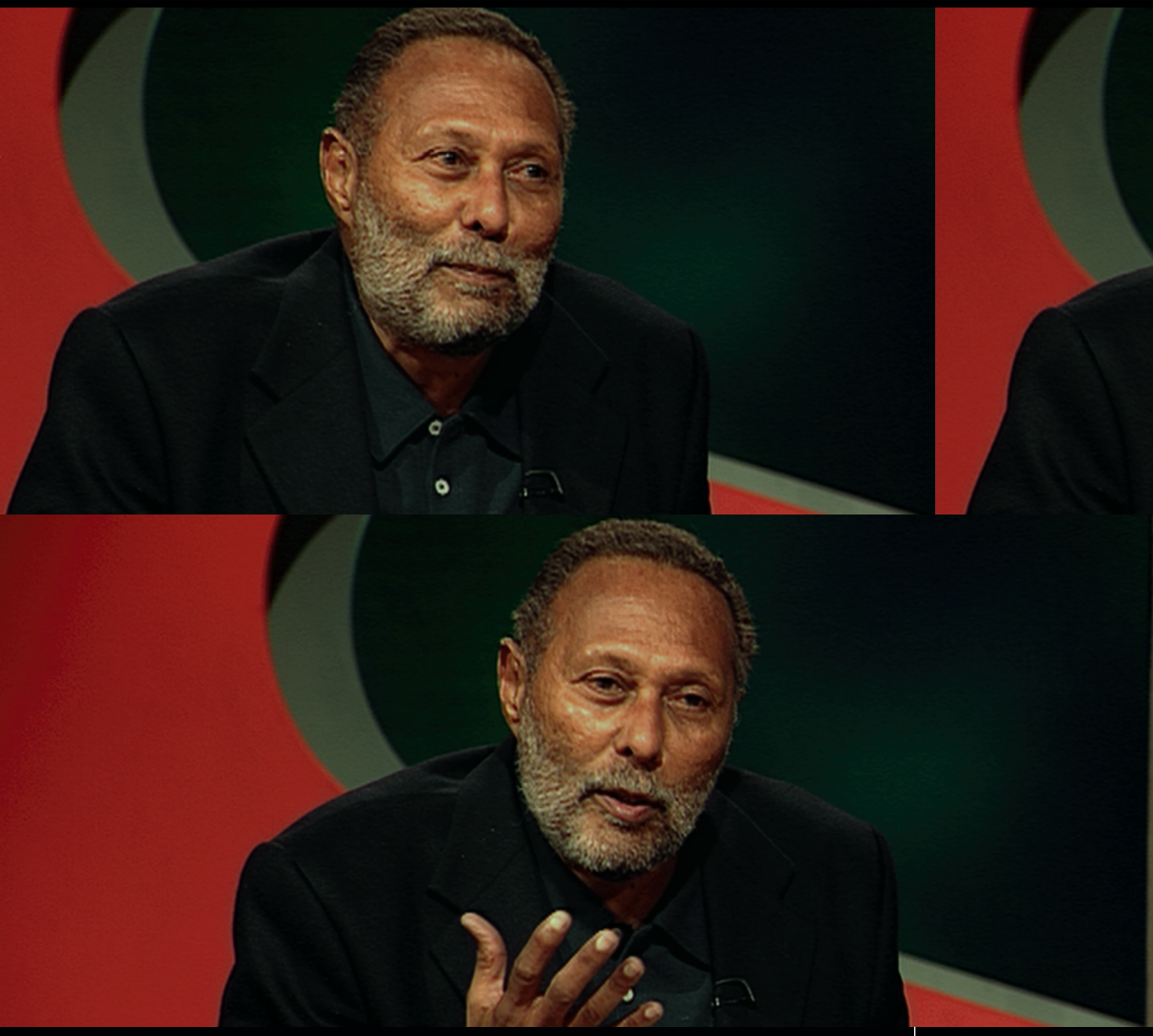

WRITINGS ON MEDIA

History of the Present

Edited by **Charlotte Brunsdon**

Stuart Hall

WRITINGS ON MEDIA

Stuart Hall: Selected Writings

A series edited by Catherine Hall and Bill Schwarz

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Stuart Hall

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INTRODUCTION | Charlotte Brunsdon

A History of the Present

Stuart Hall engaged with the media throughout his life. He read newspapers, he watched films and television, he listened to the radio. He loved doing this, even if he didn't always like what he saw or heard. His 1970 essay "A World at One with Itself" (chapter 9), sparked by the BBC's daily lunchtime radio program, is textured with the deep familiarity of a regular listener, even as it anatomizes the imperial assumptions and class presumptions of the program-makers' world. Hall participated—fully, but also often rather obliquely—in those twentieth-century rituals of nation-making enacted in reading daily newspapers, listening to the radio, and watching television, and he did so both to find out about what was happening in the world and to scrutinize how it was or wasn't being presented. His writings on the mid-century popular British press trace a history of Britain's emergence from the Second World War and its amnesiac apprehension of the end of empire. The attention to current affairs in the media was part of his broader recognition of the significance of the modern media to contemporary culture and the challenge to the traditional cultural canon manifest in the 1964 book *The Popular Arts*, written with Paddy Whannel. His passionate engagement with the printed press and broadcasting spanned the second half of the twentieth century, when newspapers gave way to television as the dominant medium of the times, and Hall's writings on the media document the rise of the new medium. In the 1960s and 1970s he was deeply involved in thinking about television and trying to theorize how the interloper in the living room

should be analyzed. But his engagement with what was then called the mass media was not limited to consumption and criticism; he also contributed to it, and this collection includes tastes of these more ephemeral engagements.[1] While his parts in panel discussions are not retrievable, short reviews and written versions of some radio talks are, and Hall himself has reflected on some of his television work. Hall's understanding of his responsibilities as a citizen and an intellectual led him to engage in public discussion and policy advocacy, and this meant broadcasting, speaking at meetings, writing to newspapers, giving evidence to commissions, and contributing to a wide range of ephemeral publications.

This collection sets out to demonstrate the range of this varied work, anthologizing a selection of Stuart Hall's writings on twentieth-century media: photographs, the press, radio, cinema, and television.[2] While Hall's influential writings on television, particularly the "Encoding and Decoding" essay, are the best-known of his media work, here these are contextualized within a career-long interest in how the media more generally, across many different modes, frame and make sense of the world we live in. The conceit of the book's subtitle is that through the sustained analysis of contemporary media over many years, Hall produces a history of those times. It is not a continuous narrative history but, rather, a bricolage, to use one of the Claude Lévi-Strauss concepts he found most attractive. Different types of analysis of different media forms, when assembled together, tell a more substantial story about postwar, postimperial Britain than is first apparent. This history of the present emerges because of the heavily contextualized analysis Hall practices. For Hall both is and isn't interested in specific texts and media forms. He is interested—of course he is, as is evident from the detailed analyses—in the formal structures and the ways in which meaning is made in particular mediums. He anatomizes the layout of a newspaper page, the cropping of an image, the timbre of a voice, the nomination of speakers in a television studio. He enumerates the different layers of decision making, at institutional, professional, and individual levels, that contribute to any particular media outcome. Through this close attention, he produces some brilliant analyses of individual newspapers, magazines, and programs. But underlying these particular projects is a wider, more general political concern with the role of the media in constituting the frameworks through which governments govern, politics is debated, and everyday life is lived. His interest in a particular text is always part of a larger project: nothing less than an anatomy of the balance of forces, the vicissitudes of power and resistance, in a particular

context, which, for him, for most of his life, was postimperial Britain. Hence the history of the present.[3]

However, that is not the only history found here. Embedded within the history of the contested shifts from the photography of social democracy to the rise of authoritarian populism and the crisis of the British state, there is the history of postimperial immigration and settlement, in which Hall participates and through which he theorizes questions of race, racism, and, later, identity. Alongside this history of the present, there are at least two other histories. There is the development of Hall's own work, the concerns, methods, and concepts that develop, are jettisoned, are explored with others, and are recombined in new ways. And there is also the development of cultural and media studies, the academic field with which Hall is most associated. This history can be tracked partly through the objects of analysis (gossip columns, High Street studio photographs, television), but also through the extent to which the very undertaking of the analysis of these objects must be justified or explained.

Readers who know Stuart Hall primarily as a diasporic intellectual and theorist of black identity may be surprised by how very British these writings—which date mainly from the 1970s—are in their topics and concerns. Presenting this material outside Britain while preparing this book, I have been greeted with astonishment that the theorist of what had clearly featured on syllabuses as "conjuncture, articulation, representation, and identity" should be so embedded in the detail of postwar British history and British media in the second half of the twentieth century. The concepts with which Hall is most associated seem in some later accounts of his work to have floated free from the contexts within which they were developed. This book provides something of a prehistory of this unmooring, showing Hall concentrating on changing media forms and genres and attending to the complex articulation of news media with the world they framed as meaningful. The subtlety of his theorization of black and diasporic identities emerges from his apprehension of the contradictory modes of postimperial subjectivities in Britain. Hall recounts, in the autobiographical *Desert Island Discs* narrative (chapter 24) with which this volume concludes, how he found himself West Indian on arrival in England: "Before that I had only been Jamaican."[4] What Paul Gilroy has called the routes of the Black Atlantic gave Hall a particular take on the mother country;[5] it is not diaspora-in-general that tutors the eye with which he regards the British. As Hall later observed, "Black men and women know they come from the Caribbean, know that they are

British. They want to speak from all three identities. They are not prepared to give up any one of them."[6] Black British identities, with the structuring mediation of Empire and Commonwealth, are formed in different networks of belonging from those of African Americans, even as the routes of the Atlantic trade underlie all formations, just as the disavowal of this trade structures white British identities. As Hall memorably declared, "I am the sugar at the bottom of the English cup of tea."[7] In these media analyses it is possible to see Hall picking away at the representations, assumptions, and disruptions of postimperial Britain, looking for and at trouble in a world that was seemingly at one with itself.

Ideas of context were essential elements in Hall's media analyses. The emphasis he gives to context, and how he understands it, varies throughout his writings. One genealogy suggests that in his early work, in the 1950s and 1960s, when Hall is closest to his undergraduate training in the study of English literature and his unfinished PhD on Henry James, text dominates context. There is a wonderful surviving telerecording in which he reads and analyzes William Blake's poem "Tyger, Tyger." The attention to the detail of the verse is very precise, and it is these sounds and rhythms, rather than any context, which occupy him.[8] This same precision is evident in the earliest of the pieces reprinted here, in which he discusses the teaching of film and the importance of working with students in the analysis of the textual production of the meanings that they take to be obvious (chapter 7). The discussion of gossip columns, also from the 1960s, favors delineation of the tone of the columns' social worlds, with a wider context left implicit (chapter 8). During the early 1970s, though, the definition and range of relevant contexts expands significantly. The social-democratic group—the *Picture Post* essays (chapters 2 and 3), "The Determinations of News Photographs" (chapter 4), and the "Introduction to *Paper Voices*" (chapter 10)—explore different manifestations of the printed press in the period from the Second World War to the early 1970s. Each essay inflects what are seen to be relevant contexts differently, and in different relations. Attention to the layout of a page, or the captioning of an image, is embedded within analysis of, for example, the social-democratic ethos of the welfare state, the rhetorical repertoire of a single publication, a documentary inheritance, and professional codes of newsmakers. By the time of the 1978 coauthored book *Policing the Crisis*, what commenced as the analysis of a 1973 newspaper report on the robbery and injury of a man in the Birmingham district of Handsworth has been contextualized to include the crisis of legitimacy of the British state in the 1970s.[9] The book uses para-

digms from radical criminology, sociology of deviance, Marxist theories of the state, and emergent media studies to provide an analysis of the role of race within the volatile political contestations of the 1970s. *Policing the Crisis* gives a strong sense of how robust, methodologically, the notion of "context" is for Hall and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), "not the invocation of an inert 'background.'"[10] Context here has been expanded in sociopolitical terms, whereas in other essays, such as "Reconstruction Work" (chapter 5), Hall is particularly attentive to the contexts of reading and explores how the contemporary viewer might read familiar and unfamiliar images of Caribbean settlement, in the process returning to some of his own readings of *Picture Post*. Both analyses, though, contribute to a history of the present.

In the later part of his life, Hall can, to some extent, be seen to return his writing attention to the text, while at the same time being involved in the very specific contexts of institutional struggle for funding as chair of both the Institute of International Visual Arts (inIVA) and Autograph ABP (Association of Black Photographers). The new contexts in the 1980s of the Black Arts Movements; film workshops such as Sankofa and Black Audio Film Collective; curators and cultural workers such as Karen Alexander, David A. Bailey, June Givanni, Mark Sealy, and Gilane Tawadros; and filmmakers such as Isaac Julien provided an environment—a context—in which he could at last take for granted so much of what he had spent time insisting on.[11] John Akomfrah, in a moving meditation on Stuart Hall's significance for his generation of artists, reflects on a 1964 radio program, *Generation of Strangers*, on migrant children and their futures, which Hall introduced and concluded. He puts it like this: "Since 1964, Stuart had been watching us, waiting for us, waiting to see what our presence would say about the country he had chosen to call home."[12]

Hall gave his most concentrated attention to the media in the 1960s and 1970s. *The Popular Arts* was published in 1964, when Hall was working as a schoolteacher in London, and it has clear affinities with Richard Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy*, although a very different tone and engagement with vernacular culture.[13] Hoggart invited Hall to Birmingham to the newly established CCCS, where he served first as deputy to Hoggart and then as director. It was during the CCCS period that a number of collective media analysis projects were undertaken. As he describes in the "Introduction to Media Studies at the Centre" (chapter 13), Hall was involved in projects on the British press, the western, crime television, women's magazines, violence in the media, and

television programs such as the BBC's *Panorama* and *Nationwide*. Some of these investigations were written up for publication, while others still linger as piles of cyclostyled typescript.[14] The best-known CCCS works from this period, *Resistance through Rituals* and *Policing the Crisis*, while encompassing media study, are not primarily addressed to media analysis. However, media representations are part of their multifaceted approach, which, in the case of *Policing the Crisis*, as the authors point out in their preface to the 2013 edition, proved to be "genuinely and, on the whole, accurately predictive" of subsequent shifts toward populism, neoliberalism, and an increasingly racialized carceral state.[15]

Many of the writings reproduced here engage with news media. Hall read, listened to, and watched the news, and he discusses photojournalism, news photographs, local and national newspapers, radio news, television news, and television current affairs. This entails analysis of varied media forms and texts in different media, and Hall works alone and with others to pay due attention to the specificities of these modes. This can involve very lengthy expositions of the particularities of the practices through which variant modalities of news are brought to its audiences, as well as detailed interpretative work on the ways in which meanings are made available and circumscribed for audiences. However, across all this difference, Hall comes repeatedly to the same conclusion: there is no innocence in news-making. News is not an event in the world that is transparently conveyed through the media. News is always a production of those media, even if that production is undertaken with the best of intentions to render the reported news event as impartially as possible. In chapter 10, taken from a report into the social role of two British newspapers in the postwar period, he defines a newspaper as "a structure of meanings, rather than as a channel for the transmission and reception of news." Despite all his attention to the differences among news media, Hall's view of news is not medium-specific. There is always more to learn from a news report than the news. Both the deep structure of assumptions and the mode of address must be scrutinized to understand what may be most significant. The meaning of news always exceeds its self-presentation.

It is this argument that underlies so many of the apparently unconnected chapters in this book, from the *Picture Post* analyses to "A World at One with Itself" to "The Whites of Their Eyes." It is through this argument that Hall moves away from notions of bias, balance, or a focus on the overt racism displayed in much of the British media. He is much more interested in the structuring assumptions, in what must be taken for granted to make certain events

newsworthy, in the inferences of particular reports. The exceptional events reported in the news always simultaneously work to confirm the natural order of things.

Questions of Method

The book does not propose that Hall's media analyses can be digested to produce a one-size-fits-all method that can now be applied to the digital era, or indeed to nondigital media. His sense of the particularity and contingency of the analyst's task forbids this. Indeed, his insistence on the historical and contextual specificity of any particular analytic task, combined with a certain strategic pragmatism, could be seen as characteristic of his method. Nevertheless, method was a constant preoccupation, and in this, his approach to media forms was encompassed by more general questions of cultural analysis. While he was a teacher in Birmingham and at the Open University, Hall's concern was repeatedly with how to do analysis of any particular cultural form, event, or practice, in a way that gave due attention to its particularity while also recognizing its origins and formation, its place in a wider social world, what was most often referred to as its "conditions of existence.'" In this context, where the methodological question was always how to understand culture within broader frameworks of power and dominance, the media were not an exceptional case. This concern with method is formative for cultural studies more generally. The apparent promiscuity of cultural studies' engagement with other disciplines is driven by the search for analytic resources to render any particular analysis more adequate to its object.

Instead of a methodological template that can be applied transhistorically, this collection offers the reader a selection of the very wide range of media texts Hall analyzed in different historical and institutional contexts. Across this diversity of topics and media there are elements of Hall's method that both develop and recur across the body of work. In particular, this entails a combination of attention to the formal characteristics of a text or media object with a very wide range of contextual factors. The determination of what constitutes the contextual is in some ways the key methodological question.[16] What do you need to know about and take into account to understand this particular news report? The articulation of the contextual (which may include conditions of both production and reception) with the specificity of the particular object of analysis in a manner that seeks to be neither reductive nor formalist can be seen to characterize this work. As

he put it in 2006, in talking about art, he tries "to make connections between works of art and wider social histories without collapsing the former or displacing the latter."[17] In relation to the media, the point of the analysis is to say something about the object of study that is explanatory rather than simply descriptive. What is explained also varies, but usually entails something of the cultural resonance of the media object. For example, in "Black and White in Television" (chapter 23), he asks, How should we understand "the actual pattern and shape of black visibility on the small screen?" First the pattern and shape must be researched and documented,[18] and only then, in the contexts—among others—of histories of black representation on British television, changing patterns of funding and commissioning, and continuing debates about black identities and the burden of representation, can "lopsided" black visibility within light entertainment be considered. In this instance, Hall identifies the contemporary vitality of black comedy and speculates that this genre—partly through the contributions of individuals such as Lenny Henry and the producer Charlie Hanson—offered (in the late 1980s and early 1990s) the most diverse picture of black British life. This he attributes to wider cultural shifts in black confidence within the broader culture as well as the television-specific contexts he has described. At the same time, he is conscious of the way in which comedy is always double-edged, and the divergent ways in which the same joke may play to different audiences.

Meaning is never obvious to Hall; instead, it is the apparent obviousness of meaning that should itself be subject to analysis. There is no single transferable model for method, but these chapters provide a series of examples of how this articulation of text and context, in any particular instance, might be approached. Then it's up to the reader—in their own particular historical context.

Principles of Selection

Stuart Hall wrote prodigiously about the media. He contributed to radio and television programs and edited journals such as (in the 1950s) *New Left Review* (*Universities and Left Review*) and latterly *Soundings*. He wrote for periodicals like *The Listener*, *New Society*, and *Marxism Today*; for newspapers, books, commissions, courses, campaigns, and committees; and he also wrote long position papers and introductions for a range of publications. To collect all of these writings would demand several books the size of this one.[19] Hall was not only prolific; he was also pragmatic and would repurpose material for different contexts. Arguments and examples recur, driven

sometimes by new iterations of familiar problems, sometimes by the different rhetorical demands of, say, a commission of inquiry and a television commentary. This poses questions of selection and arrangement that merit further discussion because of the way they illuminate Hall's working methods and his archive.[20]

Much of Hall's writing was undertaken in response to invitations or as part of projects in which he worked with others. It is impossible to tell from the published archive how often, and to what extent, Hall initiated the topics on which he wrote, although there are discernible recurring interests, such as the photographic image, the Caribbean, and, always, the state of the world and the balance of forces. Instead, what is most noticeable is an exceptional capacity to join in projects initiated by others—but also, somehow, often to shape the direction of these projects, but from within. It was his gift to enhance the endeavors of others and, in doing so, to enable the making of a provisional "we." The positions he espoused in relation to cultural practice contributed to this "we." In several of the chapters, Hall intervenes, almost in passing, into fierce contemporary debates about, for example, the merits of avant-garde, realist, and documentary forms to argue that there is never an aesthetic strategy that remains oppositional for all times. His project is inclusive, not exclusionary. This mode of practice poses questions of authorship and voice. As many have testified, Hall's generosity as a colleague, teacher, and mentor was one of his most memorable characteristics, and these chapters emerge from different modes and moments of collaboration. Angela McRobbie, in an article that celebrates Hall's pedagogy as a central part of his body of work, has described Hall's "evasion of the process of individualization required of academics today."[21] David Scott emphasizes listening and voice in his series of letters to Hall, describing Hall's practice as characterized by "an ethics of receptive generosity."[22] Each of these descriptions identifies something central to Hall's intellectual practice: the profound way in which it is not about the production of "Stuart Hall" but is instead about the work, the intellectual, political, cultural endeavor being undertaken. Questions of authorship, of who wrote or thought which bit, are distractions from the larger project.

This politics and ethics of intellectual labor, in which it is the work, not the author, which is significant, has long historical roots in a range of collective endeavors and was taken up as a practice at both Birmingham and in the Open University. Birmingham CCCS publications were often group-authored, and all Open University courses were produced by course teams.[23] It means that trying to assemble a collection of Hall's writings (Hall alone, only writing)

sometimes feels against the grain of his endeavor, striving to disentangle his contributions from their many origins and outcomes. Kobena Mercer writes of "the open-ended nature of Stuart's output as public intellectual" and delineates the way in which Hall's thought was in an evolving dialogue with its times and audiences.[24] There are recurring characteristic forms of writing. The long essays, such as chapters 4 and 15, are very often simultaneously exhaustive and provisional. He maps the fields, lays out the arguments, and brings together different paradigms—and then, at the end, it often turns out that this has been undertaken so that other work can proceed with a grasp of this mapping. He writes prefaces and introductions and forewords.[25] Hall himself described how he "writes a bit": "I always write a bit in relation to whatever I'm doing."[26] And often, with a more explicitly political aim, Hall writes or broadcasts a bit which has its origins in discussions elsewhere but which he presents with his own panache, as with chapter 12 (on "mugging") and, in a different manner, chapter 11, which discusses feminist demands.[27]

This book includes material selected to represent historically the range of Hall's media writings across medium, topic, and type of writing. Most of the work comes from the 1970s. With the election of Margaret Thatcher in May 1979, and Hall's move to the Open University, his focus changed. Through *Marxism Today*, under the editorship of Martin Jacques, began the series of essays that define Thatcherism.[28] At the Open University the media-specific interests are subsumed into more general questions of representation and popular culture, while elsewhere his long-standing interest in photography becomes reinvigorated in the encounter with younger black practitioners and curators such as David A. Bailey.[29] When this volume was planned, it was assumed that it would include all the big television/media essays.[30] Length problems apart, this seemed to misrepresent his media engagements, giving a rather leaden feel to it all. Instead, I have sought out shorter, more ephemeral pieces so that the overall mixture feels closer to the way in which Hall was so often working on many things at the same time. He wasn't precious about his writing, and he often thinks the problem of the moment across several sites, using a range of registers to address different audiences. There are repetitions, but also connections and developments, so that it is possible to see, for example, that book reviews about television in part III come from the same set of concerns as the discussion of the news photograph in part I. Later in the book there are more contextual introductions to each of the three parts: "The Photograph in Context," "Media Studies and Cultural Studies," and "Television." In a gesture toward the significance of Stuart Hall's voice in

his work as a public intellectual and teacher, the book concludes with a transcription of a radio program.[31] This is an episode of the BBC radio program *Desert Island Discs*, in which he selected the eight discs with which he would choose to be cast away on a desert island.[32] The life Hall recounts and the music through which he chooses to tell it provide a fitting end to the book.

NOTES

1 James Procter has shown that the archive of BBC radio scripts from the *Calling the West Indies* program "Caribbean Voices," to which Hall contributed in the 1950s, is much larger than previously thought. See Procter's forthcoming monograph, *Scripting Empire: Broadcasting, the BBC and the Black Atlantic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); "Transnational Cultural Exchange: The BBC as Contact Zone," in *Cambridge History of Black and Asian British Writing*, ed. Susheila Nasta and Mark U. Stein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 148–162; and "Una Marson at the BBC," *Small Axe* 19, no. 3 (2015): 1–28.

2 Since Hall's death in 2014 there have been a number of significant retrospective accounts of his work. In addition to those referenced in this introduction, see Geoff Eley, "Stuart Hall, 1932–2014," *History Workshop Journal* 79 (Spring 2015): 303–20; Jeremy Gilbert, "This Conjuncture: For Stuart Hall," *New Formations* 96–97 (2019): 5–37 (the issue is devoted to Hall); and Lawrence Grossberg, ed., "Remembering Stuart Hall," special issue, *Cultural Studies* 29, no. 1 (2015).

3 Hall uses "history of the present" to describe his own writing in a 2007 interview with Les Back, "At Home and Not at Home," *Cultural Studies* 23, no. 4 (2009): 658–87, quotation on 664. Homi Bhabha discusses Hall's engagement with the work of Antonio Gramsci, and particularly his notion of "the 'present' as hegemonic project," in "'The Beginning of Their Real Enunciation': Stuart Hall and the Work of Culture," *Critical Inquiry* 42, no. 1 (Autumn 2015): 1–30, quotation on 24. David Scott distinguishes between what comprises the present for Hall and for Michel Foucault, pointing to the way in which Foucault's genealogical project deals in longer durées than Hall's, and thus his history of the present is epochal, while Hall's deals more with the contingency of the present and has a different aspiration in relation to political action. See David Scott, *Stuart Hall's Voice: Intimations of an Ethics of Receptive Generosity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 55–60. My use of the phrase "history of the present" is more provisional, in that I propose the history as the accumulation of the many different presents analyzed for their structuring contexts.

4 Hall discusses this at more length in Hall and Back, "At Home and Not at Home," 662. See also Catherine Hall, "What Is a West Indian?," in *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain*, ed. Bill Schwarz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 31–50.

5 Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (London: Verso, 1993).

6 Stuart Hall, "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities" (1991), in *Essential Essays*, vol. 2, ed. David Morley (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), 63–82, quotation on 70.

7 Hall, "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities," 70.

8 A glimpse of this 1967 BBC program can be seen in John Akomfrah's 2013 film, *The Stuart Hall Project*.

9 The lengthy commentary "Marx's Notes on Method: A 'Reading' of the '1857 Introduction'" illuminates how Hall is conceptualizing "context" and the relation between abstraction and reality—through Marx's categories—in the 1970s, and the work is particularly pertinent to the method of media analysis that produces *Policing the Crisis*. See Hall, "Marx's Notes on Method: A 'Reading' of the '1857 Introduction,'" *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* 6 (1974).

10 Stuart Hall, Charles Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts, "Preface to the Second Edition," in *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), xiv.

11 David Bailey and Stuart Hall, "Critical Decade: An Introduction," in "Critical Decade: Black British Photography in the 80s," special issue, *Ten.8* 2, no. 3 (1992): 4–7.

12 John Akomfrah, "The Partisan's Prophecy," in *Stuart Hall: Conversations, Projects and Legacies*, ed. Julian Henriques, David Morley, and Vana Goblot (London: Goldsmiths Press, 2017), 202.

13 This is particularly noticeable in relation to music; it is difficult to imagine Hoggart writing "the blues are not only a form—they are a *feeling*." Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel, *The Popular Arts* (London: Hutchinson Educational, 1964), 93. The moral seriousness of this plea for attention to mass media within schools can perhaps be illuminated by noting that 1964 is also the year in which another canon-busting manifesto is published: Susan Sontag's "Notes on Camp," *Partisan Review* 31, no. 4 (Fall 1964): 515–30.

14 I tracked down the Western cinema project when preparing this collection, only to discover that its final custodian had taken it for paper recycling only months before. "A Cure for Marriage," an early 1970s women's magazine project, may yet be published in some form.

15 Hall et al., "Preface to the Second Edition," xviii. Angela Y. Davis considers the lessons of the book for the United States in the twenty-first century: "Policing the Crisis Today," in *Stuart Hall: Conversations, Projects and Legacies*, 257–65.

16 Lawrence Grossberg describes Hall as "a radical contextualist" in "Stuart Hall on Race and Racism: Cultural Studies and the Practice of Contextualism," in *Culture, Politics, Race and Diaspora: The Thought of Stuart Hall*, ed. Brian Meeks (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2007), 98–119. I do not engage here with the substantial literature on contextualization. See, for example, Martin Jay, "Historical Explanation and the Event: Reflections on the Limits of Contextualization," *New Literary History* 42, no. 4 (2011): 557–71.

17 Stuart Hall, "Black Diaspora Artists in Britain: Three 'Moments' in Post-war History," *History Workshop Journal* 61 (Spring 2006): 1–24, quotation on 23.

18 This research was undertaken for the *Black and White in Television* project. See the introduction to part III.

19 The bibliography of Hall's work prepared by Nick Beech for the Estate of Stuart Hall is available at http://stuarthallfoundation.org/professor-stuart-hall-2/bibliography/ (accessed November 2019).

20 Hall's archive is deposited in the Cadbury Research Library of the University of Birmingham, UK, https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/facilities/cadbury/index.aspx (accessed November 2019).

21 Angela McRobbie, "Stuart Hall: Art and the Politics of Black Cultural Production," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 115, no. 4 (October 2016): 665–83, quotation on 668.

22 David Scott, *Stuart Hall's Voice: Intimations of an Ethics of Receptive Generosity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

23 *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), for example, was attributed to the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, while *Women Take Issue* (London: Hutchinson, 1978) was written by the CCCS Women's Studies Group.

24 Kobena Mercer, "Stuart Hall and the Visual Arts," *Small Axe* 19, no. 1 (2015): 78–87, quotation on 79.

25 For example, the extract that forms chapter 1 is from a preface, and chapters 10 and 13 are introductions, while chapter 23 introduced the event at which it was delivered.

26 Hall and Back, "At Home and Not at Home," 660.

27 Martin Jacques, the editor of *Marxism Today* from 1978 to 1991, edited many of Hall's most important political interventions in this period and has written vividly of the "throat-clearing" of Hall's early drafts. See Scott, *Stuart Hall's Voice*, 64–65.

28 Collected in Stuart Hall, *The Hard Road to Renewal* (London: Verso, 1988).

29 See David Bailey and Stuart Hall, eds., "Critical Decade: Black British Photography in the 80s," special issue, *Ten.8* 2, no. 3 (1992). There may follow, in this book series, edited volumes of Hall's writings on photography and visual arts.

30 Volume 1 of Hall's *Essential Essays*, ed. David Morley (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), includes "External Influences on Broadcasting: The External/Internal Dialectic in Broadcasting—Television's Double Bind" (1972) and "Culture, the Media, and the 'Ideological Effect'" (1977). Chapter 20 draws on the first of these. "The 'Structured Communication' of Events" (1973), and the cowritten pieces "Newsmaking and Crime" (with John Clarke, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, and Brian Roberts) and "The 'Unity' of Current Affairs Television" (with Ian Connell and Lidia Curti) are available in *CCCS Selected Working Papers*, ed. Ann Gray, Jan Campbell, Mark Erickson, Stuart Hanson, and Helen Wood (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2007).

31 In Britain it is a mark of a certain kind of establishment public recognition to be invited onto *Desert Island Discs.* The artist Ting-Ting Cheng drew on this recording

for "On the Desert Island," an interactive, site-specific work presented at the Institute of International Visual Arts (iniva.org) in May 2017, the outcome of the first Stuart Hall Library Artist's Residency (stuarthallfoundation.org).

32 The *Desert Island Discs* archive is available at https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006qnmr/episodes/player (accessed November 2019). The program comes from February 18, 2000. Hall's courtesy to his interviewer is also instructive.