

Chapter 6 The Hegemonic Gaze and East-Central Europe - Challenging the Totalitarian Paradigm

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The chapter introduces the notion of the "hegemonic gaze" in relation to the representation of East-Central Europe, demonstrating how the artist becomes interpellated as a regional subject, becoming simultaneously included and othered. It begins by examining the complexities involved in defining the region and the power dynamics involved in naming and being named. The author argues that different terms produce specific subject positions, reinforcing certain narratives about the region and foregrounding the end of communism and the failure of the socialist project.

Through the lens of Stuart Hall's theory of encoding and decoding, the chapter explores how exhibitions and artworks depicting socialist monuments and architecture often become simplified and reinterpreted within the global art discourse. The author shows how the "hegemonic gaze" reinforces existing narratives and imposes meanings. Despite artists' efforts to engage with the complexities of the past, their work is often interpellated within predetermined frameworks that limit its interpretation.



Among the people marked as lacking, some were promised that if they showed a willingness to recognise their natural state of lack and express a desire to assimilate, they could leave the world of lack behind. But this was, of course, a false promise.

Francoise Verges, *Discourse of Lack: A Humble and Difficult Art*ⁱ

To Name Is To Possessⁱⁱ

To engage with the terminology and multiple conceptualisations of a region, especially one with as tumultuous a history as East Central Europe, is to run into trouble from the outset. No definition could possibly represent the region accurately, without immediately inviting revision, correction or an instant critique of its glaring shortcomings. The multiple terms theorised in this volume, whether productive or limiting, out-of-date or newly-coined, provoking or troubling, invite the question of positionality. Who is doing the naming and who is being named? In Althusserian terms, we might ask how to define the interpellating apparatus that fuels global contemporary art and what subject is produced through the interpellation. If we think of interpellation as "a means by which everyone is summoned and constituted socially as a subject",ⁱⁱⁱ we would do well to keep an eye on the workings of the apparatus that summons as much as on those that are summoned. The voice that produces the term East Central Europe,

or any other geographically-determined term is, as the French philosopher and social theorist Jacques Bidet explains, not a voice coming from within: “it is not an ‘inner voice’, the voice of conscience, that interpellates me. It is a public voice.”^{iv}

This chapter concerns itself with the “call and response” cycle fuelling the circulation of art across global networks and the concomitant naming and defining processes. Examining the articulation and narrativization of art from the region I choose to call the ‘former East’, across globally-circulating networks, I aim to trace the way different terms produce different subject positions. Drawing on what is known as “the labelling theory” in social constructivism, which proposes that individuals know themselves by how others label them, I argue that what I have called the “hegemonic gaze” becomes a constitutive element in the creation of art, prefiguring the work and reinforcing existing narratives, resulting in a simultaneous inclusion and othering. I base this argument partly on my own experience of curating numerous exhibitions by artists from the former east in the UK and their reception, and partly through an analysis of the global circulation of work by artists from the region over the past decade.

The present volume puts forward the position that it is precisely the *multiplicity of the geographies of East- Central European art that is a defining feature of the region*, as outlined by the Editors in the introduction. Taking this on board, I argue that within that plurality, each specific term produces a particular response, generating specific fixed meanings and narratives and continuing to form subsequent readings. This call-and-response cycle, I will argue, does indeed produce a certain multiplicity and dynamism, through diverse theoretical approaches to the region, but it nevertheless reinforces a specific ideological position, one which across the range of terms, underlines and reaffirms the end of communism and the so-called failure of the socialist project across the region.

By perpetuating “the geopolitical paradigm of regional art as dominant epistemological tool for situating contemporaneity”, as articulated by curator and theorist Jelena Vesić, the lingering attachments to the category of East-Central European art or art from the ‘former East’ simultaneously interpellates the subject as a regional subject, and renders them *an Other*, through that very summoning.^v

The Hegemonic Gaze – Today in Sharjah, Tomorrow in Gwangju

In using the term ‘hegemonic gaze’ I am not referring to a geographically determined space, nor to a Western gaze, but to something different. The location of this ‘gaze’ moves with the ever-shifting flows of capital, and along its travels it determines the inclusion, visibility and symbolic value of artworks as well as the surrounding discourse. This gaze is not associated with individual nation states, historical centres of power or specific territories. Instead, it circulates invisibly, as mobile and immaterial as financialised capitalism itself. While power may still most visibly appear to reside in ‘old art hubs’ of London, New York or Paris, more often than not it rapidly circulates from Sharjah to Sao Paulo, from Kochi to Gwangju and hundreds of other locations, popping up across continents and inboxes of ‘digital nomads’, the privileged minority unencumbered by visa restrictions, caring responsibilities or lack of travel funds. The gaze is in many places at once, at events on the global art map that make up art calendar like the one on the Biennial Foundation’s Directory of Biennials listing several hundred such manifestations per year, enough to fill every day of the year.^{vi} The gaze is not the art market, but it is not separate from it either. It lives the quick glance at the E-Flux announcements in our inbox, the ever-increasing speed at which we glimpse at Instagram profiles. Whilst the discourses around the work may change (from deconstructing art to

decolonising it), something remains. It is present in moments of consensus reached between art professionals, in the reinforcement of certain tropes, in a repetition and reconfirmation of well-established ideological positions.

This hegemonic gaze retains certain articulations intact, not so much in order to preserve geographical or any other bias but to sustain the circulation of capital underpinned by reinforcing particular ideological frameworks. The gaze does not judge as such, it simply assimilates even the most radical attempts, flattening regional and local specificities, and presenting over and over again a palatable overarching narrative, rewarding those complicit in its making.

It Might Have Failed But it Was Beautiful - Monuments, Tower Blocks, Grand Edifices

How does the interpellation of the regional subject manifest? While only some of us will ever know what it felt like to live in the region of communist or socialist single-party states, all of us know what it *looked* like. The tropes are so well known that it may not even be necessary to list them here - brutalist tower blocks, long queues, monuments which allegedly look like they are from outer space, imposing state buildings as backdrops reinforcing the carefully constructed image of the leaders' power.^{vii} Not inaccurate, and indeed representative in the same schematic way that Big Ben or the Eiffel Tower may be of their respective countries, these images certainly do function as solid symbols of carefully devised propaganda machines on the one hand and glimpses into cracks in the system, revealing its imminent demise, on the other.

But *my* socialist vista of the former East is as much about skinny teens writhing on the dance floor to the sound of 'Panic' by the Smiths in smoke filled, graffiti-laden club of Academy of Fine Arts in Belgrade, known as Akademija, or the beautiful, ironic boys of the new wave band Idoli, playing with these very tropes by singing in made-up Russian language a song called "Malciki". *My* socialism is also a memory of a basement room in my childhood home, plastered with pictures of Che Guevara and my aunt's long smoky dinner parties to the soundtrack Cesária Évora, mixed with intense hushed discussions with Angolan or Namibian youth resistance leaders, about to embark on the risky business of liberating their countries from their colonisers.

Subjective (and perhaps privileged) as these images may be, punk, new wave, fado music and the on-the-ground acts of Non-Aligned solidarity marked *my* socialism more than the endlessly repeated tropes circulating today. My point is simply that the tropes are more of a conjuring than they are a representation. And yet, in today's contemporary art circulation, it is these schematic images that we return to repeatedly, encouraging their circulation, fuelling their further reproduction to reinforce and cement the idea of failure. Brutalist buildings, long queues, greyness. Not my socialism, or at least not only that.

Encoding and Decoding and the Hegemonic Gaze

To understand the effects of the interpellation of the artist as a regionally-determined subject, it may be useful to turn to Stuart Hall's foundational theory of encoding and decoding.^{viii} Focussing on one of the key tropes, as explained above, that of socialist monuments and socialist modernist architecture, I aim to highlight the slippage of meanings in transnational

circulation of images and narratives. Or in Hall's own words, the 'lack of fit' between the encoded messages and their various decodings.

Challenging the previously dominant linear and simplistic communication model in which messages have fixed meanings and travel from the broadcaster (Hall used television as an example) to the viewing public 'intact', Hall introduced instead a circular model of communication, taking into account the complexity of factors at play at every point of the communication cycle. In particular, he focused his attention on the meanings generated by different audiences, revising earlier views of audiences or viewers as simply passive receivers of messages. Foregrounding the social and political dimensions of communication, Hall's encoding and decoding circuit singles out four key 'moments', comprising *production*, *circulation*, *use* (distribution/consumption) and *reproduction*. This model can just as easily be applied to the circulation of contemporary art and further updated in light of what the legal scholar and open source advocate Lawrence Lessig termed 'read-write culture' (as opposed to 'read only' culture) which characterises contemporary networked communication, with its endless repurposing of content.^{ix}

Hall sees encoding as '*the point of entry into the discursive realm of communication*', a process shaped by the material context of production in which it occurs'.^x At the time of writing, in 1973, the process of encoding in the case of televised images was much more centralised than the contemporary structures involved in the production of contemporary art that we are working with here. To make a claim for the autonomy of a singular author outside the deeply collaborative encoding apparatus would miss the point, as it is precisely through such a set of negotiations that artworks are communicated to the world. The encoding process in contemporary art is a complex distributed web of activity involving a large network of agents (more dispersed than Hall's example of television), starting from the artist or group themselves and their communities (for example a shared studio or the artist's gallery), those involved in the manufacturing of the artwork as well as the curator, and various individuals within the institutions involved in presenting the work (the venue or broader context such as a biennial).^{xi} There are also the teams involved with the catalogue, including the commissioned essay writers, editors as well as various teams communicating the project online and offline, not forgetting the encoding involved in the visual identity of the project. This process therefore involves a large network of people, jointly arriving at the articulation, or encoding, of the cultural object, in this case an artwork or an exhibition. The social and material conditions of this network therefore determine the way the original 'raw' material enters into circulation. At the level of international circulation, for instance a biennial, no project reaches its audiences 'raw', it passes through this complex web of exchanges (or 'distortions') following the conventions of the system, taking into account the international dimension, eventually producing the message, in the form of an artwork, that reaches audiences.

The production/circulation stage is for Hall a discursive moment in which the event becomes a story, or for our purposes, the artwork becomes part of a larger narrative (as explained above Hall reminds us that a 'raw' historical event cannot be televised in its original form, it needs to be signified by the aural and visual forms of the televisual discourse). Hall's key argument at this step is that the viewer plays an active role in decoding messages, bringing forth their own social context and their own abilities to collectively produce a response. Hall is especially interested in the decoding moment in the cycle, which he deems the most neglected in terms of analysis of communication systems. Referring to 'iconic' signs, which are visual signs that closely resemble the object they refer to (e.g. a photograph of a dog is not a dog, but closely resembles it), Hall claims that audiences/ viewers enter into a struggle over meaning which is

dependent on their situation, context and material condition. For Hall, the messages that have been encoded have the ability to carry a range of potentially contradictory or conflicting meanings generated by the viewers with a degree of autonomy, thus making the viewer also a producer.

Conflicting Decoding and Socialist Tropes

So how does the hegemonic gaze operate in the light of Hall's theory of encoding and decoding?

The core of Hall's theory becomes evident in what he referred to as the 'lack of fit' between the encoded message and its reception by the viewer, a gap between the two sides of the communicative exchange. Let us take, for instance, one of the tropes mentioned above, which are so frequently seen in contemporary works from the former East - socialist architecture and commemorative monuments - and let us trace the way such images circulate.

At the encoding end, from the point of view of the author (artist or curator), artworks and exhibitions that deal with socialist architecture or monuments open up a space for deeper engagement with not only the objects themselves, but the promises of socialist or communist ideological frameworks, while also acknowledging their complexities and failures. For reasons that reach far beyond the aesthetic qualities of these buildings or monuments, to use these signifiers is to bring to the fore the processes in which they came into being as underpinned by specific agendas, their symbolic, commemorative meanings and their social function. Using this history as a departure point, this is also a way to open up a discourse about contemporary relations of culture and aesthetics to ideology.

But despite the artists' or curators' best efforts, the history, symbolism, texture and nuance of such content is rarely retained on the work's journey across the global communication systems of contemporary art. Given the established conventions of how exhibitions are communicated, the sheer volume of information circulating at any given time across a wide range of competing media spaces, and the increasing speed at which information circulates, ideas become simplified through the necessity of distilling much information into standard formats (think press releases for biennial exhibitions, E-Flux announcements, 'teaser' videos circulating on social media). At the point of reception rarely are such images approached as 'texts' for deeper analysis, instead functioning as a 'redux', boiling down to the shorthand for the grand narrative with the endlessly repeated refrain: images of dead political systems. Making it difficult to circumvent such kneejerk responses, the artist or curator is interpellated as a regional subject, included and welcomed as long as the work can be read as a relic of past times and from far away strange lands.

The architectural historian and curator Vladimir Kulic has observed, "reduced to exotic forms, the antifascist monuments produced under socialism are now emptied of their original meaning and presented as the seductive, but fundamentally irrational manifestation of a totalitarian imagination"^{xii}. It is in that emptying of the original meaning and repopulating with simplifications, determined by the social context of the viewer, that the hegemonic gaze operates.

And yet, such images continue to circulate as artists continue to find meaning in them, engaging with archives, discovering new documents, images and approaches in the hope of engaging with the past in meaningful ways as a roadmap to the present. "Many artists are turning to the

study of past ideological and historical models in various fields in order to question the history and politics of our time” observed the artist Jasmina Cibic in relation to the engagement with socialist legacy in her own work but also that of other artists of her generation.^{xiii} Cibic’s work, which is often filmed or photographed in buildings that are the pinnacle of the socialist modernist project, certainly opens a world of complexity through her engagement with ideology and its symbols, as the artist delves into deep archival research, using such material as a departure point for the deconstruction of ideological apparatuses and making visible their hidden reverse. But despite the complexity and nuance in Cibic’s multifaceted research projects, and her engagement with the intricacies of the former Yugoslav system, the work is often interpellated as belonging to a history of a failed state above all else. We begin to notice such interpellation already in the first steps of encoding, for instance in the foreword of Cibic’s monograph published on the occasion of her solo exhibition at the Baltic Centre in Newcastle, UK.^{xiv} The catalogue introduces the lens of failure from the outset *‘The stories behind failed political systems and states provide the source and setting for Jasmina Cibic’s larger artistic project’*.^{xv} The curator’s focus on failure instantly places Cibic’s project in the framework of a failed system, limiting the reading of the work to something that is already behind us, rather than opening it up to the much broader landscape and possibilities that the work inspires.

Failure of the socialist project is hardly at the centre of Cibic’s complex films, performances, collages and installations as the artist precisely eschews the specificity of particular political systems, abstracting the language and soft-power mechanisms, in fact making a point of transcending the specificity of particular systems. However, as the work makes its way around the globe, it is decoded through a lens of the hegemonic gaze, seeking to relegate these images to the past, and to associate them with failure, render them irrelevant, in many cases not fully grasping the emancipatory and hopeful possibilities of Cibic’s investigations.

Vladimir Kulic’s own co-curated exhibition (with Martino Stierli) “Toward a Concrete Utopia, Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980” held at MoMA NYC in 2018/19 was met with a similar emptying out and simplification of the exhibition’s vision.^{xvi} *Toward a Concrete Utopia* explored Yugoslav post-war architecture through more than 400 drawings, models, photographs, and film reels from an array of municipal archives, family-held collections, and museums across the region. Kulic and Stierli’s curatorial vision spoke of architecture’s „radical diversity of experiment” in the country and the Utopian idea of creating a better society, and the curators went to great lengths to offer a range of analytical and discursive tools to study the exhibition.^{xvii} But its reception in many cases once again took the form of sweeping brushstrokes pointing to the failure and the demise of the Yugoslav socialist project. An example is an essay in *Architectural Review* magazine, in which the author after briefly acknowledging the exhibited work as a significant body of Modernist architecture’, quickly moves on to underline the downfall of Yugoslavia and its tragic end. Ensuring that the reader is clear that this troubled state is firmly relegated to the past, the author asserts that it is now safe for our museums to show what he clearly deems to be monumental symbols of failure, despite their architectural merit. He assures us that the exhibition can now happen only because we enjoy the “relatively safe distance we have attained from the failed Yugoslavian state, which collapsed into vicious ethnic conflicts in the early 1990s.”^{xviii} He goes on to further underline the distance from the work on show: „These buildings are, from this perspective, now museum pieces, to be wondered at in their otherness. The most active response they could elicit on these terms would be an impulse to preserve them from the neglect of successor regimes.”^{xviii} Despite the fact that Wilkinson’s review goes on to analyse the merits of the projects shown in the Concrete Utopia exhibition, his opening lines situate the exhibition in a narrative of almost comical irrelevance, there for us to observe from a distance, marvelling at its strange otherness.

The Trope of the Courageous Artist Resisting the So-Called Totalitarian Regime

In a similar vein as the responses cited above, the exhibition I curated for Nottingham Contemporary in 2016, entitled *Monuments Should Not Be Trusted*, which showcased over 100 works from the former Yugoslavia, encountered a host of reductive and simplifying readings, in most cases missing the very focus of the exhibition – Yugoslav subcultures –instead producing new puzzling narratives of dissident artists opposing a totalitarian regime. These were odd readings given that the exhibition focussed on punk, DIY video practices, artists' television projects, Black Wave film and New Art Practice – a generation of post 1968 conceptualists. As it happens, the title I proposed originally 'The Golden Parrot' a reference to a nightclub in 1980s Belgrade, was dismissed as opaque and meaningless to a UK public, in favour of a title featuring the word 'monuments' (a translation of a title of a film) which reinforced the association with socialist monuments, despite the show's clear focus on grassroots, experimental, non-institutional artistic practices. Featuring a host of art projects interspersed with punk videos, Black Wave Film known for being explicitly critical of the Yugoslav political system (but funded by the government production company Neoplanta and therefore certainly not created in a climate of censorship), videos by the Theatre FV-112/15 group a cross-media constellation of artists in Slovenia known for breaking taboos and putting on gay and lesbian club nights and associated punk bands Borghesia and Tozibabe, the exhibition was in no way a story of oppression, but rather testament to an explosion of cross-media practices not unlike those in other parts of Europe at the time. It would have been difficult to find examples of dissident artists struggling in a totalitarian regime in this exhibition and yet, the reviews almost entirely produced such readings.

„State of the art: rethinking Yugoslavia, the dictatorship that embraced conceptualism” read the title of a feature in the Calvert Journal, puzzlingly incongruent with the content of the interview in which I spoke of the diversity and richness of Yugoslav practices.^{xix} Dazed magazine published what can only be read as a 'clickbait' title which initially read '10 artists that stood up to a dictator' (or something to that effect) and was later altered to '10 artists who changed the face of culture in Yugoslavia', following an email exchange with the author of the article in which I challenged the title, pointing to its lack of connection with the exhibition or indeed the content of the article.^{xx}

Decoding and the Naturalised Codes of the Hegemonic Gaze

I have argued here that the hegemonic gaze that produces specific terms and narratives, shaping the decoding of cultural content, is determined by ideologically fuelled naturalised set of codes. This gaze not only interpellates what is already there, but also prefigures future contexts, locking particular subject positions in place, in this case, creating regionally constituted subjects. It may be useful at this point to return to the question of how is the apparatus that interpellates us is constituted. How do we account for the multitude of acts that contribute to the interpellation of the regional subject and what contexts does this, in turn, produce? We are reminded by Bidet, that the voice that interpellates “is not an ‘inner voice’, the voice of conscience, that interpellates me. It is a public voice”, but what is this public voice made of?^{xxi} Stuart Hall writes that codes “so widely distributed in a specific language community or culture[...] that that they appear not to be constructed [...] but to be ‘naturally’ given’.” Hall reminds us that such “codes do not reveal the transparency of language but the depth of the habituation and near-universalisation.”^{xxii}

In terms of the circulation of contemporary art, these codes are what constitutes the hegemonic gaze, so profoundly internalised that it becomes difficult to undo them even when what we see before us is telling us differently. As we have learned from a multitude of voices in decolonial and feminist discourses, the structures underpinning canonical narratives are always situated in the dominant discourse and its tools remain the master's tools. It is then not surprising that the decoding of the work discussed here becomes subject to already predetermined readings. While pointing to the viewer as a producer in Hall's encoding and decoding schema, the viewer with a certain amount of autonomy can only operate within the naturalised codes. In our case, this is the impulse to read the work as a relic of a failed system and forever confine its authors to regionally constituted *others*, out of time and out of place, included in the conversation but only upon their acceptance to continue to embody these roles.

ⁱ Francoise Verges, "Discourse of Lack: A Humble and Difficult Art", in *Curating After the Global: Roadmaps for the Present*, eds. Paul O'Neill, Simon Sheikh, Lucy Steeds, Mick Wilson (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2019).

ⁱⁱ To Name is to Possess is the title of a text, a meditation on colonialism in "My Garden" by Jamaica Kincaid, Vintage, 1999.

ⁱⁱⁱ Jacques Bidet, *Interpellating Interpellation, Introduction, On the Reproduction of Capitalism, Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, Verso, London, 2014, p. xxvi

^{iv} Jacques Bidet, "An Invitation to Reread Althusser" in Louis Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism, Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (Verso, London, 2014), xxvi.

^v Extending the Dialogue: Essays by Igor Zabel Award Laureates, Grant Recipients, and Jury Members, 2008-2014, IZA Editions Editors: Urška Jurman, Christiane Erharter, Rawley Grau, Igor Zabel Association for Culture and Theory, 2016

^{vi} See the Directory of Biennials on the Biennial Foundation website:

<https://www.biennialfoundation.org/network/biennial-map/>, last accessed 10 February 2024

^{vii} Here I refer to the viral spread of photographs by Jan Kempenaers, depicting WW2 memorials, which later became known as 'spomeniks'. Kempenaers' photographs of monuments across Yugoslavia commemorating the Anti-fascist Resistance were articulated in the media and across social networks as strange and anomalous, allegedly looking like they are from outer space, rather than acknowledging their architectural and symbolic value as commemorative of Anti-fascist resistance.

^{viii} Stuart Hall, "Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse" (1973), Paper for the Council Of Europe Colloquy on "Training In The Critical heading of televisual language". Organized by the Council & the Centre for mass Communication Research, University of Leicester, September 1973, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/81670115.pdf>, last accessed 20 February 2024

^{ix} In his 2008 book *Remix*, Lawrence Lessig wrote about Remix culture, also known as read-write (RW) culture as opposed to read-only (RO) culture. He described a culture that allows and encourages the creation of derivative works by combining or editing existing materials. RW culture is now fully evident in the endless and instantaneous remixing on apps like Tik Tok and Snapchat. See <https://lessig.org/>, last accessed 26 February 2024.

^x Hall, Stuart, "Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse" Chapter 6, in *The Cultural Studies Reader* Edited by Simon During, 1993, Routledge, London, p 95

^{xi} I am working with the idea that today a large number of artists do not manufacture or physically create their works, but involve a range of people in the manufacturing, depending on the type of artwork.

^{xii} Kulic Vladimir quoted in *Heroes We Love – Ideology, Identity and Socialist Art in the New Europe*, Ed. Simona Vidmar, UGM Maribor Art Gallery, 2017, p 96

^{xiii} Ibid, p.78

^{xiv} For further information on Cibic's exhibition see: <https://jasminacibic.org/exhibitions/this-machine-builds-nations/>, last accessed 23 February 2024

^{xv} Vinticelli, Alessandro, Foreword: A Theatre of Voices in SPIELARUM, Jasmina Cibic, Eds, Cibic, Jasmina, Popovic, Una, Distanz Verlag, Berlin, 2018, p7

^{xvi} Further information on Toward a Concrete Utopia is available at:

<https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3931> last accessed 23 February 2024

^{xvii} Quote from Vladimir Kulic at a panel discussion about the exhibition,

<https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3931?>, last accessed 23 February 2024

^{xviii} <https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/toward-a-concrete-utopia-yugoslavian-architecture-1948-1980>,

last accessed 25 February 2024

^{xix} The Calvert Journal has since been taken offline but the article has been archived on the Sudac Collection

website: <https://www.avantgarde-museum.com/en/museum/press/state-of-the-art-rethinking-yugoslavia-the-dictatorship-that-embraced-conceptualism-no5972/#overlay>, last accessed 25 February 2024

^{xx} Dazed <https://www.dazeddigital.com/artsandculture/article/29433/1/10-art-radicals-who-challenged-yugoslavia>, last accessed 25 February 2024

^{xxi} Bidet, Jacques 'An Invitation to Reread Althusser' in *On the Reproduction of Capitalism, Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, Louis Althusser, Verso, 2014, p. xxvi

^{xxii} Hall, Stuart, *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*, p. 55