible). Michael. Michael Denning? Michael. Anyway. She's on the literary side, so Michael Green supervised her and then there was Valerie Amos, amazing story. Very unusual I think, but a wonderful story. And Paul Gilroy is now famous as you know, almost Stuart's successor.

Eléana Sanchez: And he opened the Centre on racial study. What's the name of the Centre? (Paul Gilroy is director of UCL's Centre for the Study of Race and Racism, founded in 2019)

Richard Johnson: Yeah. Yeah. I don't know. And so that was enormously productive, that group. Always a little bit awkward, you know, difficult, not truly understood by white people in the Centre really, to be honest. Hm. Same struggle really, same sort of struggle, as over women and Feminism earlier on, gender and feminism earlier on. That was productive in so many different ways internally and externally. And what are your other case studies, the work, you are going to do a case study of the work group.

Eléana Sanchez: yeah, I did start to write. I think I have most of the genealogy of the work group down. I actually wanted to ask you, because in our first interview you said that you were parts of a fieldwork group with Paul Willis.

Richard Johnson: Well, yes, it was one of the first things I did when I arrived because I was friendly with Paul and wanted to support that, I was always interested in his daily life ethnographic entry. And I think I was just wanting to learn about it.

Eléana Sanchez: Would you happen to remember the years?

Richard Johnson: No, but I think the annual report has a list of the subgroups.

Eléana Sanchez: It does, but the field group appears at several dates and I think some of the dates would be too early for you to be a member. So for example, I think the first field group appears in 75.

Richard Johnson: That could be because I went in 74.

Eléana Sanchez: That could work. That could be, you could be part of this group.

Richard Johnson: I could have been I think. I dropped it later because I was just doing too much and it wasn't something I was like to be contributing to. Yeah, I have never been an ethnographer, you know, but I was just interested and supportive of it.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay.

Richard Johnson: And it was really important what was going on there. But I think I was in it early on and at the beginning I didn't really understand you couldn't be in every subgroup. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: (laughs) That must have been frustrating.

Richard Johnson: It was! (Laughs) So I was in education I was in history because of the history MA and I was in fieldwork and I wasn't in media, (I was in) education, history. Well, there was the Marx reading groups, in the beginning, and I was very involved with those, Stuart was involved, and we were learning from him. Bill and Greg were involved in that too.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah

Richard Johnson: I was very productive. It took us through the Grundisse and the 18 Brumaire and we did it I read it and I loved it because it was historical. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: I was thinking that if you happen to have a list of everything you've written, I might be able to trace the networks.

Richard Johnson: Yes, I have I've got a list and I could send it to you.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay? If it's not too much work, you know.

Richard Johnson: I hope it's complete. I'll have a look at it and see. I must make a note of that. I just wanted to see if there's anything else about this network question. There was our nation- that politics and sexuality group, with a whole new set of- we were having, giving seminars about sex education and things. And because it was such a live issue, because of the age of consent debate and, and what was happening was that, it was under the Mayor government (John Major, Prime Minister between 1990 and 1997) and there was as a kind of law and order- a conservative agenda was being taken up by Major, sexuality in a big way. And then the tabloids discovered all these sexual scandals, affecting ministers and MPs, basically men who were behaving badly according to the, according to that old morality, the political morality and the whole thing collapsed and so that was when Debbie and I wrote this book about schooling and sexuality and I wrote a part about the scandals and how heterosexuality is coming apart, official heterosexuality is coming apart and she wrote about an experience of young gay, men and women, so that is an interesting project (laughs). We had contacts with the LGBT movement and this was later in the Centre. There were gay men at the Centre who didn't come out, gay men who I discovered were gay later didn't come out in the Centre, quite as late as late 80s. So we were reading queer theory by then, I think. No, I think I came to queer theory, started to introduce it into the MA theory course in the 90s. Not before. (pause) So, so, I'm trying to think of the larger explanation about networks and it's about multidisciplinary, obviously. So you have all, we're talking between all the disciplines really you would. You were talking to nearly all the disciplines on humanities and social sciences. The last one, geography, I remember in Nottingham Trent (in the) geography (department) there was a big dialogue, on space you know, space not just time but space, and so because it's this multi- interdisciplinary character. It's got all these connections. So it feeds into the network and multi topics. So, what we said about the subgroups, so each subgroup gets its own connections. So Dorothy Hobson ends up as a media person, media commentator in the public world and Stuart of course, a big profile in media studies. And education, we had connections to teachers and the teacher journals like Screen Education, which is an

interesting journal, you know. And then the sociologists, were very hostile particularly at the beginning very hostile, to Hoggart and Hoggartism but of course, we permeate sociology. And the criminologists, they first take us out and sociologists like Simon Frith, who's involved in the subcultures work (on music especially). So you have the ethnographic and history, literature it just goes on. And so we were jacks of all trades, but masters of none, you know. I think that's my academic career. I had so many fingers in so many pies, which is not what you do, if you want to be a successful academic, you concentrate and assess if you're a historian concentrate on a period and a theme and you mine it and mine it and mine it and you become the expert.

Eléana Sanchez: But- Yeah. And it's also not, I don't know, it's more interesting. If because if you become that expert, you can have conversations with only you- because you're on the you're the only person who knows what they're talking about. And yes, and it starts very early on because I've noticed that even I as a PhD student, I'm starting to talk about my subjects and if I'm not in a, if my audience is not made out of CCCS experts, I have to explain. So it's really- I think it's- it's good to be an expert, but it's also good to talk with other people as, and I think that's why the networks were so successful because you become a professor in one position, one area, but then no one's gonna control what you study. So, you have the freedom to explore other fields and your career grows. And you also have a network that goes along with it.

Richard Johnson: Yes yes, yes, good, I agree. And it has costs, it can have costs in terms of career, but then cultural studies becomes a specialism. It institutes itself as a discipline, which I always resisted, but- but it did and people made careers out of it. So yeah, there was that too (laughs). It's very interesting and I'm glad you're writing about it and what was the general openness as well. And Stuart models this, there is no getting away that Stuart is crucial in this that his theoretical openness and openness to questions and well, syncretism, you know, which is the word this- by the way. Where is it? It's in *Soundings* the journal. That's another link, by the way. There's a discussion between Greg, Angela McRobbie, and Catherine Hall, and two other people I don't know, about Stuart as a mediator, and I think the journal might be subtitled mediation. It's the last issue of *Soundings* and they have an interesting discussion about how Stuart mediates, in other words, brings things together, which I think is again connected to this, isn't it? Because if you take one theoretical stance you exclude all these other- but conversations- whereas Stuart included them all. Hm. Opening doors, which is like, I think opening doors is good- is a good thing because we always said, we should keep our doors open to students. You know, our doors are always open- which of course was impossible. (Laughs) So that's the networks. Such an interesting line you've got there I think.

Eléana Sanchez: And never-ending thread. (laughs)

Richard Johnson: (laughs) Yeah. But you can't do it all you can never do it all.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah.

Richard Johnson: Admin structures. Have I got anything to say about this. Just the general theory seminars are missing.

Eléana Sanchez: Yes.

Richard Johnson: That's quite crucial. I think, because it gave a coherence to the project and it's inherited by the theory course in the MA, whichever student must take, and as

part-time, a part-time student you were excused, like part-time PhD people have got quite enough to do without doing that, so... But everybody who was full-time did the MA course, which included Stuart's theory course, then my theory course, well it wasn't mine to begin with, it became mine but it was our joint- the three of us (Michael, Maureen and Richard). And that was an attempt to provide the coherence. Not- Stuart did it very well, brilliantly. I ended up, I think doing it quite well by the late 80s but there's a period in between where it was an awful mumble really. And what we were trying to do was, we overpoliticised it. So we were trying to have a class section, a gender section, a race section and a sexuality section was just about coming in. And that wasn't the way to do it. And it's only later that I realized that. So, theoretical movements across all those older sites of conflict. So, we took the theoretical movements and you illustrated them from the- from the actual movements. You see what I mean. So you might, you might take Marxism class, but then you'd look at the "*marxisant*", Feminisms. You see what I mean? And right through queer theory and psychoanalysis. So you- you could do it so much better. If you could handle the theory side, not the political side, if you see what I mean. It took me a long time to realise that and I got there in the end. I think about the late 80s (laughs) there were fewer rebellions as a result. (Laughs) Yes you- you got all these successions and changes. So the watering downs and the strategies to try and deal with that. So there is a watering down of the collective- of the control of the collective and democratic thing because the pressures are too great. Now they're particularly sharp when you get to the Department of Conference Studies and Sociology (DCSS) because then we were banned for example, from having students involved in missions which we did before, it really, they really (emphasizes the word) were involved. And some of the collective, the collectivity is watered down really. I think it becomes more individual teachers, some of whom can do cultural studies things, others doing other things... Funding not much to say really, except this game between the DES, and SSRC and the tightening of control. Because they start to ask if these students completed their PhDs? (Laughs) And on the whole, they didn't. And in what time, then, what time was it in for? Four years? Why not? Jesus. Thesis completion becomes a key criterion.

Eléana Sanchez: When?

Richard Johnson: Well in the course of the 80s. I think it probably got tighter and tighter. When I went to you Nottingham Trent it was three years, sometimes four when we started there was no limited time at all. Not at all. Even on funding projects.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah

Richard Johnson: It was forever.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, because it wasn't about completion.

Richard Johnson: No. (laughs) Quite. That's interesting. So that changed only through- and it was quite- it was very tight by the time I left in 2004. Pedagogy there is so much to say about this.

Eléana Sanchez: I know

Richard Johnson: I have written quite a lot about it, so you pick up my view of it. But the interesting thing is that I had no theory. I wasn't, I'd never had- was never taught to teach. I never read into progressive education theory, which I do now, and I don't think anybody else did. And we were sometimes taught by progressive education teachers who took the

courses, but- and I was involved in adult education which is a Centre for progressivism and I don't think we had an elaborated pedagogy discourse if you like, and that's a quite interesting limit.

Eléana Sanchez: I think you said in your, in our first interview you had that phrase which I want to use as a concept: it's trial and error.

Richard Johnson: Yes.

Eléana Sanchez: Because I think- and one of the- one other thing that I think is really important is freedom, I think that's what the Centre was to some extent. It was just not just, it was simply a space of freedom, where you could try, you could bring new things. You could- if you look at the annual reports, you see that some years a subgroup appears, then it disappears, and then it reappears, as though it was never there to begin with. There's so much experiment going on that people forget what was going on two years before and that's because there's so much freedom and so much happening. And the only way you can cope with a structure that has so much freedom is through trial and error.

Richard Johnson: Yes, that's good. I agree. That's nice. I think it caused problems to teachers because we wanted to tell the new people, each time what had been done before, but it would get more elaborate, we had more and more to tell and that's what the MA course was meant to do. But in fact, it dispersed part from the theory course, it became optional to some groups. And so any, you know, it was light to some groups, again. (smiles) Which has its strengths really, but it was very very difficult to tell the story so far each time. And the other thing that happened in the teaching, the determination of the teaching really was that the grants for home students dried up, so nearly all the home students were part-time some of them very part-time to earn money and had, you know, their timetabling was difficult, you know you had to get in you know, you are probably familiar with this (laughs) and, and on the other hand there were wealthy funded students coming from Europe and the States who had, you know, wonderful scholarships in Australia and there was one year where this- I realized what it was all about now, this division became very manifest and we weren't aware of it. This was this infamous year of the A team and the B team. I don't know if anyone has told you about it, but it's in one of Joyce's interviews. Joyce Canaan .

Eléana Sanchez: Yes, it is. Okay, yeah.

Richard Johnson: Well and- well the students themselves, of course we must have had a part in this, divided themselves into what they thought well was the A team, respected and nurtured by us and the B team- and the B team were nearly all the part timers and the A team were the well-funded overseas people. And I think then I thought about the pedagogy and I think what happened was that the- the people came from other countries were incredibly keen and often extremely clever, and ambitious. And they dominated discussions in- in despite any language barrier, they all had a very good in English anyway. And they dominated discussions in the MA and I- I didn't pick this up. So in a sense I was, I got complicit because obviously I chased them if they had interesting ideas and also they may wanted to work with me and this division arose when I was in one of the worst years and [at the 50th anniversary conference] people in the B team actually came up to me and said I was in the B team, don't you remember (laughs) , it was very painful.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah

Richard Johnson: On the other hand, there was always a division of labour between us and I know they got- would have gotten attention from Michael and Maureen. And it was probably because of the theory course, because I was, you know, doing the theory course.

Eléana Sanchez: I mean, you can't, you can't see everything you have so much- you had so much to deal with and you were only three. I actually, I don't think I would, I don't think we will have time today to deal with any of my questions,

Richard Johnson: No, okay, I can stop.

Eléana Sanchez: But that's okay. I mean, it's been an hour and almost fifteen minutes.

Richard Johnson: I thought it might happen.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, but that's okay. I mean, it's really, it's very useful.

Richard Johnson: Good.

Eléana Sanchez: But I don't think we can do the whole thing in one sitting.

Richard Johnson: All right. I'm quite happy to do another. There's a lot more to say about pedagogy. But publication you know, I don't know if you know Claire L'Enfant from Hutchinson ...

Eléana Sanchez: That was one of my questions but I think we will have to do that next time because it's quite an important part.

Richard Johnson: Yes. Okay, yes Claire was wonderful. Very enabling. Oh, directors decisions, right at the end. I never took any decisions without discussions the least with colleagues and also with students. So I- I made a joke and the 50-year conference, someone introduces me as a past director of the central I said, I was never a director. I was a survivor, and we were three. And we always took decisions together. And I was saying, and I believe that Michael should have been director because he was the most fantastically good administrator and networker and I was useless at networking and my skill was with the students and Michael was also a very good teacher but I had a commitment to the project which is very strong, keeping it going and with the students doing that because that was my politics right from 68. And Michael and Maureen were wonderful, but we were a triumvirate. I never took a decision on my own, ever, about anything. There were conflicts when I sided sometimes with students which were being difficult with the others particularly later on, when I had an identity group which had four black women in it which was very unusual and they were very assertive and caused problems for the others, particularly over an appointment which- they wanted a black person to be appointed. And they weren't, a very good ethnographer was appointed instead. Very good. Very good and there was a bit of a row and I sided with the students. So, there was sometimes that dynamic that wasn't me leading, that was me being rather subversive and not probably helpful. And so, I just wanted to say that because I didn't want you to be misled about this type of director and I was director because I had more of a publication profile and we talked about it, me and Michael talked about it and decided that I would do it.

Eléana Sanchez: Was- was Stuart involved in the discussions?

Richard Johnson: No Stuart left us, he really left us.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay.

Richard Johnson: Yeah. I mean, I can see why- some of the reasons why- that he needed a fresh start, he said- he told me 'I'm no longer able to cope with some of these issues' and you know the gender issues (the progressivism? inaudible) and it wasn't that he felt guilty, but the challenge was too much, too intimate... I think that's why- I don't- shouldn't speak I don't know why he left really. But I think he did say to me and- first of all early on he said 'This is hopelessly over ambitious this project' and then later he said, 'I just can't, there are things I can't cope with anymore'.

Eléana Sanchez: Hmm.

Richard Johnson: He went, and non-surprisingly. He really went. I mean, he didn't- we lost contact.

Eléana Sanchez: For a time.

Richard Johnson: Well for a really long time I mean. Personally. Anyway.

Eléana Sanchez: It must have been difficult.

Richard Johnson: (sighs and laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: And so you had to take a decision with Michael and then Maureen came along but later.

Richard Johnson: She was Stuart's replacement so to speak, she would bring us back to three, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah, I saw her cover letter in the archive. Yeah, it was nice to be able read it (smiles).

Richard Johnson: And she was wonderful. Absolutely wonderful. She is wonderful. And Michael was such a good- he just could take decisions just like that. Whereas I would hover around them for weeks you know, you would, he could be decisive because sometimes he was wrong, but we all are, but he moved quickly. So I think he would have been well, the combination was quite good I suppose.

Eléana Sanchez: I think what you achieved is wonderful.

Richard Johnson: Thank you.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. I mean it's- imagine if it had stopped in 79... everything- I mean some of the publications are from before but it's like the enduring history is there in the eighties and in the nineties and in the careers of people and you said, you said you're not good at networking but you just told me about all these countries, you've visited and the connections you made. Yeah. Okay, let's see. It's been two hours. So I think we should stop. Yeah, I don't know if- you know what I can send you the list and you can tell me if it's better if you answer in the written form or if we have another sitting.

Richard Johnson: I'm all right for another session because I'm very happy talking, okay. It's a pleasure.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay for me too! It's it's, I think I'm very, I'm very lucky to be able to speak with you, not all researchers have that kind of contact.

Richard Johnson: Well I'm sure there are some. I'm sure you know about the ethnography story. There's always some informant who is key to the research and you know. Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Okay. So it's been two hours. I hope you're not too tired.

Richard Johnson: I'm fine. Time for coffee.

Eléana Sanchez: And so yeah okay so we'll talk about your book next time because I'm curious about it. And so I'll keep in touch. I'll send you the transcript and so I'll see you in a few weeks (laughs), okay?

Richard Johnson: All right then. Thank you. Have a nice day.

Eléana Sanchez: Bye, bye.

6.6. ANNIE BRANHAM , 2 MAY 2022

Eléana Sanchez: Um, OK. Well, let's start maybe with. Well. Why did you reach out?

Annie Branham: Well. Naomi actually just sent me a message to say she's spoken with you about the Centre. We were both. Not only were we there at the same time, but we're, but we were both in the same grouping. Umm I it's hard to describe without describing what our experience was, but we- some of us arrived and we had more of a notion of using theory as a practical force, and I think Naomi would probably agree that she fitted into that camp and I would say there were several of us that wanted to apply the theory that the Centre discussed. But then there was another camp that were very much theoreticians first and foremost. So I think our year and possibly the year before that, that was very much the kind of central... I don't want to say antagonism, but it was certainly, there were two sides of the Centre.

Eléana Sanchez: Umm

Annie Branham: So when Naomi told me that she'd spoken to you, I just thought, wow, I'd love to kind of talk about my- my experience there, but I have no idea what your premise is for this. So that would be interesting.

Eléana Sanchez: Just maybe before I tell you. Well, no, you can tell me later. So I'm French and I started writing... Well, no, let me, let me begin again. So I am. I am French and I am an English teacher. And when you want to become an English teacher in France, you have to pass an exam. And part of the exam is Umm. working very densely on a certain subject. And that year the, the program was the 70s in the UK. So I was-

Annie Branham: Umm gosh.

Eléana Sanchez: Working on the, yeah (smiles) I was working on that and I came across the New Left and all the names attached to it. And I knew of the Centre beforehand because I had spent my Erasmus year in Birmingham.

Annie Branham: Ohh really gosh.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. And in 2014, I was, I was a student there, so I knew of the Centre. But as you know well, as you know, on campus, there's no trace of the Centre. There's the- the blue plaque, which is very oddly placed. It's like we don't really know what- what the intent was.

Annie Branham: Uh-huh.

Eléana Sanchez: So I thought that was interesting because you can't think of the New Left without thinking about the Centre in a sense.

Annie Branham: Absolutely, absolutely.

Eléana Sanchez: So I thought that would- that would make a good, Uh research project. So I started and then I discovered the book on the 50th anniversary.

Annie Branham: Sure.

Eléana Sanchez: And the archive, I got in touch with Kieran Connell , I got in touch with Helen Fisher who is in charge of the archive at Birmingham. And so this is my third year of thesis.

Annie Branham: Oh wow!

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah! Uhm, and I think what is the most interesting is the networks. The several networks that's irrigated the Centre in a sense.

Annie Branham: Umm

Eléana Sanchez: So I I have identified at least three or four networks. You have the intellectual networks. Within this you have the academic networks. Then you have the political networks. And the networks with which I struggle the most, the interpersonal networks, the friendships, the romances, and that-

Annie Branham: Umm.

Eléana Sanchez: Right? That is invisible in a way.

Annie Branham: Yeah, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: And I think the reason why the Centre lasted for so long, even though it was so difficult to make it... A living thing in a way to make it within the university was because of those networks.

Annie Branham: Absolutely. Yeah, I totally agree. I mean, I don't know whether you just want me to talk or whether you want to ask me about specifics.

Eléana Sanchez: I have a list of questions.

Annie Branham: Brilliant. OK, great.

Eléana Sanchez: And maybe the first one would be, you don't have to answer if you don't want to but Naomi told me that she when she deposited her papers to the archive, she said that she had two friends who were also at the Centre at the same time who didn't want their names to appear on the papers that she had deposited. So I was-

Annie Branham: Ohh.

Eléana Sanchez: Wondering if you may have been one of those two people.

Annie Branham: No, I I'm not aware of what Naomi's deposited, so it probably wasn't me. No.

Eléana Sanchez: OK. And So what came across in Naomi's interview is the fact that her time at CCCS was difficult.

Annie Branham: Umm.

Eléana Sanchez: And that that is, I had heard of the A-Team and the B team, but-

Annie Branham: Yes.

Eléana Sanchez: I have heard of it, but in a very... There's one interview where it's mentioned and Richard-

Annie Branham: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Richard Johnson told me about it in his way, you know.

Annie Branham: Right. I can tell you about it in my way then.

Eléana Sanchez: Absolutely.

Annie Branham: I was one of the B team. And this kind of is where the story begins in for me. I arrived at the Centre from quite a working-class background from the North East of England, and I I was actually taken into the Centre through the interview on that premise. So I- I really felt that that was my key area was class and media having come from a media studies background and it was all very new and very exciting. And I was really pulled into the Centre by the- the ethnography and the really fresh kind of views that I felt people were taking in terms of study. But I was also very much a practitioner. And I was very young. I have to say I think I was probably the youngest person to do the taught MA course. And I also feel I subsequently disappeared without a trace because I was so young. I think people kind of didn't really kind of see me as someone who had come with a wealth of experience, so that that would be my first judgment. I was also working part-time in a shop in a department store. So I came with that kind of baggage of kind of being working class, coming into this quite, it felt quite elite Centre. It wasn't at all what I imagined- I was- after that I was so homesick for the first few months, I thought I'd made a terrible mistake. I Hated it. I'll be honest, I hated it. But it was because there was this kind of a A/B Team that started up and the A-Team was very much a group that were political, academic, sorry, professional academics who'd already landed at the Centre weeks and weeks before everyone else and had kind of set certain agendas. So those of us in the B-Team kind of arrived not really understanding any of this. It was all kind of like this kind of new grouping that we were joining in with, assuming we were all joining in at the same level and with the same kind of, well, the same kind of access and the same ethos, what we did find was that it was very, very high theory.

Eléana Sanchez: Umm.

Annie Branham: And we- the group of us started to kind of come together and support each other in that really. Also I don't like this this kind of- doesn't feel like the democratisation of theory that we'd all hoped for. And as I said I was- I just turned 21. So I'd come into this with this quite naïve kind of... I was very kind of interested and engaged with a lot of the theory, but I was much more interested in exploring how to use that theory and I felt that kind of got lost quite a lot. And I began to realise that some people were there more to progress a career, which is absolutely fine, but there wasn't really an understanding of why the likes of myself and Naomi, perhaps and various other people were there. After what you've said about Naomi not wanting to- or people not want to be named, I'll be very careful and won't name people if that's OK because I- I- I'm not really in touch with anybody now from the Centre¹⁴⁶⁰. So yeah, I wouldn't want to kind of portray anybody in the light they didn't want to be. But when I mentioned earlier about antagonisms, that was the antagonism I felt. I used to call it academic terrorism. And I think that was quite well known. Because it just felt that we were, some of us felt we couldn't express ourselves because we didn't have the language, we didn't have the tools.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Clarification: Apart from Sam Owen, an undergraduate at CCCS.

And a good example was that we were given something by Feuerbach to read and then give a critique in a seminar... I couldn't even understand it. It was so beyond where I was coming from, and I had, I had read a lot of theory in my degree course and I'd done a lot of critical theory. I'd come from a course in Wales but the- what was the Polytechnic of Wales and it did pull in a lot of the work from the Centre. People like Paul Willis , Angela McRobbie , all of that kind of strong ethnographic work and have you come across Joyce Canaan 's work?

Eléana Sanchez: I- Naomi suggested I reached out to her, and so I just did so.

Annie Branham: Uh, actually, Joyce actually is no longer with us.

Eléana Sanchez: Oh no!

Annie Branham: Yeah, sorry. Yes. I'm not sure Naomi would know that.

Eléana Sanchez: Well.

Annie Branham: Umm, but she did actually write a paper and I think it was part of Kieran's work and I'm more than happy to send you what I've got on that, but yes, unfortunately she.

Eléana Sanchez: When did she pass?

Annie Branham: Ohh, a couple of years ago now, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: She still has a Linkedin page.

Annie Branham: Yeah. It possibly, possibly her partner is Dave Rogers from Banner Theatre. I don't know whether you've got-

Eléana Sanchez: Naomi mentioned Banner.

Annie Branham: Right. But I think if you went through Dave, he would have more access to Joyce's work, but she specifically will be interesting on that kind of the culture at the Centre. But yes, yeah, it's very sad that we can't directly ask her anymore. No, no, I'm not sure that Naomi did know that actually thinking about it. Oh gosh. I might need to tell her about that. Poor Joyce. She was actually stuck in the middle of both- both groups.

Eléana Sanchez: Because she had a research position?

Annie Branham: That's right. Yeah, that's right. Yeah. And ohh. I mean, she was great because she she was American and came at things from a very open fashion. She didn't get bogged down in a lot of the issues that perhaps we did overly involve ourselves in. And so she could see both sides. She could see the theoretical aspects, but she also understood the- the practical kind of desire we all had to move things along. And the other person, of course, who is not with us anymore is Michael [Green]. Umm, who was my main mentor right through and we got on so well. I mean, it was a lovely person alongside his capacity to seemingly know details.... If you saw his study, it was just wall to wall books. It was fantastic. So he was kind of, he was the head of the B-Team¹⁴⁶¹. If there was

¹⁴⁶¹ Clarification : There was no such « head » of the team, it was more an understanding that we had different perspectives to the assumed normative values of the more theoretical students.

such a thing. But Michael's interest while I was there was very much around education and how that could be- It could be both couched in the kind of the- the kind of theoretical framework we wanted to- to explore, but also the kind of practical work that was done. So it's very much around the early days of video, montage work, so we had a lot of- in the later time because I was there for two years, we had a lot of work with major teachers and we would actually go into schools and do projects. So it was very much a kind of very practical resource. I feel I'm rambling, so do stop me.

Eléana Sanchez: So you said you came from the North of England?

Annie Branham: Uh-huh, indeed.

Eléana Sanchez: Where exactly?

Annie Branham: Middlesbrough, Middlesbrough in Teesside.

Eléana Sanchez: OK. And you did a degree in Wales.

Annie Branham: Uh, yeah, I moved as far as I could probably, but actually moved all that way to find that I was living somewhere very, very similar because I moved into the Rhondda valley, which is very, very similar to Middlesbrough... Mining town, kind of industrial, but it was a fantastic degree. It was relatively new. And so it was taking on a lot of their cultural studies, ideas, sociology, all of the kind of new ideas, the New Left, were all kind of amassed in there. And then people would come from the Leicester School. Tim O'Sullivan was one of the people I remember well. And then gosh, ... Brian Doyle. I'm using their names as lecturers who are really rated. Umm, who I think had some affiliation with the Centre, but I think I was the first person from the degree to actually go there. So again, I- I kind of had this kind of idealized version of a Centre where people were kind of endlessly sit around theorizing and kind of working on strategies. It was also I was made aware it was known as the Red Cell, which to me was music to my ears, that was fantastic. So I went in expecting this kind of buzz and I don't know how much of that was kind of Birmingham, if I'm honest, because Birmingham itself politically has a very kind of strange- Ohh gosh, how can I put it? It's left, but it's kind of some of it is left from the past. The kind of the big industrial trade union shouty left and then you get a lot of kind of practitioners, but they're kind of... Spend more time arguing with each other, which sounds a bit like the Centre, so I don't know whether it was more... that was the culture of the city that we were in, but it was just so different.

Eléana Sanchez: So just to go back to your degree in Wales, what was the university?

Annie Branham: It was called the Polytechnic of Wales. I think it's now University of Glamorgan or something like that, but there were only six polytechnics that did that course at the time. And so the degree was media. It was communication studies.

Eléana Sanchez: Right. And you said that it was directly influenced by the work of the Centre?

Annie Branham: Absolutely. Absolutely. More and more as we got into... By year three, it was very much there were modules around some of the stencilled papers. I was then doing- my dissertation was about the choices made in secondary education by pupils in their third year, so it was all about how those choices were dictated by cultural influencers,

principally girls education. So that's where Angela McRobbie , was a big influence, and also it was a response to Paul Willis .

Eléana Sanchez: Do you know Chris Griffin ?

Annie Branham: Ohh gosh, yes I know her name.

Eléana Sanchez: Because she wrote what was considered- the work equivalent to Paul Willis 's work on Learning to Labour, she wrote a book called Typical Girls?

Annie Branham: Yes, of course¹⁴⁶². Yes, yes. Sorry.

Eléana Sanchez: So that was your undergrad.

Annie Branham: Umm, that's right.

Eléana Sanchez: And how does one... Because I know the polytechnics were merged into the university system in 92, but how did you? How were the- what was your vision of polytechnics and other more traditional universities at the time?

Annie Branham: It was much more, again, much more practical; we had a very, very small humanities section in the Polytechnic because it was an old mining college originally. Mainly kind of mechanical engineering. Early computing stuff. It was very much a kind of a Technical College with a little bit of humanities added on. But then within that, there was this course, Communication Studies, that was just light years ahead of anything else I could see on offer.

Eléana Sanchez: You said that someone who had been connected to the Centre had- was part of the degree.

Annie Branham: No, I- I think he'd only ever been like a visiting lecturer. I don't- I don't think anybody had actually studied at the Centre from the course. It was quite a new course. It had only been running a couple of years. Um ohh... John Hartley was one of the founders and John Fisk . They were kind of like really kind of like getting to grips with this new cultural studies. And that was the first time I'd come across Richard Hoggart and all of that kind of like cultural, high culture, low culture, kind of dichotomy. So the whole theme of the degree was around popular culture. We did, like, lots of practical media as well as a lot of theory we did in third year. There was something called "knowledge, culture and social structure". Which sounds horrendous, but it was great. I mean it was- a lot of it was critical theory, that was way, way out there, but it was all about looking at popular culture and trying to kind of bring in some of what was kind of around at that time. And it was before really all the postmodernist thought was being discussed, which again was my downfall at the Centre because that was kind of really- was like, one of the key kind of concerns at the time was postmodernism, and it wasn't even a critique of postmodernism. It was kind of there were certain people that just took this. This kind of "right, we don't wanna talk about anything historical. We just want to kind of talk about high theory. Da da da da da. And we're not interested in your working-class history." And

¹⁴⁶² Clarification : I actually came across Chris Griffin after I'd decided on a gendered approach to my study. I felt that the girls in Learning to Labour were invisible, and a lot of cultural activities were overlooked as not important.

so there were certain themes that were just so alien to anywhere I'd come from anything I'd studied before.

Eléana Sanchez: Uh, so you knew of the Centre because of the undergraduate degree.

Annie Branham: Umm.

Eléana Sanchez: But how did you decide to apply? How did that go?

Annie Branham: Crazy. I I had no sense of how competitive or really how kind of well known the Centre was. And I just told people I'm gonna go there. So when I applied, it was in quite a naïve fashion. But I think because I was studying a lot of the work of the Centre, I kind of felt an affinity with- with the direction it was going. But I really- the actual process of applying. Kind of. I just did it because I thought, well, that's what you do. But I really was quite alarmed when I found out how- how kind of competitive it- it really was. And the interview process was all a bit scary, but also quite refreshing because I was interviewed by students. You probably know all the kind of- I think there was six students from the various strands at the taught course and various research students. So that was all a bit harrowing and I honestly thought I've made such a fool of myself here. But I think they must have. They must have kind of picked up on my kind of class consciousness and the whole my whole kind of political. What's the word? Just the way kind of I- I kind of had to that point, I thought very much in class, class issues alone and I think there was a thought of "Right, we're gonna- we're gonna teach her a few things", which is brilliant. Brilliant. Because I don't think I'd really had much immersion in gender, politics, race. Umm, anything outside of like white working-class culture. So for me it was just this like wow once I got there and I think even at the interview it was a kind of sense of. Here is somebody who's quite raw. Umm, let's kind of give her more and that was fabulous.

Eléana Sanchez: And perhaps it was good to have people who have come from a degree where they you had studied the Centre's work beforehand.

Annie Branham: Hmm, absolutely. I think that was one of the key- (elements)

Eléana Sanchez: Umm, so you you arrived in 86?

Annie Branham: In 85.

Eléana Sanchez: 85 and so... And you stayed for two years.

Annie Branham: Yeah. Yes, that's right, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: And so you're interest wasn't education.

Annie Branham: It was media, and class was my actual interest. When you look down the list cause I've still got the handbook for 85, I think I'm listed as media and class and I would say that that really was my main area all the way through. My dissertation at the end of it, the Master's thesis, was about the commodification of the 1987 general election. So, and it was very much around how the kind of narratives of the media were being controlled very much by the parties, but also by the kind of the representations coming back at them. So it was all either war or loony left. And so I did a whole thesis around those, those themes and how you saw them play out. So that that that's kind of really kind of was where I was all the way through. And Michael, as I said, was very keen on

developing media education and bringing in that class element to it. And yeah, so is that that would that was my interest.

Eléana Sanchez: You said that Michael Green was the- leader of the B team. It's not exactly what you said, but can you- can describe what you what you mean by that?

Annie Branham: He. Yeah, I mean that was that was me being slightly naughty. I think he- he understood there was a group and we were quite a sizeable group that wanted to bring theory into whatever practice we had. And that was kind. I feel that was always his interpretation and he was a very practical man. I mean, he only lived like, around the corner from me. and when I lived in Birmingham and he was very active politically, he did things. And I think he recognized that there were a lot of us who wanted to do things rather than just discuss ideas all the time. But there was like quite an opposition to this kind of- it was seen as anecdotal. I can remember thinking somebody calling me vacuous at one point, which was, to a 21-year-old, I was rather devastated. But-

Eléana Sanchez: OK! (surprised)

Annie Branham: Now I just find it really funny, to be honest. But there were a lot of there were a lot of judgmental kind of behaviours or things because people came with different ideas of what they wanted from the Centre. And I can look back now and I- I can laugh at it. But it was quite hairy at the time. Because we were just on a completely different path, looking back, we had people that really brought... They were there for- was- so that they could move on to the next stage of an academic career, which you know, that is, you know, a very valid thing to do. But then you had the likes of me that ended up in a community video studio. And that was my kind of thing. And it was so far apart. So I think Michael kind of understood that and very much kind of advocated for the B-Team, if you like, but he certainly didn't. He didn't kind of come up with that term or- or in any way control that.

Eléana Sanchez: Do you know? Do you know where the term came from?

Annie Branham: I think I might have had a little bit of a hand in it, it actually probably started with the year before. There was a group in the taught MA the year before us that were getting quite worried about certain aspects of- of the Centre and where they were going. And I have to say the staff were in a really difficult position because by democratising the whole working practice of the Centre, they had to step back and to some degree let things happen. Poor Richard would just have his head in his hands at times. But I don't think he really got what was going on because I think he was from that very theoretical world. Then Maureen. Maureen McNeil. She was just a delight and very supportive. But again, I think kind of stepped back. So it was only really Michael that really kind of got where we were all coming from. And a lot of it was about class. As as a good example, most of us there that- were in the B-Team, I'm sorry to keep using it. We were working or were on benefits. So we were kind of struggling, we weren't funded. And as I said, I was working in a shop for about 20 hours a week just to be there. But then all of the kind of tasks that we'd agreed to take on like looking after the library, printing stencilled papers, answering phones, it was the B-Team that were doing it because a lot of the A-Team were travelling in, staying overnight and then going back to wherever they were living or just weren't engaging with it. Didn't kind of see that they had a part to play. So there were lots of kind of economic kind of disparities-

Eléana Sanchez: That's funny because someone told me that someone was on the stencilled paper group, because I understood that she was more- the person was more in the deciding what papers were going to be stencilled or printed, rather than answering phones and running around so and what you just said is really illuminating for me.

Annie Branham: Yeah, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: That's the thing I didn't- I didn't realise because how many days per week could you afford to be at the Centre?

Annie Branham: Well, that was the thing that when I was first there, I was working for like four days of the week. So on the days I could be at the Centre, we had Monday evenings. We'd had the talk or course and then Tuesday mornings we had seminars. So the other time then we had these tasks to do, but once I've finished working because I was, I did as a temporary job. I was there quite a lot. And we did do a lot of the kind of manual work. I mean, I think I'm portraying it a- a little bit unfairly because I think people to a degree did their bit, but there was definitely a disparity. And it was also the kind of as- as you just said, the kind of the stencilled papers group. Yes, it had to be decided what went through, but then it also had to be... they had to be produced. But we actually had an old, I think as a Gestetner -

Eléana Sanchez: Mm-hmm.

Annie Branham: In the office that we, we literally would roll them out on, some of us, our job would be if we were either asked to produce a certain number or they were getting low in the room they were kept in. That's literally what we did. We were the printers, so it was that kind of whole kind of- Kind of- What's the word? That kind of the, the actual organising and then the actual work? And I think you find that so much again on the Left because you get the kind of the decision making and the organising is often put in one box. But then there's still a load of other work to do that kind of gets forgotten. So.

Eléana Sanchez: But that's work, historically, that has been gendered.

Annie Branham: Umm.

Eléana Sanchez: Was was that still the case?

Annie Branham: No, that's really funny. Umm, because gender became one of the main kind of themes. Whereas class seemed to kind of go out the door. So actually the, the group that did a lot of that work (the A-Team) was kind of probably equally balanced male, female. But in the B group we had an Africa Caribbean male we had- I've gotta be careful because I don't want to identify people, but. Umm, we had a Jewish woman, uh, we had a quite a working-class guy who just- Umm, he'd just come out of education. So it was kind of like this mishmash of people kind of that we all coalesced and were very practical. And- and I think we saw this kind of rarefied group and and I'm probably being a little bit unfair, but we did see a group that could come in and control things and control the ideas just because they'd have the time and they'd have the whole summer in the Centre before we'd even arrived to kind of set their bases.

Eléana Sanchez: Some of them, as I understood it, were international.

Annie Branham: Yes, yes.

Eléana Sanchez: Right. And would would it be like half of the A-Team were domestic students and half were international?

Annie Branham: Gosh, yeah. Possibly, possibly slightly more international, but only in the sense that they were funded.

Eléana Sanchez: Umm.

Annie Branham: Yeah. So there was a mix, but it- there was also the undergraduate group that often get missed out of this. Some of the third year, and second year when I first started were also kind of quite heavily involved in this group. It was very much around gender and gender studies. And it's quite interesting today to see like a lot of the kind of gender critical stances and transactivism. I would say it felt like that. It felt very much- there was a kind of there was kind of this very dogmatic way of looking at things and this one- But my God, you couldn't be in the middle. You have to take a stand so. I'd say that it was more about kind of where people place themselves politically on that spectrum rather than necessarily whether they were international students, domestic students, or even undergraduate or MA.

Eléana Sanchez: So you said that there were, there was a group of students in the third year who were close to the A team or the B team?

Annie Branham: The A-Team. Although yeah. The same kind of profile with funding.

Eléana Sanchez: You talked about academic terrorism and just I'm very-

Annie Branham: Yes.

Eléana Sanchez: Interested in that because. Chris, Chris was a researcher, a research associate at the end of the 70s beginning of the 80s and at the time Stuart Hall always talked about 'academic rigour'.

Annie Branham: Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: As something very, very paramount and she said: Rigor mortis (Annie Branham laughs). So you're not the first. You were not the first to sort of create a counter... I don't wanna say narrative, but counter discourse to the main frame, and I am really interested in that.

Annie Branham: Yeah. I often felt that I was quite oppositional and in some ways probably I keep using the word antagonism. I kind of- there was a kind of cheekiness to it. It wasn't always meant to be a kind of an attack on the Centre but it often was quite oppositional. Often around class and around age as well, because I was quite young, I often felt that things like- like that popular culture and subgroups were being kind of appropriated by people that didn't really understand where they were coming from, and- and I can remember turning up. I mean, this is very naughty looking back, but it was funny turning up to things about postmodernism dressed up in the most ridiculous, outlandish clothes as a kind of like, well, this is what you want, isn't it? This is your narrative. So I think there was a kind of a. There was a lack of coming together on all of those bases of gender, age, race, class. In some levels, even though ostensibly that was well, why we were there, that was the very kind of ideology that we were kind of there for, but I just think it it's very difficult and I'd say the same today. I mean, I'm just as an aside, I'm now in the Communist Party, Communist Party of Britain and I would say even within that where

we're all going in extensively the same direction, there are little elements here and there. And I just think people who want to change or want to have big ideas about the world, it is inevitable that you're going to get these micro kind of intrusions. So I now look back at it in a much more kind of jovial, lighthearted way. But at the time it was quite harrowing. It was- my whole world view felt kind of under threat a lot of the time. No. Well, that's wrong. (Laughs) No, rewind that. I think my framework, I felt, was quite solid. And it was challenged a lot, and that was good and I was happy about that. But I often thought I couldn't retaliate and challenge in return. I felt that there was a kind of "this is the Centre". This is kind of how we think and how we respond. Whereas the reality was that it was multifaceted and a much more engaging, much more kind of with all manner of ideas and shapes. I think when I've read things about the Centre that have been written, in retrospect, it is again, it's that one voice. It's the voice of the Centre. Whereas to me, the voice of the Centre is is myriad. You could never have a voice for the Centre. To me that that's kind of how the Centre was at its best, when it was like it was a crowd, it was a crowd all saying relatively similar things, but also kind of recognising that there were a lot of things that we hadn't worked through. So you had a lot of, like, horns locking but in good ways, in good ways.

Eléana Sanchez: Umm, I think. That's really I've been trying to wrap my my head around. Why? Why would you? Because when Naomi told me about the A-Team and the B-Team, I expected some part of. I expected some of it, but I didn't know it was formalised and I didn't know people asked for another separate seminar just to be able to voice theirs- So I will ask you about this in a minute, but I think it's about power as you- you can be involved and engaged in a cause in, in a struggle, be it academic or political or economic or, it doesn't matter, but as soon as there is a group organized around an issue, you have power structures that come, that come in. And you have to struggle with them. And not everyone is equipped to deal with those and class resurfaces because people who are funded can be there all the time and hear what happens in the hallways can make more decisions, whereas if you don't have money to support your research and have to work on the side, you will miss a ton of information and that is linked to class. And that is a conflict and a paradox that has not been resolved. But yeah, I'm trying to think about it in this way. In the in the way of power, how the Centre has become academic currency and how people have seen it as such. And become separate from using theory to change the world, which was the the- the goal at the beginning, I believe, but anyway can you tell me about- Because Naomi told me that- And you can tell me what you think about my power theory. Uh, can you tell me about- because Naomi told me that she came in the year that the B-Team and A-Team's separate seminars were formalised. So can you tell me about this?

Annie Branham: Absolutely. When we first arrived, on a Tuesday morning, we had seminars, and it was a mixture of people from different backgrounds and different, different ways of engaging with the Centre because not everybody's on the taught group. But it was all based on whatever the Monday night lecture had been. And unfortunately, the Monday night lectures in the main had already been decided by the group that had been at the Centre all summer. And most of us just felt it was way over our heads. A lot of it. And I mean I- I gave the the example of being asked to give a critique of something that in itself was a critique of Marxism. And I remember saying at the time "I don't even understand some of these words or understand the words, but not the way that they've been put in order". So I- I that was, I mean, I would sometimes overegg my kind of ignorance just to make the point. But I think a lot of us felt quite vulnerable at that point.

There will also be at the Monday lectures there would be people saying, well, let's record it and see who contributes and who doesn't. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah? (looks surprised)

Annie Branham: So we felt a lot of us, did feel quite silenced. And despite this kind of, I mean, I've actually read people's (accounts) "ohh the Centre was great. People were able to say whatever they thought and it wasn't formulated (?)". I wouldn't really say that was true. There was very much a kind of- there was an academic rigour that was beyond some of us, but also was outside of where we'd come from in terms of our own academic progress. A lot of us had not studied in any great depth some of the work that was now being- being put in front of us, so to suddenly kind of be asked to critique something that we'd only been given the night before, was a bit, hm. And this went on and on, and I think I'd threatened to leave at one point because I- I just couldn't see two years of this ahead of me and certainly others were upset and just felt, I mean, I used the word terrorized. And I was actually in a band at the time and I actually wrote a song and then in it had "tired of your academic terrorism¹⁴⁶³" (? Not sure of the exact words) because that was absolutely what I felt, that I- I couldn't open my mouth. So yeah, so that was really kind of I, I- I don't think I'll be wrong in saying that's how the B-Team felt and I can't remember how it came about. But I remember we did discuss it with Michael and we did decide that we had to reformulate the groups. And I think the other group were also happy then because they could then focus on the discussions and debates they wanted to have. So it did work out well. And then we felt a lot easier that we were all kind of discussing things at the level that we felt was OK, which isn't to say that it was anything lesser, but it was just from a different angle and a different experience. We'd all come from a more practical background. Yeah, so that that's my memory of it, that it came through a necessity before we all left really.

Eléana Sanchez: Do you still have? Did, do you have some sort of recording of the song?

Annie Branham: Oh gosh no. It was a kind of possibly, I'm not sure I'd dare make it public anymore, but it was around. No, it was quite awful really. But it was basically just my fury at this whole situation about the- the power of- the- the power of the corridor is interesting, you say about the things that get discussed because there was actually a long corridor in the Centre where people would kind of amass in little groupings. And so that's- So that that's really kind of what it was about- was kind of the the terror of kind of not being part of the right groups and saying the right things.

Eléana Sanchez: Well, maybe. If you find it, I don't have to make it into an annex. But if- if you feel like it's OK, I would be interested in reading the lyrics.

Annie Branham: I'll see what I've got. That's that's really digging deep, but I will find it, OK.

Eléana Sanchez: Because it's it's very telling that you. It- it was so strong at the time for you that it. It came into your creative activity. Came out, so I think that's very very.

¹⁴⁶³ Clarification : Braindeath, by The Panic Factory, 1986-7.

Annie Branham: Yeah, it was a pretty rubbish song, if you can imagine, like kind of early 80s postpunk, pretty terrible.

Eléana Sanchez: But that's great and that's part of the that's part of the period.

Annie Branham: Absolutely, absolutely.

Eléana Sanchez: And so did the seminars have- take- take place at the same time?

Annie Branham: Yes, yeah. And they tended to take place with whoever you studied with. We were with Michael. And then there was a group with Richard. And I think Maureen would have had a group as well. So yes. Then we then started to have subgroups that met. I think they'd meet in the afternoon. It's hard to remember. It's so long ago, but we had then little groups around things like media, education, class, all manner of things.

Eléana Sanchez: So if you ever wanted to go to the A-Team seminar, you couldn't.

Annie Branham: No, but wouldn't want to, it'd be brutal. (laughs)

Eléana Sanchez: I know, but I mean after some time, maybe you would have wanted to make a connection again.

Annie Branham: Right.

Eléana Sanchez: And that lasted for the whole degree. And it stayed after you left?

Annie Branham: Yeah. I don't know actually. I've no idea what happened after we left because it was also the time when the Centre itself was going through a lot of changes. So I mean we- the way our course was structured was probably- there must have been the same kind of Monday night, Tuesday mornings for a long time, but I don't know how long that carried on for.

Eléana Sanchez: Right. Let me take a look at my list of questions. Yes, said you worked in a video studio.

Annie Branham: I did, yes.

Eléana Sanchez: What? What did you do after the degree?

Annie Branham: Wow, that's- Yeah. Well, this was kind of a little bit after my time at the Centre. I did bits of kind of FE (Further Education) teaching, a little bit of higher education as well, but then my real passion was for- at that time was making videos. So I had a couple of jobs in different community project videos, but my main one was in Handsworth in Birmingham and oh it was fabulous. I spent five years there and we did a City and Guilds course. And you are gonna like this (laughs) and just City and Guilds course in communication and religious (?) studies (?). Ostensibly, it was kind of a practical under Employment Training¹⁴⁶⁴, so we had people locally coming in. We used to have fifteen students and we'd have them for a year. But then I used to do my cultural theory and media studies with them and I'd get them to write essays and then we'd watch films and discuss

¹⁴⁶⁴ Clarification : Employment Training was a scheme for unemployed people in the late 80s, early 90s, where employment centred training was offered to people in receipt of benefits, often combined with college study.

them. I used to talk to them about Althusser and Gramsci and some of them then went on to do a degree at Birmingham poly. So it was that kind of really nice way of using what I picked up from the Centre and turning these things into real- real events, real people. Things around like power structures in the media. It was kind of just tuning into what a lot of these people on the course were feeling any way and kind of breaking that cycle of people doing one scheme and then going off and then doing another scheme. So it was kind of getting people to break out by using what they enjoyed doing, which in the main was kind of video but then there were other projects like that. There was a WomenPrint (?) they did a lot of print work, and there was the Women's Second Sight (?) video project. So the again that was another. I wish somebody would write about that. There was a whole little culture there in the kind of late 80s in Birmingham. And it was very much around that democratised and community video and media.

Eléana Sanchez: How was it formalised? Who was? Was it a- an organization... Who was paying you basically?

Annie Branham: Right. Well, they've been after the- the (1985) riots in Lozells and Handsworth that obviously had been a big ohh, terrible terrible (event). So the local council had put money into a scheme for black managers and there were eight managers in the Handsworth area that were given a grant to set up the project. So we were one of those. There was a music project. There were various since it was an employment scheme project, so we got our funding mainly through the local council, but also, I think there was some European money in there and it was an Employment Training scheme. So it was like a national scheme. Ostensibly, it was a- it was a video project, but the only way to get the money was to offer training, which was how I- I arrived really, and the person that I worked alongside. So we kind of really had a blank page, but we had this funding. (And there's another aside, which is quite amazing... the link officer we had who got us the funding is now my husband. Many, many years later, we were- we came up together, but that's just an aside.) But it was all about this kind of like "we can do this". We can use something that's being seen by the funders as fairly mechanical and fairly kind of mundane and apolitical. But we actually made it kind of very active and energised. It was great it. That was like a really good, a good time in life. And it did feel like a lot of what happened at the Centre I can't help but feeling I undid and reknitted it back together a little bit because I was working with the people I felt were the people that should be there. And also making it accessible so people were engaging from their own backgrounds and experiences and- and we had a hoot. So it was very much kind of the students owned it and they made the videos they wanted to make. And they took things in the direction they wanted it to. But nobody called the shots. It was very, very democratic. So there we go and it was called Handsworth's Viewpoint.

Eléana Sanchez: Say again?

Annie Branham: Handsworth's viewpoint, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Where did you get your video training from?

Annie Branham: Well, a lot of it was on my degree. I'd done a lot of video work during the degree course. That was one of the components. We did video work, well- We actually filmed and I mentioned John Hartley. He ran- he- I think he's now in Australia somewhere, but he was quite influential at the time in communication studies. So we did a film course within- where we actually produced our own films and I did radio work. So it was

something I was involved in. All along the way, and also when I was at the Centre, I was still doing bits and pieces and but to be honest, a lot of it I learned as I went along. I was always like on the next page to the trainees often, and we'd get a piece of equipment in and literally like the day before, we'd learn how it worked and we'd tell them. But again, that was all part of the kind of the, the energy of it. But we didn't really know much more than the people that we were working with, which is how it should be.

Eléana Sanchez: So you had fifteen students per year.

Annie Branham: Umm.

Eléana Sanchez: And that lasted for five years.

Annie Branham: Yeah, when it started off, we only had students for. Umm, I think it was six months and then we managed to- We managed to convince them basically to give it a formal name and we needed a lot more time. So that then it became a full- I think it was almost- it was longer than an academic year because we didn't have the academic holidays. We just have a few bank holidays and then we'd have like a month over the summer and then back again. So it was a lot more intense than anything in a university.

Eléana Sanchez: Is there an archive of the videos that were-

Annie Branham: No there's not much. I'll probably got some, but hm. It was quite sad when the funding ended. It just ended. There was no sense of -and I think the Centre was similar. There was no kind of "let's archive things". I mean, I've got unofficially, I've got things, but I'm not aware anybody has archived things. Well, maybe the College in Sutton Coldfield, which just outside Birmingham Uhm, is possibly a source simply because some of the students were attached there later. But other than that, and now sadly and again, it's one of those things that- It's one of those inequalities in history. People who write the history are people who have the time and the resource. And of course, (Handsworth 's) Viewpoint didn't have a lot of that. So yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: But if you still have something. That would be great. And what you're telling me about- is also part of its, although you were not at the Centre anymore, but it came after.

Annie Branham: Umm, yeah, yeah, yeah. And interestingly, the studio¹⁴⁶⁵ I worked with prior to Handsworth 's Viewpoint was actually run by somebody who had done the course at the Centre a couple of years before me. So obviously it did kind of filter out into the world. And I- I- I think it's really sad that there's the- the history of the Centre has only come from like one voice, if you like, which is why I was so keen to talk to you, really. Just to kind of say, you know there- there was lots of other- other experiences there and people took those experiences elsewhere. But I don't kind of get a sense that- that's been documented really.

Eléana Sanchez: That's part of what I'm trying to do because, well, I'm writing-

Annie Branham: Brilliant.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Clarification : Studio 9, funded through the Probation Service and located inside a Mental Health institution.

Eléana Sanchez: the thesis in English, because most of my interlocutors are English speakers and also because some parts or- there's a whole generation which is no longer with us, there's a generation that is retiring or retired and there's a generation that is still working And I feel like I really want the work to be published and to- to- to be accessible for example, to you, to Naomi, to people who have been part of the history. And so I'm really cautious about what I write and I think this history you're telling me today is, is has to be told.

Annie Branham: Umm. Absolutely. And I kind of feel that that's been a theme for me and kind of really kind of my engagement with academia when I did kind of move away eventually and I had a boring job in local government for many years. But while I was there, it was always about kind of make it accessible, make things open to everybody because not everybody gets the chance and the opportunity. Because of kind of economic, circumstances or domestic circumstances. I mean, it was interesting you asked about the gendered aspect of it. I'd say a lot of women didn't get to the Centre because there was no way that if they had like either parenting responsibilities or any- any other kind of caring responsibilities, I think it would have been really difficult. I don't remember many young mothers there. I'll have to say. So you kind of can see that already built into it and not just the Centre, but wider than that. There were inequalities before people even got there. And that's a damn shame, because I think you know, there was so much there that people could have had access to. You know, even printed things that I remember, there was a whole room full of newspapers. You'd never get that now. That was a fire risk if nothing else, but the whole thing if I, you know, you could go in there and just kind of find articles about all manner of things in the press that there was a library that just had so many interesting texts and that it was just there to read and... Yeah, I'll just think everybody should have access to that really.

Eléana Sanchez: I agree with you. Let me look at the list. How are you with time?

Annie Branham: Fine, absolutely fine.

Eléana Sanchez: OK. So. Can you tell me about? I'm gonna add a question in case I forget. You talked about answering the phone.

Annie Branham: Yeah, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Can you tell me about those tasks?

Annie Branham: Umm we had umm, there was a dedicated secretary. Well, actually two. And there was a woman called Rajinder (Bhagal). And there was another one called Ann (Lane). Umm I- I think it was more to support them. That and often there'd be things that you know that it was just kind of answering sometimes queries that they couldn't answer about you know practical things like timetable things but sometimes it was also talking to potential students so it was just really kind of being a backup we weren't kind of employed and I'd I wouldn't want to give the kind of impression of a sweatshop, that we were kind of all tied to a desk all day, none of that. But it was about sharing tasks and actually being amenable to kind of, the division of labour shouldn't just be kind of like as unfortunately, it did turned out to be, it shouldn't just be the theoreticians kind of floating about and well, other people kind of mopping up and all the rest of it, but I would say that the division of that labour wasn't particularly equal.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. And so you talked about answering the phone. You talked about printing the stencilled papers. What? What else would you do?

Annie Branham: We would take it in turns to sit in the library and try and kind of monitor where things were. So because you can imagine, like books kind of developed legs and kind of would disappear for months and months. So it wasn't just generally tidying and just keeping the place habitable, really. And I think the idea was also that if you gave the students that kind of task that then it would mean they'd be the knock on that. Everybody would kind of see us doing it...and think ohh, I'll move that coffee cup then and I'll kind of not leave that mess there, but didn't always work out that way. So yeah, I think we kind of did kind of take the housekeeping aspect of it quite seriously in the B-Team.

Eléana Sanchez: Did the relationships with the A-Team ever evolve and become more cordial or normalized?

Annie Branham: I think once we'd kind of brought it out into the open and we'd separated into our little corners, I think then that did really help because we weren't then kind of locking together all the time and feeling either kind of silenced or frustrated because I know that they were equally as much as we felt frustrated or silenced. They were frustrated by this band of people who had seemingly no interest in what they wanted to discuss. So I can see that kind of, you know, we didn't have that academic rigour that they were happiest with. So I think I think once we'd settled into our little compartments, if you like, we- it was easier than to reach out and I have to say Joyce was very good. So I mean really sad that you didn't get a chance to talk to her, but she was very good at bringing together, the various kind of fragments in the Centre. And because I think she knew why we were all there, I think she had a really good view of the fact that we were there. We all had a purpose. We all had a role to play. And even though it might be completely different to what we had visaged before we got there. And so and you, you needed that you needed somebody to bring people together. I mean on a personal level, I didn't have any antagonism with anybody. I didn't feel personally. But yeah, kind of- Academically, it was kind of. It was edgy until we'd vocalized it, I'll say.

Eléana Sanchez: Umm, what else did I want to ask? Yeah, what about the subgroups? Can you tell me about your experience of the subgroups?

Annie Branham: They were so much more kind of open because people's work immediately kind of grouped around a specific issue or interest. And the main one I do remember was the media teachers group. It was more towards my second year and- and that was great because it was very much about people keying into like the curriculum in schools and how I mean things were really changing then as well. We just had the national curriculum kind of all starting to develop and it was how can we keep the agenda on media and cultural studies in the- the national curriculum. So that was very positive, but it wasn't a place where you could really sit happily just being a theoretician. So I think that that was a really good example of where being a practitioner, but having that practice informed by theory with it. The practice was key there and it'd be interesting then to know some other subgroups that were perhaps more theoretical, or there were some that were around activism.

Eléana Sanchez: I'd be interested to know how they worked?

Annie Branham: I- I kept the impression there were sometimes a few falling outs because I kind of just had to protect myself and nothing else. I just focused on the ones that felt they were taking me where I needed to go. And I totally get where Naomi's coming from because I think it was very easy to feel kind of quite battered by the whole experience and I think I did, to be honest, for some time I just shut it out completely and refused to acknowledge it. But, I took great strength from people like Naomi and other members of the B-Team. I think we really supported each other tremendously and got through it and didn't just get through it, cause that's sounds like a prison sentence. I think we allowed each other to grow and we helped each other develop in the ways that we felt comfortable with.

Eléana Sanchez: So you said you worked in Handsworth for five years and then you said you took a boring local government job.

Annie Branham: Yeah, I mean, I'd spent a long time even at Handsworth Viewpoint not being on any kind of permanent contract. So it was all very kind of a bit destabilizing at times and that suited me at that age I was quite happy, but then kind of thought I've got to somehow kind of get a bit more organized with my life. So I yeah, I just ended up in local government. Managed to convince them that I'd be good at finance, which is hilarious because I'd have no idea whatsoever, but it's not enough to convince them to give me a job now. I stayed fifteen years and I worked in with a lot of European funding. Worked on employment projects and various other kind of enabling type projects and I always was the one that kind of divvied out the money and put together different streams of funding. And yeah, it was great, but it- it kind of- it was, it was a bit dull for the soul eventually because there was no agency involved in what I did. It was basically just to get the money and you give it out and other people made the decisions. But it- it was kind of. That's where the Handsworth's Viewpoint money came from initially. Where I ended up working. So it was kind of- it felt again- It felt good to kind of be part of that process, but I certainly didn't have any kind of power over who got the money or what they did with it and said so, yes, I did that for 15 years. But in that process reengaged with Adrian, my partner, and end up marrying. So we're kind of- and now we've both kind of- he's retired, I'm more or less retired, we've moved to Shrewsbury and I feel I'm now going back to a lot of that practical stuff that I was doing before. I'm involved in a lot of our community, local community work and we've got a yarn bombing group and we do quite a lot of kind of political (with a little p) work around Shrewsbury. I mean I'm also involved in a socialist choir, which is a whole other story. Yeah. So I kind of feel similarly, I've ended up where I wanted to be. And I don't regret being at the Centre at all, even though there were times where it was quite difficult. So yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: So maybe to conclude. And you sort of answered a bit already, but how do you see your studies and your career in the light of the Centre?

Annie Branham: Right. Gosh, I think up until the Centre, studies seemed a lot more straightforward- that there was a path that you got on and everybody around you seemed to be on the same path somehow. Then I got to the Centre and suddenly the world was not straightforward. But I think that was an important lesson to learn, that everybody comes from different places, nothing is still at all. And Stuart Hall was kind of suggesting that that we bring as much to a message as we receive from it. And I think I learned that as a life lesson from the Centre that you can kind of hear so much and take so much from it. But at the end of the day, you just kind of have to know what your own central goal is and kind of see who else is engaging with it and who's not engaging with it and why. So some

people would like to keep things like this, keep things to themselves and not include anybody. And I tend to kind of move away pretty quickly if that's the case. So that I think—that's what I learned from the Centre, nothing is straightforward basically. Yeah, I it would be interesting in inverted commas to now meet maybe some of those people I was there with and see, have I got anything more in common now that I've got thirty years or whatever life experience I didn't have then, but that's probably not going to happen if I'm brutally honest.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. Did you go to the 50th anniversary conference?

Annie Branham: I didn't. No. No, because at that-

Eléana Sanchez: Did you choose not to go?

Annie Branham: Yes, I did choose not to go because I think even then I still felt. Ohh well, I think partly I felt a lot of the- the feelings that I had when I was at the Centre of being slightly not quite their type and I didn't feel at that point I had a voice, but now I do. Bizarrely, I think now I've moved away from Birmingham and can see it from a different angle. But suppose I think, yeah. I want to tell my story now. So yeah, so I was delighted when Naomi told me, and I got in touch with you. Thank you.

Eléana Sanchez: Thank you! Would you? Because I'm- I'm considering giving the transcripts the interviews to the archive.

Annie Branham: Umm.

Eléana Sanchez: The archive is evolving and we were considering creating a section with new work that has come out and so if- I mean, you can think about it. We don't. We don't have to have an answer now, but I think it would be lovely to- to have your transcript part of the archive as well.

Annie Branham: That'd be nice. Yes. Thank you. I just like the idea that in some corner of the world, somebody hears is a different story.

Eléana Sanchez: I mean, it will never be the whole story.

Annie Branham: No.

Eléana Sanchez: But it will be a contribution to the- to the-

Annie Branham: Yeah. Absolutely. Yeah. Yeah, no, absolutely. And I think that if- if there's a picture, if any, you could ever have the Centre, that is exactly it. It's like so many stories and so many thoughts, which is a wonderful, you know, that was a wonderful part of the Centre that no day was the same. There was always a new, a new narrative and new experience, a new story, a new friendship. I mean, I haven't even begun to tell you about the- the wonderful friendships that I had there with people on other years. I'm still in touch with somebody who's on the undergraduate degree. She lives around the corner. So there were some tremendous friendships. But I think I've kind of concentrated on the- the stuff that really made us all quite emotional and passionate.

Eléana Sanchez: Yeah. Well maybe you could tell me about the friendships as well.

Annie Branham: Hmm. Yeah, when it was all- it was looking down the list of names of people who were there while I was there. And there was a woman that I ended up sharing

a flat with. There was a woman who lived in Stoke-on-Trent, I remember which was kind of I didn't have any idea where that was and we just were such good friends. And it was always on a very personal level. It was outside of any political theoretical thought. There was just a connection somehow, and there were connections politically. I mean that in itself you could do a whole thesis on the politics of the time because we had people from the Revolutionary Communist Party, socialist workers, the Communist Party at that point as you are probably aware, in 1988 it all went "pouh!". Which is why I didn't join it back then, but we had people who were part of that struggle as well. So you had all these facets of the Left there and at the time I was in the Labour Party and I think I was considered a bit right wing (laughs) at the time and I probably would think that myself now but- It was such an education, politically and socially... Umm, there was another lovely woman. I'll say her name, but it's probably best that it's it just because if I say her name, I kind of feel a connection to her. She was called Aida and she was in the year above, Black woman and she- and Aida (Shoush) and Ken (Page). Ken was the other really good friend. And they were the ones that really kind of helped us to see this kind of power struggle we were having. And I think they'd had it in there. Yeah. And Ken was probably in his 40s. He was quite a bit older than most of us. Aida was a little bit older than me, but they were very much kind of in touch with like their own class background. And I was in touch with them for many years again and I- he had gone from being a paint- from decorator to higher education lecturer and I'd lectured with him. Lovely man. So yeah, so there was all these, they kind of all these friendships kind of crossed over into different things. And I'm sad really that we, you know, life intervened- doesn't let you, you lose contact with people. But I'm- I'm hoping this will put me back in touch with Naomi because I felt very close to Naomi at the time. She's lovely. And that was the thing. The friendships I made were really solid at the time. So I think the Centre did that as well because everything was so intensified. Yeah. So, so that that was a really lovely memory of it, kind of not just kind of a kind of scariness.

Eléana Sanchez: You think Aida would be willing to talk to me?

Annie Branham: To be honest, I've haven't got any contact with her anymore. Umm, she was in the year above me and I'm not sure who- The only person, ironically, would have been Naomi. I'm not sure that Naomi is still in touch. There was another person, David Maund, who was heavily involved in media education. Now he was in Kidderminster so he might still be available.

Eléana Sanchez: And would you say that the- the Centre, the- the- the floor in the Muirhead Tower, it felt more like a place where you lived, sort of, rather than just a place where you studied.

Annie Branham: Yeah, absolutely. Ohh, yeah. Yeah, it was a kind of little enclave of its own and we didn't even really go out of there. If you wanted to get a coffee, you'd do that in the Centre. And have lunch there and kind of take lunch in. And yeah, you kind of felt like that was your base. And also I- I don't think it was just a kind of it was our base to be in the Centre but it was also to not be in the rest of the university because the rest of the university felt quite certainly, it felt quite right wing and I think they couldn't wait to get rid of the Centre and I mean it's interesting to think about the only trace left is the blue plaque. But you know, a blue plaque could not contain the- the- the sheer kind of volume and enthusiasm of the place and. But yeah, I said it was known as the red cell, while Birmingham University I think was quite right-wing, they didn't have a student's union it had a Guild, which kind of gives.

Eléana Sanchez: What's the difference?

Annie Branham: It wasn't a union, it wasn't affiliated to the National Union of Students. It was more of a kind of paying Group that you kind of joined. It's a...

Eléana Sanchez: Like a frat.

Annie Branham: But yeah, yeah, I guess so, yeah. So you had the, the Guild hall rather than the student's union. I mean it for me, coming from a tiny little Polytechnic. It was perched on the edge of the Rhondda Valley to the University of Birmingham was terrifying because it was huge, absolutely immense in comparison. And also it- it just felt very old school, kind of very traditional. And I just sensed the Centre was a bit of a kind of- a bit of a not an embarrassment, but certainly a bit of an itch they didn't wanna scratch too much.

Eléana Sanchez: I love that.

Annie Branham: Yeah. Yeah. So, so it, yes, going back to the question, it was definitely our home. Not always a happy home, but it was our home, yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: Well, maybe we could conclude here, I like that. (smiles) OK so I- I need to finish some stuff for the university because I also teach English at university so I need to correct papers. So the first part of the transcript will arrive in a few days.

Annie Branham: Yeah. Whenever. Yeah, yeah, whenever. That's fine.

Eléana Sanchez: And then you have all the time you need to read it. And so if you'd like, you could look for lyrics of the song.

Annie Branham: Sure. OK.

Eléana Sanchez: Uhm, maybe some- some of your own video work?

Annie Branham: OK.

Eléana Sanchez: Some of the video work from Handsworth viewpoint.

Annie Branham: OK. Yeah.

Eléana Sanchez: That would be amazing.

Annie Branham: OK, I'll see what I can find. Definitely. Yeah, I mean, I might have to put- they be on old VHS, so I don't know whether I'd be able to get that transferred, but I could see.

Eléana Sanchez: If it's not too long, perhaps you could film it with your phone, and send me a file via email.

Annie Branham: Good idea. Good idea. Yeah. Brilliant. Yes.

Eléana Sanchez: That could work.

Annie Branham: Yeah, yeah. Brilliant.

Eléana Sanchez: OK, well.

Annie Branham: Right.

Eléana Sanchez: Annie, thank you so much.

Annie Branham: Well, thank you for asking me as well. I mean thank you for agreeing to meet with me. No, it's been great and it's been quite cathartic to revisit it. So thank you and good to meet you as well.

Eléana Sanchez: Likewise!

Annie Branham: Yeah, great.

Eléana Sanchez: But I'm really glad to be able to talk to people from all the decades of the Centre, because the 80s is sort of the 80s and 90s, are sort of the overlooked decades.

Annie Branham: Umm, no, absolutely. There's one person that you might want to talk to, and that's my friend I mentioned around the corner. She was on the undergraduate course, but for her it was very transformational as an experience

Eléana Sanchez: Perfect, right. Well, thank you very much. I will send you everything and we'll stay in touch.

Annie Branham: Lovely. That's great. Great. I, well, you take care and good luck with everything.

Eléana Sanchez: Thank you!

Annie Branham: Take care. Bye bye.

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8. RESUME DE LA THESE

INTRODUCTION

Sur le campus de l'université de Birmingham, seul un discret panneau commémoratif évoque l'existence passée du Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), pourtant considéré comme le berceau des cultural studies britanniques. Fondé dans les années 1960 par Richard Hoggart et Stuart Hall, ce centre, à la fois marginal et influent, a disparu presque sans laisser de traces visibles, ce qui soulève un paradoxe au cœur de cette recherche : comment une institution mondialement reconnue a-t-elle pu s'éclipser de son propre lieu d'origine ? Quels furent ses apports, ses limites, et les raisons profondes de sa disparition ? Pourquoi une expérience aussi riche et dynamique s'est-elle éteinte malgré son influence durable ?

La présente thèse s'attache à retracer l'histoire institutionnelle et sociologique du CCCS entre 1964 et 1988, en étudiant ses mécanismes de fonctionnement, ses tensions internes et externes, ainsi que la manière dont il a produit une pratique intellectuelle à la fois libre, collective et politiquement engagée. L'hypothèse centrale est que la marginalité multiple du CCCS – théorique, disciplinaire, institutionnelle et politique – a constitué à la fois la clé de son succès et la source de sa précarité. Sa position excentrée dans le paysage académique britannique lui a permis d'explorer des objets négligés par les disciplines dominantes (comme la presse locale, la télévision, la culture populaire), et de développer des méthodes interdisciplinaires innovantes. Mais cette même marginalité l'a exposé à des conflits récurrents avec son institution hôte et avec l'université au sens large. Ces tensions se sont manifestées à travers des désaccords méthodologiques, des critiques concernant le manque de scientificité de ses travaux, ou encore des tentatives d'asphyxie budgétaire, notamment dans les années 1980. L'identité du Centre s'est donc construite dans une lutte constante, à la fois contre des forces extérieures et à travers des débats internes entre ses membres.

Le projet s'inscrit dans une double démarche : d'une part, documenter et analyser la trajectoire du CCCS à travers des sources institutionnelles et orales ; d'autre part, mobiliser un outillage conceptuel hybride pour comprendre comment un champ intellectuel émerge, se structure et se fragilise. Les archives du Centre, les procès-verbaux de réunions, les publications internes, les entretiens avec d'anciens membres (chercheurs, étudiants, administrateurs), ainsi que les correspondances privées, ont été mobilisés pour reconstituer un récit fidèle à la fois aux dynamiques visibles et aux tensions latentes. Ce travail s'appuie également sur des observations croisées avec les archives de l'université de Birmingham, afin d'analyser les modalités concrètes de l'ancrage institutionnel du Centre et les mécanismes de son isolement progressif. La méthode croise ainsi les apports de l'histoire sociale, de la sociologie des institutions et de l'ethnographie réflexive.

Trois cadres théoriques sont convoqués : Thomas S. Kuhn permet de penser le Centre comme un espace de rupture paradigmatique, initiant une « révolution scientifique » dans l'étude de la culture ; Pierre Bourdieu offre un appareil conceptuel robuste (champ, capital, habitus) pour saisir les dynamiques de pouvoir et les stratégies d'investissement qui ont façonné le CCCS ; Bruno Latour, enfin, fournit des outils pour observer la production concrète du savoir, notamment par son approche de l'ethnographie des sciences et sa description des dispositifs matériels (comme la machine Gestetner utilisée au CCCS pour publier des travaux internes). Ces trois perspectives, bien qu'ancrées dans des traditions différentes, se complètent pour cerner à la fois les structures, les conflits et les pratiques qui ont façonné l'histoire du Centre, tout en intégrant les dimensions matérielles, symboliques et politiques de la fabrique du savoir.

La littérature sur le CCCS est abondante mais inégalement répartie. Les travaux de Kieran Connell et Matthew Hilton ont largement contribué à l'analyse de la marginalité du Centre, de ses conflits institutionnels et de son réseau intellectuel. Ils ont aussi joué un rôle crucial dans la constitution et la valorisation des archives du CCCS, aujourd'hui accessibles à la Cadbury Research Library. Connell insiste notamment sur la dynamique conflictuelle

constante au sein du Centre, tandis que Hilton met en avant son inscription dans un paysage politique plus large, notamment en lien avec la gauche intellectuelle britannique. De son côté, Dennis Dworkin a replacé le CCCS dans l'histoire plus large de la New Left britannique, en soulignant les tensions persistantes entre engagement politique et exigence académique. Il décrit notamment la difficulté de concilier théorie critique et action militante dans un contexte universitaire de plus en plus contraint, tout en retraçant les racines intellectuelles du Centre dans la critique culturelle et le marxisme britannique.

En France, Armand Mattelart et Érik Neveu ont mis en évidence la dimension militante du Centre, sa dynamique collective et l'importance de sa filiation intellectuelle avec des figures comme E. P. Thompson, Raymond Williams et Richard Hoggart. Leur analyse met l'accent sur la vitalité théorique du Centre, sa diversité méthodologique et ses tensions idéologiques internes. Maxime Cervulle, quant à lui, a offert des analyses détaillées des pratiques internes du Centre et de ses tensions entre institutionnalisation et expérimentation. Il insiste sur les dispositifs concrets de production du savoir (groupes de lecture, séminaires, publications collectives) et sur les dilemmes liés à la démocratisation des pratiques de recherche. Enfin, Éric Maigret a défendu l'idée que l'indiscipline constitutive des cultural studies représentait une force scientifique en soi, opposée aux rigidités des disciplines classiques, et a souligné la nécessité de maintenir une forme de créativité théorique en dehors des carcans académiques. Il plaide pour une revalorisation des pratiques transversales, souvent minorées dans les évaluations scientifiques traditionnelles.

Cependant, peu d'études ont abordé de manière systématique les aspects institutionnels du CCCS, ses pratiques quotidiennes, ou les dynamiques spécifiques des années 1980, période de mutation et de fragilisation. C'est là que cette recherche souhaite apporter une contribution originale : en adoptant une approche microhistorique et en croisant archives, entretiens et littérature secondaire, elle reconstitue les conditions concrètes de production du savoir au CCCS, ses formes de hiérarchie, ses logiques de publication, ses moments de crise, mais aussi les manières dont ses membres ont négocié collectivement les

contours d'un nouveau champ intellectuel. L'analyse se penche notamment sur les mécanismes de décision internes, les usages éditoriaux du Centre (en particulier les stencilled occasional papers) et les tensions entre aspirations égalitaires et fonctionnement hiérarchique implicite.

Le recours à Kuhn permet de penser la fondation du CCCS comme une révolution scientifique – une rupture méthodologique et épistémologique avec les disciplines existantes, en particulier les études littéraires. Dans un contexte de transformation sociale et culturelle (les "longues années soixante"), Hoggart et Hall ont identifié un vide disciplinaire face aux mutations de la culture populaire. Le CCCS a ainsi introduit un nouveau paradigme, celui des cultural studies, qui s'est progressivement stabilisé, produisant ses propres méthodes, objets et normes de scientificité. Ce paradigme incluait des objets jusque-là considérés comme illégitimes (feuilletons, romans populaires, sous-cultures urbaines) et les soumettait à une analyse critique fondée sur les rapports de pouvoir et les luttes symboliques.

La perspective de Bourdieu vient enrichir cette lecture en soulignant que la trajectoire du CCCS s'inscrit dans un champ scientifique structuré par des rapports de force. Le Centre y apparaît comme un sous-champ en quête d'autonomie, porteur d'une stratégie subversive face aux disciplines établies. Son développement repose sur l'accumulation de capital symbolique (crédibilité, reconnaissance), l'invention de nouvelles pratiques (travail collectif, réflexivité critique), mais aussi sur l'ambivalence des positions occupées par ses fondateurs, à la fois intellectuels reconnus et figures marginales. Les tensions entre capital académique et engagement politique, entre volonté de rupture et nécessité de reconnaissance, sont omniprésentes dans l'histoire du Centre. La figure de Stuart Hall, à la fois chef d'orchestre théorique et médiateur institutionnel, incarne ces contradictions et symbolise la capacité du Centre à articuler radicalité intellectuelle et stratégie académique.

Enfin, l'approche de Bruno Latour permet de descendre au plus près du travail scientifique quotidien. En observant le CCCS comme un laboratoire, elle met en lumière le rôle des dispositifs matériels (la machine Gestetner, les

publications internes), les processus de validation des savoirs, les réseaux de crédit scientifique, et les interactions informelles qui façonnent les faits. Latour insiste sur la dimension collective et située de la production scientifique, sur le rôle central de la réputation, de la négociation et des alliances. Ces éléments sont essentiels pour comprendre comment le CCCS a pu, malgré sa marginalité, produire un savoir influent, diffusé au-delà de ses murs et repris dans d'autres institutions. La publication des occasional papers, par exemple, a permis de diffuser rapidement des réflexions en cours, souvent écrites par des étudiants, ce qui a bouleversé les hiérarchies traditionnelles du savoir universitaire. De même, l'attention portée à la matérialité du travail (réunions, discussions, relectures collectives) illustre une autre manière de "faire science", fondée sur la coopération plutôt que la compétition.

Au fil des trois décennies analysées, la thèse distingue plusieurs périodes : les "années fondatrices" des années 1960, marquées par l'expérimentation et la recherche d'un cadre théorique ; les "années d'or" des années 1970, caractérisées par une effervescence intellectuelle, l'arrivée de nouveaux objets (genre, race, médias) et l'institutionnalisation progressive des cultural studies ; enfin, les "années difficiles" des années 1980, marquées par l'austérité budgétaire, les tensions internes, la perte d'autonomie et la fermeture finale du Centre. Chaque période est replacée dans son contexte politique, institutionnel et intellectuel, et analysée au prisme des tensions entre liberté et structure, entre créativité et contraintes. L'étude montre aussi comment les débats internes (par exemple sur la place du féminisme ou des questions raciales) ont permis de faire évoluer les objets du Centre mais aussi de provoquer des ruptures douloureuses.

Le CCCS fut ainsi un espace de liberté académique relative, où étudiants et chercheurs pouvaient s'organiser collectivement, redéfinir leurs objets, expérimenter des formes nouvelles de savoir et publier en dehors des circuits traditionnels. Cette liberté se concrétisait par l'autogestion des séminaires, la possibilité pour chaque membre de publier ses recherches, et l'égalité de traitement dans les discussions intellectuelles. Mais cette liberté fut toujours sous tension, dépendante de soutiens institutionnels fragiles, menacée par les

logiques d'évaluation universitaire et la normalisation croissante du champ. Le Centre était sans cesse tiraillé entre son utopie démocratique et les exigences croissantes de l'université néolibérale, qui imposait des normes de rendement, de publication, de classement, incompatibles avec son mode de fonctionnement.

Ce travail s'efforce aussi de rendre compte de l'importance de la transmission au sein du CCCS. Loin d'un fonctionnement vertical classique, le Centre s'est construit comme un espace de formation mutuelle, où les savoirs circulaient entre enseignants et étudiants sans hiérarchie rigide. Cette pédagogie de la co-construction du savoir a permis l'émergence de nombreuses vocations intellectuelles, et a contribué à la formation d'un véritable réseau de cultural studies à l'échelle britannique, puis internationale. Le Centre a ainsi servi de tremplin à une génération de chercheurs et chercheuses, dont plusieurs sont devenus des figures majeures du champ. Ce processus de transmission horizontale, fondé sur la confiance, l'expérimentation et la critique mutuelle, constitue un héritage précieux, mais aujourd'hui menacé par les logiques individualisantes de l'université contemporaine.

Par ailleurs, le travail accorde une attention particulière aux formes d'écriture développées au sein du CCCS. En rompant avec les conventions académiques, les membres du Centre ont expérimenté des formats variés : essais collectifs, notes de travail, articles théoriques en construction, textes personnels ou militants. Ces pratiques d'écriture, à la fois réflexives et engagées, ont contribué à redéfinir les normes de production du savoir. Elles ont aussi ouvert des espaces pour des voix auparavant marginalisées dans le monde académique. En analysant ces formes textuelles dans leur matérialité comme dans leur portée politique, cette recherche entend éclairer une autre manière de faire science, plus inclusive, plus fluide et plus ancrée dans le réel.

Ce double accent mis sur la pédagogie et l'écriture complète l'approche théorique et historique de la thèse. Il permet de saisir le CCCS non seulement comme une institution, mais comme un espace-temps d'expérimentation sociale et intellectuelle, dont les enjeux résonnent aujourd'hui avec acuité dans les débats sur l'avenir de l'université critique. À travers cette enquête, le CCCS

apparaît comme un laboratoire exemplaire, non pas parce qu'il aurait incarné une perfection intellectuelle, mais parce qu'il a matérialisé, dans un contexte particulier, la possibilité d'un autre mode de production du savoir. C'est cette expérience – fragile, conflictuelle, mais féconde – que cette recherche s'attache à documenter et à comprendre. Elle espère ainsi contribuer à une réflexion plus large sur les conditions d'émergence, de survie et de disparition des espaces de pensée critique à l'université.

En ce sens, la présente recherche s'inscrit dans une perspective résolument critique de l'évolution contemporaine des institutions universitaires. Elle ne se limite pas à une étude rétrospective du CCCS, mais pose également la question plus large de la reproductibilité de ce type d'expérience intellectuelle dans le contexte actuel. Alors que l'université est de plus en plus soumise à des logiques de performance, de concurrence et de marchandisation du savoir, le cas du CCCS invite à reconsidérer les conditions matérielles, symboliques et politiques qui rendent possible une recherche critique, collective et émancipatrice. L'histoire du CCCS ne vaut donc pas seulement comme mémoire intellectuelle, mais comme ressource pour penser des alternatives. En étudiant ses dynamiques internes, ses rapports aux hiérarchies, ses conflits féconds et ses échecs, cette thèse participe à une réflexion plus vaste sur les possibilités de transformation institutionnelle dans l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche.

PARTIE 1 – À LA RECHERCHE DU CENTRE : 1964-1968, UNE PERIODE EXPLORATOIRE

Statut administratif

En plein essor du système universitaire britannique dans les années 1960, marqué par la mise en œuvre du rapport Robbins et par une politique d'expansion massive de l'enseignement supérieur, l'université de Birmingham cherchait à consolider sa position dans un paysage académique concurrentiel.

C'est dans ce contexte qu'émergea le Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), fondé par Richard Hoggart. Cette première partie de la thèse retrace la genèse institutionnelle du Centre, en analysant les conditions concrètes de sa fondation, les choix politiques et personnels de ses fondateurs, et les ressources matérielles, symboliques et intellectuelles qui permirent sa mise en place. Il s'agit de comprendre comment une structure aussi marginale a pu naître, se maintenir et aspirer à transformer les rapports entre savoir, société et pouvoir institutionnel.

Le paysage universitaire britannique des années 1960 connaissait des bouleversements profonds. Le Robbins Report (1963) recommandait l'ouverture de l'enseignement supérieur à tous les individus ayant les compétences nécessaires, quelles que soient leurs origines sociales. Ce tournant politique visait à démocratiser l'accès au savoir et à favoriser l'essor d'une université plus inclusive. L'université de Birmingham, tout en n'étant une institution ni d'élite ni de pointe, devait trouver sa place dans ce nouvel équilibre. Elle y parvint en recrutant des professeurs en vue et jouissant d'une réputation nationale. Le CCCS s'inscrit dans cette logique : bien qu'installé à la marge de l'université, son fondateur, Richard Hoggart, contribuait à revaloriser symboliquement l'institution sans en constituer une charge administrative directe. L'université fournissait en effet des locaux successivement déplacés au fil des années (depuis des préfabriqués jusqu'à la Muirhead Tower), mais ne finançait pas directement les activités du Centre.

Le financement initial du CCCS constitue l'un des points les plus originaux et paradoxaux de son histoire. En effet, ce projet universitaire fut rendu possible grâce à un soutien privé provenant de Sir Allen Lane, fondateur des éditions Penguin. Cette aide financière, octroyée sous la forme d'un engagement pluriannuel, s'inscrivait dans une relation ancienne entre Lane et Hoggart, liée à la publication en 1957 du livre *The Uses of Literacy*. Au-delà de leur collaboration éditoriale, les deux hommes partageaient une même vision démocratique du savoir, valorisant l'accès du plus grand nombre à des œuvres intellectuelles de qualité. Dans une époque où l'impôt sur les hauts revenus

atteignait des niveaux élevés, de tels gestes philanthropiques étaient fiscalement encouragés. Le soutien de Lane au CCCS doit également être replacé dans le contexte du procès retentissant de 1960 contre Penguin Books, accusé d'avoir publié une version non censurée du roman *Lady Chatterley's Lover* de D. H. Lawrence. Hoggart y avait témoigné en faveur de la maison d'édition, apportant un appui décisif à la défense en mettant en avant la valeur littéraire du texte. Le succès judiciaire de Penguin et le lien personnel entre Hoggart et Lane alimentèrent l'idée, relayée y compris par Stuart Hall, que ce financement relevait d'un geste de gratitude.

Quelles qu'en aient été les motivations profondes, cette aide permit au Centre d'employer un chercheur et une secrétaire à temps plein, ainsi que de commencer à constituer une bibliothèque pour le CCCS. Le chercheur recruté fut Stuart Hall, trentenaire alors enseignant à Londres et déjà très engagé dans les débats politiques et intellectuels de la gauche britannique. Le choix d'Hoggart s'inscrivit dans une volonté de donner une assise théorique au Centre. Le duo formé avec Hoggart symbolisait la richesse des tensions constitutives du CCCS : d'un côté, un universitaire de la classe ouvrière britannique, promoteur de la tradition appelée « culture and society » centrée sur la littérature ; de l'autre, un intellectuel né en Jamaïque avant l'indépendance, formé à Oxford, lecteur de Gramsci et proche des milieux marxistes. Ensemble, ils posèrent les fondements d'un espace intellectuel ouvert aux conflits, à la pluralité des points de vue, et à une pensée en construction permanente.

L'un des documents fondateurs du CCCS fut la leçon inaugurale de Richard Hoggart prononcée en 1963, intitulée « *Schools of English and Contemporary Society* ». Dans ce texte, Hoggart appelait à revaloriser l'étude de la littérature contemporaine comme vecteur d'analyse des transformations sociales. Contre l'académisme figé des départements d'anglais, il plaidait pour une approche vivante, critique et connectée au monde présent (et à la littérature du présent). En ce sens, cette intervention peut être comprise comme une « révolution inaugurale » au sens de Pierre Bourdieu : un geste par lequel un acteur en position dominée mais doté d'un fort capital symbolique introduit une nouvelle

problématique dans un champ structuré. En s'appuyant sur son succès éditorial, sa légitimité professorale et son expérience personnelle d'enfant des classes populaires, Hoggart créait une brèche dans le champ littéraire, ouvrant la voie à une exploration institutionnalisée des cultures populaires.

Le profil social et académique de Hoggart joua ici un rôle déterminant. Issu d'un milieu modeste, il avait accédé à l'université grâce à des bourses au mérite. Cette trajectoire d'ascension sociale fondée sur l'éducation formait la matrice de son œuvre, notamment dans *The Uses of Literacy*, qui articulait souvenirs personnels et analyse critique des mutations culturelles. En créant le CCCS, Hoggart prolongeait ce projet de compréhension de la société par ses productions symboliques, en construisant une structure souple, à la marge des institutions, mais dotée d'une forte ambition critique. Il mobilisait pour cela un capital spécifique accumulé au sein de l'université de Birmingham, rattachant le Centre au département d'anglais tout en le dotant d'une autonomie relative.

Stuart Hall, quant à lui, représentait un autre type de marginalité féconde. Né en Jamaïque, arrivé au Royaume-Uni avec une bourse Rhodes, il avait intégré des cercles militants et intellectuels de gauche. Sa trajectoire personnelle, marquée par les effets du colonialisme et du racisme, nourrissait une sensibilité politique forte, ainsi qu'un regard aigu sur les formes de domination culturelle. Son arrivée au CCCS permit d'élargir les horizons théoriques du Centre, en y introduisant des concepts marxistes. Il apportait aussi une rigueur conceptuelle qui complétait utilement l'approche plus littéraire et empirique de Hoggart. Ce binôme initial préfigurait l'interdisciplinarité qui allait devenir une marque de fabrique du CCCS.

Les premières années du Centre furent marquées par une instabilité logistique, mais aussi par un enthousiasme fondateur. Les locaux étaient précaires, le financement limité, et le personnel restreint. Les activités, cependant se multipliaient : séminaires, publications, conférences, interventions publiques. Le Centre s'efforçait de se doter d'une reconnaissance à la fois académique et sociale. Les rapports annuels soulignent dès les premières années du CCCS la nécessité de trouver de nouvelles sources de financement. C'est pourquoi

plusieurs fondations et institutions furent sollicitées, certaines avec succès. Le Centre obtint par exemple un financement de la *United States Educational Commission* au Royaume-Uni, qui permit d'inviter des intervenants étrangers comme le professeur Benjamin DeMott. Cette reconnaissance externe précoce témoigne d'un début de légitimation du CCCS sur la scène internationale, en partie grâce au rayonnement de Hoggart et à ses liens avec l'UNESCO et d'autres organisations culturelles.

Néanmoins le CCCS ne bénéficiait pas d'un statut officiel fort au sein de l'université, mais sa visibilité croissante et la qualité de ses travaux commençaient à susciter de l'intérêt au-delà de ses frontières. Cette reconnaissance reposait sur une articulation singulière entre un ancrage local (le campus, le département d'anglais), un financement partiellement privé (Penguin Books) et une projection nationale et internationale (via les réseaux intellectuels et militants de ses membres). Cette configuration hybride, fragile mais féconde, permit au Centre de commencer d'expérimenter des formes nouvelles d'organisation, de production et de diffusion du savoir.

Réseaux

Parallèlement, le CCCS commençait à structurer un réseau d'alliés institutionnels, financiers et intellectuels. Il obtenait ponctuellement des subventions de fondations britanniques et étrangères, s'intégrait à des réseaux de recherche européens et américains, et collaborait avec des universités ou des départements plus établis. L'influence de figures comme Hoggart ou Hall facilitait ces connexions, mais le Centre s'efforçait aussi de tisser ses propres relations, en participant à des colloques, en publiant dans des revues étrangères ou en accueillant des chercheurs visiteurs. Ces échanges renforçaient sa visibilité et légitimaient sa démarche.

Pratiques de travail

L'un des traits distinctifs du CCCS, dès ses débuts, réside dans sa volonté de refus des hiérarchies académiques traditionnelles. Il privilégiait de plus en plus une approche horizontale du travail intellectuel : les étudiants étaient associés aux recherches collectives, les publications pouvaient être rédigées de manière collaborative, et les séminaires constituaient des espaces de débat ouvert aux membres et aux non membres. Cette pédagogie de la coopération et du conflit permettait une formation intellectuelle exigeante, mais aussi profondément politique. Elle valorisait la prise de position, l'analyse critique, l'inscription dans les luttes sociales et la formation individuelle de chacun de ses membres.

En somme, la première phase de la vie du CCCS, de sa fondation en 1964 à sa consolidation dans les années suivantes, se caractérise par une tension créatrice entre marginalité institutionnelle et ambition théorique, entre précarité matérielle et richesse intellectuelle, entre héritage littéraire et renouvellement critique. Le Centre naît à la croisée de trajectoires personnelles singulières (Hoggart et Hall), de conjonctures politiques spécifiques (la démocratisation de l'université, les luttes de la nouvelle gauche, le contexte postcolonial), et de soutiens matériels inattendus (Penguin Books). Cette alchimie improbable rendit possible l'invention d'un espace inédit de recherche et d'enseignement, dont les effets se propagèrent bien au-delà de Birmingham.

La légitimation progressive du CCCS s'est faite de manière organique, par l'élargissement progressif de ses activités, la diversification de ses objets de recherche et la formalisation de certaines pratiques collectives. Au départ centré sur les objets culturels populaires de la classe ouvrière britannique (presse locale, littérature de gare, télévision, musique pop), le Centre a progressivement élargi son spectre pour analyser la culture comme un champ de bataille, un lieu d'affrontement symbolique entre groupes sociaux. Cette approche, influencée par Gramsci et un cadré théorique marxiste, insistait sur les processus d'hégémonie, les résistances culturelles, et la construction et négociation des identités collectives.

Enfin, la place du CCCS au sein de l'université de Birmingham restait ambivalente. D'un côté, l'institution tolérait le Centre. De l'autre, elle restait méfiante face à une structure perçue comme peu disciplinée, politiquement engagée, et difficile à contrôler. Cette tension constitutive allait perdurer tout au long de l'existence du Centre, nourrissant à la fois sa créativité et sa précarité.

La formation au sein du CCCS s'écarterait résolument des modèles universitaires classiques. Il n'existait pas de cours magistraux, de syllabus figé ni d'évaluation standardisée. La pédagogie reposait sur l'implication directe des étudiants dans des projets de recherche, où chacun contribuait à la formulation des hypothèses, à la récolte des données et à la rédaction des analyses. Cette organisation favorisait l'apprentissage par la pratique, dans un climat d'échange horizontal, où la parole de l'étudiant pouvait avoir le même poids que celle du chercheur confirmé afin d'établir ensemble le cadre théorique et les méthodologies des cultural studies.

L'une des tensions fondamentales du CCCS résidait dans la relation entre son engagement politique et sa quête d'autonomie scientifique. D'un côté, le Centre se voulait un espace d'analyse rigoureuse, capable de développer des outils théoriques puissants pour comprendre des dynamiques culturelles et sociales en pleine évolution. De l'autre, il s'inscrivait dans les luttes de son temps, locales, nationales et internationales. Il n'était pas un simple observateur des transformations sociales, mais un acteur intellectuel engagé à cheval entre le monde universitaire et le « vrai monde du dehors ».

Cette dialectique se traduisait dans les contenus de recherche, dans les choix méthodologiques, mais aussi dans les débats internes. Faut-il privilégier l'analyse ou l'intervention ? Ces questionnements structuraient la vie du Centre et nourrissaient des tensions productives. Elles permettaient d'explorer les limites d'une recherche engagée, tout en affirmant la possibilité d'un savoir politiquement situé.

Ce modèle universitaire en devenir distingue profondément le CCCS des autres institutions contemporaines. Il constitue l'un de ses apports majeurs, non

seulement en termes de production de savoirs, mais aussi en tant que laboratoire d'une pédagogie critique et imparfaite.

DEUXIEME PARTIE – LES ANNEES SOIXANTE-DIX : UN AGE D’OR POUR LE CCCS ? (1968-1979)

Les années 1970, souvent désignées comme « l’âge d’or » du CCCS, furent marquées une phase d’expansion, au cours de laquelle les stratégies amorcées durant la première période exploratoire commencèrent à porter leurs fruits. L’importance des événements de 1968 ne doit pas être sous-estimée, car ils représentent une rupture imprévue qui dévia le projet initialement conçu par Richard Hoggart, pour l’amener entre les mains de Stuart Hall, son successeur.

De ce moment 68 découle l’un des traits caractéristiques du fonctionnement du Centre dans les années 1970 : une organisation interne marquée par des processus décisionnels démocratiques, une gestion collégiale, ainsi que la valorisation du travail collectif, tant dans la recherche que dans la publication.

Sur le plan institutionnel, le CCCS obtint des financements relativement stables auprès de deux instances gouvernementales : le *Department of Education and Science* (DES) et le *Social Science Research Council* (SSRC). La décennie s’acheva sur la signature d’un contrat avec l’éditeur privé Hutchinson, qui assura au Centre une visibilité dans le monde universitaire britannique et international.

Parallèlement, les orientations théoriques du Centre évoluèrent et se diversifièrent, faisant du CCCS un véritable espace intellectuel de discussion et de confrontation. C’est à l’exploration de ces développements historiques et scientifiques que s’attache la présente partie.

Statut administrative

Financement et admissions

Comme indiqué brièvement dans l’introduction, la structure de financement du Centre évolua au cours des années 1970. Si la première période reposait

principalement sur la convention signée avec Penguin Books, celle-ci fut prolongée jusqu'en 1976, grâce au soutien d'Allen Lane. Le décès de ce dernier en 1970 mit un terme à une nouvelle possibilité de reconduction, obligeant le Centre à chercher d'autres sources de financement pour assurer sa pérennité.

Le CCCS commença alors à bénéficier de bourses de recherche pour les étudiants de troisième cycle, octroyées par deux instances clés : le DES et le SSRC. Créé en 1965, ce dernier avait pour mission de soutenir la recherche en sciences sociales à travers l'attribution de bourses de recherche. Dans un contexte d'après-guerre porteur d'espoir pour le rôle des sciences sociales, le SSRC promouvait une approche non prescriptive : il finançait les projets issus des universités sans en orienter le contenu.

La compatibilité entre le SSRC et le CCCS semblait naturelle : tous deux furent le fruit de luttes politiques prolongées et partageaient une ambition de transformation sociale. Dès 1971, le Centre obtenait des places « quota » — des bourses que le SSRC attribuait directement à l'institution pour qu'elle les redistribue — ainsi que des places dites « pool », allouées directement à certains candidats avec l'appui du CCCS.

Ce système hybride de financement garantissait une certaine stabilité au Centre : les places quota assuraient la présence d'un noyau de doctorants financés chaque année, tandis que les places pool permettaient d'intégrer quelques étudiants supplémentaires.

Le témoignage de Patricia McCabe, doctorante au CCCS de 1977 à 1981, illustre la logique de recrutement mise en place : « Je savais qu'en obtenant un bon diplôme de premier cycle, le Centre m'accepterait et que je recevrais une bourse. Cela semble fou aujourd'hui. »

Cette stratégie de sélection s'appuyait notamment sur le cours optionnel de *cultural studies* introduit dans le département d'anglais dès 1968-1969. Les meilleurs étudiants pouvaient espérer une bourse pour poursuivre un doctorat au CCCS. Cette politique de formation depuis la licence jusqu'au doctorat

permettait de contourner le manque de fonds propres internes au Centre et de développer une stratégie de recrutements de nouveaux étudiants dans des programmes dont la légitimité universitaire restait à asseoir.

À partir de 1974, le CCCS ouvrit également ses portes à des étudiants internationaux, en les orientant vers des bourses spécifiques comme les programmes *Fulbright*, des *British Council Fellowship* ou encore des bourses du *Canada Council*. L'UNESCO resta également un financeur important, commanditant plusieurs recherches sur des thématiques aussi diverses que la presse régionale et les questions raciales, la télévision britannique, ou les sociétés « plurielles » des Caraïbes.

Cependant, l'arrêt de la convention avec Penguin en 1976 entraîna des restrictions : la bibliothécaire à temps plein dut être remerciée, et seule une secrétaire resta à temps plein. Des secrétaires à temps partiel furent recrutées pour gérer les publications du Centre. Cette diminution du personnel eut des conséquences durables, impliquant notamment un investissement nécessaire croissant de la part des étudiants du CCCS.

Heureusement, les postes de Stuart Hall et Richard Johnson (historien nouvellement recruté au Centre en 1974) furent pris en charge par l'université dès 1974, après une évaluation favorable de la part d'un comité facultaire suite au départ de Richard Hoggart, le premier directeur du CCCS, remplacé par Stuart Hall.

En somme, même si des coupes budgétaires s'annonçaient de plus en plus importantes à la fin de la décennie, le CCCS sut maintenir un système de financement suffisamment robuste pour accueillir, former et soutenir ses étudiants — au moins jusqu'à l'approche des années 1980.

Localisation

Les pérégrinations topographiques du Centre prirent fin au cours des années 1970. En 1971, le CCCS fut relogé dans le bâtiment principal de la Faculté des

Arts, au quatrième étage. Ce déménagement, perçu comme une forme de reconnaissance institutionnelle, marqua un tournant. Trevor Millum, étudiant de 1968 à 1970, se souvient de ces changements successifs comme d'un processus d'intégration : quitter les annexes précaires pour intégrer le cœur de l'université fut vécu comme une preuve de légitimité et d'acceptation de la part de l'Université de Birmingham.

Cette stabilité nouvelle perdura jusqu'en 1976, date à laquelle le Centre déménagea dans des locaux plus spacieux aux 7^e et 8^e étages de la Muirhead Tower, un bâtiment tout juste construit sur le campus. Cet espace comprenait des bureaux, des salles de séminaire, un local pour le matériel de reprographie, une salle dédiée aux projets SSRC, une autre consacrée aux publications périodiques, ainsi qu'à la bibliothèque. Ces installations permirent au Centre de se doter d'un véritable espace de recherche collectif. Les couloirs eux-mêmes devinrent des lieux de débat.

Ce n'est donc qu'à partir de 1976 que le CCCS connut une stabilité géographique durable, condition essentielle pour finir d'asseoir sa légitimité académique au niveau local et pour favoriser un climat intellectuel fécond.

Gouvernance, nominations et perspectives

L'âge d'or du CCCS débute néanmoins dans la turbulence. Entre 1968 et 1974, le Centre traverse une phase d'instabilité liée à la mobilisation étudiante de 1968, au départ progressif de Richard Hoggart pour l'UNESCO, à la montée en puissance, nécessaire, de Stuart Hall, et à une première tentative de fermeture du Centre par l'Université de Birmingham.

L'occupation du Great Hall de l'Université de Birmingham par les étudiants en novembre 1968, accompagnée d'un numéro manifeste du magazine étudiant Mermaid intitulé *The Student Role*, marqua un moment clé. Le CCCS fut directement impliqué, comme en témoigne ce numéro spécial du magazine étudiant écrit par ses propres membres, intitulé ironiquement « To Sir, With Love » à l'attention du vice-chancelier de l'Université de Birmingham de

l'époque, Robert Aitken. On y dénonçait les hiérarchies rigides et l'opacité du fonctionnement universitaire.

Après cette mobilisation, les pratiques du Centre changèrent : les étudiants participèrent inmanquablement à la construction des programmes, les décisions devinrent d'autant collectives et horizontales. Comme le note Ros Brunt, cette démocratisation émergea aussi d'un besoin matériel : Stuart Hall, seul, ne pouvait prendre en charge l'intégralité des tâches administratives liées à la gestion du CCCS. Cette évolution n'était pas un choix politique initial, mais une nécessité née du contexte de 1968 et de sa volonté de faire du CCCS un lieu de recherche critique sur l'université.

Le départ définitif de Hoggart en 1968-1969 rendit l'autonomie du Centre incertaine. Une première tentative de fermeture fut évitée grâce à l'intervention d'un comité d'évaluation, sollicité par Stuart Hall. Ce comité, composé notamment de Raymond Williams et Jim Halloran (renommé directeur du *Centre for Mass Communication Research* à Leicester) associés à des membres internes à la Faculté des Arts, conclut à la pertinence des travaux du CCCS. Il recommanda sa pérennisation et la nomination de Stuart Hall comme directeur à part entière. Richard Johnson fut également recruté comme nouvel enseignant, sur les fonds propres de l'Université de Birmingham.

Le Centre devint en 1974 une unité indépendante rattachée à la Faculté des Arts, disposant de son propre conseil. Hoggart, bien qu'ayant quitté Birmingham, conserva un rôle de soutien moral et institutionnel en siégeant au conseil, ce qui renforça la légitimité du CCCS auprès de l'université après le départ de son premier directeur.

Le champ intellectuel du CCCS ne fut donc pas le résultat d'un simple plan initial, mais la synthèse de tensions politiques, institutionnelles et scientifiques, qui, dans ce moment critique, contribuèrent à sa structuration en tant qu'espace de recherche autonome.

Pratiques collectives de travail, recherche et publication

Diplômes en cultural studies

L'intégration formelle du Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) au sein de l'Université de Birmingham en 1974, résultant des recommandations du groupe de travail de la Faculté des Arts, entraîna une stabilisation institutionnelle ainsi qu'une organisation plus claire des cursus proposés par le Centre. Dès lors, le CCCS offrait officiellement quatre parcours possibles pour ses étudiants de troisième cycle : le Master of Arts (M.A.) avec cours et mémoire, le M.A. par recherche (thèse uniquement), le Master of Letters (M.Litt) et le Doctorat (PhD). Cette diversification des diplômes témoignait d'une intégration institutionnelle plus solide, dix ans après la création du Centre.

Le nouveau diplôme M.A. en Cultural Studies, introduit en 1975, accueillit une première cohorte de sept étudiants. Ce programme comportait trois volets principaux : un premier dédié aux théories et méthodes des Cultural Studies, un deuxième centré sur l'étude de la société et la culture britannique entre 1880 et 1970, et enfin, un troisième permettant aux étudiants de rejoindre un sous-groupe de recherche spécifique. Ce dernier volet favorisa une dynamique collective, puisque les étudiants du M.A. (qu'ils soient inscrits à temps partiel ou à temps plein) côtoyaient directement les autres membres du Centre, réduisant au maximum les distinctions liées au statut d'inscription. Cette organisation mettait en pratique la volonté d'effacer les barrières artificielles entre les étudiants inscrits à différents parcours, illustrant une approche pédagogique fondée sur l'inclusion et l'échange intellectuel.

Les sub-groups

Au cœur du fonctionnement du CCCS dans les années 1970 se trouvait une organisation intellectuelle profondément collective, structurée autour des « sous-groupes » de recherche. Ces groupes, mis en place à partir de 1969-1971

dans le sillage de la mobilisation étudiante de 1968, formaient l'ossature quotidienne de la recherche au Centre.

Les premières recherches du Centre portaient sur les publics ouvriers et jeunes de la société britannique des années 1960. Les travaux sur les subcultures (mods, skinheads, teddy boys) furent parmi les plus emblématiques. Ils proposaient une lecture sociologique et sémiotique des styles vestimentaires, des comportements, des lieux de sociabilité. Ces enquêtes, souvent menées collectivement, reposaient sur des observations de terrain, des analyses d'archives et des entretiens.

Chaque étudiant rejoignait un ou plusieurs sous-groupes thématiques, tels que ceux sur le marxisme, les *sub-cultures*, le genre, les médias, le travail et les loisirs, l'histoire ou encore la psychologie. Ces groupes n'étaient pas hiérarchiques : chacun pouvait participer selon ses intérêts, proposer des lectures, animer une séance, ou développer un axe de recherche. La logique était celle d'un apprentissage horizontal, où le savoir se construisait collectivement.

La participation au CCCS ne reposait donc pas sur un cursus figé, mais sur une dynamique d'implication active. L'unique rendez-vous formel hebdomadaire était l'assemblée générale du Centre, moment de coordination, de débat, mais aussi de mise en commun des travaux.

La production intellectuelle suivait la même logique. Plutôt que de publier à titre individuel, les chercheurs du CCCS contribuaient à des publications collectives : *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* ou plus tard les ouvrages collectifs publiés chez Hutchinson. Ces productions s'inscrivaient dans un processus collaboratif : travail de relecture croisée, discussions critiques, reformulations collectives.

En particulier, ce travail collectif se traduisait également dans des formes d'écriture originales. Les publications du CCCS, notamment les « Stencilled Occasional Papers », témoignaient d'un refus des formats académiques traditionnels. Ces documents, souvent photocopiés, circulaient de manière

informelle, mais étaient lus, commentés et discutés dans des cercles larges en dehors du Centre, parfois très loin de Birmingham. Cette politique éditoriale visait à accélérer la diffusion des idées, à privilégier la réflexivité sur la finition, et à créer une communauté d'échange. Elle participait d'une volonté de rompre avec les circuits de légitimation classiques, et contribua au recrutement de plusieurs étudiants du CCCS. Ces pratiques de publication seront examinées plus en détail un peu plus bas.

Ces pratiques eurent un effet formateur considérable. De nombreux anciens membres du Centre évoquent encore aujourd'hui l'impact durable de cette méthode sur leur rapport au savoir, à l'écriture, au collectif. Le CCCS des années 1970 fonctionnait comme un laboratoire intellectuel exigeant, où chacun devait contribuer, critiquer, produire, reformuler — au service d'un projet commun mais sans dogme imposé de manière absolue.

Pratiques de recherche

Des séminaires hebdomadaires constituaient un autre élément-clé des pratiques du CCCS. Chaque semaine, ces rencontres rassemblaient l'ensemble des membres du Centre pour débattre de textes fondamentaux, partager l'avancement des travaux individuels et collectifs, et renforcer ainsi la cohésion intellectuelle du groupe. L'importance des séminaires résidait dans leur caractère démocratique et inclusif : tous les membres, quel que soit leur statut, étaient invités à participer activement aux discussions. Cette pratique contribuait à créer un environnement intellectuellement stimulant, mais aussi exigeant, où chaque membre était encouragé à exprimer librement ses idées tout en s'exposant au regard critique du collectif.

Ces séminaires s'accompagnaient souvent de présentations réalisées par des invités extérieurs, favorisant l'ouverture du Centre vers l'extérieur. Ces interventions permettaient aux membres du CCCS de confronter leurs propres travaux à d'autres approches, favorisant un dialogue fécond entre diverses perspectives théoriques et méthodologiques. Cette dynamique initiée au cours

de la première période historique du Centre, participait au rayonnement intellectuel du CCCS au-delà de ses propres murs et contribuait à son attractivité pour des étudiants venus d'autres universités britanniques et internationales.

Par ailleurs, l'organisation collective fut progressivement mise à l'épreuve par l'introduction de nouvelles approches théoriques, notamment féministes et anti-racistes, au milieu des années 1970. Ces approches nouvelles, portées par une génération d'étudiants sensibilisés à ces questions, ont progressivement remodelé la manière dont les recherches étaient menées au sein des sous-groupes. L'émergence de ces perspectives critiques engendra des tensions au sein du collectif, car elles remettaient en question le cadre de pensée jusque-là dominant, celui du marxisme, et poussaient à redéfinir continuellement le projet intellectuel et politique du Centre.

En somme, les pratiques de travail du CCCS durant cette période témoignent d'un équilibre délicat entre innovation intellectuelle, démocratie organisationnelle et exigences institutionnelles. Ces pratiques collectives, bien qu'extrêmement fructueuses sur le plan scientifique et pédagogique, entraînaient également des contraintes importantes, tant au niveau personnel qu'organisationnel. Ainsi, à la fin des années 1970, malgré les succès indéniables du modèle collectif mis en place, le CCCS devait déjà faire face aux limites pratiques et humaines inhérentes à ce mode de fonctionnement, annonçant les difficultés futures auxquelles le Centre serait confronté durant la décennie suivante.

Politiques de publication

Durant les années 1970, le Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) mit en place une politique de publication ambitieuse, dynamique et politiquement engagée, destinée non seulement à diffuser les résultats de ses recherches collectives mais aussi à positionner le Centre comme acteur influent dans les débats politiques et intellectuels contemporains. Ce choix éditorial s'inscrivait dans la vocation politique assumée du CCCS, fortement marqué par

les théories critiques, le marxisme et, progressivement, par les études féministes et antiracistes, et dans la construction de son autonomie en tant que sous-champ scientifique.

Les publications du CCCS s'articulaient autour de trois axes principaux : les « *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* », les « *Stencilled Occasional Papers* », et diverses publications collectives sous forme de brochures ou de pamphlets. Chacune de ces formes éditoriales répondait à des objectifs précis, visant à soutenir un dialogue intellectuel constant au sein du Centre, tout en assurant une visibilité externe importante.

Les « *Working Papers* » constituaient l'élément central de cette politique. Ces publications annuelles, éditées soigneusement et relues collectivement, permettaient aux membres du Centre, notamment aux doctorants et chercheurs débutants, de contribuer à publier des travaux en tout début de carrière. Au-delà de leur dimension scientifique interne, les « *Working Papers* » étaient des outils politiques : ils permettaient au CCCS de positionner clairement ses approches critiques dans le paysage universitaire britannique. Ainsi, le Centre ne cachait pas sa volonté d'influencer les débats universitaires et de se faire une place en tant qu'acteur intellectuel incontournable.

Les « *Stencilled Occasional Papers* » répondaient à un objectif complémentaire : publier rapidement des essais courts, réflexions préliminaires ou réactions immédiates à des événements politiques ou sociaux spécifiques. Ce format plus souple offrait une réactivité intellectuelle que les publications « *Working Papers* » ne permettaient pas toujours. Cette réactivité éditoriale reflétait une volonté de s'émanciper des canaux de publication traditionnels et de permettre aux idées de circuler sur un temps court.

Loin d'être uniquement des productions universitaires classiques, les pamphlets du Centre visaient un public élargi, incluant militants, enseignants, journalistes et intellectuels engagés hors du monde universitaire. En élargissant son audience, le Centre contribuait activement aux luttes politiques de l'époque.

Un tournant crucial dans l'histoire éditoriale du CCCS fut le partenariat signé à la fin des années 1970 avec la maison d'édition britannique Hutchinson. Ce contrat représentait à la fois une opportunité et un défi : d'un côté, il offrait au Centre une visibilité nationale accrue en permettant la publication de travaux majeurs issus de ses recherches, et ouvrait ainsi une diffusion plus large à ses idées. D'un autre côté, ce partenariat souleva des débats internes intenses sur les compromis potentiels que ce type d'accord commercial pouvait induire. En effet, collaborer avec un éditeur commercial pouvait signifier, pour certains membres du Centre, une forme de concession au système économique capitaliste que leurs propres recherches cherchaient souvent à critiquer. Malgré ces tensions, le partenariat avec Hutchinson permit de republier puis publier plusieurs ouvrages majeurs du CCCS, contribuant à affirmer sa légitimité scientifique tout en maintenant son caractère engagé.

La réussite de ces ouvrages publiés chez Hutchinson, notamment ceux traitant des subcultures, des médias, du racisme et du genre, consolida la réputation du CCCS comme centre intellectuel influent à l'échelle nationale et internationale.

Réseaux

La notion de réseau joua, dans la continuité des années 1960, un rôle central dans l'histoire du CCCS durant les années 1970. Le Centre continua ainsi de développer activement des réseaux intellectuels et institutionnels et politiques pour asseoir sa légitimité et assurer sa pérennité institutionnelle.

Au niveau universitaire, le Centre noua de nombreux liens au sein même de l'Université de Birmingham, en particulier avec des départements comme l'histoire et l'allemand. Ces collaborations internes furent essentielles pour défendre l'existence du Centre face aux pressions institutionnelles récurrentes et permirent au Centre de se défendre efficacement lors des moments de réelle fragilité institutionnelle, notamment durant la période suivant le départ de Richard Hoggart entre 1968 et 1974 ainsi qu'au moment du départ de Stuart Hall à la fin des années 1970.

Le CCCS bénéficia également d'un important réseau externe à l'Université de Birmingham. Des collaborations régulières avec d'autres universités britanniques permirent aux membres du Centre d'échanger des idées, de diffuser leurs recherches et de recruter de nouveaux étudiants. Parmi ces échanges notables figuraient notamment les liens étroits avec le « *History Workshop* » du Ruskin College d'Oxford, même si des divergences politiques et intellectuelles importantes surgirent à la fin des années 1970, particulièrement illustrées par l'incident de 1979 lors du colloque annuel du *History Workshop*. Ces controverses illustraient les limites et les défis du réseau intellectuel du CCCS, mais également sa force en tant que centre intellectuel.

Sur le plan institutionnel, le Centre établit des liens solides avec des organisations telles que l'UNESCO, le British Film Institute (BFI), ou encore les autorités gouvernementales locales et nationales. Ces collaborations permirent au CCCS d'étendre ses recherches hors du strict cadre universitaire en produisant des études appliquées sur des sujets comme les médias, les politiques culturelles locales ou nationales, et les questions de représentation sociale. Ces travaux avaient souvent une portée opérationnelle directe, contribuant notamment à façonner des politiques publiques au niveau local. Les financements liés à ces recherches contractuelles apportaient au Centre une stabilité financière ponctuelle, bien que toujours précaire.

Cependant, ces réseaux institutionnels ne protégeaient pas complètement le Centre des attaques idéologiques et politiques, notamment celles orchestrées par certains groupes conservateurs britanniques hostiles à l'orientation marxiste et critique des travaux du Centre. La position ouverte et engagée du CCCS lui valut ainsi de nombreux adversaires politiques qui cherchèrent à remettre en question sa légitimité institutionnelle et sa pertinence académique.

Adversaires politiques

Avec sa notoriété croissante durant les années 1970, le Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) devint une cible privilégiée d'attaques politiques

externes au monde universitaire. Dans un contexte de récession économique et de tensions idéologiques, le Centre fut particulièrement visé en raison de son orientation critique et marxiste assumée. Ces attaques ne portaient pas sur la qualité académique des recherches publiées, mais s'inscrivaient dans une opposition idéologique plus large face aux courants intellectuels radicaux dans l'enseignement supérieur britannique.

Face à ces critiques virulentes, le CCCS adopta une stratégie consistant à maintenir rigoureusement ses standards intellectuels et académiques. Plutôt que d'entrer dans une polémique stérile, le Centre se concentra sur la diffusion de ses travaux et la promotion d'une recherche engagée et de haute qualité. Cette position lui permit, malgré les pressions politiques externes, de conserver sa crédibilité scientifique et sa visibilité internationale. Toutefois, ces controverses illustrèrent les limites institutionnelles du CCCS et l'instabilité chronique qui caractérisait sa position, même pendant son âge d'or.

À cette période, le Centre prit conscience que son succès intellectuel et médiatique ne suffisait pas à assurer une totale sécurité institutionnelle. Sa survie restait fragile, dépendante des financements et de la conjoncture politique. Ce contexte hostile préfigurait déjà les difficultés accrues auxquelles il allait devoir faire face au cours de la décennie suivante, particulièrement marquée par les politiques éducatives restrictives du gouvernement Thatcher à partir de 1979.

Cette analyse des années 1970 du CCCS permet de tirer plusieurs conclusions. Premièrement, le Centre avait réussi à établir un solide réseau académique, tant au Royaume-Uni qu'à l'international, grâce à ses méthodes de travail collaboratives et à l'implication personnelle de ses membres. De plus, cette période avait permis de poser des bases théoriques solides, en particulier en intégrant des cadres théoriques nouveaux tels que les études féministes, qui devint progressivement central dans les recherches du Centre.

En définitive, les politiques de publication et les réseaux développés par le CCCS durant cette période soulignent à la fois les réussites majeures du Centre

et les tensions internes et externes qui accompagnèrent son expansion. La stratégie éditoriale dynamique et diversifiée permit au CCCS de diffuser largement ses idées, mais les pressions économiques et les conflits intellectuels internes constituèrent des défis permanents, aboutissant au départ du deuxième directeur du Centre, Stuart Hall, en 1979. De même, le large éventail de réseaux tissés au sein de l'université, ainsi qu'avec des institutions nationales et internationales, renforça la position du Centre, tout en l'exposant constamment à des controverses idéologiques et à des contraintes financières croissantes.

Néanmoins, ces réussites s'accompagnèrent de coûts humains et organisationnels élevés. Ainsi, malgré une période d'expansion académique et de reconnaissance scientifique notable, la fin des années 1970 laissait présager des évolutions difficiles pour le Centre, annonçant un affaiblissement progressif des conditions de travail au cours des années 1980. Le bilan reste donc paradoxal, entre un succès universitaire indéniable et une fragilité institutionnelle persistante.

PARTIE TROIS – LE TRIUMVIRAT

Introduction

La période couverte dans cette troisième partie, de 1979 à 1986, est surnommée « le triumvirat ». Cette appellation fait référence à la nouvelle direction collégiale à trois têtes – Michael Green, Richard Johnson, Maureen McNeil – sous la direction officielle de Johnson. Cette période est marquée par des défis humains, intellectuels et financiers considérables. L'appellation « triumvirat » a été employée par Johnson lui-même, tant lors de la conférence du 50^e anniversaire de la fondation du CCCS que dans une interview personnelle.

Cette troisième période historique se caractérise par un changement de direction mouvementé, la dilution de certaines pratiques collectives et le lancement en 1982 d'un diplôme de licence en études culturelles et communication. Paradoxalement, cette période correspond à une plus grande accessibilité des études culturelles pour les étudiants, et à une institutionnalisation renforcée de la discipline, dans un contexte de pressions budgétaires croissantes, motivées politiquement.

Statut administratif – Financement

Dès 1979 et les début des années Thatcher les premières attaques contre le monde universitaire se firent sentir, comme en témoigne l'introduction du rapport annuel du CCCS : « Le contexte général, partagé par tous ceux qui travaillent dans l'enseignement, comprend les démarches visant à réduire les dépenses et, tout aussi important, à restructurer le système éducatif lui-même. »

Cette stratégie explicitement politique visait à rationaliser financièrement l'enseignement supérieur et à en étouffer les structures les plus marginales. Deux mesures principales cristallisèrent cette orientation : la hausse des frais d'inscription – notamment pour les étudiants étrangers – et la réduction

drastique des financements versées par les conseils de recherche (SSRC et DES), qui jusque-là finançaient une part importante des étudiants du CCCS.

La réduction des financements provoqua des changements structurels notables au sein du Centre, affectant à la fois le recrutement des étudiants et les pratiques de recherche. Les politiques restrictives amorcées en 1979–1980 coïncidèrent avec une montée de l'intérêt du CCCS pour les politiques britanniques contemporaines, comme l'illustre la publication par Stuart Hall de *The Great Moving Right Show* en janvier 1979 jusqu'alors toujours à la tête du Centre.

Dans ce texte, Hall mit en lumière la réorganisation des appareils d'État, affirmant que le *Department of Education and Science* (DES) avait été relégué au second plan au profit de nouveaux organismes à visée plus utilitaire, ce qui affecterait directement le CCCS et l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche au sens large. L'attaque sur le financement public rendit de plus en plus difficile l'accueil d'étudiants à plein temps, et compromit directement ou indirectement la finalisation de nombreuses thèses. Les rapports annuels du Centre confirment cette lecture. Richard Johnson, désormais directeur, expliqua dès le début des années 1980 que les centres de recherche comme le CCCS, étaient particulièrement vulnérables à la hausse des frais et à la perte de tels financements.

Face à la précarité croissante, le CCCS adopta deux stratégies : favoriser l'inscription à temps partiel, dont les frais en 1980 s'élevaient à £217 par an contre £1167 pour les étudiants à plein temps britanniques, et £2062 pour les étrangers (devenus une manne financière pour les universités) ; et recruter davantage d'enseignants en détachement, ce qui assurerait une relative stabilité financière à certains étudiants, financés par leur propre institution pendant leur temps de disponibilité passé au Centre. Cependant cette double stratégie n'était pas sans failles, car l'Université de Birmingham se mit à surveiller ces pratiques, demandant aux étudiants à temps partiel de prouver qu'ils disposaient du temps nécessaire pour suivre leurs études, comme le souligne le rapport 1980–1981. Les frais d'inscription continuèrent d'augmenter d'environ 10% chaque année jusqu'à la fin de la période étudiée, en 1988.

Les restrictions financières affectèrent non seulement la capacité à ouvrir de nouveaux postes (qui resta infructueuse et limita le nombre de postes de professeurs permanents au sein du Centre à trois), mais aussi la durée des recherches menées. Le rapport 1981–1982 mentionne que le Centre est désormais ouvert à des recherches plus courtes, commanditées par des organismes extérieurs, après plusieurs années passées à ne pas chercher activement ce type de partenariat. Cette évolution rappelle les premières années du CCCS, lorsque certaines études étaient financées par l'UNESCO ou la *Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust*. Cela marque un retour à des financements moins stables et plus ponctuels, en rupture avec les longues bourses de recherche financées par le SSRC et le DES.

Cette montée des coûts fragilisèrent le travail collectif du Centre. Dans les années 1970, le CCCS bénéficiait de plusieurs bourses annuelles du DES et du SSRC, permettant une certaine stabilité. Ces conditions favorables expliquent pourquoi cette décennie est souvent qualifiée d'âge d'or. Cette stabilité financière se traduisait en stabilité intellectuelle, rendant possible la publication d'ouvrages majeurs et la signature d'un contrat avec la maison d'édition Hutchinson. L'ensemble s'inscrit dans ce que Latour et Woolgar nomment le "cycle de crédibilité" : le CCCS transformait son capital académique en financements, et inversement. Ce système commence à se désagréger dans les années 1980. Le rapport du directeur contenu dans le rapport annuel pour l'année 1982–1983 réaffirma pourtant ce principe clé : « la recherche et l'écriture s'apprennent dans la pratique, de préférence au sein d'un groupe de travail. » Mais cette dimension collective devient de plus en plus difficile à maintenir. Pour cette même année, les frais s'élèvent à £1413 pour les étudiants à temps plein du Royaume-Uni/CEE, £2770 pour les étrangers, et environ £300 pour les étudiants à temps partiel – toujours la seule option économiquement viable pour les moins aisés.

En 1985, une amélioration se fit sentir avec l'obtention de nouvelles bourses, dans un contexte de ressources humaines fragiles. Le rapport de direction évoque d'ailleurs un épuisement général. Le CCCS n'avait lors plus obtenu de

financement du DES ni du SSRC depuis 1982. Ce dernier, menacé dès 1981, sera renommé ESRC (*Economic and Social Research Council*) en 1983, avec une orientation plus conforme aux attentes du gouvernement Thatcher.

Entre 1979 et 1985, le CCCS traversa donc une période de réajustement, devant repenser sa stratégie de recrutement et de financement. Une des solutions trouvées consista à sélectionner des étudiants au parcours académique exemplaire, plus susceptibles d'obtenir des aides. Cette stratégie, bien que pragmatique, contredit partiellement l'éthique originelle du Centre, historiquement ouvert aux profils atypiques et à la recherche de perspectives plurielles. Cette politique de sélection renforça la capacité du Centre à obtenir des financements sporadiquement, mais menaça ses principes de démocratisation académique.

Le rapport de 1985–1986 critiquait justement ouvertement la politique économique de l'université, dénonçant les frais discriminatoires imposés aux étudiants étrangers. Le « Project Fund », financé par les revenus des membres du personnel du Centre, continua de fonctionner pour atténuer ces coûts.

En résumé, dès 1979, le CCCS subit une série d'attaques financières coordonnées : disparition progressive des principales sources de financement, augmentation constante des frais d'inscription, et introduction et renfort des contrôles administratifs. Ces dynamiques affectèrent profondément tous les aspects de la vie du Centre – gouvernance, admissions, enseignement, équilibre entre enseignement et recherche – et conduisirent à une asphyxie progressive qui rendit le Centre vulnérable à la réforme imposée par le rapport Jarratt et aboutit à sa fusion avec le département de sociologie.

Gouvernance et nominations

Le départ de Stuart Hall en 1979 constitua un moment charnière dans l'histoire du CCCS. Il quitta ses fonctions de directeur pour rejoindre l'Open University en tant que professeur de sociologie. Richard Johnson, dans son le rapport

annuel, évoque un mélange de panique et de défi. Si Richard Hoggart fut bel est bien le fondateur du Centre, c'est bien Stuart Hall qui a élevé le CCCS comme son propre enfant jusqu'à ce qu'il soit capable d'avoir de complexes discussions théoriques.

En effet après 1968 Hall avait mis en place les traits les plus marquants du Centre : recherche collective, pluralisme méthodologique, engagements politiques profonds. Mais c'est aussi ce modèle exigeant, couplé à la montée des revendications féministes internes et à l'épuisement personnel, qui ont motivé son départ. Dans une interview rétrospective, Hall reconnaît qu'il ne parvenait plus à gérer les tensions, en particulier celles liées aux critiques féministes, et qu'il valait mieux pour le Centre qu'il cède sa place.

Sa sortie rapide et sans transition obligea le Centre à réagir dans l'urgence. Richard Johnson, Michael Green et Maureen McNeil formèrent alors un « triumvirat » de direction collégiale, Johnson étant officiellement nommé directeur après un processus complexe orchestré en coulisses pour garantir que le Centre puisse continuer d'exister.

Ce mode de gouvernance à trois est un héritage direct des tensions vécues à la fin des années 1970. Il incarne à la fois une tentative de gestion plus démocratique et une stratégie de survie, où il n'est plus possible de faire peser le poids de la direction sur une seule paire d'épaules.

L'arrivée de McNeil fut en outre perçue comme cruciale : elle permit de répondre à une exigence politique interne — féminiser la direction — tout en renforçant les domaines de recherche sur le genre. Cependant, comme Johnson l'expliqua plus tard, cette nomination n'aboutit malheureusement pas à une transformation structurelle complète : la charge des questions féministes resta en grande partie déléguée à McNeil et aux membres féminines du CCCS, ce qui maintint une forme de division du travail intellectuel au sein du Centre.

Par ailleurs, le départ simultané de Joan Goode, secrétaire du Centre, marqua la fin d'une époque. Présente depuis les débuts, elle avait joué un rôle structurant

dans la vie quotidienne et la mémoire du CCCS. Son témoignage, intitulé *A Secretary's Progress in the Centre*, souligne à quel point les crises successives ont forgé l'identité du Centre et à quel point l'ultime crise dont elle aura été témoin, autour de l'émergence d'un cadre théorique féministe au sein du CCCS, était nécessaire et positive.

En somme, cette nouvelle direction à trois têtes symbolisa pour le Centre une tentative de stabilisation face à la désintégration potentielle suite au départ de Stuart Hall. Elle répondit à une crise de légitimité et de fonctionnement, en pleine période de reconfiguration idéologique au sein du Centre politique à l'intérieur du pays.

Année universitaire 1981–1982 : entre résistance et épuisement

L'année universitaire 1981–1982 fut marquée par une atmosphère d'urgence. Le ton du treizième rapport annuel du Centre tranche avec les précédents : il adopte un style presque pamphlétaire, empreint d'un pessimisme lucide face au contexte politique national. Le rapport s'ouvre sur une dénonciation directe des politiques de coupes budgétaires, des attaques contre la recherche critique et des menaces pesant sur l'existence même de certaines disciplines universitaires. Il évoque même le risque de voir les universités participer activement à leur propre démantèlement.

Ce climat délétère pèse lourdement sur le Centre, qui entre alors dans une phase de mobilisation défensive. À Birmingham, l'université envisage un plan de restructuration recensant les domaines d'étude jugés "dispensables" – une formulation perçue comme une menace directe pour le CCCS. Le Centre prend alors la plume pour affirmer sa légitimité, défendre son modèle universitaire et dénoncer le désengagement de l'État.

Ce contexte difficile a également des effets structurels. Le rapport fait état de l'échec d'une tentative d'obtenir un quatrième poste permanent (destiné à Paul

Willis, chercheur contractuel au Centre depuis 1974) pour renforcer l'équipe, réduite à trois personnes pour superviser un nombre croissant d'étudiants. Le travail pionnier de Paul Willis, notamment *Learning to Labour*, a marqué l'approche du CCCS en articulant marxisme culturel et ethnographie. Le rapport souligne l'importance de son apport, et regrette qu'aucune solution durable n'ait été trouvée pour le conserver au sein de l'équipe. Cette surcharge, liée à l'impossibilité de titulariser Paul Willis, affecta la qualité de l'encadrement, fragilisa les dynamiques collectives et accentua l'épuisement du personnel.

La reconnaissance de l'héritage de Willis s'inscrivait dans une volonté plus large de réaffirmer les fondements politiques du Centre. Le rapport annuel replace explicitement les recherches du CCCS dans la lignée de la Nouvelle Gauche britannique, de *The Uses of Literacy* de Hoggart, et des grands historiens sociaux des années 1960-1970. Ce rappel des origines peut également être lu comme une réponse indirecte aux critiques issues du débat de Ruskin ou d'historiens comme E. P. Thompson, qui avaient accusé le Centre d'élitisme ou de détachement vis-à-vis des réalités politiques.

Enfin, le rapport est écrit à la première personne, chose inhabituelle. Ce ton personnel – celui de Richard Johnson – souligne l'implication affective et politique du directeur, tout autant que la fragilité du moment. Cette année 1981–1982 apparut donc comme un tournant : prise de conscience des limites structurelles, défense farouche des acquis, mais aussi début d'une lente érosion de la dynamique collective liée au tarissement des financements.

Charge de travail et participation étudiante

Dès le début des années 1980, face à une baisse drastique des financements publics et à une augmentation des frais d'inscription, le CCCS se voit contraint d'imposer aux étudiants une implication plus forte dans la gestion quotidienne du Centre. La participation étudiante, initialement conçue comme un espace informel de formation intellectuelle et de partage des connaissances, se transforme peu à peu en un véritable outil de survie pour l'institution.

Les étudiants, souvent en situation précaire, doivent endosser plusieurs rôles : organisation des séminaires, gestion de la bibliothèque, suivi des publications, et même coordination avec les partenaires extérieurs. Cette auto-gestion, bien qu'essentielle pour le maintien du Centre, se fait au prix d'un investissement personnel conséquent. Ce modèle, qui repose sur la solidarité et la mutualisation des efforts, expose néanmoins une inégalité d'implication : certains étudiants, bénéficiant de meilleures conditions financières ou d'un emploi du temps plus flexible, peuvent s'investir davantage, tandis que d'autres, contraints par des obligations extérieures, peinent à participer activement. Ce sont néanmoins paradoxalement les étudiants les moins bien lotis qui semblent assumer le plus de tâches que l'on peut qualifier d'ingrâtes dans la gestion opérationnelle du Centre.

Ce mécanisme, qui visait initialement à renforcer le caractère collectif et démocratique du CCCS, se révèle progressivement être une source de tension. En effet, la charge de travail accrue et les exigences administratives viennent en concurrence avec la mission première des étudiants : la recherche.

Ainsi, l'augmentation des frais d'inscription et la réduction des aides financières ne se limitent pas à un simple ajustement budgétaire : elles transforment le modèle universitaire et organisationnel du Centre. La participation étudiante devient alors à la fois un moteur et un fardeau, illustrant de manière frappante la fragilité du modèle collectif face aux pressions économiques et administratives de l'époque.

De la critique radicale à la mise en conformité (1982–1988)

L'un des changements majeurs dans le financement de la recherche au Royaume-Uni survint en 1983, lorsque le Social Science Research Council (SSRC) fut rebaptisé Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). Ce changement de nom reflétait en fait une réorientation profonde : alors que le SSRC soutenait traditionnellement une recherche critique et indépendante,

l'ESRC n'eut d'autre choix que de se donner pour mission explicite d'accompagner les priorités du gouvernement.

Cette transformation s'inscrivait dans le contexte plus large de rationalisation et de normalisation des pratiques de recherche dans l'enseignement supérieur. L'enquête Rothschild de 1981 commandée par Keith Joseph (alors Secrétaire d'État à l'éducation) avait déjà amorcé cette mutation en appuyant l'idée de recherche « empirique liée à l'intérêt public ». La nouvelle dénomination de l'ESRC renforce cette logique, en étant forcé de privilégier les projets jugés économiquement utiles ou politiquement pertinents par le gouvernement, en échange du droit à la survie.

Pour le CCCS, cette évolution constitua une menace directe. Dès 1981, le Centre constatait une baisse des bourses de recherche. Le rapport 1982–1983 souligne que les nouvelles conditions imposées par l'ESRC ne permettent plus de financer des projets collectifs de longue durée, ni de soutenir des étudiants issus de parcours non traditionnels, moins à même de sécuriser des bourses devenues très compétitives. Les nouveaux critères auxquels l'ESRC dû se plier étaient difficilement compatibles avec le mode de production intellectuelle du CCCS, fondé sur le temps long, la recherche collective, et l'engagement critique.

En 1985, le rapport du Centre exprimait ouvertement son inquiétude : « Il devient de plus en plus difficile de maintenir notre manière de faire de la recherche. »

Cette tension obligea le Centre à réorienter une partie de ses activités. Il tenta de répondre aux exigences de l'ESRC, tout en conservant une marge d'autonomie. Cette stratégie d'équilibre fut cependant coûteuse : elle imposa une surcharge de travail administratif et détourna l'énergie des chercheurs de leur projet intellectuel. À moyen terme, cette mutation affecta la capacité du CCCS à se renouveler théoriquement. Le Centre publia moins d'ouvrages collectifs ; les projets individuels, plus courts et plus ciblés, se multiplièrent. Ce

changement de format répondait aux exigences de l'ESRC, mais fragmentait la dynamique collective qui avait fait la force du CCCS dans les années 1970.

Cette période vit également l'introduction de nouveaux dispositifs d'évaluation de la recherche, annonceurs du futur Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) de 1986. Ce système de notation des unités de recherche selon des critères de performance mesurables renforçait la logique de concurrence entre départements et centres universitaires, et menaçait d'isoler encore davantage le CCCS dans son mode de fonctionnement marginal.

Cette transformation du paysage du financement de la recherche, conjuguée aux coupes budgétaires imposées par l'université, rendit la position du CCCS de plus en plus intenable. La section suivante abordera les tentatives de réforme interne et les réponses institutionnelles face à ce déséquilibre croissant.

Réformes internes et normalisation institutionnelle

Face à l'instabilité croissante, le Centre tenta d'opérer une série d'évolutions internes. L'objectif était double : d'une part, répondre aux exigences de plus en plus strictes de l'université et des organismes de financement de la recherche ; d'autre part, maintenir des pratiques de travail vivables. Cette stratégie de normalisation institutionnelle est perceptible à plusieurs niveaux.

Tout d'abord, le CCCS chercha à clarifier ses procédures d'admission. Le rapport de 1984–1985 insiste sur la nécessité de fournir une documentation claire et complète aux futurs candidats. Il s'agissait ainsi d'éviter les malentendus sur la nature du travail attendu, sur la charge collective impliquée, et sur les perspectives de financement.

Ensuite, une attention particulière fut portée à la l'institutionnalisation des *cultural studies* par le biais de la construction d'une licence. Le Centre s'engagea dans la construction de nouveaux contenus pédagogiques pour formaliser les attentes, les critères de validation, et l'offre de formation de premier cycle. Ce processus visait à légitimer dès la licence les enseignements

du Centre et à le transformer en un acteur incontournable dans une université massifiée au cours des années 1980 : en effet rapidement la douzaine de places disponibles en licence furent convoitées chaque années par plus de six cents futurs étudiants, mettant en lumière à la fois l'intérêt des étudiants pour l'approche des *cultural studies* et la demande soutenue pour les études supérieures.

Cette stratégie d'institutionnalisation produit des effets ambivalents. D'un côté, elle permit au Centre de survivre quelques années dans un environnement de plus en plus exempt de financements dédiés à la recherche. De l'autre, elle contribua à l'érosion de certaines pratiques collectives qui avaient fait la singularité du CCCS, liée à la mobilisation du triumvirat au service de la nouvelle formation. initial.

Enfin, cette période vit la multiplication des collaborations inter-universitaires à l'intérieur de l'éco-système britannique. Le CCCS tissa des liens avec d'autres centres britanniques, et notamment plusieurs *Polytechnics* (réseau d'institutions d'enseignement supérieur non autonome, voué majoritairement à la formation professionnelle dans les disciplines dites STEM et dont les diplômes étaient délivrés par le biais une instance gouvernementale, le *Council for National Academic Awards*, où siégeaient des chercheurs spécialistes des disciplines ayant autorité de valider les diplômes dispensés), où le réseau des *cultural studies* était en plein essor et pour lesquels le Centre représentait un acteur prédominant.

Ces réformes, bien que pragmatiques, marquèrent une inflexion durable dans l'histoire du CCCS. La section suivante analysera les dernières années de cette période, marquées par une crise interne croissante et par la menace d'une fermeture définitive du Centre.

Dernières années (1986–1988): vers la fermeture

Les deux dernières années du CCCS, avant sa fusion avec le département de sociologie de l'Université de Birmingham en 1988, furent marquées par une

accumulation de tensions internes et de pressions externes. Le rapport annuel de 1986–1987 fait état d'un sentiment d'incertitude généralisé, tant sur le plan administratif qu'intellectuel. L'équipe dirigeante se fragilisa et commença à envisager la dissolution du Centre.

Le contexte politique, toujours dominé par un Thatcherisme triomphant, pesait lourdement. L'université continuait sa quête de rationalisation des dépenses et suite à l'impulsion du rapport Jarratt, cherchait à se recentrer sur les disciplines jugées stratégiques, et à se conformer aux injonctions de rentabilité imposées par le gouvernement. Le CCCS ne pouvait malheureusement entrer dans des cases administratives qui n'étaient pas faites pour de petites structures, qui plus est marginales.

Dans ce climat hostile, les membres du CCCS tentèrent de défendre le projet. Des lettres furent envoyées, des alliances cherchées, des restructurations envisagées. C'est la possibilité d'une fusion qui signa le salut du CCCS : en fusionnant avec le département de sociologie le Centre acquit enfin le statut de département, plus protecteur que celui de centre de recherche. Il dût cependant également diluer ses pratiques collectives, horizontales et pour certaines inacceptables pour une université traditionnelle, dans cette nouvelle entité que fut le *Department of Cultural Studies and Sociology* à partir de 1988.

La troisième, et dernière période allant de 1979 à 1988 constitua une période de transformation majeure pour le *Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies*. Sous la direction collégiale du « triumvirat », le CCCS chercha à survivre dans un contexte politique, économique et universitaire de plus en plus hostile. Le Centre dut faire face à une réduction drastique des financements publics ainsi qu'à la montée d'un management universitaire fondé sur la performance et la rentabilité

Dans ce contexte, le CCCS adopta une stratégie d'adaptation mêlée de résistance : il restructura ses procédures internes, renouvela son effort d'institutionnalisation et continua de tisser des alliances extérieures. Mais ces transformations s'opèrent au prix d'un affaiblissement de sa marginalité et

radicalité initiale. La recherche collective, longue, critique, céda progressivement la place à des projets plus courts, plus ciblés, et plus conformes aux attentes institutionnelles en tant que seuls projets finançables par le désormais ESRC.

Sur le plan humain, la période fut marquée par une grande précarité. Les étudiants durent assumer une charge de travail importante dans un contexte d'insécurité financière grandissante et des divisions apparurent entre jeunes chercheurs en herbes et les autres membres du CCCS. Le triumvirat s'épuisa à maintenir une structure menacée.

La fusion du CCCS avec le département de sociologie en 1988 ne signa donc pas la fin d'un projet, mais la fin d'un lieu. Le projet intellectuel et politique du Centre, lui, a continué de circuler, d'évoluer, de se transformer.

CONCLUSION

Cette recherche, menée près de soixante ans après la fondation du Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), s'est construite autour de tensions fondamentales qui ont traversé le Centre durant ses vingt-quatre années d'existence. Elle a exploré les paradoxes entre pratiques collectives et carrières individuelles, entre production scientifique et engagement politique, entre légitimation institutionnelle et épuisement professionnel. À travers une approche à la fois historique et sociologique, cette étude propose un regard minutieusement renouvelé sur le CCCS, en s'appuyant sur des archives récemment mises à disposition, des nouveaux entretiens et sur des outils conceptuels permettant de saisir plus précisément les dynamiques du champ scientifique.

Cette thèse retrace trois grandes périodes de l'histoire du Centre : une phase exploratoire (1964-1968), une période de stabilisation et de forte productivité (1968-1979), et enfin une phase de lutte pour la survie (1979-1988) marquée par l'institutionnalisation des études culturelles au-delà du CCCS. Elle met en lumière les stratégies de publication du Centre, son rôle de creuset intellectuel et ses tentatives pour concilier radicalité et légitimation.

Le cœur de l'enquête s'articule autour de plusieurs questions majeures : comment un centre aussi influent a-t-il pu disparaître de l'institution qui l'a vu naître ? Quelles en étaient les limites ? Quelle a été sa contribution scientifique réelle à l'univers académique, et comment a-t-il forgé un sous-champ disciplinaire autonome ?

La disparition physique du Centre s'explique en grande partie par les transformations institutionnelles et politiques qui ont affecté l'enseignement supérieur britannique, notamment à partir des années 1980. Fondé dans un moment d'ouverture impulsé par le rapport Robbins (1963), le CCCS est devenu, au fil du temps, une exception de plus en plus coûteuse dans une université soumise à des logiques de rentabilité. Il a certes disparu comme lieu,

mais il survit symboliquement à travers ses archives et l'héritage intellectuel laissé par ses membres et institutionnellement dans le champ scientifique international.

Ses limites furent aussi bien externes — manque chronique de soutien institutionnel, environnement politique défavorable — qu'internes : objets de recherche en devenir à ses débuts, épuisement lié à l'investissement individuel, tensions entre ambitions théoriques et militantisme, surcharge des missions de recherche, d'enseignement et d'intervention sociale. La structure même du Centre, utopique et critique envers l'université, s'est heurtée aux logiques universitaires dominantes.

Pourtant, entre 1964 et 1988, le CCCS a contribué à fonder un champ disciplinaire reconnu, en légitimant de nouveaux objets de recherche et des pratiques collectives inédites. Son fonctionnement transversal et horizontal a permis à des courants divers — tels que le féminisme et l'antiracisme — d'émerger, parfois simultanément, à l'intérieur même de la structure. Le modèle des sous-groupes de recherche, bien qu'instable, a contribué à l'émergence de ces courants en favorisant l'expérimentation et l'innovation théorique.

Enfin, cette étude invite à prolonger la réflexion sur le devenir du CCCS après 1988, sur l'impact de ses pratiques au sein d'autres universités, et sur les formes de recherche critique dans le monde anglophone et au-delà. Elle ouvre également une piste prometteuse : celle de l'ethnographie du travail universitaire, pour mieux comprendre comment se fabriquent les poches d'ordre au cœur du désordre quotidien des institutions universitaires et scientifiques.

Résumé

Les limites du Centre : Nature, Place et Héritage du CCCS au sein du monde Académique et Politique (1964-1988)

Les pratiques marginales ont-elles leur place à l'université ? Cette thèse retrace l'histoire institutionnelle du *Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies* (CCCS) de sa fondation en 1964 à Birmingham à sa fusion avec le département de sociologie de l'université de Birmingham en 1988. En s'appuyant sur des archives et des entretiens avec d'anciens membres du CCCS, elle explore les réseaux qui ont soutenu le Centre, diffusé ses travaux et l'ont soutenu en temps de crise. Cette étude montre que la marginalité du CCCS fut à la fois une force et une faiblesse : en dépit de sa fragilité institutionnelle, il a su créer un espace d'expérimentation intellectuelle et influencer durablement le champ des études culturelles. À travers cette trajectoire, ce travail propose une réflexion sur ce qui peut être accompli depuis les marges du monde universitaire.

Mots clefs : Cultural Studies; Richard Hoggart; Stuart Hall; Birmingham; CCCS; Histoire

Abstract

The limits of the Centre: Nature, Place and Heritage of the CCCS in the Academic and Political World (1964-1988)

Can marginal academic practices survive within universities? This dissertation explores the institutional history of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) from its founding in 1964 in Birmingham to its 1988 merger with the University of Birmingham's Department of Sociology. Focusing on lesser-known periods, it examines the CCCS's networks—those that enabled its creation, supported its work, disseminated its publications, and sometimes strained its resources. Drawing on archival material and interviews with former members, this study situates the Centre's trajectory within its historical and sociological context. It argues that CCCS's marginality was both its strength and its vulnerability: it fostered academic freedom and influence beyond its walls but remained institutionally fragile. By tracing this dynamic, the dissertation contributes to understanding what can be achieved from the margins of the academic world.

Keywords: Cultural Studies; Richard Hoggart; Stuart Hall; Birmingham; CCCS; History

Titre : Les limites du Centre : Nature, Place et Héritage du CCCS au sein du monde Académique et Politique (1964-1988)

Mots clés : Cultural Studies, Birmingham, Stuart Hall, Richard Hoggart, CCCS, History

Résumé : Y a-t-il une place pour les pratiques marginales à l'université ? En proposant une histoire institutionnelle exhaustive du Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) entre sa création en 1964 et sa fusion avec le département de sociologie de l'université de Birmingham en 1988, cette thèse offre des pistes de réflexion pour répondre à cette question. Cette étude, en s'appuyant sur des travaux ayant établi l'importance du CCCS dans le monde académique et politique de la seconde moitié du 20^e siècle, est consacrée à l'ensemble de la trajectoire institutionnelle du Centre en tant que tel, et se concentre sur les périodes et pratiques les moins connues du CCCS. En analysant les différents réseaux qui ont soutenu sa création, appuyé ses premières productions, diffusé ses publications et se sont nourris de son cadre pour élargir le champ naissant des études culturelles, tout en lui venant en aide en temps de crise (en abusant parfois de ses maigres ressources), cette thèse cherche à mettre l'accent sur les pratiques de travail qui ont fait du Centre la renommée « école de Birmingham ». Pour ce faire, il se concentre sur les archives du Centre conservées à la Cadbury Research Library de l'Université de Birmingham et sur trois séries d'entretiens qualitatifs avec d'anciens membres du CCCS, dont l'une ayant été réalisée dans le cadre spécifique de ce travail de recherche. En articulant ces données avec le contexte historique dans lequel le Centre a évolué pendant près d'un quart de siècle et une compréhension sociologique des luttes de pouvoir en jeu dans le domaine universitaire, ce travail établit que la marginalité de la CCCS fut à la fois une source de forces et de faiblesses : le Centre est parvenu à créer quelque chose au-delà de ses propres murs, puisqu'il est devenu un lieu où une expérience fondée sur la liberté académique a pu se poursuivre pendant près de vingt-cinq ans. Cependant, le CCCS, malgré sa notoriété croissante, n'a jamais cessé d'être fragile, tant sur le plan institutionnel que théorique et opérationnel. Telle est la ligne de crête explorée au cours de ces pages. En mettant en évidence ces résultats, cette recherche apporte une réponse (il y en aurait d'autres) à la question de savoir ce qu'il est possible de faire depuis les marges de l'université.

Title: The limits of the Centre: Nature, Place and Heritage of the CCCS in the Academic and Political World (1964-1988)

Key words: Cultural Studies, Birmingham, Stuart Hall, Richard Hoggart, CCCS, History

Abstract: Is there room for marginal practices within universities? By contributing a comprehensive institutional history of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) between its founding year in 1964 in Birmingham and its merger with the University of Birmingham's Department of Sociology in 1988, this dissertation offers possible answers to that question. Building on seminal work assessing the significance of the CCCS in the academic and political world of the second half of the 20th century, this study reveals the entire institutional trajectory of the Centre per se, and lays emphasis on its lesser-known periods and practices. By examining the CCCS's various networks which supported its founding, endorsed its early production, disseminated its publications and built on its framework to expand the burgeoning field of cultural studies — while coming to its rescue in times of crisis (and sometimes overusing its slender resources) — this dissertation seeks to focus on the working practices which turned the Centre into the so called “Birmingham school”. To do so, it focuses on CCCS's archival material held at the University of Birmingham's Cadbury Research Library and on three series of qualitative interviews with former CCCS members including one conducted especially for this work. By articulating such material, in connection to the historical context during which the Centre evolved for close to a quarter of a century, to a sociological understanding of the power struggles at play within the academic field, this work establishes that the CCCS's marginality was both a source of strengths and weaknesses: the Centre achieved creating something beyond its own walls, as it became a place where an experience grounded in academic freedom could develop. Nevertheless, the CCCS, its growing fame notwithstanding, was never entirely safe and never ceased to be fragile on the institutional, theoretical and operational levels. Such is the crest line which has been explored in this work. By highlighting these findings, this research contributes one answer (there are many others) to the question of what can be achieved from the margins of the university.