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Stuart Hall, Conjunctural Analysis and Cultural Criminology

A Missed Moment

Tony Jefferson

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Tony Jefferson
School of Social, Political and Global Studies
Keele University
Newcastle-under-Lyme, UK

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Photo of Stuart Hall

*'The challenge of modernity is to live without illusions and without
becoming disillusioned'*

—Antonio Gramsci

*'Where I am, I don't know, I'll never know, in the silence you don't know,
you must go on, I can't go on, I'll go on'*

—Samuel Beckett

*'...when/ you're falling behind in this/ big blue world/ Oh you got to/
Hold on, hold on/ You got to hold on'*

—Tom Waits

*The proceeds from the sale of this book will go to the Stuart Hall
Foundation*

Preface

It all started with Stuart's funeral. I couldn't make it because I was going to be in India. I felt bad, but the thought of postponing a trip that had been long in the planning and difficult to organise, and going through the whole process anew at a later date, felt like a step too far. Instead, I rationalised my decision (Stuart would understand; he'd say 'make the trip') and spent the time when the funeral would have been taking place quietly thinking of him in a hotel room in Jaipur, having just completed a six-hour drive from Delhi. Not the same as being at the funeral, of course, but the thought was there.

Then there were the Obituary notices. Masses of them. From all over the world. By those who knew him well and those who had never met him. It was an extraordinary outpouring of love, affection and gratitude. Again, I went awol, even though I had known him for over 40 years, as teacher, mentor and collaborator, but also as a close friend. As with the missed funeral, I rationalised my decision: nobody asked me (although in the internet age nobody needs another's permission). There were, however, deeper reasons for not writing something then. First, I had been out of cultural studies for a long time and felt that

I could not do proper justice to his intellectual accomplishments. For those, like Stuart, for whom such accomplishments have been central to their lives, these necessarily constitute a significant element in their obituaries. At the same time, I felt unable to write about him just as friend. Partly because, for the reason just mentioned, his accomplishments could not be simply sidelined. Partly because, borrowing Wordsworth's notion of poetry as 'emotions recollected in tranquillity', I never felt tranquil enough to recollect, and then write about, the emotions I was feeling around his death. But perhaps mostly because friendship is so difficult to write about. 'Happy families are all alike', as Tolstoy memorably said, which explains the story teller's preference for the unhappy family, because, as Tolstoy continued, 'every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way'. Good friendships are similarly 'all alike' in their indefinable combination of mutual affection, trust, recognition, ease and pleasure in each other's company. How to write interestingly about the many different occasions when we 'did' friendship, since these were, in essence, 'all alike'?

Finally, there was his memorial the year after the funeral. It was a big gathering of family and friends. There were allocated speaking slots and a time for memories from the floor. Contributing thus entailed a long walk to the microphone, the discipline to be brief and to the point, and the ability to say something revealing or amusing or, preferably, both (to an audience replete with intellectual heavyweights). That was the moment I was going to rectify my absence from his funeral and my failure to write an obituary notice by sharing an anecdote; my moment, finally, to acknowledge publicly something of what Stuart meant to me. But maybe my anecdote wasn't revealing or amusing enough? Maybe it said more about me than Stuart? Maybe the occasion was too august for such a minor intervention? Or maybe, I rationalised, other people needed to tell their stories more than I needed to tell mine. And so the moment passed, again.

Then, several years later and out of the blue, came the invitation to write a book about someone who had been a 'major figure' in criminology, and that someone could be Stuart. Being cautious, long retired and still feeling I knew too little of Stuart's later intellectual work, I hesitated. But not for long. Deep down I knew this was it; the moment

when I could rectify my previous ‘missed moments’. My ‘now or never’ moment. The moment to bear witness, albeit indirectly, to the important role Stuart played in my life. This, then, is the ‘long’ story of how I came to write this book about Stuart. However, this is also a book about cultural criminology. And, although my own trajectory from cultural studies had not taken me into the cultural criminology ‘camp’ but to psychosocial criminology, I nonetheless began to feel that if anyone was going to write a book such as this, it might as well be me. I had had a long apprenticeship in cultural studies, including working with Stuart on the crucial ‘crossover’ texts, *Resistance through Rituals* and *Policing the Crisis*, and also a long career in criminology. There were few better placed to attempt such a book, which is, in the end, a book that asks a simple question: Is the meaning of ‘culture’ in cultural criminology the same as the meaning of ‘culture’ in Stuart’s version of cultural studies; and if not, why not? The cryptic answer is ‘conjunctural analysis’; the longer one requires you to read the book.

I have given myself the liberty here of speaking of ‘Stuart’, the name by which I always knew him. In the main text, however, he becomes, on the advice of one of my trusted readers, ‘Hall’. Although difficult at first, this was the right decision since it is Hall’s work, not him as a person, which is the subject matter of this book.

Sheffield, UK

Tony Jefferson

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements are never easy because we all stand on the shoulders of giants (even the giants). However, confining myself, in the book's spirit, to my more conjunctural debts, this book would never have been started but for the invitation, out of the blue, by Anthony Amatrudo, to write a short book on one of a number of persons from a list he supplied, for a series called 'Pioneers in Criminology'. Stuart Hall was one of the names supplied. My decision to accept was helped by the fact that after a long time thinking more about criminology than cultural studies, I was invited to talk at two cultural studies conferences in 2014, just months after Stuart died, one at Birmingham University marking the 50th anniversary of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, the other at Goldsmiths, University of London exploring Stuart's legacy. These got me thinking again about cultural studies. So, a big thank you to the conference organisers, Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton (Birmingham) and Julian Henriques, David Morley and Van Goblott (Goldsmiths) for the invites. Also to *Theory, Culture and Society* for the serendipitously well-timed invitation to review Stuart's posthumously published Memoir *Familiar Stranger* (2017, Hall with

Schwarz) and, at my suggestion, *Stuart Hall Selected Political writings* (2017, edited by Davison, Featherstone and Schwarz). After these dips back into cultural studies, I was feeling re-familiarised with the field and in a position to say 'yes' when the book invitation followed.

As it happened, this coincided with a moment of frenzied publishing of Stuart's work, some of it never before published lectures. These books proved invaluable to me, not just in making available in one place material that was otherwise widely dispersed or previously unavailable, but also in providing informed and thoughtful introductory route maps through the material. In no particular order, then, my thanks go: to Jennifer Daryl Slack and Larry Grossberg (2016) for rescuing Stuart's highly influential US lecture notes from the 'gnawing criticism of the mice' in *Cultural Studies* 1983, which they also edited and introduced; to Kobena Mercer for his similar rescue job on Stuart's 1994 W. E. B. Dubois lectures at Harvard in 1994, published in 2017 as *The Fateful Triangle*; and to David Morley, whose two-volume selection of Stuart Hall's *Essential Essays* were certainly that to me: published in 2019, my copies are as well-thumbed and annotated as any in my possession. Also essential was Nic Beech's monumental attempt at a complete biography of Hall's work in any and every medium, including all translations: this was my 'bible' for tracking down difficult to find material. Rob Waters' invitation to present a paper at the Birmingham University Conference 2019 to mark the opening there of the Stuart Hall Archive gave me an opportunity to try out some of the ideas informing the book.

Unusually for me, this book is singly authored. However, I regard it as a collective effort. My team of readers, serendipitously assembled but between them with considerable expertise and long experience in cultural studies, criminology, sociology, psychology and psychoanalysis, has been indispensable. They helped me when my belief in the enterprise was flagging; they rescued me from blind alleys; they suggested things I might read; they supplied things I should read; they helped me think through knotty problems; they told me what I didn't know; they unlocked what I didn't know I didn't know; they were kindly in their criticisms and generous in their support. Without them, the loneliness of the long distance writer would have been...lonelier. In short, they helped with everything from broadening my horizons and forestalling my errors to

highlighting my ‘tics’ and shortening my sentences. It helped that these were also my friends, many of whom I have known for a long time (several since our shared postgraduate days at Birmingham) and most of whom I had collaborated with before. Nevertheless, friendship and collegiality never got in the way of the task in hand: ensuring the book was as good as it could be. With that in mind, I wish to reverse something we said, in jest, in the acknowledgements in *Policing the Crisis*: ‘all the errors contained in this book are somebody else’s fault, and the good bits belong to the authors’. Rather, I wish to say, in earnest, that the good bits in this book were a team effort, and the errors are all mine. In alphabetical order, the team were Dave Brown, Ros Brunt, John Clarke, Lynn Chancer, Dave Gadd, Wendy Hollway, Bob Jeffrey, Brian Roberts and Joe Sim. My heartfelt thanks to you all.

Praise for *Stuart Hall, Conjunctural Analysis and Cultural Criminology*

“This is a book which wears its erudition and intellectual ambition lightly. Yet it is steeped in a knowledge of cultural studies: its histories, quarrels and debates. Examining these, Tony Jefferson shows how they can usefully inform an understanding of the ways ‘conjunctures’ actually work. The book also places an innovative emphasis on the relevance of psychoanalysis and the arena of the psycho-social as means for developing deeper analyses of the conjunctural.”

“The intellectual scope of the book makes it a really original, enlightening and accessible read—not only for criminologists, but for all those interested in any aspect of social and cultural research. Particularly because it demonstrates how to apply a wide range of theoretical arguments to the very specifics of concrete situations. And because it does this through the careful and rigorous use of highly relevant contemporary case studies.”

—Rosalind Brunt, *Visiting Research Fellow, Media Studies, Sheffield Hallam University, UK*

“An incisive and perceptive reminder of Stuart Hall’s towering intellectual legacy and of the urgent need to resuscitate conjunctural analysis. The benefits of applying it to issues and movements such as Brexit, Black Lives Matter and Trumpism could hardly be more evident or more topical.”

—David Brown, *Emeritus Professor, University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia*

“There is nothing more important right now than to understand the current conjuncture, and Jefferson, whose psychosocial work in cultural studies and criminology remains groundbreaking, is just the person to illuminate the ways race, class, and heteronormativity are yoked together currently and expressed in the Brexit movement and in Trumpism. A first-class cultural analyst, Jefferson goes where few go, concluding with fascinating insights into unconscious processes, defenses, and, in a non-reductive way, an analysis of how, in the current moment, the social world is shaping psychic life and psychic life, in turn, is shaping the social world.”

—Lynne Layton, *Harvard Medical School, Boston MA, USA. Author of Toward a Social Psychoanalysis: Culture, Character, and Normative Unconscious Processes*

“Tony Jefferson’s much needed intellectual tribute to Stuart Hall brilliantly demonstrates the centrality of conjunctural analysis across all of Hall’s work including but not limited to the spectacular cultural and criminological classic *Policing the Crisis*. Most importantly, Jefferson’s work succeeds in making the powerful political case that Hall’s conjunctural analysis is the opposite of outdated. This method needs rigorous re-application now more than ever to best illuminate, and understand how to respond to, neoliberal capitalist inequalities and the growing psychosocial appeals of populist authoritarianism.”

—Lynn Chancer, *Professor and Executive Officer, PhD Program in Sociology, Graduate Center of the City University of New York*

“Stuart Hall was without question a pioneer in criminology, whilst certainly never a criminologist. But then, he was also a pioneer in media

and cultural studies, race, migration and post-colonial scholarship, political theory and so much else. Amongst Hall's most valuable gifts to criminology was that of never being contained by it. Tony Jefferson honours Hall's legacies to critical thought in and beyond criminology by seeking to apply his methods and insights in the present. Jefferson consciously writes in the spirit of what he owes to Hall. And so, he gives us a combative, original, provocative book that ranges far beyond the standard criminological topics to include encounters with Trump and Brexit; the politics of race and nation; populism and the currents of anger in our personal and political lives. Jefferson wants us to attend to the contradictions and particularities of the conjuncture, as Hall so tirelessly did."

—Richard Sparks, *Professor of Criminology, Edinburgh University*

"Stuart Hall and his co-authors, Tony Jefferson prominently among them, gave us *Resistance through Rituals* (1975) and *Policing the Crisis* (1978)—landmark books that deployed cultural, historical and neo-Marxist theory to develop brilliant explanations of youth crime and law and order politics. But criminology has mostly failed to appreciate Hall's break-through analyses or to assimilate the neo-Gramscian concepts he deployed, the most important of which is 'conjunctural analysis'—the structural equivalent of a history of the present. Tony Jefferson's timely new book clearly and accessibly re-introduces Stuart Hall's ideas for a criminological readership and goes on to demonstrate, with flair and imagination, how Hall's concepts can illuminate the complex, disturbing conjuncture that we are living through today."

—David Garland, *Arthur T. Vanderbilt Professor of Law and Professor of Sociology, New York University*

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About the Author

Tony Jefferson was a Postgraduate Student at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University during the 1970s where he worked with Stuart Hall and others to produce *Resistance through Rituals* (1976/2006) and *Policing the Crisis* (1978/2013). Thereafter, he has taught at the universities of Sheffield and Keele and researched and published widely on policing, masculinity, race and crime, fear of crime and racial violence. He has held Visiting Professorships in Denmark, Sweden, Australia and the USA. His books include *Controlling the Constable* (1984) and *Interpreting Policework* (1987) (both with Roger Grimshaw), *The Case Against Paramilitary Policing* (1990), *Doing Qualitative Research Differently* (2000/2013) (with Wendy Hollway) and *Psychosocial Criminology* (2007) (with David Gadd). He is currently an Emeritus Professor in Criminology at Keele University.

Abbreviations

BLM	Black Lives Matter
BNP	British National Party
CCCS	Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies
EDL	English Defence League
ISAs	Ideological State Apparatuses
<i>MT</i>	<i>Marxism Today</i>
NDC	National Deviancy Conference
OU	Open University
<i>PTC</i>	<i>Policing the Crisis</i>
<i>RTR</i>	<i>Resistance through Rituals</i>
<i>SPS</i>	<i>State, Power, Socialism</i>
<i>TNC</i>	<i>The New Criminology</i>
<i>TPOM</i>	<i>The Problem of Method</i>
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
<i>WPCS</i>	<i>Working Papers in Cultural Studies</i>

These will appear in full in their first usage in each chapter in which they appear but only in abbreviated format for each subsequent usage.

The list does not include abbreviations like UK, USA, EU, etc. which are so commonplace as to be self-explanatory.

Emphases within quotes. These will only be acknowledged when they have been added. Otherwise, all quotes containing emphases are as they appear in the original.



1

Introduction and Overview

For those interested in the ideas of Stuart Hall, there are now four biographies,¹ at least four edited volumes² and ten special issues of journals³ specifically devoted to his ideas, the first volume of his long awaited autobiography,⁴ several new collections of his writings,⁵ including previously unpublished lectures,⁶ and two films by John Akomfrah,⁷ that can be

¹Rojek (2003), Procter (2004), Davis (2004), and Scott (2017).

²Morley and Chen, eds. (1996), Gilroy et al., eds. (2000), Meeks, ed. (2007), and Henriques et al., eds. (2017).

³*Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10 (2), 1986; *Matrizes* 10 (3), 2016; *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 18 (2), 2017; *South Atlantic Quarterly* 115 (4), 2016; *Discourse* 36 (2), 2015; *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 19 (1), 2016; *Social Text Journal Online*, 2014; *Critical Studies in Media Communications* 33 (5), 2016; *Howard Journal of Communication* 27 (2), 2016; and *New Formations* 96/97, 2019.

⁴Hall with Schwarz (2017).

⁵Hall (2017a) and Morley, ed. (2019a, b).

⁶Hall (2016) and Hall (2017b).

⁷*The Unfinished Conversation* (2012) and *The Stuart Hall Project* (2013).

consulted. So, why another volume? Why now? And, why should criminologists be interested? Over the course of eleven chapters, this book will attempt to answer these questions.

For those unfamiliar with Hall's life, I start with a brief sketch to help situate elements of the argument to come.⁸ Born into the brown middle classes in Jamaica in 1932, he grew up during the struggle for independence and came to England on a Rhodes scholarship to study English Literature at Oxford in 1951. The doctoral study of Henry James that followed was interrupted by the 1956 invasions, of Egypt by an Anglo-French-Israeli alliance, and of Hungary by the Soviet Union. These seismic events led to Hall abandoning his doctorate for politics, becoming a founder member of the new left, editor of *Universities Left Review* and then *New Left Review*, and a committed Campaigner for Nuclear Disarmament. Supporting himself by supply teaching at a South London secondary modern school, his co-written *The Popular Arts* (Hall and Whannel 1964) led to a research fellowship at the newly started Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at Birmingham University, the Centre which was to create a new trans-disciplinary field, namely, cultural studies. Hall went on to become its inspirational Director during its 1970s heyday and to produce a slew of writings many of which were to become classics of cultural studies. After Birmingham came his Open University (OU) years where he was the key thinker, writer and teacher-broadcaster of numerous, exciting, new OU Social Sciences courses, many of which introduced recently developed cultural studies ideas to a mass, undergraduate audience. He also began to explore questions of identity through a series of highly influential essays.

Being a committed intellectual also entailed working outside as well as inside the academy. Outside the University he was the intellectual force behind the transformation of *Marxism Today* (MT) from a Communist Party journal to the most significant British political journal of the

⁸Many short introductions to his life can be found among the obituary notices that followed his death in February 2014. The best source of these is the Stuart Hall Foundation website's 'Obituaries, Reminiscences and Commentaries' established after his death and is open to be added to. Of many moving and eloquent appraisals, Eley (2015) is probably the most comprehensive, single overview.

1980s. He also gave generously of his time in all manner of political and public settings.⁹ After the demise of *MT*, he became one of the founder-editors of a new journal, *Soundings*, to which he contributed until his death in 2014. During this same, largely post-retirement, period, Hall began to champion the black arts movement, by helping to create a new arts centre, Rivington Place in Shoreditch, and through chairing two attached organisations, namely, the Institute of International Visual Arts (InIVA) and the Association of Black Photographers (Autograph). In many ways, this return to the arts, informed by the politics of culture, ethnicity and identity, constituted a fitting endpoint to an immensely productive, influential and wide-ranging political/intellectual life.

When he died, in 2014, the outpourings of grief, love and respect came from all over the globe. Various, though remarkably consistently, these addressed: his extraordinary range of talents—as orator, writer, broadcaster, teacher, mentor, collaborator and enabler; the breadth of his knowledge, subtlety of his thinking and prolificacy of his contributions across many intellectual disciplines and fields; the depth and steadfastness of his political commitment to a juster, fairer world; and the graceful, humorous charm that constantly underpinned his generosity towards struggling student and political opponent alike. The occasional appearance of ‘the Godfather of multiculturalism’ label was perhaps to be expected, although it was not one Hall himself liked because multiculturalism carried such a variety of contested meanings (Hall 2000: 210–11), most of which he opposed. However, the idea that he ‘was mourned like some kind of Nelson Mandela of cultural studies’ (Fornäs 2014), or was described as an academic version of Usain Bolt (by Annie Paul quoted in Niaah 2014), or ‘the “Che Guevara” of the academic field’ (Zhang 2017), or ‘the Du Bois of Britain’ (by Henry Louis Gates Jr quoted in Yardley 2014; Londis 2017), neatly encapsulate, respectively, the love bordering on veneration that he generated, his peerless talent, his revolutionary spirit and the height of his intellectual standing. In similar summary

⁹For example, to a series of unofficial inquiries to investigate police misconduct—*Southall 23 April 1979* and *The Death of Blair Peach* (Unofficial committee of Enquiry 1980a, b); the death of Colin Roach and policing in Hackney 1945–1984 (Hall 1989); and Broadwater Farm—as well as to public inquiries like the Lawrence Inquiry (Hall et al. 1998) and as a member of The Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (Parekh 2000).

vein, I wish to propose that Hall is Gramsci's natural heir. What I mean by that, criminology's failure, for the most part, to appreciate what this entailed, and its contemporary relevance, will provide the spine of the book's argument.

As many of the obituary writers attest, conjunctural analysis—a term often associated with the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971)—was central to Hall's work and to the cultural studies project more generally, certainly as conceived by Hall: 'If there is a *leitmotif* running through his work it is that of conjuncture' (Bennett 2016); 'conjuncture (a Gramscian term of art found on almost every page of his work)' (Bhabha 2015); 'Stuart Hall was perhaps the most consistent practitioner of contextualism. His version...was expressed in his commitment to study the conjuncture' (Grossberg 2015); 'His unit of analysis was the conjuncture' (Henderson 2014). So, one important task will be to examine precisely what is a conjuncture; another, what conjunctural analysis entails. Broadly speaking, this requires a commitment to understanding any historical 'moment' in its full complexity.

The pre-eminent example of conjunctural analysis is widely seen to be *Policing the Crisis* (PTC), a text first published by Hall and others in 1978.¹⁰ Of the 137 obituary and memorial notices I read,¹¹ PTC was easily the single most-mentioned text (with 53 mentions) and half of these added a highly complimentary adjective: 'seminal', 'magisterial', 'groundbreaking', 'exemplary'.¹² For some it was Hall's finest achievement, the culmination of the work of the CCCS, 'the most important single product of the CCCS' (Jacques 2014), that remains 'as fresh and

¹⁰As one of the 'others', I should declare an interest at this stage. Since most assume, rightly, that Hall was the intellectual leader of the project they are content to attribute its strengths to him. In talking of PTC as Hall's contribution, in the singular, I am following suit. However, as will become clear, I also often use the plural 'we' when talking about the project; which is accurate since it was a collective effort. There is, unfortunately, no simple resolution to this; hence the reader will have to put up with the switches between a singular 'Hall' and a collective 'we'. All direct quotations from the book will be taken from the 2nd edition published in 2013.

¹¹I arrived at this figure by counting each notice, whether singly or collectively authored, as one, and similarly counting authors only once even when, as in some cases, they produced two, or even three, notices (usually emphasising similar points).

¹²The only other text that was regularly singled out, often in a similarly complimentary way to PTC, was the article 'Encoding and decoding in the television discourse' (Hall 1973/2019a). However, this received only half the mentions (26) of PTC.

mighty as ever' (Carrigan 2014). Hall himself, in his last interview, saw it as 'dead-centred to the cultural studies project' and responsible for his approach to politics: 'I...think conjuncturally about politics now' (quoted in Jhally 2016).

With fewer mentions (21), though still more than any other (except 'Encoding and decoding in the television discourse'), the edited volume, *Resistance Through Rituals (RTR)* (Hall and Jefferson, eds. 1976)¹³ was sometimes paired with *PTC*—'the two most influential full-length books that came out of Birmingham in the 1970s' (Scannell 2016); 'this work [at CCCS]...made a major impact through a succession of original and path breaking books - most notably *Policing the Crisis* and *Resistance through Rituals*' (Murdock 2014). This pairing certainly echoed the similarly conjunctural thinking informing both. So, having spelled out what conjunctural analysis entails, an examination of Hall's relationship to conjunctural analysis follows, showing how his conjunctural cast of mind made him a Gramscian before he had read any Gramsci. This starts with examples from Hall's early political writings, continues with his subsequent article on 'the hippies', itself a precursor to the youth subcultures project that produced *RTR*, and ends with analysing first *RTR* and then *PTC* in terms of their shared conjunctural methodology.

What has this to do with criminology? Only two, by Biko Agozino (2014) and Joe Sim (2014), of the 137 obituary notices were written by criminologists, and no criminology journals produced 'in memoriam' special issues. *PTC* and *RTR* are regarded, historically, as a significant contribution to the development of new deviancy theory or the 'new criminology' of the 1970s, hence a part of criminology's 'canon', but

¹³All direct quotations from the book will be taken from the 2nd edition published in 2006.

with little lasting significance beyond that¹⁴; an inspiration to contemporary cultural criminology but not an analytical model to be replicated and used. (Hence, perhaps, the reason for the lack of obituary notices by criminologists.) For example, of the 25 criminology books and 98 ‘authors’¹⁵ consulted for references to Stuart Hall, covering the period 1981 to 2017,¹⁶ around three quarters of the authors (72) mention *PTC*, and often (30) with a positive endorsement, like ‘seminal’, ‘major’, ‘key’, etc. Only *RTR*, with 33 mentions, 11 with additional positive comments, came remotely close. After that, only *Drifting into a Law and Order society*, the 1979 Cobden Trust Human Rights Day Lecture (Hall 1980)—which largely drew on the argument in *PTC*—received any significant mentions, namely, 16. However, neither American textbook consulted (Henry and Einstadter, eds. 1998; Hagan 2002) made any mention of Hall.

But herein lies the rub: conjuncture and conjunctural analysis are not how either *PTC* or *RTR* are remembered within criminology. Neither term appears as an index entry in any edition of the well regarded and much used *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology* (McLaughlin and Muncie, eds. 2001/2006/2013), and ‘conjunctures’ appears only once in

¹⁴There are important exceptions to this statement. However, even with these, questions of theory rather than method predominate. For example, the volume by Coleman et al., eds. (2009) is both a celebration of *PTC* and an attempt by a variety of critical criminologists to explore its contemporary relevance to their particular area of criminological interest, with issues of the state and ‘authoritarian populism’ prominent. Likewise, in the special section of the Journal *Crime, Media, Culture* (4(1): 2008) devoted to ‘*PTC*: 30 Years On’, only Clarke (2008)—one of *PTC*’s authors—addressed the issue of conjunctural analysis. The same could be said of Murray Lee’s (2007) argument that *PTC* is an important precursor of the fear of crime debate: this was a theoretical and not a methodological argument.

¹⁵‘Authors’ really means chapters or articles since some were written by more than one author yet were still counted as one.

¹⁶The choice of criminology texts was a fairly random consultation of books from my shelves. They ranged from authored texts (e.g. Heidensohn 1989; Downes and Rock 1982; Burke 2001; Coleman and Norris 2000) to edited volumes (like Fitzgerald et al., eds. 1981; Maguire et al., eds. 2002; McLaughlin and Newborn, eds. 2010; and Brisman et al., eds. 2017). The two principles informing my choice were that the texts were written as, or were likely to be regarded as, suitable for use as student texts, and that between them they covered the period from ‘early’ (post *PTC*) to ‘late’ (almost the present).

the specifically methodological texts I consulted,¹⁷ and that was a reference to a brief and oddly cryptic discussion of the idea by Howard Becker (2000).¹⁸ Where *PTC* is cited to exemplify a research methodology, its conjunctural approach is misrecognised as ‘critical reflection’ (Hudson 2000). By this Hudson means using theoretical ideas to ‘critically reflect’ upon existing ideological understandings of a phenomenon; a misunderstanding that omits *PTC*’s empirical starting point and commitment to understand that better, and transforms the exercise into a purely theoretical one. So, we have a situation where *PTC* and *RTR* are widely seen as two of Hall’s most significant contributions to cultural studies and criminology, but only in the case of cultural studies is their importance attributed to their conjunctural form of analysis. This disjunction within criminology, between recognising *PTC* and *RTR* as canonical texts but not their conjunctural form of analysis, is the conundrum at the heart of this book and its central justification.

Given the shared interest in culture and the canonical status within criminology of *RTR* and *PTC*, it is surprising that cultural criminology and cultural studies continue to occupy quite different intellectual universes. In the early National Deviancy Conference (NDC) days,¹⁹ the new criminologists and the *PTC* team were very close. Jock Young, Ian Taylor and Stan Cohen, for example, were early, enthusiastic readers of the draft text of *PTC* and when Hall moved to the OU to replace Paul Halmos, he was recruited by NDC friend and colleague, criminologist Mike FitzGerald, subsequently a charismatic OU Dean, to be a

¹⁷Jupp et al., eds. (2000), Gomm et al., eds. (2000), Maxfield and Babbie (2001), and Atkinson et al., eds. (2001).

¹⁸Basically, Becker (2000: 225–26) argues that a conjunctural approach is consequential on the belief that ‘causes are [only] effective when they operate in concert’ and is usually ‘seen as necessary’ when dealing with ‘the complexity of real historical cases’. ‘Here...rather than the relations between variables in a universe of hypothetical cases’, the idea is ‘to make historical cases intelligible as instances of the way posited variables operate in concert’. Having converted ‘history’ into a science of ‘variables’ and ‘causes’, Becker concludes with the problem of numbers: ‘[w]e do not have many rigorous numerical methods for the assessment of this kind of conjunctural influence of variables’. Although conjunctural analysis is concerned with ‘the complexity of real historical cases’, it is not reducible to quantifiable ‘variables’ and ‘causes’, as we shall see in the next chapter.

¹⁹The NDC was a group of radical criminologists, many with links to activist, campaigning groups, who broke away from traditional criminology and its correctionalist and positivistic approach.