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exercise of knowledge constantly as an object of knowledge for a discourse with the status of 'truth'. As a prerequisite for such a study, he offers us a new set of concepts - a new vocabulary - which must compel us to work over again Gramsci's conception of hegemony and Althusser's conceptions of Ideological State Apparatuses and 'scientific' knowledge. More than this, it must direct our attention to a new and distinct level: that of mechanisms which cannot be reduced to theories, though they overlap them; which cannot be identified with apparatuses or institutions, though they are based on them; and which cannot be derived from moral choices, though they find their justification in morality. These are the modalities according to which power is exercised: the technologies of power.

In analysing these 'technologies', Foucault uncovers a stratum of materials which have so far remained below the threshold of historical visibility. His discoveries have importance both for new and old themes in the history of control and reform, observation and training, a new curiosity arose about the individuals it was intended to transform. It was a curiosity which had been entirely unknown at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the function of courts at this time, for instance, there had been no need to understand the prisoner or the conditions of the crime. Once guilt had been established, a set of penalties was automatically brought into play that were proportionate and fixed. Yet by the early nineteenth century, in France, Britain and the USA, judges, doctors and criminologists were seeking new techniques to gain a knowledge newly necessary to the administration of power. Prisoners were encouraged to write down their confessions and case histories were compiled. The simple technologies brought into play, evoking its use on soldiers

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technical division of labour, then 'an ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices. This existence is material.'⁵

Part of the value of Althusser's account resides, therefore, in the way it opens on an extensive prospect of concrete historical work.

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society – the Church, the schools, the trade unions, and so on – and those of the state apparatus proper.³ Gramsci saw that the state had undergone a crucial change of function in Western bourgeois democracies, so that its real strength could no longer be understood only as the apparatus of government, the politico-judicial organisation, but demanded attention to the 'private' apparatuses of 'hegemony' or civil society through which the bourgeois class sought to assimilate the entire society to its own cultural and economic level. In his more rigid theoretical framework, Althusser divided the state into two domains or kinds of apparatus: that which functioned primarily and predominantly by 'physical force', and that which functioned primarily and predominantly 'by ideology'. It is the state apparatuses which, principally by force, procure the political conditions for the action of the 'Ideological State Apparatuses' – the educational, religious, family, political, trade-union, communications and 'cultural' apparatuses – which, acting behind a 'shield', largely secure the reproduction of the relations of production. The Ideological State Apparatuses are 'on the side of the repressive State Apparatus', but they must not be confused with it. They are distinct, specialised and 'relatively autonomous' institutions which constitute a plurality [. . .]. 'No class', Althusser says, 'can hold state power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses.'⁴

/ There is still in Althusser's theoretical amplification something of an idea of power as a privilege to be captured and then exercised; a kind of 'fluid' which may be 'poured' into an apparatus as into a vessel. We shall come on to further difficulties which arise from his attempt to maintain a strict distinction between the State Apparatuses and the Ideological State Apparatuses on the basis of their respective primary functioning by force and ideology. Above all, the anomalies in Althusser's account arise from his conception of preconstituted class identities, in possession of preformed ideologies, which contend for control of the Ideological State Apparatuses which are merely instruments for propounding and enforcing the ruling ideology. Too often, Althusser sees the Ideological State Apparatuses as the *stake*, rather than the *site* of class struggle [. . .]. What he does not show is that it is in the representational practices of these apparatuses themselves that the ideological level is constituted, of necessity including that positionality which constitutes class identity.

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There are disarmingly frank texts, with their recurrent themes of sharpness and frontality, exhaustive description and true representation, outlawing of exaggerated effects and any overt kind of manipulation, standardised processing and careful presentation, and the expert professional status of the photographer. They set these forward, unambiguously, as criteria which establish the credentials of the print as a 'good picture' of 'legal quality' and therefore guarantee its objective accuracy, even when it presents a scene as it would have been viewed

and, by this act of meaning, retrieving the relations of deference and power on which Roosevelt's state corporatist strategy depended. But, as the conjuncture of the second New Deal broke apart, even as early as the mid-point of Roosevelt's second term, documentary photography could no longer enact the same meanings. Neither the relief agencies nor the documentary discourse they deployed were to survive a war which did for the monopolised industrial and agricultural economics what the New Deal state could not. In dramatically changed wartime and postwar conditions, a new cultural formation took shape. While practices of surveillance proliferated in an atmosphere of militarism and McCarthyism, the work of the Farm Security Administration's photographic section was all but destroyed, the documentarist Photo League was arraigned and suppressed, and the traces of documentary style lingered only in parodic form in the pictorial commoditisations of *Life* and *National Geographic Magazine*, the corporated celebration of Roy Stryker's Standard Oil New Jersey archive, and the multinational humanism of *The Family of Man*.

Significantly, Edward Steichen's populist and patriarchal exhibition contained not a single photograph by Walker Evans, whose derogatory opinion of the Museum of Modern Art's widely acclaimed show was soon to prevail in curatorial circles.¹¹ Though in tune with the unspecific rhetoric of familialism and freedom of the early Cold War, *The Family of Man* came to appear naive, sentimental and dangerously tainted with the liberalism of a

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