The Transcultural Production of Creative Subjectivity: London Art, Design and Communication Higher Education in Mumbai and Shanghai Cultural Industries

Waldron, Rupert

https://doi.org/10.34737/x04q2

THE TRANSCULTURAL PRODUCTION OF CREATIVE SUBJECTIVITY: LONDON ART, DESIGN AND COMMUNICATION HIGHER EDUCATION IN MUMBAI AND SHANGHAI CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

RUPERT BENJAMIN WALDRON

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the University of Westminster
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

2025

Abstract

This thesis considers the productive subjectivity of alums of London art and design higher education now active in Mumbai and Shanghai cultural industries, drawing on interviews with 51 practitioners. It proposes a framework emphasising the dialectical roots of Leon Trotsky's concept of uneven and combined development in Hegelian dialectics to study creative labour in transnational capitalism. I argue that the production of creative subjectivity emerges from uneven and combined development through learned processes of internalisation and externalisation. Internationally mobile subjects from the southern cities engage in a passage through the constitutive other – the former metropole – to produce a subjectivity whose very autonomy and abstractly cosmopolitan flexibility serves transnational capital.

The research finds that interview subjects utilise discourses of non-contemporaneous world space and learned forms of creativity as the managed development of the potentialities of disjuncture. Participants identify with the project of helping to bring the southern cities into self-contemporaneity through their productive intervention. They thereby engage with the unevenness of world space under the international division of labour in subjective terms as a source of creative potential from difference. Objective factors of unevenness highlighted by participants include differential degrees of commodification and division of labour, skills levels, and predominance of mental over manual labour, but also factors associated with less capitalistically developed means of labour reproduction in the Southern cities as compared to London, such as universities, museums and galleries, and consumer culture such as fashion. These inform subjective discourses of individual and national becoming.

I address the production of world space as the distribution of fragmented subjectivity according to the conflicting needs of capital and labour. Educational migrants to and from the command centres of capital re-internalise the force of fragmentation as productive self-development, mapping individual yearnings to capital's needs for expansion. I show that creative labour, while harbouring emancipatory potentials, is, under existing conditions, characterised by active alienation: the ongoing extension of the rule of dead over living labour.

Contents

Tables and Figures

Acknowledgements

A part-time PhD is a long project, with plenty of time to build up debts of gratitude. This list is far from exhaustive, therefore.

My greatest gratitude is to the participants, who shared not only time in busy schedules, but also profound understanding, with great generosity, openness, and warmth. The alum network of Shanghai as a whole was also a massive enabler, and indeed enlightener, who deserve great thanks.

My partner Agnès Rocamora has been an inspiration, critical sounding-board, and mentor, but also instigated the work/life balance to see the project safely through. Our nigh-on thirty years of shared adventure, love and wonder are inextricable from my intellectual development.

University of the Arts London University and College Union (UCU) comrades Tony Sullivan and Kyran Joughin, particularly, inducted and mentored me into the trade union branch activism which has personally constituted an essential means to avoid disconnecting my intellectual development from the everyday struggles underpinning it. Long, winding discussions with Tony about theoretical issues in Marxism helped to join the dots between theory and practice.

All those who kindly asked what the PhD was about, exposing themselves to significant risk, deserve thanks, too, of course – perhaps my brother, Toby, particularly, as the most tolerant of detail, his probing questions a torch to dark corners.

I had the great – and daunting – privilege to present a summary of the thesis at the *Historical Materialism 2025 London* conference, alongside Caroline Owman and Joana Monbaron, chaired by Jaswinder Blackwell-Pal. All three deserve my profound thanks – Caroline and Joana for extremely insightful presentations, Jas for enthusiastic, insightful and welcoming chairing, and all three for creating a context and discussion to be involved in which was incredibly helpful to the final write-up.

One of my last emails concerning submission regulations to my supervisor Dr Peter Goodwin began ‘Dear Pater’ – a slip, as Peter pointed out, Freud might have enjoyed. As well as a strong signal that it was indeed time to submit, it also highlights the debt I have to my various supervisors, alphabetically by surname: Prof Christian Fuchs, Dr Peter Goodwin, Prof Daya Thussu, and Prof Xin Xin. In very complementary ways, they helped enormously to shape the PhD up in terms of structure, articulation, ideas and regulations, and thereby made it possible.

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

The idea for the current thesis emerged out of two international trips I made. One was to Shanghai, organised by my employer, London College of Fashion, University of the Arts London, seeking to join the then fashionable joint-venture trend through a collaboration with Donghua University, Shanghai. I became increasingly aware of a dense collection of interconnected networks of UAL alums embedded within the wider cultural industry of the city, and yet aware of themselves as somewhat removed from the host location.[1] Largely from Mainland China, Hong Kong or Taiwan, they identified strongly with the shared British alma mater, though many not having visited for some years. Practitioners in trades from fashion design to curation, photography to graphic design, many had a pronounced sense of themselves as a combined force of change in the city, and their experience in the London university as the source of that change. Intrigued in part by the sense they had of the power of this affective charge as a source of ongoing social transformation, I conducted three scoping interviews. These highlighted a strong sense of very personal transnational trajectories investing the self with a deep affective relation to a distant location – London – but which at the same time participated in world-scale economic development, including but by no means restricted to internationalised mass higher education.

The other trip was to New Delhi, where I also contacted and interviewed alums in the same spirit, and encountered many striking similarities. There was a strong sense in the two cities of a personally embodied disjuncture which was at the same time a source of discomfort and yet possibility, a discourse almost of unravelling the future, and the will to fashion it, out of gaps within the self. Of course there were significant differences, too. In Delhi, for example, an alumna spoke of her sense of alienation from a city which, having lived in London, she found, in its deeply gendered public gaze relations, hostile to the equal right to life of the street she identified with London. But this very alienation produced in her an equivalent sense of a strongly felt need to be an agent of transformation.

Though I was to change the Indian city to Mumbai (see below), the questions this early research raised became the current research project. They suggested a complex interplay of subjectivity with overarching economic processes at national and global scales, for instance, in ways that emphasised an internal connection of fracture and disjuncture with economic integration. Subjectivity here itself involved a mixture of factors including identity and the self, affect, embodiment and inwardness, but also schooled ways of working. In the literature, I found no single discipline covered the questions raised. Cultural studies was responsive to the subjective sense of disjuncture (e.g. Appadurai 1996), but not to the capitalist development underpinning it. Where autonomist Marxist scholarship most closely reflected the relation of new forms of subjectivity to globalised capitalism (Hardt and Negri 2000), it flattened the world in ways unresponsive to the experiences of my interviewees. For these practitioners, working in environments characterised by significant industrial heterogeneity was a constitutive element of their self-understanding as productive subjects.

[1] I use ‘alum’ as a gender neutral but accepted (OED 2023: alum, n.2) alternative to the more formal Latin terms such as ‘alumna’, which lack non-binary forms.

This formed the basis of the present research, which investigates the uses creative workers in Mumbai and Shanghai cultural industries make of London art and design higher education. It tracks knowledge sought, formed, and applied for and through transnational mobility, in relation to the career trajectories of individual workers and developments within global capitalism. By focusing on the desires, decisions, interpretations and embodied knowledge of subjects in relation to relatively large-scale or macro-level data concerning developments within labour markets, political contexts and production processes, the research enquires into the relation between the international division of labour and features of productive subjectivity in the cultural industries.[2]

After outlining the research questions and method (1.2), this introduction discusses the notion of the production of subjectivity, and its study within cultural industries scholarship, focusing on Marxist approaches (1.3-1.4). I then introduce the urban contexts studied (1.5), before moving to an outline of the thesis structure (1.6-1.7). 1.8 spells out the contribution to knowledge the thesis makes.

1.2. The questions and method

The **main research question**:

> How is productive subjectivity constructed by alums of London art, design and communication higher education who are based in Mumbai and Shanghai cultural industries?

Sub-questions:

1. What have been the experiences of students in art and design and communication in London who are now based in Mumbai or Shanghai?

2. How did their London education influence their entry into and experiences of working life in Indian and Chinese cultural industries?

3. How do the educational and career trajectories of Mumbai and Shanghai creative workers educated in London respond to the political and economic developments at the macro scale?

4. How do Mumbai and Shanghai creative workers educated in London relate the regime of production in Mumbai and Shanghai with which they engage to the London context of learning?

The research involved interviews with 51 alums of London art, design, communication (29 in Mumbai, and 22 in Shanghai), who studied in London between 2000 and 2017 before working in the Indian and Chinese cities either for the first time or on return, focusing on their accounts of their trajectories, learning and application of that learning. I return to this in the methodology (Chapter 5).

The research contributes to the sociology of cultural production by addressing the question of the production of subjectivity at the level of individual practitioners in cultural industries in relation to macro developments at the global scale. By developing a dialectical framework able to internally connect empirical analysis of subjective factors

[2] A short definition of 'macro' and 'micro' scales appears in Chapter 5. The choice of the term 'cultural industries' is discussed in Chapter 2.

with international political economy it also contributes to historical materialism as a discipline.

1.3. Background: Studying Subjectivity in the Cultural Industries

Critical accounts of labour in the cultural industries (e.g. Gill et al 2019; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011; McRobbie 2016; Reckwitz 2017) offer insights into the changing nature of subjective features of working life. However, they have largely failed to situate analysis within a class perspective and system-wide economic developments. A Marxist framework, where living labour is seen as the source of economic value alienated under capitalist relations of production, allows this research to conceive the relation between labour and value throughout the circuits of capital as constitutive (e.g. Bonefeld 1993, 2014; Carchedi 2011; Gullì 2005; Marx 1976).

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000) made one of the most comprehensive attempts within Marxist frameworks to address such labour, identified as a hegemonic form. They termed this 'biopolitical production' as an element of the 'production of subjectivity' itself (Hardt and Negri 2009: x), and centred on personally involving labour in cultural industries devoted to the development of use values also of a highly subjective nature: affect and experience, identities or the self as project, and attachments. This very subjectively involving kind of work is true to the participants in this study, and their discussion of their self-development in relation to that work makes the notion of the production of subjectivity central.

However, though Hardt and Negri (2000) have rightly been popular, they have also justifiably faced critique for portraying biopolitical production as more socially and geographically universal than it is, which results in Western-centrism (Amin 2014, Mezzadri 2017) and the privileging of forms of work which are relatively highly skilled and less commodified than other domains (e.g. Bowring 2014).[3]

1.4. The subject-object dialectic and the production of space

The weakness in Hardt and Negri's (2000) model lies partly in their refusal of dialectics and value theory (see Chapter 2). Use of the notion of 'productive subjectivity' in the research question is intended to remedy that gap. I draw this notion from Guido Starosta (2016a 228; Starosta et al 2024: 108), a Marxist scholar who critically returns to the Hegel's (e.g. 2018) influences on Karl Marx's work. The term refers to the capacity of the subject to produce value for capital, based on attributes which are both physical (health, etc.) but also 'moral' (Charnock and Starosta 2016b: 19), such as implicit and explicit knowledge and belief, degrees of discipline, flexibility, etc. It is in keeping with Marx's (1976) formulation in the first volume of *Capital*, where the historical development of the social forms of subjectivity is emphasised. The term captures, from the perspective of value theory, the relation between surplus value production and the concrete qualities of historical subjects. Dialectical value theory, then, introduces increased specificity in terms of labour segment and geographical location to the concept of biopolitical production as the industrialised production of subjectivity. This gives the research the original conceptual tools to answer the question it sets itself, concerning the transnational development of productive subjectivity in cultural industry.

This study, then, addresses a specific location in the circuits of global capital in terms of those circuits as a whole, but it also looks at geographical movement in order to identify the ways in which subjects constitute themselves as productive through that. In doing so,

[3] See Chapter 4 for an account of intermediate class positions.

it contributes to knowledge of creative labour in the cultural industries in globalised contexts, and, particularly, the position of the 'cultural intermediary' - a position, I show, of multiple 'in-between' statuses, including most basically between production and consumption of cultural goods (Chapters 2 and 7).

In the present work, the term 'creative labour' recognises that, despite the fact that all labour is creative in the sense of being the real source of all value (e.g. Gullì 2005: 24), under conditions of alienation, most is severely degraded by processes such as Taylorisation, leaving only some *managed* as creative (Smith and McKinlay 2009: 29). The creative labour of biopolitical production thus names an aspect of the division of labour under which the production of certain kinds of goods and services requires specific forms of qualitative subjective input from labour which are relatively exceptional. In its subjective dimension, it is addressed as a specific concrete form of labour engaging subjectivity itself as the willing, sensing, imaginative and self-conscious capacity not only to reproduce, but to produce new forms of self and world materially and in thought, as an aspect of value production under the global capitalist totality. In this way, it adds essential dimensions lacking in scholarship to date: it addresses the class question as a position of creative cultural workers within production as a whole, and the question of the production of space, through a consideration of this position within the international division of labour. The combined focus on both practice in globalised cultural industries and internationalised education in art, design and communication allows the production of subjectivity and the production of space to be considered as one and the same process.

The thesis specifically addresses these factors dialectically, in their mutual co-constitution as internally related (Ollman 1976). That is, for instance, the development of productive subjectivity, including in deep senses of attachment, dislocation, and self-expression, is investigated in relation to value production specifically within localised positions within the spatio-temporal circuits of capital. Thus, the production of subjectivity occurs as part of the embedding of capital, *as a process*, within space – informed by existing spatial relations, and forming those relations in turn (e.g. Lefebvre 2000; Massey 1995) as a social 'metabolism' (Smith 2008: 34). In objective terms, this means considering space as characterised by uneven and combined development, a term from Leon Trotsky (2008; also Anievas 2014; Rosenberg 2013, 2021) referring to the different degrees of political, cultural, social and economic development, and their path dependencies and mutual interaction (Chapter 3). As well as a spatial differentiation, this is also a relation to time: the coexistence of multiple temporalities (Bloch 1990; Martineau 2015; Tomba 2013; Tombazos 2014). Thereby, individual trajectories across the uneven landscapes of capital, reflectively embodied in the development of productive subjectivity, reveal themselves as part of the process itself of the development of productive forces. A significantly more nuanced but also inclusive picture emerges of the place of creative labour in globalised cultural industries than either sociology of creative labour (Banks 2007; Gill et al 2019; McRobbie 2016, etc.) *or* autonomist Marxist and related approaches (Berardi 2009; Hardt and Negri 2000; Lazzarato 2014, Moulier Boutang 2007) afford.

1.5. The urban contexts

I approach London as a 'global city' (Sassen 1991), an ex-imperial capital which remains a centre of global capital in the core, and, therefore, a central location of international higher education. The UK's economic position relatively to China and India is considered in Chapter 4, particularly. As developed in the empirical chapters (6-8), London's prestige in education stems in large part from the imperial past and the stamp it made on international knowledge production, but also the associated and enduring

economic position, in which the cognitive element of capital control and command is central. The metropolis' historical position has also exposed it to much influence from China and India in turn.

I chose Mumbai and Shanghai as centres of cultural industry within developing economies with deep historical connections to London. Each is also a national centre of that other key service industry – finance. Both also share a historical relation to London through colonialism – and indeed, to each other, mediated by this relation – which endures in the present.

Unlike London, with its massive dominance of services, both Mumbai and Shanghai have significant industrial activity – though in Shanghai, particularly, this is fast shrinking. They are also located in national economies in which service industries are much less dominant than the UK's, and rapidly growing – again, especially China's (see Chapter 4). *Within* these economies, though, both are historically cities of relatively high concentrations of cultural industry. Mumbai is the centre of a cinema industry not only the biggest in India, but with significant world reach (Punathambekar 2013), though economically far smaller than Hollywood's (Miller et al 2005). It is also the centre of fashion and communications industries such as marketing (Das Gupta et al 2024: 42), though not news journalism, which remains firmly rooted in the capital (Jeffrey 2000).

This division between political and cultural communication applies in China, too, where Shanghai has long been the centre, not only of fashion, but also fashion communication as well as marketing and related industries. *Vogue China*'s move nearer the centre of power in Beijing, while something of an exception, can be taken to prove the rule, allegedly instructed by the political centre for reasons of control (Mau 2012): location away from the political centre has represented in both cities licence for transgressive cultural practices.

In both Mumbai and Shanghai this cultural production has roots in the British imperial period, and the colonial or semi-colonial context. The trading post of Bombay was created by the Portuguese in a small atoll in the sixteenth century, before being granted to the British in the seventeenth, and, through land reclamation, increasingly developed into a large mercantile and then industrial city. While India long had vibrant craft textile production, its first industrialisation by Parsi merchant Jamsetji Tata in the late nineteenth century was inextricable from Tata's location in Bombay (Raianu 2021). As a port city, Bombay was away from the interior with its existing craft-based production, and yet a centre of merchant capital; an almost entirely immigrant city (with the exception of the small Koli fishing community), with relatively lower caste and other communal constraints and greater cosmopolitanism (Chandavarkar 2009; Fernandes 2013; Patel and Masselos 2003); and close to colonial power. This combined to place entrepreneurs like Tata in a position of knowledge, connections, and transportation; Tata travelled both to London to lobby the imperial power to allow the export of power looms to the subcontinent, and to Manchester to acquire them (Raianu 2021). Many of these same factors allowed the city's cinema culture to flourish: cosmopolitanism, mercantilism and merchant capital for production – an enduring feature of the industry in that, comparatively to Hollywood, for instance, production funding still comes less from studios as an industrial base of relative durative investment funds than money capital invested on a project basis (Punathambekar 2013; Prasad 1998).

Indeed, Tata's mercantile activities were part of a material thread connecting India to China's emerging capitalism, through his participation in the opium trade from India. This centred on Shanghai as a treaty port opened under duress to Western activity and partitioned control in order to ensure markets for imperial goods – and so enable economic exploitation of the country's interior too. By the end of the nineteenth century, the cotton trade also linked the cities (Chandavarkar 2009). Such links formed the basis of the naming of Shanghai's enduring river-front attraction, with its pre-war British and

American architecture, the Bund, after the Hindi for embankment. The name bears witness to close historical connections between the cities – as does the front's architecture, its spectacular Art Deco reminiscent of Mumbai in ways which neither Beijing nor New Delhi are.

Kaushik Bhaumik (2011: 42), focusing on cinema, states of the period up to the mid-twenties:

> Shanghai cinema offers striking parallels, with the craze for cinema being part of the intense pursuit of leisure habits and vast shifts in consumption patterns. Like Bombay, the semi-colonial port city of Shanghai provided a rapidly transforming urban complex open to the tides of new goods, ideas, and practices from all over the world.

The compromising but alluring history of this spectacular capitalist past is clearly manifest in many of the films which accompanied China's re-opening to global capital and consumerist culture, frequently set in the 1920's city, such as Chen Kaige's (1996) *Temptress Moon*. The feature portrays the Shanghai of the time as a centre of decadent, opium fuelled and fashion obsessed consumerist capitalism as opposed to a Beijing referred to as the centre, rather, of communism. Although this involves quite some artistic licence, given the contemporary foundation of the Communist Party of China in Shanghai, it enables a complex self-reflexivity on the new cinema's spectacular engagement with China's history as global cultural commodity (see e.g. Chow 2007), less contentiously placing Shanghai at the forefront of commodification, and reflecting the city's self-cultivated image post-liberalisation (Chapter 7; also Li 2011). A similar message emerges from the uncanny and troubled fashion marketing film *First Spring* (Yang 2010), showing bemused Prada shoppers in what is clearly a film set of the 1920s Nanjing Road sharing urban space with Qing scholars and Third Century warriors, by implication, marching on their way to another studio to shoot one of the many films such as Zhang Yimou's (2004) *Hero* newly commodifying China's past for global audiences: Shanghai is to be the centre at the same time of China's rediscovery of its own history, and yet in the estranged form of the commodity spectacle. For pre-war Shanghai was the centre of a burgeoning industry in fashion (Finnane 2008), but also media, publishing books, newspapers and journals, as well as marketing materials and cinema (Des Forges 2007, Lee 1999).

Historical studies of the cities' media and fashion industries and the new consumerism generally consider them in terms only of an everyday modernism (e.g. Des Forges 2007, Lee 1999). This obscures its relation the growing labour organisation within the industries and their impact on wider developments in social revolution around May Fourth and New Culture movements transforming the country. The latter, as modernisation movements with complex relations to Western contexts, constitute significant historical forerunners to the contemporary developments analysed in this thesis. Participants in my study are also closely engaged with new forms of consumerism, and look West for sources of transformation, but, likewise, also internally. But just as at the outset of the twentieth century, a full understanding requires looking beyond the fantasmagoria of consumerism to changes in production relations. Surely the new print, film and sound-based media's most marked impact on modern Chinese – and world – history in the era of May Fourth was through its enabling effect on the Communist revolution. Shanghai-based journals such as Chinese Communist Party (CCP) founder Chen Duxiu's *New Youth* (1915-1926) were central to the articulation, dissemination and organisation of the Communist revolutionary action that was to shake the world. Wen-hsin Yeh's (2007) analysis is exceptional in this light, in considering both the new commodity oriented print forms *and* the journal *Dushu Shenghuo*, launched in Shanghai in 1930 by a CCP by then driven underground in the city.

In Mumbai, too, textile workers' strikes brought the new working classes to the forefront of revolutionary action with complex relations to nationalist anti-imperialism and socialist internationalism (Chandavarkar 1998). The development of capitalism and bourgeois culture is inextricable from that of working class culture and resistance. That the cosmopolitan centres of consumption of fashionable goods were also centres of their production has lent the cultural industries of Mumbai and Shanghai complex historical and contemporary parallels.

The histories outlined above continue to influence the cities still as contexts for the current research project, as outlined in Chapters 6-8. In both, the growth not only of financialisation, but also commodity communications such as marketing which characterise them now as centres of cultural industry is in part capital's reaction against the cities' history of labour organisation. Mumbai's slums such as Dharavi, significant site of informal production, are populated in part by the mill workers cast into the informal economy by the initiation of post-Fordist production at the start of neoliberal New Economic Plan and in response to their massive strike action in the 1980s. The sale of mill land for speculation saw much converted directly into spectacular shopping malls such as Phoenix Mills, which maintains relics of the old function for place-making aura in much the same way as practiced by Shanghai municipality as policy (Fernandes 2013; Li 2011). Given China and India's rapidly increasing significance as agents in international political economy (see Chapter 5), Mumbai and Shanghai therefore represent essential sites to consider developments in accumulation practices and class dynamics in transnational contexts.

The Chinese State Council's epochal 'National Long-Term Project for Science and Technology Development, 2006-2020' (SCPRC 2006), extremely significant for its impact on cultural industries and education, specifically resolved to mix China's proven flair for 'mobilizing efforts to do great things' with new market incentives in the promotion of 'national innovation systems' – a deeply neoliberal human capital approach to development (examples are Gu et al 2009, Lundvall 2010). As seen in Chapters 6 and 7 particularly, such policy has direct impact on the participants in this study, and their learned and applied development of productive subjectivity. A state incentivised project with participation by various alums, for instance, specifically plays on the kind of revolutionary cosmopolitanism of May Fourth era communism in the history of a local area to market it as a creative innovation hub. In Mumbai, in related though different ways, locations like the old Phoenix Mills, once centre of labour organisation, have been repurposed as centres both of the new consumerism and creative industry which are the core work of alums interviewed.

1.6. Outline: background and methodology chapters

Chapter 2 considers the industrialisation of creative labour, as an aspect of biopolitical production, in relation to the circuits of capital as a whole, developing a model based on the second volume of Marx's (1978) *Capital*, particularly, along with cultural studies and other approaches. Aspects of dialectical methods are introduced to overcome weaknesses in common existing scholarship on cultural industries particularly in the relation between the labouring subject and social contexts. As with other chapters, the literature relevant to the thesis is reviewed in an ongoing basis, rather than in a separate section. Consideration of the spatial dimension of the circuit is given greater concretion in Chapter 3, with the movement from the more abstract to a more concrete level helping to address how capital produces space. Chapter 3 also considers early British cultural studies as a significant development in Marxist theories of subjectivity as well as culture, but critiques the school's movement away from Marxism from around 1980. As long established

London based academic Angela McRobbie (2016: 9) has observed, cultural studies is ‘canonized as the curriculum of the new creative economy’, making engagement with the discipline function *also* as insight into that curriculum itself. The alternative model proposed is that of uneven and combined development. This is shown to be dialectical at base, the chapter revisiting the Hegelian influence on Marx and the Marxist theories of unevenness, thereby internally relating the production of subjectivity to that of space. Thus these two chapters furnish a theoretical framework for answering the main research question concerning the relation of subjectivity and space at world scale. It will be argued that a dialectic of internalisation and externalisation, or ‘social metabolism’, is at work, whereby world space is itself a product of the alienation of the subjectivity of labour. This will allow the empirical chapters to demonstrate how that then plays out in in the form of re-internalisation, in which the participants seek to ‘suture’, or join back together the subject rended by the international division of labour.

Chapter 4 considers large macro scale developments in neoliberal globalised capitalism in China and India in relation to the UK. It focuses on changes in class composition in relation to development of productive forces and state policy, and particularly the intermediary classes associated with cultural intermediation itself (see Chapter 2 and 7). This allows me in the empirical chapters to situate the subjects in terms of large-scale developments, such as foreign investment and the growth of service industries. Chapter 5 outlines the methodology. This applies qualitative techniques for interviewing, but also dialectical forms of analysis for considering the internal relations of productive subjectivity with world economy, making the bridge between the kind of data considered in Chapter 4 and the accounts of the alums in the following chapters, in which aspects of their hopes, projects and experiences which are often highly individuated and deeply subjective, are intimately connected to economic developments. A critical engagement with psychoanalysis is also justified there. This is an under-explored aspect of Trotsky’s (1986 [1933-1935]) theory. What Jacques Lacan (1973: 44) calls the 'conjectural science of the subject’, though it tends to individualise, and in Lacan’s case particularly, dematerialise the psyche, nonetheless constitutes a fine-grained language to explore psychic processes amenable to illuminating re-insertion within analysis of broader social metabolism behind uneven and combined development.

1.7. Outline: interview findings.

Chapters 6-8 report the interview data. I attend to dialectical processes of internalisation and externalisation as features of production of the totality as well as the individual subject, its fragmentation or rending, and the inversion of the subject object relation, for instance. This enables me to attend to connections between qualitative, affective data and the social whole, and so address the main research question concerning the production of subjectivity. Chapter 6 addresses ways in which individual career trajectories interact with macro scale processes of political economy nationally and internationally, and considers the productive subject as a reflective site of engagement with the differing temporalities arising from uneven and combined development. The chapter demonstrates features of the participants’ productivity associated with the specific location within uneven space, showing that, though the concept of biopolitical production remains useful, this is not as an epochal transformation of capitalism as a whole, but one particular regime among others. Chapter 7 emphasises the in-between conditions of the cultural intermediary, finding, on the basis of participants’ accounts, that they come between production and consumption, capital and labour, more and less developed economies, but also the kinds of spaces targeted by biopolitical production and other productive domains. Through this critical engagement with the concept of biopolitical production, the chapters support the notion that this form of work involves an

extensive and complex interaction of social production with the subject's interiority. This suggests that not only must biopolitical production be considered relatively with other regimes, but its specific nature and value productivity arises from this relation.

Chapter 8 develops from these insights to focus more on the participants' experiences of education in London and its relation to their current practice. Where Chapters 6 and 7 emphasised the ways in which subjectivity itself is rendered productive, Chapter 8 focuses on that other side of the production of subjectivity: how this subject is produced. Particularly significant findings concern just how education in art, design and communications develops the ability to access the inner reaches of the psyche for self-reflective development with an aim to value production. In the autonomist Marxist model, biopolitical production has a special status which places it outside of capital – not dialectically antithetical, in the same way as all labour, but rather as an always already autonomous production which capital appropriates parasitically. While influenced by the autonomist account to identify the extension of productive practices far from the typical point of production in the factory, out into everyday life and inner mental processes, the study finds that this is not inherently autonomous. Rather, it demonstrates the social pervasiveness of the capital relation itself.

Further, the passion with which these subjects invest their labour does not show an antipathy to capital, but rather a deep personal investment in processes which serve to extend its social reach. Importantly, however, it also shows that within this relation is a critical perspective. This is by no means autonomous in its very specific location in the social division of labour, and is engaged by capital as such. However, in its reflective attention to the productive subject as agent of social transformation, it represents, given the right circumstances, a potentially recoverable impetus of disalienation.

1.8. Conclusion: contribution to knowledge

Chapter 9 summarises the findings discussed above and the contribution to knowledge. It proposes a diagrammatic representation of the space of global capital and the international trajectory of the participants through it in the development of productive subjectivity. By representing the processes of value extraction as alienation in the shaping of that space, it represents the dialectic of subject and object, including individual inner and affective experience and the subject's engagement with macro scale phenomena. It is this passage through the world space of value production, considered in this specifically dialectical way, I argue, which answers the research question above concerning the construction of the productive subjectivity in question. The framework I propose as a summary of the findings contributes to understanding of labour in the cultural industry as a part of capitalist value production, as a spatialising social metabolism, as a whole. It contributes to historical materialism, too, not only through the framework at the abstract level, but also through an understanding of the place of cultural industry in contemporary capitalism. As a significant fulcrum of the expansion of capital into subjective and reproductive domains, globalised cultural industry constitutes a key site to grasp uneven and combined development as a process interweaving internal and external factors not only nationally or regionally, as is typical in the literature (e.g. Anievas 2014, Bieler and Morton 2018, Matin 2013, Rofl 2021, Rosenberg 2013, Smith 2008), but also at the level of the individual subject – a contribution I make to historical materialism.

As well as offering considerations on potential directions of change in light of the highly dynamic state of international political economy, and further potential avenues of research, the conclusion then suggests practical implications for emancipatory pedagogical and other organisational practices in internationalised higher education under enduring neoliberal capitalist attack.

Chapter 2

The Industrialisation of Creative Labour in Extended Circuits of Culturalised Production.

2.1. Introduction

My main research question concerns how productive subjectivity is constructed by alums of London art, design and communication higher education who are based in Mumbai and Shanghai cultural industries. This chapter contributes to the answer by developing a model concerning productivity within the culture industry.

In interviews with my participants, it was clear that material of a deeply subjective nature as well as aspects of everyday life were incorporated within their productive activity, but in relation to economic factors at very large scales. Thus, for instance, graphic designer M9 described her Mumbai practice as 'a way of missing London' (Chapter 6), a rich image which places affective content at the heart of value production.[1] Art studio space manager S28, reflecting a similar discourse, specified that this included seeking to produce in Shanghai a specific relation she felt she encountered in London between the street, as locus of everyday life, and workshop, locus of production – spatial differences also defined by specific temporalities. She, like other participants, claimed to identify also a specific training offered in London for rendering the subjective and everyday domain accountably manifest in art and design outcomes. At the same time, it was clear that these discourses and practices reflected not merely personal preference, but extensive economic changes at world scale, such as foreign investment patterns and state policies affecting labour segmentation (see both the empirical Chapters 6-8 and Chapter 4's background macro level data). These transformations layered the location of in-between-ness that the participants had at the border between everyday life and the workshop, also, then, within much broader economic circuits. In the current chapter, I consider this as the position of the 'cultural intermediary', drawing out both the temporal dimension and the relation to the totality of production. In Chapter 3 I focus specifically on the transnational nature of that in-between-ness.

This involves attending to very subjective data at the micro scale. Mark Banks (2007: 39) points out that Marxist scholarship on cultural industries has tended to 'downplay' 'cultural production' at 'micro or local level' as compared to 'macro-level', and, relatedly, display 'a lack of attention […] to the issue of individual *subjectivity* in the cultural workplace.' (2007: 39).[2] This chapter addresses that gap at the level of theory, which Chapters 6-9 address empirically. However, while Banks seeks to address this through engagement with scholars such as Paul du Gay (1996), this chapter demonstrates that, for all the insight such scholarship offers, it falls short of dialectical Marxist scholarship in failing adequately to theorise the interplay of subject and object, leading to oversimplifications of both. Banks (2007) himself places the question of cultural labour at the intersection of 'art' and 'commerce', reflecting Pierre Bourdieu's (1979: 100, 91, 428, also 1993) seminal account of the 'cultural intermediary' as working between the 'field of cultural production' and that of 'economic production'. As explored, however, while this boundary position is an essential means for considering the kind of data in this

[1] The system of anonymised reference to alums by city initial (M or S) and randomised number is explained in Chapter 5. See Appendix I for details on participants, as well as Chapters 6-9.

[2] See Chapter 5 for discussion of micro and macro as concepts.

thesis, a full account must explain the dynamic relation between the domains of culture and economy, subject and object, and the social mediation between them. My use of 'boundary' here is inspired by Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson (2013: 14), who use it interchangeably with a dialectically expanded concept of border (see also Chapter 5).

The chapter begins with central statements from what I call 'culture-economy' studies (2.2), focusing on the co-constitution of culture and economy and the role of the intermediary. I argue that, while shedding useful light on an increasing engagement of culture by economic practices, these studies lack an account of economic valorisation, without which 'economy' is mere abstraction. The chapter then turns to the work of Bourdieu (1979) which originated the concept of cultural intermediation. Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production, considering culture as *capital*, offers a fuller account of culture as a product of classed economic valorisation (2.3), with the mediating factor capital itself. However, while insightful on this value as socially *produced*, Bourdieu's theory lacks an account of the social relations, forces and process of its *production*, limiting the contextualisation within the economy as a totality of the work of intermediation he highlights. 2.4 argues that Marxist theory is able to supply this gap in the form of a theory of value.

Autonomist Marxist theorists are therefore considered for a *productive* notion of culture under post-Fordism (2.5). However, I then discuss weaknesses of this model: firstly a lack of recognition of labour differentiation, conceived in terms of temporalities (2.6); secondly the undialectical understanding of the subject-object relation, including in its mediation by value production (2.7). This is proposed to resolve the weaknesses also in culture-economy and Bourdieu's accounts, too. A diagrammatic model summarises this discussion, identifying the specific regions of the circuits of capital where intermediation contributes to value extraction (2.8). It also represents a critical response to the weaknesses of the diagram proposed by culture-economy scholars, and looks forward to the more complex model I propose in the conclusion (Chapter 9) in response to the main research question. 2.9 discusses how higher education contributes to this, and 2.10 clarifies terminology before the conclusion (2.11).

2.2. Culturalisation of the economy

Various disciplinary fields have attempted to account for changes to the economy which occurred with the move to post-Fordist service-centred production by which value-producing activities from the culture industry were generalised to many other areas of consumption goods. One key contribution involved exploring a simultaneous 'culturalization' of the economy and economisation of culture (du Gay and Pryke 2002b: 6). This approach, called here 'culture-economy studies', drew together scholars in cultural studies, sociology of culture and actor network theory (du Gay and Pryke 2002a), and covered a range of changes perceived to have affected the social.[3] 'Soft' forms of organisational and labour management were found to target workplace culture through such varied means as devolving responsibility, demanding flexibility, and targeting workers' self-development (du Gay, Hall et al 1997, Lash and Urry 1994, Thrift 2005).[4]

[3] Grouping the studies here as 'culture-economy' is not intended to obscure their differences, including over whether the relative importance of a new role of culture in the economy or a new discovery of their interrelation by theory. Where they concur is in the belief that the economy now is a cultural construct.

[4] I follow the unusual within-text referencing of the first *two* names followed by 'et al' used by Stuart Hall (1997: 18) himself in another volume of the same collection, highlighting his own role in the text, which he clearly saw as significant.

The disaggregation of lean production systems was seen both to increase reliance on informational content, including 'cognitive', but also, 'aesthetic', as Scott Lash and John Urry (1994: 54) call emotionally and symbolically oriented informational content. Further, axial industrial activity is found to involve less the mass production of limited use values fulfilling rational needs, and more the creation of sensual, affective, aesthetic, and so subjectively rich goods and services. This includes a turn to finely segmented production for multiple markets. Thus, instead of the mass production of a single model of car (e.g. the Ford T), smaller runs of more varied models would be produced. But also, instead of manufactured goods, *experiences* are produced, such as films or other events, either in themselves, or as *part* of a good: that is, retailers are found not simply to provide a *space* for a sale, but a rich, multi-sensual *encounter*. And consumers are found to be engaged – and so constructed – on more emotional levels, and more actively involved with goods, producing their meanings in a mutual dynamic.

In a key cultural studies culture-economy study, Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall et al (1997) analysed the production of the Sony Walkman personal stereo. They study 'culturalisation' within new production processes along what they call the 'circuit of culture':

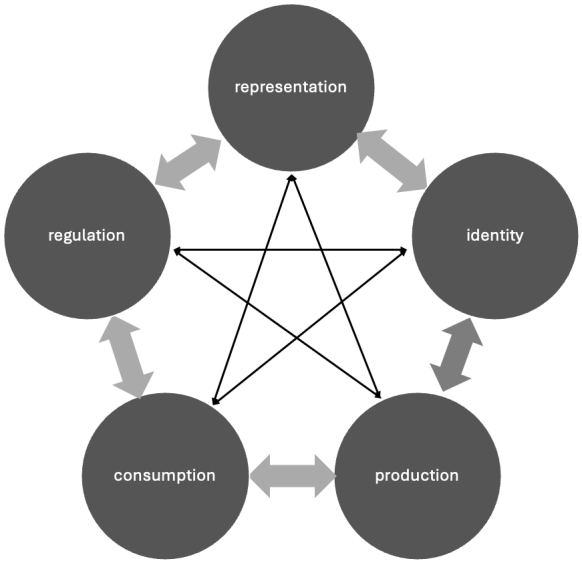


Figure 2.1. 'The circuit of culture' (du Gay, Hall et al 1997: 3) (author's reconstruction).

The 'circuit of culture', and its influential diagram (e.g. 'circuit of style-fashion-dress' (Kaiser and Green 2021: 18) captures the notion, central to culture-economy scholarship, of the pervasiveness of culture throughout the production system. This can be illustrated starting with the notion of subjectivity, with which their term 'identity' roughly equates. The identity not only of the worker, but also the consumer and the organisation – Sony – are understood as both defined through the production process, but also constituting that in turn, since, as an exemplary brand of the new economy, Sony specifically organises bi-directional flows of informational and aesthetic content between the production process and daily life. This brings *representational* practices into the centre of design, with new forms of marketing an essential vehicle. An example is Sony's development of 'lifestyling' (du Gay, Hall et al 1997: 66), in which the company produced showrooms containing lifeworld locations such as bedrooms for users to interact with products, such that everyday practices could be fed back for incorporation into developing design features. Similarly, the device was gifted to influential members of target consumer groups in order to attach deeply contextual meanings to it.

Du Gay, Hall et al (1997: 3) call the work of managing the flow of this culturally rich, symbolic, aesthetic content 'articulation', since it brings together the domain of everyday life and its meaning making practices – or culture – and production. These scholars attribute the work of articulation specifically to the 'cultural intermediary', defined as jobs such as copywriter or designer involving 'the provision of *symbolic* goods and services' (du Gay, Hall et al 1997: 62; italics unchanged) between manufacture and consumption.[5]

The work identified by the culture-economy scholarship clearly reflects the kinds of practices undertaken by the alums interviewed in my project. S28's work, for instance, discussed above, specifically moves between street and showroom in ways reminiscent of 'lifestyling'. The research in Chapters 6-8 draws from this research an attendance to this specific situation between the domains of production and everyday life to understand the productive subjectivity of alums themselves.

There is a tendency in these studies, however, to reduce analysis to how the economy is *really* cultural, in a kind of ethnographic deconstruction: an empirically informed account of the 'making up' (Du Gay and Pryke 2002b: 2) of particular markets, or their social, material and imaginative invention. Entirely unaddressed is the economic imperative. Though du Gay, Hall, et al (1997), for instance, is ostensibly a 'story' about the production of the Sony Walkman, there is no mention of the first motive of that production, without which, under the present mode of production, it would cease: how production is *made profitable*. Whatever framework were to explain this, this would also require consideration of how realised economic value is distributed amongst sectors of the workforce, direct owners and their representatives, and others who obtain a share such as rent-extracting land-owners and financiers. In fact, one finds almost no consideration of the central sector of workers: those directly manufacturing the product. And though we hear much about the more prestigious group – the intermediaries designing and marketing, who appear magically to produce the object from their heads – we hear nothing about the material means by which they are brought together as well as distinguished. And this does not mean only that one occupies a studio and another the factory floor, or one thinks up the look and devises the plan by which the other puts it together. The mystery about which this key work of cultural studies work on production has not one word to offer is why one conceives, and one assembles; why both do anything at all; and why a third invests. These are questions of the production and distribution of *value* amongst workers defined by relations of production. A model able to account for them is essential to the empirical chapters 6-8, which engage with just such workers.

2.3. Bourdieu and the Sociology of Cultural Production

Du Gay, Hall et al's (1997) concept of cultural intermediary is indebted to Pierre Bourdieu's (1979) *Distinction*. Because Bourdieu better address the specific boundary location occupied by these workers within production relations, it is worth looking in detail at his account, which influences my own.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1979) is less concerned with the position between production and consumption than the culture-economy scholars in his wake, though it is *one* of their between positions. Bourdieu situates the intermediary *primarily* in a specific 'location within the middle classes', circulating cultural forms or content which are also intermediary in their *cultural* position, dealing in intermediary *genres*: between the high cultural content of fine art or literature, and the restricted domain of academic scholarship, on the one hand, and 'mass' culture on the other. Although Bourdieu does not dwell on

[5] The concept of articulation has a more extensive treatment in Chapter 3.

class in terms of ownership of the means of production (see 2.4, on value, below), he tends to describe a group in part defined, on one hand, by their exclusion from ownership, and, on the other, by their possession of specific skills situating them above the bottom ranks in the production system, having a 'specific power bestowed by the mastery of the instruments of mass diffusion' (1979: 375). Elsewhere, that mastery is seen to include also retailing skills, for instance, and specifically *cultural* skills and dispositions, considered as 'capital'.

Bourdieu's (1986: 241) definition of 'capital' is idiosyncratic:

> the accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its "incorporated," embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor.

In Bourdieu's model, capital is convertible even as it circulates within the social, including, as 'culture', in social interaction, and within the subjective sphere of the body. For cultural capital, though it can be owned as goods such as paintings or record collections, can also take the form of explicit knowledge, or subjective and largely unconscious class-associated dispositions towards culture (*habitus*) taking such forms as taste, or degrees of comfort and ease. And alongside cultural, there are, for instance, educational, symbolic, and social capital – again, all convertible amongst themselves and into economic forms, and in a variety of ways.

This convertibility helps to explain how those who come to occupy the intermediary positions may *lack* economic value in the more restricted sense (for Bourdieu, money, physical property, but also, implicitly, means of direct production, etc.), but have a relative *excess* of accumulated cultural value, with which to seek to maintain or improve their position. These may be either the upper middle classes at risk of losing status, or lower middle classes seeking to rise. This gives them a specific habitus, Bourdieu suggests, including a hypersensitivity to cultural norms arising from their particular importance as source of value to these fractions, but also the freedom to take risks arising from the need to produce *new* cultural means of valorisation. They are therefore able to adopt positions which Bourdieu defines as 'open' (1979: 397):

> these new or renewed positions emerge from the recent transformations in the economy (and particularly of the share, in the production of goods themselves, of the work of the symbolic production of need – conditioning, *design*, promotion, public relations, *marketing*, advertising, etc.), or which have been in some sense "invented" and imposed by their occupants who, in order to be able to sell the symbolic services which they had to offer, had to produce the need for them with consumers by a *symbolic action* (ordinarily named through euphemisms such as "social work", "cultural development", etc.), tending to impose norms and needs, in particular in the domain of lifestyle and material or cultural consumer goods.

Thus the new economic context makes circulation of capital possible through the changing places of each class fraction, which itself 'lies in the *global volume of capital* as the collection of resources and powers effectively usable, economic capital, cultural capital, and also social capital' (Bourdieu 1979: 128, original emphases).

Bourdieu's model makes a significant contribution beyond the culture-economy studies in giving a richly detailed theorisation of the subjective content of these roles as itself deeply structured in relation to economic value. *Distinction* surpasses cultural studies culture-economy scholarship in addressing the class-based structuring of cultural content, as well as exploring that content within the psyche itself. This is particularly important to this thesis, since middle class status is typical of my respondents (Chapter 6, and for theoretical issues of this stratum Chapter 4). However, lacking is consideration of how this content, theorised as capital, relates to its *production*. In the short passage accounting for their rise considered above, Bourdieu (1979: 397) suggests that either the

new cultural intermediaries emerged because communicational services *need* them, 'or' indeed the opposite: that the intermediaries have a skill that only communicational services can put to work, which therefore simply make room for them.

For a fuller account of Bourdieu's theory of *production* of culture, his essays produced around the same time as *Distinction* and gathered in English translations (never as a single collection in French) as *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993) are invaluable.[6] However, for the answer to the question of how the value circulated in the cultural sector is produced, Bourdieu suggests:

> The value of the work of art as such – basis of the value of each particular work – and the belief which underpins it, is engendered in the incessant and innumerable struggles to underpin the value of the various specific works of art. (1977: 7)

Bourdieu clearly draws from Marxism the association between value production and class struggle, but for Bourdieu, within the cultural field, it is the struggle itself, among multiple class fractions which directly *produces* value. This equates with his notion of capital as 'social energy' (1986: 241, cited above). This model, in which belief alone produces a directly economic value reflects the post-modernism of, for example Baudrillard (1972, see Chapter 8), as well as culture-economy scholarship (e.g. Lash and Lury 2007, Lash and Urry 2005). For Bourdieu, there is an act of translation required, but since the 'economic' remains always off-stage, in another 'field', he is left, in the field of culture, with production directly from belief (for the absence of a theory of economic production in Bourdieu's work, see Calhoun 1993, Desan 2020).

Bourdieu remains an essential scholar for this thesis. He theorises in very rich terms the embodiment of value within the social subject and everyday life. This helps to shed much light on processes described by the alums I interview. For they discuss ways in which they specifically occupy positions within the social division of labour, but also between the space of consumption or reproduction and production which are internalised as a kind of *habitus*. Though Bourdieu does not dwell openly on the relation between these different forms of boundary status beyond the combined capitals they embody – economic and cultural in his usage – the insight into the combination of different forms of in-betweenness is important, and their role of converting between them. Many of my respondents speak of coming from backgrounds within industrial capital – Bourdieu's economic capital – moving into cultural work, a trajectory with equivalence to the pattern addressed by the French sociologist. But it is also clear that, as Bourdieu highlights, this biographical trajectory is layered onto the boundary position between production and consumption. For this reason, Bourdieu remains essential for highlighting the way in which the intermediary embodies social relations in cultural form. However, I must turn elsewhere for theory able to illuminate these as relations of production.

2.4. Value in the culture industry

The fullest account of the unity of socially produced value as it circulates in the capitalist market economy is in the work of Karl Marx, particularly *Capital* (1976, 1978, 1981). In the beginning of the first volume (1976), Marx addresses how any particularly commodity is at once a use and an exchange value. The use value is its concrete nature which makes it, if sold, able to perform a required function. Exchange value is a relation, rather, of quantity, abstracted from the concrete form of the commodity, and denoting

[6] Extracts cited are my translations from the French original where these are available, and referenced as such, indicating the English translation as a chapter in *The Field of Cultural Production* (Bourdieu 1993) in the bibliography. For publication histories see the Preface of the latter (Johnson 1993: vii-viii).

merely the proportion in which it can be exchanged with other goods. In a monetary society, it is typically expressed in an amount of money – a price. These are questions ultimately of circulation. But behind exchange value, Marx (1976: 128) points out (in this, drawing on classical political economists such as Adam Smith (1976 [1776]) is a quantity of human labour 'crystalised' in the form of value. This abstract substance is not the same as a price, and nor is it a specific quantity of real labour actually expended on a particular item. Rather it is a social relation, equating to an average amount of labour power which would need to be expended as time producing such an item.

This value of course must also take into account productivity, including factors such as levels of automation but also the social average level of reproduction of the class of workers producing it, materially and cognitively – the levels of skill required, whether acquired on the job or in education and training – and morally or spiritually, as a kind of subject able to produce that use value. To give an example, it may take one person without machines several hours to produce a jacket from cloth, while automation may reduce this to minutes. On the other hand, the machines themselves embody dead labour – the time expended on producing them, both physically and intellectually. The production of certain goods, such as advanced mobile phones, may well require large numbers of readily available workers with a range of skills, some of which demand university education. Where, for instance, the design of the jacket or iPhone is concerned, this may also require certain consumption relations of the worker, which enable them to base their decision-making in embodied knowledge from consumption practices (Bourdieuian habitus). It thus may also require that they live in an environment with a certain level of competitive consumption both possible and actually practiced (Starosta et al 2024).

Through the volumes of *Capital*, Marx demonstrates that it is the *same* abstract substance under different forms which circulates throughout production. Thus it appears first as money (to begin there), which then becomes, through exchange, variable capital (labour power) on the one hand, and on the other constant capital (machinery, cotton, etc.). These are then themselves mixed through the activity of labour – for example by means of fixed capital (e.g. a mill and its spindles, an ultraviolet lithographic printer) adding value to circulating capital (e.g. raw cotton, silicon) to produce a commodity (yarn, microchips). When the capitalist sells this, converting it back into a larger quantity of money, the cycle recommences. Thus the same value appears under multiple forms, in a process potentially stretched across vast geographical expanses. And, as Marx points out, at the basis of that value is human labour power, the sole source *of* new value. This value-producing capacity is the special character, under capitalism, of this most contradictory commodity. For, in each cycle, the capitalist pays the worker less than they produce: the pay only the time necessary for their reproduction – at the social level necessary to their task, and defined historically, such as through the workplace struggles which define just what standard of living workers collectively can obtain. To grasp the capitalist mode of production is to grasp the means by which that unity – value – is socially produced, realised, and circulated, and, in that process, becomes *at the same time* multiple while remaining identical.

This focus on the dynamic force of contradiction in historical development, the inversion of opposites – and particularly, of subject and object –, and the interaction of abstract and concrete constitute key elements of the dialectic (see also Chapters 3 and 5). A great advantage of this model is that it allows an essentially *holistic* approach, able to account for the totality of productive activity and the social relations constituted around it. For under the Marxist model of historical materialism, however far from the point of production as the waged labour relation, value always ultimately refers to that point. It is this holistic model which constitutes the critical political economy approach to culture industry (Hardy 2014: 13, Murdock and Golding 1979: 16, also Chapter 5). Accounts within culture industry studies for example, influential on my own include Lee Artz

(2020), Christian Bolaño (2015: 10), Christian Fuchs (e.g. 2015), Murdock and Golding (1973), or Dan Schiller (1996, 2005, 2014), who all in various ways address culture industries as 'part of the general conditions of the reproduction of capital' (Bolaño 2015: 10).[7] Accounts specific to China include: Yuezhi Zhao (2008), Yu Hong (2011, 2017), and India: Thomas Athique et al (2017 a, b), Robin Jeffrey (2000). For capital's need to exploit labour through a surplus requires constant competitive expansion, with investments in machinery creating an advantage for some capitalists, which is soon lost as others catch up. As the resultant profits diminish, crisis ensues. The culture industries can only be understood as constituting a central part of that expansionary process (Chapter 4 particularly, and section 2.9 below). As communications-oriented, they may reduce circulation time (for example by increasing brand recognition), and so permit increased profit rates through the rapid re-circulation of capital realised in sales. Or they may allow large units of capital with control over realisation – large, branded corporations – to extract extra value from producers by dominating markets through consumer-facing activities such as retailing and marketing. Alternatively, they may enable the expansion of industrialised activity from traditional practices such as manufacture into new domains, such as culture and the inner processes of the subject. At times these may have overlap, to the point of being different ways of describing what can constitute the same process.

2.5. Post-Fordist *biopolitical* production: autonomist Marxism and constituent subjectivity

A key vein of scholarship specifically seeking to account for the new mode of postmodernist post-Fordist production *as such* (as a change not only to *culture* but to *production*) is Italian 'autonomist' Marxism. Now a broad international school of thought, also referred to as workerism, the discussion here centres on scholars who draw from Italian originators such as Antonio Negri and Paolo Virno (Hardt 1996) a critical set of premises concerning the interrelation of new forms of subjectivity and changes to the capitalist mode of production under post-Fordism arising from adjustments to worker resistance against alienation. In distinction to the previous scholars, they consider the new highly subjective forms of work specifically as productive.[8]

For these Marxists, the historical development of the mode of production comes, under late capitalism, to cover the entirety of social production and indeed reproduction, and reproduction not only in terms of biological functions, but of the production of subjectivity itself (Hardt and Negri 2000; Mezzadra 2018; Read 2003). As discussed elsewhere (below and Chapters 3 and 4), Marx considered in detail the need for capital to produce the worker not only materially, but spiritually, as a specific historical productive subjectivity. The autonomists argue that under post-Fordism, *production* of subjectivity itself, including specifically within the reproductive realm, is made value productive. Where Karl Marx's (1976) conception appears largely focused on the factory and the collective worker as the unitary basis for valorisation, the autonomists help to identify how industrial organisation extends outside the containment of the factory, and into everyday life and aspects of the worker's interiority – an alteration in spatio-temporal production relations expressed in the image of the 'social factory' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 273), whereby production enters the social.

---

[7] For my inclusion here of communications and cultural industries scholarship together, see the final section of this chapter, on terminology.

[8] See also the very close theories of 'cognitive capitalism' of Yann Moulier Boutang (2007) and Vercellone (2007), though not strictly autonomist Marxist.

The extraction of value from the subject in the form of labour power is basic to Marxism, as is capital's need to participate in the production of subjects of labour, both physically and psychically. The novelty of Hardt and Negri's (2000) account is their argument that this process occurs *directly*, with subjectivity itself producing from itself as a 'constituent power' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 43). It is the industrial organisation of this new power that would represent the economic change relegated in Bourdieu (1979) to an unexplained event outside the cultural field. Seen in this light, the work of the intermediary would be located at the *heart* of the new economy, drawing 'culture' in Raymond Williams' (1981: 10) sense of 'cultivation' into industrially organised production. For self-cultivation is the production of subjectivity: a constituent power in the sense of the power of subjects to constitute themselves. While this may sound rather abstract, it directly reflects what the interviewees in my research describe themselves as doing (Chapters 6-9), for they describe their professional role as creating a new national or local self in ways that are both very concrete and multiple: creating fashion or designed environments which allow the national subject to appear as such, for instance. And specific spatio-temporal positioning of this, within the times and spaces of everyday life, is also highlighted by these individuals.

Hardt and Negri (2000: 45) call this 'biopolitical production': 'the production of social life itself, in which the economic, the political, and the cultural increasingly overlap and invest one another'. Aligned with Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer's (1979 [1944]: 120-167) notion of the 'culture industry' as the subsumption of culture under monopoly capitalism, the concept of biopolitical production recognises that under neoliberalism, cultural subsumption – inclusion within industrialised relations of production – occurs not uniquely within a single industrial sector, but as an element throughout the circuits of capital, aided inextricably by the spread of digital communications networks.

2.6. Multiple Temporalities

There are, though, several problems with this account. The first is a tendency amongst the autonomist Marxists to extend biopolitical production to all forms of labour. Paolo Virno (2004: 59) states:

> The informality of communicative behavior […] has become now, in the post-Ford era, a typical trait of the entire realm of social production. This is true not only for our contemporary culture industry, but also for Fiat in Melfi.

Certainly there is an important truth concerning the axial *centre*, or *emphasis* of valorisation in post-Fordist economies, the areas where highest profits and command over value chains lie (Chapters 3 and 4). And yet it is clearly inaccurate of online purchase fulfilment centres characterised by robotic conditions and crippling performance targets (e.g. Sainato 2019) or the 'microtechniques' governing the bodies of communications device assembly workers in tightly contained spaces (Pun 2005: 112) – both examples inextricable from post-Fordist communications, but from whose work expressive communication is excluded. The creative workers from Mumbai and Shanghai whom I interview frequently refer to their work as a specific, new type of work in a local context with multiple other types of work. Hardt and Negri's (2000) failure to address this aspect of biopolitical production thus requires critical development.

The autonomists' universalisation of a particular type of work and labour segment constitutes also the universalisation of a specific temporality. For at the heart of their theory is the notion that capital has broken both the spatial and temporal boundaries of production: biopolitical production, they argue, takes place no longer in the closed workshop and limited working day, but throughout social space and time, over the

entirety of life. Before addressing this issue, however, I will address another, which shares the same source, and which points towards a methodological solution at a more abstract level.

Jonathan Martineau (2015) has described the historical domination of multiple temporalities under capitalism, suggesting that these are replaced by capitalist 'clock-time'. Examples would be the replacement of the seasonal time of peasant labour, its rhythms set by the movements of the sun and earth, with the hourly wage. The commodification of relatively less incorporated domains such as authorship are beginning to see the same process, with the deeply subjective rhythms of interiority reduced to the wage, as Chinese digital corporations such as Tencent recently did with amateur online authorship platforms (Zhao 2019).

As a concept, 'clock-time' remains insufficiently abstract to correctly name value as measure. Under capitalism, value is a notional average labour time which only manifests itself retrospectively through the trial of the market in the form of money (Tombazos 2014) – and prospectively in the labour market. Unlike, for example, a number of seconds, in terms of average labour time one pound or a thousand rupees, say, will purchase very different quantities of actual time at different moments. Thus, while capital universalises (which 'clock time' emphasises), it also differentiates through the same process (see e.g. Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, Mezzadri 2017): abstract labour time can perfectly well be extracted in contexts with very different relations to the clock, from those with mechanised chronometry at the heart – such as the factory – to others where they are more peripheral, such as the domestic setting of some piecework or the passionate project work of many participants in this research. It is important to recognise this because it helps to establish that what may look, to scholars such as Hardt and Negri (2000), like a departure from value since it is external to such clock-bound spaces as the workshop, may remain tied to it at the specifically abstract level at which it actually operates.

With this rider acknowledged, Martineau's work is important in showing both the historical rise, spread, and increased social embedding of abstract labour time historically, but also in concrete terms how it has coexisted, in structures of domination and hegemony, with other temporalities, such as in unpaid domestic time and non-capitalist regimes of production. Martineau also points out that capitalistically organised time – the time of the market, and of the market mediation of labour's oppression – cannot exist alone, but needs to embed itself within and feed off other times. While Martineau's focus is historical, and mostly European, the same applies within the present, internationally, as evidenced by the interweaving of non-contemporaneous times in the current interview data (Chapter 6 especially).

Recognition of multiple co-existing temporalities can also avoid the limitation of Hardt and Negri's (2000) otherwise significant insights into what they term biopolitical production. Negri (2003: 39-41) suggests that the new hegemonic practices valorising social knowledge and communications far beyond the enclosed workshop in the social reduce the significance of abstract labour time to near insignificance, since there is nothing it opposes: the time of reproduction and the time of labour are rendered increasingly indistinct by time without measure. If on the other hand we break from thinking of abstract labour time as reducible to the time of the clock, we can also understand that exploitation can occur according to differing rhythms and temporalities which are nevertheless ultimately rendered commensurable by a measure which is *itself abstract*. This measure is perfectly able to account for the differing degrees of productivity of different kinds of work. As discussed below, the incorporation of educational or cultural development into productivity is part of the basic functioning of abstract value (see also below and Chapter 4), as is the *interaction* of multiple forms of labour with differing temporalities: that is the very basis for the technical and social division of labour.

Many of the current project's participants are engaged with forms of valorisation of everyday life directed at shrinking the domain outside of value, the distinction between everyday life and the time of valorisation. And yet, it is also clear that the processes they are engaged in are not autonomous from measure, but at the boundary between distinct temporalities, including tightly chronologically monitored, which they bring into relation – as discussed above, those working fashion design are positioned not autonomously from manufacture, for instance, but rather in direct *relation* to it. Indeed, one can say that the function of the intermediary is to constitute the relation of these different temporalities.

What Hardt and Negri show particularly well is that the spatio-temporal location of the cultural or biopolitical element of industrialised production cannot be that of manufacture, since it must inhabit the realm itself of everyday life and interiority as spontaneity, as well as just why capital needs to organise that space for valorisation. This constitutes an advance over culture-economy scholarship's endless deconstruction of the difference. But what they miss is the interrelation *between* the two spaces. This is in fact a failure to recognise the interrelation of subject and object: a failure of dialectical reason.

2.7. The subject-object dialectic: blind spot of the autonomist model

The autonomist Marxists in general display a dualistic tendency either to separate subjectivity from the objective totality or to bind it to it absolutely, resulting in unlikely absolutisms on the one hand, and unnecessary inconsistencies on the other. On one hand it over-plays the subjective autonomy of labour, as a subject whose objectification under capital appears, where capital predominates, merely a result of personal deficiency of understanding or will: a failure to enact 'exodus' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 215) from capital. Where it emigrates, capital leaves no imprint on its behaviour, which appears always already, as subject, autonomous – a form of subjectivism. On the other hand, its subjection to capital is overplayed as an automatic, irresistible control, under the coercion of cybernetics, conceived physically, as a force akin to hydraulics – a form of objectivism. Maurizio Lazzarato (2014: 25), for example, argues that a 'machinic enslavement' controls the subject at the level of flows of affect which entirely bypass consciousness – ultimately, a dualist argument typical of this strand of materialism, since subject and object are opposed absolutely, with no conceptual route between them. This is the methodological origin of the narrowness of the class or labour segment position and its geographical over-extension: a vitalist subjective essence of freedom – a constitutive subject – is portrayed as though unrelated to the social totality in which, on the other hand, a socially constituted – subjected – subject is trapped: between exit and subjection there is no continuity or even passage, but simply the revolutionary event. Indeed, this marks the influence also of Alain Badiou (1982), a problem also for Lacano-Marxists such as Slavoj Žižek (1999, 2008).

In this sense, a useful corrective is the work of the University of Buenos Aires group around Guido Starosta (2016a). This work emphasises rather the ways in which capital alienates subjectivity, itself becoming the 'automatic subject' (Starosta 2016a: 197; Marx 1976: 255), a process of inversion recognising subjectivity as complex, mediated, and dynamic. There is a tendency in Starosta (2016a, Starosta et al 2024) to represent capital as the sole initiator of all historical change, including that which will eventually create the subject of labour able to free itself from capital, but, as a contrary pole to the autonomists, it remains a useful corrective. This scholarship develops a picture of subjectivity as transitional, able to both become but also lose itself, as when capital takes on subjective attributes, and the subject of labour is itself reduced to a mere thing. This occurs for instance under automation (Marx 1976: 544), where a machine, though produced by workers, governs workers, and reduces their labour to mere repetition; or under the rule of money (Marx 1976: 255), in which value, though socially produced,

governs society through its power over the decision-making even of political parties in nominally democratic states.

This more dynamic view of the subject-object relation comes from the influence of Marxism of Georg Hegel (2008: 45-46, §26), for whom subjectivity and objectivity, rather than being mechanically opposed, 'pass over into their opposites as a result of their […] dialectical character'. Indeed, it is this process which leads Theodore Adorno (1998 [1969]: 245) to identify 'the resistance of subject and object to the act of defining': the concepts, as he says, are best taken as found and critically applied rather than defined. However, where in Hegel's (also 2008, 2010) work, this dialectic plays out spiritually as consciousness confronted with the world of objects which it must learn to know it has ultimately posited – and so susceptible to summation in the philosophical forms of phenomenology and logic –, in the works of Marx and many critical Hegelian Marxists (Abazari 2020, Bovieri 2024, Lukács 1973 [1923]), this relation, under capitalism, is grasped as fundamentally mediated by the totality of social production, and as resulting from the contradictory nature of the social form, transcendence of contradiction requiring, not philosophy, but revolutionary praxis.

When Marx (1976: 255) suggests that value itself becomes the subject, his footnote hints at what may look like a definition: 'i.e. the independently acting agent.' It is that independent agency which associates subjectivity for much Hegelian Marxism also with such concepts as invention and interiority (e.g. Sartre 2013: 71 [1961]), and so will and affect, as well as consciousness, truth and freedom (e.g. Lukács 1973, Marcuse 1955). Subjectivity in that sense is negativity, the power of determinate negation of the existing conditions through their transformation. But it is also the unconscious, the thing-likeness – objectivity, even – of the 'I' itself, and the repetition of habit, for instance, normative order, and its embodiment in ideology. This is why Jean-Paul Sartre (2013: 63) called the subject a being at once of 'repetition' and 'invention'. It is also why Marx (2010 *Eighteenth*: 131 [1852]) stated that people make history but not the conditions of that making, which themselves 'weigh like the dead on the mind of the living': a dialectic central to historical materialism, the nature of social mediation making of subjectivity an object of struggle. Agency is the *stake*, or *end* of Marxist theory and political practice, so cannot give definitional closure.[9] It is the spontaneous, active capacity of subjectivity which makes of it the sole source of new value, and yet if it were not always already object for itself and others it would not be alienable, or amenable to market exchange, extracted in the objective form of value.

Hardt and Negri (2000: 354) demonstrate that the time and place of production of certain kinds of commodity, rich in affect, invention and constitutive power must be outside of specific types of confinement – if not of 'measure' as such, of the bounded space-times of measurement. For the present analysis, that is invaluable for understanding the relation which the alums interviewed make in their work with the times and spaces of everyday life. In various ways, for instance, some specifically voice a desire to break down the boundary between the life of the designer and that of the consumer. Others have addressed the interplay of autonomy and control in specifically 'creative' labour in ways which empirically support this, including as an object of struggle (e.g. Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011, McKinlay and Smith 2009). Hardt and Negri's (2000) more holistic approach highlights the connection between struggles over subjectivity within the process itself of such labour, on the one hand, and the historically developing relation of capital and labour as a whole, a more historical materialist account (Chapter 3 further outlines historical materialism).

But in departing from dialectics, the autonomists ignore the interweaving of subjectivity with the objective world – indeed, their identity, albeit in difference.

[9] Chapter 8 further discusses agency.

Subjectivity is not productive immediately from out of itself. That was Bourdieu's (1979) error in attributing value in the field of art directly to opinion. Hegel (2010: 680, 12.183; 2018: 231, §401) already noted that for the interiority of the subject to enter the world it needs first embodiment within multiple mediations in which the subject and object are mixed: an inchoate stirring of the soul must, to be recognised by a subject, already have some objectivity, and meet an internal but objective capacity to act: talent. This objectivity is still more pronounced in steps as it becomes a purpose, for example, a movement of the body, of a tool by the body, and of an exterior substance by the tool. If from the start there was not some objectivity about the subject, there could be no exteriorisation in the artefact, and if already in the unworked exterior substance there were not that degree of subjectivity which is its being present to mind, there could be no process to begin with, let alone an end result in which the final form of the object expressed subjective will. As seen particularly in Chapter 7 and 8, the traceable – and accountable – movement between the objective world, inspiration, design, hand, and commodity outcome is essential to the labour process and self-understanding of a variety of the participants in this study.

The inclusion of 'talent' in these concerns is useful, too, in illuminating Bourdieu's use of 'habitus' discussed above, and 'human capital' below: the extension of the rule of capital into subjectivity requires that subject and object be always already interwoven. But in Marx, these mediations include much more concretely than in Hegel both the division of labour and the value producing system as a whole, limiting and enabling action and determining purpose. This means acknowledging that, between the moment of conception of the designer and the designed object appearing in the world – on the market – are multiple intervening mixtures of subjectivity with that final object, including through value itself. Thus understanding the subject-object relation in the case of a fashion designer, for instance – job of several of the participants – involves looking both within the value chain at other functions such as the control of shareholders and owner/managers; the manufacturing of cutters and sewers; and the circulation of marketers, logistics and sales personnel, etc., but also between chains, setting the average price of labour.[10] Thus their position is only apparently outside measure: in reality, it is fundamentally tethered to it, since for the value they themselves contribute – the formal conception of the object –, to be realised, depends on multiple others who stand in different relations to the time-space of production. Most importantly, the productive labour of cutters and sewers, for instance, must produce sufficient surplus value, embodied in sufficient number and quality of goods, over and above its own reproduction and costs of plant and material inputs, to cover the costs of labour not associated with production, and profit to capital. Again, as seen, for example in Chapters 7 and 8, managing the co-presence of different forms of labour up- and downstream is essential to the work of intermediaries.

Deciding the boundary between productive and unproductive labour is complex and much debated (see Carchedi 1977: 10-15; Gough 1971; Poulantzas 1974: 212-226) – a difficulty, as Dan Schiller (1996: 135-136) demonstrates, heightened by the new role of culture as productive force. However, the determining factor in productive labour is whether it participates in the production of profit to capital by creating a use value (fashion item, or film, etc.). Unproductive labour, on the one hand, is, though conducted under capital, devoted not to the production of value, but only circulation and realisation of use values (including money itself), and the maintenance of the capitalist order.

[10] This is a schematic account, abstracting from the labour of inputs (leather, rubber, etc.), logistics, etc., but also objective factors discussed elsewhere such as machinery, and qualities of circulating capital such as the leather, etc. 'Value chain' is explained further in Chapter 3.

Transport in many cases can be productive (Marx 1978: 135), for instance, on the basis that it can participate in the production of the use value as such (a shoe has no use on a factory shelf). Finally, non-productive labour is that occurring outside of the capitalist system, such as under traditional craft conditions. Alexis Moraitis and Jack Copley (2017) are clearly right to suggest that the boundary is fluid, and subject to historical change, but not that it has no relation at all to the nature of the use values, which would seem undialectical; Marx (1978: 209) suggests that a certain function in circulation devoted to realisation may be 'in and for itself unproductive', such that mere commodification of teller or security labour as an industry (Moraitis and Copley's 2017 examples) in itself will not alone make their work productive.

Some of the participants interviewed for this project are or have been productive in the most direct sense of being waged workers creating cultural use values (see Apppendix I). This is true, for example, for contracted fashion photographers (e.g. M11). Here, jobs can be routinised, place bound and even somewhat Taylorised, in the case of online catalogue shots with rapid and timed turnovers. This suggests cases where Hardt and Negri's biopolitical production can be directly reduced to measure. But it is also true where a more mediated relation applies. The biopolitical labour of design work on a fashion item, as conducted by S2, must be considered in this way in relation to the work of cutting or stitching at a machine. In the same way the design has no value independently of the garment, nor does the mental labour of design from the manual work of stitching. Though the designer, to produce, may have some freedom from the spatio-temporal limits of the workshop, they are, then, not cut off from its domain of measure, but fundamentally attached to it: if insufficient examples of their design are realised on the market they too may go unpaid or unemployed. As discussed in Chapter 4, drawing on Heesang Jeon (2010), Starosta et al (2024) and Sam King (2021), the work of design can best be considered to add to the rate of exploitation of the manual labour of production: the stitcher, for instance, produces a greater amount of value in the aesthetic content of each item produced where the standard of design is high, even as the rate of production is unchanged. The waged designer can in this way be considered a productive worker in the same way as the machine mechanic, whose participation in the production of the garment is also, though indirect, essential.

But those workers who are not classed as productive, such as small studio owners or independent designers are also not free of that same circuit of valorisation. S26, for example, owns his own boutique brand. He works to his own timetable, and ideas generation takes him beyond the studio space, into such everyday locations as the street. Aspects of the space-time of valorisation are thus well captured by Hardt and Negri's (2000: 273) concept of the 'social factory'. However, the value of his designs is only realised in the form of the intensity it adds to the rate of exploitation of those productive workers. And, as seen in Chapter 7, because the revenue source of his own work remains this bounded time-space of manual labour, the physical as well as communicational articulation between studio, street and factory is a fundamental question in his work process and business decisions. This self-reflective articulation of space-times is manifest in the work of many of the participants, suggesting both the relevance of the 'social factory' to valorisation, but also the necessity, *pace* Hardt and Negri (2000), of relating it to the circuit of production as a whole, and valorisation as, still, a question of measure. It is in this way that a critical engagement with Hardt and Negri also supplies the missing link in culture-economy and Bourdieuian analysis: the articulation between culture and economy, the spaces of reproduction and production, is the circuit of valorisation, whose extension is the work of the intermediary at their boundary.

2.8. Modelling the cultural circuit of capital

The source of du Gay, Hall et al's (1997: 3) circuit of culture diagram (Figure 2.1) was that of Richard Johnson (1986: 283-284), representing the 'production, circulation, and consumption of cultural objects'. Johnson had produced this in illustration of a defence of a Marxist cultural studies able to integrate questions of subjectivity and objective social structure – the heart of my project too (Chapter 3 discusses the conjuncture of cultural studies' retreat from Marxism of that time). Diagrams were, he suggested, 'in the tradition of Birmingham CCCS' – a tradition with which I, too, engage, in my own use of a diagrammatic representation below (and Chapter 9).

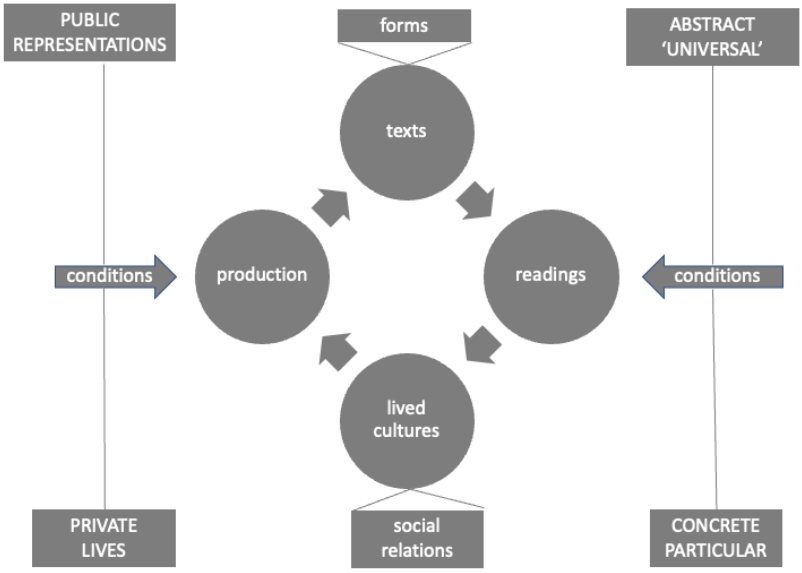


Figure 2.2. 'production, circulation, and consumption of cultural objects' (Johnson 1986: 284) (author's reconstruction).

Johnson's representation shares much with the culture-economy model, but with the key addition of 'social relations' and 'conditions' of production – a significant loss in the later model. It also represents cultural domains of reproductive and public life, to advantage, and degrees of universality and concretion. However, Johnson maps a circuit, not of value, but of culture, which thereby appears somewhat autonomous, with vaguely represented 'conditions' and 'relations' rendered peripheral – arguably a back door for the autonomisation of culture which was to come to undermine cultural studies (Chapter 3), and vitiates the culture-economy approach.

Johnson's (1986: 309) diagram was 'based […] on Marx's circuit of capital and its metamorphoses'. In the Volume 2 of *Capital*, Marx (1978: 109, 124) modeled of the 'formula for the circuit of money capital':

$$M–C<^{L}_{MP}\ldots P\ldots C'\ (C + c)–M'\ (M + m)$$

Money (M) is converted into commodities (C), labour power (L) and means of production (MP). This is subjected to a labour process (P) which creates an increase (') in commodities and money: the surplus (lower case c and m) extracted from the unpaid element of labour. This asserts the centrality of production, but also that the process is, though a circuit, *not* a circle: its need to increase is its source both of social and natural domination, but also tendency to crisis (on Marx's spiralling rather than circular temporality: Chapter 3). My own representation below, with Johnson, includes the subjective elements, but truer to Marx's approach, maintains the process of capital accumulation from surplus labour at the centre.

Another diagrammatic extension of Marx's model, and which restores value to the centre, is David Harvey's (2018: 6) 'The paths of value in motion'. As a scholar of 'historical-geographical materialism' Harvey's (1989: 355) also has the merit of adding spatial processes – a central feature of my study. However, it does not feature *cultural* inputs. In, Figure 2.2, then, I restore the value-centric approach of Marx lost in Johnson's diagram while maintaining a cultural focus, but capture also the spatial element in Harvey's, by representing the organised interaction of the realm of reproduction with the circuit of production: the process of biopolitical production. A fuller diagrammatic representation of spatial processes must await further discussion of background (Chapter 3-4) and empirical data (6-8) before I propose it in conclusion (Chapter 9).

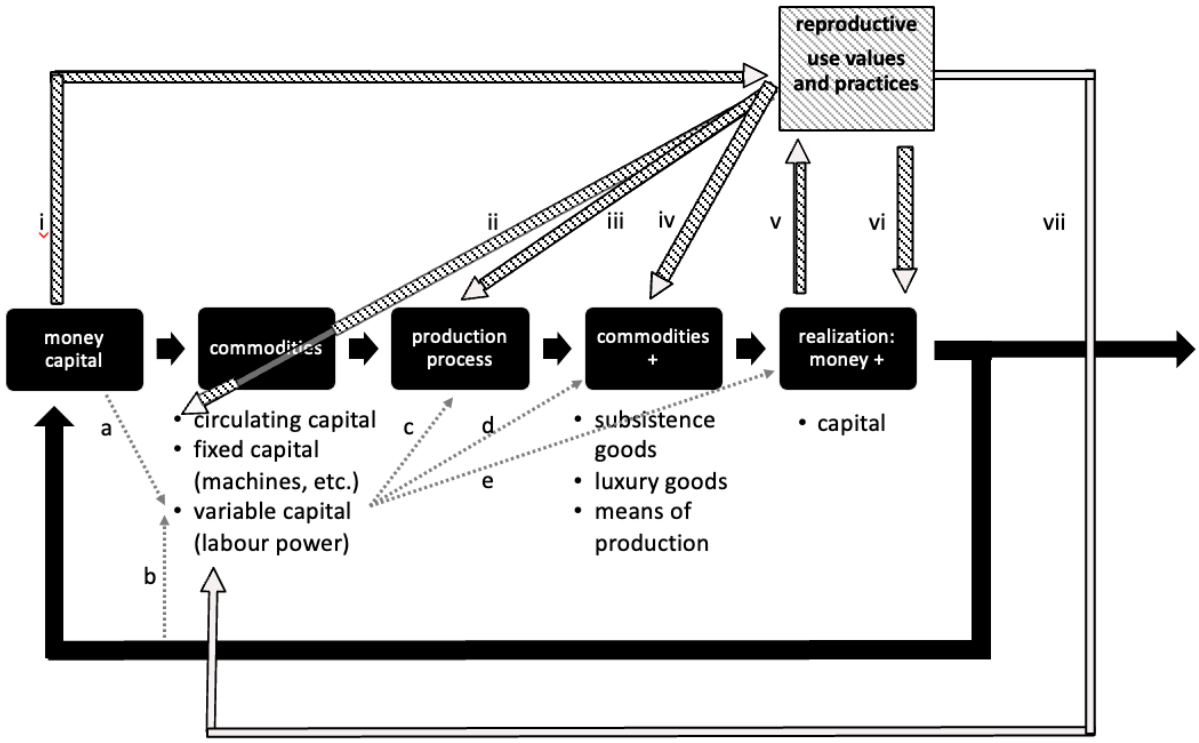


Figure 2.3. The interaction of reproduction with the circuit of value.

In figure 2.3, the black boxes and arrows and accompanying bullet points represent the basic production process which could be centred, for example, on a factory producing consumer goods such as an iPhone, with surplus (+) leaving the circuit or re-entering as expansion. In *grey* (contoured or dotted) are elements of the cultural economy. The grey *feeds into* the black, and the opposition is not absolute, but rather dynamic, through their mutually constitutive opposition itself: particularly in industries in which cultural content such as narratives or aesthetic experiences is the main product, where the black *also* is directly cultural content.

The lines and box filled with stripes represent the channels by which the use values and practices of consumers enter the circuit of capital as an organised process. The intermediary helps to add value extractive capacity directly to products (i): they may render products *recognisable* on the street, for instance, ensuring that consumers' daily engagement with the product is productive of the meaning of the branded products they consume. The added value extraction, derived from *productive consumption*, re-joins the circuit via (vi) as increased price, but also (iv): what is for sale, the *commodity*, is the participation in existing communities of users enabled by the purchase.

Brands must design through constant feedback with consumption practices (iii), such that those practices form a kind of raw material, a form of circulating capital (ii). Chapters

6-8 frequently see participants discussing how they make street practices into marketable outcomes Brands must also invest in trademarks and copyright, and in the legal and indeed lobbying means to *enforce* these (e.g. through the WTO's Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights, or TRIPs), ensuring ownership of recognition as a lived cultural entity throughout the social: (iv) represents recognition entering the circuit as an element of the commodity. In this way, 'culture' is drawn directly into the circuit of capital: money is thrown at it in the direct expectation of significant returns through intensified valorisation elsewhere in the circuit. However, *pace* Lash and Urry's (1994) postmodernism, Bourdieu's (1979) recognition or Hardt and Negri's (2000) biopolitical production, the locus of extraction of this extra value from the circulation of capital through the practices of consumer engagement remains the circuit of production, represented in black. Further, it is also only possible in conditions in which the working up of the self is already recognised by consumers as a process of valorisation: that is, when practices of *human* or *cultural* capital already pervade the social, itself already constituted as a receptive medium. The striped lines, then, capture the inter-dependence of the types of labour undertaken by the alums and manual labour elsewhere in the same chain.

Similar phenomena apply to the grey dotted line (below the central circuit), this time representing the cultural content of worker subjectivity, social relations, and affect. The *culture* or *subjectivity* of work can be valorised in a variety of ways. Arrow (d) shows it becoming a commodity alongside the central channel of valorisation. One could think here of a coffee chain barista, who produces value both in making the core product – coffee – but *also* in producing content of the brand, a symbolic entity embodied both in the coffee, but also in various ambient forms, including the behaviour of the barista, produced through affective and aesthetic, cultural (biopolitical) labour. Their labour might therefore be considered doubly or triply commodified: by direct mixture with other means of production, whereby milk, water and beans become drink; in the retailing act, if the barista conducts the till transaction (e); but also in the production of the chain's branded experience (d). An equivalent process is reflected, for example, in the alums working behind the bar of Shanghai Creative Space (Chapter 6), contributing to the value of the location as internationally networked creative space.

Workplace culture, or the subjectivity of workers, can also be more directly worked up simply in order to increase productivity. This can be achieved through various direct and indirect means. The capitalist may fund training or other education, for instance, directly (a), but also through taxation (b). Further, as Marx recognised, machines and workspaces themselves have the function of informing worker subjectivity (the role of the factory in real subsumption). Thus in these senses, culture is brought into economy in the direct sense of inclusion in the circuit of capital itself in the same way as machines. This is the sense of *human* capital as investment by the capitalist. Where human capital involves the capitalist directly or through the state investing in variable capital in order to increase worker productivity, and thereby surplus, it constitutes just as much capital expenditure as work on buildings or machines.

The incorporation of functions beyond direct manual production of use values is associated with the increase in division of labour (Chapter 4). It gives labour devoted to the production of subjectivity a function, not beyond measure, but rather as a particular segment whose role within value production is the increased intensity of valorisation within a circuit as a whole (Starosta et al 2024, Jeon 2010, also Chapter 4). The displacement of these roles relatively to the bounded time-space of the workshop should be considered, not within a mechanical logic of inside/outside, but rather dialectically, as forming a new relationship *between* the inside and outside: the location of the cultural intermediary. This spatial element is the subject of Chapter 3.

2.9. Note on higher education

Where the worker's self-development through cultural consumption is concerned, either in the pursuit of a better share in the value produced through increased productivity or other skills and abilities, or simply as an end in itself which *happens* to increase productivity, this is captured by arrow (vii) in Figure 2.2 above. This activity neither belongs to the capitalist, nor turns the worker *into* a capitalist, and so, although certainly representing a potential increased value *for* the capitalist, does not represent a circuit of human capital. The lack of fill represents this ambiguity, outside of the formal circuit, though clearly of relevance *to* it. Indeed, it may equally represent a cost as a gain to the capitalist: this could be through claims to increased wage arising from education or social networks formed in leisure, for instance, or a more directly political struggle through the development of political knowledge or subjectivity pursued outside the workplace. The arrow shows *impact*, whatever the effect on productivity or share. Marxist feminist Tithi Bhattacharya (2017: 81, citing Marx 1973 *Grundrisse*: 287) highlights self-development as a 'share of civilisation' as a factor of the circuits of reproduction for which labour, in a highly extended sense of those exploited under capital, must struggle. This is reflected closely in the empirical chapters, where, for instance, alums mention the value of their education not being entirely reflected in economic terms of their remuneration, but rather in individual outcomes around understanding and personal life projects, but also in the identification of specifically *critical* skills.

Education is an essential point of organised encounter between the subject's autonomous needs for self-development and capital's for increased productivity. Marx (1976: 613-619) touched in *Capital* on how automation and the struggle over the working day led to developments within formal education. The very same development which, through the application of science to automation, was reducing the human subject to the role of mere machine, also potentially freed workers for all-round self-development (see Small 2005: 118). Marxist analysis pursued this dialectic process through the Fordist period, identifying the contradictory unity between the emancipatory potential of the means of reproduction of the worker as a full, rounded subject able to critique, and so pursue emancipation from the exploitative social order, on the one hand, and on the other obedient to the needs of capital (Willis 1997 [1978]) – an instance of the wider dialectic of forces and relations of production (science and the division of labour, and private ownership respectively).

In the post-war period already, crisis-ridden Western economies moved to ensure continued profitability by significantly deepening the division of labour. The large monopolies extended organisation away from manual labour to knowledge and circulatory functions, and, particularly under neoliberal globalisation, command over much more complex and sprawling value chains (Chapter 4). Knowledge was structured into production as never before: the flexibilised production of post-Fordism required on-the-job learning itself as a factor of production (Castels 2010). In Western economies themselves, that required a significant increase in the labour reserve at the highly skilled end (Anderson 2006: 131-200; Ford 2021; on art and design, Llewellyn and Williamson 2015).

Labour segmentation and the need for highly skilled workers and popular demand resulted in the massification of higher education under the Keynesian deal offering increased pay for higher productivity. As Steven Ward (2012) has argued, this deal itself crumbled under the profit squeeze of the 1970s (Chapter 3), Western universities, by now operating a vast public operation for the production of subjectivity, were ripe for rapid neoliberalization at massive scale, which would turn that production over to capital. A rapid succession of fee hikes, culminating in the rise to £9,000, absorbing the entire share of the costs, rapidly marketized practice and commodified learning, now considered

'content'. The increasing debt burden made any diversion from the needs of capital in the form of a wage share in increased individual productivity open to challenge as a luxury: that is, university managers, employers and the state could problematise all autonomy from the needs of capital, such as public good, collective organisation, political struggle, all-round human development or emancipation (Hall 2018). 2016, for instance, saw the introduction of graduate fee data to rankings as a proxy for educational quality designed to drive competition to the point of low performer failure, specifically to have the sector better service the 'knowledge economy' (GovUKDfBI&S 2016). University and course ranking systems introduced market-mimicking discipline among academics; non-faculty senior management grew significantly, issuing market-led strategies which reduced academic involvement in decision-making about core issues such as research and teaching priorities and content; insecure contracts burgeoned, and academic labour segmentation between research-active stars and teaching grunts deepened (Ward 2012). Academic labour processes were parcelised and degraded in forms of intellectual Taylorisation and proletarianization, with research and curricula sutured to the needs of capital (Hall 2018, Peters 2013). Innovations around knowledge exchange, such as industry-set student briefs and unpaid internships, industry-linked innovation hubs and incubation centres capture, privatise and hand over to capital the knowledge produced in universities not only after, but before and during production, students on course work, for instance, freely cogitating for capital units desperate for insight into the mind of maturing consumers, as Kay Dickinson (2024) addresses in the film industry.

Art and design have been fundamental elements in this: the sales effort required both marketing practices as a function of circulation, but also within production. But so too did the fragmentation of value chains, their control requiring significant emphasis on the knowledge end of the chain, where the greater profit rates of intellectual property ownership were associated with the control it granted over the chain as a whole (Sam King 2021; Charnock and Starosta 2016a). But the flexible ways of working also required a *disposition* towards learning which itself engaged the subject as creative, and, to do so, drew processes from artistic education and culture industry into industries beyond culture (Boltanski and Chiapello 2011, Thrift 2005). Education for arts itself becomes the development of flexible entrepreneurialism, learning to identify and capitalise one's specific talents and render them productive (Simons and Masschelein 2013: 70-1, 82; also Peters 2013, McRobbie 2016, Dickinson 2024).

These developments are directly manifest in the interview data. The increasingly market-oriented courses participants attended in London were formed by this context, and they specifically came for the fine grained disciplinary distinctions representing the UK's highly segmented labour (Chapter 6), for instance. Participants regularly talk of embracing continuous learning, but also extending design thinking into organisations far beyond the aesthetic. They strongly identify with having learned to learn, and with broad dispositional changes regarding high degrees of flexibility. The educational input into their productive subjectivities, able to constitute a relation between culture, including as self-cultivation, and the circuit of capital, is shown in the empirical chapters to be fundamental, and applies not only to they themselves: they describe their role in terms of having learnt to expand the rule of capital further into the social spaces of culture and everyday life as a whole.

2.10. Terminological issues

Thus capital draws swathes of social life, including subjectivity itself, into the productivity of its circuits. And yet, while postmodernist culture-economy scholars help to understand the multiple ways in which that is made possible, Bourdieuian sociology of culture its preconditions in the structuring of the social, and Foucault-inflected studies its

interaction with the production of subjectivity, these should not blind us to the elemental circuit of valorisation at the centre, where not only are use values made, but value itself is accounted for as a quantified, abstract, universal and alienated power. For this reason, while the concept of 'biopolitical production' usefully names the specific relation to the production of subjectivity itself as axial, the concept requires caution. It bears the marks of the scholars' vitalism as well as dualism, suggesting an unmediated production from life itself, or 'bios', autonomously from capital as well as from other forms of production. For this reason, I follow Phillippe Bouquillion et al (2013: 8), who distinguish 'industrialisation of culture' and 'culturalisation of industry', and use the terms 'culturalised industrial production' or 'industrialised cultural production' where appropriate. By 'culture', as per Williams' usages (1983: 87-92; 1981: 10-13), I refer to the meaningful or signifying practices of everyday life, but also cultivation of the self – both everyday life and the self-cultivation, as seen, being drawn into value productivity. The former – 'culturalised industrial production' – refers to more traditional manufacturing industries such as garment production, but which a high creative input has been added; the latter – 'industrialised cultural production' – refers to the production of symbolic goods or texts such as fictional narratives or images which have become newly subject to forms of management and organisation carried over from manufacturing industries. However, 'biopolitical production' has the advantage of naming both.

Bouquillion et al (2013: 9) argue that the term 'cultural industries' should be reserved for those industries whose constant capital, to use the Marxian word, consists almost entirely in symbolic content, with its material support, whether digital, or analogue such as paper or celluloid, relatively indifferent, reducing reproduction costs to a minimum, compared to relatively high initial costs of production or 'first copy costs' (Hardy 2014: 89) (so a film or record could take months or years to produce with costly labour and equipment, but its reproduction, relatively independent of any particular support, might be the tiny energy and amortisement costs of uploading to the internet). For industries with more significant physical constant capital, to which cultural inputs are added through new design and marketing practices, such as fashion, they reserve the term 'creative industries'. Their argument for analytically distinguishing processes and their implications for industrial organisation is sound, but the solution problematic. As Nicholas Garnham (2005: 20) has argued, in the British context, 'creative industries' is an ideological term celebrating post-Fordist lean production (see Chapter 3). Further, that Bouquillion et al (2013) quite rightly treat the various industries together in a single text demonstrates that, albeit recognising multiple distinctions, they consider the *treatment* of these industries together legitimate. Foregoing a single term for the industries they address together seems disadvantageous. It also risks the perverse implication that film fiction is not creative, for instance, while fashion is, or fashion not culture, while advertising is.

When Christopher Bailey, Chief Executive Officer of Burberry, stated: "We are now as much a media-content company as we are a design company" (Leitch 2010: 8), he likely had an eye on the shareholder stardust of knowledge economy hype. But it also recognises actual business practices, not only because of the company's notoriously lavish marketing, but also since this marketing was in part compensating for the effects of offshoring production to southern economies such as China. Though significantly reducing the cost of reproduction of manufactured inputs, this increased the need for marketing and design-based content, or symbolic inputs, to maintain control over a world-spanning value chain with exorbitant first copy and other intellectual property costs such as marketing as entry barriers to competition, and to compensate an actual placelessness with a locational narrative of British heritage. Such issues, and contradictions, are common in the interview data among fashion workers. S14 and S15, for instance (see Chapter 7), developed the idea of producing short videos about the British designers to

feature on their retail app for sale to Chinese consumers, so that the clothes, instead of being mere garments, contain the content 'fashion'. As the growing landfills of discarded fashion items attest, the industrial model of fashion in the 'fast' era (S14 speaks of 'fast original designs') tends to reduce as much as possible the value of the physical support of the garment relatively to a symbolic value which, just as for film, may be characterised by highly time sensitive single use consumption. For these reasons, I use 'cultural industries' in this more embracing sense to include the many fashion workers, as well as graphic and interior designers (Hesmondhalgh's 2019: 22 'borderline' cases) alongside the more prototypical creative communications work such as advertising or theatre set design. I reserve 'culture industry' for instances where an emphasis closer to Adorno and Horkheimer's (1974), on hegemonic massification and monolithic unification of ideological content, is intended. It is this embracing sense of cultural industries which maps, at the industrial pole of practice, to the art, design and communication higher education which forms the other pole of my research: labour reproduction.

2.11. Conclusion

The main research question concerns the construction by alums of productive subjectivity. This theoretical chapter suggests that it is frequently an indirect relation to productive labour, producing use values which rather contribute to the intensification of the rate of valorisation. By identifying at an abstract level the boundary position between economy and culture which the intermediary straddles, the chapter has prepared the ground for addressing how that subjectivity is formed in concrete movement through space. That requires further elaboration of spatio-temporal questions, the topic of Chapter 3. Chapter 4 looks into detail at the various sectors of production internationally, and their interdependence. Chapter 5 on methodology considers specifically how to research the connection between the subjectively rich content of intermediation and its engagement with the reproductive domain, and the abstract structural content of value. The empirical chapters, 6-8, bring these scales together in relation to the biographical trajectories and subjective accounts of particular individual intermediaries working transnationally. This leads in the Conclusion to a diagrammatic model summarising the findings, in which I show the international distribution of the processes of the production of subjectivity, as an inherent part of production as a whole, to be an essential aspect of the production of space. It is the nature of this space, the learnt forms of subjectivity which traverse it, and the practices such subjects engage in, which constitute the argument of this thesis.

Chapter 3

Unevenness and Articulation

3.1. Introduction

It has been seen at a theoretical level that the cultural intermediary produces or participates in the extraction of value through a mediating status and in-between position in terms both of class and production circuits. This is addressed empirically in Chapters 6-8. However, the field research also saw respondents strongly identify with other forms of boundary traversal as essential features of their trajectory in constituting the specific subjectivity of intermediation. They spoke of the importance of the transnational aspect of their education, in the development of their identity and productive capacity, for instance, characterising themselves frequently as a 'bridge' between East and West, Europe and Shanghai or Mumbai. Unpacking the content of the transnational difference referred to, it transpired that it always had a pronounced economic factor of degrees of capital development, though, given the nature of their work, also cultural (Chapter 6 particularly). Thus, for instance, Mumbai set designer M26 discussed what she felt was a lack of specialism in Indian theatre, where set design had not become an independent profession in itself, separate from architecture. As a feature of the division of labour, or socialisation of capital, this denotes lesser capital development (see Chapter 4). But this was woven back into deeply subjective cultural terms, as she experienced it as an insufficient interweaving of temporal and spatial expression, from which she believed resulted an Indian subject unable to become fully themself.

Equivalent discourses manifest in multiple participants in very different ways. Shanghai fashion curator S8, for instance, noted the lack of autonomisation of fashion curation as a career in itself in his city, also associating this with a disjunctured self unable to close the gap between Chinese history and the contemporaneity of fashion. This gap metaphor was also frequent, as that which the practice of intermediation as they explained it would bridge. The work of the intermediary in bridging that gap is positioned as realising national self-becoming, and the specific quality of the intermediary's labour power is the ability to productively inhabit – bridge – that gap. Extremely frequently, participants applied this capacity specifically through working for transnational corporations, demonstrating that the subjectivity they developed played a role in the national expansion of capitalist relations.

My main research question concerns how the creative workers of Mumbai and Shanghai construct themselves as productive subjects. The kind of data touched on above demonstrates the need for a framework sensitive to spatio-temporal complexity. Thus the current chapter expands the analysis of cultural intermediation to address space in relation to time, focusing on the key Marxist concept of combined and uneven development.

Section 3.2 introduces Karl Marx's (1973 *Grundrisse* [1857-1861]) brief discussion of unevenness in the introduction to the *Grundrisse*. 3.3 returns to the cultural studies of Stuart Hall for a useful consideration of aspects of unevenness in the UK around the late 1970s, under the concept of 'articulation'. A consideration of weaknesses in this otherwise useful approach leads to a critical investigation of the structuralist influences in Louis Althusser's concept (3.4). What is lacking, it is argued, is a fully dialectical account. 3.5 thus turns to the law of uneven and combined development, first formulated by Leon Trotsky (2008 [1932]) (Novack 1972: 116). This law, I argue, in its full

dialectical conception, is an essential framework for addressing the interplay of social and cultural domains and levels which the cultural intermediary bridges.

The insights from these sections enables a brief return to Pierre Bourdieu's (1979) concept of the cultural intermediary (3.6) to then highlight international and dialectical content within the concept (3.7). 3.8 looks at subaltern and postcolonial studies for developments in many ways reproducing those of cultural studies. Various critiques of postcolonial studies (e.g. Chibber 2013, Kaiwar 2014) and cultural studies as they turned from Marxist frameworks (Denning 2004, Sivanandan 2008, Sparks 1996) have correctly involved historicising them within the moment of the turn to neoliberal globalised capital. This is my approach in 3.9, where I specifically develop a framework responsive to their focus on difference while true to Marxist dialectical analysis of the totality under the rule of value, to produce a renewed theory of uneven and combined development applicable to the current thesis.

Along with the theoretical framework, the chapter reviews significant relevant scholarly literature. But it also constitutes essential historical background. As mentioned in the previous chapter, and developed below, the interaction between historical and spatial dynamics is a fundamental aspect of my response to the main research question of this thesis. Historically constituted differences in the forms of productive activity in the various locations – Mumbai, Shanghai application, and the location of learning, London – form the basis for the development of the productive subjectivity which the participants lay claim to. The chapter explores not only concepts for considering questions of subject and object in relation to world history, but also the context of emergence of those concepts. This is necessary to understand and apply them in the present. Frederick Engels (1975 [1892]: 21), in coining the term 'historical materialism', addressed the emergence and applications of materialism as a travelling and developing concept and approach in England, France and Germany, relatively to their uneven economic contexts. As he demonstrated, the specific reflexivity of Marxist thought, including its dialectical commitment to flux and relationality, means that the revolutionary potential of concepts cannot be disassociated from the conditions giving rise to them. In keeping with this approach, the chapter engages with the various historical contexts in which key concepts applied in the empirical chapters emerged. Attention is given to historical dynamics of subject and object as well as internal and external or national and international developments in the emergence of such concepts – the issues at the heart of this thesis.

3.2. Unevenness in Marx

In Marx's (1973 *Grundrisse*: 109) own works the most often sited passages on unevenness are from the suggestive notes at the end of the Introduction to the *Grundrisse*, including on what he calls 'The uneven development of material production relative to e.g. artistic development', as well as relations of production and legal relations. Unevenness, then, for Marx, describes the disjuncture arising from different rates of development in various social domains or levels. This is one of the most fundamental tenets of historical materialism (Blackledge 1996, Harman 1998): that the relations of production tend to develop at a slower rate than the forces of production, resulting in contradictions which, in turn, may eventually lead to revolutionary social change (Marx 2010 *Contribution: Preface*: 263 [1844]).

In what may look at first technologically reductive, he highlights apparently insuperable contradictions between technologically advanced forms of production and communication, from the printing press and to the railway and telegraph, and historical artistic forms, but goes on:

> But the difficulty lies not in understanding that the Greek arts and epic are bound up with certain forms of social development. The difficulty is that they still afford us artistic pleasure and that in a certain respect they count as a norm and as an unattainable model. (1973: 111)

A full understanding of unevenness requires grasping that certain historically negated social or cultural forms remain nevertheless present, but in a transformed condition, in which they may beckon across both historical and individual time, highlighting a disjuncture within the subject – here expressed as that between internal or affective proximity and historical distance. Here unevenness is by no means only a feature of objective relations, but rends subjectivity itself, to the point of filling it with a yearning to end that distance. Art, embodying a special relation between subject and object - or as Georg Lukács (1973: 235 1923]) puts it, citing this passage, 'a dialogue between man [*sic*] and nature' – promises a special capacity to effect that negation of the negation.[1] This is at the heart of the alums' discourse, touched on above and returned to in Chapters 6-8. For the kind of disjuncture referred to by the interviewees is simultaneously spatial and temporal, objectively economic, but also subjective: a gap within the ability of the self to become itself, which they feel the artistic relation, the practices they have learned in creatively oriented education, is capable of bridging.

Marx dwells later in the *Grundrisse* on how the development of the communications technologies whose role we see above are not determining, but themselves determined by capital's tendential 'annihilation of space by time' (Marx 1973 *Grundrisse*: 524). For capital must seek to reduce circulation time in order to speed up realisation of surplus labour as value (Chapter 2). This is an essential point for study of the culture industries, returned to later, since in this respect communication of information and material commodities play an equivalent role (Mattelart 1992). One can also identify, elsewhere in *Grundrisse* (1973: 408), how the capital relation produces spatio-temporal disjuncture:

> The tendency to create the *world market* is directly given in the concept of capital itself. Every limit appears as a barrier to be overcome. Initially, to subjugate every moment of production itself to exchange and to suspend the production of direct use values not entering into exchange, i.e. precisely to posit production based on capital in place of earlier modes of production, which appear primitive […] from its standpoint. *Commerce* no longer appears here as a function taking place between independent productions for the exchange of their excess, but rather as an essentially all-embracing presupposition and moment of production itself.

Thus, apparently different temporalities, the modern and those which now 'appear primitive', are brought together by the law of value itself, which takes hold of even of pre-capitalist processes from inside. The take-over of the internal substance of the production processes by the rule of value, which posits itself as their pre-supposition, should be considered to apply whether or not these take on entirely capitalistic forms such as waged labour ('real subsumption'): as we see below, value subsumes also pre-capitalist forms in this same way: reducing them to production for the world market.

I return to the Introduction to the *Grundrisse* in Chapter 5. Key to emphasise at this stage is that this represents a significant statement on the relation between subjective and objective factors including specifically cultural, in spatio-temporal terms as unevenness.

---

[1] I use 'sic' only in the first instance of outmoded patriarchal forms of expression in historical texts in any chapter, after which, please take it as read. I do not enter discussion of whether this is an issue of the original or translation, or a fault of individuals or conventions.

This phenomenon is typical of the discourse of the creative workers I interviewed in Shanghai and Mumbai, and the sense they made of productive disjuncture, suggesting an explanatory role for Marx's framework. There is plenty more that could be said on Marx's mostly implicit theory of unevenness and combination. It is in many ways the domain where questions of subjectivity come most to the fore. In *The German Ideology* (Marx and Engels 1998: 208-211), for instance, the different rates of development between the realm of ideas, and the form of the state – elements of the superstructure –, and the development of the forces of production, as well as the international circulation of ideas, are seen to lead to the emergence in Germany of of Georg Hegel's (2018 [1807]) modern dialectical logic – for Marx an inverted key to proletarian self-understanding. However, since the actual formulation of this law is first made at a later historical moment – of imperialist war and revolution – I will draw that thought not from Marx's works, but those of scholars who formulated it explicitly, under his influence. The analysis below reviews various frameworks seeking to address precisely this combination of heterogenising and homogenising factors, in relation to the experiences described by the participants.

3.3. Cultural Studies and Articulation

Addressing what they call the 'culturalisation' or 'aestheticisation' of the economy (Chapter 2), Paul du Gay and Michael Pryke (2002b: 7) state that it is the function of the cultural intermediaries, 'who play a pivotal role in articulating production with consumption by attempting to associate goods and services with particular cultural meanings.' They refer back to earlier work authored with Stuart Hall (e.g. du Gay, Hall et al 1997: 52, 69,),[2] where the concept of 'articulation' is given this meaning synonymously with cultural intermediation. As discussed in Chapter 2, this is a reduced sense, from which class contradiction has been erased. Tracing back to the roots in class processes of this concept used in synonym with intermediation allows me to further illuminate the full sense of cultural intermediation itself. But further, I show that those class relations were from the first theorised in the transnational terms of unevenness, shedding light on the process I research in this thesis.

In a series of early articles, Hall (1977, 1980 a, b, 1986, 2021[1974]) engaged closely with the work of Karl Marx, and particularly the introduction to the *Grundrisse*, referred to above, and its development of questions of unevenness. Hall drew from that introduction a combination of structural and historical analysis in part by engaging with the historicist Antonio Gramsci on the one hand, and structuralist Louis Althusser on the other. Hall recognised the structuring needs of capital as it differentially incorporated labouring subjects *at the same time* as its interaction with historically informed cultural content from outside the capital relation. The reproduction of earlier forms under the dominance of new radically changes their content.

This is extremely helpful in considering the Mumbai and Shanghai practitioners discussed in the empirical chapters, and outlined above. The sense of differing temporalities dividing the subject within itself referred to above lies in the co-presence of practices associated with extremely advanced capital development, on the one hand, and relatively backward, on the other. Of course, the advance or backwardness expressed, frequently in comparative terms such as 'not yet', refers not to an absolute, but to the time of capital, whose structures of abstract value impose the measure of

[2] As in Chapter 2, I follow the unusual within-text referencing of Stuart Hall (1997: 18) in another text in the series, in which he refers to this text with his name as second author (du Gay, Hall et al 1997) – clearly a mark of his identification with the collective work.

productivity (Chapter 2): 'backward' is by no means a social value judgement but a description only of capital development.

These questions of complex subjectivities created also new conceptualisations of racial and cultural difference under capitalism internationally.[3] In what would be called the 'modes of production' debates, new engagements were made with what Andre Gunder Frank's (1967: 143) seminal work had called the 'development of underdevelopment' in which superior productivity of northern economies allowed value extraction from southern, freezing them into hybrid states combining capitalist with pre-capitalist production (e.g. Laclau 1977; Rey 1971; Patnaik 1990 for an important edited collection on India). Jairus Banaji (2010) gives a thorough critical retrospective overview correctly critiquing the reductivism of the notion of coexisting modes of production as a reduction of the capital relation to the point of production alone, rather than the social totality. In the contexts I study (Chapters 6-8), one sees multiple regimes of accumulation, but, as Banaji argues, only the capitalist mode of production. [4]

Harold Wolpe (1972, 1979) demonstrated how non-capitalistically organised zones of indigenous culture such as peasant systems in Apartheid South Africa articulated with capitalistically organised zones such that, though outside of waged surplus creation, they were productive *for* that relation: capital offloaded costs of the reproduction of black labour outside of the wage, reducing necessary labour time and increasing surplus extraction. Thus the managed relationship between heterogeneous modes may extract value far beyond the waged point, even though this realises itself only *through* the wage. And in order to do that, it must reproduce both racialised difference and ethnically plural culture and subjectivities. Relatedly, feminist scholars developed analysis of the importance of the reproductive realm. Maria Dalla Costa (1972: 50) had drawn important parallels between 'underdevelopment in the Third World and underdevelopment in the […] kitchens of the metropolis', and Selma James (2012: 99 [1975]) between women, black people and the young as the unwaged reserve in the 'international division of labor'. James observed that this placed culture at the heart of the class struggle, and Dalla Costa (1972: 33) that it gave women a 'vital place in the division of labour, *in the pursuit of productivity at the social level*'.

In *Policing the Crisis* (Hall et al 2013 [1978]), these internationally conjunctural problems are addressed in the decolonising British landscape, identifying equivalent processes of the managed interaction of excluded and included populations, and a *pluralisation* of regimes of value extraction. This required new theories of subjectivity, responsive to changes in its production and reproduction. Imperial colonial relations become internalised in the metropole, as central political economic contradictions emerged. Under Keynesianism, the relative privilege of the white metropolitan proletariat extended *throughout* the social: in the welfare state, education, housing, and consumption, including through the mediation of the state and the indirect wage. The

[3] Efthimios Karayiannides (2023) recently published an analysis with parallels to mine. However, he makes two counter-factual arguments too significant to leave the article's substantive argument intact: that Hall's interest in 'articulation' primarily lay in the southern scholars on modes of production; and that this application was independent from and predated Althusser. For evidence to the contrary, see Laclau (1977: 12), Rey (1971), Wolpe (1979: 156) acknowledging Althusser's direct role in formulating not only the use, but the theory of articulation in the southern peripheries central to Hall (1980b). The debt of both Hall and the modes of production scholars to Althusser is essential, and considered later.

[4] Though not published until 1980, Hall's (1980b) 'Race, Articulation' was 'near complete' in the mid-1970s (Karayiannides 2023: 1284)

titular ‘crisis’ undermined this deal, with the production of racialised subjectivities, differentially incorporated within the capital relation, a factor. The notion of articulation structured in dominance, implicitly referencing the revolutionary struggles of the peripheries, rendered conceptually the contingent interaction amongst heterogeneous elements of the social, with a degree of autonomy, but in which production relations were nevertheless central. Race, ‘a structural feature of each sector in this complex process of social reproduction, serves to “reproduce” that working class in a racially stratified and internally antagonistic form’ (Hall et al 2013: 340). However, ‘It is also the principal modality in which the black members of that class “live”, experience, make sense of and thus *come to a consciousness* of their structured subordination’. Bringing the concept of ‘articulation’ from the modes of production debates concerning capital’s peripheries to its core – along with the immigration of the decolonised labour reserve itself – allowed the work to internally relate the international political economic context to the cultural elements of the titular crisis.

Racialisation is an element of the class structure under capitalism, independently of which it cannot be understood, and without the transcendence of which its iniquities cannot be overcome. However, its effects extend right across the realms of reproduction, in ways which cannot be grasped through reference to the point of production alone. There is relative autonomy, a ‘double articulation’ by which the black British experience of racialisation embraces cultural forms and practices well beyond the workplace, including social and cultural practices from the Caribbean (Hall 1985). This allows black subjectivity to offer forms of resistance which cannot be read off from forms of exploitation, even as the solidarity to bridge the divisions of racialised capitalism can only come from counter-hegemonic blocs constituted *by* classed exploitation. This was central to the study of popular culture as the core of cultural studies in its early stages.

Hall’s rich and subtle insights in this have much in common with value theory elaborations of racialisation (Day 2016; Egger 2023; Postone 1980) in recognising how the historical relation of capital to its outsides continues to shape relations to subjects whose incorporation, or real subsumption, was relatively later, but whereby the production of difference remains functional. But Hall also recognises the potentially agentive content of racialised subjectivities, never reducible to the needs of capital alone, and capable of forming the basis of organised resistance. Both qualities constitute significant features of the production of subjectivity regarding participants in this project, as the interweaving of subjective and objective factors touched on in the introduction hints at. In the present work, this represents a key means to grasp the relation between the production of racialised as well as gendered identities to the processes of transplanetary capital expansion. For where participants raise issues of racialisation, they clearly articulate in equivalent ways with the expansion of capital, while maintaining, as in Hall’s picture, an experiential substance of their own, rooted, precisely, in the encounter of capital and its peripheries.

This class-based socialist commitment in the work of Hall, however, falters in the late 1980s, symptomatically of a general tendency in cultural studies and aligned disciplines (see critiques by Curran 2006, Denning 2004, Sivanandan 2008, Sparks 1996, Wayne 2018). In *The Road to Renewal*, a mixture of republished and original essays, Hall (1988) presages the change, specifically attributing it to the recent Thatcherite electoral victory’s requiring a re-conceptualisation of class positioning in labour politics. The relation between political subjectivity and production, Hall (1988: 261) suggests, has become *plural* as never before, requiring a significantly greater focus on ‘ideological struggle’ than the Left has accepted – increasingly the terrain of cultural studies. In this he cites a decline in trade unionism; the recentring of the British economy from heavy to knowledge-based industry; the right to buy council houses enlisting working classes into ownership as well as non-owner relations

Indeed, *Marxism Today* was to position itself as the lynchpin of a new accommodating turn, and particularly the manifesto collection *New Times* (Hall and Jacques 1989), marking a move to postmodern and post-Marxist positions. The centrality of economy is dismissed altogether: obscured, ignored, or collapsed into culture: 'If "post-Fordism" exists, then it is as much a description of cultural as of economic change. Indeed, that distinction is now quite useless.' (Hall 1989: 128) This allows a celebration of the '*cultural* character of the revolution of our times' (1989: 128):

> have we missed the opening up of the individual to the transforming rhythms and forces of modern *material* life? Have we become bewitched by who, in the short run, reaps the profit from these transactions (there are vast amounts of it being made), and missed the democratisation of culture which is *also* potentially part of their hidden agenda?

This particular cultural revolution is nothing other than consumerism: 'greater numbers of people (men *and* women) – with however little money – play the game of using things to signify who they are.' (1989: 131) The discourse of articulation remains, but with this move away from the notion of a structure in dominance, the emphasis falls on contingency alone, attributed directly to the more segmented, fluid, and networked production based in new communications technologies allowing and requiring a pluralisation of subjective engagements through a 'constant renegotiation and re-articulation' (1989: 129). The model for articulation itself is now the later discursive work of post-Marxists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2001 [1985]), foreshadowing the complete replacement of Marxist class-based with Foucauldian and linguistic discourse approach by the time of Hall's work on cultural intermediation (du Gay, Hall et al 1997; also Hall 1997).

Various critics (Jessop et al 1984, Sivanandan 2008, Sparks 1998) have identified the adoption of Althusserianism as a weakness imported into cultural studies' Marxist canon, and exposing it to appropriation. Certainly the concept of articulation was Althusser's, and represented a transitionary concept from within a Marxist framework to a rejection of Marxism, as seen in its use in cultural-economy studies referred to above (du Gay, Hall, et al 1997; du Gay and Pryke 2000; Hall 1997). Before considering what is worthy of preserving and what rejecting in Hall, then, it is worth returning to Althusser.

3.4. Althusser, articulation and dialectics

Althusser had proposed the theory of articulation at a particular conjuncture which posed significant challenges to international solidarity. As a member of the French Communist Party, Althusser attempted a critical distance from the Stalinist abuses (Gerratana 1977) while remaining within the international party – a point of fracture which would soon give rise to Eurocommunism as a separate path to Soviet. More proximately, the French Party's disidentification from the Algerian nationalist revolution, arising from a Stalinist stagism led Althusser to seek to emphasise plural temporalities.

Thus Althusser (1996 *Pour*) highlighted the structural factors separating unevenly developing social forms or 'levels' in order to propose a rather unorthodox reading of Marx and the materialist dialectic of unevenness elaborated by Lenin. Along with a variety of other influences, including from psychoanalysis (see Chapter 5), a significant influence was Mao Zedong's (2007 [1965]) account of contradiction, the Chinese experience prompting engagement with multiple interacting contradictions between social classes, modes of production (peasant and petit bourgeois, for instance, alongside proletarian), and scales, both national and international (Althusser 1996 *Contradiction*: 92, 1996 *Dialectique* [1963]).

Althusser (1973: 122) conceptualised the relation between these social levels, but also modes of production, with the notion of 'articulation'. Though 'relatively autonomous' (1973: 284), the levels were to be conceived as determined 'in the last instance' by capital, a 'structure in dominance', or 'overdetermination'. With this framework, Althusser sought to introduce a purportedly new focus on contradiction and its materialisation into dialectics which he argued was specific to the mature Marx, differentiating it from the early works (e.g. Marx 2010 *Economic* [1844]). These, he argued, were influenced by Hegel's (2018 [1807], 2010 [1812]) account of a purportedly teleological development of human subjectivity towards re-unification with itself in the 'negation of the negation' (Hegel 2010: 526, 12.29, Marx 1976: 929). On this basis Althusser (1995: 454 [1976]), in a deeply structuralist move, critiques even the idea of the working class as the subject of history, instead said to be 'a process without subject'.

Various critics have problematised Althusser's hypothesis of the clean or absolute epistemological break in late Marx from his early works' dialectic of alienation (e.g. Anderson 2022: 321-324; Fuchs 2019). This specifically undermines the very influential concept of ideological state apparatus, otherwise a key concept to addressing the industrialisation of cultural production. As outlined in Chapter 2 and above, there is plenty of evidence that Marx continued to analyse the historical development of capitalism as a process of alienation, or subject-object inversion, with labour the objectified subject who must negate their own negation by overcoming the rule of capital. Althusser's concept of the ideological state 'apparatus' was itself indebted to Marx's (e.g. 2010 *Civil*: 328) references to the state as 'machinery', a usage highlighted by Lenin (e.g 1964c: 415) (Balibar 1982). The machine image grasps this materiality as an outgrowth, in the form of dead labour, of capital's value extraction from living labour. In operating the machine, the worker is reduced to the status of object, capital becoming itself the automatic subject. This process is key to late works such as *Capital* (1976, 1978, 1981) and *Grundrisse* (1973), and their central chapters on automation of the labour process. Though Marx diminished the reliance on the concept of human essence in later works, then, replacing it with that of historical relations and the discourse of political economy (Saito 2017: 51-52), fundamental subject-object relations remain at work in the much finer-grained investigation of their social mediations. Alienation is central specifically to the insights informing the concept of apparatus from which Althusser seeks to remove it. The attempted break from the concept of alienation leaves the theory lacking historical insight into struggles over the labour process mediated by automation. 'Articulation' obscures this insight further, since it rigidly separates levels such as the ideological apparatus from the economic base from which it is alienated. As will be seen in the empirical Chapters 6-8, though, and the diagrammatic model summarising findings, grasping their relation is essential to understanding the way that alums relate to world space as it is objectively constituted.

Nicholas Garnham (1979: 125) identified a 'post-Althusserian/Lacanian current which has been dangerously dominant within recent British Marxist research in the area of mass-media, a current of which *Screen* is a representative example', in which 'the problem of subjectivity' is prioritised over questions of capital accumulation.[5] Clearly Garnham targets authors such as *Screen* staple Stephen Heath (1981: 76-113; 221), and his influential work on the 'suture' by which the 'cinematic apparatus' is argued to participate in the production of the subject. Judith Williamson's (1978: 41) influential work applied a related approach to advertising. It may seem contradictory that Althusser, who denies the historical role of the working class subject, should be identified as the source of a turn *to* subjectivity. His denial, though, of the notion of a *prior* subjectivity is associated with

[5] See also Dan Schiller (1995: 132-184).

the assertion that subjectivity is entirely *posited* by capital. Althusserian scholars such as Heath (1981) and Williamson (1978) studied media texts and images as sites of the production of subjectivity to the neglect of the clearly fundamental locus of the labour relation.

Garnham's (1975) critique of the Althusserians' neglect of accumulation processes is just. However, the production of subjectivity *itself* as a topic has attained a new significance in relation to economic developments. As discussed in Chapter 2, capital has increasingly turned to the production of subjectivity within the accumulation process itself, such that political economy could in fact not afford to ignore it. This is why I focus on the subject in the current thesis. What remains problematic in Althusser's own work and Althusserians is the reduction of subjectification to a linguistic or language-like act alone: that of 'interpellation' or 'hailing', which becomes a consideration of the consumption relation of audiences with media as the ideological apparatus: Heath's (1981) 'suture'. As seen in the previous chapter, it is production itself, the *valorisation* of labour, which is central to subjectification. This does not mean that only the isolated moment of production must be studied: labour itself must be reproduced, both materially and psychologically, and the means by which capital subsumes that reproduction is also essential. Studies such as Williamson (1978) and Heath (1981), offered significant insights into that process in terms of visual content. However, studies which fail to address this as part of production relations as a whole are indeed themselves ideological in so far as they present the form of appearance of consumption goods (in this case, the form and content of images) as independently determinant of social relations. For that reason, while I do apply the concept of suture, this is in relation, not only to the receptive, but also the productive subject, and not only, as in the Lacanian psychoanalysis from which the concept of suture is taken (Lacan 1973: 107; Miller 1966), the circuit of the signifier, but the social metabolism of productive activity as a whole, through which the subject produces itself.

Stuart Hall's work since his break with Marxism is in this lineage. This is clear in *Doing Cultural Studies* (Du Gay, Hall, et al 1997), considered in Chapter 2. It is also clear in *Representation* (Hall 1995: 194, 204), an edited textbook on analysing media images and texts in which consideration of the actual conditions of production is entirely jettisoned in favour of interpretation alone. 'Articulation' features centrally as a concept argued to enable the analysis of meaning making as the confluence of multiple elements, and yet an element not once considered in the book is production relations. Meaning is said to emerge from the articulation of 'sets of discourses' or elements of exhibitions such as objects, images and texts. Indeed, in an influential and otherwise interesting essay on decentred subjectivity from this period, Hall (1996: 11), too, applies the concept of suture, but has nothing to say about class in the process beyond critiquing 'reductionism': the production of subjectivity a discursive event alone. This strongly supports the notion that Althusser's subjectless structuralism of relatively autonomous social levels, while it offered some help in theorising complexly interacting factors, by downplaying the relation of the subject to the productive totality, led to what is essentially the fetishisation or reification of text and image in later cultural studies.[6] It is only by restoring the discussion of the production of subjectivity in culture industries within the context of the totality of capitalist production that we can understand it. And to do that, it is necessary to grasp the media or other cultural apparatus as the alienated relation of the subject to its

[6] For Marx (1976: 165), fetishism is the process by which the commodity is understood independently of its production relations. Georg Lukács extended this beyond the commodity to bourgeois thinking as a whole –appropriate where non-commodity texts and images are considered.

own inwardness and everyday life. This is what I do in Chapters 6-9. Frederick Engels (1975: 83-84 [1892]) pointed out that under the capitalist mode of production and its self-understanding – bourgeois political economy – machinery and the worker (which equates to subject and object), forces and relations of production, but also production and consumption appear, falsely, as separate domains. Under socialism, but also socialist science – historical materialism – they appear in their actual unity, such that 'The objective extraneous forces which have hitherto dominated history now pass under the control of man himself.' Althusserianism, in this sense, displays bourgeois patterns of thinking. As Engels (1975: 57) points out, the means to think beyond 'processes in isolation, detached from the general context', transcending bourgeois science, is dialectics. My research question specifically concerns the relation of the labouring subject to objective conditions, a relation I demonstrate to be profoundly intimate. Participants identify, for instance, with having learned to internalise aspects of external space as a part of their own productive subjectivity. Unlike in Althusserianism, this requires not only taking the subject-object dialectic seriously, but also grasping the space-time of reproduction and that of production not as articulated, semi-autonomous levels, but as flowing into each other in mutual constitution. In that sense, it is necessary to go beyond mechanistic or external logics. I turn next, therefore, to a theory of unevenness, or the interaction of social levels, modes or temporalities, which, as it is grounded in the subject-object dialectic, is not, as Althusser's was, susceptible to reification.

3.5. The dialectic of uneven and combined development

As in the later period giving rise to Althusser's notion of articulation, the concept of uneven and combined development arose in response to an international socialist crisis in which questions of nationalism and internationalism arose alongside those of the degree of linearity of historical development. For the unexpected effects of unevenness attained particular significance during the period of the Second Socialist International (1889-1916) as workers and their political parties from the most advanced capitalist economies demonstrated a monstrous capacity to support imperialism, while those in the imperial peripheries showed an organisational capacity and moral resolve – twin factors challenging stagist reductionism. Among the most profound theoretical responses was the law of uneven and combined development, 'first coined' (Anievas and Matin 2016b: 6; also Novack 1973: 115) by Trotsky in *The History of the Russian Revolution* (2008 [1932]: 5), and developed theoretically in earlier works on permanent revolution (1969 [1910], 2015 [1922]). This work remains true to the kernel of its elaboration in Marx considered above, but with greater concretion from the revolutionary moment.

From the more established law that historical development occurs differently in differing societies, Trotsky (2008: 5) derived also a radical further one:

> From the universal law of unevenness […] derives another law which, for the lack of a better name, we may call the law of combined development – by which we mean a drawing together of the different stages of the journey, combining of the separate steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms.

It is the affect of combination, producing novel 'hybrid' (Trotsky 2008: 114) forms and explosive results, and which can impact back on externality, which is Trotsky's key addition. At the international level, the concept of uneven and combined development recognises the deep interdependence of national states under the conditions of world capitalism, such that internal and external factors must be addressed together in considering their development, and that the effects of their dynamic interaction produce results far more complex than that arising by a single line. Core imperialist states such as Britain, for instance, whose advanced capitalist development had led many in the

Second International to consider it best placed to lead a proletarian revolution, may experience setbacks in revolutionary organisation arising from its ability to draw an extra surplus from the oppressed nations of its Empire – creating opportunism among the 'labour aristocracy' (Lenin 1934: 13). The proletariat in states on the periphery such as Russia, on the other hand, though numerically relatively small due to less extensive capital investment, could become precociously organised and active. This was due to a mixture of retarding and accelerating factors arising from interacting internal and external influences. Knowledge developed among the organised proletariat of advanced economies gave workers political insight far greater than had Russia been developing in isolation. On the other hand, in the absence of a significant bourgeoisie keen to sue for peace with workers through liberal democratic means, the Tzarist state tended to intensify political class struggle through oppressive reaction. Meanwhile, capital concentration and centralisation in Russia was out of proportion to its relative lack of social extent, originating as it did in foreign investment from the core – largely British – and invested in vast factories, condensing labour organisation. This resulted in a high degree of labour organisation, Trotsky suggested – in this close to Lenin – enabling revolutionary leadership by this relatively small proletariat of intermediate groups such as peasants and the petit bourgeoisie, and the rapid succession, elision, or amalgamation of stages such as bourgeois revolution, through 'permanent revolution'.[7]

The ability of the conceptual framework of uneven and combined development to systematically interweave internal and external factors in complex interplay has led to its revival as a concept in recent Marxist International Political Economy (Anievas 2014; Anievas and Matin 2016a; Bieler and Morton 2018; Rosenberg 2013; 2021). This represents a useful corrective to Hardt and Negri's (2000) over-emphasis on the global scale alone (Chapter 2, also Matin 2013: 13). The concept allows me to address both the way that the intermediaries interviewed construct a gap between the present location of work and the London site of study, *and* the force – capital expansion – compelling combination. However, this scholarship has not addressed the roots of the concept in the Marxist Hegelian dialectic elaboration of the dialectic of the human subject. This is central to my study, for it is this disjuncture which the interviewees turn into a source of creative outcome.

Some (Charnock and Starosta 2016b; Rioux 2014: 10) have suggested that uneven and combined development remains an essentially descriptive concept, without an actual theory of capitalist development underpinning it. However, the theory in its fullest formulations constitutes a dialectical historical materialism (and indeed historical-geographical materialism *avant la lettre*) which makes strong claims about the central place of economic in dynamic interaction with political and subjective or cultural factors within historical change. Trotsky (1969: 37 [1906]) was clear that development meant, first, development of the forces of production, as these came into contradiction with the relations of production. In a sophisticated model of differing paths, however, Trotsky (1973: 244 [1926]) suggests that in countries like Russia, the reverse may be the case: advanced relations may lead backward forces. The theory also entails the expansionary nature of capital, implicit in which is value theory. In this account, competitive capital surplus extraction from living labour through means including investment in productivity creates a tendency for the profit rate to fall, as living labour, the source of profits, is diminished (Chapter 2). Capital development within this formulation also includes the division of labour, and the application of science – the socialisation of capital –, but also centralisation and concentration of capital to the point of

[7] The above summarises Trotsky's (2008) own analysis. Deutscher (1954), Löwy (1983), and Mandel (1979) give good contextualisation.

monopolisation, and the tendency for capital under the lead of finance to subsume the state. Where these ideas are not all elaborated within Trotsky's key work on the subject, they form an implicit backdrop.

The theory of unevenness and combination would then be the over-layering of these internal developmental processes with interacting temporalities: that is, different rates of development in different regional/national areas but also social domains have dynamically inter-influencing effects. In the revolutionary Russian context, the spread of large-scale capitalist manufacture led to organisational forms seeking the transcendence of capitalism. On the other hand, advanced proletarian subjectivity spread internationally independently of that. This is much more than merely descriptive. It served Trotsky to *predict* historical developments: the Russian revolution itself, against reformist positions, and, indirectly, Stalinism. For it enabled Trotsky to predict that, without international proletarian revolution elsewhere internationally capable of supporting Russia, revolution in one country alone would be doomed, forced to compete with the productive capacities of advanced economies. It also underpinned his strong argument against Stalin's stagist approach to China – along with Chinese and Indian revolutionaries such as Chen Duxiu (2015 [1942]) and MN Roy (1991 [1920]) (see Benton 2015).

Trotsky applies a materialist dialectic in this work, which also constitutes a strong set of statements about the history of capitalism and the motive forces of change at high levels of abstraction in interaction with such concrete specificities, including at the level of the individual. It is this dialectic which allows me to apply the theory to the interaction of subjective with objective content. *The History of the Russian Revolution* displays a novelist's eye for characterisation of the inner psyche of the historical figures discussed, such as specific Russian bureaucrats, generals, or aristocrats, whose highly individual character traits, Trotsky shows, emerge from the concrete particularities of their own social position, but also Russia's place in the world expansion of capital, and the limitations that makes on creative historical action, as well as the working classes and revolutionaries such as Lenin in their ability to enter historical dynamics as agents. As Paul Blackledge (1996: 65-76) suggests, this shows a complex interweaving of national and international, objective and subjective factors within a theory grounded in strong claims about their determinations while avoiding reductivism. It is these qualities that make Perry Anderson (1980: 154) find in it the 'supreme example of a properly socialist historical imagination', or historical materialism. They also make the framework extremely illuminating in relation to the creative subjectivities of Shanghai and Mumbai (Chapters 6-9).

I discuss this history as proximate rather than distant. Chapter 4 demonstrates the much greater presence of agrarian – including peasant – production in both China and India, for instance, as compared to the UK, emphasising the relevance of the more mixed economy and the need to identify frameworks capable of considering it: the terms of unevenness and combination endure. But the historical trajectory of China and India's political economies is also bound up with that of revolutionary Russia, including on these very terms: as touched on above, the question was at the heart of debates on the correct position of socialism internationally when Joseph Stalin framed the ill-fated policy of socialism in one country. China still identifies as a Marxist-Leninist and Maoist country on the road to communism (GCCPC 2017: 1). The debate which abounds within historical materialism as to the nature of the country's relation to both communism and capitalism rightly engages with the same parameters of levels of productivity, class composition, consciousness and leadership and internal and external dynamics which Trotsky addressed (e.g. Arrighi 2007; discussion in Campling 2010; Foster 2021). Lin Chun (2006, 2013) is balanced in recognising that China is capitalist not communist, but with enduring levels of state ownership as well as popular identification with the communist

project which may represent a legacy in world struggle, and would at least constitute an alternative, if not necessarily easier transition than advanced Western economies. Minqi Li (2016) highlights the interaction of the development of the productive forces with national and international political factors whose crisis-prone tendencies could precipitate a world revolution. In that case, he convincingly argues, the dominant economic role of Chinese labour, key to the value chain of so many products, would give it strategic centrality. The active presence within India of armed agrarian Maoist-identifying insurgents, the Naxalites, bespeaks the ongoing relevance there, too, of questions of class consciousness and the composition of capital in highly uneven contexts where agrarian peasant and even foraging production endure alongside poor waged workers fighting the thirst of international capital for land in places, like Naxalbari, rich in minerals such as bauxite, from which the aluminium used in so many digital devices is made (D'Mello 2018 is sympathetic to the armed Maoists; Banaji 2013, scathing). That M18, alum of a London Public Relations degree (Chapter 9) produces counter-insurgent propaganda from her Mumbai office against the Naxalite insurgency demonstrates that the question is unfinished.

Although in his key works on unevenness he does not elaborate on dialectics, in 'The ABC of Materialist Dialectics' Trotsky (1942: 52) specifically identifies with 'Hegel's logic [as] the logic of evolution', and in the long unpublished notebooks of 1933-1935 'the logic of development' (Trotsky 1986: 96). Since these works are brief, I turn also to a longer account of Hegelian logic by Vladimir Lenin. Lenin (1934 [1916]), 1965 [1917]) shared with Trotsky the aim of breaking the impasse of Second International reformism and nationalism through an inherently complex or multiple temporality of internal and external factors, and in which objectivist materialism was balanced by recognition of subjective elements – a complexity of position derived from his study of Hegel (Anderson 2022 [1995], Löwy 1981: 59-62)

Naturally, a central focus for Lenin within the Hegelian dialectic is its inherently dynamic as well as comprehensive ontology and epistemology, addressing both universal interconnection, and yet permanent transformation. His reading emphasises the sudden leaps and novel hybrid forms or condensations, the contradictory unity of opposites, and the central importance of mediation, connection and transition. At one point, he appears to propose a notion of history as a subjectless process like Althusser's, in which agency is mere appearance:

> In actual fact, men's ends are engendered by the objective world and presuppose it, – they find it as something given, present. But it *seems* to man as if his ends are taken from outside the world, and are independent of the world ("freedom"). (Lenin 1972a: 189, original emphasis)

Drawing on Hegel's analysis of the syllogistic form of practice, however, Lenin then elaborates on the place of physical means of production (Hegel's plough, discussed below) as a mediation between the subject and the object (1972a: 289), the former 'preserving itself in this external Other and precisely through this externality.' He summarises: 'In his tools man possesses power over external nature, although as regards his ends, he frequently is subjected to it', and tags the thought with a marginal note: 'the germs of historical materialism in Hegel' (Lenin 1972a: 189). This is an essential point for the concept of development, suggesting that not only is an idealist reduction of history to a product of the sovereign subject inadequate, but so is a materialist reduction of the subject to mere appendage: material practice – labour – constitutes a mediation in which the subject may attain agency. In Chapter 9 I draw on such a perspective in consideration of agency regarding the participants.

This is central to Lenin's (1972a: 180) placement of Hegel's *Logic* at the heart of Marx's *Capital*, and 'especially the first chapter'. For in the syllogistic form of practice,

he suggests (e.g. 1972a: 190), lie the roots of logical cognition itself, specifically citing the contradictions of commodity exchange (an insight pre-empting Sohn-Rethel 2021 [1978]). The fact that commodification itself, source of the ills of capitalism to the overthrow of which Lenin devoted his adult life, could, through the contradictions it entails, be the source of an essential means of emancipation – abstract reasoning – is an example of another of the Hegelian dialectical processes emphasised by both Lenin (1965a) and Trotsky (2008: 4): the tendency to inversion, for things to become their opposites: the most backward country, for example, the most developed.

Other dialectical processes which Trotsky specifically identifies in later works on the subject (1942: 51) are 'change of quantity into quality, development through contradictions, conflict of content and form, interruption of continuity, change of possibility into inevitability, etc.'. Trotsky (1986: 87) specifically considers how small economic changes can produce entirely new social subjects – the revolutionary moment. As Philip Pomper (1986: 61) notes, greater emphasis on transition from quantity to quality is a particular difference in the notebooks from Lenin. One can add also an emphasis specifically on 'transition *states*' (Trotsky 1986: 91, my italics) – a feature of the 'amalgam' of combination. The thinking on the quantity-quality transformation brings significant insights on the unity in contraction between human and natural dialectics, for instance, that sees Trotsky rightly critique Marxist reflection theories (1986: 102) while challenging dualism, including specifically on the basis of theories of the unconscious (1986: 107, see Chapter 7).

Trotsky (1986: 89) also specifically associates this aspect of the dialectic with Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis – clearly referring to the economy of affective charge by which a certain 'quantity of excitation' (Freud 1955: 9 [1920]) in the system may, at moments of intensity, affect conscious representations themselves, and produce entirely new consciousness. Here dialectical thinking, informed by psychoanalysis, allows Trotsky at a high level of abstraction to consider how objective factors interact with subjective – including within the psyche itself as system – to produce historical change (also Trotsky 1973 [1926]): an insufficiently explored feature of his work, also distinct from Lenin's emphasis, and with much influence on my own. As Alex Steinberg (2019: 229) recently pointed out, 'there has been virtually no commentary on Trotsky's notebooks' of 1986 – a fact which remains true.

Further processes highlighted by Lenin (1972a 221-223; 1972b) clearly at play in Trotsky's concept of uneven and combined development are the presence of the totality as an internal relation in each particular; repetition at higher stages of processes or phenomena from lower; 'negation of the negation'; and historical development as spiralling rather than linear (or, in Hegel's model, circular) in course. The place of dialectics in Trotsky's account of uneven and combined development is clear: the determining force of the totality of world capital in concrete national contexts; the interplay of internal and external factors expressing that; the non-linear historical course arising from that interplay producing novel combinations and 'leaps'; the concrete particularity of national circumstances, in which the mediation of the circuits of production, as a material and social process, has its own outcomes; but also, essential for the present thesis, the grounding of this totality in the subject-object dialectic. These are all central features of the current analysis applied in the empirical chapters (6-8).

As a metaphor and concept, 'articulation' names linkage without mixture, like links of a chain, rather than a dynamic process in which whole and parts are both re-constituted by the relations they form. Like relative autonomy, it names a relation of externality. Such concepts are examples of what Hegel (2010: 630, 12.32) called an undialectical logic of 'mechanism'. It is this transcendence of the thought of isolation which Engels (1975) drew from dialectics as essential to historical materialism as proletarian science. Unlike articulation, the notion of uneven and combined development specifically recognises the

debt of Marx, like Engels, to Hegel, addressing mixture, merging, and fusion, relations of internality resulting from dynamic becomings, moments of transition or in-betweenness whose transitional status is itself embodied in concrete social forms. Material productive practice in this sense is not a structure in dominance, but a process of self-constitution as a collective historical and social practice. The transitional status of mixed conditions is the principle of their dynamic force: labour, as practice, is the transformative mixture of subject and object.

The current thesis is influenced by critical Althusserian works, particularly Stuart Hall's early work discussed above. The methodology (Chapter 5) outlines an approach to the material mediations of the dialectic in part influenced by Hall's (2021 [1974]) critical reading of Althusser, including specifically in relation to the notion of the cultural apparatus as a complex and extended materialisation of Hegelian mediation. Concepts such as 'articulation', 'relative autonomy' and 'overdetermination' are useful where mechanistic structuring processes and relations apply. 'Ideological state apparatus' remains a useful concept, though only if one thinks past the rigid separation of levels – the production of value and that of consent – and, thereby, the relegation of the latter to the state: both are alienated subjectivity. But a relatively autonomous ideological function alone does not cover uses of the media in capitalism (see Chapter 2), so concepts such as cultural apparatus are frequently preferrable, and the insertion of 'state' unhelpful, where the industrial contexts of the market, however much dialectically interdependent with political institutions, specifically require the state's formal externality in order to function. Chapter 6, for example, sees the Chinese state supporting culture industry development primarily to increase profit to capital. Here the implied mutual isolation of the political and economic levels is unhelpful. The function of the cultural apparatus is valorisation, such that state and market, while maintaining formal distinction, merge, and it is also shot through with struggle.

While the critiques discussed above of Stuart Hall's early work as overly indebted to Althusser are just, then, his keen eye for the relation between theoretical and social developments merits attention: real changes occurred during the period of his writing, which his early work helped to identify: non-class subjectivities increased in prominence with reverse colonisation, feminisation of the formal labour force, de-industrialisation of Northern economies, and increased consumption power of segments of the expanded ranks of service economy workers, and with new communications technologies at their core (also Campbell et al 1989: 32). What Hall lost sight of was the unitary role of capitalist production relations. The re-subjectification of the Northern working classes as a deliberate act of capital and the state was not a process of 'democratisation', but atomisation mediated by technologies which remained firmly in the hands of the capitalist class and state. The theory of articulation identified the pluralisation, but, grounded as it was in Althusserian structuralism, it remained within the bourgeois logic of externality, and so failed to identify the *unity* behind it.

3.6. Bourdieu's intermediation and unevenness

Having identified the relation between 'articulation' in cultural-economy scholarship and unevenness, it is worth emphasising that unevenness is also central to Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the cultural intermediary. Though without referencing it, through his training in cultural anthropology Bourdieu would have been aware of the use of the term 'intermediary' within that discipline. Lloyd Fallers' (1955: 299, 290) seminal work had identified the historical importance of the role of cultural broker (a term used interchangeably in the tradition) between 'complex' and 'traditional' societies: 'his role is so often the meeting point, the point of articulation' between what, under the modes of production debate (see above), would be considered capitalist and pre-capitalist colonial

societies (anthropologist Clifford Geertz speaks of ‘peasant’ and ‘metropolitan’, 1960: 229). As for Bourdieu’s intermediary, relatively cosmopolitan, autonomous and open dispositions were noted (Fallers 1955; Wolf 1956; also Geertz 1973 on specifically Kabyle culture, an area researched by Bourdieu 1962, 1990, 2000, 2002). This is more than a coincidental usage, but lies in something which is beyond Bourdieu’s theoretical territory (see Chapter 2): the expansionary processes of capital, both internally, but also internationally, and the relation it creates between locations of production and circulation.

In his texts most focused on the status of the intermediary between cultural fields, Bourdieu (1993a: 37) works with an (unreferenced) Althusserian 'relative autonomy' model, where fields closely equate with modes of production: the field of cultural production is emphasised, as per the contemporary modes of production debates, as non-capitalistically organised, and drawing on concepts of contact elaborated in the Kabyle work (especially 2000 [1972]). Very much like in the southern anthropology of Fallers (1955), Wolf (1956) and Geertz (1973), Bourdieu’s Parisian intermediary is found to need fluency in *both* the directly capitalistically organised *and* culturally organised fields.[8] In Marxist terms, the intermediary essentially operates the move between value and use value, occluding their essential unity. For Bourdieu (1977: 7), the intermediary acts as a ‘protective screen’, operating a ‘double truth’ between the economic and its inverted form in the cultural field. This hidden unity is an unacknowledged reference to Marx’s obscured unity of use and exchange value in the commodity (e.g. 1976: 165). The human ‘screen’ reflects Marx and Engels’ (1988 [1845]: 42) ‘camera obscura’, the point at which the social relations of production turn ‘upside-down’ as ideology. In this sense, Bourdieu’s intermediary embodies within themself the ‘unity of differences’ (Marx 1976: 199) of the commodity form – again, a point of relation with the intermediary in anthropology: in Eric Wolf’s (1956: 1076) words, ‘Janus-like, they face in two directions at once’.

Now, within the Marxist mode of production theories considered above, the extraction of value between domains is recognised as key, and productive labour central: this is how the urban centres and capitalist cores, as areas of value extraction as such, dominate the peripheries, where pre-capitalist production relations cannot compete and so exchange always at a loss. This is the logic Marx and Engels (2008 [1848]: 39) identify by which bourgeois capital with its cheap commodities ‘batters down all Chinese walls’. In Bourdieu, this is not the case: because his theory of 'capital' is indifferent to the mode of production (as Craig Calhoun 1993 argues, it is a-historical), and 'value' not tied to specific social production processes and the commodity relation, the relative autonomy is bound by no ultimate causal mediation: the function in Marxist theory of value.

Revisiting Bourdieu within his historical relation to anthropology as well as Marxist theory represents a significant advance in understanding not only Bourdieu’s own work, but also the position of the cultural intermediary I investigate in this work. It highlights the relation of the culture-economy articulation embodied in the cultural intermediary as one also, constitutively, between more or less capitalistically organised domains. This condensed in-betweenness, embodied in the subjectivity of an individual, along with specific character traits able to face in opposed social directions, is central to the work of the participants in the present project (Chapters 6-8). To recognise this important element

[8] Bourdieu does not call his ‘field of economic production’ ‘capitalistically organised’, since he does not have a concept of capitalist production as such (see Chapter 2 and: Calhoun 1993; Desan 2022). My usage here serves to translate between the modes of production debate and Bourdieu’s work, as the latter moves from Kabyle to France.

of their work I call it *trans*cultural intermediation, the prefix recognising the significance of cultural boundary traversal in this intermediation.[9]

3.7. The dialectic of intermediation

The relation to the dialectic of unevenness highlights the need to apply the concept of mediation in the more expansive but also dynamic terms of Marxist dialectics (Mészáros 1970, 1991), as I do in this thesis, where intermediary positions mediate the concrete connections between the contradictory moments of a totality (social classes, steps in a process, etc). This approach is based on Hegel's demonstration of the importance of grasping the connecting and differentiating factor between the poles of subject and object in avoiding reductive forms both of idealism and materialism. In Hegel's (2018: 115, §195) dialectic of the Master and Bondsman, for instance, the historical insight of the Bondsman which the Master lacks lies in work as a '*negative* mediating middle' between subject and object, while the Master can only destroy the object through consumption; 'by those means, the working consciousness comes to an intuition of self-sufficient being *as its own self*.' This is because work partakes of *both* subject and object, sublated (and thus negative not as absence, but as inclusion), and so reducible to neither. Later, in consideration of talent in the *Phenomenology*, Hegel (2018: 231, §401) stresses that this mediation constitutes a 'unity of the outer and the inner,' and thereby, joining the universal to the particular, is responsible for the historical development of individuality itself. Retrospectively, it emerges as the central process of the *Phenomenology* (Hegel 2018: 256, §443), resolving the duality of substance and subject itself. This is why Lenin (1972b: 189) identifies Hegel's related discussion in the *Logic* of the syllogistic triad of labouring subject, plough, and field as pre-empting historical materialism: the triadic structure allows a break from thinking in terms of mutual externality alone. The plough, Hegel (2010: 663, 12.166) argues, is already both subject and object, mediating between the two in a process of becoming (Chapter 2).

Mediation is not without its own dangers as a concept. In Hegel's (2008: 294, §308) *Philosophy of Right* it underpins a deeply conservative justification for the relation between monarch, state and civil society in contemporary Prussia. But in Marx's inversion, the real and theoretical domination of the idealised universal is held critically answerable to the material and concrete, the crisis-ridden moments of capital and real concrete individual. The cultural intermediary is not, of course, Hegelian Spirit affirming the direction of history – a Marxian *critical* application of dialectic shows that capital's expansion does not resolve, but repeats its contradictions 'in successively more complex and concrete ways' (Smith 2014: 34). We are dealing not with a worker, plough and field, but internationally segmented labour operating advanced and networked machinery integrated by profoundly crisis prone capital: the tool is an *apparatus*, materialised in institutions, technologies and practices, and its ownership, and the knowledge to operate it classed. However, the intermediary does, as the empirical chapters show, work within and draw on the contradiction between the alienated subject and its objectified form in the commodity, the individual and universal – united, for instance, as *fashion* – inwardness and externality, and historical forms and modernity.

3.8. Postcolonial studies

[9] See Paula Chakravartty and Yuezhi Zhao (2008: 12) and Andreas Hepp (2015: 16) on 'transcultural' communication.

The above sections establish a framework for considering both multiplicity, but also unity; unevenness and combination; difference and the universal. Since it has been a central contribution of global South, and Indian scholarship particularly, including in its impact on studies of mass culture, it is worth addressing subaltern studies and postcolonial theory, which represented also a challenge to existing Marxist theory from within the Left, to demonstrate why the theory of uneven and combined development escapes its limitations. Further, bringing the two critically together enriches both, since the cultural focus of postcolonial theory illuminates aspects of subjective experience. The account below will focus both on the subaltern positions considered by the early scholars, but also work on intermediate social class position. The latter is the position specifically of most of my respondents. However, by its very definition, a full grasp of the position as addressed by the scholarship requires understanding also the subaltern position.

Originally, subaltern studies was a history from below focused on the peasant (e.g. Guha 1999 [1983]), drawing liberally from within an international Marxist framework including, along with Karl Marx, Eric Hobsbawm, Henri Lefebvre, Leon Trotsky, and Mao Zedong, the implication being that, whatever the specificities of the Indian context, the colonial relation was a relation to expanding capital. Later works drifted increasingly from this understanding, and, indeed, from interest in the subaltern, to merge with postcolonial studies. However, Marxist scholars Vivek Chibber (2013) and Vasant Kaiwar (2014) have faulted this later work of, for instance, Dipesh Chakrabarty (2000), Partha Chatterjee (1993), and Ranajit Guha (1997) for overplaying the role of cultural difference and losing interest in the capital relation which, once it has absorbed social relations, becomes the underlying source of differentiation. Kaiwar (2013: xix) suggests:

> If some people should still insist on reaching out to postcolonial studies, my inclination would be to mine it for whatever insights it might offer – a sensitivity to difference, for example, but relocated from some cherished cultural legacy to the uneven-and-combined geographies of capital – to enrich Marxist theory and praxis.

That avenue is my approach. I show here that, as an account of unevenness lacking a theory of combination, it offers insights into the phenomenal form of postcolonial contexts. For a full insight, thought, this must be grasped in relation to the essence which is the capital relation. This allows a fuller understanding of alums' experiences in their country's cultural industries after having studied in the UK.

Like the other postcolonial scholars (e.g. Guha 1997), Partha Chatterjee (1986) demonstrates the relevance of Antonio Gramsci's (1971) model of 'passive revolution' to the Indian context. A key distinction from metropolitan contexts, Chatterjee points out, is that the multiple temporalities of the postcolonial contexts opened them to specific forms of popularism in which capitalist modernity as a bad universalism, on one hand, and traditional identitarian particularism, on the other, together hegemonized social struggle to the exclusion of that alternative, progressive universalism which is socialism. It is into this gap that contemporary neoliberal authoritarian nationalism has stepped (as it has in China: Dirlik 2017; Wang 2003; Zhao 2004). Early work by Chakrabarty (1989) demonstrates the relevance of this specificity in the colonial context to the political economy of labour. Chakrabarty shows how, in colonial India, the absence of bourgeois hegemonisation was associated (as cause and result) with the fact that labour and capital never came to focus struggle to the same degree over the universalisation, abstraction, and so commodification of labour power: there remained other available forms of value extraction which significantly displaced the struggles for legal limitations to the length of the working day which, in metropolitan economies, embedded inter-capital competition in subjectivation through technical subordination for intensification (a factor considered in *Capital I*, Marx 1976, and characterising wage/productivity compromises under Keynesianism). Indian and colonial capitalists had no need or desire

to invest in automation and worker skilling to increase productivity through the discipline, universalisation and abstraction at the heart of real subsumption. But this also meant that Indian labour subjectivity rarely attained the same commitment to workplace representation as seen in the UK analysed by, for example, Thompson (1963). Resistance tended relatively more (though by no means exclusively) towards violence and riot than strike (see Ness 2016 on the endurance of this tendency in the contemporary global South).

However, Chakrabarty underplays the source of differentiation in the totality of capital itself and the operations of value at the world scale, which rendered productive investment less profitable than labour intensiveness. Chatterjee (1999) too overplays the effects of culture when he prioritises the interplay of national identifications as modern or traditional, secular or spiritual in the endurance of pre-capitalist social forms alongside advanced industrial capital, to the almost complete exclusion of economic factors. Accounts addressing the economic factors behind India's relatively low rate of capital investment more clearly in the Indian context (Chibber 2003, Das 2020, Das Gutpa 2016, Kohli 2012), demonstrate that the fundamental factor reducing capital investment in India was the operations of the law of value, which includes interaction between the market and state. Jyoti Saraswati (2010) demonstrates this at play in the underdevelopment of India's information technologies, a realm of particular interest to this thesis as the primary infrastructure of the culture industry. India's late industrialisation, having been actively impoverished under colonialism to maintain its role of supplier of raw materials to, and consumer of industrialised goods from the metropole, has given it a highly uneven status combining both impoverished agricultural labour in the majority along with a bourgeoisie which, while relatively small in terms of the population, is disproportionately rich economically, and a relatively extremely small proletariat (see Chapter 4). This repeats aspects of the situation Trotsky identified in pre-revolutionary Russia, with the difference of the presence of democratic representation which forces on the state populist –and indeed increasingly Fascistic – coalition-building Tsarism lacked. The low degree of social hegemony of the bourgeoisie enables a small group of extremely large monopolies to dominate the state with little market mediation, leaving productive investment largely unnecessary, and indeed relatively wasteful as compared kick-backs (see for example Nileena 2018; Sagar 2018 for news stories on corrupt state/capital). Within cultural industries, the predominance of crafts is exemplary, with up to 200 million Indians having some income from handicrafts, often alongside other forms such as agrarian work, and in very small and predominantly informal sectors with minimal capital investment (Dasgupta et al 2024: 48). In Chapters 6-8 I highlight the keen consciousness among alums of working in such variegated environments. While postcolonial studies help to highlight the difference in experience which locations such as India represent from the UK, only an understanding of combination can account for their interaction.

The rise of this cultural studies of the South is as directly connected as its Northern counterparts with the demise of Third Worldism, and so of the economic models of Keynesianism, Soviet Communism, and classical developmentalism. This developmentalism projected commodification of labour for state mediated social recirculation of industrial capital in fairly distributed national growth protected by import substitution (Escobar 1995, Sanyal 2014, Selwyn 2014; Wallerstein 1984, 1992, 2005). Its abandonment was at the same time: the abandonment of stagism as discourse and project; of the expectation of the equalisation of surplus and wage; of the homogenisation of labour; and so also of the universalisation of particular subjectivities, values, or discourses. In this, subaltern studies' recourse to Gramsci directly mirrored that of Stuart Hall's to Gramsci and Althusser.

In *The Nation and its Fragments*, Chatterjee (1993) specifically focused on new middle class subjects, an area of concern to the present thesis since respondents are largely drawn from that segment. As Chatterjee (1993: 35) explains:

> my problem is that of mediation, in the sense of the action of a subject who stands "in the middle," working upon and transforming one term of a relation into the other. It is more than simply a problem of "leadership," for I will be talking about social agents who are preoccupied not only with leading their followers but who are also conscious of doing so as a "middle term" in a social relationship. […] Of all its appellations, therefore, I will mostly use the term *middle class* to describe the principal agents of nationalism in colonial Bengal.

Chatterjee (1993: 92) makes interesting contributions to grasping specifics of the production of subjectivity through the colonial relation, including in terms of the 'mediator' function this segment would serve. However, limited scope in his concept of mediation diminishes the potential insight. For Chatterjee, the 'middleness' (1993: 35) of the group is essentially between 'colonial rule' and 'indigenous culture' (1993: 56). From this it assumes a mediating role by promoting aspects of reforming modernity on the one hand, such as the place of universalist abstract reason in the exercise of law, and on the other, defender of indigenous notions of spiritualism and irrationalism. This, he argues, gives the new middle class 'a mind split in two' (1993: 52), reforming, but with specific defensive positions on subjectivity, spirituality and the private realm, he suggests, which have defined India's political and gender relations ever since, creating the grounds for exclusivist nationalist as well as gendered essentialisms. The similarity of this account to Wolf's (1956: 1076) description of the 'Janus-like' intermediary discussed above, is noteworthy, and, via that, to Bourdieu's 'double truth' (1977: 7).

However, Chatterjee's insights into this group he himself defines as middle *class* are undermined by a programmatic hostility to economic analysis, sweepingly discounted (1993: 27-32) as downplaying the specifically colonial relation, as though colonialism were devoid of economic content. Chatterjee (1993: 92) does consider 'income levels' and a representational function between the colonial rule and the 'poor and oppressed' as factors of middle status, but even that only in a passing reference to a literary character. As discussed in Chapter 4, middle class positions cannot be explained in income terms alone, lying most importantly in a combination of exclusion from ownership of the means of production on the one hand, combined with a certain degree of workplace autonomy or control function on the other – factors, often coming with qualified skills, responsible for an income above that of more degraded manual labour. In fact, though he does not reference it, the contradictory position associated with middle classes has been widely discussed entirely independently of the colonial encounter, arising from the capital relation itself (Carchedi 1977: 116; Wright 1978: 61-63).

Chatterjee's insights into the production of subjectivity specific to the colonial relation are useful for drawing attention to the nub of issues around temporality, gender, race and subjectivity, and for taking analysis to the threshold of the class question, specifically in relation to the mediating role of the middle classes. However, to access the potential of these insights one needs to identify the role of value: as a fulcrum between the mediating functions of *cultural* with *economic* 'middleness' (Chatterjee 1993: 35). For then one can grasp that under the conditions of combined and uneven development, class relations are overlayered with cultural relations, constituting specific subjectivities in ways which have profound social effects. This defines not only my understanding of the role of the cultural intermediation enacted by alums of London higher education in Mumbai and Shanghai culture industries, but also the answer to my main research question concerning the value productivity of that position. For such analysis requires one to grasp the relation between embodied cultural and economic content. The response I need – and present in summary

in Chapter 9 – addresses the 'Janus-like' (Wolf 1956: 1076) context of 'split' (Chatterjee 1993: 52) subjectivity, but specifically in relation to insertion within class relations and labour processes constituting valorisation.

Central for the impact of subaltern and postcolonial studies on culture industry scholarship were Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge (1995: 2-5, 1988), who combined subaltern approaches with anthropology of globalisation, British cultural studies traditions and influences from the Frankfurt School to address what they called, in an influential move of differentiation from Habermas' (1991 [1962]) concept of the public sphere, 'public culture'. Public culture was to name a domain, in postcolonial contexts defined by a heterogeneity of traditional forms such as religious festivals alongside mass forms such as television, as well as a much less developed bourgeoisie, for which neither 'mass' nor 'popular' culture were felt adequate concepts. It is worth touching on this context as an application of postcolonial studies to globalised contexts of popular culture such as I analyse. As for postcolonial studies more generally, what is useful in this theory is the attention to cultural difference. However, again it requires critical development. Analytically, there was a programmatic aim, as in the Althusserian studies of culture discussed above, to 'privilege consumption' (1995: 5), which meant total exclusion of any consideration of production or indeed economic factors, discussion of which was dismissed as elitist Adornian miserablism downplaying subaltern agency. Appadurai's (1996: 33) influential framework was to theorise the plurality of these forms as 'disjuncture' amongst largely autonomous 'scapes', a mix Althusserian levels and social institutions including finance, identity, media, technology and ideology. At face value this is profoundly antithetical to Marxist theory, and uncritical in its refusal of structural analysis. However, recognising the relation of the phenomena of 'public culture' above to those of unevenness allows the identification of insights from the theory helpful to my project by recognising the interplay of factors from multiple domains influencing everyday life and subjectivities. Inevitably, if production is discarded – the moment value emerges, and so, through measure, combination –, social phenomena appear unordered. But further, the greater the degree of unevenness, the greater that appearance of disjuncture is likely to be. A concept I take from this theory, therefore, is 'disjuncture', specifically to describe unevenness at the phenomenal, experiential level, in distinction to structural factors of uneven and combined development underpinning it.

These various theoretical strands have influenced a large number of scholars studying Indian culture industries such as fashion design (Sandhu: 2014) and media (Osuri 2008, Oza 2012, Reddy 2006, Thapan 2009), cinema (Virdi 2003) and advertising (Mazzarella 2003) to address the process by which local media present the national subject through a gaze fractured by a specific spatio-temporal disjuncture. Modern, cosmopolitan, and relatively universal cultural forms become associated with extra-national Western and modern subjectivity, with nationally identified culture attributed the role of bearer of tradition. The contradictions arising have been argued to contribute, for example, to complex forms of containment of female subjects, constrained to participate both in aspirational consumerism of international beauty products on the one hand, and, on the other, maintain national self-respect as against these same infringements of commodity culture by reproducing traditional patriarchal roles – and so domination in what (Thapan 2009: 92) calls 'recolonisation'.

The spatio-temporal dynamics here are complex, since the 'recolonisation' is taken to represent both a historical repetition, but also an internalisation of domination, this time mediated by the commodity relation. This is evident in a study by William Mazzarella (2003) significant for this thesis in being a rare extended study of production

in Indian culture industry – in this case, advertising.[10] Mazzarella (2003: 139) identifies a process of 'auto-orientalism', in which again are implicit multiple disjunctures: of self and other, but also of the doubled temporality of modernity and tradition, and both local and global scales.

These analyses offer useful insights for my own research. However, repeating the general weaknesses of Public Culture approaches, none are grounded in a theory of capitalism, historical materialist or other. Where commodification is recognised, that of labour is systematically ignored. Reddy (2009: 72) addresses commodification of 'beauty', Thapan (2006: 24) 'femininity' and the 'fragmented body'. Mazzarella (2003: 36, 98, 124) draws liberally on Marxist theory to consider commodification of 'culture' and 'Indianness'; 'auto-orientalism' *is*, for Mazzarella, a product of consumption relations alone, and the marketing gaze, which interpellates consumers on this basis in order to match global commodities, connoted as aspirational, with indigenising Indian needs.

In this project, a similar process is seen to apply, in which interviewees based in Mumbai but also Shanghai identify a spatio-temporally disjunctured national subject as against a Western other cast in a normatively universalised role. However, this is seen to occur not within consumption, but production relations, which define the temporalities at play from which the disjuncture occurs. I argue from this evidence (Chapters 6-9) that the primary factor of combination and differentiation resulting in this disjuncture is the law of value, which compares capitals and labour in terms of productivity, and distributes functions through a spatial division of labour (Amin 2010, King 2021). Other factors, including lifestyles – that is, culture – emerge and are competitively compared by that same process largely as factors of labour reproduction, subsumed within productivity. At that level of abstraction, direct application of postcolonial approaches, or concepts such as 'self-exoticism' and 'auto-orientalism', are not helpful, since they autonomise culture as a determining force independently of value. The *Subaltern Studies* group were very influential on Rey Chow (1995: 171), who addresses the 'self-subalternizing, self-exoticizing' 'Oriental's orientalism' of internationally successful Fifth Generation Chinese film directors such as Zhang Yimou. Studies of 'self-orientalism' in East Asian contexts centred on the fashion industry in similar terms are Dorine Kondo (1997), Sandra Niessen et al (2003), and Lisa Rofel and Sylvia Yanagisako (2019). As discussed in Chapter 6, like the postcolonial scholarship discussed here, these remain useful analyses at the level of symptom, but the cause lies in structural factors beyond their scope.

Goldi Osuri's (2008: 111) analysis of the 'generative matrix' underpinning the transnational mobility of Indian actor Ashwaria Rai is particularly useful, since I also address transnational mobility of cultural workers. 'Generative matrix', comes from *Public Culture* editors Dilip Goankar and Elizabeth Povinelli (2003: 7). Summarising a recurring theme since the journal's origins under Appadurai and Breckenridge, it names a network of Appaduraian 'scapes' in terms of circulating cultural objects which, in an overtly post-humanist (and post-Althusserian) post-structuralism, Goankar and Povinelli (2003: 389) argue interpellates, or 'summons' subjects, taking on an autonomous agentive role in itself. Since circulation of consumption or cultural goods cannot be considered to generate motion in itself (the standpoint of commodity fetishism: Marx 1976: 165), this

[10] As Punathambekar (2013: 210) found Mazzarella's the 'most notable' in the few exceptions to the lack of production studies in India. In terms of monographs Wilkinson-Weber's (2014) on Bollywood costume production is a strong addition.

invites re-inserting the notion within production relations (see Chapter 3). This would affirm the original sense of matrix as 'womb' as against the more structuralist sense of network, and a re-humanised usage, also, of 'generative', grasping the material factors producing subjectivity transnationally not only in circulation, but in human production.

This allows the insights from anthropologies of globalisation to be drawn into relation with historical materialism to grasp how actual human productive activity remains at the heart of the production of world space – albeit in highly alienated, and so mis-recognisable form under the highly developed international division of labour. Under this regime, the intellectual labour of circulation, for example – those forms of cultural intermediation like advertising, devoted only to sale –, can appear entirely separated from that of production, but are in fact dependent on it (Chapter 2). 'Generative matrix' becomes, in this way, a concept of unevenness and combination, with development of the subject itself producing the structured differentiation which becomes its own alienation, and which it must seek to recognise and overcome.

My main research question concerning how productive subjectivity is constructed in this light can be seen to concern the generative matrix of productive subjectivity in this dual sense: What are the alienated forms of social structure at the transnational scale? In what way are these actually already produced by the subject, even as they posit the subject in turn? Osuri (2008) found that the commodification of race, gender, and nation entered into the production of actor Rai's star status, producing her circulation as a globalised subject. My own account, under influences including her own, also considers the way that gendering and racialisation are among the factors which both produce and limit opportunities and so direct the transnational trajectories of the cultural workers in Mumbai and Shanghai educated in London. The key difference is the addition of the analytical pole of production itself, and specifically the commodification also of the living substance of value in motion: labour power. The next, final, section proposes a framework for re-incorporating this subjective factor into economic analysis.

3.9. Neoliberal globalisation

Under colonialism, capital was drained to the UK through direct sovereignty over colonised economies, allowing control over taxation and exchange rates as well as property and labour law, and with levels of violent compulsion and exclusion from political process rare in the core. By these means contradictions in national metropolitan economies could be resolved internationally, and relative stability maintained. This underpinned both the industrial revolution, but also Keynesian capital/labour accommodations, from the Fordist production/consumption relationship and trade unionism, with its focus on the predominantly male, waged production point, to political inclusion and welfare state mediation (Baran 1962; Patnaik and Patnaik 2017). Thus, the global context must also be addressed for a full grasp of the effects of unevenness which also constitute the essential backdrop for misplaced rejection of Marxist analysis from cultural and postcolonial studies: that is, the fact of difference and non-synchronous levels does not disprove the universal rule of capital, but arises from it.

This last section proposes a view of the totality of globalised capitalist production able to combine consideration of the sorts of subjective factors discussed above with objective economic processes. These factors include a significant complexification of the class relation, its extension geographically and socially, and increasing subsumption of labour reproduction. It also sees a departure by capital and the state from models of development strongly centred on value from the point of production of large industrial firms, socially distributed through bargaining itself taking that point as axial. It is the breakdown of this model which sees not only Stuart Hall's departure from Marxist

analysis, but also that of Postcolonial scholarship.[11] The account below, by situating development in value production at the heart of the historical changes giving rise to these theoretical departures, demonstrates that, while their insights into cultural developments are worth preserving, a Marxist framework remains best placed to account for them. This is essential to my thesis. The main research question concerns how productive subjectivity is constructed in relation to the sites of London on the one hand, and Mumbai and Shanghai on the other. Sensitivity to difference in context and its experience and internalisation – much of which, the domain of culture – is basic to that. However, to grasp the structuring of that differentiation, and above all in relation to highly globalised systems of value production, requires transcending postcolonial and cultural studies frameworks.

As Utsa and Prabhat Patnaik (2017) emphasise, the decolonising revolutions, from the mid-century to the late nineteen sixties, interrupted an essential recourse of capital to its outsides. The oil price hike of the early 1970s was a political act by the newly decolonised South (Prashad 2012). Its connection with the British miners' strike (attacked by Prime Minister Edward Heath as 'unpatriotic' on that basis: Hall 1988) thus speaks to transnational conjunctural articulations provoking the neoliberal reaction. The crippling cost of fighting Vietnamese revolutionaries (supported by counter-cultural activism in the core) was also directly responsible for the weakening of the Dollar and the eventual breakdown of Bretton Woods as a central plank of Keynesianism, abetting global financialization. Vietnam demonstrated the unsustainable economic cost of the political order underpinning Keynesianism through violent, and so costly disciplinary regimes at the periphery as well as political costs in the core. These were added to falling profit rates resulting from labour demands at home, testing the limits of the Keynesian contract itself (Lipietz 1986; Panitch and Gindin 2012).

The response of neoliberal globalisation renewed control over national economies of the South by northern capital, disciplining labour thereby also in the erstwhile cores. At the heart of this new accumulation were novel communications technologies, including as they enabled post-Fordist production (Chapter 2). Much insight has been gained from understanding the interplay of financialization, point of sale and other logistical technologies, marketing communications and global value chains (Kumar 2020; Suwandi 2019) or the supply chains of goods, controlled for the extraction of value from extractive and manufacturing labour to centres of capital accumulation. As early theorists of 'imperialism, or the rule of finance capital' (Lenin 1934: 55) had long recognised, it is accumulation itself, way beyond the productive processes, which creates both the need and the means to control vast geographical, regulatory and social domains to maintain profit rates. After a relative interregnum in post-war decolonisations (Patnaik and Patnaik 2017), culminating in the crisis of the nineteen seventies, renewed imperialism asserted itself again in the era of financialised neoliberal globalisation. The bundling of small companies into larger production networks, as well as the flexibilization of labour to create highly segmented consumption celebrated in *New Times*, were not merely technologically determined, as implied by Hall and Jacques (1989), but required political choices to de- but also re-regulate finance, liberalise transborder capital and commodity flows, and increase controls on state budgets and ownership away from labour interests (Bonefeld 1993; Chesnais 2016; Lapavistas 2013; Sassen 2014), and develop the material, legal and institutional infrastructure of international intellectual property rights (Johnson Andrews 2019; May 2007, Pang 2012, Yang 2016). The embedding of copyright culture is an aspect of production relations

[11] It also represents the moment Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri 2000 associate with the end of dialectics, discussed in Chapter 2

essential for high value productivity, including through the processes of industrialised cultural production analysed in Chapter 2. This is fundamental to the work done by many of the intermediaries interviewed, which requires industrially organised movement between the domains of culture and economy, impossible without such 'soft infrastructure' (Chapters 6-8).

As François Chesnais (2016) points out, essential to the new global waves of financialization was the breakdown of really existing communism (or at least state capitalist states identifying as communist), which significantly reduced capital's fear of internationalist insurrection. It also contributed a vast new reserve army of labour just as northern capital needed it. The overaccumulation previously resolved through colonialism is now resolved through the massive further extension of capital circuits, with redoubled independence from – and so dominance over – the productive point of extraction. New aggressive policies on debt restructure in the form of the 'Washington Consensus' restricted the ability of Southern states to invest socially or develop value extractive capacities competitive with the North, at the same time as requiring market liberalisation. Ending restrictions on commodity import as well the foreign direct investment, along with the new international IP regime allowed the doubling of Northern capital's labour reserve through further access, once again, to the cheap labour of the South (Canterbury 2012, Selwyn 2014). Indeed, increasingly this exploitation has not *required* investment, with arms-length involvement allowing lead firms to control production processes upstream without ownership, including with open book input into organisation and management (Suwandi 2019). These are specific results of liberalisation which repeat many patterns of the colonial imperialist stage, but with direct control by foreign states replaced by the mediation of capital (Ness 2016, Smith 2016). This is the context for the new international division of labour which, this thesis argues, is essential to the processes analysed by which the educational migration of the participants is rendered productive. For the international division of labour specifically structures the kinds of cultural difference analysed in isolation by postcolonial theory and public culture analyses: the cultural difference which the alums engage with is not merely a phenomenal fact of relatively isolated domains, but arises from the deep structure of capital, which – albeit in interaction with the resistant activity of working classes – has specifically formed world space according to its needs.

Rudolf Hilferding (1981 [1910]) and Vladimir Lenin (1934 [1916]) recognised the place of monopolies at the heart of imperialism already at the turn of the twentieth century. By the nineteen sixties, Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy (1966) observed that monopolisation extended the predominance of capital away from extraction and manufacture into marketing. Instead of price competition, accumulated capital increasingly builds market entry cost barriers to new competitors. Pre-empting the culture-economy scholars (Chapter 2), they also noted the tendency for these marketing practices to enter and lead design and production processes and dominate vast swathes of the social, becoming socially *necessary* features of commodities for consumers dependent on the right branded symbolic content. This necessity is associated with the reproduction of the kind of labour required by capital of these workers: the project which Stuart Hall (1988) identified in Thatcherism has tied consumerist subjectivities, including of educational products, to the flexible, entrepreneurial spirit required of much service industry labour – or, as Guido Starosta et al (2024: 121) have put it within value theory, 'the very reproduction of capital required the widening of the "norm of consumption"' in order to produce the correct 'moral productive attributes' – including through consumption of the goods of the culture industry. The spread of communications thereby becomes profoundly intertwined with the spread of transnational capital, as Dan Schiller (e.g. 2005, 2018) showed with a US focus, Yu Hong (2011, 2017) and Yuezhi Zhao (2003, 2008) in China, and Adrian Athique et al (2017a, b) and Pradip Thomas (2019a,

b) in India. Again, this emphasises that the world space, not only of production, but also reproduction – the domain of culture and subjectivity – is structured in relation to the processes and needs of capital valorisation. It is this structuration which renders alums' movement productive of value – a movement both in geographical terms between locations, but also, as intermediaries, between the social domains of culture and economy. This, then, not simply the circulation of goods, constitutes the enabling matrix behind the educational migration.

The resulting capitalisation of the social is part of the financialization of production, as lead firms jettison less 'productive' – less value capturing – elements in order to maintain shareholder value (Milberg 2008) through 'flexible accumulation' (Harvey 1989: 147). Accumulation by 'lean and mean' (Harrison 1994) corporations depends on hiving off and driving down the costs of manufacture, which is high in labour time per unit of production, and maintaining only less intensive activity such as finance, intellectual property creation and control, retail and marketing. Capital's direct dependency on labour becomes weakened, the profitability drive heightened by generalised competitive comparability, with capital a more nebulous, mobile, changing target, controlling management and state practice in the interests of a value extraction independently of direct ownership. These high value capturing elements are then used to squeeze dependent suppliers. Examples include Wal-Mart, Apple, or Nike: predominantly northern companies with little or no direct manufacturing activity under direct ownership, but able to extract most of the value created by their suppliers in southern economies, who in turn pass the costs onto workers in conditions barely imaginable in the North (Smith 2016, Suwandi 2019). At the same time, the dual increase in the forms of labour, or labour segmentation – the industrialisation of cultural industry, for instance, such as marketing, but also the combination of core secure with precarious and informalized workers – and the segmented consumer markets which marketing targets and produces, constitutes that challenge for labour organisation which led to accommodationism in *Marxism Today*. The role of the intermediary is to bring together these domains in ways productive of value. Chapter 6, for example, sees alums specifically recruited to help produce consumption spaces in Shanghai amenable to the productive subjectivities of high valorisation locations such as London.

In Northern economies these same corporations use the access this grants to the vast southern labour pool to arbitrage domestic labour costs and rights, with threats of offshoring South. New forms of developmentalism both North and South consist in the inter-state competition to reach or hold the higher rungs of value capture, throwing money at knowledge, financial and soft infrastructure and 'human capital', hoping this traps enough surplus for states to pacify or control the un- or precariously employed rest (e.g. Chang et al 2012). Various scholars of this new imperialism portray the Northern economies and their workers as beneficiaries *only*. As John Smith (2016) emphasises, the effect on richer economies is cushioned by the much higher levels of exploitation in the South, offering cheap consumption goods, and relatively greater redistribution through tax on the massive value extracted from the South. As discussed in Chapter 4, the savings of southern families also massively subsidise the reproduction of Northern skilled workers by extortionate higher education fees.

What the argument by scholars such as Smith (2016) misses, along with the *Monthly Review* monopoly model as a whole (Baran and Sweezy 1969; Braverman 1998 [1974]; Suwandi 2019) is the enduring role of the law of value, essential to the functioning of unevenness and combination in the new imperialism. If a large quantity of value capture occurs through monopoly rent extraction, this can only be grasped in combination with actual increased labour productivity in leading firms, without which they would lose advantage. This is essential to the actual domination of corporations such as Apple in the North, or Alibaba in China, where massive research and development costs function

alongside state favours and other anti-competitive practices to extract a significant proportion of profits. Alessandra Mezzadri (2017: 27) has effectively demonstrated the complex 'social factory' of multiple forms of differentially racialised and gendered, formal and informal, paid and unpaid labour at work in the highly geographically dispersed garment trade in India; again, the co-presence of forms is functional, an example of what Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Nielson (2013) call the 'multiplication of labour'. Sam King (2021) has explored this in detail, and thereby emphasised the enduring relevance of classical Marxist imperialism models in the age of the global value chain. This is discussed further, alongside productivity data, in Chapter 4. The key point here is that the mediating substance between local factors on the one hand, including worker subjectification, proletarianization, and the differentially subsumed reproductive realm of culture, and macro-level economic and geopolitical factors on the other, remains value: the abstract result of labour productivity bringing disparate and geographically extended units under the same disciplinary measure. The cost of ignoring this is a conceptual separation of the relation between workers North and South (Amin 2010) and so the basis of solidarity. Unevenness is a requirement of capital in need of the advantages which come with spatial differentiation of labour productivity, cost, and organisation. Value, by equalising measure to an average, subjects those unequal forces and forms (regimes, degrees of automation, education, application of science, etc.) to competition – compels unevenness into combination.

In this context, the concept of a 'New International Division of Labour' (Fröbel et al 1980) remains essential. Increased technologically mediated socialisation, distributing functions according to the needs of global capital, makes the alienation and distribution of productive subjectivity – separating subjectively rich conception from an objectified, degraded work of execution – a world scale operation. Further, as Greig Charnock and Guido Starosta (2016a) have shown, the structure of this organisation has become significantly more complex in the years since Fröbel et al by several waves of de- and re-skilling, with not only manufacturing, but now also, for example business process and information technology labour internationally distributed by more and less degraded or complex forms (e.g. Aneesh 2007). In this situation, Southern states seeking to manage internal dynamics once addressed by classical developmentalist means such as import substitution to grow local industry, resort much more to restructure aimed at attracting international capital for a specific slot in the division of labour. The relation between India's attempt – with moderate successes – to attract corporations like Apple away from Chinese labour (ET 2023), and its political hostility to its easterly neighbour show the complex intertwinement of internal and external factors of capital development and the political. The massive recent unrest from small Indian farmers who recognised a planned increase in their proletarianization by state/capital alliance (Bal 2021) demonstrates the lack of room the state has in negotiating social peace while increasing productivity (see Chapter 4). It is this pattern increasing the contradiction between enduring agrarian petty production and new industrialised forms which creates the context for the London communications alum working in India to suppress the Maoist insurgency through online propaganda, discussed above, as well as the attempt in Shanghai to attract specifically high-skilled subjects to creative quarters modelled on London. Unevenness is not taken as it is found by capital but is produced and reproduced in ever-new ways. It is the specifically new forms of re-fragmentation of labour which bring increasing amounts of industrialised cultural production to Shanghai and Mumbai, as their place in the new international division of labour is no longer restricted to manufacture, but includes functions of circulation. This is the role of the intermediary. The process of re-fragmentation is an essential feature of the generative matrix whereby the educational trajectory of the research participants is rendered, as productive, viable.

This produces a complex articulation of labour regimes, or social relations of production historically informed by labour/capital struggle and mediated by state, labour, and other social institutions such as the family, and inter-articulated within global value chains (Baglioni et al 2022; Burawoy 1985; Peck 2022). For instance, highly skilled high waged Silicon Valley iPhone designers, working with significant autonomy and based on a deep subjective identification with their work, little labour organisation, and instead a deeply individualistic ethic, are found in a single value chain with Shenzen industrial migrant labour whose reproduction is dependent on seasonal return to agrarian peasant households, governed by despotic control (Lee 1998), discriminatory state legislation and co-opted unions. Where Smith and Pun (2006) have usefully called the Shenzen context the 'dormitory labour regime', in the context of the present work, the designer of Silicon Valley labours under what I would call the 'creative labour regime'. It is the interdependence amongst these forms in the extraction of value which defines the analysis of the latter regime in the current thesis. The *intermediary* status of the participants I interviewed can only be understood in its full sense as a status *between* these multiple different forms within a single chain of value extraction, as I show in Chapters 6-9.

Chapter 2 described how increased knowledge inputs in the most capitalistically advanced economies, and the Keynesian deals associated with that, significantly increased university attendance in Western economies: higher productivity was traded against benefits including indirect forms of wage such as the education access – a virtuous circle approach, while it could last. The trend to increased labour segmentation and service industry was heightened by globalised post-Fordist production, whereby manufacturing labour tended to move towards southern economies (also Chapter 4). I also pointed out that the move to neoliberalism led to the commodification of higher education, and its closer articulation with industry. The trends outlined in this section above have interacted with that, both sharing the same cause, and increasing the effects.

As industry in Southern economies has itself expanded under the new international division of labour, this has increased the needs, not only for low skilled manual labour, but also for highly skilled workers there, and, at the same time, southern states have sought to climb global value chains in part by encouraging Southern human capital upgrade (GovInMoS 2015, GovInMoHRD 2020, PRCMoE 2010, SCPRC 2006, also Butollo 2014). China, for instance, seeks to develop 'talent cultivation systems' (SCPRC 2015: 38). At the same time, neoliberalism has always been a *global* phenomenon (Harvey 2005). Bodies like the World Trade Organisation put significant pressure on states everywhere, not just in the global North, to commodify their education systems, including in the push to open up trade in general (see Knight 2008: 149-187 on WTO and GATS). The World Bank's (1994: e.g. 4-8, 8) *Development in Practice*, for instance, a set of 'recommendations' to developing economies which have indeed proved agenda setting: inter-institutional competition, privatisation, tiered systems featuring more research and more teaching oriented institutions, commercial partnerships between universities and businesses, loan funded fees with 'income-contingent' repayments, and the role of states reduced to perfecting market contexts by, for instance, forcing institutions to publish fine-grained data – a virtual manifesto for the emerging neoliberal campus (see e.g. Ward 2012). This model of development was closely tied to the interests of the powerful nations such as the US and the UK, with money to invest, and, due to shrinking populations, excess educational capacity, as well as a need for access to high skilled southern workers. Following such friendly advice from the World Bank would be essential for poorer countries to meet favourable conditions elsewhere, around issues such as loans and goods trade.

China and India have been active in opening their higher education markets internally to international capital, including through partnerships with and satellite campuses of

Northern universities. At the same time, these bodies encouraged university rankings systems to globalise the market for students (Naidoo 2016, see statistics in Chapter 4). Indeed, the international nature of this market has itself deepened commodification not only by direct market exposure, but by reconstituting the relations between state, civil society, and economy. The basic liberal (rather than neoliberal) defence of universities as public good, in the absence of a coherent hegemonic social internationalism, has been national citizenship (Bhattacharya 2019; Humboldt 1970 [1810] is a classic statement), leaving, as Aiwha Ong (2006: 140) argued, the internationalised student campus without legitimacy in hegemonic discourse beyond human capital development: capital needs high skilled individuals, and individuals, cultural capital.

This, then, is the context for the internationalised education engaged with by the interviewees in this project. On the one hand, a disaggregation of mental and manual functions internationally, and on the other, the suturing of the production of knowledge to the interests of capital, including in Southern 'upgrade'. This constitutes the objective side of the enabling matrix with which the participants engage – a global market for knowledge with regionally differentiated products. The subjective engagement with this process, internalising in the form of knowledge and capacities, and re-externalising as value, is the subject of Chapters 6-8.

3.10. Conclusion

The international expansion of capital brings together multiple social domains under the impetus of the 'annihilation of space by time' (Marx 1973 *Grundrisse*: 524), and structures them according to the necessity for accumulation. For this reason I apply concepts of disjuncture and suture. While Marxist theories have at times appeared to focus more on objective factors, others have focused on subjective cultural factors to their exclusion. The theory of uneven and combined development, as a dialectical framework, is best placed to acknowledge the complex subjective factors while remaining true to the insights of Marxism concerning the determining role of relations of production within a contradictory totality under the rule of capital. This, then, is the approach applied in this thesis, in which anthropological, postcolonial, cultural studies and Althusserian approaches are reconsidered within a dialectical Marxist framework for their insights into the subjective factors within the totality. For my research question concerns the relation between the subject object in terms of world space; how the alums of London now active in Mumbai and Shanghai render their transnational educational trajectory productive. In this framework, the international division of labour constitutes the distribution of productive subjectivity for the extraction of value, whose existence requires the constant reproduction of the conditions of that alienation in commodification. This involves a complex of subject positions both inside and outside of direct capital control, and frequently struggles around categories such as race and gender, caste, religion and national identity, whose relation to capital is relatively mediated, but which constitute essential elements of unevenness, in interaction with space.

The focus of Chapter 4 will be on Macro features of the objective economic context, focusing also on the fact of segmentation and the growth of intermediate strata in the Global South. This will help to demonstrate how the interaction of subjective and objective factors in a world space defined by unevenness and combination gives rise to the productive subjectivity of the transcultural intermediary under investigation.

Chapter 4

Macro Factors: Neoliberal Globalised Capitalism in India and China

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapters have argued for the importance of considering cultural production in relation to the totality. The current chapter attends to that aim by considering the macro pole, with the micro level the focus of my primary empirical research in Chapters 6-8.[1] There I argue, based on fieldwork in Mumbai and Shanghai, that the alums of London art, design and communications higher education tend to find themselves in positions of intermediate social strata. Further, they were keenly aware of these positions as relatively historically *new* in the context, being not only the first in their families, but frequently also among the first nationally to occupy them. I will also argue that they understand the realisation of the potential of this rapid change individually and socially to depend upon a managed relation to the location of their studies, London. Their self-understanding is thus informed by an awareness of their position as relational to a wider totality of local and global production.

Most particularly, this chapter supplies that element of the third sub-question highlighted below:

> How do the educational and career trajectories of Mumbai and Shanghai creative workers educated in London respond to *the political and economic developments at the macro scale*?

Thus, the chapter considers the macro context in China and India, comparatively with the UK, particularly, as well as the US as world centre of capital, and adds concrete detail to the notion of uneven and combined development which I argue is essential for a theoretical grasp of the alums' situation as cultural workers. I contend that it is the texturedness of this uneven landscape which, under the combinatory impetus of value, constitutes the 'generative matrix' (Goankar and Povinelli 2006: 390; Osuri 2008: 111; see Chapter 3) by which the alums' transnational circulation becomes productive, as per my main research question. This chapter addresses the macro data – the matrix – which renders that value productivity possible, whilst chapters 6-8, which focuses on the productive subjects themselves – the creative practitioners having made that circular trip –, address the micro.

First, I look at class polarisation in broad terms (Sections 4.2), using economic data as a window onto changing patterns of inequality in China and India relatively to the UK. I then look at foreign direct investment (FDI) flows, situating changes in relation to global capital (4.3), with some consideration of broader changes of employment structure, skills, legal frameworks and politics, followed by the implications of the intermediate class positions (4.4). 4.5 addresses this wider pattern in terms of the culture industry. After a look at the implications for internationalised higher education (4.6), the chapter finally considers class struggle (4.7).

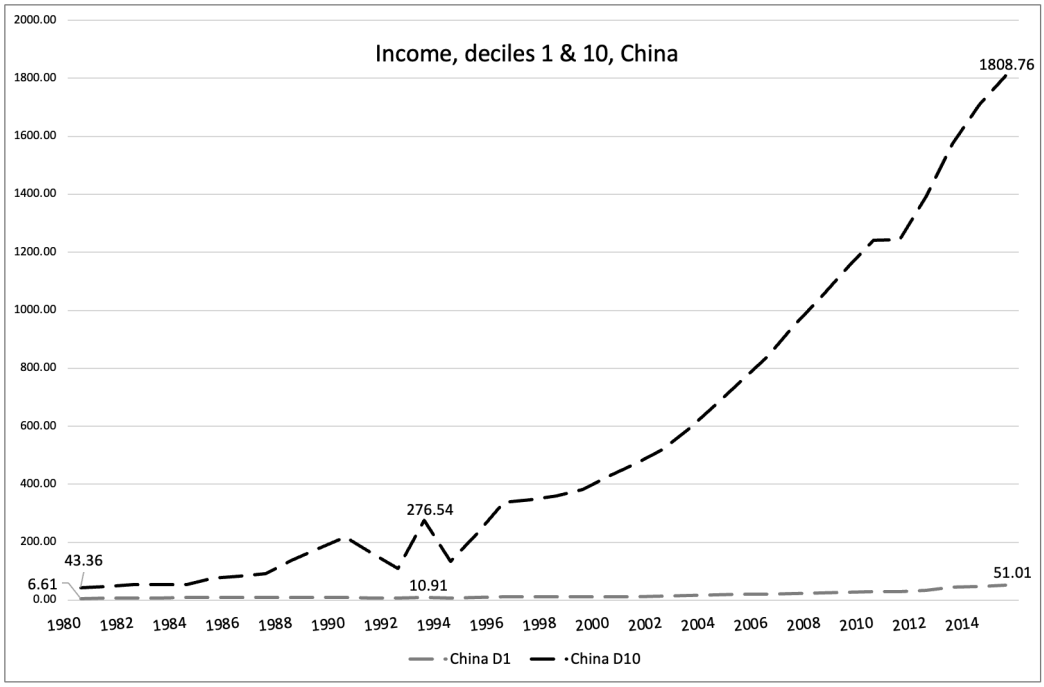
The chapter gives a detailed picture, illustrated by tables I produced from existing databases, of the scale and form of changes in China and India under neoliberal globalisation. It focuses on the class fractions forming the primary research subjects in those countries, from among the affluent intermediary, or complexly positioned new 'middle' strata, as well as capitalist and ruling cadre families. Central to the chapter is to

[1] I discuss the sense of 'macro' and 'totality' in Chapter 5.

recognise how national and international factors interact with processes in the production of space and subjectivity as elements of uneven and combined development, in which the contradiction between forces and relations of production, itself expressed through class struggle, remains central, even as it interacts with the state system and geopolitics. In that it applies uneven and combined development as *method of analysis*, or an application of historical materialism informed by Trotsky's dialectical approach to the international as a dynamic whole of mutually – but not equally – constituting parts.

4.2 Class polarisation and segmentation

At a purely economic level, the restructuring of the social basis of accumulation since the 1970s in the countries studied can be considered in relation to income. The Global Consumption and Income Project (GCIP 2021) have figures extending to 2015 useful because comparable between the countries.



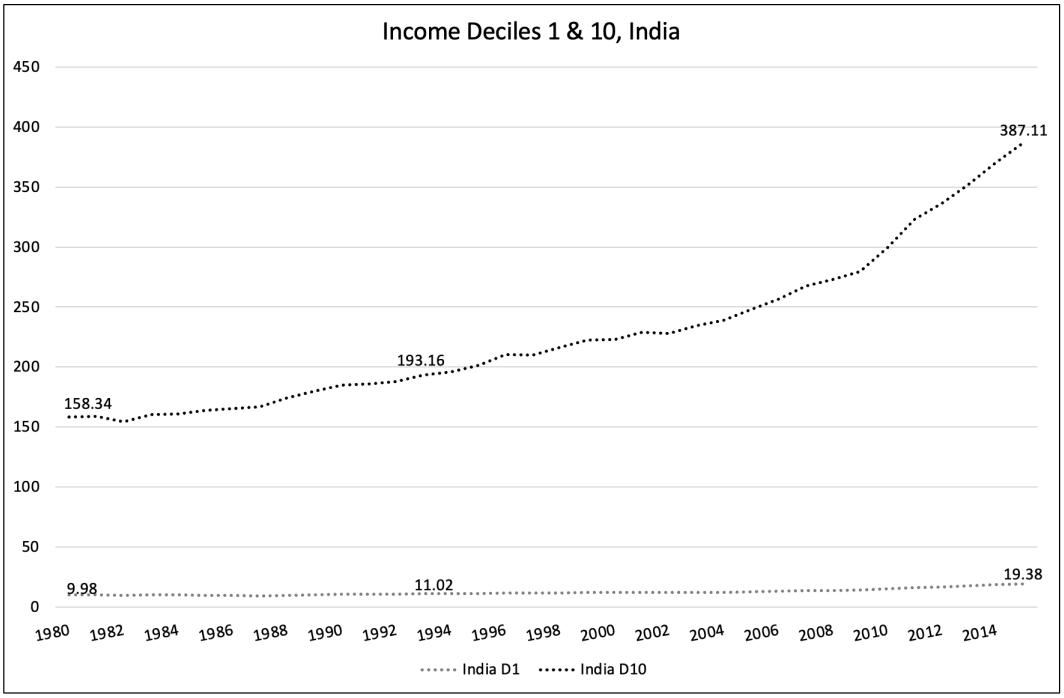


Figure 4.1. a-c. Income of top and bottom deciles: a: China b: India, c: China, India & UK combined. Monthly income PPP at 2015 US $ levels. Data source: GCIP (2021).

In all countries, inequality has risen significantly, but in differing proportions. The bottom decile in the UK has moved from US $268 to $400 per month, while the top, $1,717 to $3,585 over the period, with much fluctuation in the salaries at the top – a move from 6 times as much to almost 9 times; India $10 to $19 and $158 - $387 respectively, so a disparity of 15 times has increased to 20; China, $6.5 to $51 compared to $43 to $1,808, a gap of roughly 6.5 increasing to 42 times. The rise in income even in the lower ends, however, does not constitute improved livelihoods. As Karl Marx (1973 *Wage*: 33) noted:

> Our wants and pleasures have their origin in society; we therefore measure them in relation to society; we do not measure them in relation to the objects which serve for their gratification. Since they are of a social nature, they are of a relative nature.

Increase in consumption power in physical terms can nevertheless equate with increased immiseration where inequality deepens, as here.

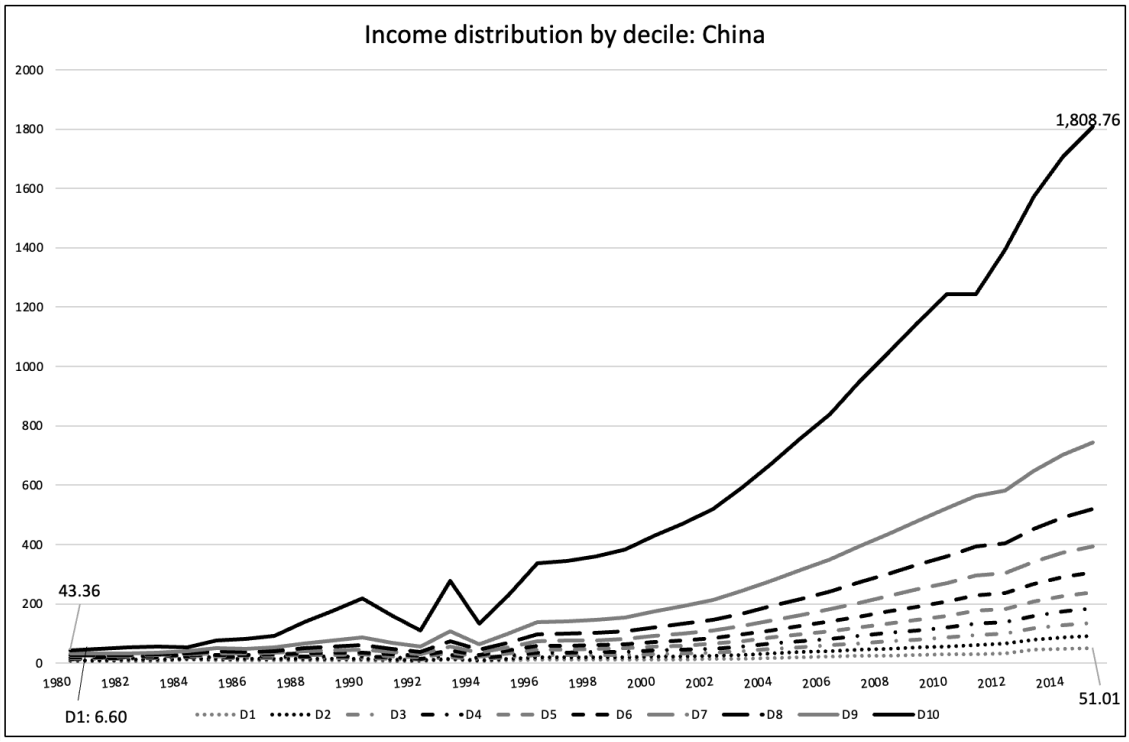
In Gini terms, so as a coefficient between zero as absolute income equality and one as absolute inequality, or entire ownership by a single individual, inequality in India has increased slowly from 0.42 to 0.47 (figure 4.4). China has moved from being among the most equal societies in the world, at 0.29 in the 1960s (28th most equal of 160 nations in the GCIP figures), and even 0.25 in the early eighties (8th most equal, doubtless as the Green Revolution equalised rural with urban development) to surpass in inequality the UK in 1985, and then India in 1989, becoming among the most unequal (surpassing Brazil in 2005 to rank 11th least equal by 2015: the only state outside Africa other than Syria).

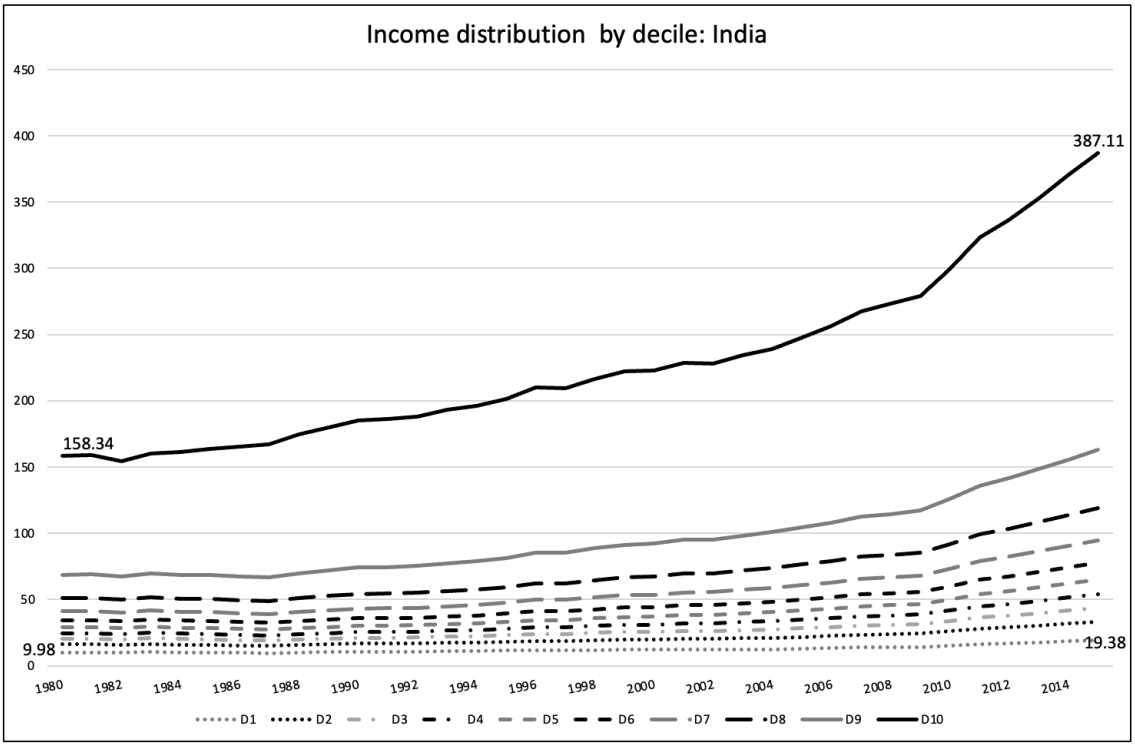
Figure 4.2. Gini index, China, India, UK, by income. Data source: GCIP (2021)

Indeed, convergence of top earnings seen above (Fig 4.1) in India and China is in large part responsible for the fact that, from 1980 to 2015, inequality *within* countries has grown steadily, from 22% in 1980 to 43%, as a factor of global inequality, as that *between* shrinks (Jayadev et al 2015: 10). This suggests relative convergence internationally of a transnational capitalist class (Robinson 2004, Sklair 2001) along with high level managers, intellectuals and politicians, their interests further separating from conationals.

The level of class polarisation between the top and bottom deciles, and between capitalists and workers *as a whole*, would be unsustainable long term in a democracy like India – or the UK –, and nor would it command the degree of popular consent which the party state still manages in China. Rather, neoliberalism is a hegemonic project, in which dissent is managed through the formation of blocs and the gaining of support from fractions even of the exploited classes (Gill 2008; also Gramsci 1971, Poulantzas 2013 [1978], Robinson 2004) – including through multiplication of labour (Mezzadra and

Nielson 2013), the orchestration of difference along cultural, geographic, gendered, ethnic, and contractual forms. As Lee Artz (2022) shows, media are a central element of this transnational capitalist hegemony globally and in China and India. Figure 4.3 a-c conveys its most direct expression: distribution of value through income.





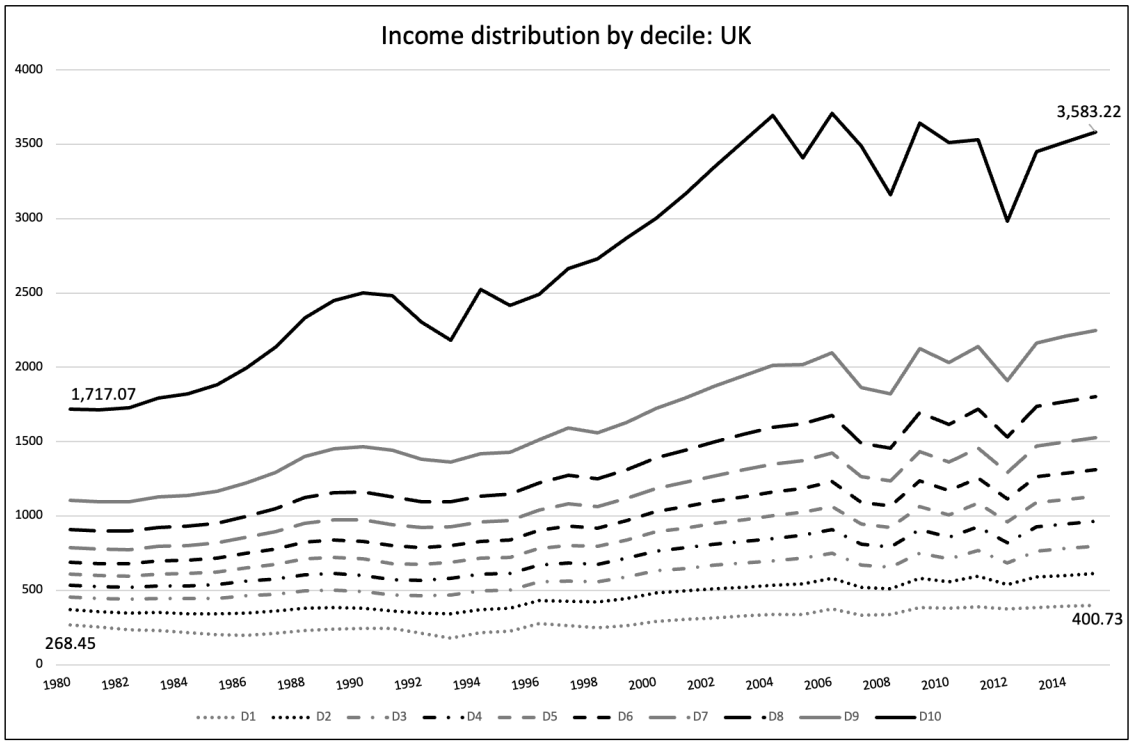
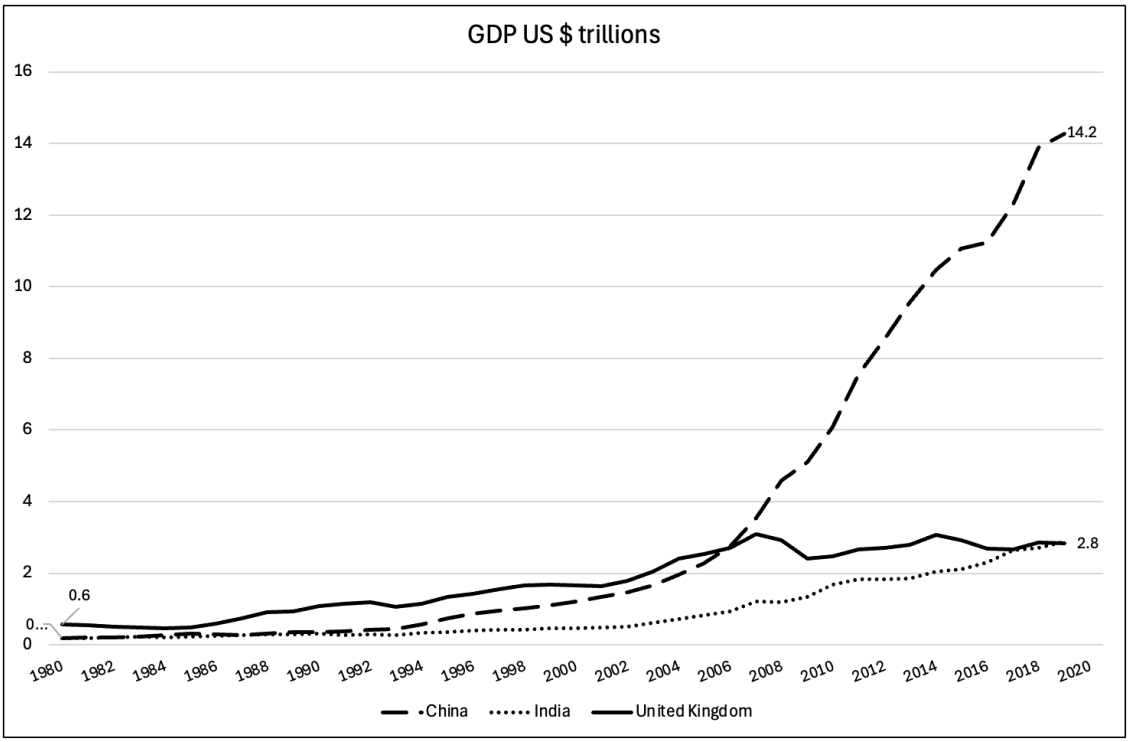


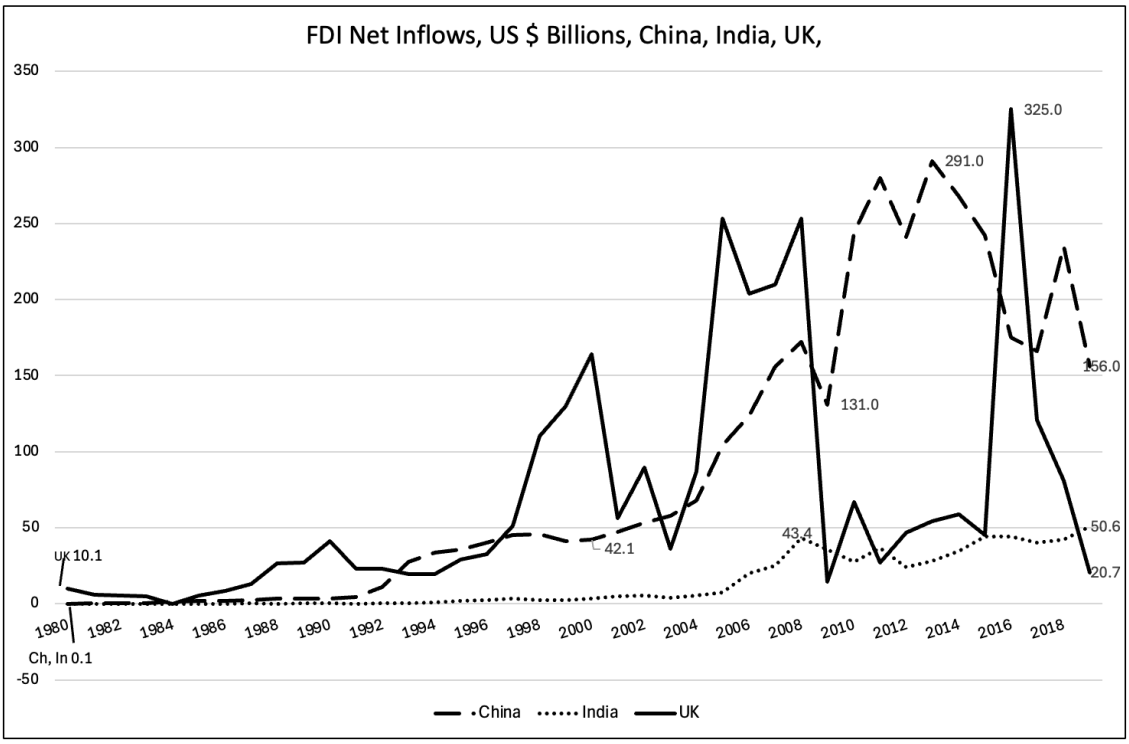
Figure 4.3. a-c. Income distribution by decile, China, India, UK, US $ monthly, 1980-2015, Purchasing Power Parity at 2011. Source: GCIP (2021)

In all three countries, the top decile remains removed from others, and, particularly in India and China, increasingly so. This is the group amongst whom the capitalist class are found. This separation stems in large part from the *extension* of capitalism in these two countries: China's first large-scale private capitalists post-revolution appear only in the late 1970s, their ranks and power increased by waves of liberalisations, for instance of the numbers of employees allowed to private corporations, and the lifting of restrictions over protected industrial sectors and the areas in which they can operate, and the privatisation and stock-market floatation of State Owned Enterprises and the long wave of commodification following WTO accession in 2001. In India, similar effects can be seen with the 1991 New Economic Policy – 'Indian Neoliberalism' 'Began (semi-stealthily) in the 1980s' (Das 2020: 130).

4.3 Global financial integration

These processes are inseparable from neoliberalization, as argued in Chapter 3, strongly associated with finance-led integration. Foreign direct investment (FDI) in comparison to growth is a good indicator of its impact, as shown in Figure 4.4 a -c.


GDP US $ trillions
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
14.2
2.8
0.6
1980
1982
1984
1986
1988
1990
1992
1994
1996
1998
2000
2002
2004
2006
2008
2010
2012
2014
2016
2018
2020
China
India
United Kingdom


FDI Net Inflows, US $ Billions, China, India, UK,
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
-50
325.0
291.0
131.0
156.0
50.6
43.4
42.1
UK 10.1
20.7
Ch, In 0.1
1980
1982
1984
1986
1988
1990
1992
1994
1996
1998
2000
2002
2004
2006
2008
2010
2012
2014
2016
2018
China
India
UK

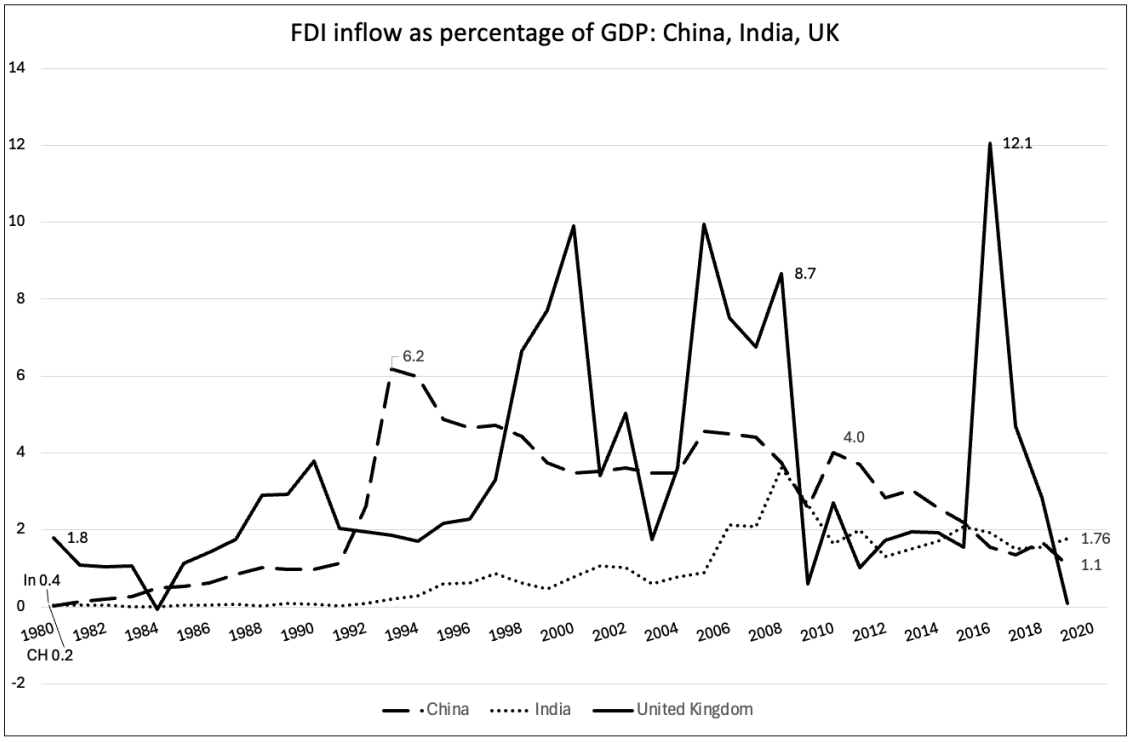


Figure 4.4 a-c. a. GDP US $ trillions. b. FDI net US $ billions c. FDI as percentage of GDP: China, India, UK. Source: WBD (2021).

Both China and India have experienced a steady rise in FDI from the late 1980s to the present, matching a steady rise in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). A comparison with the advanced economy of early developer/imperialist coloniser the UK demonstrates a significant difference, with the latter widely fluctuating. On the one hand, the relatively greater fluctuation in the UK, particularly around 2008, clearly represents, as UNCTAD (2009) suggests, a much greater role of mergers and acquisitions (so crisis-related capital concentration) amongst restructuring transnational corporations, with little direct relation to GDP. Another way of considering this is the relatively much greater role of international finance in UK GDP. India and China's activity, starting significantly below that of the UK, and coming overall to match – indeed, particularly in China, at times significantly surpass it – reflects the *variegation* (Zhang and Peck 2016) or unevenness (Rofl 2021) in neoliberal globalised capitalism: it consists significantly more in investments from richer economies in production (the US, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan in China, for instance), chasing cheap labour. This unevenness is at the heart of this research in terms of the context governing both the trajectory and practice of the alums interviewed. The greater role of FDI in China's economy than India's is a result of active policy (Hung 2015, Ning 2009).

Investment is not the only means by which multi- and transnational corporations extract value and exact control over Southern labour, as seen in Chapter 3's discussion of value chains. But also, China's FDI has a significance that far outpaces growth in industrial labour force (see Figure 4.6) or even simply capitalisation: rather, there is a significant *transfer of control and forms of control* resulting from the replacement of state with private ownership of firms. Lacking national capitalists at the moment of transition from state socialism, China's specific route to marketisation (unlike, for example, Russia's sudden transition) involved phasing in foreign ownership, where preferential powers were given to foreign capital as compared to local state or collectively owned firms, making them able to fire workers more easily, offer fewer indirect benefits such as housing, but also offer greater workforce *differentiation* through benefits at both

intermediate and higher management levels, a process of labour marketisation. Access of international capital to migrant labour – the dispossessed agricultural workers whose falling numbers are noted above – was a significant element in this: a cheaper workforce, without either the expectations of protections or the legal rights *to* protections (excluded by the *hukou* system from access to local education and other benefits), but also from the labour militancy and working class consciousness of China's urban industrial proletariat of the Communist era. As Mary Gallagher (2005) demonstrates, the effect of FDI in Chinese industry was a partly managed and partly accidental restructuring of labour relations *throughout* the social. It represents an ongoing re-subjectification, and is central to the political changes organised by the state, and themselves re-organising the state, reconstituting the relation of the state to labour. This reconstitution is seen to have significant impact on the work of the alums discussed in Chapters 6-9. Later I discuss macro issues specific to the culture industry.

Foreign ownership began in the Southern coastal special economic zones. Celebrated in Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour of 1992 (Deng 1994a, b), these are constitutionally hybrid geographical entities (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013), that encourage FDI through tax exemptions including on import and export, lower labour security, lax planning oversight, infrastructural investment, and increased freedom of foreign capital (e.g. Yue et al 2009). As Cédric Durand (2020) notes, the purported logic of such zones might be social uplift, but the reality is the extraction of value from surroundings (see Mayer 2017 on associated effects in the film industry, and section 4.5 below). This represents a late example of processes Doreen Massey (1995) outlined in the UK as the production of space through the division of labour, interacting with global finance capital and state policies. In empirical chapters I show that this functions in interaction with consumption-oriented zoning targeting affluent middle classes as creative 'talent'. The example of Zhengzhou demonstrates the process well, since it functions by not only competition, but also a legal virtualisation through which profits are uncoupled from the point of production. Zhengzhou is a 'bonded zone', treated as a foreign territory akin to an embassy, allowing Foxconn and Apple not only to import and export parts and finished products without tariff, but to pass deterritorialised profits to subsidiaries in low-tax locations internationally (Barboza 2016, Klein and Pettis 2020). This allows Apple's withering local contribution, with the 2,080 workers per shift at the site attracting 168.4 RMB ($23.75) a day, or $4.64 of an iPhone (CLW 2019) which might trade at $999, contributing much to Apple's rate of exploitation of 2,458% (Tricontinental 2019). Entities such as special economic zones underpin the staggering exploitation rates of globalised capitalism, their legally real but socially fictional extra-territorial status freeing virtualised profits from actual value creation. While I do not address manufacturing zones in themselves in the empirical chapters, I do address creative sectors which *articulate* with them, and can only be understood as such. The alums themselves intermediate *with* manufacture. But also, parallel forms of complex spatial interplay also apply. While in manufacturing this takes the overt forms of gates, walls and tax on goods, in the creative sector, borders may be more affective. However, as Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson (2013) argue, attending to interaction of multiple different forms of more or less concrete or virtual, physical or mental borders is essential to grasp contemporary capital (See Chapter 5 for my application of their titular 'border as method').

Further, the competition effect is intentional: special economic zone exemptions force wholly state owned enterprises to seek the lifting of restrictions: the right to adopt the same capitalist practices as foreign firms. Naturally, local governments, dependent on business taxes, reproduced this pressure, significantly extending the social base for the de-socialisation and marketisation of state property and services at the heart of neoliberalism everywhere. And with investment came 'knowledge' – both the technical knowledge transfer sought with the automation of heavily capitalised industry, but also

knowledge of management practices – and these, both *internally* to the company, but also *externally* – within the state. As Mark Cohn (2007) has shown, during this same period, a class of elite economists was nurtured through international educational mobility to Washington and back (and reverse visits to China by the likes of Milton Friedman 2002 [1962], who met Jiang Zemin), as an essential feature of the reformulation of the economy away from socialist designs, and the smashing of the 'iron rice bowl': replacing payment by work to incentivised, individualised schemes. While this is not the educational discipline whose trajectory I track, it is important context: the development of social commodification to a degree seen in advanced economies requires a social project, also, to produce and reproduce the commodifiers by means of trajectories *through* those economies – whether in financial disciplines or cultural industries I study.

Indeed, stock market flotations are themselves conducted in part *for* this form of knowledge transfer: the simple fact of valuation, spending long months with predominantly US banking and accountancy firms analysing the books and practices, not only places a company on the market, but reconstitutes that company – its management, the flows of knowledge within it, and its connections, embedding it in globalising capitalist class networks, practices, and institutions (see e.g. Fuchs 2016; Wójcik and Camilleri 2015). The status of the alum in the present research must be seen very much in this light: as part of an organised cross-border flow of brain power oriented to social re-subjectification for commodification, making these essential elements of the macro environment, human mobility a key factor of uneven and combined development's production of novel combinations.

It is also worth emphasising other aspects of the pattern in GDP, such as per capita, arguably more directly relevant to the micro level I study.

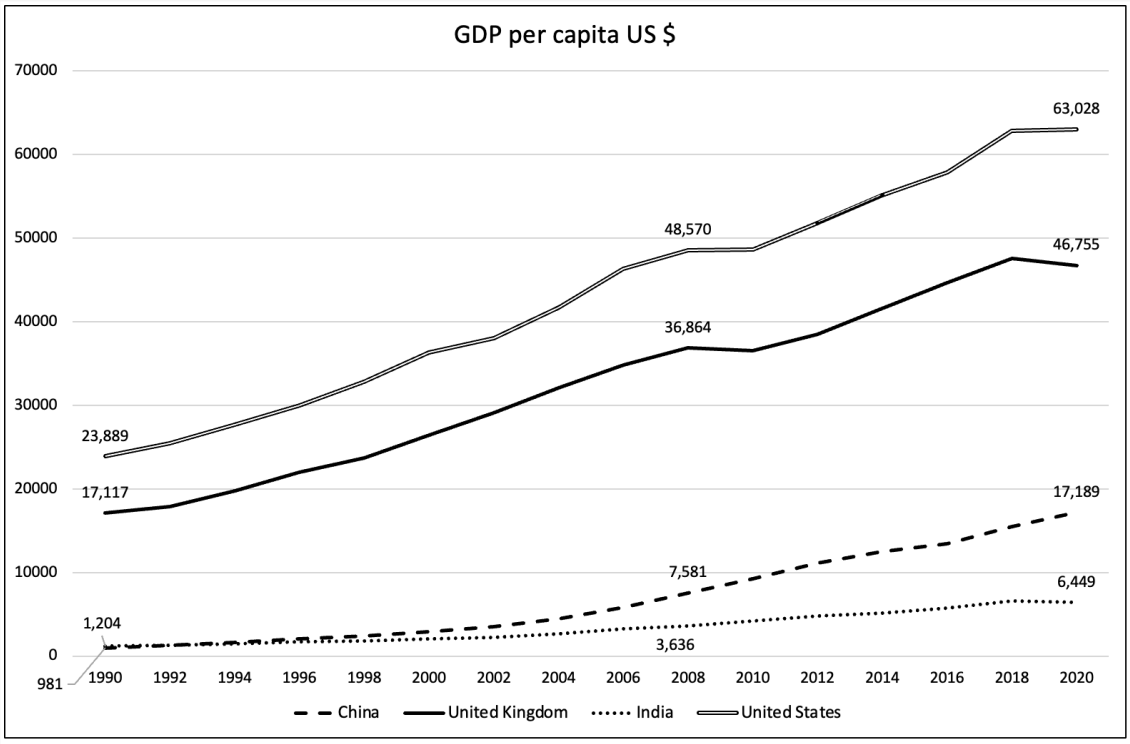


Figure 4.5. GDP per capita, US$, China, India, UK, US. Source: WBD (2023)

As can be seen, India and China are narrowing the gap per capita. While both still lag well behind, the increase in China's labour productivity far outpaces India's, rising from $981, or 4% of the US$23,889 annual average worker productivity in 1990, to $17,189, 27.5 % of US in 2020.

In terms specifically of the share of manufacturing in global value added, both the scale and source are more notable still.

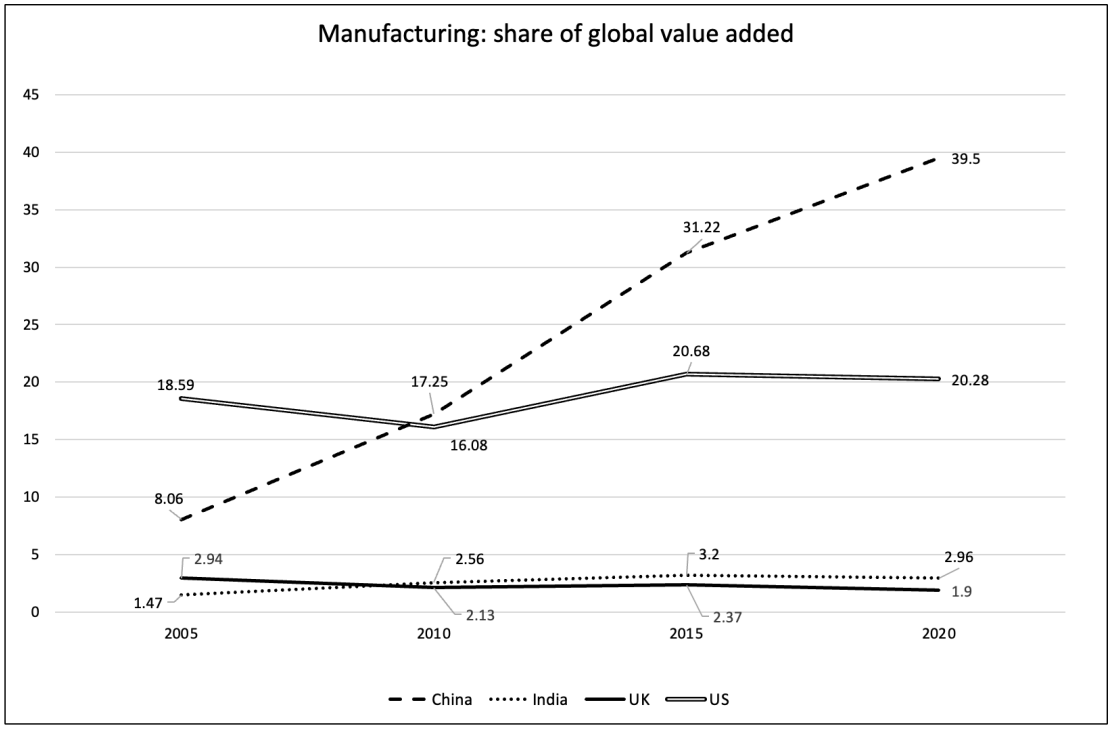


Figure 4.6. Manufacturing: Share of Global Value Added, China, India, UK, US. Source: WBD (2023).

Over the period 2005-2020, where China has increased its share from 8% to a staggering 39.5% of the total value added in world manufacturing, the next largest share – that of the US – has crept from 18.59 to 20.28, with the final five-year period showing an overall decline of half a percentage point.

That is reflected in the wage share within countries comparatively.

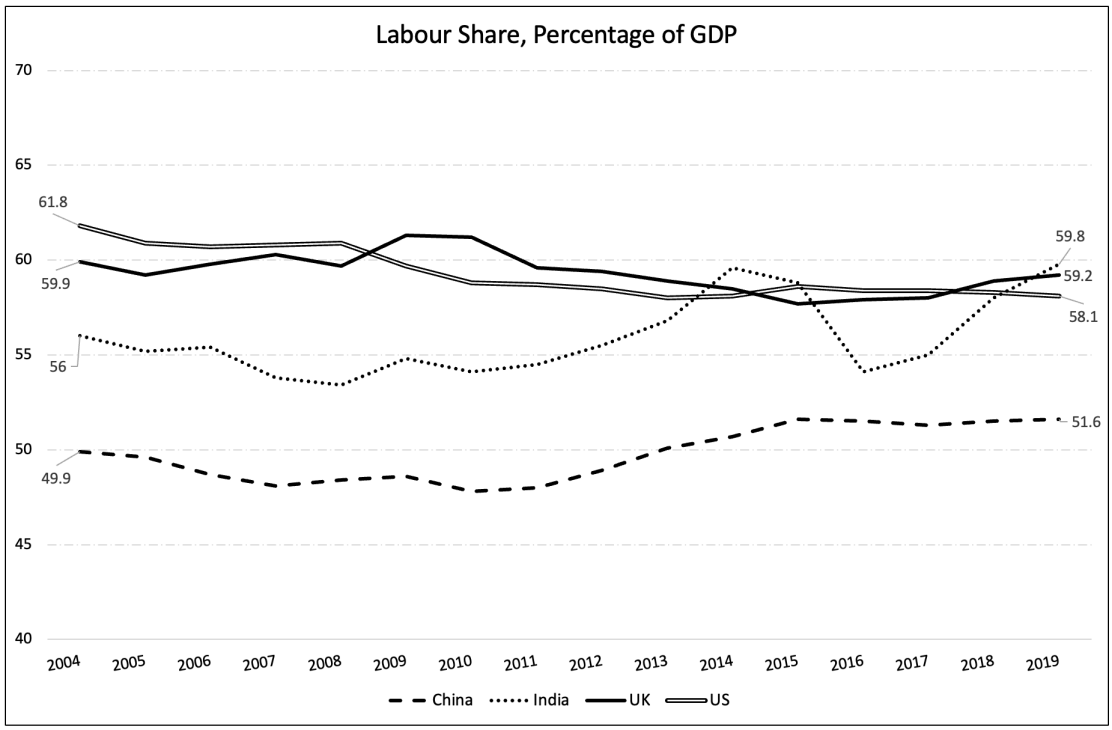
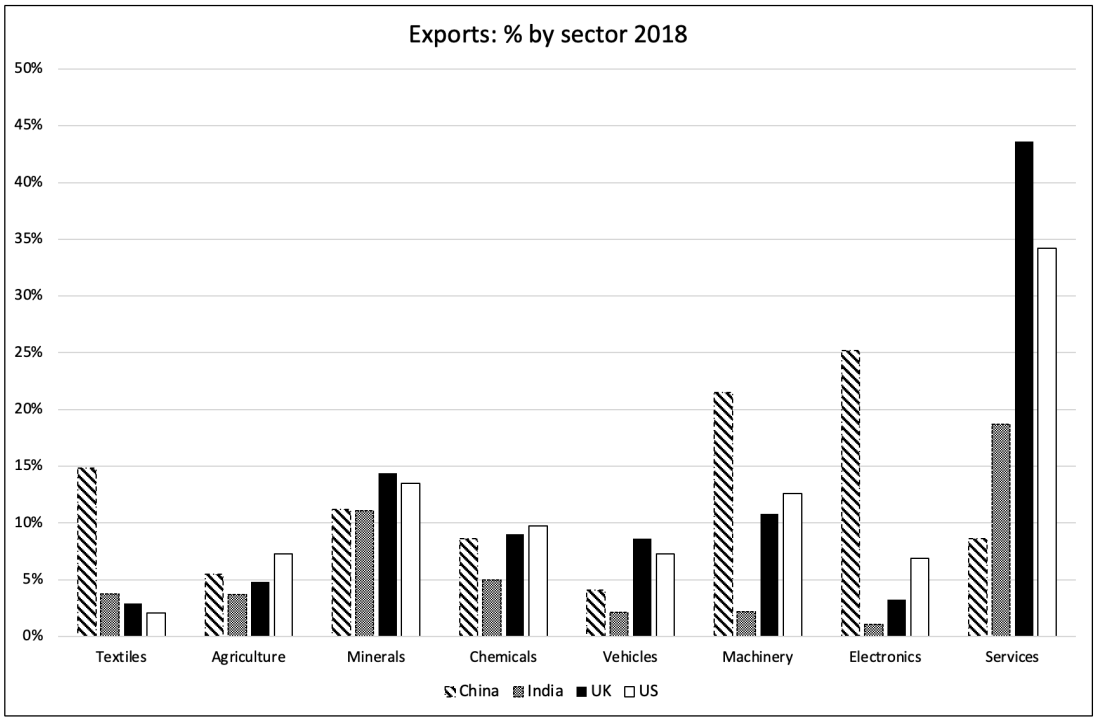


Figure 4.7. Labour share as percentage of GDP, China, India, UK, US. Source: ILO (2023)

Where the US and UK have both seen slight declines in wage share over the period 2004-2019, both India and, particularly China, see increases. This is clearly associated with the increased productivity of Chinese labour, particularly, allowing for greater claims by workers, who have shown significant organised resistance (e.g. Friedman 2014), itself associated with efforts by both countries to segment labour through human capital development, for only segmentation will allow inequality and wage share to grow concurrently. Segmentation involving, specifically, growth of high skilled alongside other labour sectors (Gordon et al 1982) – the sector constituting my respondents – this is central macro context.

Harvard University's Growth Lab (GLHU 2023) allows one to drill further into the sources of the growth shown by India and China.



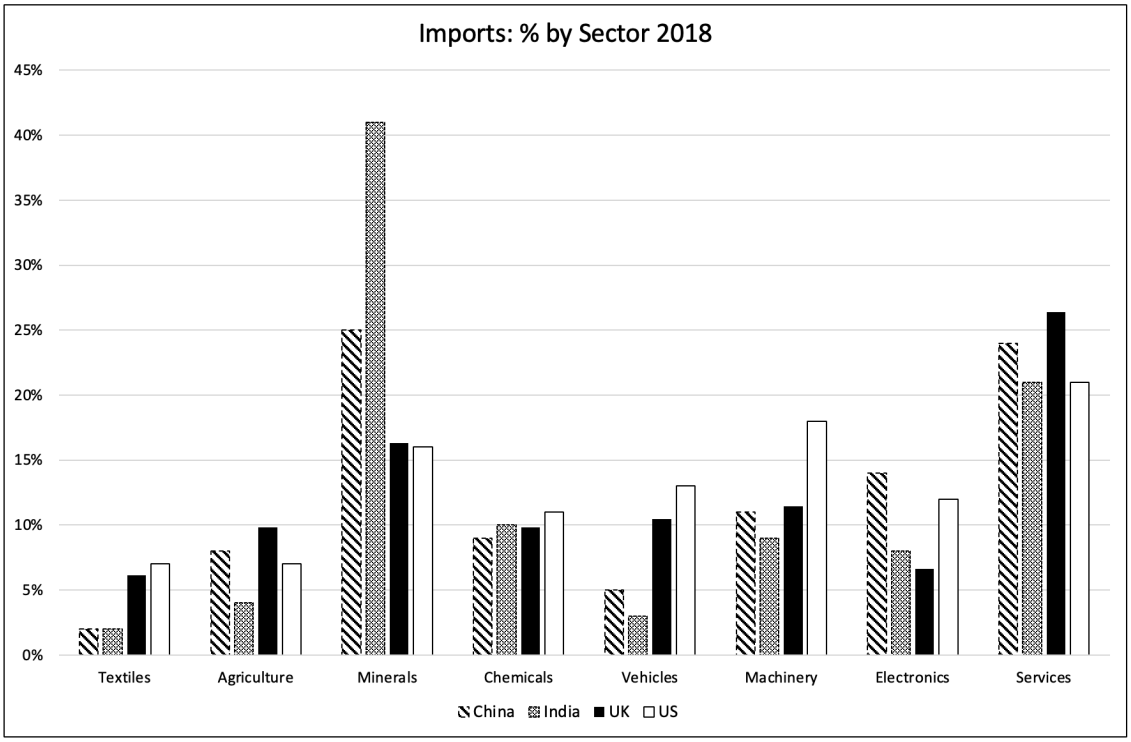


Figure 4.8 a, b. Exports and imports, percentage distribution within each country by sector: China, India, UK, US. Textiles includes furniture, garments and shoes; minerals stones, glass, metal, oil and gas; chemicals includes plastics. Source: GLHU (2023)

The relatively large proportion of China and India's mineral imports (25% and 41% respectively) confirms the scale of large-scale industrialisation the countries are undergoing; they are, indeed, competing to do so, through the development of infrastructure to welcome international production (see below, regarding Apple). However, the most interesting pattern is China's much higher concentration of manufacturing, compared to India's services. In terms of services, it is not possible from the data to identify where exactly the difference lies within the Growth Lab's own terms, since by far the largest share of India's is 'other' services. However, the Indian Government's Ministry of Commerce and Industry (GovInMoCI 2022) lists the lion's share as ICTs (Information and Communication Technologies), computer and business processes. Much of China's productivity comes from the country's despotic labour regimes (Lee 1998, Pun 2016). Even within electronics, much production is the relatively high labour and lower capital intensive assembly. The high import percentage in Figure 5.9b above suggests that that endures.

However, China's productivity also increasingly comes from the country's massively increased command of advanced technologies, including not only in their direct application within manufacture, but also in research and development, which brings monopolised ownership rights and, therefore, value capture. China surpasses even the US in the number of leading fields in which it has achieved dominance in research publications and citations, including in a variety of artificial intelligence applications, nano materials and 5G and 6G communications, and advanced aircraft developments from swarm bots to surveillance balloons (Gaida et al 2023). Similarly, for 2018, China filed the greatest number of patents internationally, at 1.5 million, near trebling the US' second place 0.6 million – figures which remained largely unchanged to 2021 (1.6 to 0.6 million) (WIPO 2023). While the quantity of the patents may surpass the quality, this is not the only source of success. In November 2022, for instance, Huawei filed an advanced lithography patent (Mishra 2022; Deng and Pan 2023), promising imminent autonomy from existing Western monopolies in the field. In combination, this suggests a significant

increase in technical autonomy at the very moment China seeks greater trade autonomy from the US – a conjunctural moment. This organised social upskilling or human capital development represents essential context for the projects of self-development my interviewees display. Their aspirations for themselves must be seen inextricably from this macro-context, as its subjective pole at the level of the individual.

Chinese autonomy in high-cost electronics goods from the US would prove devastating to US capital, given its dependence on Chinese labour to produce the surplus it captures, but also the cheap consumption goods enabling the pacification and low-cost reproduction of US workers. US GDP per capita is inextricable from the extraction of a mixture of monopoly rent but also relatively extremely high productivity based in high technologies such as those centred on Silicon Valley. An increase in China's autonomy would represent a diminishment of those advantages, threatening US hegemony both in economic terms –, but also, geopolitically, due to the nature of the specific productivity enhancers in question: advanced technologies, and particularly information and communication technology. Much of the knowledge transfer *to* China arose through canny strategy on the CCP's (Chinese Communist Party) part, with knowledge conditions attached to access to Chinese labour (see McGee 2023a, b for the example of recent knowledge transfers from Apple).

US imperial advantage relies not solely, as John Smith (2016) argues, in non-productive labour and branded monopoly rent extraction, but, essentially, *also* a real competitive advantage based in the commanding heights of extremely knowledge-intensive productivity. This key point – the *mixture* of rent and productivity in explaining per capita GDP as a factor in imperialist rivalry (and so the enduring reality of the law of value in labour relations at the point of production and politically in the production of world space) – is well made by Sam King (2021) in an important defence of classical Marxist Imperialism theory. This is essential to grasping the position of creative workers such as the alums, and the kind of value, intellectual property, which they produce.

The heated geopolitical tensions around Chinese companies such as Huawei express the threat that China's growth represents to US imperial profits, both in the manufacture and fabless design of highly advanced microprocessors. This represents the cutting edge of the fight against the tendency of the profit rate to fall through ever larger investments in fixed capital sliding towards the degree zero of labour dependency in artificial intelligence, in which capital's status as 'automatic subject' (Marx 1976: 255) completes itself. 'Moore's law', for instance, accurately predicting the doubling of microprocessor power each decade (Miller 2022), expresses in tech vernacular a central element of the tendency for the rate of profit to fall – and a key dialectical inversion – since each competition-enforced enhancement replaces living labour power with dead. Surplus labour extraction is central to geopolitical affairs.

Together, this supports the notion outlined by Greig Charnock and Guido Starosta (2016a) that the international division of labour is a process of world-scale capital's *distribution of productive subjectivity*. However, *pace* Charnock and Starosta's implicit structuralism, it must also be understood to be informed by labour's own struggles in terms of capital's defensive act of segmentation (Gordon et al 1982) and relocation (Silver 2003) against labour organisation. Seen in this light, the socio-cultural contexts highlighted by labour regime analysis constitute total social capital's distribution of productive subjectivity through a techno-socially integrated and differentiated world space. Through this process, alienation is spatially inscribed, concentrating the mental labour of control in the metropoles in the head offices of the largest monopoly firms, and distributing manufacturing processes in the South – a spatially differential production of subjectivity. This is key to the understanding of space in this thesis, as empirically addressed in Chapter 6-8 and diagrammatically illustrated in Chapter 9.

The participants I interview are of course largely involved, not in technological, but cultural innovation. However, as stated (Chapter 2), their labour can only be understood as part of the totality. As Yu Hong (2017), for instance, applying Dan Schiller's (2017) programmatically holistic approach, has demonstrated, in a central aspect of convergence, the shared infrastructure of advanced technologies and digital cultural consumption is essential for the economic viability of China's developmental project (also Chapter 3). As the Chinese Communist Party's Ministry of Science and Technology puts it:

> innovation-driven development means innovation should become the primary driver of development, that innovation in science and technology must be combined with innovation in system, management, business model, and culture, and that efforts must be made to pursue development on the basis of continued knowledge accumulation, technological progress and the improvement in labor competence, and promote economic growth with more advanced form, more sophisticated division of labor and more efficient structure. (PRCMOST 2016: NP)

Here of course culture industry is not the specific target, but, as the central industrial domain arising with the division of labour oriented to re-subjectification, it is entailed. In this sense it should be seen alongside the Indian government's 2007 Design Policy (GovInDPIIT 2007), as a plan to drive culture industries as general innovation systems development. I address that next with the specific nature of the intermediate social strata, the category the vast majority of my respondents belong to. Again, a national overview in relation to international context enables the macro historical analysis essential for understanding just how the individual's trajectory engages with the dynamic social whole.

4.4. New intermediate strata

In both India *and* China, despite the significant gap from the top earners, some of the upper intermediate deciles emerging with neoliberal globalisation may be ambiguously cast as winners, despite exclusion from ownership of the means of production. Many of these can be included in the 'new middle classes' – a group whose increase has been deliberately targeted by states, in order to maintain capitalist hegemony (or, as CCP policy has it, 'harmony') through a largely mythical 'olive-shaped' development (Lu 2011), whereby a small bourgeois elite would draw with them a mass of professional, technical and clerical service employees, along with small capitalists, whose consumption power would give them just enough interest in the status quo to help them keep the shrinking super-exploited strata in check. Increasing consumption could also be hoped to balance accounts by freeing national production from its dependence on rich northern consumption. As discussed in Chapter 6, this, along with the top deciles, is the group among whom the majority of participants in the present research are found, warranting detailed analysis here.

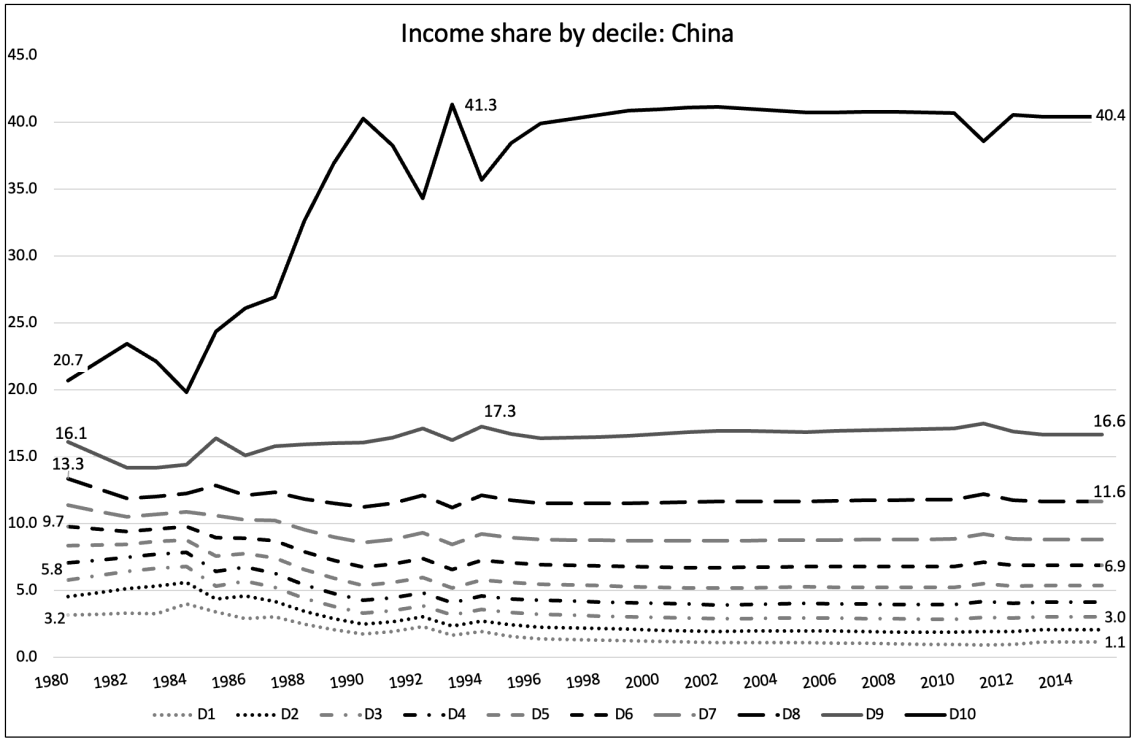
Figures 5.3, by showing a generalised increase in consumption capacity in both India and China, could give the impression of a general 'win win', with many middle deciles climbing into sufficient discretionary expenditure on educational, cultural, durable and technological goods to attain a middling level of both security and distinction from classes below. This is why Minqi Li (2016: 22, 170) says of this period in China: 'the transition to capitalism was welcomed and even enthusiastically supported by China's urban middle class' of 'professional and technical workers, such as managers, engineers, university professors, lawyers, and doctors', forming 'A pro-capitalist alliance between the Communist Party elites and the urban middle class' (see also Hung 2015, 2022).

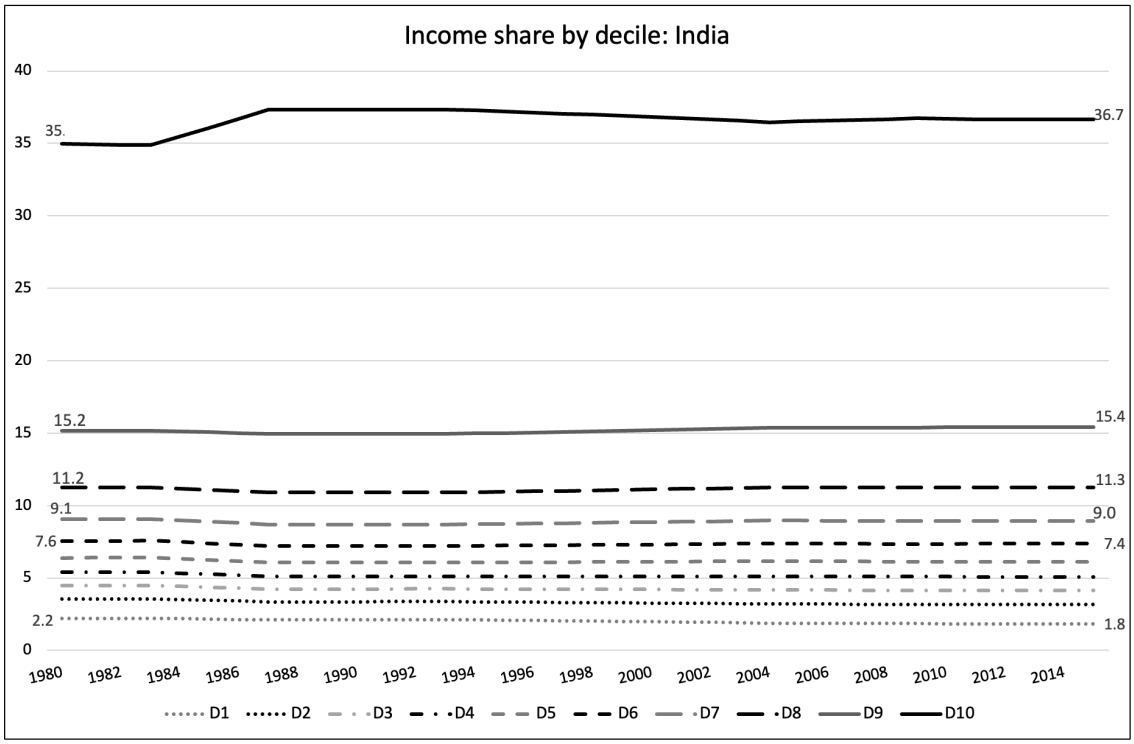
Satish Deshpande (2003: 139), drawing on Chatterjee's (1994) notion of colonial-era middle class mediation (Chapter 3), has argued that in India this class:

> *articulates* the hegemony of the ruling bloc; it both (a) *expresses* this hegemony by translating the relations of domination into the language of legitimization; and (b) *mediates* the relationship between classes within the ruling bloc, as well as between this bloc and other classes.

In his suggestive account, the upper echelons of the intermediary layers actively express the position of the ruling elite in cultural industries, while others perform a function one could term passively indexical, whereby slight increases in consumption of globalised imports among this group is taken as signifying mass support of neoliberal globalisation. Ruchira Ganguly-Scrase and Timothy Scrase (2009) find a close correlation between relative position among the middle income groups and opinion of Indian liberalising globalisation, with upper strata reproducing hegemonic positions about greater emancipation and cosmopolitanism, and others more cynicism, but all referred to in discourses of popular support. Jean-Louis Rocca (2017) identifies equivalent data instrumentalization in China. Associated hegemonizing features are seen in the discourses of the research participants and those who engage with them (Chapters 6-8).

The researchers behind GCIP data have usefully compared the massive differences in estimates of the size of the purported 'Global Middle Class', which, if one translates it into their deciles, can range in India and China from the 5th or 6th to the top. Excluding the latter as elites, rather, from senior managers to capitalists, cadres and the most favoured few in cultural professions, one could certainly say that even expansive definitions capture very different objective interests in liberalising globalisation among deciles in the middle rungs below that. In this sense, it is worth considering the GCIP figures again, but in terms of *share*.





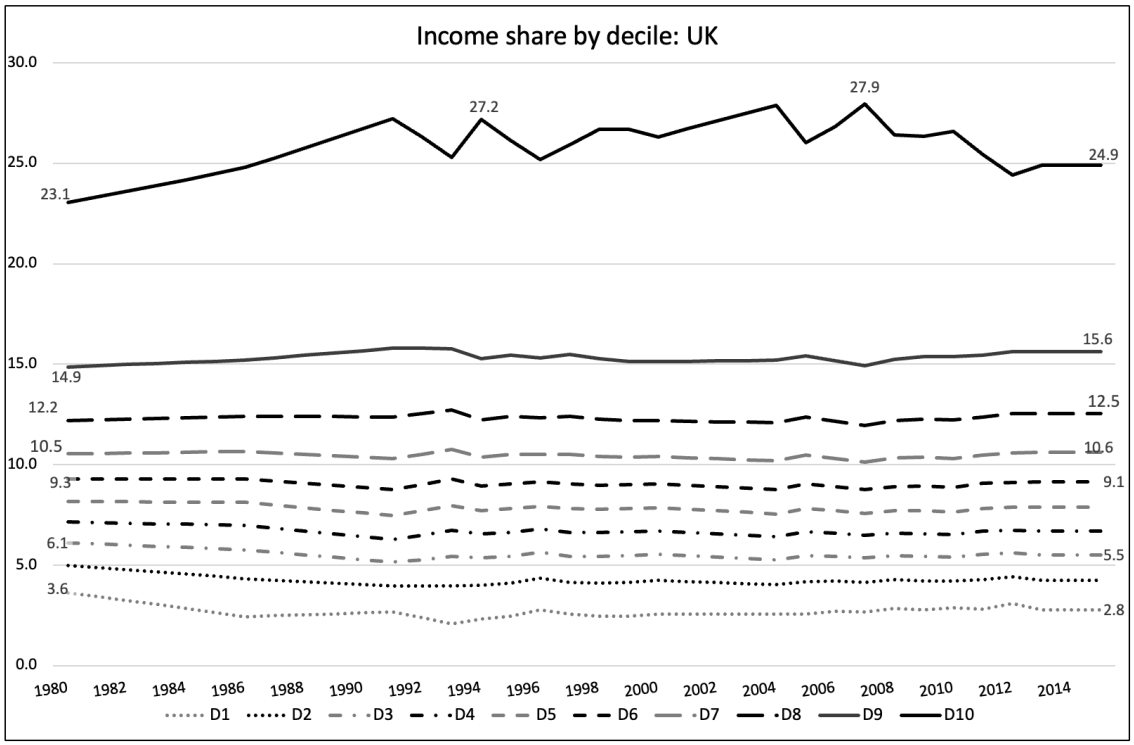


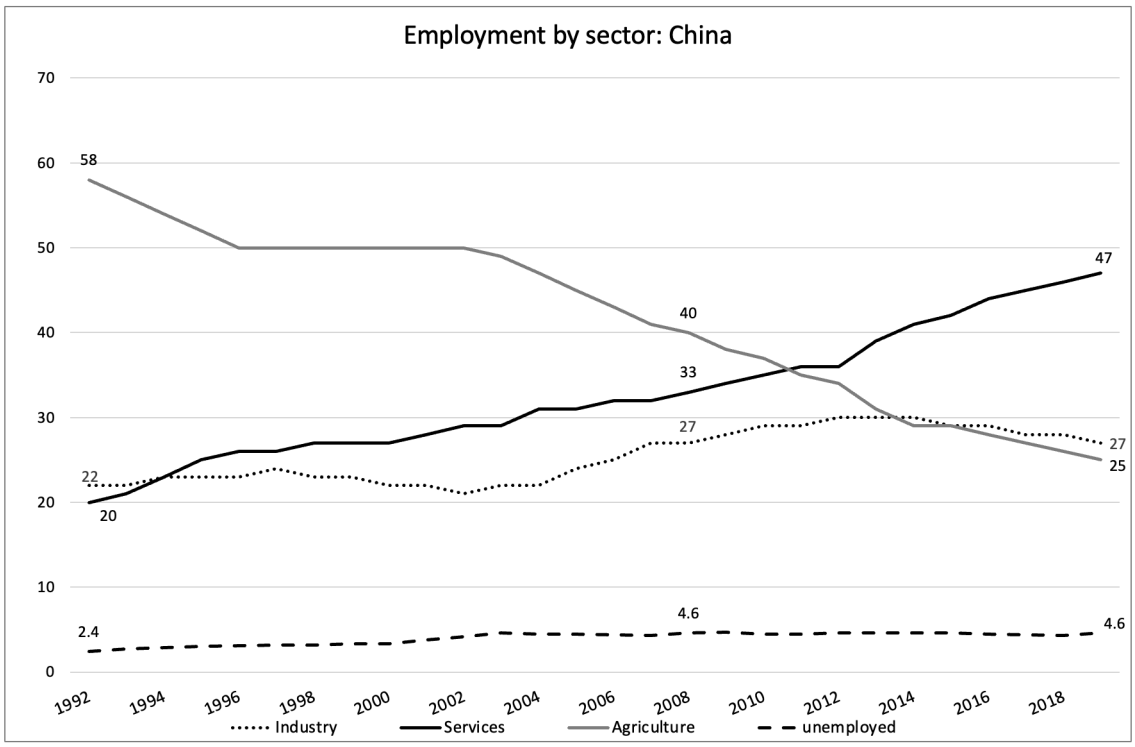
Figure 4.9. a-c. Income share by decile (percentage), China, India, UK, 1980-2015. Source: GCIP (2021)

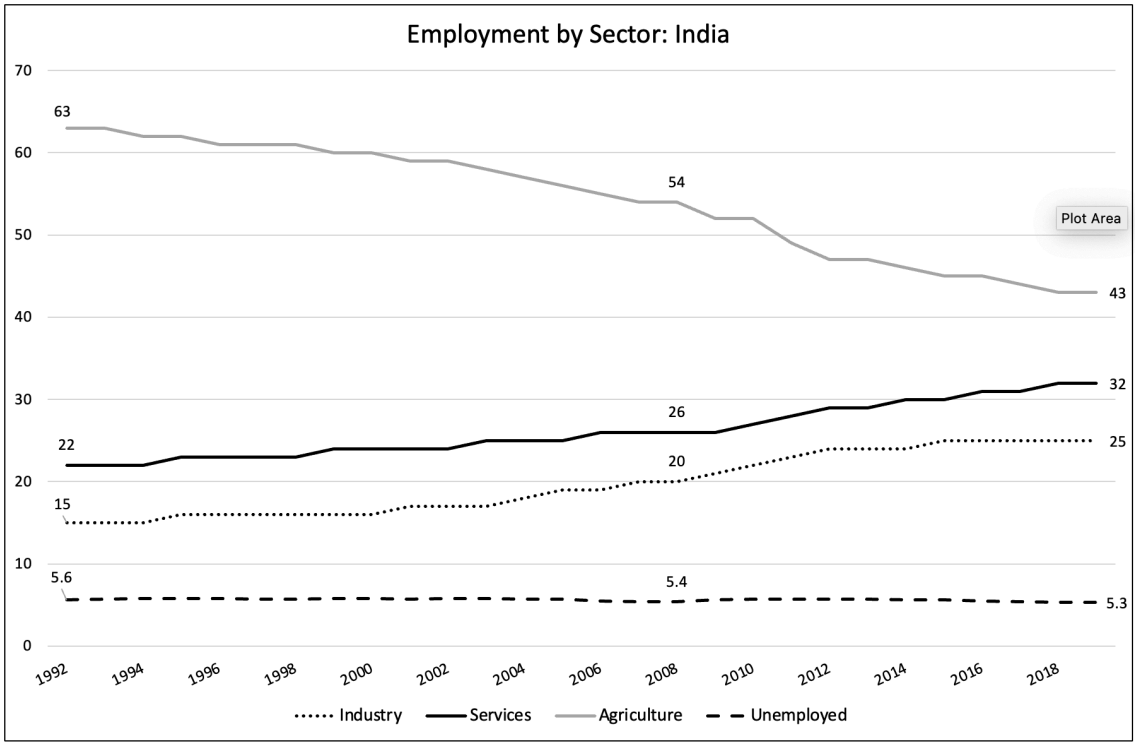
As 4.9 a-c show, the top deciles in all three countries absorb an increasingly disproportionate share of consumption possibilities. In China, everyone below D9 is a net loser in globalised liberalisation since 1980, and in India, like the UK, below D5. This may support Li's (2016: 171) hope that 'A new anti-capitalist alliance that includes the working class and the progressive sections of the urban middle class begins to take place.'

GCIP themselves define class on income terms alone, which, though convenient for macro level analysis, fails to account for class *formation*, which includes subjective,

political and other matters, but also structural features of ownership and control of the means of production (e.g. Wright 1978). Many of India's middle income group are small farmers or petty industrial producers, owning the means of production, but also themselves working on these alongside their employees (see Benjamin 2008 for industrial contexts, including ICTs; Chakrabarti and Cullenberg 2003 and Das 2020 for agricultural). In India and China there is also a dwindling contingent of middle-ranking state employees, who constitute a separate interest group. The *new* middle strata in both countries is distinct: predominantly urban, excluded from the means of production, but with various other means of claiming a share above the bare reproduction constituting the value of labour. This may be social, cultural, or qualificational assets, or simply functional, such as a loyalty increment for performing the control and supervisory roles of capital (Wright 1978). Like C. Wright Mills' (1956) 'white collar' workers in the US, after whom they are named, this group arises from the deepening division of labour under the concentrating and centralising capital of industrialisation. The account of Mills – 'probably the most quoted author' on this group in China, according to Rocca (20017: 205; see Fernandes 2006 on India, and discussions in Jaffrelot and Van der Veer 2008) – is itself a romanticised version of an account sometimes appearing in the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (2008: 44; Marx 2010 *Civil*: 336) identifying the political significance of 'middle classes' between capitalist and the working classes, and including *both* failing small capitalists *and* those among the workers who, for a period, clamber out of the bottom rungs through skills-based differentiation.

Evidence in support of such a formation can be found through a sectoral analysis of labour employment.





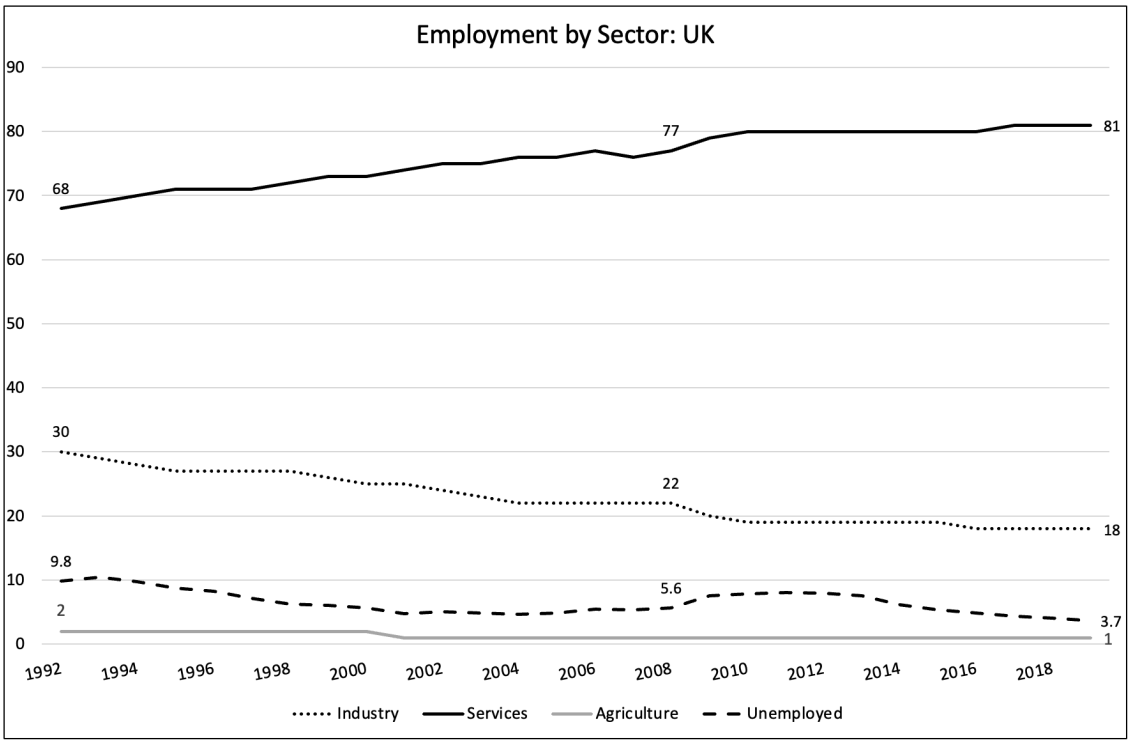


Figure 4.10. a-c. Employment by sector (percentages): China, India, UK. Source: ILO (2021)

Figure 4.10 demonstrates a massive movement since the early nineteen nineties from agriculture in both China and India, into growing industry, and also services, though the latter never reaching the proportion in the UK. Combined with the UK's industrial decline, this picture ties with FDI changes discussed above in relation to GDP: 'globalisation' has represented, in part, an attack on working class labour in the UK by the incorporation of southern workers, who, where they are not thrown – frequently violently, and against violent resistance – entirely off the lands, come to rely on land

seasonally or *reproductively* in patterns of circular migration, holding down labour costs below the value of reproduction in an 'unfinished proletarianization' (Pun 2016: 38) – a feature of unevenness with significant impact on the international division of labour and its accompanying massive internal and cross-border labour migration (Canterbury 2012; Cross 2021; Delgado and Veltmeyer 2016; Ritchie et al 2022; Vickers 2019). The law of value tends to produce workers where capital needs them, even as migration itself is a central means of labour agency – both factors seen in relation to the alums' own patterns of movement.

One key difference in Marx and Engels (2008: 70) from Mills' (1956) elegiacal miserabilism is to recognise the tendential fall of these middling groups towards the merely reproductive wage, and into the ranks of the working class as a whole:

> In countries where modern civilisation has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and, as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by overlookers, bailiffs and shopmen.

They are a group, Marx (2010 *English*; 2010 *Class*) noted, prone to fluctuation in their allegiance, between capital, on whom they are dependent, and the proletariat, with whom they share exclusion from ownership. The *growth* in this stratum, however, visible in the macro terms of wage differentials, has been argued to be contrary to Marx's prediction of their imminent demise (e.g. Bell 1999) – though even in the citation above is talk *both* of their disappearance *and* of their renewal; seeing their demise, and class polarisation, as *tendential* does not preclude acknowledging counter-tendencies.

Within Western Marxism, a key moment of recognition of this counter-tendency was the late 1970s (Carchedi 1977; Poulantzas 1974; Walker 1978; Wright 1978). David Gordon et al (1982) is a thorough account in the US context showing both the proletarianizing tendency and segmenting counter-tendency at work in the US over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is worth returning to descriptions from this era in considering the Chinese and Indian contexts because of the currency of 'New Middle Class' discourse, since my research participants primarily belong to this group. This general and historical account will help lay the groundwork to answer my main research question concerning the construction of those participants' productive subjectivities. The late capitalist monopoly era in advanced economies saw increased organic composition diminishing labour at the point of production relatively to the expanded the role of functions such as services as well as control and management of production. Alongside managerial roles, this included a variety of 'contradictory' (Wright 1978: 31) functions involving high skills, at some distance from the point of material production in manual labour, and yet, as waged labour, without overall control. Engineers involved in automation, for example, would contribute to others' deskilling, but nonetheless be involved in the production process: applying knowledge as a direct productive force. Others involved in design might have a roll in directing the labour process of others, even as their work was an essential part of production. Waged workers in marketing were engaged specifically in promoting the ideology of capital, and, as such, overseeing reproduction, though only at the social, rather than firm level. And yet they may at the same time be producing an aspect of a commodity: its meaning. Wherever they are situated at one moment, though, unlike the capitalist, who can move capital from unprofitable to profitable areas, the dependency of much of this group on skills to negotiate a higher wage exposes them always to risks of deskilling from automation or

devaluation through labour market saturation: they are, unlike the capitalist class, tendentially prone to proletarianization.

The wave of segmentation currently underway in China and India is characterised by multiple differences from the earlier period in the West, including, notably, through the massively increased role of digital capitalism, as a significant feature of unevenness and combination targeted by states seeking to 'leapfrog' (GovInMeitY 2019: 6, SCPRC 2006: NP) to advanced economy status. Platform-mediated work relations make class position vaguer and more fluid than ever, including hybrid combinations of peasant incorporation into advanced capitalism through means such as micro-loans. As Moritz Altenried (2020: 111, citing Mezzadra and Neilson 2013) has pointed out, digital capitalism participates in the 'multiplication' or heterogenisation of labour relations. Digital workers labelling images or texts for algorithmic searchers or, still more, AI learning, are actively deskilling the work of archivists, illustrators, journalists, copyrighters and others. As paid piece-workers, this does not give them a contradictory position beyond proletarianization as the work involves no autonomy. But the free labour which instructs AI may display such contradiction: consider consumer reviewers whose choices may result in fines, suspensions or dismissal of Didi platformised taxi drivers. Strictly speaking, this could be considered outside of production relations and so class position, since value is not produced. Yet such free labour is sufficiently functional to the production relation that, for instance, free peer to peer communities may be sold for billions in company valuations, such as Baidu's 2013 purchase of purchase of 91 Wireless for U.S. $1.9 billion (Xinhua 2013). Similarly, such ride hailing and delivery platforms obscure relations with workers, making them appear contractually and legally to be self-employed: petit bourgeoisie applying their own means of production such as cars and e-bikes. These means do not bring ultimate control, and these workers are clearly subsumed, but in many cases the employer may legally appear to be, not the platform, but the service user, who directly pays *both* the platform *and* the driver. Even *attempting* to regulate this and enable unionisation, the Chinese state admitted lack of clarity about their status (SCIOPRC 2021), and used civil, not labour law (Chau and Schultz 2022).

In China, various surveys have identified these workers as coming from mixed backgrounds including both petit bourgeois such as previously independent drivers, and other middle strata such as commercial and business service workers, but the majority are laid off or resigned manual factory workers (CLB 2022). This is clearly a tendential development of digital monopoly capitalism, seeking new forms of profit as proletarianized labour organization in Chinese factories has increased (e.g. Friedman 2014), and capital investment has reduced labour dependency, resulting in a large untapped labour reserve. Platform capitalism's 'digital Taylorism' (Altenried 2022: 107) allows profitable access to this reserve far beyond the factory gates, at the same time as others from outside the working classes. However, despite the confusion, the class position is clear from the extremely low level of autonomy, absence of any control function over others and deskilling (Chuang 2020), but also class-based organised resistance (CLB 2021; Hu 2021). Equivalent processes can be seen to occur in India, as illustrated later.

In both China and India, where development requires vast infrastructural expenditure on communications to compete for capital-intensive production, extension of discretionary spend is an essential feature of economic development: 'middle class' consumption of travel, mobile phones and broadband *must* support the infrastructure expenditure for production above the lowest value. If these southern economies are to emerge from export dependency, they must also develop sufficient internal consumption capacity to absorb more of the goods they produce. And the new middle class holds the capacity to form a diffuse social base for an intensive expansion of capitalist relations also as commodified workers, or 'human capital', since the qualification of labour,

identified by Michel Foucault (2004: 232) as a funamental element of neoliberalism, must be understood as deeply associated with the adoption, by fractions outside of capital, of the capitalist perspective in embodied form: 'the entrepreneur of [the…] self'. This entrepreneurship of the self is central to the work of cultural intermediary, who must relate, and teach others to relate, to features of the self such as knowledge and appreciation of culture as capital – a central feature of the development of productive subjectivity addressed in Chapters 6-8 in answer to the main research question concerning just how this productive subjectivity is constructed.

Marx (1976: 134) recognised the increased salary of complex trained labour as a return on educational investment, though he noted its insecure, temporary, and divisive status, and it is clearly a part of the contradictory nature of the new middle classes. Marx's account was doubtless influenced by that of Adam Smith (1976: 282 [1776]), who, from the position of capital, states:

> The acquisition of […] talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realized, as it were, in his person. Those talents, as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise of that of the society to which he belongs. The improved dexterity of a workman may be considered in the same light as a machine or instrument of trade which facilitates and abridges labour, and which, though it costs a certain expence [*sic*], repays that expence with a profit.

This is not far from the position from within value theory of Guido Starosta et al (2024), drawing on Heesang Jeon (2010), that the increased cost of complex labour represents its capacity to effectively intensify labour productivity elsewhere in the circuit, in a way akin to the machine. But in Smith's formulations are the contradictions of the bourgeois model, and a profound instrumentalism. For example, the notion of education as embodied fixed capital suggests, quite rightly, that it is not the embodier, but the *controller* who profits: capital, not the worker. Yet Smith – again, not unreasonably under bourgeois property rights –, refers to it as the *worker's* fortune. Key neoliberal promoter of the 'human capital' model Gary Becker (1993 [1964]) extended this thinking across the entire social field, imagining a *homo economicus* able to account for every life decision in market terms. Becker (1993) himself recognised that the notion of human capital was inherently anti-socialist: it perpetuates the (ideological) notion that property ownership is universal, or, with hard work and merit in a fair system and law-abiding society, potentially so. To the extent that they can be persuaded to work within the human capital model, middle classes, then, are an essential feature of neoliberal hegemony both ideologically, and directly economically.

This law-abiding (private property regime respecting) social basis is again complexly hegemonic in function, balancing the books both symbolically and economically, while exercising a constitutive role in weakening working class formation. Elaine Hui (2018) has demonstrated how the growth of legal means of labour dispute resolution in China has helped to undermine working class subjectivity. This is closely associated with the growing multiplication of pay strata, as the state incentivises competition through neoliberal marketisation. But the middle classes in *both* countries are also promoted as representing mobility from informal practices, into property-rights respecting ranks of populations recognised by indigenous and transnational monopoly capital as an essential social basis for the intensification of commodification. This putative group are mobilised to replace the *jugaad* and *shanzai* cultures of informal production: for these terms (literally 'making do' and 'mountain fortress' respectively) proudly name indigenous rip-off cultures, once happily tolerated by states with little sympathy for the culture monopolies of northern capital (Han 2017, Pang 2012, Rai 2019, Sundaram 2010, Yang 2016, Zhao 2019), and which should be seen as the cultural counterpart to reverse

engineering by Southern producers under erstwhile trade protections (Saraswati 2012). These states have now, with the collusive force of bodies such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), International Monetary Fund and World Bank (heart of the neoliberal 'Washington Consensus'), and newly globalising indigenous capital, determined that this low-ownership mindset fetters development and needs upgrading. The new middle class, attributed a stake in emerging consumer experiences as well as a belief in meritocratic progress, constitute, then, the potential of the extension of property rights into the social itself (addressed in Chapter 2 as a feature of cultural or 'biopolitical' production), forming the 'soft' infrastructure of human capitalisation. This social re-subjectification is a central part of the role which the alums I interview ascribe themselves and their work in the culture industry, the domain I now turn to.

4.5. Culture industries.

In India, Leila Fernandes (2006; also Chatterjee 2014, Ghertner 2017), has demonstrated how new urban middle classes frequently use legal means to reconstitute urban environments in their interests, with collaborative control from capital and the state to justify gentrification drives. Elite middle class interests, universalised as popular legitimacy, are mobilised and leveraged to expropriate property for development. The relations of this to the culture industry are multiple, including the creation of technological and human capital infrastructure to support consumerism and investment (see Athique and Hill 2011 on Indian cinema complexes and retail and residential property). Similar processes have been identified in China (Wang Xiaoming 2017). There, the promotion of 'innovation driven development' (SCPRC 2015: NP) as a governmental tool to upgrade the public for increased productivity again demonstrates the complex interlockings of political, economic and cultural factors leveraging the contradictory status of the middle classes.

In terms of cultural industries, Lee Artz's (2022) recent study shows that in both India and China over this period media have reflected this pattern – given political and cultural sensitivities around cultural content, mostly through joint ventures rather than outright foreign ownership. Yuezhi Zhao (2008) and Daya Thussu (2007) show the close association between the expansion in middle class workers and audiences and FDI in liberalising media markets. This has contributed to significant growth in these sectors. Indian media grew 13% in 2017 alone, for instance, largely through massive FDI (Artz 2022: 67). To take a high growth industry, domestic film revenue in China rose steadily by a factor of nineteen times from 0.9 to 17.07 billion Yuen between 2002 and 2012. In 2010, fifty percent of that revenue was from co-productions (Hao 2014: 12-14). Advertising, in which, directly and indirectly, many of the alums interviewed for the present project work, grew in 2011 by thirteen percent. In 2012, of the top ten advertisers, five were western, including all of the top 4, with the largest, Procter and Gamble, spending a staggering 31.1 billion Yuen (US$ 4.9b) (Chen and Tang 2014 : 101, 106). This is fundamental in terms of the alums studied in the project. Most do some or most work for overseas corporations, predominantly Western, either as employees or on a contract basis – both for cultural industries, but frequently also for the wider capital discussed here, such as in advertisements for consumer products. This places them, as intermediaries, consciously at the intersection of both class and cultural borders.

Indeed, processes for commodifying culture are a specific knowledge-based export of the UK in the form of 'creative industries' discourse and practices. With its origin in Blairite 'cool Britannia', this was a means by which, in quintessentially neoliberal terms of market extension (Chapter 3, also Harvey 2005a; for culture McRobbie 2016), advanced capitalist practices were introduced to cultural domains which still constituted a hold-out for pre-capitalist production relations. The specific nature of cultural content

as well as labour processes makes them a particular challenge to reduce to the law of value: the creative input of labour does not allow of spatio-temporal reduction to a competitively defined minimum on the same terms as highly degraded manual labour, for instance, and the potential of symbolic goods for endless reproduction requires complex legal forms of cognitive enclosure, with pervasive surveillance by state and capital social to reduce them to marketable commodity status (see Chapter 3; also Johnson Andrews 2019, May 2007). For this reason, in both India and China, to be effective, FDI must be accompanied by social change far beyond just capital investment. Also required is a pervasive change in social subjectivity.

I return to this in Chapters 6-8, since many of the alums interviewed are specifically involved in the project of extending the creative industries approach from the UK to Mumbai and Shanghai. The evidence, I will argue, is not only that the complexly uneven social whole analysed above constitutes the essential environment in which the intermediaries work, but that it is an essential aspect of that work's productivity. S28, for example, describes herself as seeking to reproduce London street life in Shanghai, a project she describes in deeply subjective terms, and to this end, she is funded by a local property developer with state backing on the basis of a specific relation to the self and its experiences she feels she developed in London. This intervention within the space of reproduction is oriented to increasing productivity by increasing the rate of commodification of everyday life. Various alums in both India and China specifically align themselves with the project of bringing a creative industries approach from the UK to their city, making this macro analysis essential context.

Artz (2022) has discussed how investment through joint ventures helps to reformulate social subjectivity along individualist and consumerist lines in media entertainment industries in countries including China and India. This reproduces the processes discussed in the wider economy above.[2] From a transnational capitalist class perspective (e.g. Carroll 2010, Robinson 2004, Sklair 2001), Artz rightly takes issue with cultural imperialism models. Like Dan Schiller (1996), Artz argues that such models once held critical weight in so far as they addressed media domination in terms of the suppression of the potential for socially owned and oriented national communications systems. In recently decolonised environments, for instance, the potential for alternative media oriented to socialistic development was significantly undermined by the power of US media specifically oriented to suppressing socialism internationally. Artz demonstrates, though, that such models no longer constitute adequate bases for critique when monopoly capital is so transnationally integrated that it exploits international labour as a whole with little impediment from national states or borders, and little or no cultural difference. China's Alibaba or India's Reliance, for instance, as key large culture industry monopolies, and their boards and owners (Jack Ma and Mukesh Ambani respectively), are so profoundly integrated in ideological, practical and financial terms with Western and other international firms and capitalists that their interests, too, are inextricable.

However, the transnational capitalist class approach, though it has much of importance to offer, underplays the role of states in constituting the class relation on national terms politically and culturally (e.g. Bieler and Morton 2018: 114-122). Certainly, the only hope the vast global majority have in freeing themselves from exploitative and oppressive work and political relations and attaining autonomy is by overthrowing the capitalist ruling minority internationally. But their experiences of oppression, along with the regimes of

[2] On China's digital capitalism, see also Fuchs (2016: 275-286) for discussion of corporations' transnational board membership and Wójcik and Camilleri (2015: 465-469) for the deep integration with US financial management firms. On Indian television transnationalism post-liberalisation, Thussu (2007) and on Bollywood cinema coproductions with Hollywood, Rasul and Proffitt (2012).

exploitation, are mediated by multiple nation states, who typically manage capital's political relation to labour through their hegemonic role underpinned by the monopoly of legitimate violence. In this, states must compete for the national productivity to underpin social peace through the balance of violence and reward in labour pacification. In Chapters 6-8 I show that the cultural difference arising from the unevenness of state mediated capital development itself, both as historical heritage and as it posits that unevenness anew, constitutes a fundamental content of cultural labour and source of valorisation. In this sense, we need, as ever, to attend *both* to the fundamental contradiction by which capital dominates the great majority in society globally, *and* the enduring variegation by which capital, by means of state regulations, both differentially exploits different labour segments and posits difference in its production of a world space conducive to value extraction.

In this competitive expansionist context of differential worker exploitation, imperialist wars remain, *pace* Artz (2022: 22-23), an enduring danger and indeed reality, as demonstrated by Israel's activity in the Middle East; Russia and NATO's proxy war in Ukraine, and Western sparring with rising China. Despite the joint ventures Artz (2022: 86) highlights between, for instance, China's Alibaba and Indian firm Reliance, the first country to ban TikTok altogether was India. As well as reacting to US anti-China nationalism and bolstering Modi's strongman claims, this promised to offer Indian digital monopoly capital market entry into user-generated short video: Reliance Jio – a corporation with deep, policy-shaping links to government (Block 2019, Sagar 2018) – immediately entered talks to purchase the app from ByteDance (BT 2020). Further, the deep transnationalism Artz identifies in the media sector seems to apply less in other culture industries. Artz (2020: 27) distinguishes international corporations as national companies selling products overseas, from multinationals – national corporations who control overseas subsidiaries –, and transnationals, where corporations of different nationalities work together in partnership. Firstly, it must be noted that the partnership relation is often distinctly coloured by international politics. Facebook's first attempt, in 2015, to enter India as service provider with Facebook Basics was beaten back by a campaign with strong anti-cultural imperialist tones, prompting a government ban. Its successful re-entry was conditional on a $5.7 billion dollar investment in Reliance – a costly emollient to a national champion, demonstrating that the base word remains a complex political hurdle to the smooth flow implied by the prefix *trans*-. But further, the companies employing the alums in the present research tend to be either national or multinational. Examples are Italian corporations Diesel and Luxotica, British ASOS and Unilever, and German Adidas. In this context, cultural difference is not merely vestigial from pre-capitalist eras but is actively reproduced within the capital relation.

4.6. Internationalisation of higher education

Given the central place of international education in my participants' trajectories, and the main research question, therefore, I now consider this macro context. Dennis Canterbury (2012) and Raúl Delgado and Henry Veltmeyer (2016) have pointed out that labour migration is dialectically related with uneven development. Southern states tied themselves increasingly to the profitability of internationalised capital, at the moment its leading elements – northern monopolies – required new, cheap sources of labour, and were developing the technological means to exploit them (see also Chapter 3). The law of value, underpinned by state power, ruthlessly judges all production by the same measure, rendering traditional livelihoods unsustainable, but also tendentially replacing high with low labour intensive processes. But further, the differential distribution of labour *and its necessary reproductive environment* causes very notable macro patterns in labour-oriented educational migration.

International educational mobility closely mirrors patterns seen above, including the dimension of segmentation. The wider social environment comes to reflect the needs of capital, but as these are mediated through institutions such as states, universities, and the family, as well as the agency of subjects of education.

Country	Inbound	Outbound	Top 4 sources, with total
UK	20.1	1.3	Nigeria 21,241, US 19,027, China 16,577 Italy 14,452
China	0.4	16	No figures
India	0.3	1.3	Nepal 13,034, Afghanistan 3,150 US 2,893, Bangladesh 2,6060

Figure 4.11. UK, China, India as host countries of inbound students and source of outbound students (% of total student population) Source: (UNESCO 2024).

Domicile	2014/15	2020/21
Home	1,873,295 (80.1%)	2,182,560 (76.2%)
China	89,735 (4.00 %)	151,690 (5.3%)
India	18,440 (0.9%)	126,535 (4.4%)
EU	127,135	120,140
Non-EU	315,085	559,825
All	2,315,840	2,862,525

Figure 4.12. UK higher education students by domicile, 2014/15 and 2020/21. 'Not Known' excluded. Source: HESA (2024).

Figure 4.11 and 4.12 show significant internationalisation of UK higher education (HE), with a large Chinese and Indian contingent. Reverse flows are very different indeed. A staggering 20.1% of tertiary students in the UK are from overseas (European or 'international', which in the UK means non-European non-national domiciled students), while a mere 1.3% of the student population leave the kingdom for study. In India and China the figures reverse, with China almost exactly, at 0.4% to 16%. Looking at source countries is also informative. India receives most of its students from poor neighbours, whose choices are clearly governed by the low cost of fees and living. Prospects (2024), a typical online guide, suggests between £2,500 and £6,000 for international study in India. The British Council (2024) puts UK international student fees for undergraduates at between £11,400-£38,000, averaging at £22,000. Most directly, this pattern reflects the direction of change in the context above: upskilling from a significantly less knowledge-intensive base, but also the needs of multinationals investing in the southern neighbours and requiring that highly skilled labour (figure 4.6). However, this also passes through other mediating institutions. The Chinese state began supporting education internationalisation as essential plank of Opening Up in 1978, and has continued to the present (Yang 2016), closely tied to economic policy, and oriented to growth of agriculture and industry, but also science and technology and national defence (Eisenman 2018). N. V. Varghese (2020) highlights the move in India, as in many post-colonial contexts, from post-independence HE policy oriented to autonomous national

development to a more recent market-oriented approach, including through GATS (the World Trade Organisation's General Agreement on Trade and Services) trading, in which southern access to Northern consumer markets would be exchanged for Northern access to the Southern labour in the form of mobile brain power, many of the most gifted staying on.

The growing marketisation of education internationally favours an approach to human development through the choices of individuals as owners of property in the soul itself as capital. India's New Education Policy of 2020 (GovInMoHRD 2020: 35-39) seeks to increase private alongside state provision, with various forms of 'internationalisation', including increased outward and inward student mobility, and branch campus presence nationally of large international universities, as well as Indian campus presence overseas – effectively inward and outward FDI –, but also 'industry academic linkages' through start-ups, incubation, and student internships. China has long had similar capital-friendly policies, and strong incentivisation for human capital development. The State Council's epoch-forming 'National Long-Term Program for Science and Technology Development, 2006-2020' (SCPRC 2006: NP) pushed the neoliberal concept of 'national innovation systems' seeking to 'create a favorable environment for cultivating and attracting S&T [science and technology] personnel, with high-quality talents in particular.'[3] The project, like many, was strongly targeted at commercialisation:

> Universities are not only an important base for nurturing high caliber innovative talents but also a principal player in basic research and original technology innovation activities and a commendable force in addressing major S&T issues in the national economy, materializing technology transfer, and effecting technology spin-off and commercialization.

The country's 'Education Modernization 2035' (British Council 2019) and its 'Implementation Plan' (GovAu 2020) continue and deepen the project, looking to internationalize through mobility and outward and inward FDI, but also support the entrepreneurship of returning overseas graduates (see Chapters 6-8 for concrete examples).

More than simply a brain drain (see Chapter 7), the massive net outflow of student mobility constitutes, in the form of fees, a significant transfer of the cost of reproduction of brain power saved or, in the case of loans paid on return, earned by the middle classes of southern economies to the North. According to the UK Department for Education (GovUKDfE 2018), total educational exports in 2018, including all levels and transnational education (that by UK providers overseas) reached £20 billion, and benefits to the UK from overseas HE students' fees and living expenses alone were £15.97 billion, a rise from £9.3b in 2010. This is such a substantial cross-subsidy for British middle classes that UK universities – and so, by implication, those middle classes too – are completely dependent on it. The *Financial Times* estimates that the £9,000 paid annually by British students is on average £2,500 below actual cost (Foster et al 2023). In 2023, University of the Arts London, by far the biggest arts provider in the city (and indeed Europe: *THE* 2024), with the most participants in the current research project, received 54% of its fees from international students alone (excluding EU), as did London's Royal College of Art (Garcia et al 2023). The gains do not end there: not only can students who stay on and apply their new skills be expected to be productive for UK-based capital, but even returnees represent, as British trained overseas brainpower, a potential labour reserve for transnational capital. As the British government's Departments for Education and International Trade jointly noted:

[3] Key scholarship promoting the deeply ideological venture of building 'national innovation systems' is Lundvall (2010) and Gu et al (2009).

> Education exports contribute to the UK's soft power, as well as generating economic value. The flow of international students, international collaboration between institutions and partnerships all help to generate goodwill towards the UK, on which we can build mutually beneficial relationships and interactions (GoVUKDfE 2019: 15)

Chapters 6-8 note many such interactions, frequently in the form of local employment by Northern multinationals. This is the essential macro-context to understand those data, which shows in turn the subjective processes involved: that is, I show there how such educational mobility, turned into subjective capacity, enters into capital accumulation and productivity.

This is not to say that states' decisions are unmediated reflections of the interests of capital. Capital itself is plural in interests by fraction, and states complex material institutions which develop their own logics and determinants even as they mediate the interests of capital, which can result in apparently contradictory behaviours. The UK government at the time of writing exhibits on the one hand a recognition of the need to internationalise British higher education, declaring an intention to increase total educational exports from £20 to £35 billion by 2030 (GoVUKDfE 2019: 5, reaffirmed 2021) and yet, in January 2024, the same government reduced visa access to international students (GovUK 2024), with potentially grave effects for a sector already near failure. Up to 40 institutions, including Russel Group, are considered on the brink of collapse (Foster et al 2023). Although deeply marketized in its organisational management (e.g Allman 2010; Hall 2018; Smyth 2017), British Higher Education is an outlier industry in having remained as yet a public service, meaning that the vast sums swilling through it are largely inaccessible to national and international capital. This also means that the only direct beneficiaries of international students' fees (apart from the very senior staff such as vice chancellors, through inflated salaries), are the highly skilled British workers in formation and their families discussed earlier – much to the chagrin of national and international capital denied access to direct profits. State imposed failure of large UK providers would quickly resolve this: since the state would hardly leap into the breach, and yet nor could it allow backbone institutions to go under, they would likely be transferred to the private sector under conditions guaranteeing profitability, albeit through massive market restructure and concentration and asset sales leaving them meagre approximations of their present condition.

Further, the visa limitations are prompted most directly by the state's attempt to resolve contradictions elsewhere. The most central contradiction of capital is that with labour. The welfare state, including education, has been one means of resolving conflicts by contributing to the reproduction of labour at the level necessary to the needs of capital. This allows a degree of autonomy to labour as a necessity for the kind of work that it is obliged to do, involving some criticality. It also allows limited social mobility from the most degraded to the more qualified levels – an essential means of production of the ideology of meritocracy. Such resolution involves a mixture of political with economic means – state-mediated bargaining and indirect wages with increased labour productivity. These liberal recourses have long been diminishing (Gallas 2016, Hall 1988). While capital may want to resolve its economic problems economically, through easy access to highly skilled labour of international origin, the state, even as it represents capital's interests, has directly political means at its disposal. These political means include disorganising workers by directing animosity away from capital and the state itself towards other workers through racist ideologies. The British state, then, offers forms of variegated citizenship (Ong 1999, 2006), both underpinned by, and underpinning racist ideologies, to produce and distribute subjects of production for global capital. Chapters 6-8 demonstrate the interplay of these differentiated forms of citizenship arising from visa controls in the alums' trajectories, including in direct interplay with racialisation. They show that the course the interviewees take through complex unevenness in their

educational trajectories grounds forms of productivity from learned engagement with the multiple borders of that unevenness itself.

I now turn to the politics of this group associated with the intermediate position. This is essential to understanding the meaning of the intermediary position, including its frail basis, and so of social position of the research participants.

4.7. Politics of the Intermediate Strata

The contradictory location of this middle grouping outside either capital or labour makes 'class' a problematic term from a Marxist perspective, in which identifying the tendency to polarisation is primary (Callinicos 1983, Poulantzas 1974). Of the status of the French small-holding peasantry, Marx (2010 *Eighteenth*: 187-188) suggested that they were a class in terms of the economic conditions, which gave them interests in conflict with other classes, but politically, they were not, since they had no independent representation. Stanley Aronowitz (1978) argued subtly from this passage for preferring 'stratum' for the new middling groups. And yet, this is insufficiently dialectic: Marx specifically said that, looked at one way they *were* a class, even if in another they were not. That would certainly describe the new middle classes now. There could, in the last analysis, *be* no enduring middle class hegemony – again, *pace* Bell (1999 [1973]: 363) and his prediction of a hegemonic 'technical intelligentsia' –, since it is a group which neither ultimately controls production through ownership or possession, but nor could it lead revolutionary transition, due its dependent interest in division of labour and separation of control and execution. As such, the stratum is not a class. And yet, under digital monopoly capitalism, as a stratum with interests aligned neither unambiguously with labour nor with capital – though tendentially prone to *slip* into proletarianized positions – elements may function at times as a class. The translation of Marx's (2010 *Class*: 64, 125 respectively) term for such groups interchangeably as 'middle strata' interchangeably or 'middle class' accurately reflected their inherently contradictory character.

For all the insights of miserabilist accounts in the US (Mills 1959) and France (Bourdieu 1978), and the Indian (Fernandes 2006) and Chinese (Ren 2013) researchers influenced by these and Foucauldian models (Hoffman 2010; Ong 1999, 2006; Rofel 2007), this group's adoption of capital-friendly perspectives is by no means assured, and a polarised position as non-owning workers against capital is inherently possible – above all in lower fractions whose gains from neoliberalism do not outweigh their social degradation. The GCIP figures for the UK (4.5a above) show overall a relatively declining share of income in all but the top two deciles (d9: 14.8-15.6%; d10: 23%-24.4%) – a potential which may engulf the Southern middle class counterparts, too, as capital begins to squeeze those who, at the moment, help fuel its boom.

Information has been compiled by the World Bank in collaboration with the People's Republic of China which supports this (WBGDRC 2019: 78), with a set of findings which, though produced to back neoliberal human capital development discourse, actually undermine it. For these show that between 2000-2015, just as income gains polarise, with a lucky few winners and a pinched majority, so does skills distribution, as mid-range skill levels bottom out, to the benefit of either high or low ends only. This is in line with Harry Braverman's (1998 [1974]) picture (and that of Marx 2010 *English*), where capital's need to automate would *first* lead to growth, and then decline of the intermediate classes. This is clearly behind the '996' work culture protests in China's tech industry, whereby an early bubble attracted skilled labour before concentration brought layoffs and squeeze (Li X. 2019).

In the Chinese context, the contradictory nature of this group was demonstrated by the democracy uprisings of June 1989, where the formal democratic claims of the bourgeoning urban professionals and students – a group aspiring to credentialed advancement –, and the equality-based claims of manual and peasant workers failed to cohere, such that the former was hegemonized by the emerging neoliberal elite to intensify market liberalisation (Unger 1999; Wang 2003). There is *both* a shared position *with* workers along certain axes against the elite 'cadre-capitalist class' (So 2014), *and* the frailty of this position. Mao Zedong's (1965 *Analysis* [1926]; 1965 *Chinese* [1939]) account of the intellectuals and students from among the contradictory 'petit bourgeois' groupings was already along these lines. In the Communist years much attention was placed on diminishing their distinction from workers – the distance of mental from manual labour, theory from practice, shop floor and lecture hall –, before Deng Xiaoping's New Era ushered in the current direction of credentialed differential pay and privileges, and a party formed more of intellectuals than workers or peasants (Andreas 2009).

However, post-1989, potentials for re-alignment with the proletariat remain. The anti-Covid 19 restrictions 'white paper' demonstrations of Shanghai urban middle classes had a real relation to working class struggle. Protests began with iPhone assembling Foxconn workers in Zhengzhou and the immiserated Uyghur population of Ürümqi, victims of forced labour burned to death as a result of aggressive lock down policies. These represented a spark for the Shanghai protesters, whose alignment was emphasised by the singing of the communist *Internationale* on Shanghai's Urumqi Road (Yu 2022), chosen in solidarity for its name. But again, despite important statements from minority socialist collectives (e.g. Lausan 2022) helping to build connections between the limited anti-lockdown and the wider pro-worker claims, the depth and long-term results of the show of solidarity remain for the moment limited (Li 2023).

In India, the relation between intermediate groups and politics is manifest particularly in relation to the deeply disturbing and growing authoritarian and neo-fascist tendencies of Hindutva, centred on the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its volunteer base, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Internationally, Fascism has been associated with middle strata under economic strain. This can lead to hatred of organised labour, mixed with conservative chauvinist values and resentment of economically oppressed groups felt to be unfairly improving their condition at the expense of established middle strata. As well as economic rewards, these middling groups expect cultural forms of compensation, from chauvinism, hatred of others, and licence to violence (e.g. Fuchs 2018). Certainly these patterns present in India. Raju Das (2020) addresses the deft mobilisation of this resentment by Prime Minister Narendra Modi as a smokescreen by a state unable to free itself from monopoly capital sufficiently to make real concessions to the poor, even as capital is itself addicted to favours from the state rendering productive investment unnecessary (as well as very hard under global competition with imperial powers). Stuart Corbridge and Robert Harriss (2006) identified in the rise of the Hindutva at the time of Ayodhya (1990) a resentment by established middle classes against quotas given to oppressed castes – a classic middle class weakness – which the ruling classes were able to exploit in a contradictory mix of nationalism with globalised neoliberal reforms plus consumerist sops. Christophe Jaffrelot (2015), in a study of the 2014 election sweeping the increasingly fascistic Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) into power, found middle class support intersected with caste to produce a sense of social decline among middle class but upper caste Brahmins, resulting in greater identification with Hindutva. In the 2019 election Jaffrelot (2019) finds less resistance, with even Dalits, the lowest caste, having joined their support for the BJP, but *does* find the entry of the 'neo-middle class'. This is a fiction of Premier Modi's coinage, which in fact simply *reframes* the new urban proletarian workers departing agricultural labour (Figure 4.6c above) as moving

towards the middle classes, and targets them on the basis of purported aspirations. Their new support for the BJP is a worrying development, suggesting the group do not find sufficient collective protection as workers to defend against the allure of chauvinism using the hegemonic indexical function of middle classes referred to above.

On the other hand, the recent farmers' uprising involved a quintessential group of *old* intermediate strata – petit bourgeois small farmers – in an extremely powerful inter-class farmer alliance against monopoly capital and its state enablers, with significant solidarity from striking and other organised working classes as well as Communist parties (Bahl 2020; Crowley 2020; Sarkar 2020). Tom Brass (2019) makes a strong case for including poor peasants within the working classes, but the case remains complex. While the average Indian peasant farmer would fall around the fourth decile in income terms as per figure 4.3 above (for incomes see Bal 2021), the movement gathered sharecroppers, propertyless waged workers, very small and relatively larger employing owners, making working-class leadership beyond caste and class hierarchies frail, precarious, and contradictory (see Bahl 2021). Similarly, the 2019 protests against the anti-Muslim Citizenship Amendment Act in India gained massive support from students – in India, particularly, a group strongly associated with middle strata due to the effect of credentialization on trajectory (on position by trajectory, see Wright 1978: 93). Some coordination with labour groups, including through a general strike, helped to unite a concern with citizenship with specifically labour interests against the BJP's simultaneous attacks on labour rights (CITU 2019; PTI 2019; TNN 2019).

As capital, in its need for global competition, finds it increasingly hard to fund even the ersatz freedoms coming with a share in the means of discretionary consumption, it may well be that a genuinely universal claim is made to freedom, shorn of dependence on private property. Though the recent alliances between more and less ambiguous groups of workers discussed above have been brief and shallow, they demonstrate a potential. If proletarianization of further middle strata were to occur at scale, more durative grounds for revolutionary action could be sown. The conjunctural moment of struggle between the US and its allies, including the UK, against China suggest that securing the ambiguous loyalties towards, or at least acceptance of capital within this stratum may be becoming unsustainable, and, with proletarianization, struggle will rise.

In my own study, I was unable to identify significant politicisation amongst interviewees (Chapters 6-8). However, considerations here show that the hegemonic role of this specific social fraction in supporting capitalism in general, and, in culture industry, consumerism specifically, displays fragility. Further, the empirical chapters show among interviewees an identification with criticality which, under such conditions, could well develop in more radical directions.

4.8. Conclusion

While, under existing production relations, capital ultimately determines life possibilities for the vast majority, subjective struggle, both political and otherwise, also affects outcomes. In the case of respondents in my study, support from families is frequently essential to this expensive mobility, as well as subjective investment by students themselves. Chapters 6-8 highlight that educational mobility of international students, while it responds to objective features of the labour market – capital's needs – represents also a creative act on the part of highly skilled labour building opportunities – not all of them directly economic, or simply reactive. Capital, while it is the most significant macro factor shaping these decisions, nevertheless must navigate the capacity and will of workers to engage in the skilling and other forms of labour reproduction. Delgado Wise and Veltmeyer (2016) and Canterbury (2012) have recognised the process in migration patterns whereby *both* labour follows capital *and* capital follows labour –

though of course the dynamics, such as the ability to enlist the state in support of the expropriation forcing so much migration, are entirely unequal. In the present context, of highly skilled labour-oriented educational migration, an extra level of labour autonomy is specifically required by capital of workers, who must make significant financial and spiritual investments in self-development through temporary uprooting.

However, as well as shaping the context of the labour market itself, capital – again, with unequal input from labour – also shapes the reproductive environment. The international division of labour requires also a division in the conditions of labour reproduction. Labour's input into determining the level of reproductive stimulus occurs partly through struggle over the direct and indirect wage, (to afford cultural and educational contents through the wage, for instance, but also through government funding such as public culture, libraries, and educational funding), but only as it sets the level of labour reproduction: if working classes – including highly skilled – were able to save, they would have no need of capital, an eventuality which both capital and the state defend against. The much higher international mobility to the UK as compared to that to China and India, despite the costs, are directly associated with the different per capita GDP and its effect on its capacity to reproduce very highly skilled workers. The expansion of capital necessitates the expansion of its reproductive capacity, including the alteration of the consumption landscape, the means by which everyday life is reproduced by and for capital (see Lefebvre 1977 for an early account). The higher average level of skill in the UK requires a more developed reproductive environment in terms of educational and cultural facilities such as museums, as well as material consumption goods. Despite the costs, this then attracts southern students seeking equivalent qualifications. As qualitative and subjective factors governing student mobility from China and India, the empirical chapters address this in detail. I discuss this here as a significant aspect of the macro context, the production of the space of reproduction, whose relevance the data in Chapters 6-8 demonstrates.

This chapter as a whole, then, has drawn an essential picture of the landscape – the generative matrix – through which the alums of London art, design and communication education travel in their projects to improve their life conditions. It constitutes the macro pole or environment, engagement with which constitutes the productive subjectivity they construct: a central element, then, of the main research question. The empirical chapters will show just how engagement with this objective context (a context already constituted as the alienated form of human subjectivity) is (through re-subjectification), rendered productive. The intervening chapter (5) covers methodological issues, including the macro-micro bridge.

Chapter 5

Methodology: Researching Creative Labour

5.1. Introduction

The following is a methodology designed to capture the way that subjects engaged in the creative labour of cultural production in Shanghai and Mumbai relate their productivity to their prior higher education in London art, design and communication – the content of the main research question:

> How is productive subjectivity constructed by alums of London art, design and communication higher education who are based in Mumbai and Shanghai cultural industries?

This inherently requires accessing very subjective content as features of labour. Examples of such data did in fact range from aspects of everyday life, to sensory experiences, embodied knowledge and issues of personal taste, as well as emotions (see Chapters 6-8). The question, though, also requires grasping these in relation to the macro developments discussed in Chapter 4. An important aspect of the methodology is therefore an analytical approach to data able to move between macro and micro, objective and subjective data. It must grasp processes occurring across geocultural and institutional locations, such as London universities and Shanghai and Mumbai industrial contexts; the movement *between* them; and the effects sought or generated *through* that movement. It must also combine quantitative and qualitative data: though I do not create new quantitative data, and so do not include its analysis in the empirical chapters, for Chapter 4, I process relatively raw available data into representational forms and combinations appropriate to illuminate the empirical chapters based on qualitative methods – Chapters 6-8.

This raises specific methodological issues. On the one hand, responsive to the focus on subjectivity, a central approach is semi-structured qualitative interviewing analysed through coding and categorising on a case study basis sensitive to ongoing discourse as social practice. Though there are many useful handbooks for such qualitative approaches, however, many lack a *critical* orientation, that is, one seeking to understand the relation of individual cases to a specific and problematic dominant social order relationally constituting the individual, at the same time as the possibilities for alternative orders, and aware of the role of theory itself (e.g. Thompson 2017b). On the other hand, approaches which do foreground more critical orientation tend to lie within critical political economy, which focuses less on qualitative data and subjectivity, and more on the kinds of quantitative data revealing underlying structure.

The chapter first outlines approaches taken to macro-level data in Chapter 4 (5.2), background to the empirical chapters proper (6-8). It then considers theoretical issues concerning qualitative research, and the integration with research on subjectivity and that on objective features of social structure, including at the macro scale (5.3). The chapter then turns to the interviews in terms of sampling, process, topics, and analysis (5.4-5.7). Section 5.8 proposes a dialectical method of analysis as a means of bridging the forms and scales of data addressed (relatively subjective, qualitative, micro-level, and more objective, quantitative macro-scale), and 5.9 and 5.10 address researcher positionality and research ethics.

5.2. Macro-Level Analysis

For macro-level analysis, the present research has been most influenced by media studies scholarship in the critical political economy tradition. Nicholas Garnham (1979) outlined a lucid early programme for this method, to explore culture as concrete and subjective content (in his analysis, largely ideology) in terms of its industrialised valorisation. The structural factors he suggested considering included:

- Capital fractions and degrees of concentration;
- Struggles over commodification of new domains of labour and reproduction;
- The industrialisation of new sectors, such as services and less developed domains;
- The search for new profitable domains through the development of new technologies
- The role of states in relation to capital fractions [and one should add in relation to labour and other classes];
- The internationalisation of capital.

This is a useful list in keeping with a Marxist framework. Though Garnham himself did not go into actual methods for gathering such data, scholars who have systematically engaged in such a programme empirically (Bolaño 2015, Bouquillion et al 2013, Fuchs 2015, Golding and Murdock 1997, Miller et al 2005, Schiller 2005, Thomas 2009, Zhao 2008, etc.) informed my approach in the chapters gathering background data, particularly Chapter 4.

5.3. Mediating Subject and Structure.

Key methodological statements on qualitative research have often adopted more-or-less explicitly a programmatic rejection of macroanalysis, conceived, under the influence of ethnomethodology (e.g. Garfinkel 1984 [1967], Schegloff and Sacks 1998 [1971]), as a form of positivism. Frequently paradigmatic to qualitative methods are openness to participant constructions and the focus on ongoing meaning-making, as not only a methodological approach, but an ontological principle of social constructionism in which discussion of determinant structures beyond appearance – that which appears to participants themselves at the moment of interaction – is ruled out as deterministic, essentialist, and totalising. This is true also of methodological statements otherwise of great use to my own research (Brinkmann 2013, Charmaz 2006, Kwale 2007, Stake 1995; Caldwell 2006, Saukko 2003 for cultural studies).

However, such interactional constructivism is opposed to a materialist dialectics, which recognises that, though the social world is humanly produced, that constitution is ultimately determined by production relations structuring society as a whole, and which do not appear as such in individual interactions. A Marxian method must begin with the recognition of the dialectical division of commodities under capitalism, essential to the extraction of surplus labour, into use value, its phenomenal form, and value itself, an abstract essence determined by complex social processes far beyond specific interactional contexts (degrees of development of productive forces, political and institutional contexts, etc.). Michael Lebowitz (2006) and Derek Sayer (1979) have expanded well on the methodological implications of the essence/appearance distinction within the capital relation. As Karl Marx (1981: 428) argued, the phenomenal world – the visible, or apparent – does not equate to the 'actual', which lies in 'inner connections': 'it is one of the tasks of science to reduce the visible and merely apparent movement to the actual inner movement.' Methodologically, particular positions, structured by relations given by the whole, must be presumed to be partial. Common critical constructivist methodological orientations such as multiplication or amplification of the truth claims of oppressed

groups, or refusal of the truth claims of power (Canella et al 2015, Denzin and Giardina 2016, Flick 2017), cannot illuminate the forces which actually oppress individuals, since, however constructed, power is *real*, materially embodied through relations, and *extensive*: that is, structural effects causally constrain contexts in such a way that critique must uncover just *how*, in order to help challenge these (Morrow and Brown 1994, Strydon 2011, and Thompson 2017a, b, are good accounts of critical methodology in this sense, though with the emphasis on theory).

A useful recent handbook integrating ethnographic and Marxist approaches is Alessandra Mezzadri's (2021a) edited collection. This aligns with the work in the present study in its focus on dialectical relations between observed phenomena and underlying structures of the capitalist mode of production in the production of space. Mezzadri (2021b, c) shows the utility of applying Marx's (e.g. 1976) framework around such concepts as commodity fetishism methodologically to distinguish between the material processes of labour embodied in phenomenal forms such as labour and textiles, visible to the ethnographic researcher, and the abstract value extracted for circulation on global markets. Mezzadri rightly argues that considering the relation between these is essential for accounting for spatial factors of labour regimes, where the articulation between these – what Marx (1976: 992) called the 'twofold form' of labour as both concrete and abstract – dictates how capital 'hits the ground' (Mezzadra and Neilson 2019: 3).

Mezzadri's (2021a) collection does not discuss methodologies for analysis at macro scale – which, in fact, is largely absent from her important monograph on the Indian garment industry (2017), like others who have taken up Michael Burawoy's (1985) anthropological approach to regime analysis for otherwise highly insightful contributions (Lee 1998, Pun 2005).

I follow Craig Calhoun (2002: 287) in distinguishing 'macro' and 'micro' scales as those of 'populations on a large scale or at a high level of abstraction' and 'individuals, face-to-face relationships, and the construction of meaning' respectively, a distinction also applied by Jeffrey Alexander and Bernhard Giesen (1987). The difference in scales as Calhoun frames it implies also a move between structure at the large scale and agency of the individual – so also the totality and the particular; between objective and subjective (for example statistical and interpretative data), and between abstract and concrete. These features are supported by Alexander and Gieson's (1987) historical analysis, which usefully highlights the relation to ontological positions about the source of social change either in objective factors of structure or individual agency, for example. Alexander and Gieson (1987: 5-8) suggest that, where the early works of Marx supported the individual pole, and thus also the interest in research at the micro scale, in his maturity he viewed the social totality as determinant, rendering macro-scale analysis alone valid. Though the link they establish between the scale of social research, epistemological and ontological claims, and Marxist analysis is useful, this Althusserian position on a purported epistemological break in Marx is, as discussed in Chapter 3, untenable. The way out of such dichotomies is the dialectical approach discussed in Chapters 2-3 and below. Where private ownership constitutes the totality as complex and fragmented, breaking the continuity between the individual and the social whole, a dialectical analysis of subject and object is required to recognise social objectivity as the form of appearance of the alienated subject, so both analytical levels are equally necessary. This is returned to in Chapter 8, with an exploration of agency in terms of the data. 'Totality' is an essential *relational* concept of Marxist dialectics (Mészáros 1970: 195, Ollman 1976: 268), which cannot simply replace the particular or individual instance, since they are mutually constitutive (Boveiri 2024: 14). However, in the alienated contemporary condition, where the totality becomes largely synonymous with the operations of world-scale capital

(Abazari's 2020: 81-91; Marcuse 1955: 272), the individual's capacity for self-determination is significantly reduced.[1]

Wider debates within labour process theory also consider what Paul Thompson and Steve Vincent (2010: 56) call the 'connectivity gap' between macro, meso and micro scales, including in terms of the specific question of this project: the relation between subjectivity and structure. They argue that a coherent analysis of labour processes must consider articulation between subjective factors at and beyond the point of production, *and* macro-level structural factors, and rightly suggest that, as yet, no single paradigm exists to cover all. As per the present study, along with qualitative methods, they advocate approaches such as global value chain analysis and regulation approaches to capital at the national and international scale. *Unlike* the present study, however, they argue for the abandonment of a 'totalising framework' (2010: 60) which would seek to identify the 'connective tissue' (2010: 56) between levels. This is largely because they jettison value theory (2010: 50). The present study treats value as an essential factor (see e.g. Carchedi 2011; Lipietz 1985, Starosta et al 2024), too frequently neglected, in grasping the relation between the very different forms taken in the highly variegated and uneven trajectories of the circuit of capital in its production of space, from the commodifying process at the labour point – be that under strict factory regimes of assembly, or the relatively autonomous conditions of design –, to state investments in human or other capital infrastructure, or transnational financial flows; less, perhaps, a connecting tissue than the vital force – labour power – which internally connects the manifold parts of the whole.

My research question asks how productive subjectivity is 'constructed' by alums in relation to their international education and local contexts. Certainly, I am sensitive to the interview situation as a site of discursive construction, but actually, as the data discussion shows, macro contexts are constitutive of that construction itself, meaning that analysis must not fetishise the ongoing interactional moment. David Deacon et al (2020: 8-13) have rightly argued that communications research inherently requires the mixture of both the interpretative work of qualitative methods as well as the more structural data amenable to quantitative research on the grounds that:

> Communications media […] are central to almost aspect of contemporary life, from the broad patterning of social institutions and cultural systems, to intimate everyday encounters and people's personal understandings of the world and their sense of themselves. (2020: 1)

In this sense, scholarship on mixed methods is useful (Cresswell and Plano Clark 2018, Tashakkori and Teddie 1998, 2003). A limitation of many mixed methods accounts is their tendency to resolve the tensions between the two poles through either pragmatics, perspectivist or dialogistic epistemologies (Shan 2022 is a good overview, also Shan 2024). This approach is a working through amongst paradigms, none of which is faultless, but which together make a best representation. For a Marxist approach, on the other hand, the tensions themselves must be considered to arise from the real nature of the social processes in the subject-object dialectic.[2] The principle I apply, therefore, combines methods not as mutually external but dialogically competing approaches towards a truth conceived as what works (pragmatic) or what emerges from perspective or dialogue ('dialectic'), but rather as the means of accessing at different social levels the forms of

[1] Martin Jay (1984) gives an overview of the concept of totality in Western Marxism.

[2] The 'dialectical' vein of mixed methods literature (e.g. Hall 2024, Johnson 2017) is not Marxist, but liberal dialogical and perspectivist. I can locate no significant consideration of Marxism in mixed methods literature, 'dialectical' or other, such as the major statements cited above, or, for instance, significant handbooks (Hesse-Biber and Johnson 2015, Poth 2023, Tashakkori and Teddie 2003).

appearance of the same essential process. This is closely related to Deacon et al's (2020: 10) critical realist paradigm of the enabling interplay of structure and agency.

5.4. Interviews: sample size and selection

In sampling, I sought the following attributes across participants:

- Variety of: time since graduating; experience and expertise; seniority and age; institution; study programme; range of industries; nationality; gender; labour segment.
- Likelihood of producing useful knowledge.

The two criteria are related, of course, since variety is likely to produce knew knowledge and so *counter* evidence, strengthening theory (Charmaz 2007; Stake 1995). Further, where an informant worked or had worked for a particularly interesting company, whose mission statement, for example, referred to a programme matching what previous interview data or other informational sources suggested was noteworthy, that too was taken as a potential prompt to seek contact.

I conducted a total of 30 interviews in person in Mumbai, and 29 in Shanghai, lasting between 30-90 minutes (at approximately 60 hours in total, an average of just under 60 minutes each). Of these, eight participants were not either industry practitioners or London HE alums (see Appendix: Participants data): various other categories were interviewed to gain contextual and other insights. Thus, for instance, a critical media scholar was interviewed as a previous Research Fellow rather than alumna of a London media centre. This interview sought – and gained – insight into a *parallel* movement to that of the central interviewees, but with a specifically *critical* orientation, and with scholarly, rather than student context for mobility. Thus 51 interviews constituted the core data set.

It is worth elaborating on the approach taken to the category of art and design and communications. These were chosen as representative of the culture industry as it is institutionalised in, for instance, 'creative industry' practice and policy and its educational enactment (e.g. British Council 2010). While at times the mapping to either art and design or communication was self-evident, such as in relation to graphic design, at other times this was less so. 'Fashion Management' at London College of Fashion, for instance, I considered an art and design course. Firstly, this was due to the nature of the college itself, and the University of the Arts London (UAL), of which it is a part, but also since, though a management course, the course contains *elements* of design education associated with the institution. Some fashion design as well as visual merchandising content is taught even on business courses. Further, the career move fashion business alums themselves frequently executed into both fashion design work and media made it clearly best to acknowledge the permeability of the boundary. Institutions included were specialist arts colleges (UAL, Royal College of Art), but also arts or media departments in more generalist institutions (e.g. Goldsmiths or Westminster). Of the main 'creative industry' subjects, music was the only discipline not researched. Adding this would have over-extended the scope, but also, doubtless due to its very specific training, none of the permeability was noted as it was in the subjects considered (art, design and media), as discussed above, suggesting a practiced disciplinary distinction. I have also conducted, in separate research, interviews with and observations of students engaged in interactions conducted in previous research into UK internationalised A&D HE (Waldron 2016).

I used three main routes of access to participant contacts: online research in the field of culture highlighting a practitioner in Mumbai or Shanghai as an alum (e.g. an interviewee from the international network 'Fashion Revolution' whose biography I

chanced upon); through personal networks; and through LinkedIn – most usefully in Mumbai, where the search terms 'Mumbai' and the name of a relevant London Higher Education institution produced innumerable contacts along with very detailed background information. The vast majority contacted responded kindly to requests, and selection could be highly targeted, based on their online career record – which then informed the interviews. That occasionally it proved to have been the avenue through which interviewees had found work suggests that the platform was also an authentic means of entry, true to the interviewees' practices. I also made some contacts in the early period through the alum association of my university, though data norms later precluded that.

As for *social* networks, these were of two sorts: in Shanghai, the alums network is extremely active, on the one hand, and LinkedIn less used on the other. Thus most came from the former. That meant that I was partially reliant on the definition of the alums themselves concerning who would be interesting to meet – a 'snowballing' (Deacon et al 2020: 66) approach. They often selected through their own notion of seniority, which was often associated with socio-economic status and relation to the means of production: frequently, small entrepreneurs with the capital to have started a business. Others I identified through acquaintances both in UK or Shanghai academia or industry, for instance. This contingency was not an impediment, but rather informative in itself: for the *status* alum is in large part the creation itself *of* networks, and it transpired that the channels by which I identified interviewees were frequently the very same by which interviewees had found work – as for LinkedIn. In Mumbai, the hip art and design-oriented map designed by one alum couple led me to a shop run by a third. Though unknown to each other, they were very much part of the same exclusive design *milieu* – including as shaped by the map itself (see Chapter 6). First contact was usually through email or digital message. This set out my institutional status, the nature of the research, and the time the interview might take were they to agree, with the information sheet and consent form either attached (Appendix II-III).

An important question was when to *stop* interviewing. As Steinar Kvale succinctly puts it:

> To the common question about interview inquiries, "How many interview subjects do I need?", the answer is simply: "Interview as many subjects as necessary to find out what you need to know. (2007: 43)

He points out that qualitatively oriented studies benefit from fewer interviews than quantitative studies, as they are not seeking numerical generalisation so much as informational richness. However, he suggests that '15 ± 10' is 'common' (Kvale 2007: 44). Angela McRobbie's (1998: 72) key work was based on eighteen core semi-structured, taped interviews of an average of ninety minutes each, along with eight interviews with established designers. Her study is more restricted in focus in terms of interviewees, considering specifically recent graduates of a single course developing a fashion career. This would typically require fewer interviews. Key to my own choice to stop was that, despite the individuality of the cases, patterns consistently replicated and novelty significantly diminished – the point of 'saturation' (Flick 2007: 81).

5.5. Interview process

Interviews were conducted in a variety of locations, including workplaces, cafés, and, on one occasion, a taxi trip. The choice of location by participants was frequently informative. Regarding the participant's choice of a taxi, this was directly associated with his systematic economising of time, as well as a valorisation of mobility as productive of opportunities – all very instructive in relation to subjectivity, space, and production.

Frequently, the choice was of one of the 'hipster cafés' beloved of the internationally identifying or mobile creative worker. I always preferred to follow the desire of the interviewee.

At every new round of interviews, a new or modified interview guide was produced, responsive to the development of hypotheses, but also to critical consideration of the utility of particular questions (Appendix IV). At the beginning of the interview, after checking understanding of the information sheet and consent form and an opportunity to raise issues and questions, I usually outlined just what the interview would cover, in a very brief statement:

- Why they chose London, and the particular course and institution;
- What, if anything, interested them there, and what they had learned;
- How, if at all, they felt they applied or otherwise benefited from it on return.

Many participants took this as a prompt to elaborate without further questioning, pre-empting many later questions, which would then be guided by patterns *within* these answers, rather than the order on the guide itself. One benefit of this blended approach (first open, then guided) is that I was able *both* to identify what participants spontaneously offered, on the one hand, but also whether they responded to specific prompts where appropriate. Thus, for instance, where I was interested to know if participants identified learning in terms of research methods, I preferred to give the opportunity for the word or concept emerge spontaneously – if at all – than suggest it myself. This gave an indication of its relevance to the interviewee, but also the terms in which they themselves might describe it. As participants then spoke, I would occasionally ask for elaboration, either during a natural pause, or having signalled it in interview notes to pick up later. Similarly, time permitting, I would check the guide to make sure key topics had been covered at the end, frequently covering the more objective information such as source of funding for educational mobility, parental occupations, and the like, where not already supplied.

As well as seeking spontaneity, the open-ended interview format also allowed elicitation of a *biographical career trajectory*. For that, of course, the interest was in the participants' construction of a meaningful narrative rather than my own ability to construct one through questioning. Of course, there is *always* an element of co-construction (Gubrium and Holstein 2012; Kvale 2007). Frequently participants expressed retrospective enthusiasm for the interview experience in terms of its having led them to consider things in a new light, confirming the co-constructed nature of the data. But the mode of interviewing sought in the first instance as primary data the order which they, not I made of their developing creative subjectivity or institutional role in developing it.

5.6. Interview topics

The approach to interview topics was at first inductive, influenced in part by Grounded Theory (e.g. Charmaz 2007), which suggests an open-ended approach in the first instance. Some interviews were conducted prior to deciding to undertake an extended project or doctorate (Chapter 1), and even after having started the project, early ones were oriented to seeing just *what* was relevant or useful, what *kind* of person to speak to, how much *focus* to take, what *topics* proved useful.

Cultural industry

The need for qualitatively rich data on subjectivity governs the choice of what Kvale (2007: 7-8) calls the 'semi-structured life world interview'. David Hesmondhalgh and

Sarah Baker's (2011) study on creative labour in the cultural industries defends the use of semi-structured interviews on the basis of their focus on the nature of work. Like my own topic, this concerns much which is experiential, 'qualitative' (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011: 15) and subjective. Further, though they depart from Marx's critical framework, they demonstrate the value of interviews in investigating *alienation*, as a relation with an experiential element. Similarly, Sean Nixon (2003: 5), though without any explicit discussion of methodology, by relying on interviews as his main source of new data, demonstrates their utility in generating information about social, cultural, and subjective occupational issues in advertising: the 'social make-up' of practitioners, their 'values', the 'subjective dispositions and attributes' which 'animate their working lives', and their 'occupational culture'. It is through this approach that Nixon is able to make useful contributions to understanding of the specific notion of 'creativity' which became ascendant around the 1990s in the UK. Similarly, McRobbie's study of fashion entrepreneurs relies largely on interview data to put questions many of which are, again, subjectively oriented:

> What kind of industry is it? *How do graduates in fashion design navigate a course for themselves* in this volatile field? What is the *labour process* of fashion design? The aim is to *describe* and analyse *what it is like to work* in fashion. […] what the industry actually comprises, what employment or self-employment opportunities are available, and *how these come to be occupied*. (McRobbie 1998: 69, emphases added)

Here one sees lifeworld, experiential questions; questions of a biographical nature; and more macro questions concerning the labour market. This informs my own choice of interview questions, discussed shortly.

With this inspiration, my research uses interview questions to investigate experiences of labour, particularly in its construction, constitution, and conditions as 'creative'. Where it differs in emphasis is the use of a political economy framework. Thus questions prompt discussion by participants of their self-development through educational and other means, in relation to perceived markets, and cultural, economic, and other social means.

Education

As can be seen above, the educational element researched focused on how participants described the development of their professional subjectivity. This was informed in large part by my knowledge of practice as a lecturer at University of the Arts London, and reading done as part of the job an in research for the project, on subjects such as art and design education (Butt 2017; Gielen and de Bruyne 2013, Llewellyn and Williamson 2015, Noble and Bestley 2005), internationalisation of higher education (Carrol and Ryan 2005, Killick 2015, Leask 2015), and education and migration (Canterbury 2012).

Mobility

Since the main research question considers not only work in Shanghai and Mumbai cultural industries, but also London Art and Design education, and the flows of knowledge, dispositions and practices between them, methodologies targeted at distant and transborder interconnection were considered.

Monika Büscher and John Urry (2009) usefully elaborate 'mobile methods' for social research, which range from interview topics and ethnographic techniques to dispositions appropriate to a researcher following a mobile target such as mine. They draw attention to the variety of movements possible – 'corporeal, physical of objects, imaginative, virtual and communicative' (Büscher and Urry 2009: 101-102) –, and consider methods appropriate. Though mostly ethnographic, they are also suggestive for the kinds of data

interviews can seek, including the means by which relations to distant locations are made and maintained, from visual references to communications media and travel; the spaces in which activities are undertaken, such as their being more or less transit-oriented; or the 'entities' (Büscher and Urry 2009: 110) which might be studied: 'fluxes and flows', 'dwelling, place-making', 'boundaries', 'the relation of "imagined" presences, absences, deferrals', 'practices of seeing, imagining, remembering, formulating places'.

These methods are in part informed by George Marcus' (1995: 105) seminal statement on 'multi-cited' research, suggesting tools for as well as objects of analysis:

> Multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography.

In the present context, these sites are London, Shanghai and Mumbai, but also HEIs and industries. Marcus suggests various entities which the researcher may 'follow', including biographical, and human and symbolic content, all of which I also trace. To this line of thinking, Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1997) developed key work on self-reflective relation to the *perspectives* associated with differing sites, and Aiwha Ong (1999, 2003) forms subjectivity across spaces. This can be seen to have influenced the range of questions I put myself, discussed below. They represent significant departures from Marxist frameworks, and largely have ontological commitments antithetical to my own, such as a strong interactional constructivist ethics which actively resists what I consider an essential basis for genuine critique: consideration of a determinant structured totality. However, their sensitivity to the texturedness of the phenomenal everyday, including in its global contexts, is invaluable: in many ways, the texturedness of the everyday is what the 'clumpiness' (Rolf 2021: 73), of uneven and combined capital looks like in the realm of reproduction.

Inderpal Grewal (2005) and Purnima Mankekar (2015) are also useful in this vein. Chen Kuan-Hsing's (2010) concept Asia as Method was also useful in this sense, though stems rather from postcolonial theory and radical geography than anthropology. This is a form of radically perspectivist history which Chen calls (2010: 102) 'geocolonial historical materialism', developed on the basis 'that to understand contemporary cultural formation and subjectivity, it is necessary to return to the encounter between specific local histories and the history of colonialism'. Though it cannot accurately be described as historical materialist (see e.g. Chapter 3) as it significantly underplays economic factors, the insight of thinking from location as method was fundamentally instructive for my own approach.

This project takes the lead from the above in terms of information elicited from Shanghai and Mumbai interviews:

- How do people imaginatively relate to distant locations in the construction of their present location?
- How are divisions within local spaces constructed in relation to distant locations?
- What perspectival resources for knowledge production are sought in mobility; why; and how are they applied?
- How do these relate to identity constructions, for example, and wider political and economic projects?
- How is space, and movement through it, constructed in narrative and visual forms, and to what ends?

- How do participants view the relative importance of different aspects of their education as transnationally circulating practices, such as research methods, criticality, intercultural communication, and the like? What obstacles pertain to their application in new locations, and what new possibilities emerge?

My drawing such anthropological and post-colonial approaches into a Marxist framework to put spatial issues at the centre of analysis is also indebted to 'border as method' (Nielson and Mezzadra 2014).

5.7. Data transcription, coding, and selecting

Interviews were audio recorded and manually transcribed, automation having been impractically inaccurate at the time. The next stage was coding, though stages overlap: some coding was conducted *during* the transcription or even the interview, flagging recurring patterns. Again, this was an approach based on Grounded Theory, but non-dogmatically, as the paradigm itself is inappropriate for critical methods. The principle that patterns should emerge from, rather than be imposed upon data is sound. From early coding I formed ongoing hypothesis, which itself prompted attention to specific issues in later interviews.

Though I learned coding software, it proved unhelpful. There is always a danger that technical solutions to interpretive problems obscure more than they reveal. NVivo, particularly, looks invaluable for spatially dispersed multi-researcher projects, developing a single coding system between researchers. But for my purposes I did not find it offered more than columns and spreadsheets.

As a critical scholar, I am cautious of positivist claims (Marcuse 1955, Morrow and Brown 1994, Strydon 2011). Where frequency of occurrences is relevant and informative, I certainly note it. Often, however, the nature of the data, as interpretative response to life trajectory narratives, precludes counting. For example, in Chapter 6 I give the number of interviewees referring to their current cities as 'nascent', as well as synonyms, as it was unexpectedly common. However, I avoid strong conclusions from the frequency alone. Firstly, the questions being open-ended, a failure spontaneously to mention this is in itself not significant. But also, there is much room for interpretation beyond the reach of discrete numeration, due to the nature of the data: an interviewee recounting a life taking opportunities as they arose objectively with a fast developing economy is describing the experience of what some referred to as nascency. However, without an overt reference to the specific quality of that city, it would not merit recording in the coding. That certainly at times left fuzzy boundaries beyond the reach of numbers, but didn't preclude counting where it helped.

The focus on life trajectories favours detailed accounts of exemplary cases. To achieve that, I quote relatively long stretches uninterrupted from interviews. That is in part since, as will be seen, the meaning of a particular life datum usually emerges only in relation to its accompanying narrative arc. For S25, for instance (Chapter 8), the significance of her contemporary work reveals itself only in relation to a comment from a tutor many years previously, a visit to a design fare, particular engagement with Chinese and international policies, and a life quest.[3] As Alexander and Giesen (1987) and Calhoun (2002) suggest, micro-analysis is interpretive; for this, it is 'thick description' (Geertz 1973: 14) which counts.

[3] Participants are designated by the first letter of their city (M or S) and a randomised number, listed in Appendix 1.

I have avoided correcting idiosyncratic participant language use or signalled a distance from them with a conventional 'sic', but embraced them as 'global Englishes' (Pennycook 2007). Redundant repetitions and the use of interjections I have silently removed except where they aid the sense. I experimented with inclusion at first, and indeed with transcribing intonation, expressive audible inbreath, laughing and smiling tones, as used by sociolinguists such as John Gumperz (1982), but, for the purposes of this research, the information did not compensate for the significant loss, not only of transparency, but also of the *naturalness* of the original conversational flow (see Deacon et al 2020: 271 on the analytical 'pay-off' of avoiding notational 'clutter').

5.8. Dialectics and data analysis

As a theory of the contradictory unity of moments in becoming, involving a developing interchange of subjective and objective factors, the theory of uneven and combined development is dialectical (see Chapter 3), demanding the same approach of its research. Detailed explorations of dialectical methodologies for the subject's own accounts of their self-development – the direct topic of the empirical research – within Marxist theory are lacking (see Chapter 1). Good explorations of Marxist dialectical theories of the psyche are to be found in Andy Blunden (2022) and Cem Eroğul (2022), for example, but these constitute foundational philosophy rather than research methods.[4]

Among the most common detailed methodological accounts of Hegelian Marxism currently are those of 'systematic dialectics' (Abazari 2020, Arthur 2002, Moseley and Smith 2014, Smith 1990). This approach sharply delineates observations about the actual relation between objective entities – or indeed human subjects – from statements about logical relations between categories, to focus on the latter alone, considering the logical ordering of categories through their inner contradictions and degrees of abstraction. At their best (e.g. Abazari 2020, Smith 1990), systematic dialectical approaches have highlighted expository features in Marx clearly drawn from Georg Hegel, with statements by both certainly appearing neatly to distinguish claims about the dialectical relations between categories from claims about material entities.

In a key section for Marxist theory of combined and uneven development, the introduction to *Grundrisse*, Marx (1973: 107) suggests the work must begin and end with a study of capital, rather than earlier forms such as ground rent, and elaborates:

> It would therefore be unfeasible and wrong to let the economic categories follow one another in the same sequence as that in which they were historically decisive. Their sequence is determined, rather, by their relation to one another in modern bourgeois society, which is precisely the opposite of that which seems to be their natural order or which corresponds to historical development.

This seems to concur with Chris Arthur's (2002: 4) suggestion, citing this passage, that there are 'two different types of dialectical theory' in Hegel and Marx, one systematic, concerning the relation of categories and the order of exposition, and the other of historical succession, which he dismisses as 'irrelevant' (2002: 63) to Marx's (1976, 1978, 1981) *Capital* and Hegel's (2010, 2008, 2018) *Phenomenology*, *Philosophy of Right,* and *Science of Logic*. Hegel (2010: 713, 12.15) certainly makes an observation close to Marx's above on the need to begin with the abstract universal first in philosophy rather than the concrete, which precedes it in experience.

However, the idea that there would be a separate dialectics in either Hegel or Marx's work for mental logic on the one hand, and another, 'irrelevant' one for the material world, falls into a dualism antithetical to both scholars – from a Marxist perspective,

[4] Similarly, Dogan (2018) on the individual in Hegel and Marx.

reproducing a deeply unhelpful hierarchy of the mental and the manual. One of Hegel's (2010: 381, II.286) most profound passages illustrates the fundamental insight that 'All things are in themselves contradictory':

> Internal self-movement, self-movement proper, *drive* in general (the appetite or nisus of the monad, the entelechy of the absolutely simple essence) is likewise nothing else than that something is, *in itself*, itself and the lack *of itself* (*the negative*), in one and the same respect.

This insight is essential to my method. By applying the same logic to matter in motion as to human affect it allows thought to embrace both. My research subjects frequently discuss the self in such contradictory ways as subjects fundamentally entangled with objectivity itself. Such a logic is no less fundamental to Marx and Engels. Frederick Engels' (1975 [1880]: 57) *Socialism, Scientific and Utopic* eloquently develops Hegel's logic as the heart of historical materialism with a principle directly echoing the above extract from the German idealist – 'every organic being is every moment the same and not the same' – going on to develop it in a way oriented to materialism: 'every moment it assimilates matter supplied from without and gets rid of other matter'. This of course is the process of metabolism. As Neil Smith (2008: 34 [1984]) has well demonstrated, this is a key concept for Marx's understanding of production of uneven space, and, as a process of internalisation and externalisation, central to my own account (see e.g. below and Chapters 6-9). As humans, through labour, mediate their metabolic interchange with nature, they render the object, nature, into subject, and embody the subject in the object. However, Marx (1973 *Grundrisse*: 96) stresses that, in distinction to Hegel, he insists on the treating society as a plural, rather than a singular organism or subject, such that the subject is itself fragmented, and distributed according to a classed system including producer and consumer classes. Thus Marx (1976: 198-199) speaks also specifically of the 'social metabolism', involving not only the organic interchange with nature, but also the metamorphoses resulting from the exchanges of use value and value, money and commodities, but subject to the same motor force of unity in difference. Passing through the complex mediations of world-scale economy does not lessen, but intensifies such contradictions, which become those between forces and relations of production and the international division of labour, for instance, at the heart of the theory of uneven and combined development (Chapter 3).[5]

Further, in the Introduction to the *Grundrisse*, Marx by no means separates out the logical and historical orders, but dwells throughout on the complexity of their interrelation. Marx (1973 *Grundrisse*: 104) celebrates political economists for arriving at the concept of 'labour in general', as an abstract universal:

> The simplest abstraction, then, which modern economics places at the head of its discussions, and which expresses an immeasurably ancient relation valid in all forms of society, nevertheless achieves practical truth as an abstraction only as a category of the most modern society.

As Arthur (2002) states, the order of exposition is very different to the order of appearance of forms. Indeed, it is the opposite. Marx (1973 *Grundrisse*: 84) applies the same process to that other 'point of departure' for bourgeois economics, the category of the isolated

[5] Marx's concept of metabolism has seen much revival since Smith (2008) in the field of ecology, focusing on the 'ecological rift' (Foster and Clark 2020: 204, Saito 2017: 100) between the social and natural metabolisms. Though the ecological realm is beyond the scope of this research, as a historical materialism grounded in the subject-object dialectic of alienation, my work does not contradict the essential *Monthly Review* account, but complements it with an emphasis on the subjective pole.

'individual'. However, Marx emphasises that the inversion of logical and historical order is a direct relation, not a non-relation: the progressive division of labour associated with the accumulation (and international expansion) of capital, for instance, makes the 'point[s] of departure' for bourgeois economics – concepts such as the individual or abstract labour – possible:

> The indifference towards any specific kind of labour presupposes a very developed totality of real kinds of labour, of which no single one is any longer predominant. As a rule, the most general abstractions arise only in the midst of the richest possible concrete development, where one thing appears as common to many, to all.

In fact, this is a central example of consciousness following social being, and Marx stresses the *lived* nature of the historical subjectivity: the 'free' subjectivity of the waged worker:

> Indifference towards specific labours corresponds to a form of society in which individuals can with ease transfer from one labour to another, and where the specific kind is a matter of chance to them, hence of indifference. Not only the category, labour, but labour in reality has here become the means of creating wealth in general, and has ceased to be organically linked with particular individuals in any specific form.

This new subjectivity, Marx argues, achieves its fullest expression in the US; that is, in the context introduced at the *end* of the *Grundrisse* as that of the colonies, international division of labour, and world market.

Stuart Hall (2021: 50 [1974]), then, was right in his early study of Marx's Introduction (see Chapter 3) to argue that 'the systematic form of the work never undercuts the fundamental historical premise'. Ali Shamsivari (1991: 72-75) has developed a particularly sophisticated dialectical methodology integrating structuralist and historicist approaches based on a reading of Marx's (1973 *Grundrisse*) Introduction. For he proposes a means for considering the integration of new, more abstract, universal forms of a category alongside enduring historical forms. When this form appears, he explains, earlier forms may endure, but in subordinated positions, rendered relatively passive, determined by the active universal. Further – and here is his most significant contribution – the new, most abstract category itself exists in *two* forms: both as a universal containing the others, but *also*, at a more concrete level, as one form alongside those others. He gives the example of the various categories of money. Under the appearance of capitalism, money capital does not replace or displace earlier forms of money, but exists as a particular form of money: alongside money as a measure of value, or as a means of circulation, for instance. And yet it exists *also* as the universal, certainly dominating the others, not from outside (Althusser's 'articulation structured in dominance' discussed in Chapter 3), but internally: capital *is* the measure of value, the means of circulation, etc. This is clearly what expressed itself in the financial crisis of 2008, when seemingly every form proved itself subsumed, from private mortgages to pensions, for instance, but also state bonds and cash. This, I argue, is a contribution to the dialectics of combined and uneven development, explaining the process both of combination and differentiation. While Shamsavari's account addresses money, the same clearly applies to abstract labour, and unevenness in the multiple concrete labours, including pre-capitalist. It is worth considering this in more detail since, far more than money, it is directly an issue of the production of subjectivity addressed in my thesis.

In pre-capitalist forms, Marx suggests, the objective conditions of labour, including natural such as the environment, but also human relations such as the family, clan, caste or estate, and the individual's role within these, had appeared as the 'inorganic nature of mans' subjectivity', 'a presupposition of his activity just like his [*sic*] skin, his sense

organs, which he also reproduces and develops etc. in the life process' (1973 *Grundrisse*: 485).[6] In this sense the development of abstract labour, free of these ties, represents implicitly a potential advance in human freedom – but only if the property relations which condemn this freedom to a new objective bondage can be surpassed.

It is this consideration of the real relation between forms and their historical order of appearance, including in their spatial distribution, which underpins uneven and combined development, and its application in the present work. My interview respondents frequently discuss having learned what they commonly refer to as specifically 'open' forms of subjectivity through their London education, on the basis of which they consider the quality of their own labour power as particularly excellent. While the mature Marx is frequently argued to have little to say about forms of subjectivity, as will be seen in the data discussion (Chapters 6-8), this dialectical insight in itself offers much illumination. In my data, for instance, the co-presence of multiple forms of labour in the same social context, such as peasant, manual manufacture and informal petty production, is an aspect of the participants' own work and self-understanding in ways which challenge notions of global homogeneity by theorists such as Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000). Attention to the interaction of processes of abstraction with historical developments brings much illumination to my study of the data, making Samsavari's (1991) approach a significant step.

The process of universalisation described by Marx at the most general scale of the production of the 'free' worker enters into a complex dialectic with the production of racialised difference. In an originally unpublished section of *Capital: I*, Marx (1976: 1031) dwells on the *internal* relation between the slave and the doubly free worker respectively:

> The consciousness (or better: the *idea*) of free self-determination, of liberty, makes a much better worker of the one than of the other, as does the related feeling (sense) of *responsibility*; since he, like any seller of wares, is responsible for the goods he delivers and for the quality which he must provide, he must strive to ensure that he is not driven from the field by other sellers of the same type as himself.

Going on, he stresses the effect on the subject's own inwardness as 'to make the free worker's work more intensive, more continuous, more flexible and skilled than that of the slave, quite apart from the fact that they fit him for quite a different historical role', and '*He learns to control himself, in contrast to the slave,* who needs a master.' (Marx 1976: 1033) An emphasis is also made on internalisation based on actual apparent interests: 'the capitalist relationship appears to be an improvement in one's position in the social scale'. This looks forward to scholars such as W. E. B. Du Bois (1935: 701) and David Roediger (2007), who have considered the constitutive relation no less of white than black working class subjectivity to black slavery and its legacies. At times, interviewees of my project refer to processes of racialisation affecting their trajectories. This approach by which historical forms of insertion into capital accumulation inform the present in the production of subjectivities internally in their differentiation represents an important means to grasp the relation of culturalised difference to economic process without essentialisation.

This interplay with concrete historical analysis introduces the element most fundamental to Marx's critical transcendence of Hegel: for Marx, consciousness is seen

---

[6] I use 'sic' only in the first instance of outmoded patriarchal forms of expression in historical texts in any chapter, after which, please take it as read. Note that, as here, I do not enter discussion of whether this is an issue of the original or translation, or a fault of individuals or conventions.

to emerge from the social processes of the real historical production, distribution and accumulation of wealth mediating the subject-object interchange, whereas in Hegel it appears as the Idea's own unfolding. Thus the influence which this thesis takes from systematic dialectics concerning logical categories themselves, such as universality and particularity, negation or inversion, is never in terms of logic alone, always in terms of the subject-object relation as a socially mediated spatio-temporal dynamic.

Methodologically, such concepts, applied to the data, allow for an understanding of participants' accounts of their biographical trajectories which avoids twin risks: on the one hand, the implicit ontological dualism in non-dialectical scholarship on the production of subjectivity, between 'machinic enslavement' (Lazzarato 2014: 25) on the one hand or 'exodus' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 215), on the other (see Chapter 2), but also the separation of systematic from historicist dialectics. As will be developed (Chapters 6-8), the historical development of capitalism not only between generations, but even in the working life of some of the alums, is seen to directly constitute the kind of interplay of systemic with historical factors outlined above. In this sense the historical content in all of the previous chapters cannot be seen as background, but a constitutive part of the application of a historical materialist approach (see Chapter 3).

Leon Trotsky (1986: 107) ended his 1933-1935 philosophical notebooks: 'The dualists divide the world into independent substances: matter and consciousness. If this is so, then what do we do with the unconscious?' Freudian psychoanalysis, which had 'fascinated' (Trotsky 1970: 220) him since around 1910 (Deutscher 1954: 193), represented a materialist support of Hegelian dialectics at the level of the psyche. It enabled Trotsky (1986: 106) to consider mental processes as both materially constituted, and yet 'autonomous, that is, within certain limits', arising as 'a break in the gradualness [of evolution], a transition from quantity into quality'. As Alex Steinberg (2019) points out, in a very rare discussion of Trotsky's notebooks, this allowed Trotsky to avoid both Stalinist reductionism as well as idealist reformism. But further, it was also central to the theory of uneven and combined development. For, in an important but rarely published 1932 lecture near-contemporary with the notebooks, Trotsky (1933: 2-3) specifically links a model of the psyche drawn from Freud to the very heart of this theory:

> The absorptive and flexible psyche confers on the so-called social "organisms" […] an exceptional variability of internal structure as a necessary condition for historical progress. In the development of nations and states, particularly capitalist ones, […] Different stages of civilisation, even polar opposites, approach and intermingle with one another in the life of one and the same country.

My interviewees do not discuss different stages of civilisation (and when Trotsky does, it does not have the disparaging sense it does now), but they do, regularly, refer to differing historical temporalities intermingling in the same subjectivity (Chapter 6-8).

For this reason, to help extend a materialist analysis into the psyche, I too engage with psychoanalysis, particularly Freudo-Marxist (Bosteels 2012, Fromm 2009, Jappe 2017, Marcuse 1966). Roberto Finelli (2016: 85-69) has highlighted just how much Hegel's focus on processes of internalisation and externalisation, shared with Freud (e.g. 1964), informed Marx's theory of alienation. Hegel's *Phenomenology*, Finelli (2016: 81) points out, is an account of the subject's necessary 'passing through alterity'. This is an image highly suggestive of the geopolitical movement of the interview subjects in this research, whose journey to the UK and return they frequently describe in terms of precisely such exterior otherness entering the self in its becoming. Alenka Zupančič (2017) notes the similarity between Freud's (1961) use of the concept of 'negation' for the ability of an action to express at once a conscious intention *and* an unconscious desire, and Hegel's (e.g. 2018) for processes of sublation – a similarity extending to Marx. In Chapter 6, this insight enables a dialectical reading of the equivalence of a negative and positive

statement concerning feelings about the absence of London (a Freudian reading) as it relates to the subject's achievement of autonomy by a sublated passage through dependence on the other (Hegelian) as a mediation in the circuits of value (Marxian). The language of psychoanalysis also suggests a term for the process by which many of the participants develop a connection to London: 'identification', or 'the assimilation of one ego to another one, as a result of which the first ego behaves like the second in certain respects, imitates it and in a sense takes it up into itself' (Freud 1964: 63) – itself part of the process of internalisation as a whole, or bringing external physical, cognitive or affective content within the bounds of the body or mind. Similarly, in Chapter 7, an interviewee describes seeing in a drop of ceramic glaze on a Tang dynasty bowl the representation of her own soul – a process of projection, or symbolically placing characteristics of the subject within objects (Laplanche and Pontalis 1967: 348).

The use of such terms does not represent a commitment to principles from psychoanalysis, which are too focused on the triad of the individual, the family, and sexual processes (albeit expansively conceived) to be of direct use to my project. Rather, the close fit between psychoanalysis and dialectics constitutes an opportunity to extend a dialectical vocabulary for the complex relations between the contents of the individual psyche and its others as a matter of the production of subjectivity. As Herbert Marcuse (1966 [1955]: 62) argued, 'identification' with the 'father figure', for instance, and 'introject[ion]' of their commands (1966: 16) psychologically *produces* the 'labour force'. In terms of shared insights, the decentring of the self-transparent subject by both Marx (e.g. 1976) and Sigmund Freud (e.g. 1964) has been much noted (Fromm 2009: 10, Tomšič 2015: 6, Žižek 2008: 22). The domain of embodied reproduction as locus of the splitting between conscious and unconscious goes less noticed, though it is also considered by Hegel (2018: 203), concerning the limitations of a representational grasp of the world, whose dualistic framework, in distinction from dialectics, he equates with the shameful denial of the proximity of the organs of reproduction with those of excretion. One could say it is a refusal of metabolism.

A materialist dialectics is an essential means for thinking *together*, without dualism, subject and object. It is this that makes concepts such as 'internalisation' and 'externalisation', 'identification', 'introjection' or 'projection' preferable to 'interpellation' (Althusser 1976: 110) or 'machinic enslavement' (Lazzarato 2014: 25), for instance: the former are inherently mediative and dynamic, implying embodied processes of transition, the latter, like 'articulation' (see Chapter 3), examples of what for Hegel (2010: 630, 12.32) was a pre-dialectical logic of 'mechanism' (Trotsky 1986: 103, calls this 'static thinking'). Louis Althusser (1993: 41) specifically identifies, as a way out of Freud's 'biologism', with what might be called the linguisticism in Jacques Lacan's (1973, 2001) model of the psyche; 'interpellation', reflecting that false step, obscures the specifically material relations within the production of subjectivity, just as 'machinic enslavement' obscures the pole of consciousness. Like 'articulation', the concept has utility, but lacks the sophistication and dynamism of dialectical thought. Metabolism is a process at once of internalisation (anabolism) and externalisation (catabolism), assimilation and diss-assimilation, the gathering and expenditure of energy. Marx's discussion of the circuit of capital above as a 'social metabolism' (1976: 198) suggests that, while he certainly avoided reductive biologism, he remained committed to the reality of the materiality of the subject-object interchange. It is for this reason that, in terms of Lacanian concepts for the production of subjectivity, I find 'suture' more amenable to critical application (Chapter 3). This concept was developed by Jean-Jacques Miller (1966) from Jacques Lacan's (1973: 26, 107 [1964]) usage, and particularly adopted in cinema studies (Heath 1981; Oudart 1969) to theorise the production of the subject through the conjunction of the symbolic – discourse – and the individual imaginary. Suture names the subject as both the necessary absence or gap in the chain of signifiers,

but also excess over their non-self-identity, by which discourse – filmic or otherwise – is given life. The very Hegelian notion of non-self-identity as the ground of dynamism or development, as well as the organicism of suture as an image, make it apt for usage in a materialist dialectic such as mine, if shorn of linguistic prejudice. In my own research, the subject is seen to emerge as a dynamic force from the gap of its own non-self-identity, but only by extending the reach of the concept to cover the material social metabolism as a whole: the subject emerges not from a chain of signifiers, but the circuit of material production.

A further dialectical process uncovered by Hegel (2018: 107-113) with significance for the data is the struggle for recognition, the desire to be seen as an equal, autonomous subject. Michael Quante (2013) and Emmanuel Renault (2017) have fruitfully explored this as a key point both of convergence, but also difference, between the work of Marx and Hegel. For where Hegel describes an encounter between two consciousnesses abstracted from their concrete historical determinations, Marx stages one between 'personifications of economic relations' (Marx 1976: 179), vitiating the process of authentic recognition in its disalienated sense as an encounter of autonomous subjects. Thus both psychoanalysis and the Hegelian approach are insufficient without considering in detail the grounds for the kind of processes considered above in capital's needs for specific use values, and the subjects apt to produce them. In this, the key unconscious move is the process of commodification by which subjectivity, or autonomous directive agency, passes over, from the full humanity of the worker to mere personification.

That is a key point of differentiation between Marx and both Freud and Hegel: the origin of the unconscious in the process of commodification which splits the subject and obscures the relations of production. As Quante (2013) points out, this is the point where analysis of the subject of the capital relation on the one hand, and on the other the individual psyche, part ways. If one also considers that it is where the two come together in a contradictory unity, one has the entry point for a specifically Marxist dialectical method of analysis of the production of subjectivity at the level of the individual. My interviewees frequently raise issues of recognition arising from the very different contexts of education from their own backgrounds and heritage, for instance, which they do not always feel sufficiently acknowledged. Grasping this process in light of Hegel's dialectic is invaluable for its insights into the interplay of structure and agency (Chapter 9) – but conditional on contextualisation within the economic processes they instantiate.

Thus, having laid out the macro-scale issues in Chapter 4, I address the subject-object relation at the more immediate level in chapters 6-9, in Hegelian idealist and psychoanalytical terms, and regularly show, by a critical materialist Marxian inversion, how those relations are constituted by mediations at the scale of world capital development. The movement between scales gives a representation of the internalisation into subjectivity of capital as well as the externalisation rendering the subject productive. The thesis makes an original application of Hegel-inspired Marxist dialectics by attending to participants' own accounts of processes of internalisation and externalisation as complexly mediated moments in capital's geographical expansion.

The main research aim uses a term which could seem alien to Marxism, asking how productive subjectivities are 'constructed' by alums, appearing to adopt a constructionist approach to interview data (e.g. Berger and Luckman 1966). The discussion above should demonstrate that, while I am sensitive to the ongoing discourse as a micro-context of construction, this does not mean I believe that that, or discourse in general, is the ultimate site of the production of subjectivity: the methodology involves internally relating the data from this site with the totality.

5.9. Ethics

Awareness of the constitutive nature of research in the social world as well as individuals' own development raises the importance of a holistic and inclusive approach to ethics.

Of course, I applied the institutional protocols of the University of Westminster and University of Arts, as my alma mater and employer and partial funder respectively, concerning informed consent, beneficence, and clearly articulated right to withdraw. However, while I identify with these principles, simply following them cannot constitute ethics, particularly as universities commodify not only knowledge, but also the labour of its production, a process which, by removing the autonomy from ethics panels, for instance, and placing pressure rather to avoid reputational damage than seek to contribute to human emancipation through knowledge, raises as many ethical dilemmas as it resolves.[7]

Though I explored the option of foregoing anonymity, the difficulty of striking consistent critical positions analytically led me to practice systematic anonymity. I was very aware of the great service that interviewees made me in agreeing to the interview, and the obligation this put me under to return something of worth. I thus offered practitioner interviewees that, if I could return the favour as a contact in London academia, I would happily oblige. This has been taken up on one or two occasions, without incurring unreasonable burden.

Realism with respect to critique is also important. Despite the tremendous pressures towards marketisation of higher education, it remains possible, for a critical, rather than practice-oriented academic particularly, to avoid concessions which, for many of my interview subjects, have not been possible: that is, where they may have begun study in the hope of an autonomous position as an artist relatively independent from market forces, simply to make a living a market-oriented practice is necessary. An outright rejection of everything they do as commodified, for instance, is politically injudicious, as it forgoes coalition-building. More effective is to identify what within commercial practices forms grounds to develop alternative, more autonomous and equitable social systems. In this, McRobbie (1999) has again offered a model through a pragmatic realism towards the market contexts of graduates which remains nevertheless resolutely critical and socially oriented. As she puts her stance towards the entrepreneurial subjects she considers:

> My reservations about consigning such workers to the camp of the new right, and thus ignoring them as potential allies, were based on a commitment on my part to attempting to build political bridges and draw different kinds of workers into the political processes, something that seemed all the more urgent in the face of the strong right wing government of the time, and the dwindling impact of the left. (McRobbie 1996: 2)

In essence, then, her project, like mine, seeks rather to identify what pushes subjects into detrimental working positions, where it does, and how higher education could contribute to improvement. This means critiquing the subject positions academia teaches where appropriate, and the relations to industry it adopts, but also identifying the contextual potentials to produce more socially progressive outcomes.

5.10. Positionality

Consideration of the researcher's cultural and economic position in relation to research content is a feature of reflexivity and positionality (e.g. Haraway 1988). I chose the topic of the project firstly because I found it passionately interesting – enough to sustain itself for some years alongside a busy work routine. But I came to it also on the basis of a career trajectory mixing a little contingency and much social structuration. After experiencing

[7] Hammersley and Traianou (2012) is a good overview of issues.

the extremely exploitative conditions of private English Language teaching, I moved into University of the Arts London (UAL)'s Language Support department for its better conditions. Since these remained nevertheless inferior to those elsewhere in the university, I nudged a door which opened by chance (a small internal research fund followed by a fixed-term contract) leading into work in media and cultural studies with the London College of Fashion's School of Media and Communication. My experience with and research on international student experience in the area meant I was able to offer support to the school responding to the international make-up of the student body by diversifying approaches to disciplines. This involved rapidly trying to build a claim to expertise in media and cultural studies on the foundations of a (dusty/rusty) Bachelor of Arts degree in English Literature and Continental Philosophy (meaning the European continent, 'naturally'), followed by a Master of Arts degree in Applied Linguistics funded by the UAL Language Centre as professional development. Since this transition required significant work on my own part, a doctorate constituted natural on-the-job credentialization. The developing state of the education market, the labour market's response, and my own position as a qualified highly skilled waged worker from the imperialist core (the implications of which are expanded upon elsewhere in this thesis) thus led directly to the research – and my over-determined positionality.

This position directly informed differences and commonalities with research subjects, and with clear implications for the discourse between us. As well as working in industry, many of my interviewees were women, from the global South, for instance, with very different cultural and ethnic or racialised positions than myself as a white, British male. Certainly, the alums may be drawn in interviews, due to my very presence, to discursive positions nearer to those they identify with the West than they potentially may in conversation with some compatriots, for instance, in the expectation, rightly or wrongly, of greater sympathy or understanding. My professional identity as a lecturer at one prestigious London university in their discipline, and PhD student at another would also likely influence responses, potentially leading participants to intellectualise more than with colleagues, and look more positively on their London experience. I refer above and in the empirical chapters to moments where lack of recognition by western lecturers was painfully felt by participants. I can extricate my own white identity from my research topic exploring global majority subject positions neither in terms of my own interest nor specifics in the responses I elicited.

Thus some hermeneutic suspicion concerning the likelihood of the interview findings replicating across discourse contexts is wise, as Anita Pomerantz and Alan Zemel (2003) would advise. However, neither our similarities nor our differences are insurmountable issues for knowledge production. For example, a discursive territory always quickly emerged with participants in which the academic and industrial contexts comfortably meet as a reflection (academic) on an industry with a cultural knowledge content neighbouring academia, and developed within the academic milieu I represent – though of course, comfort does also *itself* raise issues, hence *de*-familiarisation is often recommended in methodologies (e.g. Brinkmann 2013: 119). Similarly, it is frequently clear that a distant standpoint on their own culture through engagement with others – and, most specifically, with the reflexive practices of London art, design and communication practices – is a basic part of these Mumbai and Shanghai workers' behavioural repertoire, at the heart of their creative disposition, and with which they identify: that the interview context, in that sense, is very much in line with a consciously practiced reflexivity.

An illuminating moment arose when a young female Indian interviewee, seeking my understanding about a point, suggested that I, like her, was engaged in a form of mobility to develop new knowledge in order to progress my career prospects while pursuing personal interest. The observation was entirely accurate, and pointed up interesting epistemological and ethico-political issues around co-implication in the topic under

investigation, the use of interview data, and, as the hermeneutic function of her observation highlights, the interplay of identity, difference, and understanding. The interviewee rightly noticed a shared positionality associated with a position attributable to the intermediate class location discussed in Chapter 4, and based upon an exclusion from ownership making us both reliant on our waged labour for subsistence, and so the need to develop its market value; secondly, the fact of our labour's being cognitive, highly skilled, and having some autonomy, such that qualitative features associated with mobility could be expected to increase that value; and, further, passionate involvement in the content of our labour. In that point of understanding, gendered and ethnic difference was subsumed under shared class identity.

A dialectical approach should involve recognising the situatedness of the interview in relation to researcher and participant positionality when interpreting what is said, how it is said, and what might be left unsaid, but by no means attributing these factors to a fault or flaw in the data, reducing their validity to the interactional context alone. For it must also recognise that mere voice-giving cannot resolve, at the level of discourse, real material contradiction: a fantasy solution arising in the division of labour itself, and its institutionalisation of critique as mere discourse.

5.11. Conclusion

I have presented above an approach to research which is both dialectical and global in orientation. It is for this reason that I borrowed the term 'generative matrix' from globalisation theory, as a concept which, from the right perspective, reflects the theory of uneven and combined development at the heart of this research. The idea of generation captures the element of development, and that of matrix, in the sense of structure or network, unevenness. At the same time matrix as generative substance also suggests the unifying principle of capital: labour power.

I conclude the data discussion in Chapter 9 with a diagrammatic representation of the process answering my main research question. I suggest there that one can understand the cultural workers interviewed in their educational trajectory as engaging with an objective world already constituted as a form of alienated subjectivity. By that I mean that already social space is through and through rendered as a product of the international division of labour. And yet, through their education the interviewees learn to re-internalise the rich texturedness of that uneven space, turning it into emotional content such as nostalgic lack. As this affective charge itself becomes part of their labour power, it is re-externalised in turn, contributing to the re-making of urban space, for example, through their projects of mapping the city, designing spaces or contributing to creative quarters.

It is in this sense that the notion of generative matrix is at the heart of the thesis. But it is useful too that it moves, as a concept, comfortably between Marxist traditions and others which are more subjectively, and less economically oriented. For the dual perspective of the concept also allows it to convey the movement it describes, between internal and external, micro and macro positions. This might seem far from a question of 'methodology' in a social science sense, but dialectically it is central (see e.g. Blunden 2022, especially Chapters 2-3; Eroğul 2022, Chapter 1; Hegel 2010: 381-2, 11.286-287; Marx 1973 *Grundrisse*, 'Introduction'): to develop concepts which, by containing contradictions, repeat at the level of thought the dynamism within the world itself, dialectics aims to comprehend the world without first emptying it of the principle of movement, or life.

Chapter 6

Interview Discussion I: Space, Time, Structure and Biography

6.1. Introduction

This first empirical chapter focuses on the specific ways that the participants internalise the dynamics of unevenness as a source of value, emphasising that it is the weaving together of objective spatio-temporal circumstances in an embodied trajectory that constitutes the production of creative subjectivity.

Although, for reasons of the holistic approach to life trajectories (Chapter 5), all sub-aims are touched on to some degree in all chapters, this chapter focuses on sub-aims three and four:

> 3. How do the educational and career trajectories of Mumbai and Shanghai creative workers educated in London respond to the political and economic developments at the macro scale?
> 4. How do Mumbai and Shanghai creative workers educated in London relate the regime of production in Mumbai and Shanghai with which they engage to the London context?

In terms of aim 3, where Chapter 4 discussed just what those macro developments are, this chapter considers the relation of individual trajectories to those factors. It addresses the ways in which developments within the forces and relations of production are internalised by the participants as part of their biographical trajectory, including family history, and enter into the specific subjectivity which they render productive in their creative work. It is this subjective factor as it articulates with developing capitalist processes that constitutes the first stage of an answer also to sub-aim 4. This is specifically because, I argue, the developmental process informing the productive subjectivity is also, at the same time, one of geographical differentiation. Indeed, the inter-layering of the spatial and temporal dynamics as objective factors, and the internalisation by subjects of contradictions involved as a dynamic force which they are able to externalise in their labour is at the heart of the response the chapters give as a whole to the main aim, concerning just how productive subjectivity is constituted.

Section 6.2 considers attributes associated with the intermediate class position outlined in Chapter 4, while 6.3 situates this position of participants in relation to the historical development of industry. These questions lay the ground to then address specifically the question of space and time (6.4). Examples from Mumbai and Shanghai are explored, focusing on cases in each city which together demonstrate the application of place-making capacities associated with the specific disjuncture of unevenness as it is incorporated within the subject as a value-producing capacity (6.5-6.6).

6.2. Social class

Many of the interviewees are conscious in one way or another of the relation between the work that they do and their class position – albeit frequently presented more in terms of parental affluence or a general understanding of social levels of employment than any specific framework, Marxist or other. These parental positions are several, but from a fairly limited range. Parents are mostly from either: highly skilled professions, such as doctors, teachers or engineers (27), and in rarer cases artists or designers (4), or industrial (13), communications (1), finance (4) or retail (2) capitalists or very senior management.

A number are professional civil servants (7). One has an unskilled manual worker as one parent, another a small baker, and none are peasant or other agrarian. In China, three parents *have* been in state employment and moved, on market liberalisation, into the private sector, taking advantage of the opportunity to grow rapidly as industrial capitalists. The participants themselves tend to be either highly skilled workers for large multinationals (15) or small entrepreneurs with either a few employees who work alongside them in a studio, or with a larger number of casually contracted professionals on the books (14) – that is, petit bourgeois or new forms of intermediary classes (see Chapter 4). This is often the case even where these subjects are the children of big capitalists entering business on their own part, but also occurs where parents are highly skilled professionals or themselves petit bourgeois. Ten participants are independent freelancers.

Occasionally the participants' work develops almost naturally from *within* the parental industrial position. More generally it reflects a tendential direction of change nationally. M12's father was a small shoemaker. His path into design was drawing shoe models for him. While S28's parents run a machine plant, her grandmother ran a textile factory in Hangzhou, and, by teaching her knitting, gave her an interest in visual expression she pursued at a London art school. She now runs a showroom curating both fine art and fashion. M8's father ran a textile manufacturing business. Her move into fashion photography, she feels, was completely unrelated to the content of his business. *However*, his large exports to the UK, she says, made her choice of education there feel natural. In all three, the move into services accompanies the national expansion of capital beyond manufacture (see Chapter 4).

The single greatest category of participants are highly skilled waged workers (15). However, even those running their own businesses tend to disidentify with accumulation as an aim in itself of their career. This is not untypical of petit bourgeoisie (Massey 1995: 27). As a class which is, after all, *not* capital, even as it is not labour, the relatively lesser interest in accumulation rather than factors such as the nature of the use values produced or the way of life within the field of production is almost constitutive. It is also a position underlying the values of cultural production – artistic, above all, with its deep attachment to autonomy from economic concerns and identification with labour content and its use values. Even where these participants are not active within artistic production itself, but, for instance, curate, display or otherwise intermediate the work of artists and designers, this antipathy to the profit motive as end in itself is clearly, and frequently overtly, related to an adherence to the values of creative autonomy. The contradictions between the capitalist patron of art and the Bohemian artists (e.g. Beech 2022) are thus to some degree navigated by these small entrepreneurs by pronounced disinterestedness in growth. In terms of the insertion of their own trajectory into the changing economy, the espoused aim is to enter developments within capitalism underway externally to their own business, availing themselves of the possibilities which arise in order to benefit culturally, or in subjective terms of access to an aesthetic way of life, rather than specifically in terms of accumulation – even if what that essentially *entails* is the social expansion of capital (see citations to follow).

An instructive exception from Shanghai is from S15, co-founder of a fashion marketing brand, educated in a London fashion business course:

> My grandparents, they were doing business before China Cultural Revolution, so in our family they know how to do business things, the generation before her. So it's like, the family culture can't change a lot, even there is something happened in this country, cannot do your business, during this time we can't do business, it's illegal, so that's incredible. But still they will do by the time there is.

Here, autonomy from the profit motive is mentioned as an early step in a career which is intended to move later to valorisation. That this participant identifies as having had significant input both in terms of finance but also mentorship from parents who are both, independently, large capitalists (from Hong Kong, where there has been significantly more development *of* a liberal market bourgeoisie) suggests that this is capital reproduction at the level of the family. She had funding from her mother, who has run businesses in sectors as diverse as books, food, fashion, communications hardware and vehicles: that is, whose interest is capital rather than any specific use value. Later she mentions:

> I think because I'm that lucky I can do whatever I want, I have to do something I really like and I have to do something really supportive to, you know, young talents, because I really think they should get their own market, they should get the chance, yeah. But of course I have to make money in the end, but at the beginning I have to do something, I have to dream big.

Here the relative autonomy or disinterestedness she lays claim to for this project, which she sees as creative in itself and a development of her education, is not something she envisages long-term, but as a relatively brief interlude on the family road back to capitalism proper. It is possible that others who, for the moment, disidentify with accumulation for its own sake, will alter that position, too, after a period. In certain cases characterised by a youthful enthusiasm for a burgeoning cultural business position with little clear aptitude specifically for artistic endeavours, and where parental backing either for growth or transition is present, this may be particularly likely. The natural movement of the petit bourgeois is indeed up into the established capitalist class, or down into the proletariat (see Chapter 4). However, for the moment actual position and espoused ideology concur in situating the majority of participants within intermediate positions – as highly skilled waged workers or small craft working entrepreneurs.

Another illuminating discussion in this light was with S30, graduate of a London fashion business course. On return to Shanghai she had trialled various small business possibilities in app development (mostly dating, including some morally dubious), and was moving into design, seeking to identify Chinese designers to market, with funding from her parents. These were business people with very senior Communist Party pasts and connections, who worked in Beijing, she explained, 'to be close to politics, because that's where the money is', adding: 'it's same everywhere, isn't it?' The commonality of her career change with many others seeking work identifying new creative 'talent' interested me, I told her. She agreed, and explained: 'because China now has developed excess capital through manufacture, so it's hard to find profit, but there's surplus that must be invested so everyone's looking to design.' Her amused but disabused distance from her parents, the society around her, and her peers expressed no great attachment to the content of the use values she traded – themselves, in the case of the apps, cheekily cynical – but simply with rates of return.

That different participants engage with very different notions of autonomy or disinterestedness is unsurprising, since these are deeply contested terms – even in fine art, let alone applied (compare Bourdieu's 1979 profound cynicism with the more nuanced position of Beech 2022). However, the question of autonomy is strongly associated with a set of others: where it is identified (in most of those considered in the following, but clearly not S15 and S30), it is central to class position as both not capital, but also not labour. For S15 and S30 profess to deal with capital as capital, a means for growing more capital, to which the actual use value produced is subservient. The others espouse a distance from that instrumentalism (citations follow). It is the relatively autonomous position of artistic labour, of course, which gives it a potential to critique capitalism and imagine a world beyond it – as well as to seek petit-bourgeois

differentiation from labour. This is the basis of the ambivalent outsider status of the Bohemian.[1] In later sections, it will be seen that this non-capital status can also refer to factors such as pre-capitalist forms of production as well as the social domain of everyday life, whereby the intermediary serves incorporation.

6.3. Industrial development

Within the data, limited individual subjective agency is seen to arise as a concrete and contingent instantiation of potentials arising from structural developments within production affecting labour markets and opportunities; developments which participants seek to position themselves not only to benefit from, but to inform (Chapter 8 discusses 'agency'). Among the Shanghai and Mumbai participants, this context is 'development' in its historical geopolitical economic sense as increases in productivity in poorer nations nearer to the rates of western economies, and accompanied by convergence with them also in social, political and cultural terms (see Chapters 3 and 4). This of course is not the same as real all-round human development, but rather the capitalist model and its discourse (Chatterjee 1986, Nigam 2011, Sanyal 2007). The participants do not tend to put this in the terms of political economy, but rather refer on the one hand to a set of changes which invoke discourses *of* development, and on the other to changes which are clearly associated with the development of the productive forces, such as increased labour division and specialisation and increased consumption power.

In describing their reasons for making the circuit to London and back to Mumbai, M9, who with her partner M10 co-runs a graphic design studio, states:

> I think we benefitted from the UK and the US refusing work visas to young graduates, because a lot of young graduates have now returned and are establishing their own small practices. They're very early stages; one, two, three or more practices, but it's very difficult because you have to change mindsets of your clients, of potential organisations you want to work with, it's really hard work. So a lot of these kids come from very privileged backgrounds because they can afford to take those entrepreneurial risks that they wouldn't have been able to take otherwise. But they have to take those risks because there are no other job opportunities. If you want to be an archivist and you're really passionate about being an archivist, you're not going to get a job anywhere in this country, you have to create an organisation that specialises in that. Or in museum studies or interpretation there are small, you know, one, two, three, four scenographers that are slowly growing and becoming known for what they do. So I think it's a nascent kind of space, but it has only been able to sort of germinate because there are no opportunities in Europe.

Lesser specialisation itself represents an opportunity, then, but which the subject must *make*, drawing on the experience of the greater specialisation in London – and which involves instigating deep subjective change: of 'mindset'. M10, reflects: 'our journey to this tier has been quite considered, a little bit opportunistic.' This notion, and indeed the word *nascency* is common in the data (four occurrences of the word, and thirteen further of the concept in my coding), frequently, as here, with an organic sense of a change which is already there in potential, and thus represents a tendency – but which nevertheless requires individual action to make it happen. This summarises a situation of many of the participants: a sense that the macro context creates both limitations, but also possibilities, and a recognition also of the need and possibility to form that context through labour –

[1] See Beech (2022) on Bohemianism within art, and Boltanski and Chiapello (2011), McRobbie (2016) and Reckwitz (2017) on the repressive absorption of this outsider status under neoliberal capitalism.

albeit a project bearing risk. Indeed, even where it is not explicitly stated such as to code, career decisions frequently manifest it (see S8 below, who, though he doesn't *say* Shanghai is a nascent space, so was not included in the code, came to put in practice form of creation thus far absent there, and *because* it is absent).

Another example from Mumbai demonstrates the same process retrospectively, the participant, M22, having graduated from a London fashion course in trend forecasting and design in 2003:

> It's very different from – it was – very different from England. So if I'd gone into the workforce in England, if I said I was a designer I would have been doing that for the next 20 years of my life, because everything is so advanced and retail's been there for so many years that everything has its own silo. But it wasn't the case when I came back in India. It's quite young here, the industry.

The participants seek to position themselves within a move from industrial to service capital (above: retail, design; previous: archiving, scenography), a process which they identify as occurring nationally within India and China – and indeed, specifically focused on the two cities of Mumbai and Shanghai. This is of course itself a historical tendency associated with the expansion and socialisation of capital, which enters increasingly into the sphere of circulation in order to drive down turnover time and increase profits as well as to decrease risk through monopoly effects (Chapters 2, 3, 4). S16 is senior fashion media producer in Shanghai whose father, originally a foreman in a state-owned factory, became an industrial entrepreneur on privatisation. About her entry into the field in the city she says:

> Like how are they going to hire someone has no experience in China to be a PR manager? So can you imagine at the time it's completely lack of talent, they couldn't find anyone who has my background, you know. Because nobody has an international... 2004, you know? Nobody's studied it abroad in public relations, nobody, even a lot of people study in abroad, they're studying, you know, tourism. There's more tourism than fashion. And then even though they study fashion, it's more studying fashion design than public relations. And even they're studying public relations, they may not even have good English because they always hung out with Japanese and Korean. Even though they hang out with these people they might not have experience in internship in the luxury brands. Even though they have internship, they might have a very short internship. Even though they have a short internship they might not have experience in retail. So you have all this combination of skills that you, you know, be able to have all of that.

Again, the development of capital locally produces opportunities through new divisions of labour replicating those of the more capitalistically developed UK, but in which the alum must *produce* the market for their labour. Elsewhere she specifies that there was no differentiation between photography and styling, or styling and PR, at the time. Eleven participants referred to lower division of labour in Mumbai or Shanghai than London, and four to the southern cities' growing differentiation – strongly associated, of course, with 'nascency'. Also in Shanghai, S8, an alumnus seeking possibilities in fashion curation, explains why he chose London:

> I studied fashion curation really because out of my own interest in this field, so it's not really something I just want to get, have a degree from a really celebrated school and then go back to Shanghai, it's not like that. So this has always been my interest and I always wanted to put this more into practice in reality in Shanghai, particularly

> in a city with no fashion studies or fashion exhibition or fashion curation is little known here, so that's what I've been trying to do.

Elsewhere he states: 'whether it's a designer, or a curator, or even like professional auctioneer, those kind of professions, you couldn't really find those anywhere else, it's only in London.' Chapter 4 demonstrated the significant development of the service sector, as well as relatively high skilled labour in China, particularly, as well as India – and the Chinese state's encouragement of this development. Thus this awareness of a developing division of labour is to be expected: these data in that sense just demonstrate what that looks like concretely, articulating with particular lives in the domain of culture. However, what cannot feature in such macro data is the way that those lives engage with this process, both in their formation as subjects productive for capital, and as active subjects, shaping their livelihoods in its terms, but also, in so doing, seeking to shape the context in which they find themselves – including in its risks: to make Mumbai and Shanghai qualitatively more *like* London.

6.4. Spatio-temporal factors

The trajectories of the participants weave together the temporal nature of this development with its spatial distribution through their own trajectories. A discourse participants mobilise with striking frequency (fifteen) when considering their transnational trajectories is that of a non-contemporaneity of the Indian UK contexts. Frequently this appears in adverbs of time such as 'yet' or 'still'. Mumbai based graphic designer M12, reflecting on the informality of Mumbai graphic and industrial design work, often occurring in photocopier shops or handmade decal, or, as he says, in 'jugaad' – a practice of making-do with which Indian subjects frequently identify (Rai 2019), states:

> They haven't got that attuned a design understanding yet. […] it's stuck in kitsch, and it's overpowered by stereotypes that the West has put on India of meditation, yoga – some of these things. Bollywood has also overpowered the conversation entirely.

The adjective 'stuck' repeats the sense of lag in 'not […] yet'. In a design metaphor concerning seeking to convince Indian clients to accept pitches he felt consistent with his London education, he states: 'we'd retrofit everything': that is, an advanced design period needed adjustment to fit an earlier. M3, a graduate of a London fashion photography course from 2014 recalls what she sought in her trajectory on the specific basis of India's non-contemporaneity:

> My goal wasn't to come back here and be accepted by Bollywood or the fashion industry here. My goal was more to change it a little bit and just make it different and more modern and more contemporary and just more with the times.

Frequently this sense of temporal disjuncture is, as here, associated with a desire to change: to *make* contemporary. In this case, that includes specifically freeing fashion media from film, and fashion styling from celebrity branding. Aswin Punathambekar (2013) points out that the relatively autonomous co-presence of these domains in Indian film results from a low degree of capital concentration, meaning that instead of a single studio controlling production from start to finish, separate capital is frequently combined by parties from celebrities to choreographers, press to dark money, for instance, which Clare Wilkinson-Weber (2014) has described in practice in film costume production. Madhavar Prasad (1998: 7, 48, 55) highlights the impact of uneven and combined development within this. What frustrates M3 here is this combination, in which fashion,

therefore, fails to appear as an independent domain, with an autonomous language. The parallel discourse in China can be seen in this quote from curator S8, concerning contemporary Chinese fashion design: 'it's like trapped in a certain period of time that's not really contemporary, it's not really moving forward.'

In this discourse of 'not yet' we see dual temporalities placed in a framework whereby they coexist, and yet in a contradictory relation, one space – London – the future of another. A spatial reads as temporal difference. Johannes Fabian (2014: 31 [1987]) described such discourse within Western anthropology as 'denial of cœvalness', ascribing it to a 'persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse'. It was, he suggested, a political act justifying domination on the basis of scientific universalism by othering anthropological subjects as backward, localistic, and particularist. The Saidian (1995 [1978]) framework of othering, orientalist knowledge domination, and universalism, are indeed useful here.

Further, since this 'other' is also the self, one can speak also of self-othering: this is not a Western anthropological gaze, but that of a cosmopolitan national. Thus, Culture Platform co-founder M12, cited above critiquing India's design backwardness, goes on to state:

> India has one foot in the past and one foot's in the future and we're dragging our heel behind us. Cos we wanna keep that tradition. But at the same time we don't. We're scared to lose everything if we progress too much so there's this fear of progress. But at the same time it's inevitable. So there's this fight of tugging and pulling and specially creative people can only see forward. But obviously in our design philosophy we're always taking something from the past and tapping it back into our work but we want so much more progress so much more, cos we can see the potentials of it.

The third person of the earlier quote – 'They haven't got that attuned' – modulates here to the first person plural, and within imagery of a twisted body: that is, unlike Fabian's (2014) discussion, the dual temporalities are embodied within a single subjectivity. And it is the fact that the single subject can embody *both* temporalities which allows a specific form of *productivity*: the design philosophy of the studio enables a 'tapping' into the past as subjective resource. This discourse of resource is common, and is put eloquently by another graphic design studio entrepreneur, M20. She talked me through a design project illustrating her technique, whereby she turned local vernacular design and practices on the Mumbai street, such as ways of cooking in the street, or ways of wearing a dupatta, into an international discourse by design processes: 'you could put this in London or you could put this wherever you want, but it's got a soul which has started from India.' Again, the imagery is vivid and contradictory in order to grasp accurately a complex intertwinement of temporalities and spaces. The expression 'started from' refers to steps in the design process abstracting from the original. That abstraction is here also a movement – into an international domain. This movement leaves the original in the past, as a starting point before universalisation, but yet also in the present as the concrete particularity of the soul. This image of the wandering soul is suggestive of Georg Hegel's (2018: 52) suggestion of *The Phenomenology of Spirit* that the 'exposition […] can be taken to be the path of the soul wandering through the series of ways it takes shape', including through the inversion and 'loss of itself' in its passage through alterity – a loss in which it remains nevertheless preserved. However, as argued (Chapters 2 and 5), this wandering must be seen through the eyes of critical political economy: the spatio-temporal distance bridged is mediated – constituted – by the development of the productive forces.

The evidence here suggests that the universalising medium is not directly science, nor knowledge directly the object of comparison. As can be seen in the quotes above and

previously, the 'not yet' is associated by the participants not only with localism or particularism, but with less developed productive forces in terms of a predominance of informal design economy and a low division of labour: fashion photography is not yet autonomous from film, the fashion curator still conflated with the stylist, etc. Similarly, the medium of comparison is the labour market itself. The measure which this invokes, then, directly concerns the productive forces, of which the division of labour and incorporation of informal economies are a part; the development of science features as a subsumed moment in that of the productive forces (e.g. Carchedi 2011). In this case, the universalising medium rather than directly knowledge, is *value*: abstract labour time (Chapter 2). Indeed, the same is surely true in the anthropological gaze, the object of Fabian's analysis: Fabian neglects the unequal exchanges of labour value forming the engine of the colonial and postcolonial encounters of which anthropology is but a moment. Indeed, this is true also of Edward Said (1995) who inspired him, and much postcolonial scholarship as a whole (see Chibber 2013 for an unforgiving critique, and Chapter 3). This supports the idea that phenomena such as self- and other-directed Orientalism are not best analysed only, or even primarily through a cultural lens, but in the more embracing terms of political economy.

Examples of cultural industries analysis focused on orientalism include Dorinne Kondo (1997) and Sandra Niessen et al (2003). Rightly recognised as significant and insightful work, their genuine insights remain constrained by beginning causal explanations of the cultural phenomenon within culture itself – orientalism as a cultural prejudice *sui generis*. More recent are Lisa Rofel and Silvia Yanagisako (2019), in whose work the different value of labour in China-Italy fashion value chains is attributed entirely to cultural factors, predominantly self- and other-orientalism. They entirely exclude questions of capital investment, monopolisation and other value chain effects, imperialist rent extraction or differing regimes of accumulation, or questions of unequal exchange for instance, which, as Chapter 4 highlights, leave labour productivity – or value *capture* (Smith 2008) – significantly lower in China, and still more India, than the UK. The Chinese state is specifically seeking directly to increase division of labour in order to close the productivity gap (PRCMOST 2016, Chapter 4), while India takes steps likely to do so indirectly, such as promoting capital concentration and centralisation and diminishing informal and other non-capitalistic modes of production. This suggests that the spatio-temporal framework through which the participants understand themselves is not merely the discursive self-othering of the introjected orientalist gaze – though certainly that subjective and cultural content are at play. It is also the time of capital: a historical chronology – for the 'not yet' implies a history of development –, but measured specifically in the abstract form of labour time, which renders contemporaneous the distant and distinct production practices within the critical gaze of the market, combining the uneven. The subjective and objective poles of this relation must be thought together – a reality closer to that of Samir Amin's (1988: 82) study of Eurocentrism as a factor of the 'law of world wide value' than culture-first accounts.

6.5. The Mumbai Culture Map as creative infrastructure

Thus, the perceived lack of differentiation which interviewees see within local labour markets as compared to London is, for graphic designers M9 and M10, directly a matter of productivity:

> M10: There are very few cultural professions as opposed to the UK where there are, over the last 20 years I think there are clear sort of frameworks on professional strategies, policies, institutions which have clear sort of ways of functioning and receiving feedback and developing frameworks and benchmarks. We don't have any of

> that here. Institutions tend to function in quite an ad hoc way. So we try to bring some degree of accountability to the way they spend their communication budgets and their exhibition budgets, at least.

When subjects such as these specifically seek to 'bring' the processes associated with this greater segmentation from London to Mumbai, the temporal changes proposed by this movement, while taking the *form* of design, nevertheless have a *content*, in 'benchmarks', 'budgets', and 'accountability', which is value.

In the above quote, the process of bringing in processes is superficially abstract and institutionalised. The previous quotes tend to focus on much more subjective qualities, embodied in the soul itself: the 'soul which has started in India', or the 'tugging and pulling' of the conflicted nation. This, indeed, is an essential factor of the class position of these participants. As has been mentioned, they are neither capital, accumulating through the labour of others in processes from which they remain apart, and either not labour, being petit bourgeoisie, or not degraded, unqualified labour. This places these subjects in a position in which they do embody the creative producing power of labour – their work is indeed quintessential creative labour (Chapter 2) – but, for the vast majority interviewed, without the same degree of alienation as the manual waged proletarian in terms of loss of control or degree of exploitation. The creative input of these labouring subjects requires a qualitative subjective investment beyond the reduced, abstracted and indifferent form of bare 'labour power'. This is why they must adhere to less commercial – and so less commodified – purposes.

For M9 and M10 are certainly passionately invested in what they do, and its rich subjective content based on a high level of skill. This is manifested in a variety of ways. Firstly, there is a relatively seamless transition between much of their work and a hobby which they developed together from London, and continue to the present: a blog and Instagram and Facebook accounts devoted to Indian design in transnational contexts, linked to on their business website. This emerged out of a sense that it was only by taking a position outside of their home country that it became visible to them as a cultural and in this case specifically design identity – albeit one with more potential than actual existence *as* design (as a formalised, industrialised aesthetic). M10 explains:

> we also kind of had the luxury of talking about design from India because we were not in India, […] And because we got a distance from our professional lives here we were suddenly able to be a lot more self-reflective and also a lot more critical.

This was a common theme in the interviews, specifically referred to by nineteen participants, but implicit in many more. Frequent are not only the association of distance with criticality, but self-reflexivity – including sometimes specifically in the *doubling* of the self implied by reflection, straddling cultural contexts. It is worth interrupting the flow for a short further example from M16, who describes the need to 'go inside' herself to learn about her design practice, which then involves a complex layering of perspectives:

> I needed to go inside, which once I was there [London], that's when you started to understand what you have back home, like, you know? […] But when I came back, for me, the city [Mumbai] was completely different and like the people were different, […] Like you first notice all that is wrong over here, after being there. […] But then slowly you start seeing what was over here also, like what I was missing back then there, not just about food or people, but I started relearning about my roots or the cultural heritage more about here.

Again this overlaying creates a complex and almost contorted subjectivity facing in dual directions which incorporate multiple temporalities (of 'roots' and 'heritage' 'here', but also a 'back then there') in a dynamic interplay of exteriority and interiority (going away to 'go inside', 'relearning' about roots in a 'here' discovered as 'different'). Grounded in a sense of emotional attachment ('missing'), it is a transformation, but also return. Further examples feature in Chapter 9 on education.

The intellectual depth of M9 and M10's social media accounts (referred to henceforth in the terms of the participants themselves as 'blogs') was significant, and M9 says they helped gain her an internship in a significant London design institution researching a major show on Indian design. The specific subject chosen by M9, also responsible for this internship, she says, was scenography. Having studied an architecture Bachelor of Arts in a major Indian design university, she deliberately selected a Master of Arts mixing temporal with this spatial dimension to supply what she felt to be missing in Mumbai: exhibition design as a subject autonomous from architecture, which, she suggested, was the usual training of exhibition designers in India. This couple were both very well read in design, applying an intellectual approach. Indeed, their commissions frequently include either exhibitions or somewhat scholarly books on art and design, as well as the space between and around this: exhibition guides, but also, for instance, whole brand identities for galleries, integrating exhibition spaces, graphic design and online interfaces.[2]

That this reflective integration of time and space was pursued as a response to a specifically identified disjuncture between the UK and India, which M9 and M10 sought to respond to through productive activity, is significant, then – but the passionate investment in engaging with that lack is also essential. At one point we had to pause the interview for the couple to respond to a situation within the studio. M10 returned first, and we informally discussed a project the couple had undertaken as a hobby, producing guide maps of Mumbai. The initial idea had been tracing a specific industrial product produced in nineteenth century UK and found in the exhibition space where M10 had interned, but which, on returning to India, she had noticed all over Mumbai, including in an exhibition space there. This museum was based on the London original, both founded in the nineteenth century to instruct local manufacturers in the history and international breadth of art and design. This project had then developed across an impressive range of topics, as well as offshoots such as exhibition guides and mixed maps, and a series of beautifully illustrated books focusing on Mumbai's design history. It had very much entered the studio's design identity. As her partner returned, she was explaining that they had started it 'as a way of missing London' (M9, from interview notes). Having restarted the recording, when I read this phrase back to her to return to the subject, she replied: 'Yeah. I mean we're missing London so it was a way not to miss London.' Rather wonderfully, rephrasing in the opposite polarity was not a correction, but development – for there was no contradiction: this way not to miss London was indeed a way of missing London.

That is because, as a use value, what the maps provided was something she had come across in London, but which was at the time entirely absent in Mumbai: illustrated guide maps for people interested in specific aspects of design. By filling that absence, or negating the difference, the couple would make Mumbai that much more like London, and thus would no longer miss it, obtaining a sense of closure. However, the content of

[2] It is noteworthy that another alumna interviewed, M26, also in design, also went to London specifically to add a temporal element to set design, studying scenography, which she identified as bringing a 'postmodern' edge over co-nationals trained only to manipulate space. This, she believed, made her, unlike co-nationals, *able to bring their own past into the present*. See Harvey (1992) and Jameson (1992) on postmodern space-time.

the labour of production (the use value of the labour itself, rather than that of the product) – its passion, the will invested in it as a hobby-turned-profession – was the very discomfort of the felt absence, which must remain even in sublated form. Closure would specifically be unproductive. There must be both identification, but without loss of difference. Productivity required the careful management of that feeling of lack, preserving it and rendering it fruitful in its surpassing, or suture. This is at the centre of the opportunity the couple referred to earlier in the nascent state of the city's cultural industry.

One of the forms the maps took, advertising hip galleries and shops as well as other cultural locations, is what I will refer to as the Mumbai Culture Map series (or where context removes ambiguity, Culture Map): free leaflets found in galleries and upmarket design and fashion boutiques. This commission came through a company with whom M9 and M10 frequently worked, describing itself as a 'social enterprise' (henceforth 'Mumbai Social Enterprise') seeking to 'build networks' and create 'cross-cultural dialogue', for instance, through free, non-market-oriented projects which develop 'cultural and creative infrastructure' within India (citations from the website, since deleted). That the enterprise founder first worked in India on a British Council project, and frequently developed briefs for the institution from then on is noteworthy: this clearly gave a common orientation with M9 and M10, to the 'creative industries' approach developed first in the UK Government Department of Culture, Media, Digital and Sport's (GovUKDDMCS 1998) 'Creative Industries Mapping Document' and since then regularly applied internationally (e.g. Das Gupta et al 2024, Shaban et al 2023). The Culture Map, sponsored by fashion and other design boutiques and galleries, had originally emerged as a collaboration with another blog, this time advertising-funded, and itself the work of another international higher education returnee (of Journalism, from the US) who, having previously worked on a New York culture magazine, 'decided to create something similar for Mumbai'. The Map is not only self-funding through advertising, but contributes to the stature of the Mumbai Social Enterprise in the city, positioning it as itself part of the 'creative infrastructure' alongside the sponsors. Thus, the Enterprise's website describing its 'Impact', states:

> The map is making art, art spaces and cultural events accessible to an ever widening demographic and to [*sic*] positively impact the social and cultural landscape of the city. 4500 copies of the map are published every six to eight weeks and distributed in over 60 venues in Mumbai, including galleries, shops, restaurants and hotels.

The concept of 'creative infrastructure' invokes the project of industrialised creativity associated with human capital and the knowledge economy popularised in the UK under the term 'creative industries' (Garnham 2005), and the discourse of impact is a part of that (Olssen 2016). 'Creative infrastructure' is central to Charles Landry's (2008 [2000]) breathless 'win-win' futurism, for instance, very much in line with the post-industrial knowledge economy framework, according to which:

> People resources have supplanted natural resources as the main source of competitiveness. Human talent, skills and creativity are replacing location, natural resources, undifferentiated pools of labour and market access as the central urban resources. The inventiveness and innovations of those who live in, work in and run cities determine their future success. (Landry 2008: xxxiii)

In this context, he suggests, where the industrial city attended to 'hard infrastructure' (2008: xxii) such as roads and buildings, the post-industrial (2008: 32) city must focus on 'creative infrastructure', from promoting communications and networking to attracting a creative 'talent pool' to contribute to the 'overall mental infrastructure' (2008: xxiii) of

the city, as part of a generalized economy of inter-convertible capitals: 'human' of course, 'social', 'cultural', 'intellectual', 'scientific', 'creativity', 'democratic', 'environmental', 'leadership', and last of all 'financial' (2008: xlviii-lxix). In Landry's influential vision, then, the whole of life in common opens itself to economic organisation for accumulation.[3] The Mumbai Culture Map is a great addition to the city, of which I have made much practical use, and I would not want to reduce it to a mere reflection of Landry's neoliberal dystopia. But the shared terminology clearly inserts it into the same 'creativity dispositif' (McRobbie 2016; Reckwitz 2017 [2012]), highlighting a parallel project in the transformation of Mumbai from an 'undifferentiated' to a differentiated – that is, cultural – economy. Indeed, M9 and M10 strongly associate with the notion of bringing 'creative economy' or 'cultural economy' approaches as part of the project of developing 'accountability' around culture, giving the example of Mumbai's museums, which, they suggested, had no way of measuring the results of activities, or even formulating what they should be, and thus no incentive to innovate in the demonstration of the value of Indian art and design. Chapter 8 focuses especially on the educational aspects of this dispositif.

It was shortly after meeting M9 and M10 that I was in one of the locations featured on the map clutching several intended purchases, when I met another alumnus by chance. The location was Mumbai Culture Platform, as I shall call them (or Platform), a design shop which would in fact turn out to be the public, retail face of a design studio dealing mainly in graphic, but also some product design as well as relatively mass produced fine pop art prints. The circumstance of the meeting is an illustration of the connections the map does indeed produce. As I browsed, a smart but fashionably dressed Indian man (work blue slacks, open necked shirt with pen pockets and neat trainers which would look out of place at neither board meeting nor drawing board) was telling a European about the store in reflective terms suggesting a senior position. Since I had time free, and was interested by the place (its design, but also its small book collection, with its interesting and eclectic mix of novels, visual culture, theory and critique all carefully curating a philosophy for the store – irreverent but reflective, slightly punk), I spotted an opportunity to start a conversation. On the table, amongst design objects for sale, were two Kyoorius Blue Elephant design awards, one of which I picked up and turned over to look at the base. Right on cue, the man, who indeed turned out to be a co-founding CEO, smiled and explained that I would not find a price sticker. I knew, I said, as I had just interviewed a design team who also had the award: the couple who designed that map. I pointed at a nearby windowsill, and the current edition of the Mumbai Culture Map, featuring on its cover a striking psychedelic pop graphic portrait mashing up traditional Indian visual culture such as the Maharastran crescent bhindi with a hipster beard and hallucinating sunglasses. The Platform itself was a Culture Map sponsor, it transpired, the cover illustration by one to their designers, and perfectly captured the Platform's aesthetic: brash, loud, youthful, rebellious in its ludic engagement with tradition, but still elegant and witty desi-themed pop. This, as planned, piqued the CEO's interest, and he asked what I was doing in the city. As soon as I explained, he kindly insisted I meet his co-founder, graphic designer and creative director M12, who turned out to be, like M9 and M10, a London art and design Alumnus.

The three were unknown to each other, I discovered, though as well as sponsorship and the current cover, an illustration of M12's own had featured on an earlier cover of the Map. And the map (along with the strategically placed award) had had a role in leading

[3] Tim Edensor et al (2010: 3) call Landry and the similar Richard Florida (2000), the 'two most influential sets of works that have shaped creative industry policy, to date'. He is a significant influence also on Michael Keane (2007), who popularised the same discourse and its applications in China, as discussed in Chapter 7.

me, through this vast, sprawling, and frequently chaotic-seeming or informally organised city, which, as the subjects themselves said, had very little such graphic art, between them: had served its purpose as 'creative infrastructure'.

Because for M9 and M10, the blogger they cooperated with and Social Enterprise and M12, a key aspect of the mapping project is the application of practices identified as external to the city itself. This is one aspect in which cultural maps for the designers were 'a way not to miss London', or 'of missing' London: applying creative industry practices to Mumbai was a means both to make Mumbai a little more like London, but also to render it more creatively productive; to represent the city as a set of creative locations, render visible the city's 'creative infrastructure' as a means of *constituting* that infrastructure, making the practice of constitution economically productive, and thereby realizing economic value (I, after all, made several purchases having been led from the one to the other) through the labour of that representation.

It is important to emphasize, however, that it is not only profit, but passion which motivates these subjects (see Chapter 2 and citations there of McRobbie 2016 on 'passionate labour'). Certainly, the form of the creative infrastructure is the application of accounting systems from capitalism to culture (it is culture industry). For M9 and M10's studio, the push for accountability was specifically a drive for the proper levels of investment in design which would support the degree of analysis and quality which they believe India deserved, for instance – be that investment from public bodies such as museums, or private corporates. This of course is where the articulation with capital as such occurred: their sophisticated branding work for these corporates, or, for the Mumbai map, advertising stores.

6.6. Changning Creative Space and the creative quarter

As argued in Chapter 1, Shanghai and Mumbai share marked similarities as well as differences – including in relation to London. That the patterns noted above are shared across both cities underpins this: these are both cities in which creative workers identify a directionality of development in relation to London: a becoming themselves which is at the same time a becoming like London. Non-coincidentally, in both contexts there is a common suggestion (eight participants) that the city already shares something with London: most frequently, a multi-cultural or cosmopolitan dimension. This is very much rooted in the historical relations between the cities (see Chapter 1). Much of the above, including the creative infrastructure of the Culture Platform, is reflected in what I will be calling the Changning Creative Space, situated in a new planned creative quarter in Changning, Shanghai.

Changning Creative Space consists of a shop, selling a small range of slightly poppy cultural goods such as prints and vases, a bar, a gallery, and small space visiting artists sponsored by the gallery. It was founded and is run by two young women, S27 and S28, recently graduated from a London arts university, and subsidised by a large property developer with local government funding. It is on a relatively quiet, leafy street in an area of Shanghai with some concentration of the advertising industry (S7 worked minutes away), and is next door to a fashion boutique – also run by a London art and design graduate –, and features a café and juice bar in the hipster mode at one end of the short block, and an equally hip craft brewery pub at the other, both far from common sights at the time in Shanghai. The space itself invites European artists to Shanghai, mostly London art and design graduates by policy (see Chapter 8), to work and be inspired by the local area, which they are to develop into artworks and other merchandise sold in the shop and gallery. Their drinks range included a local craft beer brewed by two more London art and design graduates, one of which was a very good craft IPA, but where hibiscus, a typical flavour in local teas, replaced hops. Walking only a few minutes further

up the road on one visit, I was surprised to find rubble strewn over the pavement and into the street for dozens of metres where what low brick buildings had been, suggesting a place in rapid development.

The sheer density of London art and design graduates was of course surprising, and lay in part in the source of funding. Changning Creative Space has investment from a family with significant capital from government construction projects currently moving into the cultural realm, and preferential rents from a property developer, again close to the state. The participant kindly introduced me to the development's communications manager, who explained, with S28 herself translating:

> The whole of Shanghai is talking about Shanghai culture and the government wanna do that. The other key information is about Shanghai's local brand and made in Shanghai. That's the key word from the government. They want to emphasise made in Shanghai and also Shanghai's local brand. So Shanghai is an international city and very open minded. So every year we have lots of Chinese students who study abroad will come back to Shanghai and also foreign students will come to Shanghai and study in Shanghai as well. And they really important for the development of Shanghai. So for the [Changning District] the key thing would be the development of fashion and also art and culture.

The area was chosen for this heritage in part due to the nearby Donghua University, with its significant fashion education, and also as the area where Soong Ching-Ling once lived, wife of revolutionary nationalist Sun Yatsen, and important revolutionary figure in the Communist party in her own right, with a particularly cosmopolitan role in the party (herself having studied in the US), meeting international figures including George Bernard Shaw, Edgar Snow and Jawaharlal Nehru (Chang and Halliday 1986). According to the developer, Soong Ching-Ling also:

> wanted to bring art into life. So that's the key word the Changning Government want to do – the mission of bring art to life and making art a part of life.[4]

On this basis the area has three fashion studios run by designers graduated from London, a juice store by another, and will soon have a theatre and a food market 'like [London's] Borough Market' (S28). There were also spaces for technology and design studios. It was for this that the small shops-cum-dwellings up the road had been reduced to rubble, it transpired. Though I could not obtain detailed information on the terms, it appeared that, as their properties (as for many of Shanghai's poor) were unregistered, they were not a significant impediment to the development plans, and were re-housed farther from the centre – the process associating development in one area with underdevelopment in another considered in Chapter 4.

When I asked her just why they chose her project for this, she explained:

> they want us to bring our friends to here and our friends is not normal friends. They're like independent designers and artists and different people from over abroad. […] And also they want us to have like interesting events to happening here. […]. And because it's still on early stage on this street so that's why they give us lots of support, and like really low rental. They don't want to make money on us so how much they rent this place from the government, they just give us the same price. They don't make any money on us. What they want to do is just to create the atmosphere and bring more people, like art and design people to come here.

[4] I can find no reference to Song's desire to bring art to life, or other affiliations with art. See *The Soong Sisters* (Law 1997), starring Maggie Cheung, for the visually compelling narrative of Soong's life.

> They just want to attract the young generations and also the people who work for art and design industry to come here and to see this street as a base. So basically they want to create this place like Shoreditch or something. It's not about money it's about the whole impression of this street.

Thus the accumulation motive, in S28's understanding, was not direct, but rather came from a government project, mediated by the developer, to render the social space as a *whole* productive.

This relation to valorisation is inherent to the very nature of the project. Much like M9 and M10, these two alumnae begun their venture out of a sense of passionate dislocation:

> S28: We think our gallery can be more different from others and the context can be more interesting and close to people's life and also [S27] and me missed the life in London so much so we will bring some, and it's really hard to find interesting event or exhibition in Shanghai so we want to do it by ourselves
>
> Interviewer: What is it that you miss about London, then?
>
> S28: I mean like we miss London about the atmosphere. Cos we just been to the Colombia Circle and you said you feel like the library or the bookstore is not naturally looks like that, it's quite weird. I don't know which part is weird but you can feel the weirdness in that store, right? What we missed is about the atmosphere like everything is naturally about art. It's not about 'I want to be artistic so we try to be art and design creative space.' Like we miss London is because we don't need to do something on purposely. Like for example we just go out and have a drink and we will pass by a gallery and we just walk in and we saw something we can see something really nice, and we can have a have a think about it and then go to have a dinner and hang out with friends and just accidentally pop into a really interesting event or something. But in Shanghai we have to do everything on purposely, because we don't have the atmosphere. I would say like the life in London, it has a really nice combination of life and art. They combined really well. Like you can see art everywhere, but in Shanghai art is quite far from the life, for now.

A twenty-minute drive away, Colombia Circle, which S28 differentiates herself from here, is a recent development forming part of the same broader creative quarter funded by the local government (a fact she was not at the time aware of). It is a largely pedestrianised zone, mixing new and heavily renovated architecture (façaded or gutted shells infilled with new build), with a securitised, gated entrance, just off a busy six-lane road, making it rather impractical to visit on foot. The heavily curated mix of an art bookshop, restaurant, art souvenir store and galleries, all very highly priced, does indeed have a strangely artificial feel to it, clearly seeking to achieve a sense of organic development, but, I admit, I found, though a pleasant mix of styles and periods, failing. On our visit, S28 had noted with dismissal the number of KOLs (Key Opinion Leaders, or influencers) present, suggesting that the function of backdrop was the sole interest of the place, which would soon wear thin. These, she explained, were among her 'target customer', the seed what she perceived as their incipient interest in fashion and an aestheticized way of life: 'what we want to do is just bring them and educate them a new lifestyle and a new habit of their life that they can go to art gallery.' The differentiation she proposes for her own space is this focus on atmosphere and embedding in the practices of everyday life. Socialising, drinking, strolling on the street and gazing through shop fronts form the lived substance to repairing Shanghai – 'quite far' from life 'for now'. This invokes not only a literally reduced gap between the gallery front and pavement life, but also, something vaguer and more subjective – a diminished distance

from a particular kind of subjectivity she associates with London. The gap is to be sutured between the self itself in its expression – art – and life.

The space-time of art within life is of a piece with the non-commercial nature with which S28 identifies: art is within life when simply living and socialising produces it. This somewhat idyllic scenario is clearly an example of the process of rendering life itself productive, referred to by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000) as biopolitical production, and which Negri (2003) considers in terms of temporality as the eradication of the limits of abstract labour time (see Chapter 2). It is noteworthy that it is only possible here because S27 and S28 have funding from property developers and the state, who specifically support the project in order to render the location as a whole more value productive, from which the local state will benefit in rates and other benefits, and the property developer in land value and rents.

Like the Mumbai Art Map, then, the economics at work is that represented in uncritical and ideological terms by scholars such as Landry (2008: 133), discussed above, and constitutes an attempt to plan a 'creative milieu':

> a place – either a cluster of buildings, a part of a city, a city as a whole or a region – that contains the necessary preconditions in terms of "hard" and "soft" infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions. Such a milieu is a physical setting where a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded, cosmopolitan context and where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products, services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success.

As opposed to 'hard infrastructure' (Landry 2008: xxii) of roads and buildings, for instance, 'Soft infrastructure includes paying attention to how people can meet, exchange ideas and network. It shifts focus and encourages physical developments and place-making or urban design that foster communication between people' (Landry 2008: xxiii). It includes a 'local talent pool' (Landry 2008: xxiii), and an 'overall mental infrastructure' (Landry 2008: xxiii). This human capital approach, then, seeks to subsume the entire urban social fabric, including reproductive activity, under the rule of value – a massive extension of commodification. Where the Chinese and Indian contexts specifically *differ*, as evident in the present case, is the active role of the Chinese state.

The mediating institution which helped to promote Landry and other creative economy ideologues to China is Queensland University of Technology Creative Industries department, where scholars including John Hartley, Michael Keane and Lucy Montgomery converted British cultural studies into a commodity for sale to nearby China, picked up by the state in its projected move up the labour value chain. In this, Australia's cultural position as Western capitalist English speaking nation was central: Hartley (Hartley and Montgomery 2009) specifically sought to remove the critical barb from the British Cultural Studies tradition that had informed his career in Cardiff into commerce-ready content, and the department hit on exporting the UK creative industries model developed under Culture Secretary Chris Smith (Keane 2007). This is a fundamental example of the neoliberalization of higher education discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, and returned to in 8, and specifically within cultural studies. One key early convert was Li Wuwei, President of the Shanghai Creative Industries Association and Director of the Research Centre for Creative Industries at Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, who in 2004 attended a conference where Li chaired, organised by Hartley in Beijing (Keane 2011).

The similarity of Li's discourse with the activity of Shanghai Creative Space is resonant, with talk of the need for cities to move from industrial to service industry, and so from 'hard' to 'soft infrastructure' (Li 2011: 99), constituted by intangible forms of capital such as creative talent, which must be carefully attracted and nurtured, with

atmospheric qualities of design, events, quality consumption opportunities, and branded urban experiences, including the city as brand, its industrial heritage, for instance, converted into compelling narrative. 'This urban transformation not only provides the soil for the sewing of creative industries but also investment and a sound environment for further development' (Li 2011: 2). He states later:

> An important task […] is to reorganize communities so as to accommodate a different kind of society under the knowledge economy. Central to this task is confirming the role of culture and the arts in promoting economic development and establishing a 'creative community', a process in which interactions between culture, art, industry and community are fully exploited, a process in which there is investment in human resources and capital. This prepares the ground for challenges brought about by rapid industrialization and the knowledge-based economy.
>
> Creative communities can […] be understood as living cells in the organizational system of creative industries. In this sense they indicate interrelated networks of people connected with the development of creative industries, living communities that form 'socially', and which engage in creative R&D, production, sales and exchange. Such social relationships facilitate the convergence of culture and art, business, technology and human development in economic development and social progress. (Li 2011: 103-104)

This is exact to Shanghai Creative Space, reorganising the local community, and subsuming life itself, in its reproduction, under the rule of value. The Space is, then, firmly within the same creativity dispositif as Mumbai's Culture Map – and so also London's. It is a dispositif which seeks to shrink the distinction between work and everyday life to a minimum, in order to render the entirety of social time-space value producing (see Chapter 2 Figure 2.2 and discussion).

6.7. Conclusion

The central place of London Art, Design and Communication graduates within the culture industry of Mumbai and Shanghai bespeaks not only the trajectory of forms of knowledge about arts management from the UK to the southern cities: as demonstrated, the specific sense of disjuncture and lack between these – the subjective force of missing, which is also a form of identification – constitutes a subjectively rich basis for a particular qualified labour power, whose qualities include not only training, but movement itself, and the ability to render that productive. This bears no similarity to those more typical situations of migrant labour (e.g. Pun 2016, Lowe 1996) in which the navigation of different labour regimes for the migrant represents a cost in terms of reduced wages, autonomy, access to labour and other rights and services, or local networks, for instance. It is also different to 'virtual labour', A. Aneesh's (2007) coinage for programming work offshored from locations such as the US and the UK. Aneesh found that Indian labour inserted into the layered space of world economy suffers subjective disjunctures arising as a social and cultural externality to the purely economic calculation of differential labour values across space – a disjuncture again representing an extra cost to the worker, here predominantly cognitive. But nor does Anthony Elliot and John Urry's (2010: 10) concept of 'network capital' capture the situation, a concept which treats mobility itself as a value in the abstract, independently of the specific value-producing capacities of places in themselves, or their activation by subjects. In the cases I have discussed, the disjuncture is managed as a positive potential and actual qualitative content of the labour power, which, though in certain ways, at times, is troubling to the subjects, is produced, managed and stored by the self with passionate investment and in learnt ways (Chapter 8) – a passionate investment essential to the value sought and produced.

In an all too rare – and brief, though incisive – discussion of subjectivity in contexts of uneven and combined development, Kamran Matin (2013: 112, 126) finds in twentieth-century Iran a 'historical dissonance between its constituent subjectivities', with a 'hybrid' and 'ambiguous' 'citizen-subject' emerging out of the combination of the modern bourgeois nation and earlier forms. As he rightly argues, this subjectivity must be considered an example of uneven and combined development, itself an 'amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms', or 'hybrid' (Trotsky 2008: 5, 114, Chapter 3). Where Matin considers a juridico-political subject, in the rich contexts of cultural production, the novel form above is an actively managed part of a labouring subject's self-relation. Further, I trace it, not, as Matin does, at the societal level, but within individuated trajectories.

And this regime of value production cannot be considered to replace the others, as Hardt and Negri (2000, 2009, 2017) portray the dominance of biopolitical production: rather, the different temporalities interact. Not only is it specifically the *difference* of the regime they seek to import from existing local production which constitutes the basis for the yearning for change to which the participants lay claim. Further, as considered in Chapters 2-4, value accumulation through control over forms of knowledge – including aesthetically subjective and culturally rich – largely operates through a spatialised division of labour in which the manufacturing labour of execution does not disappear, but coexists in a subordinate position of exploitation heightened by the value extractive capacity of expanded knowledge-based services. The creative labour of biopolitical production is thus not outside of measure, but within a stratified class system such that it gives access to everyday life as a means to increase value capture from elsewhere. This contributes towards answering my sub-aims 3-4 and main aim: the chapter has demonstrated that macro developments of a spatio-temporal nature are internalised by the participants to form an affective force which is re-externalised in the activity of productive subjectivity.

Chapter 3 cited Marx's (1973: 111) short section from the Introduction to the *Grundrisse* as key on the dialectic of uneven development, including the statement concerning the enduring allure of ancient artistic forms: 'The difficulty is that they still afford us artistic pleasure and that in a certain respect they count as a norm and as an unattainable model.' This difficulty lies in sublation, by which a form is both negated, but also preserved. The transcendence of the distance of the past underpins M20's account above of a universal which maintains the particular in the 'soul that has started from India'. At an abstract level, the concept of missing has the same logic: an unattainable distance bridged in the imagination, whose yearning forms the basis of productive activity bridging them in reality. In Marx, the moment hinted at is the sublation towards disalienation, a negation of the negation whereby the sense of authenticity is regained, not by impossible return to the Greek polis, where the freedom of some depended on the slavery of others, but by overcoming private property relations. In the examples above, there is no evidence of such a move, but rather of the extension of private property relations. Chapters 7-8 address further just what makes of the intermediary a position oriented to that role, but also whether there might be within it emancipatory seeds.

Chapter 7

Interview Discussion II: The Intermediary

7.1. Introduction

Chapter 2 argues that the cultural intermediary produces value through a mediating status and in-between position in terms not only of class and production circuits, but also everyday life. Turning to the concept of unevenness, Chapter 3 showed how the seed of this idea in the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1979) was in fact from complex inter-cultural positionalities studied by anthropologists, though Bourdieu himself did not develop this. This chapter shows how intermediation brings together a range of other polarities alongside class and production circuits, tying the expansion of capitalist relations internationally to the expansion into inwardness itself. As well as supplying new insights into sub-question 3 concerning political and economic developments at the macro scale, the chapter particularly responds to sub-question 4, concerning the *relation* of the Mumbai and Shanghai production regime with London, for it shows specifically how the difference is constitutive for the status of intermediation.[1] It also contributes further towards the main question concerning the constitution of productive subjectivity by illuminating how the productivity of intermediation arises from an interaction among a set of bridging positions, between: manual and mental labour; manufacture and consumption processes; differing cultures; temporalities; and subject and object.

Section 7.2 proposes an expansive use of the concept of intermediation, based on in-between statuses highlighted by interview subjects themselves. The account then considers factors which draw the intermediaries studied to their position nationally and internationally, considering factors of racialisation, migration and brain power, social networks, and self-constitution (7.3-7.6). The latter represents a fulcrum, in which subject and object, self and society are found to be deeply enmeshed in the process of recognition, which demonstrates particularly acutely the interrelation of psychic content and material economic relations (7.7), tying the subject dynamically into the international division of labour (7.8).

7.2. Cultural intermediation

S5, marketing manager for the Shanghai office of a very large European fashion brand (revenue $422 million: RocketReach 2023), describes her work in terms exemplary of the multiple forms of in-betweenness which are the subject of this chapter:

> One part is communication with HQ, because we are the bridge from HQ to Chinese consumers. So it's important to let HQ fully understand this market. And the second hand is we're also a bridge between our brand and the consumer, so we need to translate the brand message in a local way and then pass this to our consumers. So we're the middleman, we have to understand the goals. And our study background, our cultural background, our social background give us this ability to understand both sides, and then we can do our job properly.

This concept of 'bridge' – and the use of the word itself to describe it – is extremely common in the data, with 24 participants identifying with the function, and seven using

[1] The chapter also touches on aspects of the first two sub-questions concerning education. This results from the holistic approach explained in Chapter 5, in which a balance is sought between analytical separation of themes and the sustained diachronic interweaving of those elements in actual life.

the word itself. The participant here specifically highlights the relation between the position between cultures *and* between production and consumption. Indeed, implicitly, further betweenness is suggested. The same participant describes herself and her peers as being 'Not poor, but more like middle class, not really like super-rich background, but middle class or slightly lower middle class.' The quantitative economics also bring qualitative factors, including a financial cushion enabling study overseas for a line of work which may not pay immediate rewards and the relation to culture which that enables, but also characteristics of the labour process:

> I think everybody who studied art and design, kind of creative background people, they don't want to be trapped, right? They want to freely express their ideas and also want to do things in their own way. I think that's fair enough for art students. We're not content or finance, that's different world. I think people, they tend to follow certain rules, but creative, we didn't really want to have people supervise you or give you very strict time or frames and you have to fit in their box.

A certain amount of disposable income is invested in the qualification of the self which brings a degree of workplace autonomy without releasing from the need to work for capital. S5 in the first quote mentions her role as coming not simply between the company and consumers, but between *headquarters* and China; the intermediate position between production and consumption is, in this work, inextricable from a position in the division of labour between conception – the function of headquarters – and execution, that of the international branch. As in Chapter 6, she also links the intermediate status to a relatively open or not 'strict' relation to time. This co-existence of in-between statuses, then, brings also multiple temporalities into play.

7.3. Factors of push and pull

The factors leading alums to take bridging positions are various and over-determined. One useful and lucid account is from S3, graduate of two postgraduate London fashion business courses, who had worked at the time on the digital marketing of two European fashion brands in Shanghai, and has since been employed by two extremely large British online retailers, as well as the Shanghai branch of a UK based fashion retail experience franchise. On the one hand, S3 notes the significant advantage her education has given her:

> Know all the experience by living in the UK did help me to find jobs like international position jobs more easily and of course like I had the chance to know better about East and West culture, so it did help.

However, she also notes that her education in London *forces* her to work for international corporations headquartered overseas, in Northern economies such as the UK:

> If I came from like Asian culture and did my degree abroad, for me it's easily to work in a West environment rather than Asia, because in Asia you already knew everything, but if you wanted to do something back to your own country, perhaps you can do something it's more the in-between, for example you're like the bridge, and in-between East and West, because you understand the culture on both sides.

This is a common observation (five mentioned being constrained to work for international corporations, four more seeking to, and for a many others it just happened that way – an ease and expertise which built up and stuck; various discussed in these chapters). From the Mumbai perspective, M14 says:

> When you've got an education from [alma mater], it's quite reputed, so everybody really thinks that you still have those skills, you know. So it gives you a good head start here. But then it's a minus as well, because sometimes Indian designers want Indian people who understand Indian markets. So you really, like in India specifically you can only look out for companies which have like an international base, you know. Because they prefer people with an international background. Like I've noticed myself, most companies here, Indian designers prefer Indian education, because that's how they work.

Critical studies of migration have long suggested highly skilled worker mobility constitutes an overall loss or 'brain drain' from originating towards host countries, of brain power reproduced in the poorer global South (Krishna and Khadria 1997 date the discourse in India to the 1970s). More recently, researchers have questioned the concept, pointing out the increasing predominance of migrant return in the post-Fordist era of fragmented production systems and the increasingly complex new international division of labour, distributing skills requirements more widely (see Chapters 3 and 4), as well as international network-based knowledge exchange. Anna Lee Saxenian (2002, 2005) suggested the concept of 'brain circulation' to portray the deeply ideological notion of free international markets for brain power as an emerging reality of global technology production whose main impediments were, she felt, bloated states and low-risk behaviours. A more nuanced neoliberalism is Fazal Rizvi's (2005), who, after interviewing over 40 Chinese and Indian ex-students staying on in Australia, where they were educated, or post-return, concluded that the cosmopolitanism of alums rendered brain drain models defunct by replacing national identifications – and the centre-periphery models which articulate with them – with Appaduraian (1996) post-national flows (Chapter 3). Return is the situation addressed by this study, which also reflects the now common situation of incentivisation, in response to concerns of 'drain', by state and private business inducements.

However, the situation of alums such as S3 complicates the free market picture, as well as the question of circulation itself or the model of cosmopolitan flows. Firstly, the market is hardly free. S3's return, like many of her peers, was in part forced by visa expiry, a form of labour unfreedom dividing workers along racialised lines to suit the needs of capital as well as parliamentary party politics (Chapter 4). Further, not only are the costs of reproduction of the brain power of a number of participants in the present project paid for from wages (25, including at least 5 through loans) or capital revenue (20) in the global South, as per the brain drain model. It is also frequently the case, as for S3, that, even on return, it is in fact capital based in northern economies which employs the subjects: the circulation of brain power, that is, is highly responsive to the needs of capital. And finally, the realisation of those needs is heavily mediated through national states, which structure citizenship according to points-based models articulated to skills, and render cosmopolitan identifications themselves a value-laden content closely reflecting an international division of labour along core/periphery lines.

7.4. Racialisation

The forces determining the location and nature of work are multiple. Postgraduate fashion retail alumna S10 works currently in marketing communication for a European fashion brand. All her work from a London post education job onwards has been for various British and other European communication and fashion brands. I asked her why she had returned to Shanghai from London:

> S10: The glass ceiling for like Asian people, for non-European people is quite hard to actually get into certain level.

> Interviewer: Where did you pick up that sense? Is that from other people talking about that?
>
> S10: I was in Regent Street, Burberry, I was in the Regent Street store and one of our department manager is a Chinese. She stayed there for almost six or eight years to get that department store manager – it's menswear department manager. And I can see, also she told me, like she can kind of picture like maybe it's kind of hard, really hard for her to go up. And also because during that time a lot of our schoolmate are looking for jobs in London and most of them, the job that they found are related to the language, that we can speak Chinese. For example, not even sales, because sales they can just easily find any part-time jobs, it's really like what I used to do. So they tend not to give you the resource for non-European because that's a really, you know, for the non-European people, if you want to stay then the company needs to apply resource for you. That's a big investment and also payment. […]
>
> I can see, even though I know I like UK, but China is probably growing much more faster and as I'm Chinese I don't have much advantage in the UK. But here, if I try my best, I think China is the place that I can really… how to say? To grow best through my hard working or through my improvement. So now it's three years after I start to work. If I'm still in the UK I would probably just be like super entry level. Whereas here I'm already, well, not that senior, but doing not bad.

S10, then, was unable to get visa sponsorship to stay in the UK because she was unable to find an employer willing to pay above the lowest wage. She, like her compatriots, she feels, must make judgments about value both in terms of locations themselves, the productive activities and rates of pay, but also the embodied relation to that hierarchically valorised social landscape which is racialisation.[2] But further, the process of producing racialised subjects for specific locations according to life chances enters into the subjects' own understanding of the aptitudes they develop in traversing that uneven space. As S10 puts it:

> The point of studying abroad is not just about language, it's also about you know about the Western people, their mindset, their culture, their way of life, everything. So sometimes if you study – well, for myself, sometimes I feel the experience that I studied in the UK helps me to understand my client more. If I had all my education in China, probably can't understand some of their position or some of their mindset.

The grim logic is clear: the very encounter with difference which she has undergone in London, and which suggested that she must return to escape a culturally hierarchical system, constitute the development of aptitude to work for European capital from a position of mutual advantage.

A similar logic is put, still more baldly, by sustainable fashion postgraduate alumna M23, client liaison manager for a Mumbai headquartered textiles manufacturer, negotiating with international buyers based on 'intercultural communication' skills which she rates as a key acquisition from London. In example of that she gives the following account of an incident which began with an order to a staff member in the college canteen:

> And he's like, maybe adding a please to it would make it better for you here. And it was just said in a manner that I had tears in my eyes, I was like, oh my god, this is really not

[2] On racialisation in East Asian fashion media diaspora see Pham (2015), and fashion workers generally Lowe (1996); South Asian bloggers' unequal insertion into global capitalism, Luvaas (2012).

> nice. Anyway, then I went and I told my teacher. I said, in an institution like [alma mater] where people come from all over the world, students, I cannot be expecting this from anyone. They should have an open mind from accepting people from all kinds of cultural backgrounds. How do you expect a person within a week's time that they'll get used to systems there. No, of course not. It's not that we are not open, but you have to give us some time.
>
> So that helped me in the courage that came into me at that point in time for saying something against something wrong. That was not right what he did. So I think those are the things. So you can say that I learned to handle people in a better manner, in a positive manner, a negative manner, whatever you can call it.

The cosmopolitan learning she identified with London, which allows her to work for international brands, is in part obtained through the experience of racialisation. The utility to global capital of M23 and her peers demonstrates the role of racialisation as an element of the production of subjectivity and the mediation of capital's expansion through embodiment, in which the experience itself of othering enters into the intercultural training necessary to the occupation of intermediary positions. The effect of a micro-aggression such as that described is inextricable from institutional forms such as the visa system mentioned by S10 above, a kind of degraded citizenship limiting the value of such subjects' labour. Indeed, some reduced their labour cost to nothing, due to visa regulations, doing free internships for London companies. London graphic design alumna M5 explained this logic thus: 'I might just do it in free because when am I going to find the opportunity to work in London? Post-study work visas were discontinued that year.' Whether through micro-aggression or legislation, racialisation – as well as being a lived experience but also identification and source of potential strength in struggle (see Chapter 3) – is one means by which capital produces the subjects it needs where it needs them.

Situations like these suggest that common discussions of cosmopolitan or 'intercultural' (e.g. Leask 2015: 53, Gill 2016: 335) skills or other such learning on campus or returning in abstraction from the role of capital are entirely inadequate. They cannot explain the relations in which, for which and through which these subjects learn to engage productively with others according to their position within production relations.

7.5. Social network effects

Along with the push and pull factors mentioned by S3 above, important too for many is the development of shared interests with other western and West educated returnees, leading to the formation of strong networks. Much of the learning alums identify from their time in London is extra-curricular, resulting from London's cosmopolitanism, museums, cultural industry, and everyday culture, and the specific learning formally encouraged from that (see Chapter 8). Frequently, this in turn is hard to separate from the consumption practices of local populations:

> S3: For me because of my time in London people can wear whatever and people won't judge. For me if I live in London I'm willing to wear what I want.

These consumption habits formed in the West then become the basis on which she networks with alums similarly formed:

> All the people I know here who have been to London it does have the English influence in it. The places we will go the items we will buy are quite similar in certain way.

Those consumption patterns represent for her an expression of individuality which, because she sees it as in advance of Shanghai consumption, she believes she is positioned to recreate:

> Asian people are more like followers as opposed to starters, as compared to the West. But as influencers we try to create things that people will follow.

The terms here of starters and followers are those of uneven development, but also implicitly, the division of mental and manual labour, conception and execution. The movement between the consumption spaces of that division – the high street – into the workplace of marketing is an essential element of the traversals of the intermediary. The many accounts of professional networking among alums (27 specifically identify as professionally networking with other London alums) are frequently explained by shared working styles or simply, as here, backgrounds, which constitute, thereby, a pervasive incentive towards the same over-determined eventual end: the global expansion of capital. Push and pull factors here are hard to differentiate, but also structure and agency (Chapter 8). The alum does this because they love it, because it is what they are trained to do, and because, since it is the work that capital requires, as a form of work requiring emotional investment, they must love it.

M2 is a senior photographer who graduated from a London degree in Fashion Styling in 2010, and has done much work with multinational fashion magazines. She too identifies with having learned in London how to see the street as resource:

> Because I actually went out there on Gumtree looking for locations, walking round Bermondsey and like, okay, maybe I can shoot here. That's what made it interesting, actually that is what I took back. You know, not so much of what I studied in class, because, like I said, that's what made it cool. If I was studying in India I'd probably have a fixed curriculum with the faculty telling us exactly what to do and how to do it, because that's how it's done in India. And you don't really push the kids to go out there and explore things for themselves, and I think that was very cool.

But at the same time as being a difference in educational style, it is also one in the life of the street itself – the everyday space of reproduction. Thus, for instance, dismissing the learning possibilities of a local branch campus of American fashion college Parsons which had just opened up in Mumbai, she says: 'Like just walking down Bond Street and Oxford Street, you wouldn't experience that in India, in any part of India, you know.' (see Chapter 6 for a similar sentiment on the practices of the Shanghai street compared to London).

However, this is about not only education, but the work itself:

> It's only after I came back that I really missed it and I want to go back each time, simply because I realise that, you know, it's a melting point for great talent, great ideas, great locations. It's not the same in Bombay. You can't just walk out with a camera and decide to do a shoot on the streets in, I mean the way it is there.

Much like M9 and S27 and S28 (Chapter 6), and S17 below, the affective force of missing here is strongly associated with the value she represents for employers: an attempt to make Mumbai more like the London she recalls:

> Because I had been to London obviously, and I knew photographers, I knew a couple. So it was after I moved back I kept in touch with people, but not just students, other photographers I had met and done shoots with on and off. So I pitched these ideas to [large multinational fashion magazine based in New York] and they were happy to do

> it. So I basically put it all together. So because I knew locations, I knew where I could rent an, like get an Airbnb and I knew localities, knew what was close to what, I knew press offices I had already sourced in London. So it all became much easier, you know, as opposed to going to a new place entirely and trying to figure it out.

Thus, again, her training, with its complex interplay of London itself as learning material, *due* to training to use it as such, renders her able to attract – promise productivity for – international employers, as she outlines in the reasons for her employment on international briefs shot in the city.

7.6. Self, other and lack

The nature of London street culture which makes it photogenic for M2 is deeply associated with the international division of labour it reflects as a 'melting pot for great talent, great ideas, great locations'. This in turn creates a dynamic of self and other, such that the local self is seen to lack subjectivity itself due to its position in the division of labour:

> India is pretty dominantly, has always been a base of manufacture, not design so much. Craft, yes. Manufacturing, yes. But India has not really been a country of inception or design or innovation. You know, internationally designers have always looked at India for textiles, for our craft and they sort of source a lot from here, like DVN [Belgian designer Dries van Noten], Dries of course comes to India, Stella comes to India, Stella McCartney, to source her textiles and stuff. But that's what I mean, that is something that we within India are not conscious of, you know. But it's like it's something that we've seen all our lives and there's no value for it. It's only when- and obviously the fact that there are international designers coming to India and sourcing these products to put into their collection is what makes it, then makes it special to an Indian saying oh, okay, Stella's using it, maybe it's cool. Like there was no value for it before that.

Here the self that works, the manually labouring self, is construed as lacking the means to recognise itself except through the eyes the mentally labouring other. And this is by no means only a distinction in the form of appearance of the self, but in its essence, which is itself unable to appear:

> So when I think fashion, like for instance, so there is a huge difference between your national costume and fashion. So of course our national costume is the sari, that's our national dress, that's what most Indians wear and some variations of it. But when you talk about fashion you're obviously talking about style, right, you're talking about wearing things in a certain way that are true to you. That to me is fashion, or style, right? So that hasn't happened in India.
>
> […]
>
> So that's what I mean. That has just developed in India, like over the past eight years maybe, where Indian designers have stepped up and said that, you know, we're going to do things that are true to our craft and our country. So that I think has made a big difference over the seven years. But initially, everyone was obviously wearing the same saris, the same textiles, you know. So there was no fashion, it was of course traditional, our costume, but you didn't really see a distinct sense of style. Like when you walk down the streets of London you see everybody has a distinct sense of style, you can tell who they are when you look at the way they dress, right? You know, you can probably gauge their personality looking at the way they've dressed. But that wasn't the case in India.

> People looked almost the same, pretty much the same. You know, because fashion was never really considered anything more than covering your body, that's what fashion was, you know. You just need to go buy clothes to cover your body, that's about it. It wasn't looked upon as a way of self-expression, which now has changed over the past seven years. So of course Bollywood was a huge driving force because before that, seven years ago, there was only costume, like Bollywood costume, right? So there were a lot of stylists in India back in the day who literally their only avenue of work or their only source of work was styling cinema, like characters on television, in movies, there was no real styling as such in India, no one who styled in India before like five or six years from now.

M2 recognises the connection between what is effectively the international division of labour – India as a country predominantly of manufacture, rather than design – and consumption practices: engaging with fashion. But she sees this also as a relation to the self: fashion, as clothing which is 'true to you', 'self-expression', reconciles appearance and essence. These practices themselves define her own relation to her work as a photographer happiest on the streets of London, and constitute her as a productive subject predominantly for international rather than local capital. But further, what makes her productive is in part an affect arising from the negativity she perceives in her location compared with London – a negativity in the self, rendering it productive.

The negativity within the self arises from a 'gap' which is one both of time and of space, even as it also exists in the more abstract form of a gap within the self:

> There's a huge gap. There is literally a gap of five years between India and any other country in the West, in Europe, like the UK or perhaps the US, we're five years behind in terms of trends, in terms of how quickly things pick up.

Since the self finds itself through experience of the other in this logic, which requires not only externalisation but also internalisation, or alienation and its negation, it follows that its inner contents are non-self-contemporaneous: the gap is a being behind London, but also away from itself. In Freudian psychoanalysis, a split in subjectivity is recognised to arise from repressed past experiences, and the various constituents of the self from the encounters, over the early life of the subject, of inner desire or id with norm-bearing others. These others are internalised through identification as superego in past moments whose forgetting is an essential aspect of the self-presence of the conscious ego (Freud 1964; Fromm 2009 [1962]; Marcuse 1969 [1955]). The equivalent in Georg Hegel (2018) is negation, in which the self must pass through stages which then become constituent, even as they are transcended. As Alenka Zupančič (2017) points out, Sigmund Freud's (1961 [1925]) notion of negation in suppression is very similar to that of the sublation in the master-bondsman dialectic in which each subject realises that 'its essential being is present to it in the form of an "other", it is outside itself and must rid itself of that externality' (Hegel 1977: 114).[3]

This is a social form of alienation, part of the subject's fragmentation, or decentring, recognised as a key similarity of Freud's thought with that of Marx, also manifest in the unconscious (Althusser 1993 [1964], Fromm 2009, Tomsič 2015, 2019 Žižek 2008, 2017). In *Capital* (Marx 1976: 165 [1867]), unconscious processes arise from the structure of labour commodification, by which the real nature of the social relations of production is erased from consciousness, as subjectivity, reduced to labour power, is

[3] Zupančič (2017) works from an earlier Hegel (1977) edition from that cited elsewhere in this thesis. In the latter (Hegel 2018: 112) it is translated as 'To himself, his essence exhibits itself as that of an other; he is external to himself, and he must sublate that being-external-to-himself.'

objectified in products which take on a fetish life of their own. The same process results in alienation (most explicitly in Marx *Economic* 2010: 272 [1844]), whereby the subject is separated from the products of their labour metabolically (in terms of interchange with nature), as social wealth, intercourse, and control, and phenomenologically – as a means to see themself in its products – and is thereby also separated from, or split within, its own self.

The great problem of Lacano-Marxism (Althusser 1996 [1963], Tomsič 2015, Žižek 2008) is that the economic nature of this insight becomes replaced by a linguistic model of the subject's necessary absence from the moments of its constitution. Jacques Lacan (1973: 190, 192) expresses alienation as a logical vel, with the subject constitutively obliged to chose either meaning, in which case it loses existence, or being, in which, losing language, it loses subjectivity. Samo Tomšič (2015: 53-54, 2019) and Slavoj Žižek (2017) have tried to articulate this with Marx's alienation, but without abandoning the absolute terms of the dualism meaning/being. Tomšič (2019: 140) usefully highlights the influence of Hegel's (2018) dialectic of internalisation and externalisation on Lacan and Marx's concepts of alienation, for instance, but then mistakes the German scholars' alienation as a subjectively constitutive 'non-relation' of inner and outer. This, by concealing the real continuity in the 'metamorphoses' (Marx 1976: 199) of the commodity mediating the 'social metabolism', naturalises division of labour and, obscuring the source of value in living labour power, constitutes commodity fetishism. The participant discourse here – frequent in the data – of a self divided from itself in terms which are so inextricably material and economic suggests the weakness of the linguistic model, and the danger of extending too quickly frameworks from psychoanalysis to the social field independently of economic mediations. However, it also shows that the economic itself is mediated by subjects actively engaged in processes of self-constitution, suturing a gap in the self's own substance. Chapters 4 and 5 argue that Trotsky's breakthroughs in the study of uneven and combined development are grounded in a critique of dualism including specifically in relation to the Freudian unconscious. Data such as these, where the decentring of subjectivity occurs specifically in relation to material conditions, support that.

For this reason, I use the concept of 'suture' in deliberate tension with its Lacanian (1973: 26, 107, Miller 1986 Heath 1981) origin (Chapters 3 and 5), both as a critical statement on its exclusively semiotic emphasis in their work, but also because the pronounced parallels with my data are instructive. For Lacan (1973: 26 [1977: 23]), the suture fills or covers what in the standard English edition is rightly translated in the same word common among my interviewees for the absence within the national subject: the 'gap' of alienation. And it covers it in such a way that it remains, and remains – again as for my interviewees – constitutive of the subject. Further, the gap, though a negative – a 'lack' (1973: 29) –, is also a positive. In participants' terms, it is a missing which is also a dynamism, the content of labour (see also Chapters 6 and 8). Such parallels between participant discourse and deep psychological processes suggest that there is profound subjective involvement at play. But the passage through capital circulation at the global scale suggests also that the Lacanian reduction to semiosis obscures the mutual mediations between the individual psyche and material social production. In terms specifically of the culture industry, suture occurs not in the auditorium alone (Heath 1981, Oudart 1969), but in the social relations of production in their interchange with nature – the social metabolism – as a whole.

A similar pattern with M2 occurs with S2, who graduated from a London fashion photography Masters degree in 2013, now assistant in a studio whose function he identifies as 'Kind of like a bridge, you know, just connect West and East'. I asked him to expand:

Interviewer: And what gives you that bridge function?

S2: My knowledge. My previous experience.

Interviewer: That's really interesting. And is that, do you think your employer, say here, is kind of conscious of that?

S2: Yeah. Because my boss is, he's Australian, so he's foreigner too. So here we're trying to bring, for example, what we build is space because he's a photographer too, so when he first came here in 2005 he noticed that there's no international standard of photography provided here. So when he found he's here and that he start out this place, and then we started to provide international standard photography service. And, you know, just teach, and after that, last week we got a lot of competition and people start going oh, okay, if we want the business getting better, then you need to make yourself like international provider, you're not just provide locally, but you have to face, you have to deal with international clients expecting international standard service.

He then expanded on the specifically fashion content of the change he felt London alums such as himself brought:

S2: You know Cultural Revolution? So after that it's kind of the big gap. Because in the past, China, like Chinese textile is very famous, you know, especially silks and how they're weaving stuff is very famous, but after that it's kind of like really gapped. So stopped for, like couple of decades, and now they're trying to reach back and so they've allowed students going abroad to learn things and they're trying to present themselves like we are the new, young, talented Chinese designers and we combine our tradition with the skill we got from Europe, from America or wherever. But they're getting there. They want to become one of the bigger fashion cities, but still a long way to go, I would say.

Interviewer: What do they need to do to do that?

S2: I would say culture. Because fashion, why [how] you define fashion? So why you define luxury, or you define photography, any terms could apply into these kind of questions. So if they don't know what's about that, then how could you present things, you know? You have to understand the history. For example, I would say environment is different. For example, when I was in London I was going to this museum to get some ideas, to get some inspiration, to inspire myself. But, you know, in China sometimes you can't see that, because of the Cultural Revolution. There's kind of a big gap. But firstly, you have to understand your past. Secondly, you have to adapt from that and then extend it and then maybe to create your own point of view, to make old things refreshed, refurbished and then reflect.

Notable, again, is the relation between spatio-temporal gap, a national subjectivity which has yet to find itself, and a professional role to bridge that as a project of development.[4] Of course, this gap very much equates to the constitutive lack at the heart of the subject in Lacanian analysis (Tomsič 2015, Žižek 2008), but it is *materially embodied*, a relation

[4] For a detailed social history of the various ruptures in Chinese dress practices throughout the twentieth century, an interrupted tradition which supports the account of this participant, see Antonia Finnane (2008). However, Finnane also highlights the enduring existence of fashions – albeit very different in connotation, production relations, and styles – during the Communist years.

at once in the objective world at the macro scale, *and* within the individual self. It is the work of the intermediary to hold open this gap in the self which they themselves bridge, or suture.

7.7. The emotional force of the need for recognition

S17 graduated from London with a BA in communication in 2014. She gave perhaps the most emotionally enlightening account of the reason for alum networking:

> I still have lots of friends and classmates I know and met in London. It's kind of for us and national students, they lived there. Or they lived and knew UK for most of their lives and they met friends in college, and for us it's different. We don't live there. We moved there for a short time. And that time, those two or three years, has become a very special period of time in our lives. That's different. That's emotionally a very different part compared to the native students. That's for me, the three years that I stayed in London, definitely one of my best three years in my life so far. So and during that time the people that I met there, they have a very special, I dunno, they have a very special emotion for me because I met them there. And if the classmates that I met here in China because I lived in China, or my colleagues here, emotionally it's very different.

The affective charge of this identification defines her career trajectory. This began before her move to London, working as marketing and PR manager for the Shanghai branch of a US-based multinational design publisher, where the cosmopolitan outlook of the predominantly non-national office staff impressed her and made her yearn to travel. This identification then develops in the UK, where she both studies and interns with a British design publisher through contacts from her Shanghai work, and returns with her to Shanghai, where she works as marketing and public relations manager for a company whose founder directors she met through the British publisher. This company is run by two US-educated Chinese returnees who chose Shanghai to start what S17 (and the company website) calls a 'platform' for its multiple functions as an architecture studio, which also runs a large retail space selling international design products, and a bar restaurant serving European cuisine, with a lifestyle club teaching cooking but also giving lectures on design – quintessential work of the cultural intermediary in their pedagogical role (see Chapter 8). In a development of the 'bridge' metaphor, she suggests of her current employer: 'we're actually opening a window to the world'. The mixture in career moves builds on personal connections formed in international networks, but also both skills and experience and a cosmopolitan yearning or desire. Again, this is a situation of overdetermination. Further, where in her past she has worked for international capital, she now works for international*ist* local capital, underlining that the forces leading so many to seek international employment are not absolutely determining, but rather create circumstances favourable to that outcome: cosmopolitan yearnings are developed which *favour* employment by international capital.

To explore further, a lengthy extract from her account is helpful, revealing both the origin of the complex identifications in the same developmental 'gap' and disjuncture as S17 and others, but also the emotional force that arises from them, and which becomes a clearly substantial part of the use value of her communications labour:

> S17: Before I moved here I got a job opportunity in London. I struggled for a month I think, to struggle if I should stay or if I should come back. I mean, China has lots of problems during its rapidly modernising process. Like pollution, like food safety, lots of chaos, traffics, but it's so excited, there's lots of opportunities here, it's developing, in a rapidly pace. I think that's the most interesting part. You know after fifty years, maybe China turn into another Japan, a much bigger Japan, but, but things will get less

interesting for me because it's an era. I want to witness this. And I want to be part of it. I want to contribute something to the modernising China. I mean I'm proud to be a Chinese. I know many people like 'ugh!' And many people want to move from this country. But I'm very proud of the Chinese. And I didn't realise it until I moved to the UK. I didn't realise what Chinese means or what my identity is until I left, I literally left this country.

Do you know the moment that I realise like 'wow! This country's great!' It was when I was in British Museum. It's so funny! I went there the second month after I moved to London. I just finished my language course. And then I went there. You know there was a big hall with all those objects, Chinese ceramics. And I was there looking at one piece of ceramic – it's a black bowl, black ceramic bowl called Jingdezhen in Chinese – my boyfriend back at that time explain it to me. He's like do you know in Chinese Shang dynasty when people want to drink matcha – many people when they think of matcha they think of Japan but it's actually originally from China – and when they first invented that kind of tea, because you need to use that kind of brush to like how do you say, whisk it.

And back at that time the Shang dynasty in the empire they use white ceramics, they don't have any ceramics in black. But because with the tea, white ceramics with green tea it doesn't look good. So the emperor actually said 'Oh, please, invent one ceramic just for drinking this kind of tea.' And it's so cool you can see the plan it's like all because at the bottom of the bowl you can see one drop of the – do you call it oil paint?

And one drop just stopped there. And I feel like I saw time just stop there, that moment of time. When it slowly dropped down and the time just stopped there. And I was like wow amazing! And like I just so fascinated. That's so cool. Do you know back at the old times they take furniture, like a table, they add personality to a chair or a table, if you read Chinese poetry. They will, it's like, sorry I don't know the word in English but it's like a character of a chair or a piece of crystal. Very interesting, and lots of philosophy inside it.

So I think it's really interesting. And the whole country is waking up now. Cos I can see lots of people, lots of [her London alma mater university name] actually [alma mater] graduation students, I can see what they're doing and it's all like a unit. They're all trying to improve, to help with the development process here for the country. I think it's very cool. And I actually think [alma mater] it's- and I know I complain about like the tutorial but after we go back we're all 'oh we missed it there!' We miss [alma mater college name]. We miss the city. But then that's what turn us be more better to contribute to the country, I mean to China. I think in this way [alma mater] is actually play quite important role. Because China is in is very interesting process. And Chinese students actually these young kids, they're actually the future of China.

Interviewer: It is indeed most fascinating.

S17: Because to be honest like education system here in China is definitely not as overall, general as the ones in UK I think. That's a fact.

Interviewer: So what you do here at [Employer name] you think is kind of realising that position that you identify with?

S17: Yeah that's why I'm here because the founders, they created this platform. You see like this side table here? The concept behind it it's called [anonymised]. It's about the communal. The concept behind it it's about the community. It's about the unit, the group

> of people. So you can this is Chinese character [anonymised]. It's actually designed by my founders. So the background is Chinese they educated in the US. So it's a perfect mix that they create this platform bring the best to China but also try to present to the world what a new authentic Chinese design is.

Before referring to the museum trip, S17 had noted many of the qualities of London art and design education highlighted by peers, including, a training towards openness (Chapter 8), but also learning to learn from the streets and museums of London (Chapter 8). This frames the engagement outlined here with the British Museum as a location, since it enables this encounter with the self externalised in the ancient object. There, the drop of black glaze functions like a residue of the subject's dynamism alienated as an exhibition of the other's universal knowledge, and frozen in time. In her passage through the other, she encounters it, with the aid of the knowledge-forming practices she is learning, as a prompt to the self-awakening through which she can re-internalise it as her own productive capacity, and so return it, from its frozen state, to fluidity and life.

Figure 7.1. Jian stoneware, 12C, showing customary glaze drips. British Museum, 303, on display 17.06.2024. (Photograph: author).

The intensity of subjective dynamism in that awakening, she suggests, is a transformative power for the nation as a whole. In this striking image of the encounter, one hears of course much idealism. The company she works for, after all, is a luxury retail space and club quite clearly deliberately targeting the common business construct of the rich Chinese consumer with more money than taste, in need of instruction help to empty their wallets more gracefully. Its branding is deeply cynical, whether consciously or not, in using political terms voided of all non- commercial content, such as a loyalty scheme granting 'citizen' status to high spenders, and the retail space, in refurbished industrial style, named, in a tragic erasure, for the collective emancipatory project China has long abandoned in all but name, as a pun on the Shanghai Commune.[5] This closely reflects a quality recognised by the Chinese Communist Party itself, that the energy China devoted with such zeal to cultural revolution it can harness again to accelerate its journey down the capitalist road: 'China is able to combine the political advantage of mobilizing efforts to do great things and the basic role of market mechanism in effectively allocating resources' (SCPRC 2006: NP). The content of this labour power is an affective force seeking self-realisation by bridging the painful gap of unevenness.

This is underlined by the issue S17 refers to above in relation to her tutorials as a source of a certain ambivalence, specifically regarding her dissertation, and which she had outlined earlier:

[5] See Jian (2014), Perry (1993), and Perry and Xun (1997) for compelling accounts

> My research subject was about the copycat branding imagery in China, but through the whole process I think – or maybe that's the educational difference between the UK and China, but – we feel like we weren't I mean we had the direction of the research topic, but it's definitely lack of the – I don't know, I just feel like I didn't we didn't receive a very, how do you say that? Because the tutors asked every student to be very independent, and that's the main purpose, because it's still a master degree. But I still feel like if there were a stronger professional support. I just feel like it's very general, and the tutorial too.

This is obviously hard to articulate, and it would seem that the difficulty stems in part from navigating the contradiction between critiquing the lack of support and recognising the value of having learned autonomous development capacities. This is common. Of the nine participants who mentioned autonomous study as a negative feature of their learning, all were also among the twenty four participants who referred to it elsewhere positively.

Particularly notable is the topic of S17's dissertation: the much discussed practice of *shanzai* or copycat culture (e.g. Pang 2012, Yang 2016) refers to the enduring practice whereby factories produce and sell copies of Western branded goods – often the very same brands they also manufacture officially. This is of course intimately connected to the question itself of autonomy she is discussing. She is effectively saying that she sought help from the other in her project to achieve autonomy, but the other failed to respond. This hurt, but demonstrated the painful lesson that she must achieve it independently.

As discussed in Chapter 4, copyright infringement has exposed China to significant international pressure, in part due to the success the country has achieved in trading access to its massive reserve army of trained labour for the knowledge of those who seek that, allowing the country to climb the value chains through internalising know-how (Chapter 4). This context is significant for S17, as not finding the advice she sought results, precisely, in the project to develop autonomy. There is much of the Hegelian master-bondsman dialectic here, and the basis in the international division of labour is an essential point of convergence. In Hegel's (2018 108-116) dialectic, it is the bondsman's engagement in manual labour that promises to awaken them from dependence to autonomy, where they are able to force recognition from the master. I discuss earlier (Chapters 2, 3 and 5) how Hegel's dialectic of subject and object is best applied in a reading which passes through the mediation of economic relations. That mediation is evident here. The very content of 'recognition' passes through international property relations, and the struggle for lead positions in global value chains, as well as foreign direct investment and world trade in manufactured goods. Further, the ambivalence about her education, in which there is a complex of dis-identification, but also a nostalgia for the authority figure who has been introjected in surpassing him, is close to Herbert Marcuse' (1966 [1955]) development from Freud (e.g. 1961 [1939]) of a related dialectic. The tutor's unwillingness to help with her project is at the same time a lack of interest, a form of rejection or negation, and yet one which, by repeating it in an inverted form on herself – by introjection –, she turns into an affirmation of her autonomy, freeing herself from authority. Marcuse' development from Freud identified the content of introjection as the production of labouring subjectivity, thereby laying the ground for a psychoanalysis of social rather than directly biological production of subjectivity: of labour rather than familial reproduction. The data here suggest the work of that dialectic in the contemporary spatio-temporal dynamics of the world economy realised through the individual.

7.8. Creative intermediation and the international division of labour

An interesting phenomenon in Shanghai was the relatively large number of London graduates involved in projects seeking new ways of articulating design and manufacturing in which the production of new spatial relations were involved, accounting for 8 alums interviewed, as well as acquaintances beyond the project. These give further illumination of the ways in which subjects seek to situate themselves to advantage specifically within value chains between the more exploited levels of manual labour and centres of conception and direction. One, S26, was a designer who, after graduating from a prestigious London fashion course (studying from 2001-2005 across two London HE colleges), remained in London first with various major European brands, and, from 2010, his own label. His love of London lifestyle as well as friends and London people in general kept him there, and an ability to experiment he felt he would lack in China. About a year before our interview, along with another successful London based Chinese graduate from the same course, he was given an offer to join a science park on the outskirts of Shanghai. This was run by a prestigious Chinese fashion university in partnership with the state and private capital. This had state-of-the art manufacturing technology, on the one hand, but also studios and teaching facilities. The idea was, by bringing these into a single, 30,000 square metre science and business park, to contribute to knowledge exchange between conception and execution – as well as training for both – to mutual benefit. Funded space for Europe-based Chinese designers clearly represented a counter measure against brain drain (see e.g. SCPRC 2006 for state policy fostering education/industry connections; also chapters 3-4).

The transition of working process was not easy:

> Once I decided to move back then I needed to prepare that, yeah, definitely something going to be changed, especially I'm not someone just graduated, the way how you work and the way how you develop your business, that's a different issue. And also I have to face that after many years when I move back I have to rebuild my team here, because I cannot bring my UK team here. You know, they're all European. So it's quite kind of a struggle at the beginning. I have to spend so much time to interview and getting to know Chinese, you know, staff. How could I train them and how could they be able to work well with me. You know, I don't really know the culture because I left so long and yeah, essentially I have to experience how I could live this places. You know, people from different cities, someone probably graduate from UK, someone else from local school, the mentality, I need to get to know them. It's kind of difficult, I have to spend too much energy to actually getting to know them. Rather than the UK, I think it's a lot easier for me to work with people from there. Even though from the graduate, someone from the beginning, I still find it much easier. So probably that's because of me, I don't have much of life experience in China, I have to start from zero.

His London education made working with Chinese workers hard. Further, since fashion design works with identity – of the brand, the designer, and the designs themselves –, this created a branding question he had not as yet resolved:

> I think people still think I'm still in UK. But I start telling them that I'm here, it's not because of trying to promote anything, it's just, it was just like I have to face the situation that what's the relevant idea of your business?

It also raised questions of identity at a personal level:

> Obviously I started in UK, so I can say I'm a British designer, but at the same time, my blood, I was born here. Half of my life, my education was here. So it's kind of a mixed, really. But I have to say that UK education taught me about how I can see things, that to get me to the stage that I'm kind of happy to be. But at the same time, my blood, I was born here.

> Your education background in China also gives you the idea how your country's culture could really help you to understand the differences between countries and also the adventure of Chinese economics, also helps your business as well. So it's kind of confusing really.

As for previous cases, there is a strong sense of disjuncture, here resulting in confusion. The 'adventure' of the Chinese economy was at the heart of the project itself: an initiative of a scale he was well aware was unimaginable in the UK, and entirely new in China. It arose as a result of the specific conjuncture of China's significant surplus accumulation from middle and low value production and the aim of moving up the value chain, at the same time as a massive surplus of reasonably skilled workers, itself altering its relation to international production (see Chapter 4) – and so to overseas Chinese subjects such as himself, employed higher up those chains. And the impetus to return, however hard the transition, emerged from the same contradiction of the massive separation of conception and execution as he had experienced it from the UK end:

> The difficulty is at the time my biggest issue was manufacturing. You know, no matter how I do that, they are always big mountain to climb. […] I tried at the time I was in UK, then I get someone that helped me to manufacture here, but doesn't work. That failed three times. So it taught me that I myself need to be here. I cannot just have someone do that instead of me, or at least I need to spend here for four years, that will get to know people. Then I can leave it. It's just like I need to have my close team here. But I found my team, that was in UK.

Unlike his peers, S26 does not experience the same personally productive possibilities in his transnational trajectory. But the nature of the exception is instructive. For the distinction lies in that S26's work does not consist in mental labour alone, but in the coming together of mental and manual work. Where the others were able, traversing space, to embody within themselves a distinction whose basis was the global division of labour in its historical development as it differentially included particular locations (relatively more differentiated production in the UK, associated with more advanced capital productivity), for S26, the separation between the two opposed ends of the value chain interrupted the work process itself, leading to a conception which was separated either from the material production with which it needed to communicate (his time in London), or within itself – from the social location in which inspiration was grounded.

That S14 and S15, below, experienced this disjuncture with enthusiasm rather than pain, despite being involved in a closely related project, bespeaks the different point of their insertion: that is, as an independent designer working on a relatively artisanal basis, S26 was dependent on large scale capital – both retailing and manufacturing – and found himself torn between the two. S14 and S15 were in a very different situation. A pair of very recent (2016) graduates from a London fashion college, this business couple had developed an online platform whose aim was to match young European – primarily UK – designers just out of fashion school with Chinese manufacturers, precisely for the reasons outlined by S26 above. However, the couple would also brand and market these young designers to Chinese consumers, producing videos, for instance, of their clothes modelled by KOLs.[6] The project was to work competitively, with young graduates pitching designs in response to short briefs. Winners would receive a £500 reward, and then be sent fabrics in two-week intervals to make designs. Online consumers could then pre-order clothes. If there were sufficient buyers, the designs would be made, otherwise,

[6] KOLs, or Key Opinion Leaders, are influencers within the Chinese discourse and media and platform landscape.

they would be 'lost'. By remaining close to factories as well as marketing companies, the platform aimed to increase sales and reduce risks:

> S15: It's kind of like cheeky because it's fast fashion, but fast fashion is using the original parts, because they are copying some luxury brand. But we have some students, new talents design for us, but we are fast.
>
> S14: Fast original designs.

And the emphasis was certainly on fast:

> S15: My understanding at university, development can last forever. Like if you receive a topic, you can develop for the whole life, like some artists are doing this kind of way. So [Grab] project is like we give you a quick chance, you just like show your, how do you say, personality, your thoughts in a very quick way, productive way to the audience. And then if you're still happy with your theme about this project you can go deeper yourself, because every designer's a developer. You can, because you're doing the research, you know that. It's like no limit on, you can do it forever.[7]

For the project included not only significant precarity – designers would not only enter competitions, but also may have their designs simply dropped – but also tight controls on both time and materials:

> S15: We want to make everything under control. And also we're very strict about the quality of the fabric and we don't want some designers to choose some tricky fabric, because we are the one to take the risk to the audience, so we have to control the quality in a very strict way.

The project was based, therefore, on the idea that China had makers but no designers and uninformed consumers, and Europe designers but no makers and insufficient consumers. The lack of design knowledge amongst consumers themselves required the platform also to educate consumers:

> S15: Because we were doing fashion we know that the project, it's not that easy. It's not like you do a sketch, then there's the clothes. Because we need to do research, develop, and then there's a collection. We want people to know why are you buying this, it's not only because it looks nice, there is something behind it with designers.
>
> S14: So we're letting the customer more understanding about the designer themselves, get closer.

This sense that there is 'something behind' fashion of which Chinese consumers are unaware came from the partners' experience learning in London, where the research process was emphasised. S15, for example, had first studied in China, where research methods taught, she said, consisted of visiting malls and secretly photographing branded designs in order to reproduce them. Thus, the aim was to benefit from the design originality of young graduates, but also their relative lack of access to cheap manufacturing labour as well as consumers. One could say that, where S26 experienced this disjuncture as his own discomfort, attempting to maintain the autonomy of small studio-based production, S14 and S15 enjoyed distance from both this situation and the labour of manufacture. Their proposed solution involved an innovative means of

[7] 'Grab' is a pseudonym true in spirit to the actual name.

proletarianizing young European designers, with platform-based intermediation allowing the subjection even of the aesthetic labour of design conception to the same temporality as manufacturing labour.

7.9. Conclusion

One means by which Lacan (1973: 60) sought to transcend the subject/object polarity in his language-centred model discussed above is in the concept of the 'objet *petit a*'. Literally 'object *lower case a*', Lacan defines this as an object standing in for the subject in the imaginary, and so instantiating suture. In terms of the interview data, an approximate example – for I do not seek to map a Lacanian unconscious – would be the ancient Chinese tea bowl with which S17 identifies, but also the design objects such as garments which the alums should, they argue, express identity or the 'soul'. Though equally pertaining to adults, Lacan gives the example of the cotton reel with which a child plays in a famous anecdote from Sigmund Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1955: 20 [1920]). The child, Freud tells us, ritually repeats the mother's absence and return by throwing the bobbin on its string, and crying '*fort*' or 'gone', and then '*da*', 'there', on pulling it back. This object, Freud had convincingly argued, stands for the absent mother, and the ritual for the imaginary exercise of control over her return. Lacan makes it a stand-in for the child as subject, the swap justified by the unity the child seeks with the mother, whose departure tears him away from himself. One should attend more to the object itself, though. As well as a very umbilical object with its string, and, as to lace bobbins, phallic in form (which would both support Lacan's reading of its function as subject), a bobbin is commonly the mother's instrument of domestic labour, on which she stores, and from which she winds, the very material of physical suture – the stitching– which it has traditionally fallen on her domestically to produce. In that sense, it does the office of Hegel's (2010: 663, 12.166) plough, identified by Vladimir Lenin (1972b: 189) as a historical materialist moment in his dialectic (Chapter 3): it enacts the continuity of mediations between presence and absence, for which a linguistic binary gone/there cannot account. The mother already has absence while she is there in the form of her attachments elsewhere, but presence in the tools and product of her labour, including affective – the ties – while she is gone.

I have shown the alums confronted by an adult fort/da, including through the instruments of garment production, in which the circuit of bobbin and cotton and other tools and inputs, including imaginative, spans the world as well as the trajectory from the sphere of reproduction, to the inwardness of the designer, to design, to product (also Chapter 8). In Hegel's (2010: 383, 11.288) account of the speculative grasping of poles such as that of subject and object, the trick, he explains, is both to keep them apart, but also bring them together, so that they remain in dynamic transition. Lacanians, by reducing suture to processes of the imaginary and symbolic alone, fail in this dynamism, as do the Althusserian thought of articulation (Chapters 3 and 5) and the autonomist Marxists' exodus/enslavement (Chapters and 5). In concrete terms, this material suture, a part of the social metabolism as a whole, is very much the task for the intermediary. For as Marx demonstrated (1976, 1978, 1981), this is a function not only of an individual psyche, but of the world-spanning circuits of capital, which must ceaselessly be cast out and reeled in, in economic fort/da.[8] And where production and consumption lack vital connection, capital as relation is destroyed, potentially bringing crisis. Again, the contribution which I have made can be expressed, at an abstract level, as demonstrating that continuity of passage – following that thread – between the inwardness of individual

[8] On the development of the international circuits of cotton, see Beckert 2014, who applies, though largely unacknowledged, a framework close to Marx's.

subjects, and world economy. This chapter shows, then, a productive route between psychoanalytical approaches and Marxism in accounting for the actual discourse of specific cultural workers, through political economy. By the same means, it contributes to answering the question I put to Bourdieuian and cultural-economy models (Chapter 2) concerning the route between culture and economy, and the role the intermediary within that. Further, it has helped to demonstrate how the dialectic of internal and external factors within uneven and combined development plays out not only at national and regional scales, but also within the individual subject.

The chapter has contributed to the main research question concerning the constitution of productive subjectivity, in which economic features of the macro context are central, but the active involvement of subjects essential. It has highlighted the process of that involvement, in internalisation, and the affective content of its productivity in externalisation. It has also helped to identify features of the macro context which make that dialectic between objective and subjective factors in the social metabolism possible: its constitution already as objectified or alienated subject in the international division of labour. A diagrammatic model is developed for this process in Chapter 9, after Chapter 8 focuses on education.

The data show that the transcultural intermediary is a dynamic function devoted to the expansion of capital internationally, but also in terms of social and subjective domains: beyond the capitalist core, into everyday life and interiority itself. Thus it is a function requiring deep subjective involvement. It is for this reason that it must be fulfilled largely by an intermediate class – a class of workers not entirely proletarianized, who readily invest themselves with passion in what they do, working up that passion as their own objective substance. It is, then, easy to be cynical. Indeed, it is essential to recognise that the aims of these subjects, however apparently autonomously arising, are shaped closely to the needs of capital. Where there is political content in their trajectories, this tends to be only in the weak sense. Even the involvement of gendered and racialised identifications in the international constitution and distribution of productive subjects in highly stratified labour markets itself clearly plays a part in the 'multiplication of labour' (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013: 21), or the production of plural labour subjectivities according to the needs of capital.

However, the very substance capital requires for its survival – labour power – is, in its concrete form as the content of subjectivity itself, filled with contradiction and inherently dynamic. The intermediate classes of both China and India– and Shanghai itself in particular – have, over recent years, demonstrated the capacity, under changing objective conditions, rapidly to change allegiance (see Chapter 4). That the condition for capital's enlisting these subjects is that they have a desire for change requires a high degree of individual autonomous agency on their part within their productive activity. That that desire so neatly serves the interests of capital certainly precludes hasty celebration. And yet, that the stake, what these souls seek in their passage through alterity, is self-realisation, is grounds for optimism: capital risks itself in the very subjects it must produce. While it is able to keep these intermediate groups relatively satisfied with the level of autonomy, identification in the product of their labour, and share in the surplus (Chapter 4), to the degree that they are not capital, their identification itself is not with capital, but with that autonomy. Were capital unable to ensure this, the self-investment in that project could easily swap loyalties towards oppressed proletariat as a whole.

Chapter 8

Interview Discussion III: Art, Design and Communication Education and the Production of Subjectivity.

8.1. Introduction

Chapters 6 and 7 explored the way in which the participants, alums of London art, design and communication degrees, make use of their education in Mumbai and Shanghai contexts of return. This was found to be a subjectively involving process, in which previous mobility between unevenly developed contexts became a constitutive content of their labour. The current chapter explores how the same participants describe their learning process in London as conducive to this kind of content. This thereby demonstrates the processes of the *production* of that subjectivity: the methods by which a subject able to render the experience of disjunctions of uneven and combined development is reflexively developed.

It thus contributes most specifically to the first two sub-aims of the thesis, and the *italicised* element of the third:

1. What have been the experiences of students in art and design and communication in London who are now based in Mumbai or Shanghai?
2. How did their London education influence their entry into and experiences of working life in Indian and Chinese cultural industries?
3. How do the *educational* and career trajectories of Mumbai and Shanghai creative workers educated in London respond to the political and economic developments at the macro scale?

In terms of the main aim, where Chapters 6-7 addressed the *nature* of that subjectivity, the present one can now turn to how it is itself reflectively produced.

Section 8.2 explores the learning process itself as constitutive of subjectivity, rather than, for instance, simply about cognitive contents or skills, which participants suggest are less significant. 8.3 explores the ways in which the process of learning is argued by participants to have developed means for the transformation of that subjectivity into an accountable or traceable element of outcomes such as goods or services. Since several refer to Bauhaus principles, a fundamental influence on British art and design education, 8.4 considers the role of these principles in this methodological accounting. 8.5 concerns the self-transformation required for that, which 8.6 demonstrates is closely linked to intellectual property production. 8.7 situates that in relation to the international division of cultural labour. 8.8 highlights a role which a great many of the participants have of educators themselves, situating the participants within an idea of national development. 8.9 offers a summative example. It focuses on a single alumna, and shows how her trajectory from education through various work contexts itself reproduces many of the themes addressed in the empirical chapters as a whole. It thus emphasises the interweaving of space and time embodied in transcultural intermediation. Before the concluding section (8.11), 8.10 considers the question of agency pertaining to the findings as a whole.

8.2. The subjective content of learning

For the vast majority of the participants, their education can be considered a reflective development of subjectivity itself as a learned project for cultural productivity. Not necessarily involving direct production of cultural content, this can also involve managing the productive labour of others. This learning occurs within and is applied by the interviewees specifically to transcultural encounters across terrains of difference constituted by uneven and combined development (Chapter 7). For these individuals, subjectivity emerges not as an already constituted entity, but as a project, aiming at productivity, and complexly learned. This learning is both a deliberate development, in relation to a perceived lack of national subjects able to meet historically conjunctural needs, but also to some degree an event outside of individual control, being historically determined.

S27, co-founder of Shanghai Creative Space (Chapter 6), says of her tutor, with whose teaching on a London fine art Bachelor of Arts she deeply identified:

> In my course with tutor [name] I always thought it's not only about studying and all the skills that you learn in school or like how well you use Photoshop or InDesign, it's more like she's encouraging me to look around. She's like: 'You guys should go out, you should go to Italy, you should go to France and you should like look, or you should go to Africa.'
>
> […]
>
> It's not like the skills that I learn with her, 'cos to be honest we don't really learn like skill stuff all the time. It's more like the spirit that's she's giving and that idea of how you can approach what you like, and what you like to do in the future.

What is learned and applied is an approach very much akin to the project of the space itself: a *flâneuse*-like activity, involving the gaze on the street – a look on and from daily life itself – but rendered productive.[1] This is at the heart of the project for which the property developer recruits them, of breaking down the barriers between art and life (Chapter 6). The connection between 'approach' and 'spirit' is noteworthy and real. One meaning of 'spirit' of course is subjectivity itself, but at the same time it is indeed an 'approach' in the sense of an embodied way of looking, the gaze of the *flâneuse* in which the city achieves meaning, and also of course of the tourist, with echoes of the Grand Tour in the tutor's advice, as well as its consumerist version central to Shanghai Creative Space.[2]

Similarly, S26, who identifies with having learned two key elements, which are deeply intertwined for him:

> How English translates the fashion reference through your brain and your hand and how you think, how you develop the idea.
>
> […]

[1] See Rocamora (2009: 129-136) and Stierle (2001: 153) on the urban aesthete wanderer or *flâneur/flâneuse* and the gaze, and Benjamin (2018: 25 [1938]) on their intermediate social position.

[2] Of the many senses of 'spirit' with subjective content listed in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED 2023: Spirit), the most directly synonymous with 'subject' itself is I.ii.4: 'The animating intelligence or sentient element or aspect of a person, as the seat of action, reason, and feeling, and as the source of desire; the will' – also the closest sense to that intended by S27.

> And also you learn more about students, after school lifestyle, etcetera, being in an exhibition or a gallery and how you could see the value from your school and from an internship.

This duality is not simply a drift from topic to topic, but is repeated at several points:

> I think it must have taught me quite in depth how I think, how I think a theme, how I could reference it or develop it. BA, it was the experience of student life really, to really much communicate with classmates, all getting friends.

Key here is that the learning itself is very subjectively rich: it is a learning about the self, 'how I think', and in a deeply embodied way, involving brain and hand in the engagement with culture. As such, the distinction between formal studio learning and everyday student and indeed city life is fluid. The iterative but transforming phrase concerning having learned 'how I think, how I think a theme, how I reference it or develop it' is instructive. For the first clause, intransitive, is a learning concerning his own highly individuated subjectivity and its cognitive processes in a comprehensive sense, but only internally, suggesting a generalised transformation of the self in its interiority. However, in its transitive reiteration it begins to become a conscious part of design process: 'how I think a theme', modulating this individuated subjectivity with a practice, with the self objectified in an externalisation: the theme. Significantly, this move is itself a repetition of the earlier 'how you think, how you develop the idea', where it also repeats the movement of translation from brain to hand. Finally, it is objectified as a set of known procedures for arriving at design solutions through ideas of project development and, importantly, references: the means by which the highly individuated subjective content is made accountable according to a system of recognised norms, whereby the subject must both remain individuated, and yet according to universal terms. The importance of documentation in design research is established in the literature (Gray and Malins 2004: 21; Noble and Bestley 2005: 171).

This process, of engaging with inwardness to objectify it while maintaining its individuality is, naturally, part of a general socialisation amongst a community of practice: the other students, who become friends as the subject diminishes his difference from their objectivity. In coding, I called this theme 'education as whole of life'. It was in itself very common, with fifteen participants, but also very close to the code 'education as attitude/way of thinking' (fifteen further alums). This is part of a consciously learnt process, with steps which allow the whole of life – friendships, the surrounding city, the way one thinks, etc. – to enter into the work, and vice versa, while remaining identifiably – and accountably – themselves.[3] It is, further, an essential element of biopolitical production, or the organised incorporation of subjectivity into industrial production (Chapter 2).

Frequently, as is just evident for S26 above, an inextricable part of this is cultural difference and plurality: that is, that there is a learning to express, to reflect on the self, which emerges from the distance the self finds itself in from its normative surroundings. For S26, this is a process whereby communication with peers becomes possible, for instance, in part through this concept of learning the translation of fashion within English culture. The transcultural content here merges with the development of self-expression.

The process S26 describes is that of self-objectification, or externalisation through the mediation of work, which both Georg Hegel and Karl Marx identify as a necessary

[3] On the importance in art and design education of socialisation into a 'community of practice', see Orr and Shreeve (2022: 82). See Barrow (2006: 363-365) for the focus in design teaching on documented self transformation.

moment of self-realisation – albeit a stage which, in its alienated form, must be sublated. As Hegel (2018: 233) puts it: 'In his work, he has placed himself outside of himself into the element of universality, into the determinateless space of being.'[4] Marx's account is closely related (2010 *Economic*: 276, italics in original):

> In creating a *world of objects* by his [*sic*] practical activity, in his *work upon inorganic nature*, man proves himself a conscious species-being, i.e., as a being that treats the species as its own essential being, or that treats itself as a species-being.

This is the moment by which the hand takes S26's intransitive inwardness and posits it in the world, himself becoming a subject with the universality of the learned process.

Chris Arthur (1986: 67-82) has addressed how Marx and Hegel differ in relation to the dialectic of labour, focusing on the *material* nature of this alienation and its transcendence – which must therefore be a revolutionary transformation of society, rather than of consciousness alone. One must add also, the degree to which Marx, in his later works particularly, shows the subject-object relation and alienation to pass through the social totality, hinted at already already in his reference above to a 'world of objects' whose production produces in turn the collective social subject, rather than a merely experiential or phenomenological moment working up an object. In his mature works (Marx 1976: 198; 1978; 1981), the mediation of this 'social metabolism' takes such forms as machines, money, and the application of knowledge itself. As seen in Chapter 7, the unity S26 achieved in London between brain, hand, process and object is thoroughly caught up in the circulation of value at world scale: at the time of speaking, he found himself deeply out of joint for having had to realign himself in relation to the spaces of conception and execution according to the needs of capital. It is not too much to find in this a growing alienation, as described by Marx (2010 *Economic*: 272): 'the more powerful becomes the alien world of objects which he creates over and against himself, the poorer he himself—his inner world—becomes, the less belongs to him as his own.' For S26 has been forced to move from London, the space in which he had achieved some unity between his inner and outer world, into the vast production machine on the outskirts of Shanghai, where he feels his consumers do not even realise he lives, so entire is the disjuncture between subject and object of labour (Chapter 7).

8.3. Design thinking

This is evident also in M20. Like S26 she finds that her own subjectivity emerges through the specifics of the educational context – in this case, autonomy, very often (25 participants) noted as key learning by alums. Like S26, above, this is associated with a minimal focus on skills:

> What happens in [the London alma mater] and everything is because they don't, they teach you anything essentially even the tutors are very hands off, they don't give you direction which is very frustrating sometimes, you're just on your own, and you have to make this deadline make something, so like your purest form of what *you* are comes through your work, because there's nothing else that is sort of influencing it.

[4] I use 'sic' only in the first instance of outmoded patriarchal forms of expression in historical texts in any chapter, after which, please take it as read. I do not enter discussion of whether this is an issue of the original or translation, or a fault of individuals or conventions.

> So that's I mean it's a good and bad thing but yeah. You really discover your process, you really discover what you are as a designer through that because they just don't tell you anything.

However, while prescriptive learning was de-emphasised, M20 strongly identifies with methodology and critical thinking as key learning – the latter interpreted very much spatially.[5] That is, this is identified as a learning emerging as much from the transcultural context as from within the education itself:

> I think it like helped, being in London helped me reflect on India much better. That's why my company's called [Nearby] – because there's a lot I went there, and I came back and I decided wow! We have so much here, in terms of visual culture, which is not tapped into, and I should do something about it. [6]

> I was constantly critiquing my own life in London, the culture I come from, the culture I'm seeing, right? I was sort of in the middle of these two worlds. I was sort of critiquing culture, but also critiquing design and what principles. I think critical thinking is definitely something that, yeah, it does bring that out for sure.

I asked her to elaborate, which she did in reference to the grounding of the European Foundation course in Bauhaus principles:[7]

> When I studied at [a London design college], the first things that they teach you is the square, circle, triangle, right, the Bauhaus principles, and that's essentially modernism, and while I come from, like look at India. There is, you know, the square, circle, triangle the Bauhaus is German, and they have, in Germany everything's on a grid, everything is super organised. They have built everything to be on a grid, fitting circles very methodically.

> And it made me question that I come from a culture that it's not on a grid. It's a civilization that has grown over thousands of years, and it's just organically forming, right? And if these guys are designing from what they come from, why is there not another specific thought and philosophy that caters to this, because this exists, in Asian countries where things just happen because of trial and evolution versus planned in grids in grid systems, maybe break it down so if you see maybe a Vodaphone logo or a store in Bombay, right? In Mumbai, versus you see it in Oxford Street, where it's perfectly grey, and the red logo – chah! – stands out.

> You see it here there's just a hundred different colours everywhere, and that red logo's just not standing out anymore. And the typeface, that it's very angular, it doesn't fit in, right, it's alien. It almost looks like it's posted into our world. So my it you know that's

---

[5] See Said (1984) for a developed discussion of the geopolitical distance of academic encounter as a form or stimulus to content of critique.

[6] 'Nearby' is a synonym capturing a sense of the actual company name, anonymised.

[7] Exceptionally, India's National Institute of Design (NID) also bears the Bauhaus stamp, including via the 1958 report (Eames and Eames 1997) and visits of Charles and Ray Eames (e.g. Mathur 2011) as M9 pointed out, seeing it as a reason for a relative comfort on her part with the mode of learning she encountered in the UK. M12 also identified with Bauhaus principles. Singanapalli Balaram (2019) identifies learning by doing and modernist principles of geometric abstraction as specifically Bauhaus influences on the Ahmedabad institute (also Ranjan 2007: 5 on the 'transfer of pedagogies' from Ulm).

what for me coming into, my work is about taking Indian design, and sort of seeing it in the international context, seeing if I can formalize it, seeing if there are certain moves or principles that we are following intuitively, which haven't been made into a history of graphic design, it's just what people have been doing for years, communicating through our vernacular typefaces, and the way we pick colours. I don't think the way we dress and the colours we wear, I don't think people maybe Africa and Mexico people do that, right? But in Europe people don't. It's very carefully selected.

So I just saw that there is a huge difference between what I was taught and what the reality is. And in general the global perception of what Indian design is kitsch. It's all just come together and it's just a mess. But if you actually carefully just look, look for systems look for patterns, you can just find a method in all of the madness. And so my sort of personal through all the projects, I'm sort of enquiring what is it we use. And through that if we can make a formal, and still make it an international brand, without losing the local essence, you know?

The Bauhaus Basic Course did indeed include breaking down the visual into basic geometric shapes (Itten 1975: 62 [1963]). M20 feels a significant disjuncture between that grid structure, as an example of high modernism, and the visual reality of India. Of course this learning is strikingly tied to the differing temporalities of uneven and combined development (see Chapter 4), in which the predominance of informal production in India represents both a contrast, but also a potential in its nascency for design thinking.

As we sat in her studio, she gave examples in her commissions:

So for example this is a brand called [Indigenous].[8] And it's a brand that sells bags, and we named this as well, so her concept was to create bags for the new working people which were not, you know, all the bags for laptops were the same. And what if we had laptop bags that could kind of be a personality, like laptop bags generally are like an embarrassment, like you just wanna hide it or leave it back in your office, like if you're going out for a party or going after work you're going to get some drinks, it's not a fashion statement it's generally just, there. So that was her concept and she said, so okay there are generally different kinds of people that go to work, you know and if everybody has a personality, and they all wanna wear their personality even in their work attire, and if you're wearing formal clothes you wear those socks, or you wear that one thing that can in the corporate setting show your personality. So can this bag do that, right?

That's essentially the target and then you're like okay, what in India has like marks which creates the segregation, and the tribes of India are actually very interesting. And they have tattoos that kind of tell you which tribe they're from. So we're like let's study how their graphics are and what the little rules they have and these are all different tribe from different parts of India. Ah, and so we said 'Okay, could that become the design language, right?' It's still not kitsch. Like real people, but make them look cool.

[…]

So my whole enquiry, right, is that we can use India as a starting point, and as a point of inspiration, and then kind of use design principles and make it look international or look sort of palatable.

[8] This again is a near synonym.

The grid forms learned in the UK, then, allow a passage from even the pre-capitalist tribal forms of rural India to a scale defined as 'international', but yet one in which identity is preserved for the consumer. A slogan designed for the brand states 'Form + Function + Culture = Design', with the indigenous ingredient highlighted as an excess over, or correction of the Bauhaus principle. This is very much the logic of Frantz Fanon's response to Jean-Paul Sartre's (1969 [1948]) attempt to subsume black identity entirely within a universal proletarian relation. Fanon (1952: 108) defends a form of essentialist attachment to a 'negative side' of subjectivity which 'takes its value from a quasi substantial absoluteness'. The '+ Culture' is an equivalent of that substance in the South Asian post-colonial context, over against the abstraction of 'Form + Function'. As Peter Hudis argues, Fanon here exercises an inversion of Hegel's statement that 'everything hangs on grasping the true not just as *substance* but also as *subject*' (Hegel 2018: 12), which Hudis (2015: 51) glosses as 'subjectivity is incomplete when *shorn* of substance'. Fanon's critique of Sartre's reduction of race to class is just: focusing on embodied experience, Fanon is close to Stuart Hall's (e.g. 1980b) (see Chapter 3), insistence that race takes on a lived – one could add material – reality beyond production relations. However, Fanon's (1952) almost complete neglect of the class relation in *White Masks, Black Skin* weakens its otherwise significant insights, including into the Hegelian dialectic. Hall recognises that the *basis* of this substance *does* lie in the historical development of the relations of production and their uneven geographical expression. These dynamics are clear in M20's commitment to the universalisation of the subject nevertheless attached to a substantive essence. For, though irreducible to the colonial legacy of enduring unevenness, it remains rooted in it.

8.4. Bauhaus

The Bauhaus principles referred to by M20 are a central influence on British art and design teaching (Llewellyn 2015: 18-19; Westley and Williamson 2015: 20-33; Westley 2015: 89-93). Jean Baudrillard (1972: 230) argued convincingly that the Bauhaus represented 'the expansion of the aesthetic to the entirety of the everyday'. Where the industrial revolution represented the beginning of political economy as a systematic theory of material production, the Bauhaus, he suggests, represented 'the practical extension of the system of exchange value to the entire domain of signs, forms and objects' (1972: 231). However, Baudrillard ignores the socialistic principles and significant spiritual elements of the movement, associated with an emancipatory rather than capitalistic modernism. His attempt to surpass critical political economy with a critique of the sign also fails, by placing an almost mystical power in signs and their codes alone. In this, Baudrillard was very influential on the 'culture-economy' scholars considered in Chapter 2, who display similar limitations, based on related insights into the aestheticization of capitalism distracting them into assumptions of de-materialisation. This attribution of power to signs alone is related to the French scholar's failure to distinguish the emancipatory project in the Bauhaus from its applications in branded product design: with no notion of resistant human subjectivity, Baudrillard perceives the work only of semiotics.

Baudrillard's insight does capture important features of the way in which the thought of the 'total work of art' (Gropius 1992: 38 [1919]), realised through industrial design, enabled an abstractly systematised commensurability of the material qualities of everyday life. However, this represents not an epochal departure from, but a development within industrial capitalism. Henri Lefebvre (2000: 35 [1974]) identified the 'concrete abstraction' by which the urban landscape takes on the physical form of reproducibility through grid and other geometric structures, a process reaching back to the very early money form and achieving its apogee under capitalism. The spread of concrete

abstraction across the sensory realm, as discussed by the participants in this and the previous two chapters, is not, then, the surpassing of industrial capitalism, but its extension to the production of subjectivity, the work of the culture industry.

For Karl Marx (1973 *Grundrisse*: 104 [1857]), the disembedding of production relations under industrial capitalism was indeed central to the new political economy. In pre-capitalist forms, he suggests, the objective conditions of labour, including not only environmental, but also human relations such as the family, clan, caste or estate, and the individual's role within these, had appeared as merely natural (1973: 485). Only as capitalism revolutionises these conditions do they reveal themselves as historical products. In the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* (Marx *Economic* 2010: 301), this process is identified as occurring within the senses themselves:

> Only through the objectively unfolded richness of man's essential being is the richness of subjective *human* sensibility (a musical ear, an eye for beauty of form – in short, *senses* capable of human gratification, senses affirming themselves as essential powers of *man*) either cultivated or brought into being.

Given that this is a non-essentialist, materialist humanism, by essential powers is meant, not a pre-determined content, but an indeterminateness, a freedom from content – a potential to be any content rather than just one. The emergence of this indifferent 'human' as such is precisely the same process as the emergence of labour, as an abstract category, in political economy, considered in Chapter 5. In this sense:

> The objectification of the human essence, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, is required to make man's *sense human*, as well as to create the *human sense* corresponding to the entire wealth of human and natural substance. (*Economic* 2010: 302)

This clearly applies to the process of the Bauhaus development of the total work (or indeed, in Marx's own time, earlier influences on the Bauhaus such as the Arts and Crafts movement, or Owen Jones's (1910 [1856]) systematisation of human ornamental design in the *Grammar of Ornament* for the Great Exhibition). The Bauhaus is best seen in this light: as a struggle for emancipation through the freeing up of symbolic forms from a naturalised bondage to pre-given social relations. However, since property relations remain capitalist, it will also represent the means for an extension of the capital relation deeper still into everyday life and inwardness with the freeing of aesthetic qualities from tradition, resulting, not yet in emancipation, but in the private ownership of highly abstract qualitative content relatively freed from particular material manifestations, their new inter-commensurability associated with their participation in generalised exchange.[9] It is in this light that Baudrillard's remarks are helpful, showing the relation between the Dessau school – and the spawn considered here by alums – and biopolitical, or industrially organised cultural production. However, *pace* Baudrillard, that also means recognising that under capitalism it remains tied to the exchange of labour value.

The processes outlined by M20, wresting visual forms from a social embedding in traditional ways of life and freeing them for segmented consumption identifications, are thus inherent in the learning experienced in London, but within a context of uneven and combined development such that they reach into contemporaneous pre-capitalist forms such as tribal relations themselves – the content of '+ Culture'.[10] While this clearly

[9] On the spread of intellectual property regulations, see Chapters 3 and 4.

[10] The most significant tribal or *Adivasi* population in the Bombay state of Maharastra are the Warlis. Hybridisations with cultural industries are: Murthy (2012), graphic

remains tied to the commodification of origination, variously theorised as 'branding geographies' (Pike 2011), 'Ethnicity, Inc.' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009), or 'Authentic™' (Banet-Wiser 2012) – a form of cultural enclosure for intellectual property rents –, it is also important to recognise that it is by no means only that. M20's discourse is very much also one of recognition politics – of India as a national culture condemned to belittling stereotypes; of tribal and other excluded caste and non-caste groups; and of Indian women rendered invisible in public domains. A commission for Mumbai public transport, for instance, involved M20 communicating the inner emotions of women subjected to the discipline of the male gaze as a means to struggle for the right to the city – a project theme directly inspired by the much greater access to public space for women she had experienced in the UK. The interplay between this emancipatory urge and its dialectical inversion in the commodity relation is further developed in relation to M12.

8.5. Transformation of the self

M12, founder of Mumbai Culture Platform (see Chapter 6), speaks in very similar terms to the above concerning both method, and the relation of this method to profound subjective transformations:

> I love the way the [London university] is structured is that the foundation breaks your mind first of all and restructures it in terms of thinking through a design lens not an 'I wanna doodle at home' lens. It really tells you don't apply design in art only to small vernaculars but it covers everything. It covers the food you eat, the way you live, what you wear, and I love the way that foundation does that for young creatives.

This image of the broken mind renders vividly a process common in the data, of a profound de- and re-construction of the self, overtly mentioned by nine participants. Its nature and role is not unlike the moment in Hegel's (2018: 115-116) account of developing Spirit's passage through the Other in the condition of 'unhappy consciousness' – also a moment specifically engaged in 'culturally formative activity':

> It had inwardly fallen into dissolution, trembled in its depths, and all that was fixed within it had been shaken loose. However, this pure universal moment, this way in which all stable existence becomes absolutely fluid, is the simple essence of self-consciousness.

Despite this negativity, however, it is through this that the subject, here the bondsman in the master-bondsman dialectic, 'sublates all of the singular moments of his natural existence, and he works off his natural existence'. Indeed, this is an inherently pedagogical process for Hegel: 'work *cultivates and educates*'. This is very suggestive of a passage in the *Communist Manifesto*:

> All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind (Marx and Engels 2008: 38).

This similarity, where Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels almost appear to describe the objective transformations behind the subjective experience recounted by Hegel, arises from the fact it concerns an aspect of Hegel's work particularly influential on Marx: the notion of a historical passage through alienation in which a form of domination contains

---

design; Wolf and Wolf (2015: 79-89), curation; Gill and Vangad (2023), photography; Monteiro and Jayasankar (2006) documentary filmmaking.

the seeds of freedom: the 'free' worker shorn of ties.[11] M12's learning here to universalise his design process is pre-requisite for productivity for global capital.

This breaking of the contents of everyday life into abstract components open to restructuring is at the heart of this designer's work, and that of his studio as a whole, in a variety of ways. In visual terms, for instance, a well-known design he created for t-shirts and other merchandise involves a famous historical Indian industrial design object visually dismantled such that its meaning becomes the design process itself as an opening up of potentiality: a hip image of creativity rather than merely vintage functional item. As described in Chapter 6, other designs from the Platform mix and match Indian religious and other traditional iconography with consumer goods such as sunglasses and pop culture references.

And again, in very interesting ways, M12's account of the learning process merges into his relation to London itself, with the teaching and the surrounding life of the city somewhat merged, such that the account of the city directly resembles that of the design process:

> I always saw London as this melting pot of everything else in the world comes to London and then it gets dissected again and then re-understood and remixed and it has the most progressive visual culture just in the things that Channel Four are doing and the ads you see on the tube are so much more pushing the boundaries of communication than anywhere else. So to me it felt – and also it had the British Asian identity there with the overlap with graphic design – so for me that was just the sweet spot.
>
> […]
>
> And I went to a couple of Asian Underground nights and they were so alternative in terms of their thinking and representation of what it is to be Asian and twenty-something that there were punks, there were lesbians, there were gay men. They were all outcasts from their own culture and they understood their culture very well. 'Cos they wore like a sari that was cut up into a men's jacket, and I'd never seen that before and I was very proud of it.

The 'bricolage' (Hebdige 1979: 102) of subcultural styles which he sees in the club, then, constitutes a reflection of the design process considered above as a deconstruction and reconstruction of given identities into a willed and reflective form. London thus represents design thinking in the very fabric of its everyday life, and the learning process consists in engaging with the city's reproductive life more generally. M12 was deeply embedded in the emerging Asian Underground scene, among a lose collective of artists, musicians and designers, in which he applied the graphic design principles he was learning to visual content of club nights such as flyers and album covers, both within and outside of course work.

> if I'm hearing […] Talvin Singh's first track and hearing the mix of my home life, the smell of curry, that sense of going to an Indian wedding, and on top of that I'm hearing these little chiming bells of futurism, of what's happening in London, now how can I visualise

[11] That Engels (1940: 13), in the 1870s, used near-identical terms to describe the emergence of modern physical science as dialectic of nature demonstrates its central importance, also, for historical materialist epistemology: 'all rigidity was dissolved, all fixity dissipated, all particularity that had been regarded as eternal became transient, the whole of nature shown as moving in eternal flux and cyclical course.' (Engels 1940: 13)

> that? And that was my challenge for while I was in the UK, to find a bridge between these two places.

The notion of cultural 'bridge', common amongst participants (see Chapter 7), was clearly associated with commissions which M12 undertook such as for Adidas (see Chapter 6), in which international brands specifically sought to localise content (on the corporate process of vernacularisation or glocalisation see e.g. Appadurai 1996; Ritzer 2011; Thussu 2007). Here we see that the capacity to assume that role is a learnt process of intervention within the subject's own becoming such as to attain mastery over its aesthetic identifications, but also that that development involves a specific movement between differing degrees of development of the productive forces: the 'futurism' of London alongside traditional relations identified with India.

An example of this within a visual design motif came from an Old Street club night with the music 'a mixture of dance and house music that meets Asian beats':

> and the visual for that was a beefeater with multiple hands holding one object that represented British and Indianness, so curry takeaway, lazerbeam gun, a British passport a coconut cos we're brown on the outside but white on the inside, so these allegories of British Asianness and we also defaced the beefeater by scribbling over his face, cos his identity is ours and we are defining that we don't know what it is yet.
>
> […]
>
> So the fact that foundation was teaching me to stop painting what I saw, and think beyond that, think about, if this was a pint glass [he gestured at a glass before us in a hip bar he had taken me to, and which fittingly contained Mumbai brewed American style India Pale Ale], I'd draw the pint glass before and try and get it photographically perfect in oil paints. Now I was thinking about: this is a vessel to contain something, and what it contains is a brew. Now what is that brew? Maybe that brew is identity, maybe the brew is a mixture of cultures, so start thinking on a conceptual level that's where foundation helped.

This, then, is a process by which the self learns to free itself of automatic or assumed attachments to cultural forms rooted naturally in everyday life, and instead to open them to analysis and re-appropriation as design. Here in terms of outcome, this is very much a biopolitical process, mixing potential both for commodification, but also emancipatory elements:

> Talvin Singh 'State of Bengal', that first album Anokha was the first album to mix double up beats with turntable rhythm, to create this hybrid sound which was the Asian Underground, and then there was the ADF [Asian Dub Foundation] which had given political clout to that whole club thinking and that made me realise that I'm a citizen you have a right and a voice.

Cultural Studies scholars have attested to the political nature of this moment within British Asian youth culture identity against the predominance of very present and often violent local anti-Asian racism (Sharma 1996) – at the same time as its potential for capture within processes of capitalist accumulation (Hutnyk 2000). Within M12's work in the Indian context, that spirit of visual mix or collage against exclusivist forms of oppression manifests in, for instance, anti-communalism embraced through irreverent play with religious iconography, a commitment to queer identities expressed in gender crossing mixtures of colour, dress and facial features, but also the specific blurring of high and popular art distinctions, and a commitment to affordably priced artworks. Of course,

this is a somewhat gestural politics and always already commercialised, but it is the uneasy ambivalence by which a passionate spirit of resistance is subject to capture by the qualitatively rich grids of aestheticized capitalism which names the space of biopolitical production.

8.6. Design methods for copyright-ready creativity

Indeed, a central aspect of the design process itself as described by the participants is its containment within property relations. Thus M20, illustrating how she applies her London learning, described a brief for a cocktail bar in which she played on a theme of birds across menus, but also cocktails and colour schemes. She described the research process learned as being the means of containing this within a finished project:

> Before I went to London I didn't know how to create my own project, like what to do what not to do. And I think what it taught me is to create those boundaries. Okay, right, you're gonna do a menu. It's not gonna be a film about birds, it's not gonna be like a hundred different things, this is sort of the brief? And this is what I need to do, and now this is my inspiration how do I funnel it through so that I finish everything on time, and I make sure it's all communicated in a really nice way, and the also how do you take all this data, cos it's crazy data, hundreds of birds, but the different kinds of research that they teach us, like the taxonomic division: you can divide your data by chronology; you can divide it how it looks or its history or whatever that stuff was. There was a really nice lecture series when were there which taught us how to do research. Because otherwise it's impossible to create, you know, for someone who didn't even design a design background, was never sort of done research and done like academia, to create a project.

She then summed up the function of these design principles identified as the containment of an over-abundance of visual data:

> Cos they wanted a bar which was different cos you know everything exists and they wanted a story. They wanted something that they could own.

Thus the manifold wealth of sensory and other data concerning everyday life is organised into a narrative susceptible to private ownership. This is a not uncommon pattern in the data. For this participant, it is in part illustrating the ability to move from a 'soul which has started from India' (see Chapter 7), through a recognised movement of design principles, to an internationally respectable outcome. This is not, as Baudrillard (1972) argues, simply the limitless extension and combination of chains of inter-commensurable signifiers, as a problematic bequest of the Bauhaus: that rather constitutes the potentially emancipatory content. Rather, it remains the channelling of that release from traditional bonds within the confines of private ownership. The world is opened up as a universal source to infinite recombination – in itself emancipatory – but that opening up is over-coded by the proprietary principle foreclosing it.

In the Chinese context, the relation between property rights ownership and research methods developed in London was particularly pronounced as a differentiating factor claimed by alums of London over local creatives. Thus, when I asked one of the founders of Changning Creative Space (S28) (see Chapter 6) which type of people they recruited to work with them:

> we represent Chinese artists but most of them they used to study in the UK, so they have a study abroad background. I mean we don't really want to do that but because we try to save some time on communication. […] Because in China we have a totally different art education system, so it's, they don't have the design process like in the UK in our

> education system. We have a design process, like how you get inspiration and how you turn inspiration into for example your drawing, and then turn your drawing into a design, and then you have a final outcome. But we don't have this process in China, so it's really easy to find out someone's copying the work from someone else. Because we don't have this process. Normally the students they have a new collection of design based on the other one's design. So they get inspiration from other people's design not from their life.

Recalling the importance of the creation of connections between art and life (Chapter 6), on the one hand, and the commercial or creative industry context on the other, this is an important addition to the picture of how the Changning Creative Space was to fulfil its role (for the founders, but also the municipal government and property developers), and the role of UK art and design education within that: the movement from life into artistic product – the purpose of the creative quarter – would be guaranteed by methods learned from the UK. 'Design process', for S28, is the accountable movement from 'life' to 'inspiration', 'drawing', 'design', and finally 'outcome': conception controls execution through retraceable steps, such that ownership of the aesthetic value addition to the commodity is maintained.[12] In China, she suggests, life itself, and the subjective element, are bypassed, cultural workers going straight to the completed design: effectively, straight to execution.

Another, S15, describes the education she had in China as compared to that in London on very similar terms. Of Chinese teaching, she says:

> what the tutors told us to do is, okay, today you go to the shopping mall and you took some photos, like secretly took some photos, and to learn what they are doing, like how they do it. Then you come back and bring these photos and you can show everyone. So it's only like copying, you know? You learn what other brands are doing, and I think it's very dodgy. And the teacher even mentioned that you have to bring your student card because if the security find you are taking photos you have to show them the student card to make sure you are safe.

Again, noteworthy here is the way that the movement through subjectivity and everyday life to a creative outcome is without accountable or documented trace, interrupted by a shortcut straight to the competitors' rails with no creative act. Of the UK, by comparison, S15 says:

> Because when tutors teach you something, it's not actually teach. It's like give you space, you go research and you get crazy. So if you're not creating enough, they're not happy. You have to release your mind. Everything brings out, so that's the part I really like. I think that's art. I don't need to know much about technician. Yes, I have to know, but what I want is to bring some art to life.

The relation to a 'crazy' state of mind of course invokes something of the Romantic tradition. But it also very much reflects the thoroughgoing de- and reconstruction of the psyche discussed above. Indeed, the reference here to 'space' aligns it with another common account: sixteen participants identify as having learned through their education to be 'open' as individuals. The implications of the antithesis to technical training is strongly associated with this subjective element (and an element of European education inherited from the Renaissance: Beech 2022, Roberts 2007). This is clear also when she returns to the topic later:

---

[12] On the importance of documentation of research steps in design through journals, sketchbooks and photographic records, see Mbeledogu (2022: 82-92), Gray and Malins (2004: 57-63).

> I think what I've learnt is not something physical, because I cannot tell you what skills I'm learning, because definitely in China you can learn more skills. You can even make up a pattern, you can make pattern cutting, you can do it better. But what I've accept, what I receive in UK is the way you think, because it's different. You have to be independent in your mind, it's not just independent you make the clothes. Because I think what's truly important is your mind and your thoughts. Like when you research a topic, how are you going to develop it? That's the magic of, like the difference between people. Because this approach, if you have skills, anyone can make it, but how these skills come, that's the important part. That's, I think, like my understanding of fashion design, you have to learn the way to do the research, development, how to bring your thought in mind out. So that's the important part.

The lack of technical skills learning in the UK relatively to a focus on intellectual content, and their much greater emphasis in Mumbai and Shanghai is referred to by a number of participants: eight specifically state that they did not learn skills in the UK, and a further seven that China and India emphasise it more. Only four single out technical skills as key London learning, compared to 25 for research, ten for theory, nineteen for 'transcultural' or 'intercultural' skills, and 32 for what I coded as 'attitude' or 'whole of life' learning (see above). Here S15 emphasises the specific *reproducibility* of technical skills ('anyone can make it'), as compared to the individuality of design work, where interiority, 'thought in mind' is externalised, brought 'out' through accountable processes. This constitutes a different order of labour, less degraded and replaceable, in which the object bears the trace of the subject's interiority. This is a fundamental element of the platform founded by this couple on the basis of their London experience, in which they planned to competitively select designers emerging from UK higher education to market at low price on Chinese markets (Chapter 7). Essential to the business model, grounding its claim to designer fashion status despite the fast fashion timetable and prices, is this accountable movement from the life and individuated inwardness of the designer into the commodity, such that a central marketing ploy involves retracing those steps through video:

> S15: we closed the connection between design and the market and help them to go into the Chinese market and what we can provide to students. […] we will send a team, or we can even collaborating, like make a group to do the interview with the winners, like how this person's life and what's his daily life, and why you make this collection, what's your thinking. So it's like a video and with Chinese subjects. So the audience can know that it's not only clothes, it's not like a sketch, there's something behind it.
>
> S14: Yeah. So the personality of the designer comes out and lifestyle of himself.
>
> S15: Yeah. Because we were doing fashion we know that the project, it's not that easy. It's not like you do a sketch, then there's the clothes. Because we need to do research, develop, and then there's a collection. We want people to know why are you buying this, it's not only because it looks nice, there is something behind it with designers. So that's the video.

The video, then, gives a literal connection between the very different context of conception from that of consumption, which is also that of manufacture. It establishes the value of that conception, which is 'not that easy', and grounded in the designer's 'daily life' and inwardness: 'what's your thinking'. And it is because the space of reproduction of aesthetic labour, the designer's 'daily life' is *removed* from the space of consumption, which is, rather, the location of manufacture, that the pedagogy is necessary: 'to know why are you buying this […], there is something behind it'. This disjuncture of the place

of conception, on the one hand, and execution and consumption on the other is exactly the problem that S26 had (Chapter 7). Its origin lies in the fact that the location of reproduction of the designer's subjectivity, or that of the creative worker, and that of the manual worker's are inherently different. As discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, the space of reproduction of creative labour is that of museums, street life and retail experiences, for instance, as well as educational institutions. Bringing design and manufacture, conception and execution together, then, constitutes a special problem in need of innovative solutions, and which it is the job of the transcultural intermediary, who works, precisely, *between* these domains (conception/execution, production/reproduction, culture A/culture B), to suture.

Of course, the Chinese state at the time of all of these alum's study was rapidly seeking to develop a culture of copyright in order to upgrade its manufacturing relation with the West – most specifically as conditions for World Trade Organisation entry (Hu 2003; Pang 2012; Yang 2016; Zhao 2003). As discussed in Chapter 4, various government policies sought to develop copyright culture within China. The Republic's State Council's (SCPRC 2006: NP) science and technology plan for the period covering the interviews – 2006-2020 – stated:

> Protecting intellectual property rights and safeguarding the interests of IPR owners is not only necessary for perfecting the nation's market economy system and promoting indigenous innovation, but also important for establishing the nation's credibility and image in international cooperation.

The significant annual increase in patents from China attests to the effort (see Chapter 4). But, despite the slight difference in emphasis, this highlights a quality evident also in the Indian context: the research methodologies with which the alums of London art and design colleges identify involve processes not only for generating ideas from the individual and social subject, but also for evidencing that the ideas generated are indeed the result of the labour power employed – and so can stand apart from common ownership: an essential means of development of the productive forces in the era of global labour value chains.

8.7. Education for the division of cultural labour

The reference by alums such as S14 and S15 above to the low importance of technical learning in the UK as compared to China tends to be meant positively. As well as being a common differentiating mark of the relatively elite fine artist over the studio hand or craft worker (Beech 2022: 267), it is inseparable from the division of labour. On a certain level, this is necessary to the project of these two students, which requires their intermediating not only between Chinese consumers and European designers, but also European designers and Chinese manufacturers (indeed, also between Chinese KOLs and consumers).[13] Their own complex positionality as Chinese subjects educated in London underpins this. For this, of Chinese labour they specifically require subjects trained in reproduction: that is, in executing the designs of others. The learning identified with London as able to evidence an accountable trail between subject and product as opposed to Mumbai or Shanghai workers' conformity is grounded in the international division of labour. The intermediary's mobility gives access to a position *between* the two (see Rofel and Yanagisako 2021: 103 for similar findings with Shanghai managers' self-identified 'cosmopolitan' capacities in global value chains).

As M12 put it, when questioned about whether there were any adaptations he had had to make on return to Mumbai:

[13] KOL, or 'key opinion leader' is equivalent to influencers.

> What I learn from the people I was working with they were a shop that, their university's still very much hands on in terms of the academia, so in terms of how to hold a scalpel and cut properly, how to use your set squares correctly, how to hand draw type. It was still a little bit of that old school academic. But the good thing is that as a designer we kind of jump to the computer too quickly, is our problem, as soon as you get an idea like 'Hey! let me get into illustrator and do it'. But by literally being a little bit more hands on, you find much more interesting solutions and your brain ticks in a different way. Cos when you're working with a computer you're working in a set work flow. It's already been created, which means you have to be thinking in layers, pan tones. When you're working by hand, you don't need these restrictions any more. So it's a much more free spirited form of design, and I found that there was a lot more emphasis on the physicality, I guess, yeah, and just more time spent on the grass, the bare bones foundations.
>
> […]
>
> So yeah when I was working in this design agency and they were creating mock-ups for a client, I was cutting up stuff and the guy was like 'That's not how you're supposed to hold a scalpel and that's not how you're supposed to cut it', and so on and so forth and then he gave me some tips and I was like: 'How did you get that information?' He said: 'Dude that's first yeah college here man! You should know that!' Like: 'Ah okay!'
>
> So but at the [London alma mater] there isn't that kind of teaching it's like: 'You wanna learn it? There's the library, there's the world of hard knocks. Go out there and learn it and you come back and tell me what you need on top of that' as a tutor because the field is too vast for the tutor to specialise in everything.

Thus, there is an awareness that the learning is of a generality, or level of abstraction, above that offered locally. And this is felt as a temporary source of embarrassment, but at the same time not an insurmountable hurdle because the higher-order learning enabled it to be picked up as needed. Mumbai learning is both more physically embodied directly in the hand – how to *operate tools* –, and in this, non-contemporaneous with London's overall view: it is 'old school' in its specialism, where the terrain of operation envisioned in London's is 'vast'. This higher perspective view of course is the ground on which depends the project of taking local vernacular traditions into an engagement with international standards from which they can realise themselves through transformation. Thus when M12 says, without disparagement, of local self-taught designers (not the local university educated referred to above): 'They're not willing to investigate what'll work; they'll just do what's been done before', it is within this gap of investigation that the research methods developed in London allow him to insert himself.

8.8. The pedagogical role of the intermediary

Pierre Bourdieu (1979) noted the pedagogical role which the cultural intermediary assumes in the transmission of elite tastes. There is a pronounced nexus among the alums interviewed between such pedagogical functions, on the one hand, and on the other both the *passionate* nature of the work (see Chapter 2 on 'passionate labour', McRobbie 2016), and also, importantly, the position they claim at the leading edge of an emerging locus of advanced development in an uneven terrain: 21 participants are involved in education either mostly, or more commonly as part of their work, 17 of whom I code as 'pedagogy of the national self' for the emphasis on identifying with the project of contributing educationally to the development of the national subject – a project itself grounded in

profound personal affective involvement: see S8 below and examples elsewhere such as S16 (Chapter 7), S27 and 28 (Chapter 6) and M9 and 10 (Chapter 6). Further, the nature of the learning, involving a greater level of abstraction than more craft-based local learning, and which renders it inherently suited to conception rather than execution, makes it readily pedagogical. For M12, above, this is his role in leading the studio, where a pronounced paternalism comes across (Chapter 7) – as well as his giving occasional lectures with local educational institutions.

Thus, when I asked London fashion curation alumnus S8 whether his London education had prepared him to work in the industry in Shanghai, he responded:

> S8: For future career or things? I do not think so. It's hard to say, because first of all, if you study fashion curation, I think the most ideal way, for your future career, is to work within a fashion museum or a museum's textile and fashion department, or even as an individual independent curator. And in Shanghai we do not really have that kind of environment that really gives you the opportunity to do projects like that. So when I graduated from [London university] I didn't really have any expectation of what I'm going to do when I came back here, but I do know, this is something I learned from London from my professors and this is something I want to continue practising, probably now I don't think it would happen, but just occasionally that also be fantastic. Occasionally in Shanghai in China, yes.
>
> So I also know some other Chinese students who studied the course and they came back doing all sorts of different jobs, like I know a girl who's doing PR and also another guy who's actually kind of like educational agency that helps students to apply for courses overseas. So it's not really fashion exhibition or curation related at all.
>
> But on the other hand, what I have learned from the course and the resources I obtained from almost two years in London, is truly valuable to me for my career in Shanghai as well, even though I'm not fully doing curation at the moment. For example my main job is doing the marketing and PR for this fashion brand, but each project we are planning I'm always trying to see if I can bring this kind of curatorial or academic approach into the subject. So yes, so it has had a positive influence actually. For example, each curation usually have the press release and for each curation always in my team a fashion historian can write the press release for us. It's like a special essay that we're trying to give her the freedom and the space to really help us organise and really tell us more clearly about the cultural context of the original inspiration behind each collection. So for the, audience to really understand the collection, to understand the brand even more.
>
> Interviewer: Oh, so there's always a historical element as well as…
>
> S8: Yes, I think so. But really how to use that historical perspective or lens to reflect what's going on in the contemporary world, how to link the past and the present history, essential to what I do.

Here we see the passionate investment in transforming the local cultural landscape from the past into the present. The training in research, he feels, allows him to take a role educating the consumer about the brand. The fact of addressing history is central to that because it represents for him the potential to connect the disparate threads of Chinese identity, on the one hand, which he sees as locked in the past, and the contemporary, from which that identity is excluded – bridging the gap explored in Chapter 7, in a kind of anamnesis. But alongside this, and inextricable from the project of trying to make that happen, is a desire to teach local audiences. The similarity with S14 and S15 describing their brand videos for Chinese consumers of European designers on their books is instructive. This is not education simply about the brand, but about curation itself. For

alongside the marketing work, S8 does some work for a Shanghai exhibition space, to which he invites international fashion curators to speak: 'The seminar is more like kicking off the project, trying to raise awareness about exhibition or fashion curating in Shanghai.'

It is clear that S8 seeks from the work of curation a diffuse and holistic teaching targeting Chinese fashion design itself:

> for the seminar, so far we have three curators: one from Italy, another one from France and another one from New York, America, and they're going to talk American style, Italian style, French style. But we didn't really find a Chinese curator, just a curator doesn't really know a lot about Chinese fashion. Because in many ways what I'm trying to do with the seminar or with this fashion public event programme, is I do think that this kind of programme is necessary for local design talents, for the local designers to get educated. We haven't really reached a level to really say now Chinese fashion to be authoritative or has its own status already to really comment on cultural contents until now. That's just my personal opinion. And we do really want, if you come to the seminar you care about Italian fashion or French fashion, but it would be really helpful in a way that the designer really relate their kind of target to their own experience and to think about Chinese fashion and Chinese identity as well.

The aim, then, is to contribute to the achievement, by Chinese designers, of authenticity, suturing the self by connecting its own past with its present, its essence – 'identity' – with appearance – 'fashion'. And this, as per others previously discussed, is specifically also achieved by connecting the design with 'their own experience' – the everyday as inspiration. An ambitious project, the aim is to help constitute a milieu, in partnership with a significant public museum and some genuinely top-flight international curators and academics, in order to provoke a sufficient level of self-consciousness. It is worth recalling the quotes discussed earlier in this and previous chapters in which alums speak of identifying with London's space of reproduction, and the attempt to reconstitute a version of that in Mumbai and Shanghai. The series of curated events is an example of that desire. But further, we see also, as in earlier chapters, that the function of this contribution of the space of reproduction is as source material for design work: it is the space of the production of the specific subjectivity of creative labour. The aim is to create an everyday life fit for the specific productive subjectivity of creative labour. And further, as S8 emphasises, the resource is itself not only inspirational, but also pedagogical: the productive subject requires a space of reproduction which itself *teaches* the subject how to bring it into outcomes. An everyday which leads to inwardness as inspiration, to the designing hand, to design, to reproductive commodity – fashion – as the means to suturing the subject itself.

8.9. Transcultural intermediation as trajectory

An instructive example summarising many of the findings in all three empirical chapters is S25, who had a career in a variety of creative roles to which she saw her 2004-2005 London MA in graphic design, followed by short courses in education and business in the creative industries, as central. It is worth tracking the close relation between the original nub of the learning she identifies in London through into its application in Shanghai, both to contextualise within a single trajectory, and for what it highlights about the *in-betweenness* in which this consistently places her: between cultures; between levels of development of productive forces; and between labour and capital, for instance. In this way focusing on this trajectory in isolation puts back together what the chapters have addressed separately, and demonstrates their functioning in a single arc.

As an alumna of a post-graduate London degree, she describes her Masters as furthering a project she had begun already in the Chinese Academy of Art, in many ways

through an increase of perspectives and a subjective pluralisation associated with cosmopolitanism:

> At that time I was big struggle in the academic research because that was really philosophical and, you know, the philosophy side really require a lot of knowledge, not only in the art and skill or whatever, but in your life, you know, how your perceptions about everything. And I can remember my topic was about how to visualise the difference or the non-difference between, the cultural difference between East and West. That is really, really philosophical, you know, and it's really huge one and start from nowhere. Because I remember that the dissertation for my BA at university, the China Academy of Art, that was how to like modernise or internationalise Chinese ink painting. That was back to my BA, like after four years at university, Bachelor programme. And that was something like how the contemporary ink are, go where? So it's kind of discussion.
>
> So that is the same East, it's based on the Oriental route and you think about the other side, from the Western or international world. But when I like jump into the contextualisation of the international world, the world city, London, it's much more like, wow! it's really international, it's not only represent British. It's really mixed with different cultures and I was trying to think about how to, like in the graphic design, any things or symbols or whatever the graphics language to represent or at least to have a clue. It's like the starting point or the stepping stone for the further research or navigation or exploration for the entire life. So it's really philosophical.
>
> Well, so at that time I was, wow!, in the middle of nowhere. And even [tutor name], who was my subject leader, I think he encouraged me a lot, but he, maybe he was not really interested or not really familiar with any like Oriental world. That's why, at that time I remember he said, because we'd got two Chinese students within the class, I think two out of ten either from Europe, America. So he was not really… He knows a little bit, but he was not really about the thinking, so I wasn't really like encouraged or directed by the… So I was a lot of like struggling about myself, about how I can fit. I read a lot of books about even geometries, because the things, you know mathematics and geometry, they are really like abstract and something really related to the graphics and the philosophy.
>
> So finally, after one entire year, so I really finalised it to, my project was called '[title denoting abstract relations between forms in terms of difference and similarity]'. […] So even at that time I didn't receive a great mark [laughs]. I didn't, but especially I think just after all through this year of working experience in London and in Shanghai or in Australia, I felt, well, it's really a lifelong research project.

As for many of the participants, the difficulty of the work at a personal or subjective level is noted, including in the autonomy it required of her for a project not about 'skills' but 'life' itself, and 'perceptions'. This attains the point of isolation, including specifically in terms of the indifference of the other, the tutor expressing no interest in her project. And yet this discomfort is itself a source of inspiration which becomes the project of a career. The inextricable nature of the learning itself from the disjunctive experience of the educational mobility, which becomes a kind of rending of the self, allows for or perhaps forces the development of a perspective at a high level of abstraction, embracing geometry and philosophy, itself conceived in a series of metaphors of an ongoing journey of discovery. This abstraction and the metaphor of journey, or narrative production of space, are themselves folded into a central element of her final dissertation on video games as transmedia art.

It is also noteworthy, that, as for S17 in Chapter 7, we encounter an event of refused recognition acting as a painful stimulus to autonomy. A significant role of S25 discussed

below, as well as her peers discussed elsewhere, is to develop recognition for local intellectual property. The transition from made in China/India to designed in China/India, as the cliché has it, requires subjectivities capable of productive activity autonomously, rather than only under the instruction of others, and of patents and copyrights rather than manufactured goods. This is not a facile extension of a Hegelian concept through a coincidental parallel of the word 'recognition'. For Marx's dialectic of alienation is specifically developed from Hegel's (2018), but on the basis, not of a mythical pre-existing conscious subjectivity (the first chapter of *Phenomenology*), but rather the social world of which subjectivity is the result: under capitalism, that of the commodity relation. This is why it is the very substance behind the tutor's perhaps orientalising failure to recognise – the '+ Culture' (Chapter 7) – which it is the work of this subject to commodify.

S25 saw this very abstract philosophical question as guiding the rest of her career, in which she consistently had a core element of transnational engagement. She sums up the commonality between most of the work she has done since London, then, in terms of this transcultural element:

> I think even for most of the international projects when you come to entirely different cultural environment you need localisation not only in translation part, but also the cultural thing about communication, about how you actually produce, how you actually curate, how you actually do the marketing, that kind of things. I think that's throughout my career projects.

Her first job post-graduation was for a British games company working with Chinese animators. She then progressed to games production in Shanghai, overseeing thirty Chinese animators for a large multinational Japanese games conglomerate (anonymised to Japanese Games) with Japanese art direction and US-based Research and Development. In this her knowledge of both Chinese and international languages and ways of working were key, she explained:

> S25: Their priority is to have someone really know the culture and know how to manage and have the understanding and the skills to manage artists, and any art animator or whatever, a concept artist, the art production team to work with the Japanese art director who's speaking English [and] the UK side and also from America, San Francisco. So I have been really like a liaison and a project co-ordinator and then jumped to producer from the really first pitch to the end of the financing part.

From this she progressed to arranging the outsourcing of animation work from the Japanese headquarters to workers in various cities around Shanghai, and, as these workers' pay increased, locations further within China or in Vietnam. I asked how she felt about the work:

> I think first, in the first half of the year I feel good, because it's something new, right? Always to have something new. So I got a bunch of outsourcing companies, suppliers, I go along with them and deliver the job and then which means we have the job here from [Japan Games], and then I packed it to them and to different suppliers and we make money, right? We make the money difference. Even with being one group, but it still do the thing. So then I ask [name], that is my director in the entire Shanghai branch, China branch, but become a production agent, which is okay for then, but it's time for me to leave, because I don't want to be an agent or something like that and I'm not really interested in just to have the business difference and that is nothing to do with art, that's business, right?

Like her peers, then, the intermediate or bridging statuses – 'liaison' – between cultural contexts and between capital and labour are deeply connected with the learning which S25 identifies with London. The role of recruitment agent between international capital and Chinese and other international labour, requires less specific skills of her than an overarching vision or general social technique. The grounds of this vision she has explained earlier as arising from the puzzle of cultural difference having forced her into philosophy – the study of grounds as such – and geometry – the reduction of extension to the most universal abstract principles.

If the purely economic position failed to interest her, this is also of a piece with other participants in suggesting that the cultural content is a significant factor of the labour itself. Clearly, the 'lifelong research project' she has envisaged in abstract philosophical terms is not fulfilled in this way. This is supported by the terms of re-entry into work oriented better to that overarching project: as consultant on international arts fairs. She describes the first time she visited one of these, before being involved in the work, with a phrase mirroring that of others cited in Chapters 6 and 7 discussing the productivity of missing, and seeking to reproduce London in Mumbai and Shanghai:

> That was first time I bumped into somewhere and I felt I was in London, because in London I went to Frieze, I went to different art fairs, it's really international. And that was the first time I felt: 'Oh! In Shanghai, so international!' Because they're all international renowned galleries. So I thought: 'Oh! One day if I can be part of here, that would be wonderful to me to learn and getting to the art world.'

Her learning in London, then, which, importantly, included an alteration of perception itself, makes her sensitive to the quality of a place in which she 'felt I was in London', a place, itself, of disjuncture, 'so international'. This desire materialises in consultancy and production work with international exhibitions, fairs and festivals, in areas such as art, design and creative industries, working with British and Australian public institutions as well as Shanghai municipality.

In her current role, consulting with the Australian body, she organises cultural tours by Australian artists, arranging 'educational wrap-around events' which accompany touring festivals. In those events, she draws on the local alums network of her London alma mater for 'non-heritage design': the extension of traditional design into new domains, so as to preserve the heritage but also extend both its own capacities and the potential for innovation of those engaging with it:[14]

> Because some kind of like really old craftsmen taught that kind of skills, for example, like braiding, right? So it's kind of like really traditional and really into a certain kind of minority community. But actually, there are a lot of things you can draw the inspiration from their skills and from the culture and to bring them out to the contemporary design, to the lifestyle products. So that's the creative industry, right?

This role, then, combines a complex set of intermediating interfaces, since S25 is thereby both connecting international designers with local craft workers, inserting herself between conception and execution, and situating herself between audiences and cultural producers.

The guiding thread from her education to the present is pronounced. Recently, she published a version of her MA dissertation within the context of a transnational conference series organised in partnership between Chinese and Australian bodies, for

[14] See Zhang (2020) for the concept 'non-heritage' and Wu (2015) for a detailed ethnography of the process of developing minority nationality cultural forms for the cultural industry through state policy and private investment.

instance. This considered the potential of video games within museums as a tool of education. It emphasised restructuring both the space of the exhibition and the time relation between historical artefacts and contemporary forms of access and display. The connection to S25's work in 'non-heritage design' is significant: the constant warp of her career has involved an in-betweenness, inextricably with that between capital and labour, producers and consumers, *also* of a historical temporality in which a threatened national identity or heritage adheres alongside a cosmopolitan, technologically mediated present. The education she identifies with, then, has been ideally suited to the in-between contexts of uneven development, intermediation performing the function of combination itself. S25, like so many of the participants, is a subject who has learned, through 'struggle', to hold herself open, and to make of that openness, or gap, not a negativity, but a productive capacity to bridge: to suture.

8.10. A note on agency

In the methodology chapter, I referred to the specific interplay of Marx's structural with Hegel's (2018) phenomenological account of recognition, whereby the commodity relation interrupts the possibility for authentic encounter, replacing mutually transparent consciousnesses with 'personifications of economic relations' (Marx 1976: 179; see Quante 2013, Renault 2017). This goes to the heart of the contradiction between agency and structure. For, for both S17 (Chapter 7) and S25 above, and indeed the great majority of interviewees, where processes of autonomy and recognition are at play, in no case can this be said to pertain to an authentic self, such as a pristine + Culture, but is rather always in relation to the development of skills for its commodification.

But recognising the place of structure cannot, either, deny that of subjective agency within the processes described, which, precisely, involves the active decision-making of subjects navigating the structures of capital – frequently, as for S17 and S25, specifically racializing – and seeking or maintaining a position of self-definition. As seen in Chapter 7, M23, for instance, is rightly proud of having stood up for herself, not only for her own, but for others' benefit. Participants such as S17, as well as M12 in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively show much pride, too, in reversing the de-valorising effects of unevenness.

Similarly, M1 began as unpaid intern in a women's magazine which is part of the portfolio of the same US headquartered multinational, and now works in an editorial role at its very top. She describes a gendered workspace unlike many in Mumbai:

> It's a very, it's a women-centric office, it's crazy because just imagine putting a bunch of women in one room pretty much every day, but at the same time they're the most inspiring women you'll meet, everyone's so empowered, everybody has great ideas, everybody's so motivated and it's great to see, it's great inspiration every day. You go into work and, you know, you're sitting with a bunch of women who are so driven and that, I think, is a great place to be.

She expands: 'there is an aspirational value to what we create in the magazine, but at the same time we do a lot of things to empower women.'

I was unable to find evidence of empowerment which was not dialectically paired with consumerist ethos, looking through back issues over the years the decade or so the magazine had run an India edition. Most issues give much space to advertisements for multinational brands, from BMW to Gucci, Bulgari to Louis Vuitton – largely the same brands advertised in the US and other issues –, with nods to indigenisation taking the form of wedding issues as well as beauty products specific to South Asian skin, including whitening. Occasionally editorial injunctions along the lines of 'flaunt your body with love' or 'Get Chic' engage in the internationally familiar commodification of women's

anxiety about their bodies and search for emancipation (Goldman 1992, Rose 2001), thereby clearly adding to the pressure to consume for beauty's sake, identifying self-realisation with the mediation of brands. Meedakshi Thapan (2009: 22) sees in such content the 'recolonization' of Indian women's bodies. However, M1's sentiment must also be taken seriously: the desire to flaunt, rather than hide the body, in unashamed occupation of public space, and to enjoy sexual expressivity and excitement, are legitimate claims, particularly in a country where the ever-present threat of gender-based violence, transmitted through such micro means as the gaze on the street, represents a tangible limit to public participation for women (Bhattacharya 2009). Shefalee Vasudev (2012), first editor of the similarly positioned *Marie Claire* India, attests to a related dialectic in her own experience, of an empowering capacity, as a woman among women, to set a feminine agenda within public discourse, on the one hand, and on the other the limitations on this arising from the market context. Within the limited gamut of opportunities, the subjects clearly select amongst alternatives given choices in the search for satisfactory livelihoods – a minimal requirement for agency.

In an important intervention within the debate between Althusserian structuralism (e.g. Althusser 1996 [1963]) and E P Thompson's (1963, 1995 [1978]) agentive subject-centred analysis (Chapter 3), Perry Anderson (1980: 19-21) correctly argues that the absolutist positions of the polarised scholars are unhelpful, and that the way through lies in part in applying a concept of agency, or willed intentional action, able to recognise qualitative differences of degree (also Callinicos 2004 e.g. xvii-xx). If Thompson's neglect of the shaping role of structure left him open to the charge of 'voluntarism' (Anderson 1980: 24), Althusser's functionalist reduction of the subject to structural appendage was no less one-sided. Recognising gradations of agency as well as the day-to-day messiness of its achievement would be more compatible with the subject-object dialectic I have elaborated, supported with evidence in these chapters of their internal relation.

Anderson suggests that a minimal sense of agency refers to intentional action, albeit through the selection by individuals among socially available alternatives which, rather than changing social practice, largely reproduce it. More historically significant is the collective activity which aims at some form of social transformation, though limited in scope, and without systemic change. Finally, are 'those collective projects which have sought to render their initiators authors of their collective mode of existence as a whole' (Anderson 1980: 20) – revolutionary events. The subjects I interviewed, clearly displaying the minimal degrees of agency in selecting among the opportunities given within the capitalist order, understood themselves also to be participating in a collective transformation of social relations. I found little evidence of an interest in transformation beyond the capitalist order.[15] Rather, the objective development of the productive forces, under the influence of capital's international search for profitability, produced a need for a specific kind of subjectivity amongst one segment of workers, which the alums, in their search for individual, but also social betterment – national development –, fashioned themselves to fulfil. However, these subjects are not simply interpellated into a pre-allotted space by capital out of nothing. They engage in rich, highly individuated life projects, a self-transformation dedicated to far more than accumulation. Since, as I have shown, this hope, intentionality, and active willing form the very substance of these workers' labour, a valid model of cultural industry in global contexts must be able to account for both objective and subjective factors, structure and agency, in their co-implication.

[15] The notable exception was critical media scholar S22. She was an example of an exceptional case mentioned in Chapter 5, though, interviewed peripherally to the core culture industries.

Though revolutionary sensibilities are certainly absent, there is much will to change the social, not in its fundamental production relations, but in the expressive content of reproduction, irreducible to the interests of capital. As I argue in Chapter 4, the intermediary classes are positioned in specifically ambivalent positions, which, where their fortunes decline, easily become more separate from those of capital – a transition of quantity to quality (Trotsky 1986, Chapter 3). Where there are grounds for optimism specifically about the subjectivities uncovered in this research, these lie in large part in this proud autonomy itself, an identification with work and everyday life as self-determined, and capable of overcoming the fundamental separation between them to which they are condemned under capital.

8.11. Conclusion

Contemporary UK art and design education as portrayed by the alums is deeply subjective as developmental process, reaching far beyond the confines of the times and spaces of formal learning, into the everyday life and psyche of the student, and developing methods of rendering that transformative journey accountable for itself as to its products, such that they are not only potentially transformative in themselves, but marketable. There is support for this in the literature. Ezinma Mbeledogu (2022: 12, 16), Senior Lecturer at University of Creative Arts, just outside London, recommends the street and museums as sources of fashion inspiration. Susan Orr and Alison Shreeve (2018: 74, 20), the former a Professor at University of the Arts London, portray art and design education as 'uncomfortable', 'transformative' and 'threatening', oriented to 'development of the whole person'. Ian Noble and Russell Bestley (2005: 48, 29), the latter of London College of Communication, suggest that graphic design research should include both in-situ research of designed environments (the urban focus highlighted by alums), but also, as a key moment, 'divergent research', devoted to 'dismantling preconceptions'. From a research perspective, Brett Luvaas (2016: 94) commends street style photography in fashion studies as:

> a project of honing one's intuition into a sharp visual focus. It means embodying the aesthetics of street style so deeply and so completely that they operate within you and upon you without conscious deployment.

In the case of the participants above, where this development involves the traversal of uneven space into and from London, a specific tendency emerges for productive or creative subjectivity to merge or layer a set of in-between locations within a single role, the subjectivity developed is reflexively open to ambiguities between uneven zones of development, between locations in the division of labour, and between production and consumption – or the reproductive domain of everyday life; and capable of articulating between – suturing – them accountably.

Chapters 6 and 7 showed the deep inter-weaving of spatio-temporal factors of uneven and combined development with the individual career trajectories of the participants, such that the non-contemporaneity is itself a significant element of the productivity – a fact revealing much about the nature of the creative labour of biopolitical production. This chapter has emphasised the degree to which this inter-weaving is embedded in the learning process. Together they highlight the significance of the subjective factor in creative labour-related educational mobility, not only as a source of decision-making, but as a quality of labour power specifically and methodologically developed and targeted as such. At the same time, they have shown the production of subjectivity to be inextricable from the needs of capital. The chapter has thus focused on responding to sub-questions 1 and 2 concerning the experiences and effects of education to help answer to the main question concerning the construction of productive subjectivity in Mumbai and Shanghai

application of UK higher education. For where the previous chapters identified the importance of the transnational macro contexts and subjective content, this chapter has established the essential contribution of learned practices of the self. I have moved in this and the previous two chapters between subjective and objective factors, micro and macro scales. I have also discussed (Chapter 7) the social metabolism of internalisation and externalisation which integrate as well as differentiate them. The next chapter summarises these findings, including with a diagrammatic model, as well as wrapping up the thesis as a whole with discussion of contribution to knowledge and research and implications for academic practice and further investigation.

Chapter 9

Conclusion: Uneven and Combined Development as the Spatialisation of Social Metabolism

9.1. Introduction

I begin with an overview of the thesis contents by chapter, followed by a short summary of the findings, in the form of a condensed description of the process involved in the construction of productive subjectivity and the contribution to knowledge this finding makes (9.2). I then expand on this in terms of what it tells us about the space of capital under conditions of uneven and combined development (9.3). After offering an improved, more concretely situated concept of biopolitical production as an aspect of labour in the cultural industries (9.4), I present the overall framework defended for this thesis: uneven and combined development as a historical materialist dialect of spatialised social metabolism (9.5). 9.6 highlights my contribution to knowledge. I then consider what may have changed *since* the research period (9.7), before suggesting implications for academic practice and further research (9.8).

9.2. Summary by chapters and key findings

In the introduction, I stated the main research question:

> How is productive subjectivity constructed by alums of London art, design and communication higher education who are based in Mumbai and Shanghai cultural industries?

The sub-questions concerned the actual educational content and experiences in London, as well as participants' use of this education, and the relation to macro contexts. I outlined the historical and contemporary background of the cities guiding their selection as centres for research: Mumbai and Shanghai are world cities with, like London, significant cultural industries, and their histories are intertwined with those of London through the colonial and semi-colonial histories of world capital expansion – a process also influencing the educational mobility researched. I also emphasised the need implicit in the main question to respond to both macro and micro issues, structure and subjectivity, which suggested a historical materialist approach as first developed by Karl Marx (1976). Chapter 2 addressed capital expansion within contemporary culture industry. I outlined a model able to address the various ways in which contemporary capital seeks to incorporate subjective content into industrialised production, for which I adopted the term 'biopolitical production' from Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000), though I pointed out weaknesses in their non-dialectical approach, and suggested that 'culturalised industrial production' and 'industrialised cultural production' could at times replace their term, though something of a mouthful. I addressed the role of the cultural intermediary as key locus in this process, and as a term capturing the work of the great majority of interviewees, and the place of commodified mass higher education in furnishing labouring subjects apt for such work. Chapter 3 introduced the concept of uneven and combined development, and emphasised its dialectical underpinnings, making it appropriate to account for *both* the macro and structural and the subjective contexts of my study. I argued that internationalised higher education is a central feature of the production of the globally differentiated labour power of uneven but integrated circuits of capital. Chapter 4 centred on structure through macro-level data on Mumbai and

Shanghai in relation to London. Key points of focus were increasing labour segmentation, and so new intermediate class positions, along with increased capital productivity and integration with world capital. I argued that these are deeply interdependent with international education. This background constituted a framework for the industrial production researched – biopolitical production, or creative labour in the culture industry – and its relation to international productivity in contexts of unevenness. Chapter 5 introduced a methodology capable of moving between such structural data and the individual trajectories of the alums interviewed, emphasising an approach to Marxism applying a dialectic, drawn critically from Hegel, of internalisation and externalisation as a social metabolism.

I then turned to primary data discussion. Chapter 6 focused on the process of biopolitical production in relation to the practices of the alums: the ways in which they engaged with subjective and everyday content in processes of valorisation. This was seen to reflect historical economic developments. Since it also demonstrated the economic function of the processes of internalisation and externalisation of the subject, it offered a partial answer to the research question concerning how productive subjectivity is constituted by these practitioners. Further, the activity of the participants was itself seen to be oriented towards reshaping subjectivities more generally within Mumbai and Shanghai, including through a process of suture, by which head and hand, control and execution, the everyday life of the reproductive domain and the content of productive output would be brought into unity.

Chapter 7 focused especially on the in-between status of the transcultural intermediary, and found a complex interweaving of intermediate positions in terms of class, production circuits, and culture. This further answered the research question by showing how the spatial element – and so the international or transcultural contexts of the trajectory researched – articulated with class position and the subject-object relation in the development of productive subjectivity. Chapter 8 was then in a position to focus on how the educational context of London had prepared for this productive activity. This helped to show just how much the development of subjectivity itself was the target of that education, and the means to industrially organise the subjective practices. This is an important element of the externalising and internalising process that the subjects are found to engage in, in so far as it highlights the degree to which productive subjectivity is already differentially inscribed within the spaces the participants move between: learned engagement with this space specifically in terms of its variegation is a central aspect of the key findings of the research. Engagement with the spaces of reproduction in London, in distinction from those of Mumbai and Shanghai, is at the heart of the participants' learning. These were seen to be processes internal to the subject, but also of its reproduction in the everyday life of the city. Further, the specific form of subjectivity developed is one able to participate in the production of other subjects in turn.

To answer the main research question in the form of a short description of a process, the international travel of the alums can be considered first as a physical movement back and forth to and from a less to a more economically highly developed location. This includes increased division of labour, capital concentration and centralisation; increased predominance of service industries, including cultural; a higher proportion of more complex labour; and increased labour commodification; but also, subjective factors of labour associated with this in leading sectors, such as flexibility and autonomy. It also includes infrastructure – including museums and galleries, the infrastructure of culture – , and the consumption practices associated with that productivity, including retail and culture industry goods and services, as well as the socially prevalent education itself associated with that higher productivity.

The above considerations feature in the participants' accounts, though often in less objective terms. For the subjects encounter that difference as lived experience, including

in highly affective ways. They talk, for instance, of having developed a new self-understanding through an overlaying of cultural perspectives, but also, on return, of experiencing a sense of lack. Their discourse of disjuncture, however, presents it as a gap which can be filled, and which it is their personal project to suture or bridge – as a gap both within themselves individually, and within the social context: their own sense of discomfort, but also a deficiency it reflects in the wider society. To close this gap is to suture the national subject. And indeed, this very disjuncture, however uncomfortably felt, is managed, through practices of the self learned in London, as a source within the subject of the alums' productivity: the ability to participate in the production and intermediation of cultural content.

Thus objective factors based in the difference in degrees of development of productive forces and extent of the expansion and social penetration of capital and commodification in different locations (UK compared to Mumbai or Shanghai) form the basis for the alums' productive subjectivity, or capacity to produce as subjects. This capacity is one specifically able to contribute to the production of other subjects in turn: to participate in the production of a sutured, or whole, national subject. To turn these objective factors into a source of productivity requires specific capacities of these practitioners, which they identify as having learned in London. They must learn to manage unevenness in terms of subjective experience and to organise that experience and the emotional charge within it in accountable ways. They must trace a path from everyday life, to inwardness, to outcome, reproduction to production, able to demonstrate continuity of ownership: to bestow property rights.

The subjective terms of this experience are discussed by the participants as non-contemporaneity: differences in degrees of self-becoming between different places (London as compared Mumbai or Shanghai), but also a non-contemporaneity to itself of the place of application (Mumbai or Shanghai). Very frequently directly temporal phrases are used such as that the city of application (Mumbai or Shanghai) is 'not yet' in actuality what it is in essence or potential, or is out of step with itself. Their own capacity to productively inhabit this gap in order to remedy it, the subjects attribute to their education.

The thesis shows, then, and to sum up the process discussed above, the following answer to the research question:

> The traversal of uneven and combined space allows subjects to access a potentiality for productive subjectivity arising from that unevenness and combination itself, managed in subjective terms as relations between differing temporalities. The capacities underlying this self-management are developed through engagement with value producing activities concentrated within sectors of the most capitalistically advanced economies which target subjectivity itself, and the spaces of reproduction of subjects formed for that, including education and everyday life.

The nature of the unevenness and combination displayed demonstrates a spatial distribution of alienated subjectivity; the engagement with it by the interviewees, a re-internalisation; the process as a whole, a space-producing social metabolism of subject and object through and for valorisation. It is because objective social world space is already alienated subjectivity that it is susceptible to re-subjectivation through educational mobility. However, since the process remains governed by the rule of value, the emancipatory potential which re-subjectification presents ultimately manifests as the deepening and extension of alienation. The concrete forms of this process display much variety, informative in itself, but the consistency with which they repeat the pattern suggests that it is a fundamental aspect of educational migration for labour in the culture industry.

The thesis as a whole draws on a variety of secondary sources on space, time, subjectivity and the nature of work, for instance. However, the relation between these factors is not found in that work, and is an essential part of the contribution to knowledge. I do not develop a new notion of subjectivity as the product of internalisation and externalisation, for instance, which I take from Georg Hegel (2018). I do, however, demonstrate how this produces new sources of value from a world space already unevenly formed by the historical expansion of capital. Similarly, the model represented in Figures 9.2a-e describes the findings concerning the relationship between subjectivity and world space. Much of the understanding of key concepts comes from the secondary literature discussed throughout the thesis. However, the model synthesises this knowledge on the basis of the accounts of the interviewees concerning the spatial terms of their own self-constitution as productive subjects, producing a new historical materialist account of the production of subjectivity in the culture industry.

The research identified the key educational elements argued by participants to have made their trajectory possible, that is, to constitute the production of creative subjectivity. The education is said to:

- de- and reconstruct the subject, or 'break[…] the mind' (M12);
- enable an autonomous but also organised relation to subjective data;
- train the subject to objectify itself (trace the sources of its ideas back to its own interiority or to everyday life) in accountable steps, and lead others in the same path.

Here 'subjective data' includes both direct sensory experience, affect and features of individuality or character, but also the experiences and practices of everyday life. Participants identify with specific *methodological* approaches to accessing such data, organising it, and producing content demonstrably originating in those subjective domains, and so accountably novel: innovative. The accountability in question here means, however, not merely demonstrability, but also marketability. In this sense the education produces copyright-ready creativity, proprietary subjective content. The alums identify these pedagogical outcomes with London educational practice in distinction from higher education in India and China. Further, there is a certain infectiousness in this productive subjectivity: the role they see for themselves is one of suturing, or rendering whole, the *national* subject, forming a national subject, too, able to trace that same, accountable path as they themselves, from inspiration to design, head to hand, control to execution.

Significantly, the alums insist that their learning has not only or even primarily been within the classroom and studio, but has been effected in a wide variety of spaces and times of daily life: in London's streets, museums and galleries, and domestic spaces; in interacting with fellow students as well as tutors, but also with the city's professionals and ordinary people; and while working and at leisure as well as formally studying. This spatio-temporal setting is an essential element of the learning, with its content life itself. It is distinguished from the learning identified within the home countries, which is felt to be limited to skills. The comparison of home and London education made by participants suggests that there is a greater development of subjective involvement in the London-based education, in the form of autonomy. The organisation of sensory experience and the spatio-temporal opening out of the locus of application are closely associated with the international division of labour from the southern locations, where education is more skills-directed.

9.3. Unevenness and temporality

As Doreen Massey (1993: 38) demonstrated within the UK, the division of labour is never only a separation of tasks, but always also their spatial distribution. Technically, it requires division within a workshop, in which the varied temporalities of different processes are separated out for efficiency, and yet coordinated in a syncopated rhythm (see Tombazos 2014: 109). Production in relation to the time of abstract labour is at the heart of the way in which the alums reflect on their own trajectories, distributed not only around the workshop, but the entire social space. They do not put it in these terms, but what they do say is incomprehensible without them, for their trajectories are projected specifically between the differing spaces of the international division of labour, and in order to release potentialities from those differences – the 'soul' that 'started in India', for example, but universalised itself internationally (Chapter 6).

Already, in any process of commodification, two temporalities emerge: the time of concrete labour as use value, and that of abstract labour (Chapter 2). This division, prior to capitalism itself, is at the basis of abstraction as such, contemporaneous with the first division of mental and manual labour, including the abstraction of geometry as a domain of mental practice separated from direct embedding in manual labour (Sohn-Rethel 2021 [1978]) – a fundamental factor in the production of space (Lefebvre 2000 [1974]). But it is only once commodification has taken hold of the labour process, under capitalism proper, that not only is all production evaluated according to the same abstract temporality, but it is also organised on its terms, including in both its social and technical but also spatial distribution. For it is the need to reduce labour costs, in the form of necessary labour time, which compels capital to continually fragment labour processes, deskilling some labour through automation and socialisation at the same time as reskilling other units responsible for the scientific development and control of that automation and socialisation. But it is the same competitive drive to reduce the labour quotient which compels mobile capital to *distribute* that labour most favourably, relatively to local labour costs and subjectivity (e.g. Iñigo Carrera 2016; Starosta 2016b; also Burawoy 1985, Herod 2001, Silver 2003, where labour agency is emphasised). And it is abstract universal time, by rendering different locations commensurable, which *combines*, and in doing so, differentiates. Massimo Tomba (2013: xii) has distinguished these two processes as joint tendencies towards both 'spatialisation of time', whereby time becomes flattened and unified as a *measure*, and at the same time 'temporalisation of space', as space, *through* that measure, becomes differentiated according to degrees of productivity. It is this process of the fragmentation of labour processes and subjectivity at the same time as universalisation of their coordination which constitutes the specifically capitalist nature of uneven and combined development – the same process which produces space itself through the division of labour (on the New International Division of Labour: Fröbel et al 1980; Charnock and Starosta 2016; Taylor 2008; also Massey 1995).

And it is the specific contradictions which arise from that which the participants put to work in the subjective form of a contradiction, or sense of disjuncture, managed as a source of affect, itself a concrete quality of their labour. For the participants specifically identify the experience of difference and the feelings it provokes as the basis of their own productivity. Concepts such as 'missing London' take on positive content as the subjective drive within labour power.

This possibility arises in part due to another feature of the non-contemporaneity participants raise: *both* a difference in temporality between the southern and northern locations – a behindness – but *also* a non-contemporaneity of the southern space, conceived as a national subject, with itself. The subject's own yearning then matches a need and potential within the city of application to become itself. At one level, this is simply the expression of the *combined* form which uneven development takes: since there is at once a co-presence (created by value's abstract commensuration, which spatialises time) and a differentiation, any space which appears as backward is nevertheless also in

the forward time – as Leon Trotsky (2008: 4 [1932]) argued, subject under capitalism to the 'universality and permanence of man's [*sic*] development'.[1]

However, this non-self-contemporaneity manifests in deeply subjective ways, even as it describes features of economic development at the macro scale. Thus, for instance, associated with a division of labour felt to be underdeveloped, art and life are said by participants to be insufficiently integrated. Design and manufacture, intellectual and manual labour, are seen as too fused. Design looks for inspiration, not to life, and the inwardness of the designer, as in the UK, but to products, the already objectified, frozen subjectivity of the other. The division of labour involves separating the processes of conception in its principles and processes under the control of a specific class of workers from those of manufacture (e.g. Braverman 1998 [1974]; Sohn-Rethel 2021 [1978]). In the account of alums, in the southern cities studied there is no route from everyday life, experience, and interiority to design outcomes which can accountably suture short circuits: design principles and their application, that is, lack autonomy from their manual application. For art and design to be integrated with life, in this picture, requires separating artistic conception from manual execution such that its products come from the subject's everyday, individual experience and interiority rather than production itself.

9.4. Biopolitical production

The possibility of inserting the self in this way into production is not something which could pertain to just any kind of labour: it is the specifically subjective content of the use value of the work that the participants do which enables that work to make, of affective content such as missing, something positive, rather than a form of distraction from the work or an extra subjective cost to the worker beyond the simple labour expense. This is in large part due to the nature of the industry itself. The creative labour the participants engage in within the culture industry involves an investment of subjectivity in which the affective charge to which they refer forms an essential part of the content: a sense of engagement, yearning, and need, for instance, a response to the experiential qualities of everyday life both as they are, but also as they could be. It is this quality of the work which suggests concepts not only such as 'passionate labour' (McRobbie 2013: 172), but also 'biopolitical production' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 401), as the industrialised production of subjectivity itself.

The advantage of the concept of biopolitical production lies in its recognition of specific ways that the subject is involved in contemporary processes of production as capital has expanded ever further into social processes, including everyday life itself and its political as well as cultural and inner experiential aspects. As discussed in Chapter 2, that includes, for instance, design work seeking to engage users, the work of the cultural intermediary, who helps to add meaning to consumption goods, such that the meaning is part of the content sold. This is evidently essential work of the cultural industries.

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's (2000) autonomist approach is recognised, along with the cognitive capitalism approach it influenced (e.g. Moulier Boutang 2004), as one of the first detailed Marxian approaches to develop a systematic analysis of the new forms of knowledge-intensive but also aesthetically rich labour which emerged around the time of the crisis of the Fordist model. Heesang Jeon (2010: 90) calls the cognitive capitalist approach 'one of the few, if not the only, leftist accounts of contemporary capitalism from a viewpoint of knowledge and/or technology.' This labour was characteristically highly skilled work conducted in relatively horizontal project-based teams or networks,

[1] As stated in previous chapters, '*sic*' is used here to distance from outdated language use without entering debate about whether the source is an individual author, translator, or structure.

requiring strong personal investment in outcomes, and was widely recognised as new (e.g. Castells 2010 [1996]). However, as discussed in Chapter 2, the application of the concept of biopolitical production and the approach by autonomist and cognitive capitalism approaches has rightly been criticised within Marxist scholarship. The most essential critiques have been on the basis less of the concept itself than its significant over-extension – both as a labour segment (very high skilled complex labour) and in terms of the geographical locations where that segment predominates (far more in western advanced economies than elsewhere). Further, incisive critiques from value theory perspectives (Fine et al 2010; Jeon 2010; Starosta et al 2024) have rightly critiqued the argument within the scholarship (Hardt and Negri 2000; Moulier Boutang 2004) that biopolitical production would be outside of value on the basis, the argument goes, that value production, being taken into everyday life itself and the inner processes of labouring subjects, departs from the constraints of abstract labour time.

The evidence in the empirical chapters suggests that the concept of biopolitical production has utility, but must incorporate these critiques. Biopolitical production must be taken to name, I argue, not a new post-industrial kind of capitalism, but rather one process among many in a spatially distributed systematic interaction. This activity is typical of some of the most profitable capital, leading labour value chains, but downstream, at the less profitable ends, manufacturing and other forms of simple labour endure. Further, biopolitical production is not autonomous from abstract labour time, but frequently constitutes the means of extracting greater value from manufacturing elsewhere in the same labour value chain. In terms from Marx (1976: 134), this can be considered an 'intensification' (Jeon 2010: 107; also Starosta et al 2024) of value production elsewhere in a way equivalent to added knowledge inputs to a production process through mechanisation. To take the example of the alums designing fashion items to be produced by more simple manual labour down chain: in a way akin to mechanisation, their design increases the value productivity of that simple labour. Similarly, the labour involved is frequently less clearly spatio-temporally bounded from everyday life by the workshop wall or time clock, since it needs to access life's cultural and experiential content for valorisation (participants mention inspiration, identity, and atmosphere, for instance). However, it is not outside of measure: China has seen demonstrations and legislation constituting something of a 'factory acts' (see Marx 1976: 599-610) of cognitive labour, with demonstrations (Kuo 2019) followed by eventual legislation (Zhang 2021) putting a limit to '996' culture (working nine am. to nine pm., six days per week). Relatedly, alums speak of the time constraint limiting their creative engagement and so job satisfaction – factors of alienation.

Chapter 5 acknowledged the influence of the work of Ali Shamsavari (1991) in developing a methodology sensitive to the interrelation between historical development and categorical structural relations in Marxist research, which I applied there to the category of labour (also Chapter 7). The model also helps navigate Hardt and Negri's (2000) over-extension of biopolitical production. On the one hand, multiple forms of labour which are not categorizable in their processes as predominantly communicative, subjectively involving or informationally networked endure alongside other forms which are. Thus, since its emergence in the post-Fordist period, biopolitical production is one form of labour *alongside* others. This may be less apparent in Hardt and Negri's (2000) Europe than in the Mumbai and Shanghai contexts of my research, in which I have discussed the context of work alongside craft as well as factory manufacture and informal labour, for instance.

On the other hand, there is no domain of labour which is not internally affected by increased communicative and subjective inputs. In that sense, we must consider 'biopolitical production' also in a universal sense: certainly the notion that it seeks to breach the spatio-temporal boundaries between work and reproduction supports that. One

can give the example of India's recent farmers' protests (see Chapter 4). The peasant protesters, for instance, work in enduring historical ways which are by no means in themselves biopolitical production, but a concrete form alongside the kind of work done by the interviewees. However, the new laws threatened their livelihoods through informationalisation and communicative, or highly subjectively rich forms of capitalism: their ire against Reliance corporation stemmed from recognition that the company would expropriate them by means of its platform based communications, allowing it to involve the subjectivity of its consumers themselves as infrastructure, achieving control, as it tells its shareholders, 'from farm to fork' (Reliance 2020: 39). That is, biopolitical production was indeed taking hold of their work processes at a more general level. The kind of significance of the contrasts which arise from this unevenness can be seen in the application of her London PR degree made by M18, whose work includes producing counter-insurgent social media propaganda to deter participation in the ongoing armed Maoist agrarian uprising in India's 'Red Corridor' centred around Naxalbari (see D'Mello 2018, Roy 2011 for sympathetic accounts, and Kak 2013 for a powerful documentary feature), an application inconceivable in the UK itself. For the participants identify the work they do as *generally* transformative of the multiple other forms of work they consider both historically surpassed and insufficiently universal: M18 believes that her online propaganda will help to encourage the inhabitants of the Red Corridor to turn from Naxalism and welcome the building of roads and other infrastructure (though one must add violent dispossession and mineral extractivism) typical of more developed locations. The work they do as they see it proves to be *both* one form amongst others, and yet *also* self-consciously transforming the others, in a process which *both* leaves those historical forms as it finds them *and* involves them in their self-transcendence: M20's abstracted representations of the daily activities of street workers both raises them to the level of the universal discourse of modernity– *and* affirms their endurance as – as M20 puts it (Chapter 8): 'Form + Function + Culture'.

9.5. Space and the subject-object dialectic

Franco Moretti's (1998, 2005) groundbreaking literary geography has shown the utility of diagrammatic representations, including to map the movement of subjects across space so as to reveal the relation of forces encoded within it. I make use of them for a related purpose of mapping dynamic and spatialised relations of subject and object – though non-fictional – below. Like Moretti, I am also influenced by Pierre Bourdieu (1977: 11) in this, who, though he did not develop a framework to address production relations (see Chapter 2), demonstrated the utility of diagrams to map social space as an objectification of class relations. Bourdieu also thereby revealed – though only implicitly – the spatialised function of the intermediary moving between what he considered the spaces of economic and cultural production. Though the value of diagrams in the sciences (Ambrosio 2020) and humanities (Goodwin 2011: xi) has long been contested, Charles Peirce (1906: 495-497) showed their worth to lie in their inherently *plural* semiotic form. They are firstly iconic, in that the relations between elements reproduce relations in the world (e.g. the circle in diagram 9b below projects the planetary profile), but they are also symbolic, or conventional (I use, for instance, arrows and words), and they are indexical, in the sense of having a causal connection in extension itself (their placement within the flow of text represents their relevance by *proximity*, but they are also something of a worlding, or putting into more overt extension, of the sense of the verbal text). Margaret Morrison and Mary Morgan (1999: 35) attribute to this multimodality a *mediational* function of diagrams: they are neither quite the same as the flow of word-based ideas, nor

quite in the material form of the objects in the world, but share something of both, and something else again, which allows them to come between. This is an inherently *dialectical* relation (see Chapters 3 and 5, particularly on the plough as tool). Indeed, Norton Wise (2006: 79) suggests diagrams challenge 'The dichotomies of doing versus thinking, crafts person versus creator of ideas, and body versus mind (or the senses versus the intellect)'.[2] Since diagrams 9a-e specifically pertain to a critique of the division of labour, this gives a further ground for their use. They do not replace the word-based argument, but draw out and attend to the specifically spatio-temporal elements of the subject-object relation in schematic form – in this, developing from Chapter 2's Figure 2.3, which presented together the circuit of industrial capital and the realm of reproduction. Picking up key themes of the thesis, they represent the value relation and its place in the division of labour as a division in the subject itself, and its spatialisation at world scale (Chapters 3-4), but also how subjects engage with this terrain, to re-internalise the dynamic force of its unevenness as a source of new value in turn (Chapters 6-8). They constitute a schematic representation, then, of social metabolism, and, specifically, the mobile intermediary within this.

In a schematic way, the top of the diagrams, marked 'conception', reflects activity dominant in the rich economies of the global North such as London, from cultural industries to multinational headquarters and international financial services; the bottom, the developing economies of the South, such as China and India, as described and engaged with by alums, where manual labour, for instance, remains more dominant (see Chapter 4). The model represents the generative matrix (Chapter 3) for the alums' self-production as creative subjects, and thus an answer to the main research question.

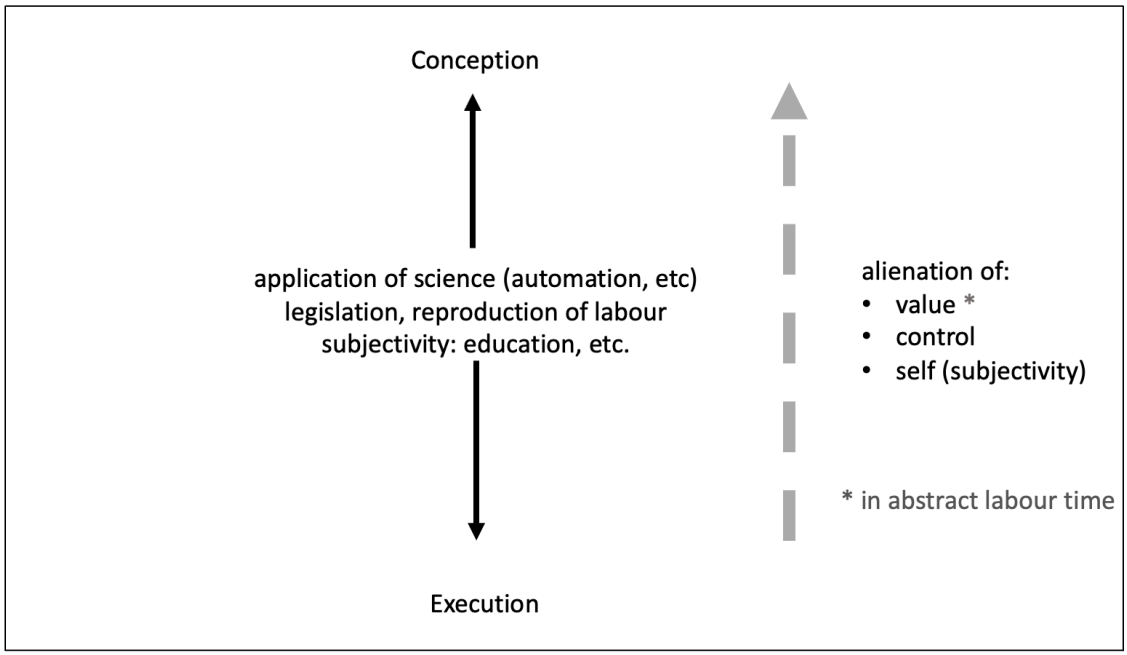


Figure 9.a. Separation of conception and execution.

The process of commodification involves the separation of conception from execution, represented by the two opposed black arrows, up and down. Under the need to increase

[2] Indeed, Jacques Lacan's (e.g. 1973: 680; 2001: 132) frequent recourse to diagrammatic illustrations of the structure of the decentred subject challenge, by their resistance to verbalisation, his own linguistic reductionism.

profits by increasing productivity and control, capital has recourse to the application of science, such as through automation processes which wrest tacit knowledge and skills from the majority of manual workers to embody them in machines (e.g. Braverman (1998 [1974]). This also tends to require legislation, such as limitations over the length of the working day (which compels automation), and involves the production of worker subjectivity such as that of the trained and disciplined manual worker (e.g. Gramsci 1971: 286), and the first 'free' proletarian subjectivity. These features thus appear between the opposing black vertical arrows. This is a process of alienation, represented by a single dashed vertical upward arrow: alienation not only of the products of labour, but also worker subjectivity, and control over the process, which passes to the capitalist. It is also the process by which abstract labour time is constituted from concrete labour (Marx 1976), featuring as value. The spatial properties of the diagram show the production of space, which already occurs at the earliest stages of capitalism proper, not only with new forms of architecture such as the factory, but also urban forms such as mill towns and vast working class urban quarters. Thus, value extraction is central to the production of space as the alienating fragmentation of subjectivity.

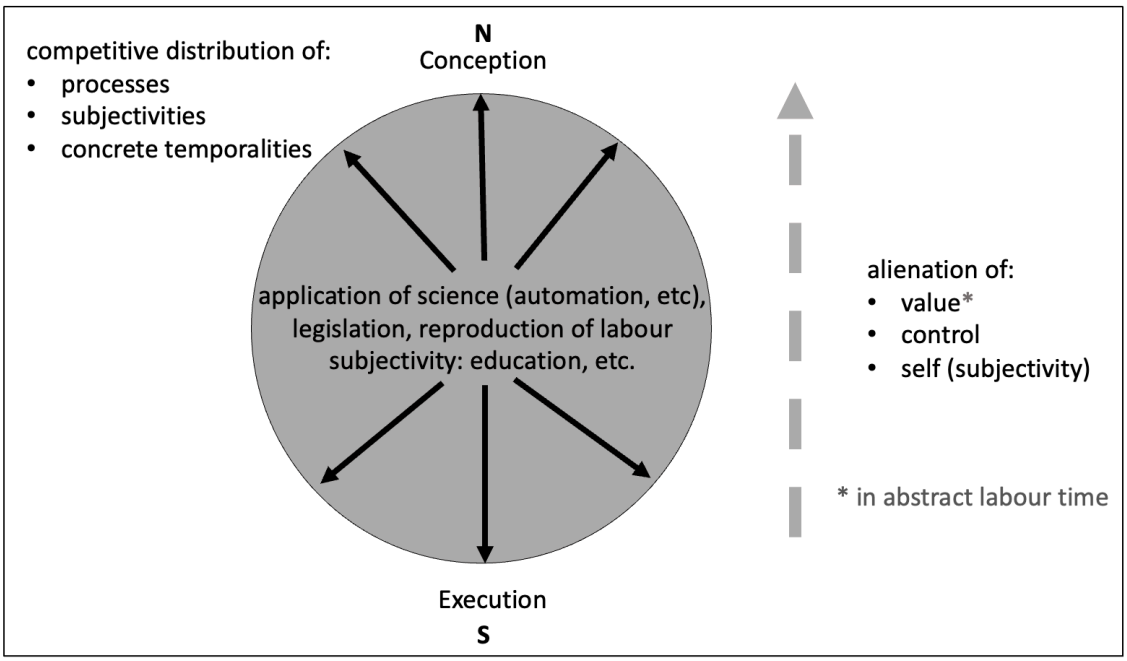


Figure 9.b. The (new) international division of labour and the production of space.

As the whip of competition endures, so, too, automation extends, increasingly disaggregating labour subjectivity, including internationally (9.b), with world space represented by a circle. Along with deskilling, reskilling also occurs, with new classes of proletarianized intellectual worker emerging. The resultant international division of labour also distributes the kind of worker required for the various processes. Thus, the opposed up and down arrows take varied directions. This of course requires new and more complex legislation controlling trade, intellectual property protection, migration, and capital flows. This is the stage of the Classical and then New International Division of Labour (Fröbel et al 1978). Detailed pictures can be glimpsed in labour regime analysis and related approaches (Pun 2015, Mezzzadri 2017), which explore a variety of factors such as legislation and wage rates, but also specific cultural and social factors constituting localised subjectivities affecting the movement of capital. The subjectivities of the interview participants sit alongside these. These in various ways also constitute different concrete temporalities: different actual average rates of production reduced to the same

abstract measure in the differentiation process by which capital determines its locations, for instance, but also potentially different regimes of accumulation, such as home piece work or plant based machinofacture. The close structuring of participant discourse in terms of multiple temporalities, articulating with aspects of the international division of labour, demonstrates the currency of such processes into the present.

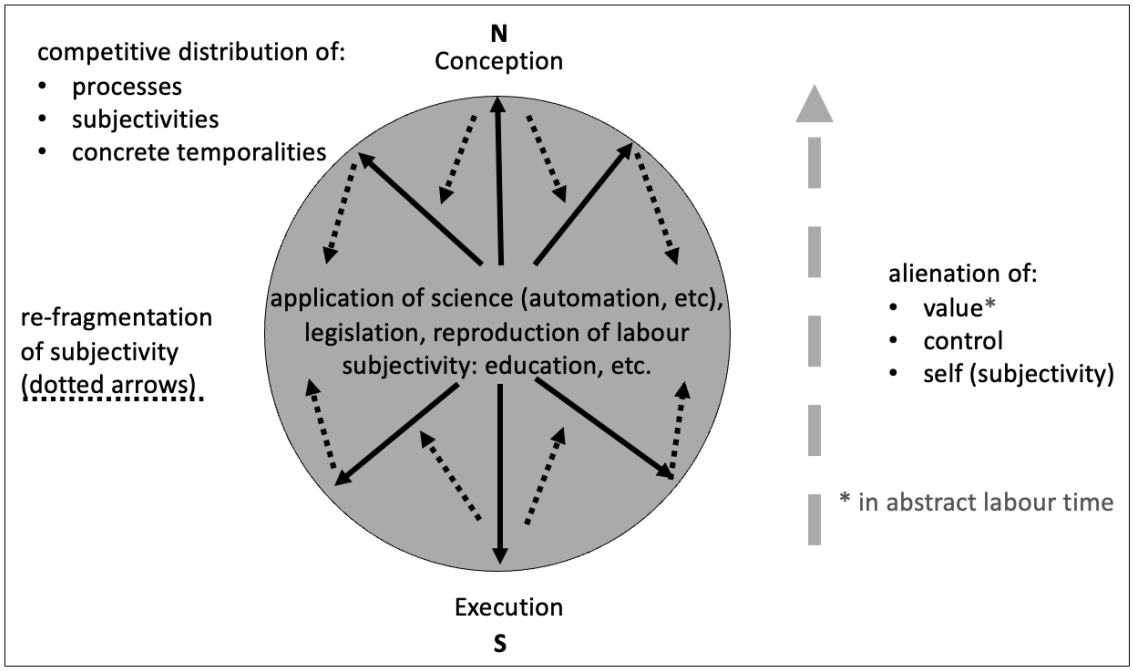


Figure 9.c. Re-fragmentation.

Re-fragmentation of processes and labour subjectivity extends (9.c), as labour deskilling takes hold of processes once associated with intellectual labour, and takes advantage of cheap but relatively skilled labour internationally. An example would be business processes offshoring to locations like Bangalore or games illustration in China managed by S25 (Chapter 8), but also many the returnee fashion designers. Thus, the up and down arrows double back on themselves in dotted arrows to show re-fragmentation; for instance, arrows from the top, showing 'conception' re-descend, as mental labour is itself automated. On the other hand, in Southern locations, labour segmentation involves upskilling of some workers (Chapter 4). This produces the mixed space by which the highly skilled interviewees work alongside high levels of heavily proletarianized workers (Chapters 6-8).

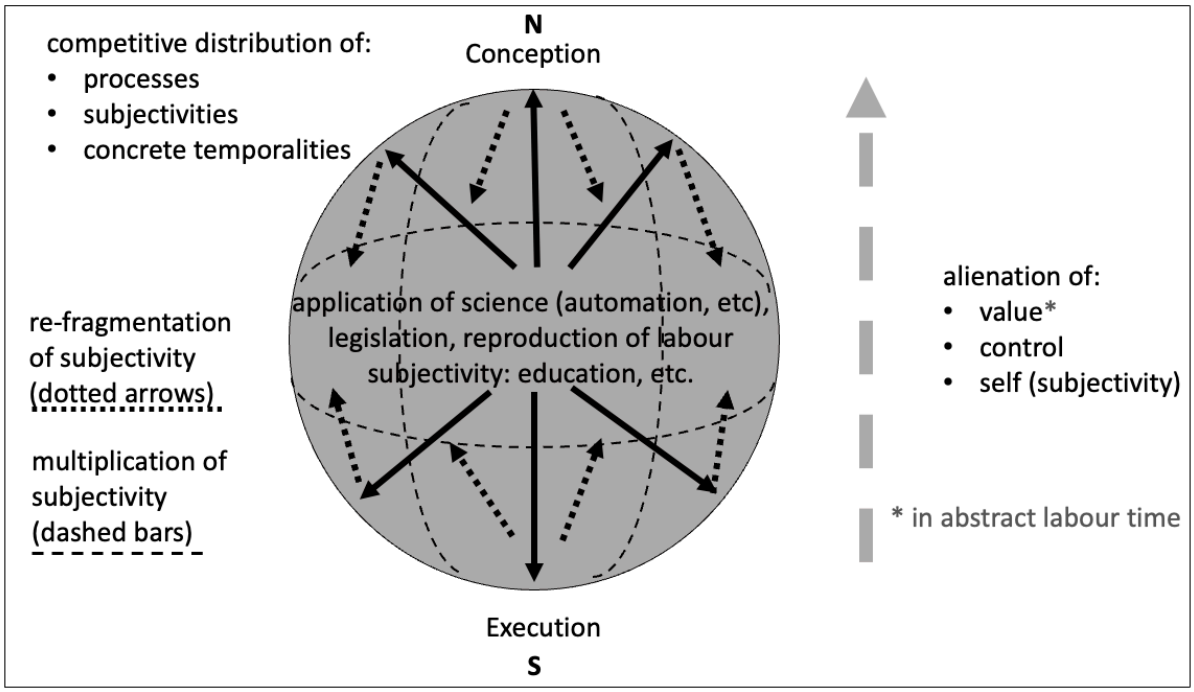


Figure 9.d. Multiplication.

The development of an increasingly universalised space of production modulating differentiation also re-encodes pre-capitalist differences such as gender, race and ethnicity to produce interlocking regimes in close interdependence despite significant differences of organisation and experience. 9.d shows the 'multiplication' of labour (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013: 122), in which these differences of race, gender and nationality, for example, are overlaid onto this already spatio-temporally complex space to differentially incorporate subjects. The model shows the emergence of the variegated world space of processes and temporalities, but also labouring subjectivities through which the participants move, and to which their mobility contributes. Dashed lines thus grid the world space to show multiple bordering processes constituted not simply by actual physical boundaries, but also internalised and embodied forms such as culture and race in their interaction with gender. The interplay of raced and gendered processes with participants' dynamic search for relative freedoms demonstrates the reality of the complexly bordered global space as the terrain of participants' trajectories.

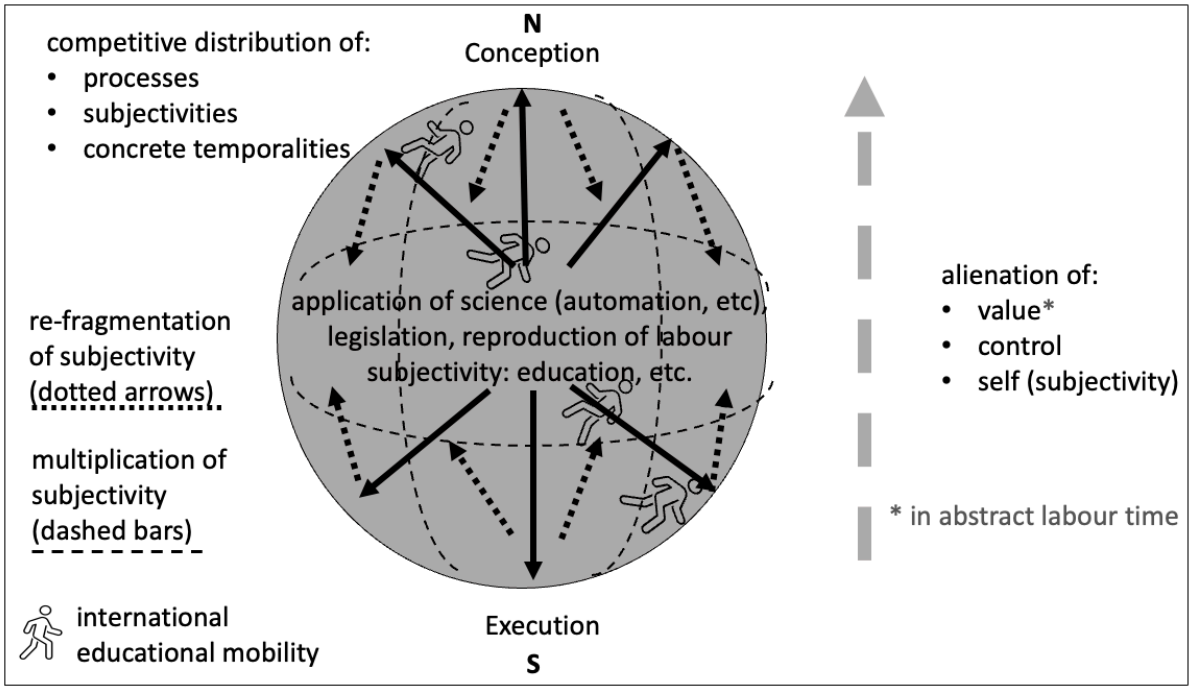


Figure 9.e. Mobility through the variegated world space of capital.

9.e represents mobility by southern subjects to the northern spaces of production and reproduction, and their return: the participants in this research, represented by images of people in movement. The central place given to mobile labour subjectivity in the diagram recognises that capital's production of space is not only a matter of hard infrastructure, but is a response to, and shaping of, the subjective content of that space in the form of the attributes of segments of workers: capital moves in search of specific types of worker for specific tasks, and, as it does so, in conditions always of struggle or worker agency (Chapter 8), produces as well as reproduces requisite subjectivities. And of course that affects workers not only in production, but also reproduction. As capital organises the distribution of the fragmented subject of production, it necessarily also informs the production of the spaces of reproduction. It is for this reason that alums are often seen to be specifically targeted by developmental bodies seeking to attract high-value capital by their participation in the development of the space of reproduction (Chapters 4, 6 and 8).

As the alums move through these spaces, they seek to create themselves as subjects productive for capital. The representation helps to demonstrate the interplay between spatial distribution and the division of labour, and the role of value within that. It thereby helps to show the connection between the failure in accounts by those like McRobbie (2016) and Hardt and Negri (2000) to consider labour segmentation and stratification, on the one hand, and to address spatial complexity on the other, and shows the axial role of the labour theory of value in connecting the two – the dashed grey vertical arrow.

The quality that alums develop is the ability to traverse the uneven terrain illustrated in such a way as to develop a specific productive subjectivity. This is one capable of bringing the high-value-adding biopolitical production, creative labour in culture industries, into southern spaces which they themselves identify as being, at the moment, ill-suited to them, or suited only to the degree that they are apt for alteration. The aim of the thesis has been the identification and elaboration of this specific relation between subjectivity and objective developments productive of social space, and the educational context described as making that relation possible. As argued in the thesis, existing theory on creative labour tends most frequently to either overgeneralise the category (e.g. Hardt and Negri 2000), or fail to consider its relation to other forms of labour (e.g. McRobbie 2016), as well as largely ignoring spatial factors. Where spatial factors are addressed

(Dickinson 2024, Miller et al 2005), this tends to involve costs of production alone, or other conditions of a directly economic sort, such as degrees of precarity, rather than the concrete content of labour inputs such as those addressed here.[3] The present research has demonstrated that the division of labour and spatialisation must be answered together by considering uneven and combined development, and the advantage of the dialectical concept of social metabolism as internalisation and externalisation of the subject.

The participants also present themselves as helping to shrink the difference between the UK and their locations of application in degrees of division of labour and commodification and capital penetration. This implies that the content of their education, in terms of outcomes, has tended towards capital expansion, including through further commodification of the social world and individual psyche (a factor of biopolitical production: Chapter 2). Indeed, when identifying aspects of criticality within their education, though they do speak at times of challenging relations around gender, race and ethnicity, participants tend not to consider challenging the fundamental social organisation of production for value. Rather, criticality is frequently presented as making selections among given alternatives, such as those defined by a design brief. Complexly intertwined with the issues above, it is also found that the most common class position of the participants is among the intermediate or middle classes. This means that, even when producing as waged workers, there is no evidence of working class identities or forms of organisation. This is strongly associated with the identification with the project of increasing division of labour. While the diagram represents in simplified form the complex fields of labour, the plurally intermediate status of the interviewees as cultural intermediaries is represented as they engage across and between the poles of subject and object, control and execution, and the cultural difference of North and South.

The great number of interrelated in-between, bridge, or mediating positions of the intermediary identified in the empirical chapters is typically missed by culture-economy and related approaches (du Gay, Hall et al 1992, Smith Maguire and Matthews 2012, 2014), as well as the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1979) (Chapters 2 and 3). As the diagrams help to illustrate, the interplay of these in-between statuses arises not from coincidence, but from the nature of the social production of space through the subject-object metabolism under conditions of uneven and combined development. The participant discourse mixes bridging, or suturing, of temporalities, cultures, social levels and moments in the circuit of capital, for instance, but also of a gap in the self. This demonstrates the need for an analytical framework, as developed here, able to integrate macro and micro, objective and subjective factors – recognising, for instance, that reproduction is already an aspect of production: the production of productive subjectivity. Transcultural intermediation reveals itself as a position at the heart of the expansionary circuits of capital, and, at the same time, a response emerges to the research question concerning how these participants construct themselves as productive subjects, as subjects able to suture this perceived gap in the national self.

The diagrammatic illustration of the distribution of subjectivity models not only the multiplication of labour, but also its alienation, the fragmented status which ties it to capital, unable independently to produce the conditions of its existence, and renders capital itself the subject. However, the active role in seeking to shape the geographies of labour processes exhibited by alums does demonstrate that the dialectic works both ways: that the shaping of the variegated world space of productivity responds not only to capital's needs – which dominate –, but also the shaping strategies of labour, albeit a sufficiently privileged labour segment to engage in highly cosmopolitan educational self-fashioning. As highlighted in Chapter 3, the theory of uneven and combined development in its fullest form (Trotsky 2008) is grounded in an engagement with Marx's (2010

[3] Fuller reference lists feature in the relevant background chapters.

Economic) debt to Hegel's (1977; 2008; 2018) dialectic, constituting a systematic understanding not only of historical, but also individual development, and not only the relation between geographical locations, but also that between subjective interiority and the social whole.

For a model of subjectivity itself, the thesis has supplemented Marxist theory with a critical engagement with the work of Hegel (2018, particularly) and Sigmund Freud (e.g. 1964), worth returning to in light of diagrams 9.a-e and in illustration of the interplay of subjective and objective factors which it proposes. In the work of Hegel (2018), like Freud, the subject emerges as a complex whole internally differentiated by functions (Freud) or moments (Hegel). These include in Hegel drives, on the one hand, and on the other a universal conscience equivalent to Freud's superego in potential conflict (opposition or contradiction) with both those drives and the individual consciousness (ego). Unlike Freud, that differentiation in Hegel's (2018: e.g. 426, §742) work is not only internal to individual subjects, but also socially distributed, and for that reason historically contingent (as implied by the dialectical concept of 'moment', in which, for example, conscience can only in a generalistic way be likened to superego, since not only does it historically alter in itself, but also as it is functionally distributed among differently situated individuals socially). Notable factors Hegel (2018: 275, §474; 113, §189; 234, §419) considers include gender, in which different relations between drives and reason between gendered positions may distribute what might be called a social division of psychic function, and social class in terms of the differing relation of master and servant to the phenomenal world of objects, or the various estates. It is this element by which the subject is fragmented through society which enables Marx to develop from Hegel a theory of alienation able to explain the relation of economy to subjectivity. Though Marx focused less on the subject and its inwardness than Hegel, there is a suggestive parallel allowing the productive synthesis at play in the diagrams.

Freud himself describes the structure of the psyche in topographical terms (1964: 78 [1933]) remarkably systematically reflecting an external objective space. The functions are 'regions, provinces', for instance, of a 'country with a landscape', (1964: 72) 'foreign' (1964: 57) areas, and even areas which are the source of energy and others the locus of control. This is suggestive of the spatial division between extractive and service industries, with the former portrayed in his model as being less historically developed, taking the forms and content of onto- but also phylogenetically prior stages. However, his methodological individualism prohibited his developing this beyond metaphor. Franz Fanon (1953: 133) recognises some actual spatial distribution in Freud's psychic processes, in the form of peripheral identifications with metropolitan identities, such that racialised subjects are, in abusive stereotypes, attributed the role of the id, and white subjects the rationality of the ego or superego. However, since he fails to consider the interplay with the role of the (international) division of labour, Fanon's account remains at the level of cultural effects rather than causal explanations of those stereotypes, in the production relations they would seek to naturalise. Figures 9.a-e help to illustrate how internalisation and externalisation, including through self- and other-racializing projection and identification (dashed bars), interact with class processes in the production of identities.

Thus, the empirical chapters have demonstrated that the world space which the participants traverse is not simply an inert externality, but is already constituted as the fragmented and distributed subject of capital in contradiction with labour seeking emancipation, such that its traversal is amenable to re-internalisation in the production of new subjects. The research demonstrates that the participants talk of that world space in terms including a division of labour which is profoundly embodied and affects the perceived degrees of embodiment of the subject within itself. They refer to southern contexts, for example, as displaying less individually embodied subjectivities through

dress practices defined in terms of backwardness. At the same time, it demonstrates that they traverse that space in a learnt process of internalisation by which the mobile subject reconstitutes itself as able to intervene within the perceived backward space, to suture it, rendering it both more advanced and, thereby more wholly itself. But further, while in Hegelian terms alone, that might sound purely progressive, the historical materialist lens on value suggests the reverse is also the case. For the universalisation displayed in this process, driven by the subject's attempt at self-realisation, sadly plays, not into an identifiably emancipatory project as a whole, but rather the interests of capital in its own expansion into both the geographical peripheries, but also at the same time the new social and psychic domains which are the target of biopolitical production.

The concept of 'suture' in the context of the intermediary helps to make a contribution to the dialectics of uneven and combined development. The logic of suture, a negativity which is nonetheless positive, is deeply Hegelian. As Jean-Jacques Miller (1966: 46) put it in an article with much influence on film studies, suture in the subject-object relation is as zero to number, but zero with a specific positive content: it is a negativity which is also an excess between numbers, and from which quantity as meaningful difference emerges – the subject as the one that does not appear in the chain of numbers, but which counts – , a 'non-identical to itself'. But for Hegel, even at his most abstract, this negative-positive dynamism cannot be reduced to language alone (or number), as for Lacanians, but applies equally to material entities (see also Chapters 5 and 7). Of objects, Hegel (2010: 382, 11.286, italics in original) states: 'Something moves, not because now it is here and there at another now, but because in one and the same now it is here and not here', and he extends this from the most elementary particles ('the monad') to psychic content ('*drive* in general' 'the appetite or nisus') just as much as the dialectic of logical categories (fuller quote in Chapter 5). The Hegelian dialectic thus transcends the mechanistic dualism which tries to separate that logic from material process (and also of systematic Marxist dialectics, to the extent that they do: e.g. Arthur 2002 – see Chapter 5).

There is significant resonance of dialectical readings of suture with the discourse of the alums, who experience at once a lack and presence of London, for instance, and experience that lack at once as negative and positive. But further, the passage of that separation itself, as I have shown, is through a world-spanning economic system. This, at a high level of abstraction, is the logic by which lack of development in one national or regional setting will, under certain circumstances, become a positive force. This constitutes, then, an abstract expression of uneven and combined development, which I have shown nevertheless to play out between the macro level and the psyche of the individual labouring subject. The 'whip of external necessity' (Trotsky 2008: 5) is already also internal – nationally, but also subjectively.

9.6. Contribution to knowledge

This project has contributed to understanding the interrelation of subjective and objective processes as well as the individual and macro scales in relation to intermediation in cultural industry as a specifically dialectical location. I have shown how processes of internalisation and externalisation relate the subject internally to the social space at world scale, including by learned processes of introjection as well as commodification, lending its structuring vital dynamism. This dialectical approach gives the concept of 'biopolitical production' both concrete specificity and relation to the totality.

The thesis thus contributes to knowledge by explaining the interaction of subjective and objective factors articulating individual transnational educational mobility with political economic developments in relation to London as a location in the global North, and Mumbai and Shanghai in the South. It has investigated the reasons for international educational mobility and the content of learning as applied in the present, and it has

proposed the means of connecting this data, including in very subjective forms such as description of emotional states of lack and misrecognition, with developments at the macro scale.

The thesis contributes particularly:

- To **studies of labour in culture industry** through developing new ways of understanding productive subjectivity, particularly in transcultural contexts, and that of the intermediary;
- To **historical materialist accounts of international political economy** by developing an understanding of the dialectic of uneven and combined development at the subjective level among intermediate class positions internationally.

Throughout the thesis I have engaged with various fields of relevant literature. Key scholarship has identified how higher education in art and design produces flexible, entrepreneurial subjects able to meet the demands of neoliberal capital in the culture industry (McRobbie 2016), including in global value chains (Dickinson 2024). They have not, however, addressed the work of such subjects as a particular labour segment amongst others, which attention to social metabolism as a dialectic has allowed my study: I have addressed the work of transcultural intermediaries, in their own terms, as suturing the everyday and internal spaces of reproduction and those of production both for themselves, but also for a disjunctured, non-self-synchronous national subject identified by the participants as arising from objective contradictions. These I show to be those of uneven and combined development. This allows a fuller account of the relationship of developments in labour process in the cultural industries to those in the wider international political economy.

Further, although studies of international political economy (e.g. Allinson and Anievas 2010, Anievas 2014, Bieler and Morton 2018, Rosenberg 2013) and geo-historical materialism (Smith 2008 [1984], Rofl 2021) have well demonstrated the fruitfulness of uneven and combined development as a framework for addressing the dialectic of internal and external factors at the societal level nationally or regionally, they have not done so at the micro level of the individual subject, or embeddedness in the experience of inwardness and everyday life – a scalar articulation Neil Smith (2011: 261) has recognised as missing from his 1984 formulation in terms of both embodiment and reproduction. Kamran Matin (2013: 149, 2019: 442) is exceptional in considering subjectivity as such in contexts of uneven and combined development in Marxist international political economy of this sort (Chapter 6). Though important and illuminating work, however, the brief considerations of subjective factors remain rather at the societal level around juridico-political questions and nationalism, than that of individual lived experience adopted in my work. For this, I developed a novel approach to mixed methods, returning to Hegel particularly, and historical materialist readings of him, as well as Freud and Lacan, for a framework responsive to the dialectic of the social metabolism between the macro scale and the individual. The influence of both Hegel and Freud are underexplored influences on Trotsky's (1942, 1973 [1926], 1986 [1933-35]) theory of uneven and combined development – an absence which I redress.

9.7. Moving targets

The alums interviewed finished study between 2001 and 2018. This embraces a substantial span, during which interviewees are themselves aware of much change having

occurred. M22 feels that opportunities in Mumbai working for large international retailers were available to her as a woman which have since closed:

> I was very lucky, I came back to India at the time when retail was very nascent and the learning was exponential because there were very little layers, so as an assistant buyer I ended up reporting into my Australian head of buying. So the learning was just exponential. A lot of us from my generation who started in retail back in 2000, 2004 experienced that exponential growth. Thereafter the business started to grow manifold, retail became really big so the layers started coming in, you started reporting to managers and things like that. But the initial eight years was fantastic.

M13 has noticed a movement away from complete identification with Western practices as superior, which he felt governed relations on his return, to a more mixed situation in which the international is valued, but alongside a greater appreciation of Indian practices as such, giving a more complex value to international education. And yet, there were significant continuities. Though different new types or practices of work emerged, for instance, the tendency remained one of increasing divisions of labour in London ahead of the Southern locations. Within fashion, if in 2003 that was merchandising in Mumbai or Styling in Shanghai, by 2018 it was curating in Shanghai, exhibition design as an autonomous role in Mumbai. Thus, though many rightly referred to the massive pace of change over the period in the countries of application, and the time-sensitive contingency of the opportunities they found and made for themselves, remarkably enduring patterns emerged.

At the same time, during the period of research, of course, history did not pause, and there is a likelihood that aspects of the findings may have presented differently were I to repeat it under current conditions. As touched on in Chapter 5, around the 2019 period, already the discourse from US President, Donald Trump, was increasingly pitching US imperialist power against the relatively free trade conditions of the era of globalisation. At the same time, China was flexing increasing muscle regionally and internationally, including specifically around Taiwan, as a near centre of communications monopoly dominance in the form of microprocessors – a key input for culture industry. Cotton production, another key raw material through fashion value chains, has also seen attempts at de-globalisation due to forced Uyghur labour. Meanwhile, very low level, but nevertheless actual military conflict between China and India increased, as India seeks to profit from the new fragmentation to follow China down the path of information technology manufacturing-led development: witness Apple's re-shoring of some manufacturing to the South Asian country (ET 2023).

Further, blowback from Brexit as well as the enduring imbalance of finance over industrial capital in the UK has resulted in economic decline at the same time as China and India grow. If this endures, it is likely to see the lure of London associated with greater productivity levels – the basis of the unevenness central to this study – diminish. China, particularly, has grown its own knowledge base sufficiently to shrink any lag significantly – precisely, the challenge behind the current de-globalising direction led by the US. Huawei's development of mobile phones – the most developed consumer hardware for cultural consumption – has inched ever closer to Apple for quality autonomously (that is, in the face of US-led sanctions designed to deny Chinese manufacturers advanced chips: Liu 2023), amply demonstrating this, as do China's year-on-year increases in knowledge productivity as evidenced in patents and scientific journal citations (see Chapter 6).

Under these conditions, the balance of power between cosmopolitan and nationalist forces and discourses within both China and India will likely shift sufficiently to alter the kinds of identifications voiced and practiced by the participants of the current research. However, the fact that international student numbers are holding up year-on-year suggests that any such change is ongoing, rather than established. The Confederation of Indian

Industry's recent India Design Report (Deshpande 2015: 47-79) found: a large dearth of skilled designers relative to industry needs, but significant growth in the number of courses teaching dedicated subjects in fashion, jewellery, architecture, graphic design, games design and many more, in keeping with government policy (GovInDPIIT 2007) oriented to expand IP production and value capture through education. They also found a dearth of systemic support for educational excellence in the area, such as conferences and publications, but systematic efforts to remedy that through, for instance, collaborations among institutes, and with international partners, including the UK Quality Assurance Agency (Deshpande 2015: 80). Data such as this, as well as the discussion of macro picture in China also in Chapter 4, suggests that within India, a movement towards design education autonomy is likely to progress, as it already has been, but unlikely, in the near future, to outpace growth in demand.

Indeed, a decline in the UK economy as a whole may have limited effect on that one segment which is cultural industry, as a result of the spatial division of labour itself, in which London may hold out better than sectors elsewhere. Further, the strength of China, and its rivalry with India, largely concern manufacturing, and the country's patents and scientific advances remain largely restricted to technological rather than cultural outputs. It may prove difficult for the country to develop the latter under the regime's highly restrictive communications environment. India, too, is suffering a deeply authoritarian turn, in ways directly undermining the quality of its cultural production (Sharma 2019). In both China and India, though in very different way, the relative under-development of democratic systems is directly associated with late development itself (discussed in Chapter 5 in the framework of passive revolution), suggesting relatively durative roots.

This is neither about seeking to predict an absolute change in relations, nor to deny that change is underway. Rather, it is to argue that the relevance of the research should be seen in terms less of how long the specific moment that it describes can be expected to last than of the processes analysed and the framework accounting for them. That is, uneven and combined development, and the processes by which it becomes incorporated as a subjective factor of production, will likely continue to shape creative labour in the cultural industry, in ways tied in path dependency to the situation outlined.

9.8. Implications for action: teaching, learning and further research

The research highlights areas of future focus for education. Most obviously, an education which illuminates the process outlined here – essentially, a critical political economy of transcultural creative subjectification – would help to develop a critical self-reflexivity as to the production processes engaged in by alums. The research suggests developing understanding of:

- creativity as a universal human attribute whose limitation to certain groups of workers arises from an exploitative division of labour;
- the division of labour as an aspect of the production of world space;
- the role of objective developments within political economy in the subjectification of creative labour;
- means of resisting labour fragmentation.

For, since it has shown these to be factors at play in the development and application of learning by these alums, it follows that such content would contribute to a self-reflective education, developing the ability to act in the world on the basis of an informed understanding of the processes underlying it. Internationalisation of higher education discourse is hampered by a bourgeois liberalism that favours pedagogically technocratic, de-politicised approaches to interculturality and cosmopolitanism (examples are Carroll and Ryan 2005; Killick 2015; Leask 2015). Nevertheless, by default it retains the seeds

of a critical internationalism as its own immanent critique. The above content could inform that. Indeed, a tenet central to much internationalisation scholarship, and applied below, is that internationalisation should be seen not only as something pertaining to particular non-domestic students, but a curriculum development for all. I advance recommendations, then, not targeted at Chinese or Indian, but all students as well as staff.

Further, the research could inform the teaching of criticality for art, design and communication education. To many, such criticality implies little more than the exploration of alternative solutions to design problems (e.g. Gray and Malins 2004: 17), rather than the fuller sense of alternative social paradigms themselves. Ian Noble and Russell Bestley (2005: 68), for instance, define 'critical reflection' as:

> The process by which the designer reviews a project outcome or evaluates the success of an experiment, by testing its effectiveness against a predetermined set of criteria. These criteria may be either self-imposed or may be a part of the brief itself.

The findings of this project suggest the importance of a critical political economy approach to labour in cultural industries. Within such an approach, criticality for art, design and communications education must necessarily put the current capitalist order itself under question, and consider the role of communications in overthrowing it, if it is to make genuine claims to knowledge formation – and claims to such formation are inherent to its concept.

This is based on an idea of the university which is far from socially dominant (Bhattacharya 2019). The university is currently experiencing a crisis of contradiction between the demand institutions to question and develop fundamentally new social knowledge in response to human needs, on one hand, and, on the other, the expanded reproduction of capital, contributing knowledge, and knowledgeable subjects capable of extending the reach of capital deep into subjective interiority and everyday life (Ford 2021; Hall 2018). The politicisation of curricula and of academic freedoms as well as expertise signal this crisis: the relative autonomy of knowledge production required for the university's social function comes into conflict with capital's further expansion, now impossible without environmentally and socially catastrophic consequences. At the same time, as social mobility freezes (Eyles et al 2022), the university's claim to legitimacy associated with its role in that also breaks down, making it a ready target of new right populisms. Further, the closure of arts and humanities departments due to low exit wages, used by the British state as a profoundly ideological quality proxy metric for financially punitive evaluations, sees the cultural industries unable to furnish the reproduction cost of creative labour, and the state unwilling to step in.

Thus, action to develop knowledge and understanding of students must be combined with action to change the dominant system, and since the ideological state apparatus is an integral part of that system (Althusser 1976; Apple 2019), the target of change must include educational institutions themselves, and the forms by which they participate in commodification. Critical education should be *praxis*, devoted to transforming lives through social struggle against exploitation (Allman 2001, Freire 2005 [1970]). For universities remain class divided, with non-hegemonic ideas of the university subject to class struggle (as significant strike action over several years by the University and Colleges Union demonstrates in the UK, and citizenship rights demonstrations in India). The London-Edinburgh Weekend Return Group's (LEWRG 2021 [1979]) arguments for the need to work both *in* and *against* the apparatus in this light remain valid. And it is this which can form the basis for an alternative internationalisation, based not on pacification or bourgeois liberal ideologies of cosmopolitanism as submission to the international status quo, but working class internationalist solidarity.

This could take many forms, but includes building relations between education practice and academic trade unions as a key site of organised struggle within the academy and over the terms of academic knowledge production, including against ongoing commodification. Education unions in art, design and communications education should develop connections with international labour organisations, mixing pedagogical and organisational functions. This should involve coordinating with cultural, but also other industries with significant inputs in culture value chains. Fashion departments should organise with workers from textiles, garments, and cotton industries; communications with device manufacturers; spatial design with building industries; or consumer goods manufacturing with product design. In an early experiment along these lines during the research period and drawing on the research, I ran a screening of *Saacha: the Loom* (Monteiro and Jayasankar 2001), a documentary concerning the organisation of Mumbai textile workers during the period of the city's great strike of 1982, with an online discussion between students and staff and Mumbai-based filmmakers Anjali Monteiro and A. K. Jayasankar (also notable scholars: Jayasankar and Monteiro 2016), billed as a trade union event. Questions and observations from staff and students of film making and fashion communications as well as design involved practical issues of communications and organisation within transnational labour processes: practical critique of the alienated social metabolism. The dialogue suggested a shift in the process of discipline-specific learning towards the wider project of struggle against spatially organised stratification – a shift, also, in subject positions.

Learning may – and should – also involve 'teach-outs', as an essential opportunity emerging during strike activity (see Sahlins 2009 for a brief early history on the pre-cursor of the teach-out, the 'teach-in'). During strikes, the direct commodity relation ceases, and the interchange between academics and students is radically altered, allowing coordination hard to achieve under the pressures of increasingly branded curricula and learning outcomes. Teach-outs I have co-organised have resulted in enduring relations of solidarity between students and academics. Both have been released from rigid and somewhat oppositional relations in which the institution plays a mediating role defining one pole as expert and the other dutiful blank slate, into a relation of joint struggle as co-exploited subjects against capital embodied in the institution. In this context, education becomes immediately freed of the limited goal of forming productive subjects of value. Rather, student and lecturer face the social world together as a field of collective intervention. Reversing the limited commodity relation in this way can remedy the tendency of art, design and communications education to develop the sort of 'copyright-ready creativity' I identify in Chapter 8.

In the methodology section, I discuss the significance of my positionality as white, male researcher from the global north. There is also the need to work *against* hierarchies of gender, sex and sexuality, and the racialisation of difference. The unity of activism and knowledge production is a significant location for this. I have co-organised and participated in multiple forms of anti-racist activism by my academic trade union branch, particularly, as well as over issues of gender. Such activism gives an essential grounding to the more theoretical content of the current research, intimately connected to the value theory based understanding of the place of racialisation in transnational cultural industry, and a social reproduction model of gendered exploitation (e.g. Arruzza et al 2019). This can help to address the constitution of world space in and for the production of racialised and gender differentiated subjects of capital: the multiplication of labour a deeply troubling element of the generative matrix underpinning the educational mobility I discuss. As Tithi Bhattacharya (2009, 2017) argues, an approach acknowledging the central place of reproduction – very much mine in this analysis – is best placed to unify the multiple struggles against the capitalist order and the displacements of its differential inclusions.

There are various adjacent areas of research which could usefully be covered in further studies. Research into the spatial division of labour within the UK itself could identify the ways in which the spatial logics considered in this study at transplanetary scales repeat locally, through London's function as 'ladder' (Hamnett 2003: 99) in regional career trajectories. Effects between other countries, too, could be studied, as well as other sectors. As a city with a developing cultural industry profile on the African continent, Lagos would be a complementary field of study (see e.g. Hughes 2022), as would Latin American locations such as São Paolo or Rio de Janeiro (e.g. Bolaño 2014). Other common destinies for international education such as the US and Australia would also make informative comparisons and contrasts.

Research within the academy itself, among both students and staff, would clearly complement the study with useful data. While students are much studied, particularly through the pedagogy industry arising from the credentialization of academics' teaching work, less considered is the specific relation to spatial divisions of labour which they form during study as part of a life trajectory beginning before and ending after study. The present study addressed that only after, not during study. Having researched international students in London (Waldron 2016), research into academics' responses to the global market context of their labour would complete the picture.

However, the exact conditions which held for the research project itself are, as discussed earlier (Section 2), sufficiently altered and changing to require that research cannot simply shade in the areas uninvestigated, but must address developments. The automation of creative as well as academic labour (pedagogical and research) underway through artificial intelligence will likely produce a new wave of labour commodification as high skills work is reduced to routine. As this occurs, the production of knowledge deemed legitimate may well find itself shifting from the domain of the university to that of knowledge-based digital capitalism, where by far the most significant amounts of data and search tools are produced and owned. Similarly, existing forms of labour deemed creative may well become degraded to lower skilled work overseeing the outcomes of content producing technologies. This would not go without contestation, and would likely see increased political organisation of resistance to the privatisation of knowledge commons and the defence of creativity as a universal human capacity.

Research should identify where there is any such proletarianization on the one hand, and, on the other, what capacity there is for transnational organisation involving academic and cultural workers. Already, the Writers Guild of America and Screen Actors Guild have gained significant international attention, seeking contractual defence against erosions arising from automation in streaming as well as artificial intelligence (Pierce 2023). It is likely that other cultural industries as well as academics will join this struggle against the same pervasive technologies. It is here that processes addressed in the research would meet technological developments giving rise to situations in need of illumination. The model I summarise above, with automated alienation at the centre of world-scale segmentation, could be tested and developed in such contexts.

Section 9.7 referred to a levelling of the economic difference between the UK and China, particularly, as well as India. Research with new cohorts of students could seek to ascertain whether this alters student learning needs. If pressure on British universities to focus on career-oriented skills delivery continues, that would likely come into contradiction with the orientation of international students identified in the research towards a more universal education from UK HE. The effect of that contradiction, were it to stem the flow of international students to the country, could precipitate a crisis in the field, given the sectoral dependence on those students.

However, it is worth recalling that for China alone to continue its catch up with Western economies to a position anything like parity of value productivity (frequently itself indistinguishable from capture: Smith 2016, Chapter 4) would likely produce a set

of crises far wider than in British higher education alone. As Minqi Li (2016, 2021) and Ho-Fung Hung (2022) have pointed out, it would not only heighten ecological crisis but also, by capturing a significant share of the total social surplus, destabilise Western states beyond the ability of existing capitalist relations to endure – a scenario, of course, far beyond the scope of this research. As argued (Chapter 3), discourses tying social development to capital development are deeply ideological (Chatterjee 1986, Nigam 2011, Sanyal 2007, Tomba 2019): economic is not social backwardness. One of the 'privileges of historic backwardness' (Trotsky 2008: 4) is to harbour alternative forms of progressivism – in China, a historically relatively developed communist project whose 'subterranean fire' still burns (Wang 2017b: 737; also Lin 2006, 2013); in India, vanguard Third Worldism, whose project of all-round, rather than capitalistically oriented development constitutes a powerful alternative basis for progressive communications (Thomas 2009, 2019b). Indeed, the research and teaching of non-unilinear history, a history of multiple developmental paths open into the future, is essential to affirming the existence of less ecologically destructive, more socially just alternatives.

Appendix I

Participants data

Mumbai

ID	London course of study and graduation date	Professional information
M1	FDA Fashion design 2009; BA Fashion Styling and Photography 2012	Senior stylist, US multinational fashion magazine. Previously worked with two other European based fashion magazines.
M2	PGDip Fashion Media Stylin 2013	Now runs online fashion magazine. Has been fashion editor at major US multinational women's magazine.
M3	BA Fashion Styling and Photography 2015	Photographer for variety of Indian and multinational European and US fashion magazines.
M4	FDA Fashion Styling and Photography 2015	Starting own fashion brand.
M5	MA Visual Arts Illustration 2012	Illustrator of books, and much wall art for office spaces. Pre-MA worked in visual design for online media brand.
M6	FDA Art and Design 2012; BA Graphic Design 2015	Creative Strategist, freelance.
M7*	BA International Relations 2012	Educational Consulting: PR, Event Management, Journalism, International Relations
M8	MA Fashion Photography 2011	Freelance photographer for various international magazines.
M9	MA Performance Design & Practice 2010	Joint principal of graphic design company. Worked for London museum before return to India. Freelances for a variety of book publishers and museums and galleries.
M10	BA Graphic and Media Design 2010	Creative Director, Co-Founder, graphic design company. Freelances for a variety of book publishers and museums and galleries.
M11	BA Photography 2004	Freelance photographer for many media brands; academic. Also Canon Photography Mentor.

M12	FDA Graphic Design and BA Graphic Communications 2006	Graphic Designer, Co-founder and Art and Design Director, own studio. Works with multiple national and multinational brands, also lecturer.
M13	BA Graphic Design 2005	Founder, Creative Director, brand consultancy. Works with variety of Indian and multinational brands in packaging, social media marketing, UX etc.
M14	FDA Fashion Design, BA Fashion Design and Technology 2018	Intern: Multinational US men's magazine.
M15	MA Fashion Journalism 2008	Content strategist, digital e-commerce, international cosmetics brand.
M16	BA Fine Art	Aspiring artist
M17	BA Fashion Management 2011	Professional and business development consultant; Chief Vision Officer, philosophical development consultancy company.
M18	MA Communication and Media Studies 2005	Founder, Public Relations Consultant. Commissions solely non-profit sector.
M19	MA Public relations 2010	
M20	MA Graphic Moving Image 2014, and short courses in art, visual design and merchandising 2013	Own graphic design company.
M21	MA Sustainable Textile Design	Curator at sustainable agricultural product (including textile and fashion) company.
M22	Fashion Design and Technology 1999-2003	Category Manager for women's 'Westernwear' brand; starting own fashion brand.
M23	MA Fashion Futures 2014	Freelance design, styling, consultancy in sustainable fashion; previously in fashion design, management, and merchandising.
M24	Foundation, Design 2010; BA Graphic Design 2013	Freelance art critic, Creative Director, of large US advertising multinational, previously Art Director of another. Previously interned with Mumbai office of French women's magazine.
M25	MA Public Relations 2010	Communications Manager, Mumbai University.

M26	MA Scenography 2002	Environment design consultant and scenographer, freelance. Previously design assistant with London designer, and design consultant with Mumbai-based British design company.
M27	MA Public Relations 2010	Account manager, public relations. Previously various marketing communications and public relations manager positions with Indian companies.
M28	MA Promotional Media 2014	Senior Marketing Associate, German financial services company. Previously for British online business processes multinational.
M29	MA Fashion Entrepreneurship 2010	Founder, sustainable fashion online retailer. Previously, brand manager for women's fashion at Indian office of British media transnational. Also marketing manager of Indian online fashion retail start-up.
M30	PGDip Design for Visual Communication 2014	Visual designer, Indian design company. Previously graphic designer of another Indian company.

Shanghai

ID	London course of study and last graduation date	Professional information
S1	BA Fashion Design	Fashion Design Studio Assistant
S2	MA Fashion Business	Photography Studio Manager
S3	BA Fashion Management	Digital director, China office of UK fashion retailer. Perviously various senior marketing positions in China offices of Italian and British online fashion retailers.
S4	BA Fashion Buying and Merchandising 2012	Education entrepreneur: founder owner pre-foundation school preparing portfolio for UK/US fashion foundations. Previously various fashion buying for British then Chinese brands.
S5	MA Graphic Design 2006	Public relations and retail marketing; Senior product coordinator, European fashion multinational.
S6	MA Graphic Design 2015	Graphic design, European fashion multinational.
S8	MA Fashion Curation 2016	Fashion Curation Project Director; marketing, Chinese fashion brand.

		Previously fashion journalist, Chinese magazine.
S9	BA Apparel and Textiles 2010	Lecturer, fashion design; Freelance design consultant, various brands; designer, own brand.
S10	BA Fashion retail 2014	Senior Account Executive, Communications company. Public Relations,
S11	Art and Design Foundation 2011; Fashion Design Womenswear 2016	Fashion Designer & Consultant; Fashion Design Lecturer
S12	MA Interactive Design 2015	Graphic designer, architecture and interior design assistant.
S13	MA Narrative Environment 2015	Graphic designer, architecture and interior design assistant.
S14	Fashion Management 2017	Co-Founding Director, Fashion production.
S15	Fashion Management 2017	Co-Founding Director, Fashion production.
S16	BA Fashion Promotion 2003	Fashion image producer and stylist, studio founder owner. Previously public relations: Intern in UK for various British fashion brands and public relations firms, then public relations manager of China office of European multinational fashion brand.
S17	MA Communication Design 2014	Marketing and public relations manager, Chinese architecture and interior design company and retailer. Previously communication designer London-based British design and graphic design intern, London-based British design magazine; teaching assistant, London art college.
S19*	Students studying various HE art and design courses, Shanghai University	Undergraduate/PG course students, Shanghai University
S20*	NA	Communications manager, property developer instrumental in alums' business development
S21*	Previously course director of various London fashion design courses.	Senior Academic Director of Shanghai Fashion Institute;
S22*	Media Studies University Fellowship	Lecturer and researcher, critical media studies

S23*	BA Media Studies	Lecturer and researcher, intercultural communication
S24*	NA	Vice Principle, State University undergoing creative innovations-led strategic restructuration value-added through creativity
S25	MA Graphic Design 2004; Short Course Business Start-up for Creative Arts 2004	Producer, creative industry
S26	BA Fashion Design and Technology, MA Womenswear, 2005	Fashion designer. First London, now Shanghai suburb based own brand. Previously London brand design studio assistant.
S27	BA Textile Design 2017	Co-founder director, arts complex. Previously lifestyle blogger and designer and creative consultant, Chinese fashion brand.
S28	BA Textile Design 2017	Co-founder director, arts complex. Previously, studio assistant, international artist and art foundation.

* Participants marked with an asterisk were interviewed for the study, independently of London art design and communications backgrounds or present Mumbai and Shanghai cultural industry work. Their data are therefore not included in discussions on that basis (S24 is discussed, but in his role of property developer, for instance: Chapter 6), though they are included here for information. Excluded are two scoping interview participants active in New Delhi, one from a Fashion Styling and one a Fashion Business course (see Chapters 1 and 5).

Appendix II

Sample Email Approach

On 21 May 2018, at 19:25, Rupert Waldron <r.waldron@fashion.arts.ac.uk> wrote:
Dear

XXXXXXX,
I am a UAL-based scholar undertaking a doctorate research project addressing international alumni of London Art and Design HE institutions, and I wondered if you would be kind enough to agree to being interviewed as part of that on your experiences. Your studies and work experience since the RCA would clearly make you a most interesting person to speak to.

I am in Shanghai from 18.06 to 13.07, having been recently invited over by Shanghai University College of Digital Arts, and it would be most interesting to meet you if you had a moment.

This could be at a time and place convenient to you within the dates above – obviously any refreshments, etc. would be my great pleasure (18th - 29th I work at Shanghai University, so outside office hours is best until 30th).

I attach an information sheet and consent form and would of course be happy to answer questions before you committed.
Best regards,
Rupert

Rupert Waldron
International Academic Coordinator School of Media and Communication
Associate Lecturer
London College of Fashion, UAL
40 Lime Grove, London W12 8EA T: +44 (0) 20 7514 6889
E: r.waldron@fashion.arts.ac.uk www.arts.ac.uk/fashion
Twitter Facebook Instagram

Appendix III

Information and Consent forms (2017 followed by 2018)

Information and Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER

ual: university of the arts london london college of fashion

Creative Labour in Transcultural Communication.

You are invited to take part in research for a PhD project undertaken at the University of Westminster, UK, funded by University of the Arts London. Before you decide to participate it is important to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information and I will discuss it with you and answer any questions you might have.

1. Project aims and description

This research investigates the exchange of cultural knowledge between London art and design higher education institutions, and Shanghai and Mumbai professionals in cultural industries. It tracks knowledge formed and applied through international academic mobility.

The project seeks to improve understanding of what internationalisation of higher education means, and can mean, to students and staff. It seeks to ensure that academic activity contributes to sustainable and just transnational communication.

Research will run from 2017 to approximately 2022.

2. Activity Consents

I understand that I have given my consent for the following to take place:

To discuss my experiences at university and professionally with the researcher, individually or in a small group, likely to last from twenty to fifty minutes, and with a time limit that I, not the researcher, decide. This may be followed by other activities such as workplace observation or participation in events such as exhibitions or symposia if I consent.

2. Data Consents

I understand notes from conversation with the researcher will be taken, and audio recording if I consent. These conversations will then be written down to form the research data.

I understand that I have given approval for parts of these data to be published in accounts of the project. These accounts and interview transcripts will be made available for me to read and comment on if I would like to before finalisation.

I understand that, if I indicate preference for confidentiality below, personal details such as names and places that could reveal my identity will be removed from typed transcripts and replaced with random numbers or alternative names in any publication or discussion of results, whether in the UAL or wider contexts.

I understand that any personal and contact details gathered will be kept confidential, separate from the information gathered during the research, and password protected.

I understand that the information from the research will be kept on the researcher's private computer and back up discs only, and password protection. Others will see only what is in the final discussions.

It has been explained to me that after the completion of the research, the data will be kept by the researcher and may be used in associated studies by the researcher.

3. Statements of Understanding

I have read this leaflet outlining the nature of this research project which I have been asked to participate in, and I have been given a copy to keep.

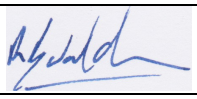
The subject and purpose of the interviews has been explained, and I have had the opportunity to discuss the details of the project and to ask questions.

4. Rights of Withdrawal
After I have given my consent, I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the programme at any time without disadvantage to myself and without having to give any reason. I understand that I can instruct the researcher not to use some or all of my interview data at any time during or after the interview.

5. Complaints Procedure.
I understand that if I have any complaints about the research process, I can contact the UAL research committee at the address below.

6. Statement of Consent
I hereby fully and freely consent to participation in the study which has been explained to me in full.

7. Signatures

Participant's name:		*Confidentiality preferreded* ☐
Participant's signature:		*Date:*
Email:		
Researcher's name:	RUPERT WALDRON	
Researcher's signature:		*Date:*

Researcher:
Rupert Waldron
International Academic Coordinator
School of Media and Communication
London College of Fashion
40 Lime Grove
W12 8EA
E: r.waldron@fashion.arts.ac.uk
Tel: +44 (0) 77 28380473

UAL Research Administrator:
University of the Arts London
5th Floor
Granary Building
1 Granary Square
Kings Cross
London N1C 4AA
E: research@arts.ac.uk
Tel: +44 (0) 207 514 9389

University of Westminster Research Administration:
Communication and Media Research Institute
Westminster School of Media, Arts and Design
University of Westminster
Watford Road, Northwick Park
Middlesex HA1 3TP
research-data@westminster.ac.uk
+44 (0) 207 911 5000

Information and Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER

ual: university of the arts london london college of fashion

The Creative Labour of Transcultural Communication.

You are invited to take part in research for a PhD project undertaken at the University of Westminster, UK, funded by University of the Arts London. Before you decide to participate it is important to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information and I will discuss it with you and answer any questions you might have.

1. Project aims and description

This research investigates the exchange of cultural knowledge between London art and design higher education institutions, and Shanghai and Mumbai professionals in cultural industries. It tracks knowledge formed and applied through international academic mobility.

The project seeks to improve understanding of what internationalisation of higher education means, and can mean, to students and staff. It seeks to ensure that academic activity contributes to sustainable and just transnational communication.

Research will run from 2017 to approximately 2022.

2. Activity Consents

I understand that I have given my consent for the following to take place:

To discuss my experiences at university and professionally with the researcher, individually or in a small group. This may be followed by other activities such as workplace observation or participation in events such as exhibitions or symposia if I consent.

2. Data Consent

I understand notes from conversation with the researcher will be taken. I agree that the conversation will be audio recorded. These conversations will then be written down to form the research data.

I understand that I have given approval for parts of these data to be published in accounts of the project.

I understand that my identity will be removed from typed transcripts and replaced with random numbers or alternative names in any publication or discussion of results, whether in the UAL or wider contexts.

I understand that any personal and contact details gathered will be kept confidential, separate from the information gathered during the research, and password protected.

I understand that the information from the research will be kept on the researcher's private computer and back up discs only, and password protected. Others will see only what is in the final discussions.

It has been explained to me that after the completion of the research, the data will be kept by the researcher and may be used in associated studies by the researcher.

3. Statements of Understanding

I have read this leaflet outlining the nature of this research project which I have been asked to participate in, and I have been given a copy to keep.

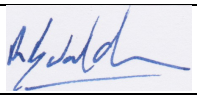
The subject and purpose of the interviews has been explained, and I have had the opportunity to discuss the details of the project and to ask questions.

4. Rights of Withdrawal
After I have given my consent, I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the at any time during the interview without disadvantage to myself and without having to give any reason.

5. Complaints Procedure.
I understand that if I have any complaints about the research process, I can contact the University of Westminster research committee at the address below.

6. Statement of Consent
I hereby fully and freely consent to participation in the study which has been explained to me in full.

7. Signatures

Participant's name:			
Participant's signature:		*Date:*	
Email:		*Age:*	-20, 20s, 30s, 40s, 50s, 60+
Researcher's name:	RUPERT WALDRON		
Researcher's signature:		*Date:*	

Researcher:
Rupert Waldron
International Academic Coordinator
School of Media and Communication
London College of Fashion
40 Lime Grove
W12 8EA
E: r.waldron@fashion.arts.ac.uk
Tel: +44 (0) 77 28380473

UAL Research Administrator:
University of the Arts London
5th Floor
Granary Building
1 Granary Square
Kings Cross
London N1C 4AA
E: research@arts.ac.uk
Tel: +44 (0) 207 514 9389

University of Westminster Research Administration:
Communication and Media Research Institute
Westminster School of Media, Arts and Design
University of Westminster
Watford Road, Northwick Park
Middlesex HA1 3TP
research-data@westminster.ac.uk
+44 (0) 207 911 5000

Appendix IV

Sample Interview Guide

Interview Guide 1: Mumbai & Shanghai-Based Alums

Pre-study

1. What brought you to London?
2. Had you ever been there before?
3. Had you or your family experienced other international travel?
4. Did you have other international contacts at that time?
5. Did you consider other international locations for HE? If so, why? Why did you decide for London?
6. How did you know about the college you studied at/UK A&D HE?
7. What did you know about the subject area you studied in, and its teaching London (about London A&D HE in that subject)?
8. How was your English? (IELTS/TOEFL level)
9. How important was the different cultural context for you in choosing UK A&D HE?

Parents

10. Had they been to London before, or travelled internationally? Did they experience HE? What is/was their profession? Where were your parents brought up, and where do they live?
11. What did they think of your choice?
12. How much did they influence your choice?
13. What kind of support did you get from your parents/others for studying abroad?

During study

14. Did your studies meet your expectations? In what respects?
15. Were there any surprises? If so, what?
16. Did you make friends? Were they International or Home?
17. Do you keep in touch?
18. Did you ever return to India/China (or other home country)?
19. Did you travel outside London?
20. Did you investigate London (galleries, cultural scene, etc.)?
21. Did you prepare for return to Mumbai/Shanghai during study?
22. What, if anything, did UK A&D HE bring you?
23. Are there aspects of your studies that you remember being particularly interested in or finding particularly important in the following areas? Why were you particularly interested in these aspects? What exactly was it that interested you?
    i. theory
    ii. research methods
    iii. practical skills
    iv. intercultural competence

v. social skills
vi. communication skills
vii. business-related and entrepreneurial skills
viii. critical thinking

24. Would you consider it to have helped you to be more creative? If so how?
25. If you could have, what would you have changed about the education itself - what advice would you give UK HE (tutors, institution, students)?
26. How did you experience living and studying in a different cultural context? Overall, were your experiences rather positive or rather negative? Why?

Post-Education/current

27. Did your studies prepare you well for International/London/your current (Mumbai/Shanghai) professional contexts?
28. Have some of the skills that you gained while studying abroad positively influenced your professional activities, development, achievements in working life? If so, which ones? How exactly did these skills benefit you? Can you give examples in the following areas discussed above?
    i. theory
    ii. research methods
    iii. practical skills
    iv. intercultural competence
    v. social skills
    vi. communication skills
    vii. business-related and entrepreneurial skills
    viii. critical thinking

29. Can you think of specific occasions where you've used London-associated contacts in your working life?
30. Do you maintain London/UK /international connections around the following? If so, how?
    i. people (networks)
    ii. institutions
    iii. culture
    iv. knowledge
    v. skills

31. Would you describe your work since returning as creative?
32. How positive is your experience of working? Why?
33. Does your internationalised education have a role in that?
34. Do you know other London/international alums?
35. How important is your knowledge of a different cultural context for you now?
36. How useful is your London A&D experience?
37. What about for other alums you know?
38. Are there things UK HE / others could do more for alumnae/i / international cross-cultural knowledge?
39. Do you know alums who studied in other countries internationally? If so, what do you think are the differences of studying in London and other places? And what about studying at home in your own country, in comparison?
40. What do others think of London A&D?

41. Are there times where London education for you was a disadvantage? If so, what disadvantages did you experience?
42. Can you tell me a bit about these works downloaded? [Where appropriate, these are from online portfolios, for instance, Instagram or Behance] Did your London-based A&D HE help you in creating works like these/this?

Evaluation of Internationalised A&D HE

43. What does internationalised A&D HE bring to economies and societies?
44. Have you ever heard anyone have *negative* things to say about people going overseas to learn and return?
45. Is internationalised A&D HE fair? Why/why not?
46. Should there be more opportunities for poorer people to study internationally? Why/Why not?
47. Is it important for the social benefits of internationalised A&D HE to be widely spread? Are they at the moment/could they be more so?
48. Does everybody deserve to be able to express themselves creatively at work? Can they at present? If not, how would it be possible, if at all?
49. How are your working conditions? Could they be improved? How?

Future / Collaboration

50. What are your future plans?
51. Would you be interested in exploring collaboration possibilities with London A&D HEIs? Of what nature?

References

Notes on references.

Where more than one text by the same author published on the same date are referenced, two practices for within-text citation and the bibliography entry list are used. Where the number of texts is no more than three, the standard practice of adding an alphabetical identifier after the date (2010a; 2010b) is used. Where four or more texts feature, one or more key terms from the title are used instead (Marx 2010 *Civil*; Marx 2010 *Class*, etc.). In the latter case, where the key word is immediately recoverable from surrounding text, it is omitted: As Marx (2010) argues in *The Civil War in France*,…

Texts authored by bodies with complex names referred to by acronym in within-text citation are listed in the bibliography also by acronym, with the name spelled out in the body of the reference. LEWRG (2021) *In and Against the State*. London-Edinburgh Weekend Return Group. London: Pluto.

In Chinese names I follow as consistently as possible the naming order followed by the academics themselves in publication/online. Thus Jing Wang, as an academic active in the US, has the given name first, where Wang Hui, active in China, has the family name first, and in the bibliography the use of a comma reflects that: Wang, Jing but Wang Hui.

Citation from references given in the bibliography in French are my own translation, with an English language equivalent of the title given in square brackets. I do not list specific translations or editions where I have not read these, as I cannot speak to their accuracy.

Original publication dates are placed in square brackets at the end of entries where helpful. This usually notes the first publication of the text, irrespectively of language. At times, the date of writing rather than publication is given, where this is significant. The information is only intended as a guide, and fuller account should be sought in other literature.

Abazari, Arash (2020) *Hegel's Ontology of Power: The Structure of Social Domination in Capitalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Adorno, Theodore, and Max Horkheimer (1979) *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. New York: Verso. [1944]

Adorno, Theodore (1998) 'On Subject and Object.' In *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*. Trans. Henry Pickford. New York" CUP. [1969]

Alexander, Jeffrey, Bernhard Giesen (1987) 'Introduction: From Reduction to Linkage: The Long View of the Micro-Macro Link.' In Alexander, Jeffrey, Bernhard Giesen Richard Münch, and Neil Smelser (eds) *The Micro-Macro Link*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Allinson, Jamie and Alexander Anievas (2010) 'The Uneven and Combined Development of the Meiji Restoration: A Passive Revolutionary Road to Capitalist Modernity.' *Capital & Class*, 34: 3, 469–490.

Allman, Paula (2010) *Critical Education* Against *Global Capitalism: Karl Marx and Revolutionary Critical Education*. Rotterdam: Sense.

Altenried, Moritz (2022) *The Digital Factory: The Human Labor of Automation*. University of Chicago Press.

Althusser, Louis (1973) *Lire le Capital: I*. Paris: François Maspero. [*Reading Capital*]

Althusser, Louis (1976) 'Idéologie et Appareil Idéologique d'État.' In *Positions*. Paris: Editions Sociales. [1970] ['Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses.' In *On the Reproduction of Capitalism*.]
Althusser, Louis (1993) 'Freud et Lacan.' In *Écrits sur la Psychanalyse*. Stock/IMEC. [1964] [Louis Althusser 1996 'Freud and Lacan' In *Writings on Psychoanalysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.]
Althusser, Louis (1995) 'La Querelle de l'Humanisme.' In *Écrits Philosophiques et Politiques: Tome II*. Paris: Stock/Imec. [1967] ['The Humanist Controversy.' In *Philosophical and Political Writings: Volume II*.]
Althusser, Louis (1996 *Contradiction*) 'Contradiction et Surdétermination.' In *Pour Marx*. Paris: La Découverte. [1963] [Contradiction and Overdetermination' In *For Marx*.
Althusser, Louis (1996 *Dialéctique*) 'Sur la Dialéctique Matérialiste: De l'Inégalité des Origines.' In *Pour Marx*. Paris: La Découverte. [1963] ['On The Materialist Dialectic: On the Unevenness of Origins.' In *For Marx*.]
Althusser, Louis (1996 *Pour*) *Pour Marx*. Paris: La Découverte. [1963] [*For Marx*]
Ambrosio, Chiara, (2020) 'Toward an Integrated History and Philosophy of Diagrammatic Practices.' *East Asian Science, Technology and Society*, 14:2, 347-376.
Amin, Samir (1988b) *L'Eurocentrisme*. Paris: Anthropos. [*Eurocentrism*]
Amin, Samir (2010) *The Law of Worldwide Value*. New York: Monthly Review Press. [with extracts from 1978]
Amin, Samir (2014) 'Contra Hardt and Negri' *Monthly Review*. November 1. (Available at: https://monthlyreview.org/2014/11/01/contra-hardt-and-negri/ Accessed 25.7.19)
Anderson, Kevin (2022) *Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study*. Leiden: Brill. [1995]
Anderson, Perry (1980) *Arguments within English Marxism*. London: New Left Books.
Anderson, Robert (2006) *British Universities Past and Present*. London: Hambledon Continuum.
Andreas, Joel (2009) *Rise of the Red Engineers: The Cultural Revolution and the Origins of China's New Class*. Stanford: Stanford University.
Aneesh, A. (2007) *Virtual Migration: The Programming of Globalization*. London: Duke University Press.
Anievas, Alexander (2014) *Capital, the State and War*. University of Michigan.
Anievas, Alexander, and Kamran Matin (2016a) *Historical Sociology and World History: Uneven and Combined Development over the Longue Durée*. London: Rowman and Littlefield.
Anievas, Alexander, and Kamran Matin (2016b) 'Introduction: Historical Sociology, World History and the "Problematic of the International".' In Alexander Anievas and Kamran Matin (Eds) *Historical Sociology and World History: Uneven and Combined Development over the Longue Durée*. London: Rowman and Littlefield.
Appadurai, Arjun (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. London: University of Minnesota Press.
Appadurai, Arjun, and Breckenridge, Carol (1988) 'Why Public Culture?' *Public Culture,* 1.1, 5-9.
Appadurai, Arjun, and Carol Breckenridge (1995) 'Public Modernity in India.' In Carol Breckenridge (Ed) *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.
Apple, Michael (2019) *Ideology and the Curriculum: Fourth Edition*. London: Routledge. [1979]
Aronowitz, Stanley (1978) 'The Professional-Managerial Class or Middle Strata.' In Pat Walker (Ed) *Between Labor and Capital*. Boston: South End Press.

Arrighi, Giovanni (2007) *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*. London: Verso.
Arruzza, Cinzia, Tithi Bhattacharya and Nancy Fraser (2019) *Feminism for the 99 Percent*. London: Verso.
Arthur, Chris (1986) *Dialectics of Labour: Marx and his Relation to Hegel*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Arthur, Christopher (2002) *The New Dialectic and Marx's Capital.* Leiden: Brill.
Artz, Lee (2022) *Spectacle and Diversity: Transnational Media and Global Culture*. London: Routledge.
Athique, Adrian, and Douglas Hill (2010) *The Multiplex in India: A Cultural Economy of Urban Leisure.* Abingdon: Routledge.
Athique, Adrian, Vibodh Parthaasarathi, and S.V. Srinivas (2017a) *The Indian Media Economy: Volume I: Industrial Dynamics and Cultural Adaptation*. Oxford: Oxford university.
Athique, Adrian, Vibodh Parthaasarathi, and S.V. Srinivas (2017b) *The Indian Media Economy: Volume I: Industrial Dynamics and Cultural Adaptation*. Oxford: Oxford university.
Badiou, Alain (1982) *Théorie du Sujet*. Paris: Seuil. [*Theory of the Subject*]
Baglioni, Elena, Liam Campling, Neil Coe and Adrian Smith (2022) *Labour Regimes and Global Production*. Newcastle: Agenda Publishing.
Bahl, Aditya (2020) 'Between a Fort and a Highway: Where Does Power Lie?' *Trolley Times*, 27.02 https://trolleytimes.com/pa/2021/02/27/between-a-fort-and-a-highway (Accessed 2.03.21)
Bahl, Aditya (2021) 'A New Border in the Old Republic: The Class and Caste-Based Contradictions Within India's Farmers' Protest.' *Himal South Asian*, 28.04 https://www.himalmag.com/a-new-border-in-the-old-republic-farmers-protest-india-2021/ (Accessed 05.09.22)
Bal, Hartosh (2021) 'Mandi, Market and Modi.' *Caravan*, 01.03 https://caravanmagazine.in/essay/farm-laws-adani-reliance (Accessed 20.03.2021)
Balaram, Singanapalli (2019) 'Bauhaus and the Origin of Design Education in India.' *Bauhaus Imaginista*. https://www.bauhaus-imaginista.org/articles/3268/bauhaus-and-the-origin-of-design-education-in-india?0bbf55ceffc3073699d40c945ada9faf=75c92e0b3dfef371d347ecf64bed7ea6 (Accessed 12.02.2021)
Balibar, Étienne (1982) 'Appareil'. In Gérard Bensussan and Georges Labica (eds) *Dictionnaire Critique de Marxisme*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
Banaji, Jairus (2010) *Theory as History: Essays on Modes of Production and Exploitation*. Leiden: Brill
Banaji, Jairus (2013) 'The Ironies of Indian Maoism.' *International Socialism*, 128, 129-148
Banks, Mark (2007) *The Politics of Cultural Work*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
Banet-Weiser, Sarah (2012) *Authentic™: The Politics of Ambivalence in a Brand Culture*. New York: New York University Press.
Baran, Paul (1962) *The Political Economy of Growth*. London: Penguin. [1957]
Baran, Paul and Paul Sweezy (1966) *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order.* New York: Modern Reader.
Barboza, David (2019) "How China Built 'iPhone City' with Billions in Perks for Apple's Partner," *New York Times* December 29. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/29/technology/apple-iphone-china-foxconn.html (Accessed 29.01.2022)
Barrow, Mark (2006) 'Assessment and Student Transformation: Linking Character and Intellect.' *Studies in Higher Education*, 31:03, 357–372.

Baudrillard, Jean (1972) *Pour Une Critique de l'Économie Politique du Signe*. Paris: Gallimard. [*For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign.*]
Becker, Gary (1993) *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education: Third Edition.* Chicago: University of Chicago. [1964]
Beckert, Sven (2014) *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
Beech, Dave (2022) *Art and Labour: On the Hostility to Handicraft, Aesthetic Labour and the Politics of Work in Art.* Leiden: Brill.
Bell, Daniel (1999) *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. New York: Basic Books. [1973]
Benjamin, Solomon (2008) 'Manufacturing Neoliberalism: Lifestyling Indian Urbanity.' In Swapna Banerjee-Guha (ed) *Accumulation by Dispossession Transformative Cities in the New Global Order*. London: Sage.
Benjamin, Walter (2013) *Baudelaire*. Paris: La Fabrique. [Manuscript 1938]
Benton, Gregor (2015) *Prophets Unarmed: Chinese Trotskyists in Revolution, War, Jail, and the Return from Limbo*. Leiden: Brill.
Berardi, Fanco (2009) *The Soul at Work: From Alienation to Autonomy*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT.
Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckmann (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality*. London: Penguin.
Bhattacharya, Debaditya (2019) 'The University in History: From 'idea' to Impossibility.' In Debaditya Bhattacharya (ed) *The Idea of the University: Histories and Contexts*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Bhattacharya, Tithi (2009) 'India's Daughter: Neoliberalism's dreams and the nightmares of violence.' *International Socialist Review* 97. (Available at: https://isreview.org/issue/97/indias-daughter Accessed 15/04/19)
Bhattacharya, Tithi (2017) 'How Not to Skip Class: Social Reproduction of Labor and the Global Working Class.' In Tithi Bhattacharya (ed) *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression*. Pluto: London. 68-94.
Bhaumik, Kaushik (2011) 'Cinematograph to Cinema: Bombay 1896–1928.' *BioScope*, 2: 1, 41–67.
Bieler, Andreas, and Adam Morton (2018) *Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Blackledge, Paul (2006) *Reflections on the Marxist Theory of History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Bloch, Ernst (1990) *Heritage of Our Times*. Berkeley: University of California Press. [1935]
Block, Daniel (2019) 'Data Plans: How Government Decisions are Helping Reliance Jio Monopolise the Telecom Sector.' *Caravan*, 01.02.19. Available at https://caravanmagazine.in/reportage/government-helping-reliance-jio-monopolise-telecom (Accessed 12.03.20)
Blunden, Andy (2022) *Hegel, Marx and Vygotsky: Essays on Social Philosophy*. Leiden: Brill.
Bolaño, César (2014) 'Globalization and History in Brazil: Communication, Culture, and Development Policies at a Crossroads.' In Manuel Guerrero and Mireya Márquez-Ramírez (Eds) *Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Bolaño, César (2015) *The Culture Industry, Information and Capitalism.* Cham: Palgrave MacMillan. [trans John Penney] [original Spanish 2000]
Boltanski, Luc, and Eve Chiapello (2011) *Le Nouvel Esprit du Capitalisme.* Paris: Gallimard. [1999] [*The New Spirit of Capitalism*]

Bonefeld, Werner (1993) *The Recomposition of the British State During the 1980s*. Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing.
Bosteels, Bruno (2012) *Marx and Freud in Latin America: Politics, Psychoanalysis, and Religion in Times of Terror*. London: Verso.
Bouquillion, Philippe, Bernard Miège, and Pierre Mœglin (2013) *L'Industrialisation des Biens Symboliques: Les Industries Créatives en Regard des Industries Culturelles*. Grenoble: Press Universitaire de Grenoble. [*The Industrialisation of Symbolic Goods: Creative Industries in Light of Cultural Industries.*]
Bourdieu, Pierre (1962) *Travail et Travialleurs en Algérie*. The Hague: Mouton et Co. [*Work and Workers in Algeria*]
Bourdieu, Pierre (1977) 'La Production de la Croyance: Contribution a une Economie des Biens Symboliques' in *Actes de la Recherche et Sciences Sociales*, 3-43. [Abbreviated translation by Richard Nice, originally 1980: 'The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods' In *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University.
Bourdieu, Pierre (1979) *La Distinction: Critique Sociale du Jugement*. Paris: Minuit. [*Distinction*]
Bourdieu, Pierre (1986) **"**The Forms of Capital.**"** In John Richardson (ed) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press.
Bourdieu, Pierre (1990) 'Fieldwork in Philosophy.' *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. California: Stanford University. 3-33
Bourdieu, Pierre (1993) *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University.
Bourdieu, P. (2000) *Esquisse d'une Théorie de la Pratique.* Paris: Editions du Seuil. [1972] [*Outline on a Theory of Practice*]
Bourdieu, Pierre (2002) 'Retour sur l'Expérience Algérienne.' In *Interventions, 1961-2001: Science Sociale & Action Politique: Textes Choisis et Présentés par Franck Poupeau et Thierry Discepolo*. Marseille: Agon. 37-44 (from a conference paper given at the *Institut des Mondes Arabes* in 1997) ['Return to the Algerian Experience']
Boveiri, Kaveh (2024) *Marxian Totality: Inverting Hegel to Expound Worldly Matters*. Leiden: Brill.
Bowring, Finn (2004). 'From the mass worker to the multitude: A theoretical contextualisation of Hardt and Negri's Empire.' *Capital & Class*, 28: 2, 101–132.
Brass, Tom (2019) *Revolution and Its Alternatives: Other Marxism, Other Empowerments, Other Priorities*. Leiden: Brill.
Braverman, Harry (1998) *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century.* New York: Monthly Review Press. [1974]
Brinkmann, Svend (2013) *Qualitative Interviewing*. Oxford: OUP.
British Council (2010) *Mapping the Creative Industries: A Toolkit*. London: British Council.
British Council (2019) 'China Issues a New Long-Term Education Modernisation Plan: China Education Modernisation 2035.' British Council: News. https://opportunities-insight.britishcouncil.org/news/market-news/china-issues-new-long-term-education-modernisation-plan-china-education (Accessed 7.10.20)
British Council (2024) 'The Cost of Studying and Living in the UK.' https://study-uk.britishcouncil.org/moving-uk/cost-studying (Accessed 16.01.24)
Butt, Danny (2017) *Artistic Research in the Future Academy*. Bristol: Intellect.
BT (2020) 'Mukesh Ambani's RIL in Talks with Parent ByteDance to Acquire TikTok in India.' *Business Today*, 13.08. https://www.businesstoday.in/latest/corporate/story/tiktok-bytedance-talks-mukesh-ambani-ril-investment-india-270004-2020-08-13 (Accessed 20.03.23)

Burawoy, Michael (1985) *The Politics of Production: Factory Regimes under Capitalism and Socialism*. London: Verso.
Büscher, Monika and John Urry (2009) 'Mobile Methods and the Empirical' *European Journal of Social Theory.* 12:1 99-116.
Butollo, Florian (2014) *The End of Cheap Labour? Industrial Transformation and "Social Upgrading" in China.* Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.
Caldwell, John (2006) 'Cultural Studies of Media Production: Critical Industrial Practices.' In Mimi White and James Schwoch (eds) *Questions of Method in Cultural Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell. 109-153.
Calhoun, Craig (1993) 'Habitus, Field, and Capital: The Question of Historical Specificity.' In Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma and Moishe Postone (1993) *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Calhoun, Craig (2002) 'Micro-sociology and Macro-sociology.' In Craig Calhoun (Ed) *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Callinicos, Alex (1983) 'The "New Middle Class" and Socialists.' *International Socialism* 2:20, 82–119.
Callinicos, Alex (2004) *Making History: Agency, Structure, and Change in Social Theory*. Leiden: Brill.
Campbell, Beatrix, Marian Darke, Tricia Davis, David Green, Joanna de Groot, Ron Halverson, Steve Hart, Martin Jacques, Charlie Leadbeater, Bert Pearce, Jeff Rodrigues, Mhairi Stewart, and Nina Temple (1989) 'Manifesto for New Times.' In Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques (eds) *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s*. London: Lawrence and Wishart. 23-37.
Campling, Liam (2010) 'Symposium on Giovanni Arrighi's Adam Smith in Beijing.' *Historical Materialism*, 18, 31-129.
Cannella, Gaile, Michelle Pérez and Penny Pasque (2015) *Critical Qualitative Inquiry: Foundations and Futures*. London: Routledge.
Canterbury, Dennis (2012) *Capital Accumulation and Migration*. Leiden: Brill.
Carchedi, Guglielmo (1977) *On the Economic Identification of Social Classes*. London: Routledge.
Carchedi, Guglielmo (2011) *Behind The Crisis: Marx's Dialectics of Value and Knowledge*, Leiden: Brill.
Carroll, Judith and Ryan, Janette (2005) *Teaching International Students: Improving Learning for All*. London: Routledge.
Carroll, William (2010) *The making of a Transnational Capitalist Class: Corporate Power in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Zed Books.
Castells, Manuel (2010) *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture. Volume I: The Rise of the Network Society. Second Edition.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. (1996)
Chakrabarti, Anjan, and Stephen Cullenberg (2003) *Transition and Development in India*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Chakrabarty, Dipesh (1989) *Rethinking Working-Class History: Bengal 1890-1940*. Princeton: Princeton University.
Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2000) *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
Chakravartty, Paula, and Zhao, Yuezhi (2008) 'Introduction: Toward a Transcultural Political Economy of Global Communications.' In Paula Chakravartty and Yuezhi Zhao (eds) *Global Communications: Toward a Transcultural Political Economy*. London: Rowman and Littlefield.
Chandavarkar, Rajnarayan (1998) *Imperial power and popular politics Class, resistance and the state in India, c. 1850-1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chandavarkar, Rajnarayan (2009) 'Bombay's Perennial Modernities.' In *History, Culture and the Indian City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Chang, Jung with John Halliday (1986) *Madame Sun Yat-Sen*. London: Penguin.
Chang Kyung-Sup, Ben Fine, Linda Weiss (2012) *Developmental Politics in Transition: The Neoliberal Era and Beyond*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
Charmaz, Kathy (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage.
Charnock, Greig, and Guido Starosta (2016a) *The New International Division of Labour: Global Transformation and Uneven Development*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Charnock, Greig, and Guido Starosta (2016b) 'Introduction: The New International Division of Labour and the Critique of Political Economy Today.' In Greig Charnock and Guido Starosta (Eds) *The New International Division of Labour: Global Transformation and Uneven Development*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Chatterjee, Ipsita (2014) *Displacement, Revolution, and the New Urban Condition.* London: Sage.
Chatterjee, Partha (1993) *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Chatterjee, Partha (1986) *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London: Zed Books.
Chau, Adrian, and Caitlin Schultz (2022) 'Reining in the Giants? Food Delivery Riders and State Regulation of Tech Companies in China.' *Asian Labour Review*, 22.02. https://labourreview.org/reining-in-the-giant/ (Accessed 22.02.23)
Chen Duxiu (2015) 'The Future of the Oppressed Nations.' In Gregor Benton (Ed) *Prophets Unarmed: Chinese Trotskyists in Revolution, War, Jail, and the Return from Limbo*. Leiden: Brill. [1942]
Chen, Gang, and Lulu Tang (2014) 'Chapter 7: Development Report on the Advertising Industry (2011–2012).' In Hardy Xiang and Patricia Walker (Eds) *China Cultural and Creative Industries Reports 2013*. Heidelberg: Springer.
Chen Kuan-Hsing (2010) *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization*. Durham: Duke.
Chesnais, François (2016) *Finance Capital Today: Corporations and Banks in the Lasting Global Slump*. Leiden: Brill.
Chibber, Vivek (2003) *Locked in Place*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Chibber, Vivek (2013) *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*. London: Verso.
Chow, Rey (1995) *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema*. New York: Columbia University.
Chow, Rey (2007) *Sentimental Fabulations, Contemporary Chinese Films: Attachment in the Age of Global Visibility.* New York: Columbia University Press.
Chuang (2020) 'Delivery Workers, Trapped in the System.' *Chuang*, 12.11. https://chuangcn.org/2020/11/delivery-renwu-translation/ (Accessed 13.01.21)
CITU (2019) 'On Countrywide Protest against CAA.' *Centre of Indian Trade Unions*, Facebook, 20.12 https://www.facebook.com/CITUHQ/photos/a.107631926245327 6/2589637731121414/?type=3 (Accessed 7.03.23)
CLB (2022) 'The Platform Economy.' *China Labour Bulletin*. https://clb.org.hk/content/platform-economy (Accessed 21.011.22)
Cohn, Mark (2017) *Competing Economic Paradigms in China The Co-Evolution of Economic Events, Economic Theory and Economics Education, 1976–2016*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff (2009) *Ethnicity, Inc.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Cross, Hannah (2021) *Migration Beyond Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Deshpande, Hrridaysh (2015) *India Design Report*. New Delhi: Confederation of Indian Industry.
Deshpande, Satish (2003) *Contemporary India: A Sociological View*. New Delhi: Viking.
Corbridge, Stuart and John Harriss (2006) *Reinventing India: Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism, and Popular Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity.
Cresswell, John, and Plano Clark, Vicki (2018) *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research: Third Edition*. London: Sage.
Crowley, Thomas (2020). 'This Is a Revolution, Sir.' *Jacobin*, 1.12. https://jacobin.com/2020/12/general-strike-india-modi-bjp-cpm-bihar
Curran, James (2006) 'Media and Cultural Theory in the Age of Market Liberalism.' In James Curran and David Morley (eds) *Media and Cultural Theory*. Abingdon: Routledge.
D'Mello, Bernard (2018) *India after Naxalbari: The Unfinished History*. Delhi: Aakar.
Dalla Costa, Maria (1972) 'Women and the Subversion of the Community.' In Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James (eds) *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*. Bristol: Falling Wall Press.
Das Gupta, Chirashree (2016) *State and Capital in Independent India: Institutions and Accumulation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
Dasgupta, Rohit, Jennie Jordan, Graham Hitchen, Kishalay Bhattacharjee, Diviani Chaudhuri, Deepa D, Adrija Roychowdhury (2024) *Mapping Innovation in India's Creative Industries: Policy, Context and Opportunities*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Das, Raju (2020) *Critical Reflections on Economy and Politics in India: A Class Theory Perspective*. Lieden: Brill.
Day, Iyko (2016) *Alien Capital: Asian Racialization and the Logic of Colonial Capitalism*. Durham: Dunke University Press.
Deacon, David, Michael Pickering, Peter Golding, and Graham Murdock (2020) *Researching Communications: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis: Third Edition*. London: Bloomsbury.
Delgado Wise, Raúl, and Henry Veltmeyer (2016) *Agrarian Change, Migration and Development*. Rugby: Practical Action Publishing.
Deng Xiaoping (1994a) 'Science and Technology Constitute a Primary Productive Force.' *Selected Works: 3*. [1988]
Deng Xiaoping (1994b) 'Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai.' *Selected Works: 3*. [1992]
Deng, Iris, and Chen Pan (2023) 'Huawei's Stealth Chip Production Fuels Conjecture.' *South China Morning Post*. 06.02.
Denning, Michael (2004) *Culture in the Age of Three Worlds*. London: Verso.
Denzin, Norman and Michael Giardina (2016) *Qualitative Inquiry Through a Critical Lens*. London: Routledge.
Desan, Mathieu (2022) 'Does Bourdieu "Extend" Marx's Concept of Capital?' In Gabriella Paolucci (Ed) *Bourdieu and Marx: Practices of Critique*. Cham: Springer.
Des Forges, Alexander (2007) *Mediasphere Shanghai: The Aesthetics of Cultural Production*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Deshpande, Satish (2003) *Contemporary India: A Sociological View*. New Delhi: Viking.
Deutscher, Isaac (1954) *The Prophet Armed Trotsky: 1879-1921*. London: Verso.
Dickinson, Kay (2024) *Supply Chain Cinema: Producing Global Film Workers*. London: The British Film Institute.
Dirlik, Arif (2017) *Complicities: The People's Republic of China in Global Capitalism*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm.
D'Mello, Bernard (2018) *India after Naxalbari: The Unfinished History*. Delhi: Aakar.

Dogan, Sevgi (2018) *Marx and Hegel on the Dialectic of the Individual and the Social*. London: Lexington Books.
Du Bois, W. E. Bughardt (1935) *Black Reconstruction in America*. New York: Harcourt.
Du Gay, Paul (1996) *Consumption and Identity at Work*. London: Sage.
Du Gay, Paul, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Hugh Mackay and Keith Negus (1997) *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman*. Milton Keynes: Open University.
Du Gay, Paul, and Michael Pryke (2002a) *Cultural Economy: Cultural Analysis and Commercial Life*. London: Sage.
Du Gay, Paul, and Pryke, Michael (2002b) 'Cultural Economy: An Introduction.' In Du Gay, Paul, and Michael Pryke (eds) *Cultural Economy: Cultural Analysis and Commercial Life*. London: Sage.
Durand, Cédric (2020) *Techno-Féodalisme: Critique de l'Économie Numérique*. Paris: La Découverte. [Techno-Feudalism: A Critique of Digital Economy]
Eames, Charles, and Ray Eames (1997) *The India Report*. Ahmedabad: National Institute of Design. [1958]
Edensor, Tim, Deborah Leslie, Steve Millington and Norma Rantisi (2010) 'Introduction: rethinking creativity: critiquing the creative class thesis.' In Tim Edensor, Deborah Leslie, Steve Millington and Norma Rantisi (eds) *Spaces of Vernacular Creativity: Rethinking the Cultural Economy.* London: Routledge. 1-15
Egger, Lukas (2023) 'Reduced to Brutish Nature: On Racism and the Law of Value.' *Historical Materialism*, 31:3, 106-133.
Eisenman, Joshua (2018) *Red China's Green Revolution: Technological Innovation, Institutional Change, and Economic Development under the Commune*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Elliot, Anthony and John Urry (2010) *Mobile Lives: Self, Excess and Nature.* Abingdon: Routledge.
Engels, Frederick (1975) *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Peking: Foreign Language Press. [German edition 1880, English 1892]
Eroğul, Cem (2022) *Marxism and the Individual.* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University.
ET (2023) 'Red Tape, Weak Infra and Poor Yield: Apple's India Manufacturing Dreams Have a Problem.' *Economic Times Online*, 15.02. https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/cons-products/electronics/red-tape-weak-infra-and-poor-yield-apples-india-manufacturing-dreams-have-a-problem-reports-say/articleshow/97904621.cms (Accessed 19.03.23)
Eyles, Andrew, Lee Elliot Major and Stephen Machin (2022) *Social Mobility, Past, Present and Future*. London: Sutton Trust.
Fabian, Johannes (2014) *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object.* New York: Columbia University Press. Third edition. [1983]
Fallers, Lloyd (1955) 'The Predicament of the Modern African Chief: An Instance from Uganda. *American Anthropologist*, 57, 290-305.
Fanon, Frantz (1952) *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*, Paris: Sueil. [*Black Skin, White Masks*]
Fernandes, Leela (2006) *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Fernandes, Naresh (2013) *City Adrift: A Short Biography of Bombay*. New Delhi: Aleph.
Fine, Ben, Heesang Jeon, and Gong Gimm (2010) 'Value is as value does: Twixt knowledge and the world economy.' Capital & Class, 34:1, 69-83.
Finelli, Roberto (2016) *A Failed Parricide: Hegel and the Young Marx*. Leiden: Brill.

Finnane, Antonia (2008) *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Flick, Uwe (2007) *Designing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
Flick, Uwe (2017) 'Special Issue: Challenges for a New Critical Qualitative Inquiry.' *Qualitative* Inquiry. 23: 1. 1-101
Florida, Richard (2000) *Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Perseus Books.
Ford, Derek (2021) *Marxism, Pedagogy, and the General Intellect: Beyond the Knowledge Economy*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
Foster, John Bellamy (2021) 'Special Issue: The New Cold War on China.' *Monthly Review*, 73:3.
Foster, John Bellamy, and Brett Clark (2020) *The Robbery of Nature: Capitalism and the Ecological Rift*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
Foster, Peter, Anna Gross and Amy Borrett (2023) 'The Looming financial Crisis at UK Universities.' *Financial Times,* July 18. https://www.ft.com/content/0aca64a4-5ddc-43f8-9bba-fc5d5aa9311d (Accessed 18.07.23)
Foucault, Michel (2004) *Naissance de la Biopolitique: Cours au Collège de France, 1978-1979.* Paris: Seuil. [*Birth of Biopolitics: Course at the College de France, 1978-1979*]
Frank, Andre Gunder (1967) *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
Freire, P. (2005) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum. (1970)
Freud, Sigmund (1955) 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle.' In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*: Volume XVIII. Translated by James Strachey in Collaboration with Anna Freud. London: Hogarth Press. [1920]
Freud, Sigmund (1961a) 'Negation.' In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XIX*. Translated by James Strachey. London: Hogarth Press. [1925]
Freud, Sigmund (1964) *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* and *Other Works*. Translated by James Strachey. London: Hogarth Press. [1933]
Friedman, Eli (2014) *Insurgency Trap: Labor Politics in Postsocialist China*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
Friedman, Milton (2002) *Capitalism and Freedom: 40th Anniversary Edition*. Chicago: University of Chicago. [1962]
Fröbel, Folker, Jürgen Heinrichs and Otto Kreye (1980) *The New International Division of Labour: Structural Unemployment in Industrialised Countries and Industrialisation in Developing Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Fromm, Eric (2009) *Beyond the Chains of Illusion: My Encounter with Marx and Frued*. London: Continuum. [1962]
Fuchs, Christian (2015) *Culture and Economy in the Age of Social Media*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Fuchs, Christian (2016) 'Baidu, Weibo and Renren: The Global Political Economy of Social Media in China.' *Asian Journal of Communication*, 26:1, 14-41.
Fuchs, Christian (2018) *Digital Demagogue: Authoritarian Capitalism in the Age of Trump and Twitter*. London: Pluto.
Fuchs, Christian (2019) 'Revisiting the Althusser/E. P.Thompson-Controversy: Towards a Marxist theory of communication.' *Communication and the Public*. 4: 1. 3–20.
Gaida, Jamie, Jennifer Wong-Leung, Stephan Robin and Danielle Cave (2023) 'ASPI's Critical Technology Tracker: The Global Race for Future Power.' *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*. https://www.aspi.org.au/report/critical-technology-tracker (Accessed 23.03.23)

Gallagher, Mary (2005) *Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labour in China*. Princeton: Princeton University.
Gallas, Alexander (2016) *The Thatcherite Offensive: A Neo-Poulantzasian Analysis*. Leiden: Brill.
Ganguly-Scrase, Ruchira, and Timothy Scrase (2009) *Globalisation and the Middle Classes in India*. London: Routledge.
García, Carmen, Sally Weale, Lucy Swan and Harvey Symons (2023) 'Fifth of UK Universities' Income Comes from Overseas Students, Figures Show.' *Guardian*, 14 July. https://www.theguardian.com/education/2023/jul/14/overseas-students-uk-universities-income (Accessed 14.07.23)
Garfinkel, Harold (1984) *Studies In Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press. [1967]
Garnham, Nicholas (1979) 'Contribution to a Political Economy of Mass-Communication.' *Media Culture and Society*, 1. 123-146.
Garnham, Nicholas (2005) 'From cultural to creative industries.' *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11:1, 15-29.
GCCPC (2017) *Constitution of the Communist Party of China: Revised and Adopted at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 24*. General Committee of the Communist Party of China. Available at https://www.idcpc.org.cn/english2023/tjzl/cpcjj/PartyConstitution/ (Accessed 9.09.21)
GCIP (2021) *Global Consumption and Income Project*. Available at http://gcip.info/graphs/# (accessed 2.1.21)
Geertz, Clifford (1960) 'The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of Cultural Broker. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 2:2 228-249.
Geertz, Clifford (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. New York: Basic Books.
Gerratana, Valentino (1977) 'Althusser and Stalinism.' *New Left Review* I:101-102, 110-121.
Ghertner, Asher (2015) *Rule by Aesthetics: World-Class City Making in Delhi*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Gielen, Pascal, and Paul De Bruyne (2013) *Teaching Arts in the Neoliberal Realm: Realism Versus Cynicism*. Amsterdam: Valis.
Gill, Gauri, and Rajesh Vangad (2023) *Fields of Sight*. Zurich: Patrick Frey.
Gill, Rosalind (1996) *Gender and the Media*
Gill, Scherto (2016) 'The Homecoming: An Investigation into the Effect of Studying Overseas on the Returned Chinese Postgraduates' Life and Work in China.' In Shibao Guo, and Yan Guo (eds) *Spotlight on China: Chinese Education in the Globalized World.* Rotterdam: Sense.
Gill, Rosalind, Andy Pratt, and Tarek Virani (2019) *Creative Hubs in Question: Place, Space and Work in the Creative Economy*. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.
Gill, Stephen (2008) *Power and Resistance in the New World Order: Second Edition*. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan. [2002]
GLHU (2023). "Atlas of Economic Complexity" *The Growth Lab at Harvard University*. https://atlas.cid.harvard.edu/ (Accessed 19.07.21-18.03.23)
Goankar, Dilip, and Povinelli, Elizabeth (2003) 'Technologies of Public Forms.' *Public Culture*, 15.3: 385-397.
Golding, Peter, and Graham Murdock (1997) *The Political Economy of the Media: Volume 1*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
Goldman, Robert (1992) *Reading Ads Socially*. London: Routledge.
Goodwin, Jonathan, (2011) 'Introduction.' In Jonathan Goodwin and John Holbo (2011) *Reading Graphs, Maps, Trees: Responses to Franco Moretti*. Anderson: Parlor.

Gordon, David, Richard Edwards, Michael Reich (1982) *Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Gough, Ian (1971) 'Marx's Theory of Productive and Unproductive Labour.' *New Left Review* I: 76, 47-72.
GovAu (2020) 'China's Education Modernisation Plan Towards 2035.' Government of Australia Department of Education. 1.01. https://internationaleducation.gov.au/international-network/china/PolicyUpdates-China/Pages/China%27s-education-modernisation-plan-towards-2035-.aspx (Accessed 25.01.24)
GovInDPIIT (2007) *National Design Policy*. New Delhi: Government of India Department for Promotion of Industry and Internal Trade. Available at: https://indiadesigncouncil.org/pdf/National_Design_Policy.pdf (Accessed 03.09.24)
GovInMeitY (2019) *India's Trillion-Dollar Digital Opportunity*. Government of India, Department of Electronics and Information Technology. https://www.meity.gov.in/writereaddata/files/india_trillion-dollar_digital_opportunity.pdf (Accessed 3.08.20)
GovInMoCI (2022) 'India's Services Exports Set a New Record.' Government of India, Ministry of Commerce and Industry. https://pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1822664 (Accessed 18.03.23)
GovInMoHRD (2020) 'National Education Policy 2020.' Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development. https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/NEP_Final_English_0.pdf (Accessed 17.01.24)
GovInMoS (2015) *National Policy for Skill Development and Entrepreneuship*. Government of India. New Delhi: Ministry of Skills Development and Entrepreneurship.
GovUK (2024) 'Tough Government Action on Student Visas Comes into Effect.' Gov.UK 02.01. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/tough-government-action-on-student-visas-comes-into-effect (Accessed 21.01.24)
GovUKDfBI&S (2016) *Success as a Knowledge Economy: Teaching Excellence, Social Mobility and Student Choice*. UK Department of Business, Innovation and Skills. www.gov.uk/government/publications (Accessed 23.05.23)
GovUKDfE (2021) 'International Education Strategy: 2021 update: Supporting recovery, Driving Growth.' UK Department for Education and Department for International Trade. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/international-education-strategy-2023-update/international-education-strategy-2023-progress-update (Accessed 21.01.24)
GovUKDfE (2019) 'International Education Strategy: Global Potential, Global Growth.' UK Department for Education and Department for International Trade. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/international-education-strategy-global-potential-global-growth/international-education-strategy-global-potential-global-growth (Accessed 20.08.20)
GovUKDfE (2018) 'Official Statistics: UK revenue from education related exports and transnational education activity 2018.' UK Department for Education. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5fd8f748e90e071be641bfc0/SFR-2020_Data_Tables_2018_FINAL.xlsx (Accessed 21.01.24)
GovUKDDMCS (1988) 'Creative Industries Mapping Documents.' *UK Department for Digital, Media, Culture and Sports*. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/creative-industries-mappingdocuments-1998 (Accessed 27.06.23)

Gramsci, Antonio (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers. [Written 1929-1937]
Gray, Carole, and Julian Malins (2004) *Visualizing Research: A Guide to the Research Process in Art and Design*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Grewal, Inderpal (2005) *Transnational America*. Durham: Duke.
Gropius, Walter (1992) 'The Bauhaus Manifesto.' In Frank Whitford (Ed) *The Bauhaus: Masters and Students by Themselves*. London: Conran Octopus.
Gu, Shulin, Bengt-Åke Lundvall, Ju Liu , Franco Malerba & Sylvia Schwaag Serger (2009) 'China's System and Vision of Innovation: An Analysis in Relation to the Strategic Adjustment and the Medium- to Long-Term S&T Development Plan (2006–20).' *Industry and Innovation,* 16:4-5, 369-388.
Gubrium, Jaber and James Holstein (2012) 'Narrative Practice and the Transformation of Interview Subjectivity.' In Jaber Gubrium, James Holstein, Amir Marvasti, Karyn McKinney (2012) *The Sage Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft.* London: Sage. 27-44.
Guha, Ranajit (1997) *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard.
Guha, Ranajit (1999) *Elementary Aspects of the Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Durham: Duke University Press. [1983]
Gullì, Bruno (2005) *Labor of Fire: The Ontology of Labor between Economy and Culture.* Philadephia: Temple University Press.
Gumperz, John (1982) *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson (1997) 'Discipline and Practice: "The Field" as Site, Method, and Location in Anthropology.' In James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta (eds) *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*. Berkley: University of California. 1-222.
Habermas, Jurgen (1991) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. (1962)
Hall, Jori (2024) 'Chapter 5: The Dialectic Stance: Navigating Difference.' Yafeng Shan (ed) *Philosophical Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Dialogues Between Researchers and Philosophers*. London: Routledge.
Hall, Richard (2018) *The Alienated Academic: The Struggle for Autonomy Inside the University*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
Hall, Stuart (1977) 'Rethinking the "Base-And-Superstructure" Metaphor.' In Jon Bloomfield (Ed) *The Communist University: Papers on Class, Hegemony and Party*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
Hall, Stuart (1980a) 'Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms.' *Media Culture Society*. 2. 57-72
Hall, Stuart (1980b) 'Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance.' In *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism*. Paris: UNESCO, 1980.
Hall, Stuart (1985) 'Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates.' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 2:2. 91-114.
Hall, Stuart (1986) 'Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity.' *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 10, 5-27.
Hall, Stuart (1988) *The Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left*. London: Verso.
Hall, Stuart (1989) 'The Meaning of New Times.' In Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques (eds) *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s*. London: Lawrence and Wishart. 116-134.

Hall, Stuart (1996) 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?' in Hall, S. and du Gay, P. (eds) *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage.
Hall, Stuart (1997) 'Introduction: The Work of Representation.' *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage.
Hall, Stuart (2021) 'Marx's Note on Method: A "reading" of the "1857 Introduction."' [1974] Gregor McLennan (Ed) *Stuart Hall: Selected Writings on Marxism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Hall, Stuart, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clark and Briant Roberts (2013) *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order: Second Edition*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. [1978]
Hall, Stuart, and Martin Jacques (1989) *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
Hammersley, Martyn, and Anna Traianou (2012) *Ethics in Qualitative Research: Controversies and Contexts*. London: Sage.
Hamnett, Chris (2003) *Unequal City: London in the Global Arena*. London: Routledge.
Han Byung-Chul (2017) *Shanzai: Deconstruction in Chinese*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT.
Hao, Qinyu (2014) 'Chapter 2: Development Report on the Film Industry (2011–2012).' In Hardy Xiang and Patricia Walker (Eds) *China Cultural and Creative Industries Reports 2013*. Heidelberg: Springer. 11-26
Haraway, Donna (1988) 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective**.'** *Feminist Studies.* 14: 3. 575-599.
Hardt, Michael (1996) 'Introduction: Laboratory Italy.' In Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt (eds) *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri (2000) *Empire*. London: Harvard University Press.
Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri (2009) *Commonwealth*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap.
Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri (2017) *Assembly*. Oxford: Oxford University.
Hardy, Jonathan (2014) *Critical Political Economy of the Media: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.
Harman, Chris (1998) *Marxism and History*. London: Bookmarks.
Harrison, Bennett (1994) *Lean and Mean: The Changing Landscape of Corporate Power in the Age of Flexibility*. New York: Basic Books.
Hartley, John and Lucy Montgomery (2009) 'Creative industries come to China (MATE)', *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 2:1, 1-12.
Harvey, David (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Harvey, David (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Harvey, David (2018) *Marx, Capital, and the Madness of Economic Reason*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Heath, Stephen (1981) *Questions of Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Hebdige, Dick (1979) *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Routledge.
Hegel, Georg (1977) *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. Oxford: OUP. [1807]
Hegel, Georg (2008) *Outlines of the Philosophy of Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [1820] [Referenced numbers follow the standard order and punctuation: (Year of publication: publication page number § notebook section number)]
Hegel, Georg (2010) *The Science of Logic*. London: Routledge. [1812] [Referenced numbers follow the convention: (Year of publication: publication page number, notebook number.notebook page number)]
Hegel, Georg (2018) *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. Cambridge: CUP. [1807] [Referenced numbers follow the standard order and punctuation: (Year of publication: publication page number § notebook section number)]

Hepp, Andreas (2015) *Transcultural Communication*. Chichester: Wiley.
Herod, Andrew (2001) *Labor Geographies: Workers and the Landscapes of Capitalism*. New York: Guilford Press.
Hesmondhalgh, David, and Sarah Baker (2011) *Creative Labour: Media Work in Three Cultural Industries.* London: Routledge.
Hesmondhalgh, David (2019) *The Cultural Industries: 4th Edition*. London: Sage.
Hesse-Biber, Sharlene, and Burke Johnson (2015) *The Oxford Handbook of Multimethod and Mixed Methods Research Inquiry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hilferding, Rudolf (1981) *Finance Capital: A Study of the Latest Phase of Capitalist Development*. London: Routledge. [1910]
Hoffman, Lisa (2010) *Patriotic Professionalism in Urban China: Fostering Talent*. Philadelphia: Temple University.
Hong, Yu (2011) *Labor, Class Formation, and China's Informationized Policy of Economic Development*. Washington DC: Lexington Books.
Hong, Yu (2017) *Networking China: The Digital Transformation of the Chinese Economy*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Hu Zhengrong (2003) 'The Post-WTO Restructuring of the Chinese Media Industries and the Consequences of Capitalisation.' *Javnost - The Public*, 10:4, 19-36.
Hu, Karl (2021) 'China: Leader of Delivery Riders Alliance Detained, Solidarity Movement Repressed.' *Labour Notes*, 15.04. https://labornotes.org/2021/04/china-leader-delivery-riders-alliance-detained-solidarity-movement-repressed (Accessed 31.12.22)
Hudis, Peter (2015) *Frantz Fanon: Philosopher of the Barricades*. London: Pluto Press.
Hughes, Patricia (2022) 'Performing Postcolonial Identity: The Spectacle of Lagos Fashion Week.' *International Journal of Fashion Studies*, 9:2, 281-298.
Hui, Elaine (2018) *Hegemonic Transformation: The State, Laws, and Labour Relations in Post-Socialist China*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
Humboldt, Wilhelm Von (1970) 'University Reform in Germany.' *Minerva*, 8:2, 242-267. [1810]
Hung, Ho-Fung (2015) *The China Boom: Why China Will not Rule the World*. New York: Columbia.
Hung, Ho-Fung (2022) *Clash of Empires: From "Chimerica" to the "New Cold War".* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hutnyk, John (2000) *Critique of Exotica: Music, Politics and the Culture Industry*. London: Pluto Press.
ILO (2021) 'Trends Econometric Models' *International Labour Organisation*. ilo.org/wesodata (Accessed 02.06.21)
ILO (2023) 'Statistics on International Labour and Income Inequality.' *International Labour Organisation*. https://ilostat.ilo.org/topics/labour-income/# (Accessed 23.03.23)
Iñigo Carrera, Joan (2016) 'The General Rate of Profit and Its Realisation in the Differentiation of Industrial Capitals.' In Greig Charnock and Guido Starosta (Eds) *The New International Division of Labour: Global Transformation and Uneven Development*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Itten, Johannes (1975) *Design and Form: Revised Edition: The Basic Course at the Bauhaus and Later.* London: Thames and Hudson. [1963]
Jaffrelot, Christophe (2015) 'The Class Element in the 2014 Indian Election and the BJP's Success with Special Reference to the Hindi Belt.' *Studies in Indian Politics*, 3:1, 19–38.
Jaffrelot, Christophe (2019) 'Class and Caste in the 2019 Indian Election–Why Have So Many Poor Started Voting for Modi?' *Studies in Indian Politics* 7:2 149–160.

Jaffrelot, Christophe and Peter van der Veer (2008) *Patterns of Middle Class Consumption in India and China.* London: Sage.
James, Selma (2012) *Sex, Race and Class: The Perspective of Winning: A Selection of Writings 1952-2011*. Oakland: PM Press.
Jameson, Frederic (1992) *Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism.* Durham: Duke University Press.
Jappe, Anselme (2017) *La Société Autophage: Capitalisme, Démesure et Autodestruction*. Paris: La Découverte.
Jay, Martin (1984) *Marxism and Totality: The Adventures of a Concept from Lukács to Habermas.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
Jayadev, Arjun and Lahoti, Rahul and Reddy, Sanjay (2015) 'The Middle Muddle: Conceptualizing and Measuring the Global Middle Class.' *Working Paper 6*. University of Massachusetts Economics Department.
Jayasankar, K. P. and Anjali Monteiro (2016) *A Fly in the Curry: Independent Documentary Film in India*. London: Sage.
Jeffrey, Robin (2000) *India's Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics and the Indian-Language Press, 1977-99.* New York: St Martin's Press.
Jeon, Heesang (2010) 'Cognitive Capitalism or Cognition in Capitalism? A Critique of Cognitive Capitalism Theory.' *Spectrum: Journal of Global Studies*, 2: 3, 90-117.
Jessop, Bob, Kevin Bonnett, Simon Bromley & Tom Ling (1984) 'Authoritarian Populism, Two Nations, and Thatcherism.' *New Left Review*, 1: 147. 32-60
Jian Hongsheng (2014) *La Commune de Shanghai et la Commune de Paris*. Paris: La Fabrique. [Available as an unpublished PhD in English: Jian Hongsheng (2010) *The Paris Commune in Shanghai: the Masses, the State, and Dynamics of Continuous Revolution.* PhD Dissertation: Duke University. Available at: https://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/items/47b65f2c-1cd2-4d29-a2e6-2a4afc58b156 (Accessed Jan 2018)]
Johnson Andrews, Sean (2019) *The Cultural Production of Intellectual Property Rights: Law, Labor, and the Persistance of Primitive Accumulation.* Philadelphia: Temple University.
Johnson, Burke (2017) 'Dialectical Pluralism: A Metaparadigm Whose Time Has Come.' *Journal of Mixed Methods* Research. 11:2, 156–173.
Johnson, Randal (1993) 'Preface.' In Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University.
Johnson, Richard (1986) 'The Story So Far: And Further Transformations?' In David Punter (ed) *Introduction to Contemporary Cultural Studies*. Harlow: Longman. 277-313
Jones, Owen (1910) *The Grammar of Ornament*. London: Bernard Quaritch. [1856]
Kaiwar, Vasant (2013) *The Postcolonial Orient: The Politics of Difference and the Project of Provincialising Europe*. Leiden: Brill.
Kaiser, Susan, and Denise Green (2021) *Fashion and Cultural Studies: Second Edition*. London: Bloomsbury.
Karayiannides, Efthimios (2023) 'Stuart Hall, Development Theory, and Thatcher's Britain.' *Modern Intellectual History*, 20, 1273-1296.
Keane, Michael (2007) *Created in China: The New Great Leap Forward*. London: Routledge.
Keane, Michael (2011) 'Editor's Introduction.' In Li Wuwei (2011) *How Creativity is Changing China*. London: Bloomsbury.
Killick, David (2015) *Developing the Global Student: Higher Education in an era of Globalization*. London: Routledge.
King, Sam (2021) *Imperialism and the Development Myth: How Rich Countries Dominate in the Twenty-First Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Klein, Matthew, and Michael Pettis (2020) *Trade Wars Are Class Wars: How Rising Inequality Distorts the Global Economy and Threatens International Peace*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Knight, Julia (2008) *Higher Education in Turmoil: The Changing World of Internationalization*. Rotterdam: Sense.
Kohli, Atul (2012) *Poverty and Plenty in the New India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
Kondo, Dorinne (1997) *About Face: Performing Race in Fashion and Theater*. London: Routledge.
Krishna, V. and Vinod Khadria (1997) 'Phasing Scientific Migration in the Context of Brain Gain and Brain Drain in India.' *Science, Technology and Society*, 2: 2 347-386.
Kuo, Lilly (2019) 'Working 9 to 9: Chinese Tech Workers Push Back Against Long Hours.' *Guardian*, 15.04. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/15/china-tech-employees-push-back-against-long-hours-996-alibaba-huawei (Accessed 15.04.19)
Kumar, Ashok (2020) *Monopsony Capitalism: Power and Production in the Twilight of the Sweatshop Age.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kvale, Steinar (2007) *Doing Interviews*. London: Sage.
Lacan, Jacques (1973) *Le Séminaire, Livre XI: Les Quatre Concepts Fondamentaux de la Psychanalyse*. Paris: Seuil. [presented orally 1964] [*The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*]
Lacan, Jacques (2001) *Ecrits*. Paris: Seuil. [*Writings*] [1966]
Laclau, Ernesto (1977) *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism, Populism*. London: New Left Review.
Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe (2001) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics: Second Edition*. London: Verso [1985]
Landry, Charles (2008) *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators: Second Edition.* Bournes Green: Comedia. [First edition 2000]
Lapavistas, Costas (2013) *Profiting Without Producing: How Finance Exploits us all.* London: Verso.
Laplanche, Jean, and Pontalis, J.-B. (1967) *Dictionnaire de la Psychanalyse*. Pais: Presse Universitaire de France. [Dictionary of Psychoanalysis]
Lash, Scott and Celia Lury (2007) *Global Culture Industry: The Mediation of Things*. Oxford: Polity.
Lash, Scott, and John Urry (1994) *Economies of Signs & Space*. London: Sage.
Lausan (2022) 'From Ürümqi to Shanghai: Demands from Chinese and Hong Kong Socialists: A Letter on Strategy and Solidarity with Uyghur Struggle.' *Lausan*. https://lausancollective.com/2022/from-urumqi-shanghai/ (accessed 1.12.22)
Lazzarato, Maurizio (2014) *Signs and Machines: Capitalism and the Production of Subjectivity.* Los Angeles: Semiotext(e).
Leask, Betty (2015) *Internationalizing the Curriculum*. London: Routledge.
Lebowitz, Michael (2010) *The Socialist Alternative: Real Human Development*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
Lee, Ching Kwan (1998) *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women.* California: University of California Press.
Lee, Leo Ou-fan (1999) *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
Lefebvre, Henri (1977) *Critique de la Vie Quotidienne: I: Introduction*. Paris: L'Arche. [main text 1947] [*Critique of Everyday Life: I: Introduction*]
Lefebvre, Henri (2000) *La Production de l'Espace*. Paris: Anthropos. [1974]

Leitch, Luke (2010) ‘Coming to a Screen Near you: Burberry’s Online Revolution.’ *The Times*, Wednesday 08.09.
Lenin, Vladimir (1934) *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Edinburgh: Lawrence & Wishart. [1916]
Lenin, Vladimir (1964c) ‘The State and Revolution: The Marxist Theory of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution.’ In *Collected Works XXV: June-September 1917*. [as a pamphlet, 1918]
Lenin, Vlademir Ilyich (1965) “The Third International and Its Place in History.” *Collected Works, 29*. Moscow: Progress. [1919]
Lenin, Vladimir (1972a) ‘Conspectus of Hegel’s Book *The Science of Logic*.’ In *Collected Works: Volume 38: Philosophical Notebooks*. Moscow: Progress Publishers. [1914-16]
Lenin, Vladimir (1972b) ‘On The Question of Dialectics.’ In *Collected Works: Volume 38: Philosophical Notebooks*. Moscow: Progress Publishers. [written 1915, first published in *The Bolshevik,* 1925]
Li Minqi (2016) *China and the Twenty-First Century Crisis*. London: Pluto Press.
Li, Minqi (2021) ‘China: Imperialism or Semi-Periphery?’ *Monthly Review*, 73:3,47-74.
Li, Promise (2023) ‘Zero-COVID, Reopening, and the Proliferation of State Capitalisms.’ *Lausan*, 06.01. https://lausancollective.com/2023/zerocovid-reopening-statecapitalisms/ (20.01.23)
Li Wuwei (2011) *How Creativity is Changing China*. London: Bloomsbury.
Li Xiaotian (2019) ‘The 996.ICU Movement in China: Changing Employment Relations and Labour Agency in the Tech Industry.’ *Made in China Journal* 4:2, 54-59.
Lin Chun (2006) *The Transformation of Chinese Socialism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Lin Chun (2013) *China and Global Capitalism Reflections on Marxism, History, and Contemporary Politics*. New York: Palgrave.
Lipietz, Alain (1986) ‘Behind the Crisis: The Exhaustion of a Regime of Accumulation. A “Regulation School” Perspective on Some French Empirical Works.’ *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 18:1&2, 13-32.
Liu, Lizhi (2021) ‘The Rise of Data Politics: Digital China and the World.’ Studies in *Comparative International Development,* 56, 45–67.
LEWRG (2021) *In and Against the State*. London-Edinburgh Weekend Return Group. London: Pluto.
Llewellyn, Nigel, and Williamson, Beth (2015) *The London Art Schools: Reforming the Art World, 1960 to Now*. London: Tate.
Lowe, Lisa (1996) *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham: Duke.
Löwy, Michael (1981) *The Politics of Combined and Uneven Development*. London: New Left Books.
Lu, Xueyi (2011) *Social Structure of Contemporary China*. Shanghai: World Scientific.
Lukács, Georg (1973) *History and Class Consciousness*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press. [1923]
Lundvall, Bengt-Ake (2010) *National Systems of Innovation: Toward a Theory of Innovation and Interactive Learning*. London: Anthem.
Luvaas, Brent (2012) *DIY Style: Fashion, Music and Global Digital Cultures.* London: Berg.
Luvaas, Brett (2016) ‘4: Urban Fieldnotes: An Auto-Ethnography of Street Style Blogging.’ In Heike Jenss (ed) *Fashion Studies: Research Methods, Sites and Practices*. London: Bloomsbury.

Mandel, Ernest (1979) *Trotsky: A Study in the Dynamic of his Thought*. London: New Left Books.
Mankekar, Purnima (2015) *Unsettling India: Affect, Temporality, Transnationality*. Durham: Duke.
Mao Zedong (1965 *Analysis*) 'Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society.' *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tong: I*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. [Originally 1926]
Mao Zedong (1965 *Chinese*) 'The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party.' *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tong: II*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. [Originally 1939]
Mao Zedong (2007) 'On Contradiction.' In *On Practice and Contradiction*. London: Verso. [1965]
Marcus, George (1995) 'Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-sited Ethnography.' *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 24: 95-117.
Marcuse, Herbert (1955) *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory: Second Edition with Supplementary Chapter*. London: Routledge. [1941]
Marcuse, Herbert (1966) *Eros and Civilization*. Boston: Beacon. [1955]
Martineau, Jonathan (2015) *Time, Capitalism and Alienation: A Socio-Historical Inquiry into the Making of Modern Time*. Leiden: Brill.
Marx, Karl (1973 *Grundrisse*) *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*. London: Penguin. [Written 1857-1861, published in German 1939-1941]
Marx, Karl (1973 *Wage*) 'Wage-Labour and Capital.' In *Wage-Labour and Capital & Value, Price and Profit*. New York: International Publishers.
Marx, Karl (1976) *Capital: Volume I.* London: Penguin. [1867]
Marx, Karl (1978) *Capital: Volume II*. London: Penguin. [1884]
Marx, Karl (1981) *Capital: Volume III.* London: Penguin. [1894 in German]
Marx, Karl (2010 *Civil*) 'The Civil War in France: Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.' In *Marx and Engels Collected Works: Volume 22*. London Lawrence and Wishart. 307-357 [1871]
Marx, Karl (2010 *Class*) 'The Class Struggles in France.' In *Marx and Engels Collected Works: Volume 10*. London Lawrence and Wishart. [1850]
Marx, Karl (2010 *Contribution: Preface*) 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy: Preface.' In *Marx and Engels Collected Works, Volume 29, 1857-61*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
Marx, Karl (2010 *Economic*) 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844.' In *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Collected Works: Volume 3.* London: Lawrence and Wishart. 229-349.
Marx, Karl (2010 *Eighteenth*) 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.' In *Marx and Engels Collected Works: Volume 11*. London Lawrence and Wishart. 99-197 [1852]
Marx, Karl (2010 *English*) 'The English Middle Class.' *Collected Works, Vol 13*. London: Lawrence and Wishart. [*New York Daily Tribune* August 1, 1854]
Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels (1998) *The German Ideology: Including Theses on Feuerbach and Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy*. New York: Prometheus. [1845]
Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels (2008) *The Communist Manifesto*. London: Pluto Press. [Originally published as *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1848.]
Massey, Doreen (1995) *Spatial Divisions of Labor: Social Structures and the Geography of Production: Second Edition*. New York: Routledge. [1984]
Mathur, Saloni (2011) 'Charles and Ray Eames in India.' *Art Journal*, 70:1, 34-53.
Matin, Kamran (2013) *Recasting Iranian Modernity: International Relations and Social Change*. London: Routledge.

Matin, Kamran (2019) 'Deciphering the Modern Janus: Societal Multiplicity and Nation-Formation.' *Globalizations*, 17:3, 436–451.
Mattelart, Armand (1992) *La Communication-Monde: Histoire des Idées et des Stratégies.* Paris: La Découverte. [*World-Communication: A History of Ideas and Strategies*.]
Mau, Dhani (2012) 'Can China Save Fashion Magazines?' *Fashionista* 25.07.12. Available at: https://fashionista.com/2012/07/can-china-save-fashion-magazines (Accessed 15.09/23)
Mazzarella, William (2003) *Shovelling Smoke: Advertising and globalization in Contemporary India*. Durham: Duke University Press.
May, Christopher (2007) *The World Intellectual Property Organization: Resurgence and the Development Agenda.* Abingdon: Routledge.
Mayer, Vicki (2017) *Almost Hollywood, Nearly New Orleans: The Lure of the Local Film Economy*. Oakland: California University Press.
Mbeledogu, Ezinma (2022) *Fashion Design Research: Second Edition*. London: Lawrence King.
McGee, Patrick (2023a) 'How Apple Tied its Fortunes to China.' *Financial Times*, 17.01 https://www.ft.com/content/d5a80891-b27d-4110-90c9-561b7836f11b (Accessed 18.01.23)
McGee, Patrick (2023b) 'What it Would Take for Apple to Disentangle Itself from China?' *Financial Times*, 18.01. https://www.ft.com/content/74f7e284-c047-4cc4-9b7a-408d40611bfa (Accessed 18.01.23)
McKinlay, Alan, and Chris Smith (2009) *Creative Labour: Working in the Creative Industries*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
McRobbie, Angela (1998) *British Fashion Design: Rag Trade or Image Industry?* London: Routledge.
McRobbie, Angela (2016) *Be Creative: Making a Living in the New Cultural Industries.* Cambridge: Polity.
Mészáros, István (1970) *Marx's Theory of Alienation*. London: Merlin Press.
Mészáros, István (1991) 'Mediation.' In Tom Bottomore, (ed) *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought: Second Edition*. Oxford: Blackwell, 373-375.
Mezzadra, Sandro (2018) *In the Marxian Workshops: Producing Subjects*. London: Roman and Littlefield.
Mezzadra, Sandro, and Brett Neilson (2013) *Border as Method or, the Multiplication of Labor.* Durham: Duke University Press.
Mezzadra, Sandro, and Brett Neilson (2019) *The Politics of Operations: Excavating Contemporary Capitalism*. Durham: Duke.
Mezzadri, Alessandra (2017) *The Sweatshop Regime: Labouring Bodies, Exploitation, and Garments Made in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
Mezzadri, Alessandra (2021a) *Marx in the Field*. London: Anthem Press.
Mezzadri, Alessandra (2021b) 'Introduction: Marx's Field as our Global Present.' In Alessandra Mezzadri (Ed) *Marx in the Field*. London: Anthem Press.
Mezzadri, Alessandra (2021c) 'Marx in the Sweatshop: Exploitation and Social Reproduction in a Garment Factory Called India.' In Alessandra Mezzadri (Ed) *Marx in the Field*. London: Anthem Press.
Milberg, William (2008) 'Shifting Sources and Uses of Profits: Sustaining US Financialization with Global Value Chains.' *Economy and Society*, 37:3, 420-451.
Miller, Chris (2022) *Chip War: The Fight for the World's Most Critical Technology*. London: Simon and Schuster.
Miller, Jacques-Allain (1966) 'La Suture.' *Cahiers pour l'Analyse*, 1: 3, 39-51.
Miller, Toby, Nitin Govil, John McMurrin, Richard Maxwell, and Ting Wang (2005) *Global Hollywood 2*. London: BFI publishing.

Mills, C. Wright (1956) *White Collar: The American Middle Classes*. Oxford: Oxford University.
Mishra, Yash (2022) 'Huawei Patent Shows New Technology to Enhance Chip Development.' *Huawei Central*. https://www.huaweicentral.com/huawei-patent-shows-new-technology-to-enhance-chip-development/
Moraitis, Alexis, and Jack Copley (2017) 'Productive and Unproductive Labour and Social Form: Putting Class Struggle in its Place.' *Capital and Class*, 41: 1, 91-114.
Moretti, Franco (1998) *Atlas of the European novel, I800-I900*. London: Verso.
Moretti, Franco (2005) *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History.* London: Verso.
Morgan, George, and Pariece Nelligan (2018) *The Creativity Hoax: Precarious Work and the Gig Economy*. London: Anthem Press.
Morrison, Margaret, and Mary Morgan (1999) 'Models as Mediating Instruments.' In Mary Morgan and Margaret Morrison (eds) *Models as Mediators: Perspectives on Natural and Social Science.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Morrow, Raymond and David Brown (1994) *Critical Theory and Methodology*. London: Sage.
Moseley, Fred, and Tony Smith (2014) *Marx's Capital and Hegel's Logic: A Reexamination*. Leiden: Brill.
Moulier Boutang, Yann (2007) *Le Capitalisme Cognitif: La Nouvelle Grande Transformation*. Paris: Éditions Amsterdam. [*Cognitive Capitalism: The New Great Transformation*.]
Murdock, Graham, and Peter Golding (1973), 'For a Political Economy of Mass Communications', in Ralph Miliband and John Saville (eds), *The Socialist Register*, 10. London: Merlin Press, 205-34.
Murdock, Graham, and Peter Golding (1979) 'Capitalism, Communication and Class Relations.' In James Curran, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Woollacott (eds) *Mass Communication and Society*. London: Sage.
Naidoo, Rajani (2016) 'The Competition Fetish in Higher Education: Varieties, Animators and Consequences.' In *British Journal of Sociology of Higher Education*, 37:1.
Negri, Antonio (2003) *Time for Revolution*. Translated by Matteo Manarini. London: Continuum.
Ness, Immanuel (2016) *Southern Insurgency: The Coming of the Global Working Class*. London: Pluto.
Niessen, Sandra, Ann Marie Leshkowich, and Carla Jones (2003) *Re-Orienting Fashion: The Globalization of Asian Dress*. Oxford: Berg.
Nigam, Aditya (2011) *Desire Named Development.* New Delhi: Penguin India.
Nileena MS (2018) 'Coalgate 2.0: The Adani Group Reaps Benefits Worth Thousands of Crores of Rupees as the Coal Scam Continues under the Modi Government.' *Caravan*, 01.03. Available at: https://caravanmagazine.in/reportage/coalgate-2-0 (Accessed 12.03.18)
Ning Lutao (2009) *China's Rise in the World ICT Industry: Industrial Strategies and the Catch-up Development Model*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Nixon, Sean (2003) *Advertising Cultures: Gender, Commerce, Creativity*. London: Sage.
Noble, Ian, and Russel Bestley (2005) *Visual Research: An Introduction to Research Methods in Graphic Design*. Lausanne: AVA Publishing.
Novack, George (1972) *Understanding History: Marxist Essays*. New York: Pathfinder.
OED (2023) *Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oed.com/
Ollman, Bertel (1976) *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society: Second Edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Olssen, Mark (2016) 'Neoliberal Competition in Higher Education Today: Research, Accountability and Impact.' *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 37:1, 129-148.
Ong, Aiwha (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality.* Durham: Duke UP.
Ong, Aihwa (2006) *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. London: Duke University Press.
Orr, Susan, and Alison Shreeve (2018) *Art and Design Pedagogy in Higher Education: Knowledge, Values and Ambiguity in the Creative Curriculum*. London: Routledge.
Osuri, Goldi (2008) 'Ash-Coloured Whiteness: The transfiguration of Aishwarya Rai.' In *South Asian Popular Culture*, 6: 2, 109-123.
Oudart, Jean-Pierre (1969) 'Cinema et Suture.' *Cahiers du Cinéma,* 211, 36–45, and 211, 50-55. [(1977) 'Cinema and Suture.' *Screen,* 18:4, 35–47.]
Oza, Rupal (2012) *The Making of Neoliberal India: Nationalism, Gender, and the Paradoxes of Globalization.* London: Routledge.
Pang, Laikwan (2012) *Creativity and its Discontents: China's New Creative Industries and Intellectual Property Rights Offenses.* Durham: Duke University Press.
Panitch, Leo, and Sam Gindin (2012) *The Making of Global Capitalism*. London: Verso.
Patel, Sujata, and Jim Masselos (2003) *Bombay and Mumbai: The City In Transition*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Patnaik, Utsa (1990) *Agrarian Relations and Accumulation: The "Mode of Production" Debate in India*. Oxford: Oxford University.
Patnaik, Utsa, and Prabhat Patnaik (2017) *A Theory of Imperialism*. New York: Colombia University.
Peck, Jamie (2022) 'Modalities of Labour: Restructuring, Regulation, Regime.' In Elena Baglioni, Liam Campling, Neil Coe and Adrian Smith (eds) *Labour Regimes and Global Production*. Newcastle: Agenda Publishing.
Peirce, Charles, (1906) 'Prolegomena to an Apology for Pragmatism.' *The Monist*, 16:4, 492-546.
Pennycook, Alastair (2007) *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London: Routledge: Taylor and Francis.
Perry, Elizabeth (1993) *Shanghai on Strike: The Politics of Chinese Labor*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Perry, Elizabeth, and Li Xun (1997) *Proletarian Power: Shanghai in the Cultural Revolution*. Oxford: Westview Press.
Peters, Michael (2013) *Education, Science and Knowledge Capitalism: Creativity and the Promise of Openness*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
Pham, Minh-Ha (2015) *Asians Wear Clothes on the Internet: Race, Gender, and the Work of Personal Style Blogging*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Pierce, Leonard (2023) 'The Writers' Strike Reminds Us Hollywood Is a Site of Class Struggle.' *Jakobin*, 29.05.23 https://jacobin.com/2023/05/writers-guild-of-america-strike-hollywood-entertainment-industry-labor-struggle (Accessed 3.10.23)
Pike, Andy (2011) *Brands and Branding Geographies*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
Pomerantz, Anita and Alan Zemel (2003) 'Perspectives and Frameworks in Interviewers' queries.' In Harry van den Berg, Margaret Wetherell, and Haneke Hootkoop-Steenstra (eds) *Analyzing Race Talk: Multidisciplinary Approaches to the Interview*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Kindle edition.
Pomper, Philip (1986) 'Notes on Dialectics and Evolutionism.' In Leon Trotsky, *Trotsky's Notebooks, 1933-1935: Writings on Lenin, Dialectics, and Evolutionism.* Translated by Philip Pomper. New York: Columbia University Press.

Postone, Moishe (1980) ‘Anti-Semitism and National Socialism: Notes on the German Reaction to "Holocaust"’ *New German Critique*, 19: 1, 97-115
Poth, Cheryl (2023) *The Sage Handbook of Mixed Methods Research Design*. London: Sage.
Poulantzas, Nicos (1974) *Les Classes Sociales dans le Capitalisme Aujourd’hui.* Paris: Seuil. [*Social Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*]
Poulantzas, Nicos (2013) *L’État, Le Pouvoir, Le Socialisme*. Paris: PUF. [*State, Power, Socialism*] [1978]
Prasad, Madhava (1998) *Ideology of the Hindi Film: A Historical Construction*. Oxford: Oxford University.
Prashad, Vijay (2012) *The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South*. London: Verso.
PRCMOST (2016) *Outline of the National Strategy of Innovation-Driven Development: Background Briefing.* Beijing: People’s Republic of China Ministry of Science and Technology. Available at: http://www.china.com.cn/zhibo/zhuanti/ch-xinwen/2016-05/23/content_38515829.htm (Accessed 18.7.18)
PRCMoE (2010) *Outline of China’s National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010-2020)*. Beijing: People’s Republic of China Ministry of Education.
Prospects (2024) ‘Study in India.’ https://www.prospects.ac.uk/postgraduate-study/study-abroad/study-in-india (Accessed 16.01.24)
PTI Press Trust of India (2019) ‘Left Parties Announce 7-Day Nationwide Protests from January 1 against CAA, NRC, NPR; Strike on Jan 8.’ *India Today*, 27.12 https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/left-parties-seven-day-nationwide-protest-caa-january-1-1631838-2019-12-27# (Accessed 20.01.2020)
Pun Ngai (2005) *Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Pun, Ngai (2016) *Migrant Labour in China: Post-Socialist Transformations*. Cambridge: Polity.
Punathambekar, Aswin (2013) *From Bombay to Bollywood: The making of a Global Media Industry*. New York: New York University Press.
Quante, Michael (2013). ‘Recognition in *Capital*.’ *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, 16: 4, 713-727.
Rai, Amit (2019) *Jugaad Time: Ecologies of Everyday Hacking in India*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Raianu, Mircea (2021) *Tata: The Global Corporation That Built Indian Capitalism*. London: Harvard University Press.
Ranjan, M. P. (2007) ‘Lessons from Bauhaus, Ulm and NID: Role of Basic Design in Post-Graduate Education.’ Singh Katiyar, Vijay, and Shashank Mehta Design (eds) *Education Tradition and Modernity Scholastic Papers from the International Conference*. Ahmedabad: National Institute of Design, 2-8.
Rasul, Azmat, and Jennifer Proffitt (2012) ‘An Irresistible Market: A Critical Analysis of Hollywood–Bollywood Coproductions.’ *Communication, Culture and Critique*, 5:4, 563–583.
Read, Jason (2003) *The Micro-Politics of Capital: Marx and the Pre-History of the Present*. New York: State University of New York Press.
Reckwitz, Andreas. (2017) *The Invention of Creativity*. Oxford: Polity. (Original German edition 2012)
Reddy, Vanita (2006) ‘The Nationalization of the Global Indian Woman: Geographies of Beauty in *Femina*.’ In *South Asian Popular Culture*, 4:1, 61-85.
Reliance (2020) *Integrated Annual Report*. Mumbai: Reliance.

Ren, Hai (2013) *The Middle Class in Neoliberal China: Governing Risk, Life-Building, and Themed Spaces*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Renault, Emmanuel (2017) *Reconnaissance, Conflit, Domination*. Paris: CNRS Éditions. [*Recognition, Conflict, Domination*]
Rey, Pierre-Philippe (1971) *Les Alliances des Classes*. Paris: François Maspero.
Ritchie, Genevieve, Sara Carpenter and Shahzad Mojab (2022) 'As Migrants Move: (Re)formation of Class and Class Struggle.' In Genevieve Ritchie, Sara Carpenter and Shahzad Mojab (Eds) *Marxism and Migration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Rioux, Sébastien (2014) 'Mind the (Theoretical) Gap: On the Poverty of International Relations Theorising of Uneven and Combined Development.' *Global Society*, 481-509.
Ritzer, George (2011) *Globalization: The Essentials*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
Rizvi, Fazal (2005) 'Rethinking "Brain Drain" in the Era of Globalisation.*' Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 25:2, 175-192.
Roberts, John (2007) *The Intangibles of Form: Skill and Deskilling in Art After the Readymade*. London: Verso.
Robinson, William (2004) *A Theory of Global Capitalism: Production, Class, and State in a Transnational World.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
Rocamora, Agnès (2009) *Paris, Fashion and the Media*. London: I.B. Tauris.
Rocca, Jean-Louis (2017) *The Making of the Chinese Middle Class: Small Comfort and Great Expectations*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
RocketReach (2023) '[Anonymised]' *Company Information*. Available at: https://rocketreach.co/g-star-raw-profile_b5c69e0bf42e0c94 (Accessed 16.12.23)
Roediger, David (2007) *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso. [1991]
Rofel, Lisa (2007) *Desiring China: Experiments in Neoliberalism, Sexuality, and Public Culture.* Durham: Duke University Press.
Rofel, Lisa, and Sylvia Yanagisako (2019) *Fabricating Transnational Capitalism: A Collaborative Ethnography of Italian-Chinese Global Fashion*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Rofl, Steven (2021) *China's Uneven and Combined Development*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
Rose*,* Gillian (2001). *Visual Methodologies*: *An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials.* London: Sage.
Rosenberg, Justin (2013) 'The "Philosophical Premises" of Uneven and Combined Development.' *Review of International Studies*, 39: 3, 569-597.
Rosenberg, Justin (2021) 'Results and Prospects: An Introduction to the CRIA Special Issue on UCD.' *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 34: 2, 146-163.
Roy, Arundhati (2011) *Walking with the Comrades*. London: Penguin.
Roy, Manabendra Nath (1991) 'Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question.' Riddell, John (Ed) *Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite! Proceedings and Documents of the Second Congress*. New York: Pathfinder. [1920]
Schegloff, Emanuel, and Harvey Sacks (1998) 'Opening up Closings. In Baugh, John and Sherzer, Joel (eds) *Language in use: Readings in Sociolinguistics*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. [1973]
Sagar (2018) 'The government's Lies and Procedural Amendments to Obscure Reliance Group's Part in the Rafale Deal.' *Caravan*, 30.10. https://caravanmagazine.in/government/rafale-government-lies-procedural-amendments-obscure-reliance-role (Accessed 05.08.20)
Sahlins, Marshall (2009) 'The Teach-Ins: Anti-War Protest in the Old Stoned Age.' *Anthropology Today*, 25: 1, 3-5.
Said (1984) *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. London: Faber and Faber.

Said, Edward (1995) *Orientalism, Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin. [1978]
Sainato, Michael (2019) '"We are not robots": Amazon warehouse employees push to unionize.' *Guardian*. Tuesday 1.01. Available at https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2019/jan/01/amazon-fulfillment-center-warehouse-employees-union-new-york-minnesota (Accessed 14.4.19).
Saito, Kohei (2017) *Karl Marx's Ecosocialism: Capitalism, Nature, and the Unfinished Critique of Political Economy*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
Sandhu, Arti (2014) *Indian Fashion: Tradition, Innovation, Style.* London: Bloomsbury.
Sanyal, Kalyan (2007) *Rethinking Capitalist Development: Primitive Accumulation, Governmentality & Post-colonial Capitalism*. London: Routledge. (2007)
Saraswati, Jyoti (2012) *Dot.Compradors: Power and Policy in the Development of the India*. London: Pluto.
Sarkar, Niladry (26 November 2020). '"Historic" All India General Strike Majorly Successful, Claim CPIM, Congress in Kolkata.' *The Statesman*, 26.11. https://web.archive.org/web/20201128111242/https://www.thestatesman.com/bengal/historic-all-india-general-strike-majorly-successful-claim-cpim-congress-kolkata-1502937461.html (Accessed 2.02.21)
Sartre, Jean-Paul (1969) 'Orphée Noir.' In *Anthologie de la Nouvelle Poésie Nègre et Malgache de Language Française*. Paris: Presse Universitaire de France. [1948] ['Black Orpheus.' In *Anthologie of New French Language Black and Malagasy Poetry.*]
Sartre, Jean-Paul (2013) *Qu'Est-Ce Que La Subjectivité?* Paris: Les Prairies Ordinaires. [1961] [*What Is Subjectivity?*]
Sassen, Saskia (1991) *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University.
Sassen, Saskia (2014) *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard.
Saukko, Paula (2003) *Doing Research in Cultural Studies: An Introduction to Classical and New Methodological Enterprises.* London: Sage.
Saxenian, Anna Lee (2002) 'Brain Circulation: How High-Skill Immigration Makes Everyone Better Off.' *Brookings Review*, 20: 1, 28-31.
Saxenian, AnnaLee (2005) 'From Brain Drain to Brain Circulation: Transnational Communities and Regional Upgrading in India and China.*' Studies in Comparative International Development*, 40: 2, 35-61.
Sayer, Derek (1979) *Marx's Method: Ideology, Science and Critique in* Capital. Hassocks: Harvester.
Schiller, Dan (1996) *Theorizing Communication: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Schiller, Dan (2005) *How to Think about Information*. Urbana: University of Illinois.
Schiller, Dan (2014) *Digital Depression: Information Technology and Economic Crisis*. Urbana: University of Illinois.
SCIOPRC (2021) 'Flexible Work Protections Stepped up.' State Council Information Office, People's Republic of China. http://english.scio.gov.cn/m/pressroom/2021-08/19/content_77702383.htm (Accessed 03.08.22)
SCPRC (2006) 'The National Medium- and Long-Term Program for Science and Technology Development, 2006-2020.' *The State Council of the People's Republic of China*.
SCPRC (2015) *Made in China 2025*. State Council, People's Republic of China. IoTOne Translation. Available at: http://guide.iotone.com/made-in-china-2025 (Accessed 21.7.18)
Selwyn, Ben (2014) *The Global Development Crisis*. Cambridge: Polity.

Shaban, Abdul, Filip Vermeylen and Christian Handke (2023) *Creative Industries in India*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Shamsivari, Ali (1991) *Dialectics and Social Theory: The Logic of Capital*. Devon: Merlin Books.
Shan, Yafeng (2022) 'Philosophical Foundations of Mixed Methods Research.' *Philosophy Compass.* 17:1, 1-12.
Shan, Yafeng (2024) *Philosophical Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Dialogues Between Researchers and Philosophers*. London: Routledge.
Sharma, Kamayani (2019) 'Supporting Role: How Bollywood Acted under the Modi Government.' *The Caravan*, 01.04 https://caravanmagazine.in/perspective/how-bollywood-acted-under-modi-government (Accessed 18.11.23)
Sharma, Sanjay, Hutnyk, John, and Sharma, Ash (1996) *Disorienting Rhythms: The Politics of the New Asian Dance Music*. London: Zed Books.
Silver, Beverly (2003) *Forces of Labor: Workers' Movements and Globalization Since 1870*. New York: Cambridge University.
Silverman, Kaja (1983) *The Subject of Semiotics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Simons, Maarten, and Jan Masschelein (2013) 'School, a Matter of Form.' In Pascal Gielen and Paul De Bruyne (Eds) *Teaching Arts in the Neoliberal Realm: Realism Versus Cynicism*. Amsterdam: Valis.
Sivanandan, Ambalavaner (2008) 'The Hokum of New Times.' In *Catching History on the Wing: Race, Class, and Globalisation*. London: Pluto. 19-54. [Originally 'All that Melts into Air is Solid: The Hokum of New Times.' In *Race & Class* 31: 3. 1990]
Sklair, Leslie (2001) *The Transnational Capitalist Class*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Small, Robin (2005) *Marx and Education*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Smith, Adam (1976) *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations: Volume 1*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [1776]
Smith, Chris, and Alan McKinlay (2009) 'Creative Labour: Content, Contract and Control.' In Alan McKinlay and Chris Smith (Eds) *Creative Labour: Working in the Creative Industries*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
Smith, Chris, and Ngai Pun (2006) 'The Dormitory Labour Regime in China as a Site for Control and Resistance.' *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*. 17:8, 1456-1470.
Smith, John (2016) *Imperialism in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
Smith, Neil (2008) *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space: Third Edition.* London: University of Georgia Press. [1984]
Smith, Neil (2011) 'Uneven Development Redux.' *New Political Economy*, 16:2, 261-265.
Smith, Tony (1990) *The Logic of Marx's Capital: Replies to Hegelian Criticisms*. New York: New York State University Press.
Smith, Tony (2014) 'Hegel, Marx and the Comprehension of Capital.' In Fred Moseley and Tony Smith (Eds) *Marx's Capital and Hegel's Logic: A Reexamination*. Leiden: Brill.
Smith Maguire, Jennifer, and Julian Matthews (2012) 'Special Issue on Cultural Intermediaries.' *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15:5, 551-676.
Smith Maguire, Jennifer, and Julian Matthews (2014) *The Cultural Intermediaries Reader*. London: Sage.
Smyth, John (2017) *The Toxic University: Zombie Leadership, Academic Rock Stars, and Neoliberal Ideology*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
So, Alvin (2013) *Class and Class Conflict in Post-Socialist China*. London: World Scientific.

Sohn-Rethel, Alfred (2021) *Intellectual and Manual Labour: A Critique of Epistemology*. Leiden: Brill. [1978]
Sparks, Colin (1996) 'Stuart Hall, Cultural Studies and Marxism.' In David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (eds) *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies.* London: Routledge. 71-103. Ch3
Stake, Robert (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*. London: Sage.
Starosta, Guiodo (2016a) *Marx's* Capital*, Method and Revolutionary Subjectivity*. Leiden: Brill.
Starosta, Guido (2016b) 'Revisiting the New International Division of Labour Thesis.' In Greig Charnock and Guido Starosta (Eds) *The New International Division of Labour: Global Transformation and Uneven Development*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Starosta, Guido, Gastón Caligaris, and Alejandro Fitzsimons (2024) *Value, Money and Capital: The Critique of Political Economy and Contemporary Capitalism*. London: Routledge.
Steinberg, Alex (2019) 'Trotsky as a Marxist Theoretician: The Evidence in the Notebooks.' *Critique*, 47:2, 217-233.
Stierle, Karlheinz (2001) *Le Mythe de Paris: La Capitale des Signes et son Discours*. Paris: la Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. [*The Myth of Paris: The Capital of Signs and its Discourse*]
Strydon, Piet (2011) *Contemporary Critical Theory and Methodology*. London:
Routledge.
Sundaram, Ravi (2010) *Pirate Modernity: Delhi's Media Urbanism*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Suwandi, Intan (2019) *Value Chains: The New Economic Imperialism*. New York: Monthly Review.
Tashakkori, Abbas, and Charles Teddie (1998) *Mixed Methodology: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. London: Sage.
Tashakkori, Abbas, and Charles Teddie (2003) *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioural Research*. London: Sage.
Taylor, Marcus (2008) *Global Economy Contested: Power and Conflict across the International Division of Labour*. London: Routledge.
Thapan, Meedakshi (2009) *Living the Body: Embodiment, Womanhood and Identity in Contemporary India*. London: Sage.
THE (2024) 'World University Rankings.' *Times Higher Education*, https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/university-arts-london (Accessed 21.01.24)
Thomas, Pradip (2009) *The Political Economy of Communication in India: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly.* New Delhi: Sage.
Thomas, Pradip (2019a) *Empire and Post-Empire Telecommunications in India A History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Thomas, Pradip (2019b) *The Politics of Digital India: Between Local Compulsions and Transnational Pressures.* Oxford: Oxford University.
Thompson, Edward (1963) *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage.
Thompson, Edward (1995) *The Poverty of Theory: Or, an Orrery of Errors*. London: Merlin. [1978]
Thompson, Michael (2017a) 'Introduction: What is Critical Theory?' In Michael Thompson (ed) *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Theory*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 1-15

Thompson, Michael (2017b) ‘Critique as the Epistemic Framework of the Critical Social Sciences.’ In Michael Thompson (ed) *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Theory*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 231-252.
Thompson, Paul, and Steve Vincent (2010) ‘Labour Process Theory and Critical Realism.’ In Paul Thompson and Steve Vincent (Eds) *Working Life: Renewing Labour Process Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Thrift, Nigel (2005) *Knowing Capitalism*. London: Sage.
Thussu, Daya (2007) *News as Entertainment: The Rise of Global Infotainment*. London: Sage.
TNN Times News Network (2019) ‘Imphal Hit by Strike against CAB.’ *Times of India*, 20.11. https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/imphal/imphal-hit-by-strike-against-cab/articleshow/72139271.cms (Accessed 20.01.20)
Tomba, Massimo (2013) *Marx’s Temporalities*. Leiden: Brill.
Tomba, Massimo (2019) *Insurgent Universality: An Alternative Legacy of Modernity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Tombazos, Stavros (2014) *Time in Marx: The Categories of Time in Marx’s* Capital. Leiden: Brill. [French 1994]
Tomšič, Samo (2015) *The Capitalist Unconscious: Marx and Lacan*. London: Verso.
Ťomsič, Samo (2019) *The Labour of Enjoyment: Towards a Critique of Libidinal Economy*. Berlin: August Verlag.
Tricontinental (2019) *The Rate of Exploitation: The Case of the iPhone*. Tricontinental: Institute of Social Research. Notebook 2. https://thetricontinental.org/the-rate-of-exploitation-the-case-of-the-iphone/ (Accessed 1.05.20)
Trotsky, Leon (1933) ‘Leon Trotsky Defends the October Revolution: Full Text of Speech Delivered to the Social Democratic Students at Copenhagen November 27th 1932.’ *The Militant*, 6:3. [Sometimes referred to as ‘In Defence of October’]
Trotsky, Leon (1942) ‘The ABC of Materialist Dialectics.’ In *In Defence of Marxism (Against the Petit-Bourgeois Opposition)*. New York: Pioneer Publishers.
Trotsky, Leon (1969) ‘Results and Prospects.’ In *The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects*. New York: Pathfinder Press. [1906]
Trotsky, Leon (1970) *My Life*. New York: Pathfinder. [1930]
Trotsky, Leon (1973) ‘Culture and Socialism.’ In *Problems of Everyday Life and Other Writings on Culture and Science*. New York: Pathfinder. [1926]
Trotsky, Leon (1986) *Trotsky's Notebooks, 1933-1935: Writings on Lenin, Dialectics, and Evolutionism.* Translated by Philip Pomper. New York: Columbia University Press.
Trotsky, Leon (2008) *History of the Russian Revolution*. Translated by Max Eastman. Chicago: Haymarket. [1932]
Trotsky, Leon (2010) *1905*. Chicago: Haymarket Books. [1922]
UNCTAD (2009) *World Investment Report.* New York: United Nations.
Unger, Jonathan (1991) *The Pro-Democracy Protests in China: Reports from the Provinces*. London: Routledge.
Varghese, N.V. (2020) ‘Internationalisation and Cross-Border Mobility in Indian Higher Education.’ *International Journal of African Higher Education.* 7:2, 123-139.
Vasudev, Shefalee (2012) *Powder Room: The Untold Story of Indian Fashion*. Noida: Random House India.
Vercellone, Carlo (2007) ‘From Formal Subsumption to General Intellect: Elements for a Marxist Reading of the Thesis of Cognitive Capitalism. *Historical Materialism*, 15:1, 13–36.
Vickers, Tom (2019) *Borders, Migration and Class in an Age of Crisis.* Bristol: Bristol University Press.

Virdi, Jyotika (2003) *The Cinematic Imagination: Indian Popular Films as Social History*. London: Rutgers University Press.
Virno, Paolo (2004) *A Grammar of the Multitude: For an Analysis of Contemporary Forms of Life*. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e).
Waldron, Rupert (2016) 'Positionality and reflexive interaction: A critical internationalist cultural studies approach to intercultural collaboration' *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*. Estimated Publication date - 11 Mar. DOI:10.1080/14703297.2016.1156010
Walker, Pat (1978) *Between Labor and Capital*. Boston: South End Press.
Wallerstein, Immanuel (1984) 'The Development of the Concept of Development.' *Sociological Theory*, 2, 102-116.
Wallerstein, Immanuel (1992) 'The Concept of National Development, 1917-1989, Elegy and Requiem.' American Behavioural Scientist, 35:4/5, 517-529.
Wallerstein, Immanuel (2005) 'After Developmentalism and Globalization, What?' *Social Forces*, 83:3, 1263–1278.
Wang Hui (2003) *China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Wang Xiaoming (2017a) 'What the "Housing Problem" Shows about Today's China, *Cultural Studies*, 31:6, 837-856
Wang Xiaoming (2017b) 'Introduction: Chinese Cultural Studies in the Utilitarianism-Oriented Age.' *Cultural Studies*, 31:6, 735-739. DOI: 10.1080/09502386.2017.1375537
Ward, Steven (2012) *Neoliberalism and the Global Restructuring of Knowledge and Education*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Wayne, Mike (2018) *England's Discontents Political Cultures and National Identities*. London: Pluto.
WBD (2021) *World Bank Data*. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.CD.WD (07.05.21)
WBGDRC (2019) 'Innovative China: New Drivers of Growth.' World Bank Group and Development Research Center of the State Council, the People's Republic of China. Washington: World Bank.
Westley, Hester (2015) The Shifting Foundations: The Pre-Diploma Course.' In Nigel Llewellyn and Beth Williamson (eds) *The London Art Schools: Reforming the Art World, 1960 to Now*. London: Tate.
Westley, Hester and Beth Williamson (2015) 'William Johnstone: International and Interdisciplinary Art Education.' In Nigel Llewellyn and Beth Williamson (eds) *The London Art Schools: Reforming the Art World, 1960 to Now*. London: Tate.
Wilkinson-Weber, Clare (2014) *Fashioning Bollywood: The Making and Meaning of Hindi Film Costume*. London: Bloomsbury.
Williams, Raymond (1981) *Culture*. London: Fontana.
Williams, Raymond (1983) *Key Words: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society: Revised Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [1976]
Williamson, Judith (1978) *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising.* London: Marion Boyars.
Willis, Paul (1997) *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. Abingdon: Routledge. [1978]
WIPO (2023) IP Statistics Data Center, *World Intellectual Property Organisation*. https://www3.wipo.int/ipstats/keysearch.htm?keyId=221 (Accessed 19.03.23)
Wise, Norton (2006) 'Making Visible.' *Isis*, 97:1, 75-82.
Wójcik, Dariusz and James Camilleri (2015) '"Capitalist Tools in Socialist Hands?" China Mobile in Global Financial Networks.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 40: 4 464–478

Wolf, Eric (1956) ‘Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society: Mexico.’ *American Anthropologist*, 48:6. 1065-1078.
Wolf, Arun, and Gita Wolf (2015) *Between Memory and Museum*. Chennai: Tara Books.
Wolpe, Harold (1972) ‘Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa: From Segmentation to Apartheid.’ *Economy and Society,* 1: 4, 425-456
Wolpe, Harold (1979) ‘L’Afrique du Sud: Modes de Production, Force de Travail et Armée de Réserve.’ *Revue Tiers Monde*, 20:77, 155-168. [‘South Africa: Modes of Production, Labour Power and Reserve Army.’ *Third World Review*]
World Bank (1994) *Development in Practice: Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
Wright, Eric Olin (1978) *Class, Crisis and the State*. London: Verso.
Wu, Ka-ming (2015) *Reinventing Chinese Tradition: The Cultural Politics of Late Socialism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Xinhua (2013) ‘Xi explains China's Reform Plan.’ *Global Times* 15.11.13 https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/825195.shtml (Accessed 22.01.19)
Yang, Fan (2016) *Faked in China: Nation Branding, Counterfeit Culture, and Globalization*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Yeh, Wen-hsin (2007) *Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843-1949*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Yu, Verna (2022) ‘Anti-Lockdown Protests Spread in China as Anger Rises over Zero-Covid Strategy.’ *Guardian*, 27.12. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/27/anti-lockdown-protests-spread-across-china-amid-growing-anger-at-zero-covid-strategy (Accessed 27.12.22)
Yue-man Yeung , Joanna Lee & Gordon Kee (2009) ‘China's Special Economic Zones at 30.’ *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 50:2, 222-240.
Zhang, Jun, and Jamie Peck (2016) ‘Variegated Capitalism, Chinese Style: Regional Models, Multi-scalar Constructions.’ *Regional Studies*, 50:1, 52-78.
Zhang, Ke Yong (2020) ‘The Construction of Traditional Non-Heritage Culture in Art Design Education: A Case Study of Fujian-Zhejiang Wooden Arch Gallery Bridge**.’** *Knowledge Innovation on Design and Culture*, 3, 345-348.
Zhang, Zoe (2021) ‘“996” is Ruled Illegal: Understanding China’s Changing Labor System.’ *China Briefing*. Available at: https://www.china-briefing.com/news/996-is-ruled-illegal-understanding-chinas-changing-labor-system/ (accessed 10.11.21)
Zhao, Elaine (2019) *China’s Informal Circuits: Platforms, Labour and Governance*. London: Routledge.
Zhao, Suisheng (2004) *A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism*. Stanford: Stanford University.
Zhao, Yuezhi (2003) ‘Transnational Capital, the Chinese State, and China’s Communication Industries in a Fractured Society.’ *Javnost – The Public* 10: 4, 53-74.
Zhao, Yuezhi (2008) *Communication in China: Political Economy, Power and Conflict*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
Žižek, Slavoj (1999) *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*. London: Verso.
Žižek, Slavoj (2008) *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London: Verso. [1989]
Žižek, Slavoj (2017) ‘The Politics of Alienation and Separation: From Hegel to Marx… and Back.’ *Crisis and Critique*, 4: 1, 477-480.
Zupančič, Alenka (2017) ‘Hegel and Freud: Between Aufhebung and Verneinung.’ *Crisis and Critique*, 4: 1, 481-494.

Films, videos and related

Chen Kaige (1996) *Temptress Moon*. Feature Film. Los Angeles: Miramax.
Kak, Sanjay (2013) *Red Ant Dream*. New Delhi: Octave Communications.
Law, Alex (1997) *The Soong Sisters*. Hong Kong: Golden Harvest Productions.
Monteiro, Anjali, and K. P. Jayasankar (1996) *Kahankar: Ahankar: Story Maker: Story Taker*. Mumbai: Tata Institute of Social Sciences.
Monteiro, Anjali, and K. P. Jayasankar (2001) *Saacha: The Loom*. Mumbai: Tata Institute of Social Sciences.
Yang Fudong (2010) *First Spring*. You Tube. Milan: Prada. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nhswOlqbPUU (Accessed 23.08.23)
Zhang Yimou (2004) *Hero*. Feature film. Los Angeles: Miramax.