ESSENTIAL ESSAYS VOL. 2

Identity and Diaspora

Edited and with an introduction by **David Morley**

Stuart Hall

Stuart Hall: Selected Writings

A Series Edited by Catherine Hall and Bill Schwarz

ESSENTIAL ESSAYS

Identity and Diaspora

VOLUME 2

Stuart Hall

Edited by
David Morley

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS | DURHAM AND LONDON | 2019

Printed in the United States of America on
acid-free paper ∞
Designed by Amy Ruth Buchanan
Typeset in Minion Pro by Westchester Publishing Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Hall, Stuart, [date] author. | Morley, David, [date] editor.
Title: Essential essays / Stuart Hall ; edited by David Morley.
Other titles: Foundations of cultural studies. | Identity and diaspora.
Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2018. | Series: Stuart Hall,
selected writings | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018022953 (print)
LCCN 2018049804 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478002413 (v. 1 ; ebook)
ISBN 9781478002710 (v. 2 ; ebook)
ISBN 9781478000747 (v. 1 ; hardcover ; alk. paper)
ISBN 1478000740 (v. 1 ; hardcover ; alk. paper)
ISBN 9781478000938 (v. 1 ; pbk. ; alk. paper)
ISBN 1478000937 (v. 1 ; pbk. ; alk. paper)
ISBN 9781478001287 (v. 2 ; hardcover ; alk. paper)
ISBN 1478001283 (v. 2 ; hardcover ; alk. paper)
ISBN 9781478001638 (v. 2 ; pbk. ; alk. paper)
ISBN 1478001631 (v. 2 ; pbk. ; alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Sociology. | Culture.
Classification: LCC HM585 (ebook) | LCC HM585 .H34 2018 (print) |
DDC 301—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018022953

Cover art: Dawoud Bey, *Stuart McPhail Hall, 9 May 1998*, diptych
portrait (detail). Collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London.
© Dawoud Bey. Courtesy of the artist.

CONTENTS

A NOTE ON THE TEXT

The essays published here represent a number of Stuart Hall's better-known reflections on intellectual life and politics, which, for many of us, still live in the mind. They derive from a long period, over many years. Each is written with verve and a sense of urgency. They are, properly, *essays*—conceived for the moment. They have a life of their own, having shaped to varying degrees the intellectual landscape that remains our own. On these terms, they should be judged.

They were seldom conceived principally as contributions to academic thought, even while their academic impact proved significant. The overriding imperative was to clarify thought on the matter in hand and to suggest a route through the quandaries that, at the time, prevailed. In such circumstances, in Hall's mind the conventions required of academic writing weren't paramount. These mattered, of course, but they didn't preoccupy him. Many of the essays published here began life as talks which, when it was decided they should appear in print, were only retrospectively supplied with the academic apparatus of bibliographies and citations. As talks, or even as essays to be published, this bibliographic labor was often conducted after the event, on the run. This has led us to the conclusion that the production of a uniform text is not possible. What can be done has been done. But the retrospective reconstruction of complete bibliographic referencing is now beyond our reach.

This explains the variety of bibliographic systems that compose the volume as well as the variations in presentation. Meanwhile, in the body of the essays small additions and clarifications occur. Certain minor interpolations have been supplied to explain matters that might otherwise escape contemporary readers, and references from the original publication to companion articles, in journals or books, have been deleted. A small handful of obvious errors has been corrected, misprints dispatched, and the occasional refinement in punctuation has been introduced. But otherwise, the essays presented here remain as they were when they first entered public life.

Catherine Hall
Bill Schwarz
Series Editors

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to Les Back, Kuan-Hsing Chen, and David Scott for agreeing to the republication of their interviews with Stuart Hall. The editor is grateful to Leanne Benford, Vana Goblot, Christian Høgsbjerg, and James Taylor for their help with the script, and to Nick Beech for letting me draw from his indispensable bibliography. Bill Schwarz is owed much more than gratitude, as without all his help the book would simply not exist. We owe more than we can say to Ken Wissoker, who with intellectual insight, labor, and goodwill has brought the Stuart Hall: Selected Writings series to life. Thanks as well to the team at Duke, particularly Elizabeth Ault and Christi Stanforth.

From the Edge of Empire to the Diaspora in the Metropolis

Stuart Hall was born in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1932 into an aspirant middle-class brown Jamaican family. He was always conscious of the overbearing complexity of what he later came to call the "pigmentocracy" of Jamaican society. Skin color was a crucial issue—he was conscious of being known as the blackest member of his own family, and his mother's censorious reaction to his sister's attempt to build a relationship with a boyfriend who was considered to be "too black" created a familial crisis that remained vivid in Stuart's mind throughout his life. All of that, as he explained at various points, made him feel that he had to escape the Caribbean if he was to survive. Having received a classically British formal education at a prestigious institution—Jamaica College in Kingston—he duly won a Rhodes Scholarship, which enabled him to escape from Jamaica, and arrived at Oxford University in 1951 to study English literature.[1]

His accounts of the initial train ride, following his arrival, through the English countryside en route to Oxford stressed how very much at home he felt in many ways—being thoroughly familiar with the English landscape from the novels of Thomas Hardy. However, at Oxford he soon realized that although he could easily study English culture on the page, he could never completely "belong" there, being so fundamentally formed by the colonial experience of Jamaica. He was, he came to realize, simply one member of a

particular generation of postwar migrants—starting with those who arrived in the UK on the ship the *Empire Windrush* in 1948—and who, he said, he knew constituted his prime subject, ever since he met them coming out of Paddington Station, off the boat trains. To that extent, he was part of a massive demographic and cultural change in the composition of the population of Britain, and in some ways he always remained, in part, an "outsider," a familiar stranger in a liminal position with a fundamentally migrant/diasporic perspective on the culture of the country in which he lived most of his life. His subjectivity was formed not only on the edges of the British empire but on the edges of the West itself.

Having rapidly involved himself with left-wing politics while at Oxford, becoming a key figure in the emergence of what became known as the "New Left," he also (as he put it) found himself "dragged into Marxism backwards"—simultaneously opposed to the Soviet tanks in Budapest and to the Anglo-French paratroopers dispatched to the Suez Canal. In the crucial (and for Stuart, politically formative) moment of 1956, when those crises in Hungary and Egypt shook the foundations of both of the Cold War empires, he and his fellow "postcolonials" found it necessary (rather in the spirit of the Non-Aligned Movement of the time) to begin deconstructing the Eurocentric prejudices of the very Marxism to which they had initially been attracted. Only thus could they address the questions at stake in the emerging post-imperial politics of the era, as movements for national independence grew in strength everywhere.

By the mid-1950s, many of Stuart's cohort of fellow migrant students were beginning to look toward a "return" to their countries of origin, in order to participate in and help shape their emerging postcolonial movements—and in Stuart's case, evidently, the particular temptation was to return to Caribbean politics in order to pursue these issues. However, for a variety of reasons, both to do with his own sense of discomfort with the culture of Jamaica, Stuart decided to stay in the UK.[2] At the same time, he moved out of the academic environment at Oxford, abandoning his proposed DPhil in order to pursue the politics of the various New Left projects in which he was involved and that were then based in London. He was, at this time, involved with the *Universities and Left Review* and its associated Partisan Coffee House and book clubs as well as with the formation of the *New Left Review*, of which he became the editor. This was also the beginning of his long career as a public, campaigning intellectual, not only in relation to matters of Marxism and class politics but also through his involvement in

the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (in which context he met his future wife, Catherine, on a CND protest march in 1964).

Throughout this time, he supported himself by teaching what was then called "liberal studies" in a secondary school in a poor area of South London—and that work focused on the emerging areas of popular culture. He was, in fact, teaching what would nowadays be called media studies. In this endeavor, Stuart brought the skills in literary analysis that he had developed at Oxford to bear on defining the new media of the day (cinema and, later, television), working in conjunction with a new generation of teachers and scholars attracted to the British Film Institute, especially Paddy Whannel, with whom he wrote *The Popular Arts* in 1964.

This work brought him to the attention of Richard Hoggart, whose *The Uses of Literacy* had been published to considerable acclaim in 1957, and who had subsequently been invited by the University of Birmingham to set up what became the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) there in 1964. Hoggart invited Stuart to join him as the Centre's first research fellow that same year, and Stuart and his family moved to Birmingham, where they stayed until 1979.

Stuart gradually took over directorship of CCCS from Hoggart from the late 1960s onward—initially on a de facto basis, as Hoggart spent an increasing amount of his time working in Paris with UNESCO—then becoming full-time director in 1969. The story of the development of what retrospectively became internationally famous as "The Birmingham School" under Stuart's intellectual leadership has been widely rehearsed, and the interested reader can easily consult a whole range of sources.[3]

From Birmingham to the Open University and Rivington Place

The first installment of this pair of volumes devoted to Stuart's *Essential Essays* focuses principally on the development of his work during the initial period of his involvement with the New Left, and then through his time at CCCS. During this period, Stuart's approach, while initially much influenced by dialogues with the work of Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, and Edward Thompson, gradually moved away from that left-wing "culturalist" perspective—and from the more fundamentalist forms of Marxism espoused by some parts of the New Left.[4] This transition occurred at CCCS through a series of paradigm-shifting intellectual encounters both with revisionist

forms of Marxism (especially Althusser, Poulantzas, and, most importantly, Gramsci), structural anthropology and linguistics (Lévi-Strauss, Saussure), semiology (Barthes and Veron), and later with psychoanalytic theory (both Freud and Lacan), deconstruction, and new forms of historical work based around discourse analysis of a variety of types (Foucault, Derrida).

Besides the hothouse development of these academic and analytical perspectives, the work of the CCCS was also awash with the political conflicts of the 1970s and 1980s, as first feminism, gay, and, later, queer politics, and then antiracism and the politics of identity, and the intersections of race, ethnicity, and gender all created moments of intellectual crisis within CCCS.[5] If all these contentious—and deeply conflictual—debates were, of course, the very lifeblood of what made CCCS an increasingly powerful intellectual influence in Britain and, as time went on, internationally, they were nonetheless personally exhausting for Stuart. In 1980 he left CCCS and moved to the Open University, with the ambition of taking the new forms of Cultural Studies that had been developed at CCCS to a wider educational audience. He was then able to address these new constituencies through the many courses on media, popular culture, and identity, which he developed and ran during his years there, until his retirement in 1997.

As has been noted in the introductory materials in volume 1 and as can be seen in the materials collected in the subsequent parts of this volume, Stuart's so-called retirement became an extremely productive period. During the 1980s and 1990s Stuart had developed a large body of theoretical work on questions of race and ethnicity, diaspora and identity—the key elements of which are represented in this volume. Having done so, in his retirement he then became heavily involved in active forms of support for a variety of black arts initiatives, principally in the fields of film and photography, leading, ultimately, to the development of the Rivington Place Arts Centre, set up to promote cultural diversity in the visual arts, which opened in London in 2007 and of which Stuart was the first chairman.

However, at this stage, having offered these skeletal facts about Stuart's life and work, it is important to note here that Stuart himself was always resistant to mere autobiography. Thus, even when his work took an autobiographical turn in the mid-1980s, as he more directly confronted questions raised by the politics of identity, the biographical dimension, which he then added in to his writing, is not to be taken at face value. When in his speech at the Illinois conference on Cultural Studies in 1990 he chose to recount his own experience of Cultural Studies and of CCCS itself, he explained care-

fully that in speaking autobiographically he did so not in order to seize "the authority of authenticity" but rather to properly situate himself in relation to the historical circumstances in which he had lived and worked—and thus to carefully delimit any generalizations that might otherwise be drawn from his specific experiences.[6] Later, in telling his own family story, as he does in the interview with Kuan-Hsing Chen (chapter 6), he renders his experiential account of discovering his own blackness in tandem with its own theorization—in coming to understand what it means to be part of the peripheral, displaced, and marginalized diaspora. In doing so, he implicitly follows the Irish poet Patrick Kavanagh in treating the self as not so much an unquestioned ground of knowledge or revelation but rather as only an illustration of wider themes.

In all these contexts, Stuart is careful to recognize that identity is always something constructed in discourse rather than some given sociological or biological essence that preexists representation. In general terms, his exploration of these issues is perhaps best explicated in his essay "The Work of Representation," where he explores the significance of the contribution of Foucauldian (and other) forms of discourse analysis.[7] He is also very clear about the extent that identity, far from being a matter of self-creation, is, rather, best understood as something constructed in and through a dialogic process—in which individuals attempt to develop a sense of their identity in (sometimes conflictual) interaction with identities thrust upon them by others. Thus, elsewhere, Stuart talks about how "at different times in my 30 years in England, I have been hailed or interpellated as 'coloured,' 'West Indian,' 'Negro,' . . . 'immigrant' . . . sometimes abusively, sometimes in a friendly manner, sometimes ambiguously."[8] Here we see Stuart also implicitly connecting Volosinov's perspective on the political significance of struggles over the multi-accentuality of the sign (whether in matters of class, race, or ethnicity) with more contemporary approaches to recent struggles over the resignification of markers of identity such as "black," "gay," or "queer."[9]

Questions of Publication and Periodization

The conclusion of this (heavily condensed) story of the earlier parts of Stuart's life and work also brings us to a formal point of juncture, at which it is perhaps worth rehearsing the logic according to which these two volumes have been constructed and, indeed, how they have been divided. When dealing with someone for whom the bibliography of their published work over

their lifetime runs to more than sixty-five pages, with an output covering a vast array of different fields, the task of selecting a mere twenty-three of the essays, which are then deemed to constitute the "essential" ones, has been a daunting one. The long and complex process of selection of the materials has been rehearsed in the introduction to volume 1.[10]

The key editorial task has been to try to square the circle of making the selection comprehensive enough to represent the full range of Stuart's interests and achievements while restricting it to an overall length that made it manageable as a publishable project. The material in the two volumes combined runs to approximately 300,000 words—which was clearly beyond the manageable contents for a single book. The key decision was then how best to divide the materials between the two volumes. The main organizing principle adopted, for heuristic reasons, has been a chronological one. Volume 1 concentrates, on the whole, on the products of the earlier parts of Stuart's career, and volume 2 focuses on the later work. As can be seen both from the titles of the two volumes (*Foundations of Cultural Studies* and *Identity and Diaspora*) and from the headings of the different parts of each volume, that earlier work concentrates, overall, on discussions of the constituent parts and defining approaches of Cultural Studies, on questions of cultural theory and methodology, and on the difficulties of developing interdisciplinary perspectives. Its empirical foci tend, in general, to be on questions of class and culture, and concerns with media, ideology, and representation. Central to Stuart's work during that period was the development of a nonessentialist form of "Marxism without guarantees," which enabled him, working from a theoretical base developed from his encounter with Althusser and Gramsci, to produce a conjuncturalist form of political analysis and intervention. This is represented most prominently in Stuart's massively influential analysis of the emerging forms of authoritarian populism—and specifically of Thatcherism—which came to dominate British politics from the 1980s onward. The two most emblematic products of this period of Stuart's work are represented in part IV of volume 1, in the form of "The Great Moving Right Show" and the retrospective account of the gestation and production of what subsequently became the canonical book *Policing the Crisis*.

As can readily be seen by looking at both the title of this volume and the headings of its parts, in his later work Stuart more often took as his explicit topic questions of race, ethnicity, and identity, and, to that extent, the essays in this volume can be seen to display a shift in the focus of his analytical attention. However, while it has proved heuristically useful to adopt this

distinction, I must immediately declare it to only be operating here "under erasure" and not to be a distinction that should be taken at face value. In the first place, Stuart's anti-essentialist analysis of race and ethnicity is only made possible on the basis of the theoretical anti-essentialism previously produced in relation to his analysis of class; moreover, as we shall see, questions of race and ethnicity had long informed his earlier work, even when not highlighted as the ostensible topic under discussion.

Interweaving the Intellectual Threads: Articulating Class, Race, and Diaspora

In the 1997 interview with David Scott (included here as chapter 8), the question is posed as to the extent to which Stuart should be understood to be a specifically Caribbean intellectual.[11] Scott observes there that the question of race is sometimes understood to have only taken a central place in Stuart's work starting in the mid-1980s. Politely as ever, Stuart firmly demurs at this formulation, observing that although he understands why people might say this, "in fact, it's not quite true, you know." He goes on to point out not only that he was producing empirically based and policy-related work on race and immigration in Britain from the 1950s onward but that he was also addressing these matters in theoretical terms in essays from the late 1970s such as "Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance" (volume 1, chapter 6) and "Pluralism, Race and Class in Caribbean Society"—although some part of that work was circulated though the channels of UNESCO's Division of Human Rights rather than being visible within the academic Cultural Studies.[12]

However, the point is a complex one because as Scott himself notes elsewhere, Stuart had written about West Indian literature when he first came to England in the 1950s, and then published early studies of immigrant culture, such as *The Young Englanders* in 1967.[13] Stuart also insists here on the autobiographical context of his early involvement in these issues. Thus, he points out that as part of the New Left he also had a strong practical involvement in the early stages of antiracist politics in the UK, following the Notting Hill race riots of the mid-1950s, and explains that his interests in the Caribbean and questions of race never left him, even if they were not always the most prominent and visible parts of his work. Similarly, his later work in an essay titled "The West and the Rest" (chapter 5) needs to be considered in the context of the fact that, right from the moment of 1956, Stuart entered the New

Left as part of a cosmopolitan group of Third World students "from Surinam, from Egypt, the Sudan" who were all fundamentally decentered from the dominant Eurocentric narratives of race, whiteness, and empire.

The autobiographical dimension is also central to explaining the seeming conundrum, referred to earlier, that Scott poses as to why, for instance, Stuart was not conspicuously visible as a Caribbean intellectual in the early 1960s. In response, Stuart explains that this was not only because of his earlier decision not to return after Oxford but because, psychically, he continued to feel "blocked" by the cultural trauma he experienced as part of his Jamaican upbringing, which had made him feel he had to leave—and, indeed, to then stay away. As he explains, it was not until the 1970s, when Jamaica was beginning to recognize itself as a black society, speaking patois and listening to reggae, under the Africanizing influence of Rastafarianism, that he felt that there was a space there in which he could begin to work.

As he notes, through the late 1970s and early 1980s, he continued to produce work on race, principally under the auspices of the UNESCO Division of Human Rights. At the same time, as he explains, if he had taken little explicit involvement in writing about the geographical Caribbean, nonetheless substantial parts of its population had evidently followed him to England, as migrants—and, in their wake, questions of race had become increasingly central to British politics. As he notes, CCCS had been involved in research projects on black crime and later "mugging," starting in the early 1970s (see volume 1, chapters 12 and 13). Later, the CCCS Race and Politics Group, involving influential figures such as Paul Gilroy, Erroll Lawrence, Hazel V. Carby, and Pratibha Parmar, among others, produced the pathbreaking volume *The Empire Strikes Back*.[14] This was central to the development of new theorizations of race, ethnicity, and diaspora, while later, in 1987, Paul Gilroy published his widely influential *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*.[15]

In putting together the two volumes that constitute this overall project, my principal concern throughout has been to demonstrate the continuities and links between the different phases and aspects of Stuart's work. In this context, I am very conscious of how, in so many ways, it has long circled around the mutual imbrication of structures of class, race, ethnicity, gender, culture, and politics. Very frequently in these essays, although only one of those factors is given the declared central focus of attention, the articulation of that one with the other issues in play is central to the analysis. I would argue that the capacity to deal with the ensuing complexities of those multidimensional perspectives is constitutive of Stuart's particular approach.

Thus, even when he is ostensibly talking about class, he is always doing so from a diasporic perspective—because that experience was fundamental to his whole approach, as he explains in different essays in both these volumes.

I have indicated earlier (see my general introduction to the first volume) a number of instances of Stuart's early engagement with these issues in the broader context of questions of colonialism, empire, and immigration, written at different times, from the 1950s onward. Then, from the early 1970s, in the initial iterations of what became the now canonical *Policing the Crisis*, questions of race (and, specifically, images of black criminality) were central to his analysis of the emerging forms of authoritarian populism that came to dominate British politics over the subsequent decades.

In attempting to represent the full breadth of Stuart's approach, and in an attempt to build a bridging perspective, editorially, into these two volumes, the greatest part of that burden is carried by the essay titled "Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance" from 1980 (volume 1, chapter 6) and the paired essay from 1986 titled "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity," which functions as the prologue to this volume, setting the conceptual framework for much of what follows here. In the case of the first of those two essays, we see that as early as 1980, Stuart was painstakingly working his way through a critique of a variety of attempts to theorize the structure of apartheid in South Africa, as a way to create the development of a methodology that would allow him to understand the articulation of questions of race and class.

In "Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance," Stuart outlines the logic of how the theoretical developments first outlined in his critique of classical Marxism can also be applied to the study of what he calls here "racially structured social formations." He takes the analyses of the "test-case" situation of apartheid-era South Africa produced by Harold Wolpe and John Rex as a key point of reference, interrogating them for what lessons they can offer us in developing an analysis that would be capable of articulating questions of race and class without reducing either to an essentialist or epiphenomenal status. The exposition there offers an initial formulation of the arguments that then appear in more developed form in chapter 1 of this volume. However, the earlier formulation is particularly worthy of attention because it clearly shows the intellectual roots of his later development of a nonessentialist politics of black subjectivity and of "new ethnicities." These roots lie, as this chapter shows, in the critique of both the monocausal forms of explanation developed by "teleological Marxism"

and of the descriptive (rather than properly analytic) approaches favored by various forms of sociological pluralism.

His central intention in that argument is to develop a mode of analysis that avoids attributing to race a singular, unitary, and transhistorical character, which is presumed to assert itself in the same way everywhere, just as he simultaneously refuses to treat "His Majesty the Economy" as ultimately determining of everything else. For him, the question is how to recognize the "tendential" forms of pressure and articulation that one structural factor in a social formation exercises on another. In all this, the South African case (at a point at which the system of apartheid was beginning to crack but had not yet broken down) was particularly germane and offered an exemplary instance of how these issues would need to be worked through.

At a metatheoretical level, the focus on apartheid helps clarify the *differentia specifica* of the South African case. The peculiarity of its deviations from the classical capitalist path of development helps demonstrate that the society cannot be understood simply in terms of classical Marxism's concept of the class struggle but also requires attention to the particular forms of what John Rex calls "the race war" engendered by colonial conquest. While the racial dynamics cannot be understood without reference to its economic structure, economics provides only the necessary—rather than the sufficient—conditions, if we are to understand the specific forms of social relations developed in South Africa.

As Stuart notes, this approach alerts us to the importance of refusing classical Marxism's Euro-centeredness "based as it is on extrapolating to other social formations forms of development peculiar to—and illegitimately generalised from—European cases." Here we see the roots of Stuart's later analysis of the specificities of racial and ethnic dynamics in colonial and postcolonial societies, in the Caribbean and elsewhere—which are also indicated here both in his references to Ernesto Laclau's critique of Andre Gunder Frank's ahistorical Marxism and to the important work of Eugene Genovese on the "troublesome case" of plantation slavery.

In a way that then links directly to Althusser's work on the "relative autonomy" of the different levels of a social formation, in which matters of politics, law, culture, and ideology can themselves have determining effects, Stuart insists that we also see here the importance of "the specific . . . form in which underpaid labour surplus is pumped out of direct producers," as Marx formulates it.[16] At a more fundamental level, this point is derived directly from Stuart's commentary on Marx's methodology, in his "Notes on the 1857 In-

troduction to the *Grundrisse*." In this commentary, which is central to Stuart's work, he is at pains to reject the notion of any abstract mode of analysis that fails to attend to the historical specificity of a particular social formation, as it has developed in empirically given circumstances. He is not interested in any all-encompassing "general model" of how the capitalist mode of production determines everything about a social formation. Rather, he is concerned with how the economic, political, legal, and ideological dimensions of a society come to form what he calls, following Althusser, a "complex unity, structured in dominance," where what needs to be understood is how its different elements are articulated together. This was crucial to Stuart's thought, and it was via Althusser's rejection of the Hegelian model of a society as an expressive totality, determined by a single (economic or other) cause, that he was able to develop a more flexible mode of Marxism, mobilizing the concepts of relative autonomy, displacement, dislocation, condensation, and overdetermination. Here, as in "Gramsci's Relevance to the Study of Race and Ethnicity" alongside Althusser, Gramsci is credited with making a fundamental contribution to the development of a nonreductionist form of Marxism, and in his case, one that more specifically escapes the Eurocentrism of much of classical Marxism, precisely because of its attention to the (internal and external) colonial dimensions of the Italian situation.

What then becomes clear in the final part of the race/articulation chapter is how readily the critique of essentialist forms of Marxism can be transposed to the analysis of questions of race and ethnicity. Here, Stuart rejects analyses that invoke a common/universal structure of racism as a general feature of human societies. Rather, his declared aim is to develop an analysis of the historically specific forms of racism and its effects, and of the different ways in which racist ideologies have operated in specific historical and empirical conjunctures. Thus, in working through these theoretical and methodological questions as carefully as this chapter does, it makes a major contribution to our understanding of the articulation (to use his own terminology) of Stuart's analyses of class structures with his analyses of race and ethnicity.

Ending at the Beginning

If the narrative of Stuart's intellectual development is sometimes told as one in which his involvement in matters of globalization and diaspora is only seen to come at a late stage of his career, nothing could, in fact, be further

from the truth. As indicated earlier, it was among a set of ex-colonial intellectuals, many of them from outside Britain, that Stuart was first engaged in the genesis of the New Left of the 1950s.[17] That itself was a crucial point in decentering what is sometimes regarded as the essential "Britishness" both of the New Left and (later) of Cultural Studies itself. Moreover, as John Akomfrah has recently pointed out, the focus on questions of diaspora, migration, and creolization in Stuart's later work, far from being a sudden disavowal of his Marxism in favor of some modish form of identity politics, is prefigured in some of his earliest work.[18] This is well exemplified in Akomfrah's own film *The Unfinished Conversation*, where, as early as 1964, Stuart can be heard on the soundtrack of a BBC radio "Home Service" documentary program titled "A Generation of Strangers" worrying about the phenomenon of Britain producing, among its new migrant families, "young black people who . . . he fears, will discover, as they move into adulthood . . . whatever their capacities and potential, that they are nonetheless defined within British society by the colour of their skin."[19]

We find Stuart there rehearsing many of the themes concerning race and ethnicity that will also figure in his later work. To this extent, as Akomfrah argues, for Stuart "questions pertaining to race were always already in place from the very beginning," and race marked a constituting space from which Cultural Studies developed. Thus, while at a later point, the analysis of those issues in *Policing the Crisis* became the most "visible tip of the iceberg of race," the issue was always already "floating in the sea of cultural studies."[20] Nonetheless, in his later life, Stuart was increasingly preoccupied with questions of identity and subjectivity, especially concerning those on the racialized margins of the former colonizing nations. After his retirement from the Open University, his growing involvement in the Black Arts movement gave him a new lease of intellectual life, and he became chair both of the Institute of International Visual Arts (inIVA) and of the Association of Black Photographers, Autograph (ABP), and organized their successful joint bid for grant funding. This then provided the possibility to create a secure institutional home for both of them—at the purpose-built Rivington Place Arts Centre in East London, which opened in 2007.[21] In some quarters, this engagement with aesthetic matters in the Black Arts movement was treated as a new (or even a surprising) development. However, as he explains in the interview with Les Back (chapter 9), in many ways this took him back to his early interest in documentary photography.[22] Moreover, as made clear in an interview with Colin MacCabe in 2007, as far as he was concerned, he had

been involved in arguments about aesthetics for almost fifty years, ever since writing *The Popular Arts* with Paddy Whannel. These aspects of Stuart's later work are happily now continued by his ex-colleagues at inIVA and Autograph ABP at Rivington Place.

Thus my introduction to the essays in this volume ends here by emphasizing the close connections between the endings and the beginnings of Stuart's work, stressing, once again, the continuities that underlie its changing foci and emphases. Further detailed commentary on the particular chapters in the following parts of the book—"Deconstructing Identities: The Politics of Anti-Essentialism," "The Postcolonial and the Diasporic," and on the more informal discourses of the interviews with David Scott and Les Back—are offered in the separate introductions to parts II, III, and IV of this volume. Beyond this, the epilogue brings matters to a (provisional) conclusion by reproducing the edited transcript of a talk that Stuart originally delivered extempore at a conference in Jamaica in 2007 titled "The Thought of Stuart Hall"—thus giving Stuart himself the last words on all these matters.

NOTES

1 The basic information about Stuart Hall's life, his career, and the development of his work is outlined at more length in the introduction to Stuart Hall, *The Essential Essays, Volume 1: The Foundations of Cultural Studies*, to which the interested reader is invited to refer. For anyone without access to that information, its outlines are briefly restated here. Anyone wanting a richer and fuller account of the relationship between Stuart's life circumstances and the development of his work should consult the magisterial account offered in Stuart Hall, *Familiar Stranger: A Life between Two Islands* (London: Penguin, 2017).

2 On the question of Stuart as a specifically "Caribbean" intellectual, see the interview with David Scott (ch. 8, this volume).

3 These sources include Dennis Dworkin, *Cultural Materialism in Post-War Britain: History the New Left and the Origins of Cultural Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); Michael Green, "The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies," in *Re-Reading English*, ed. Peter Widdowson (London: Methuen, 1982); Geoff Eley, "Stuart Hall 1932–2014," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 79 (2015): 303–320; and Graeme Turner, *British Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 2000).

4 See Stuart's own generous assessment of his debt to Hoggart in Hall, *The Essential Essays, Volume 1*, ch. 1.

5 Charlotte Brunsdon, "A Thief in the Night: Stories of Feminism in the 1970s and CCCS," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Routledge, 1996).

6 See his comments on these issues in the talk given at the Illinois conference on Cultural Studies in Hall, *The Essential Essays, Volume 1*, ch. 3.

7 Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage/Open University, 1997).

8 Stuart Hall, "Signification, Representation and Ideology: Althusser and the Poststructuralist Debates," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2, no. 2 (1985): 108.

9 V. N. Volosinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (New York: Academic Press, 1973); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1990), and *Giving an Account of Oneself* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005); Judith Butler, Ernesto Laclau, and Slavoj Žižek, *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality* (London: Verso, 2000).

10 In order to avoid misunderstanding, it is also worth noting here the rather evident, if unavoidable, irony of using the word "essential" in the titles of these volumes, which represent the work of a scholar who was, above all, an anti-essentialist.

11 See also the discussion of this question in the epilogue to this volume.

12 Stuart Hall, "Pluralism, Race and Class in Caribbean Society," in *Race and Class in Postcolonial Society* (Paris: UNESCO, 1978).

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

14 Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 1982).

15 Important titles in this thread of work inspired by the new approaches to questions of race developed at CCCS include Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London: Hutchinson, 1987); Kobena Mercer and Isaac Julien, "Introduction: De Margin and De Centre," *Screen* 29, no. 4 (1988): 2–12; and Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993). The following year saw the publication of Kobena Mercer, *Welcome to the Jungle* (London: Routledge, 1994). Paul Gilroy's *After Empire*: *Melancholia or Convivial Culture* (London: Routledge) was published in 2004, and in 2011 there appeared *Black Britain: A Photographic History* (London: Saqi), jointly authored by Paul Gilroy and Stuart Hall. Most recently, Mercer has edited a volume presenting the Du Bois lectures that Stuart delivered at Harvard University in 1994 titled *The Fateful Triangle: Race, Ethnicity, Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).

16 Stuart's analysis here follows Barrington Moore Jr.'s approach to the crucial function of political and legal forms for extracting surplus value from labor, in explaining the historical development of different forms of dictatorship and democracy: *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (London: Peregrine, 1969). Barrington Moore's analysis itself shares some qualities with the "harder" form of Rex's distinctive "left Weberianism," of which Stuart speaks approvingly in that chapter.

17 In reminiscing about that experience, Stuart once observed that among that group, Perry Anderson was probably the only British person, and that, anyway, he was partly Irish.

18 John Akomfrah, "The Partisan's Prophecy," in *Stuart Hall: Conversations, Projects and Legacies*, ed. Julian Henriques and David Morley (London: Goldsmiths Press, 2018).

19 "A Generation of Strangers," radio broadcast on BBC "Home Service," August 23, 1964. See also Stuart Hall, *The Young Englanders* (London: National Committee of Commonwealth Immigrants, 1967); "Black Britons" (part 1), *Community* 1, no. 2 (1970): 3–5; "Black Britons" (part 2), *Community* 1, no. 3 (1970): 12–16; and "Our Neighbours from the West Indies," shown on Granada TV in 1971.

20 Akomfrah, "The Partisan's Prophecy," 5–6.

21 The securing of this funding, in which Stuart played a leading role, was an enormously significant achievement, as this was the first publicly funded new-build international arts gallery to open in London since the Hayward Gallery forty years earlier.

22 As outlined in his essays "The Social Eye of Picture Post," *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, no. 2 (1972): 71–120, and "The Determinations of News Photographs," *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, no. 3 (1972): 53–87.