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URBANISM AND CITY SPACES IN THE WORK OF STUART HALL

This article considers the manner in which city life informs some of the writing of Stuart Hall. The city appears as an ambivalent site of both freedom and sequestration and reconfigures the ways in which we think about articulations of race, rights and identity. The article interrogates tropes of the urban in three of Hall's most well known pieces of writing over the last 30 years; the co-authored volume Policing the Crisis, the original 'New Ethnicities' essay and a more recent intervention that considers the nature of the multicultural. The spaces of the city in these works act as both the horizon of the political imaginary and the stage of political action in Hall's work. The article argues that a sense of urbanism is transformed from being the empirical realization of theoretical determinations of identity to becoming a constitutive feature in an understanding of the incommensurabilities of languages of rights and languages of the community in an understanding of racial politics that addresses the globalized metropolis of the twenty-first century.

Keywords urbanism; city; racism; rights; identity; community

In engaging with the pressing issues of the moment it is commonplace and courtesy (and no more than an acknowledgement of the self-evident) to suggest that Stuart Hall's extraordinary record as a public intellectual is exceptional to the British norm. There is no thinker of the last half century working in the English academy who has had such an extraordinary ability to engage simultaneously with both the tidal changes of cultural theory and the dynamic flux of contemporary politics.

This article attempts to consider this productive engagement with the political moment and theoretical *avant gardeism* by considering the manner in which city life informs some of Hall's writing. It may appear a strange focus. Hall's obvious contribution to cultural *theories* of the urban might be considered minimal. He has rarely – if ever – written pieces that consciously address urban social theory or take 'the city' as their principal object of analysis. And yet. A little like Salman Rushdie – with whom he has occasionally sparred – it is hard to imagine Hall's writing without the extraordinary cultural flux of the British metropolis in the last few decades. It m-

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ight almost be possible to argue that the creativity and dynamism, the paradoxical presence of metropolitan streets, neighbourhoods and sites of despair and hope, of intercultural tolerance and deeply ingrained forms of racism and intolerance are so part of Hall's British narratives that they are taken for granted. In this spirit, Rushdie himself (1991) once suggested that the city – and London in particular – is almost accidentally the subject matter of his creative fiction; so much so that it was possible to suggest retrospectively that the city was the central character of his work. If it is not possible to make this case quite so strongly about Hall's work it is surely the case that his writing both draws on and powerfully informs the way we might understand the cultural dynamics of today's globalized urbanism.

The city for Hall features sometimes subtextually, sometimes explicitly, as an ambivalent site of both freedom and sequestration. In this context the languages through which urbanism becomes visible as an analytical narrative might be important in reflecting on this ambivalence. In particular there is a sense in which the spatial serves as both the horizon of the political imaginary and the stage of political action. Considering the productive tension between these ways of figuring the city might open up both the metropolitan imaginary and the evolution of Hall's work.

So the article suggests that within a general framing of city life, an examination of the invocations of the local, the urban and the empirical in some of the key essays highlights the rhetorical development Hall's own work and also spotlights the work that 'space' does in anchoring such rhetorics. Such illumination is meant neither as profane nor as profound. However, it does encourage a reflection on the implicit hierarchies of intellectual labour in the academy, on the relative values of both empirical engagement with the dirty flux of everyday life in describing cultures of race and multiculture and the proper valorization of what Adorno once referred to as the commodity value of social theory.

Whilst not their principal subject matter, the language, vocabulary and grammar of place and urbanism runs through Hall's writing. In part this might be taken as no more than a reflection of the grounded and politically committed nature of the work. But this essay argues that the increasingly inflected nature of this engagement with the spatialities and temporalities of city life might imply something more than this. It develops a reading of three of the landmark works by Hall to suggest that whilst in some of the earlier writing the city provides no more than a form of empirical certainty it is in the more recent material that city spaces move from being referents of the empirical – a sort of moral and political staging of racial dilemmas – to a more productive sense of an urbanism that generates narrative tropes of the spatial. In the latter the true lies of race are subsumed in the contradictions and incommensurabilities of an urbanism that can provide the generative grammar

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for some of the more disruptive possibilities of an ethically charged and politically located multiculturalism.[1]

80 In a powerful article, David Scott (2005) has argued that Hall's work is distinguished by its composition as a series of interventions whose force draws from both an intellectual rhetoric as an academic and an ethical imperative that defines a sense of the political. Three of these 'interventions' here are analysed for Hall's deployment, invocation and theorization of the spatial. The three 85 pieces of work are the discussion of the ghetto in the 1978 collaborative work *Policing the Crisis*, the situated identity politics of the original 1988 'New Ethnicities' essay and the chapter on 'The Multicultural Question' in Barnor Hesse's volume edited in 2000 *Un/settled Multiculturalisms*.

In the book *Policing the Crisis* a feature of the work is the deployment of the 90 notion of 'the ghetto'. In the book, and particularly in chapter 10 of the book, the ghetto is powerful rhetorically; contradictory analytically. The contradiction began to become unstable through its spatiality.

In the 1988 article 'New Ethnicities' the contemporary agenda of the sociology of 'race' was challenged. The 'new ethnicities' piece defined a new 95 'problem space' of multiculture. In this problem space, geographical metaphors are invoked to make sense of the 'new moment' in race politics in a manner that is to become commonplace in the identity politics of the early 1990s. But the spatial itself also becomes problematic. It both seals and destabilizes the rhetorical structure of Hall's argument in this second example 100 of his work.

The third intervention considered is Hall's essay on the 'The multicultural question' in Barnor Hesse's 2000 edited volume *Un/settled Multiculturalisms*. In this piece a notion of the cartographic and the global sits at the heart of Hall's theorization of productive multiculture. The spatial becomes a constitutive 105 feature of theorization rather than a secondary effect of it. A sense of urbanism is a constitutive feature of this mediation.

Ghetto urbanism in *Policing the Crisis*

In the mid-1980s, when conducting an ethnographic analysis of conflict between police and British Black communities it was unnerving to come across 110 a Superintendent in Stoke Newington who in a public meeting stressed the importance of recognizing the realities of crime on the ground whilst simultaneously avoiding a racist moral panic akin to that around mugging (Keith 1993). His contrast between the imagined geographies of the racist imaginary and the 'true' realities of crime on the ground was powerful. The 115 deployment of the language and the concepts of the work of Stuart Hall in what was at the time one of the more notorious police stations in London was disconcerting. The reappropriation of the languages of cultural studies and the

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arguments of 'Policing the Crisis' – one of the powerful collective works from Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) – shocked.

120 Prefiguring more contemporary invocations of the post-colony (Mbembe 2001), the seminal work on the social construction of Black criminality in Britain written in the 1970s – *Policing the Crisis* – was in small part based on the deployment of the ghetto (and a sense of the sequestration of ghetto urbanism) as a descriptive concept. Stuart Hall and his associates, when deconstructing *the* 125 *ghetto* in this work, regularly resorted to the metaphor of *the black colony* as both victim of racist practices of criminalization and (apparently) social reality (Hall et al. 1978, chapter 10). The authors point out the way in which racist classification of mugging can be connoted by place, by highlighting Black areas of settlement. A case in which a white youth assaults a Black bus conductor 130 could still (in 1970s Britain) reproduce the racialized imagery of mugging because

> The specification of certain *venues* reactivates earlier and subsequent associations: Brixton and Clapham.
>
> (Hall et al. 1978, p 329, emphasis added)

135 The structure of the argument here draws on genealogies of city writing dating back to the cities of the industrial revolution that linked the fear of urban growth with the birth of the academic discipline of sociology through the *discovery of the social* in the Victorian explorations of the darkest metropolis (Hacking 1990, Marcus 1974, Rose 1999).

140 As *Policing the Crisis* highlights, crime, race and the ghetto could be conflated as social problems after incidents such as the clashes with police in Brockwell Park because they '*located and situated* black crime, geographically and ethnically, as peculiar to black youth in the inner city ghettos' (Hall et al. 1978, p 329).

145 For Hall the racialized iconography of place fuses together ethnicity, location and the spatial imaginaries of danger. These metropolitan spaces of anxiety have a history in the ways we have thought about and written about the city in the past. The rhetorical structure of urbanism's academic prose always deploys vocabulary that draws meaning from the ways in which terms such as 150 the street, the square, the barricades, the agora have always performed the dual tasks of invoking (metonymically) a sense of city living at the same time as they attempt to describe (metaphorically) a particular social reality.

And in the Britain of the 1970s the broader social context against which processes should be set is equally significant. Taking up many of the themes of 155 *Policing the Crisis* Hall subsequently developed the influential notion of authoritarian populism in his landmark Cobden Lecture of 1979, which traced out a political project which uses the 'forging of a disciplinary common sense' (Hall 1979, p. 3) to undermine welfare rights, notions of citizenship, and the

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freedoms of organized labour. At its formative stages Hall's analysis took as its driving force the realization of *urban crisis* with 'the use of police powers to contain and constrain, and in effect to help to criminalize, parts of the black population in our urban colonies' (Hall 1979, p. 13) defining the Black community again as *the victim* of these changes. Equally, what some might describe as Hall's critical realist writing about the 'riots' of the 1980s engages directly with the politics of the uprisings in engaged form (eg Hall 1982).

Within this analysis there is a tension which is not clearly resolved between *bodies* and *imaginings*. The analysis slips back and forth between the empirical reality of epidermal demographics victimized by racist processes of criminalization and the invention of cultural significations (and scopic regimes) of race as criminality. Blighted lives victimized by racist practices elide with the configuration of racist imaginaries of the city. Within the text *the reality* of the demography sits uneasily alongside *the imaginary* constructions that anchor the forms of racial subordination that were institutionalized within policing practice. I have tried to argue elsewhere that this tension is not so much a flaw of the analysis as the point at which the processes of criminalization and racialization become one (Keith 1993, chapters 10–11).

But in *Policing the Crisis* there seems to be a repeated elision of the ghetto as metaphor and the ghetto as reality, a fictional black colony that signifies criminality in racist discourse and a factual black colony of subordinated communities. In one sense this is one of the most analytically powerful elements of the work, distinguishing it from most descriptions of criminalization. It consciously echoes and expands older theories of labelling and social deviancy (Becker 1971, Goffman 1963) that describe the manner in which a group is picked out of society and victimized. Yet in another sense, the failure to clarify the metaphoric/real distinction that the text itself draws upon weakens the argument in *Policing the Crisis* because, in the absence of such specification, *the black colony* remains needlessly more of a rhetorical than an analytic term.

There is an echo of this ambivalence in the late Edward Said's (1978) brilliant (and *masterful*) deconstruction of Orientalism. It is a common criticism of his most famous work that Said in a sense wanted to have his cake and eat it. Simplifying the critique considerably, Said argued that the discourse of Orientalism created a place, invented an imagined geography, and yet was simultaneously a misrepresentation of a place that he himself refers to as the Orient. Said wanted to be both inside the political context of colonialism and outside the discourse through which colonialism is reproduced, an acrobatic that Robert Young (1990, p. 127) has described as the 'significant lacuna of the book'; leaving Said in a position where 'Said's account will be no truer to Orientalism than Orientalism is to the actual Orient, assuming that there could ever be such a thing' (Young 1990, p. 128).

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What emerges here is an *apparent* contradiction between *the imagined* and *the real* that renders the spatiality of both Stuart Hall's ghetto and Edward Said's Orient equally problematic. Yet if we conceive the spatialities of the ghetto as real and imaginary simultaneously, we begin to understand how this works.

Ghetto urbanism draws on both powers of sequestration, and the reappropriation of city spaces through the creative remapping of alternative cartographies and subversive imaginations. In this way social differentiation is played out across terrains that are ever shifting; racisms in part subsist and in part are challenged in and through metaphoric and metonymic appropriations of landscape. The landscape is simultaneously duplicitous and cogent, metric and dramaturgical, real and imagined. The slippery and plastic nature of spatial semiotics leaves meaning as contested and fluid. We might think about the generation of the meaning of places such as the ghetto and the Orient as moments when flux of the processes of signification are brought to a close, a notion that combines semiotics and culture together in a way that Hall himself might have described in different contexts as a sense of 'arbitrary closure'.

The example drawn from *Policing the Crisis* effectively draws on the richness of the imagined geographies of the ghetto to great rhetorical effect. It begins to fall down (as does Said's Orientalism) when the term stands as metaphor for racism and simultaneously with a set of metonymic associations with social deprivation. The former is the geography of what might be described as a 'frontier effect', an imagined geographical ground of mobilization, the latter the parameters of an entity whose empirical definition can lead to a reification of problems of residential segregation. Neither one is more 'real' than the other, both are potentially dangerous if overendowed with some sort of essentialist ontological status.

From one perspective the realities of everyday life demand an ever vigilant engagement from 'up close' with the empirical realities of city life. In the 1970s the use of policing stop and search powers combined with media hype were reconfiguring the lifechances of young Black men daily. But alongside a commitment to an empirical scrutiny of the present is a sense that the values of critical distance demand an understanding of both the histories of these contemporary forms and an ability to stand back from cognate realities. This is not merely to make their familiarity strange (as in the best ethnographic practice). Alongside such ethnographic defamiliarization it is imperative to contextualize such particularities against the broader settings of demographic, economic and global change. The spaces of the city (as much as any other analytical form) warrant a consideration of their genesis. This implies that any consideration of the analytical settings of the city demand a genealogical understanding of the *lexicon of urbanism*. Such genealogies have become common to forms of humanities and social science research that are suspicious of the analytical tools that are used to make sense of the social world. In the

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context of Hall's evolving deployment of city vocabularies, the double act of scrutiny implies a reading of the interdisciplinary understanding of urbanism that always has a sense of what Charles Taylor has described as the perspicuous contrast at the heart of scholarly investigation (Taylor 1985, Taylor & Guttman 1992).

The spatial metaphors of the colony and the ghetto are narratively marginal but theoretically central to the power of the argument in *Policing the Crisis*. There is a tension between their empirical grounding and the way in which they signify racial meaning. In the context of the identity politics of the 1980s and 1990s Hall develops the notion of 'arbitrary closure' to describe the manner in which

> All the social movements which have tried to transform society and have required the constitution of new subjectivities, have had to accept the necessary fictional, but also the fictional necessity, of the arbitrary closure which is not the end, but which makes both politics and identity possible.
>
> (Hall 1987, p. 45)

> For if signification depends on the endless re-positioning of its differential terms, meaning, in any specific instance, depends on the contingent and arbitrary stop – the necessary and temporary 'break' in the infinite semiosis of language. This does not detract from the original insight. It only threatens to do so if we mistake this 'cut' of identity – this positioning, which makes meaning possible – as a natural and permanent rather than an arbitrary and contingent 'ending'. . . . Meaning continues to unfold, so to speak, beyond the arbitrary closure which makes it, at any moment, possible.
>
> (Hall 1990, p. 64)

Yet the polysemy of language that richly describes the productions of contemporary cultures lacks an equivalent understanding of the semiotics of the production of space in Hall's earlier work, where consequently there is at times a tendency to resort to a spatial sense of the concrete. Hence,

> young black people in London today are marginalized, fragmented, unenfranchized, disadvantaged and dispersed. And yet, they look as if they own the territory. Somehow, they too, in spite of everything, are centred in place.
>
> (Hall 1987, p. 44)

There is almost a sense of *déjà vu* here. Once again the trap of Said: framed within a dialectic of insiders and outsiders there is a false duality of the mythic and the real. It is the iconic power of places that ties together a moment of arbitrary closure and their moment of recognition in the world of the real. It is

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surely though at this point that an understanding of spaces as produced and contingent undermines such appeals to the spatial real.

It is instead the case that places themselves are also no more and no less than moments of arbitrary closure. Materially produced and multiply signified 'a place' such as the contemporary 'ghetto' in precise terms has meaning in a particular moment just as any word has only the meaning of a single usage and yet as *parole* or unique utterance this does not prevent the realization of a communicative language.

So there is no a straightforward dichotomy between the imagined and the real or the folk and the analytical ghetto as Wacqant (2002) has more recently attempted to argue in advancing his own preferred model of carceral American urbanism. It is more complex than this. The material nature of literal space guarantees closure in a signifying chain that has no other necessary beginning and no other necessary ending. This can be taken optimistically and pessimistically. On the one hand space is a realm of privileged metaphor. On the other hand spatialized vocabularies may betray a misleading equivalence between the empirical and the real. The semiotics of the ghetto confuse a dichotomy between analytical and folk concepts.

Grounding new ethnicities

Written in 1988 for the ICA Documents Series the essay 'New Ethnicities' (Hall 1988) was a landmark both for what came before it and the subsequent debate it engendered. The article identified two different moments in the politics of the black experience in Britain. It challenged the orthodoxies of the time that contrasted studies of 'race' that privileged the political construction of the subject positions of 'blackness' in regimes of racisms with the naturalized categories of ethnicity that were privileged in various conventions of 'race relations' sociologies.

For Hall, the 'first moment' of early 1960s/1970s Blackness debates had responded to the unspoken but all powerful cultural hegemonies of whiteness in forms of cultural production and representation and 'the marginalisation of the black experience in British culture' (Hall 1988, p. 27). The struggle was to be seen, recognition alone a form of valorization. The ethical imperative was to give agency to the black subject rather than allow cultural difference to be the object of representation.[2]

Famously, noting that this implied 'the end of innocence of the essential black subject', Hall characterized the second moment as a shift 'from a struggle over the relations of representation to a politics of representation itself' (Hall 1988, p. 27). An ethical struggle about coming into visibility was being displaced by a more iterative debate about the terms of visibility itself; the politics of representation highlighting the where, the when and the

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technologies through which subject positions of difference became visible. For David Scott, writing in 2005, the essay defined a new *problem-space*:

> In this emerging problem-space, new questions became visible, questions that turned *less* on how to come *into* representation than on the knowledge power regimes such representations depended on.
> (Scott 2005, p. 10)

Scott links this to as an ethics of generosity, a responsiveness to 'the present's ineluctable contingency, ([Stuart Hall's] . . . ethics of action)' (Scott 2005, p. 12).

Significantly, there is a sense in which some old debates move on, becoming is privileged over being and identity becomes an 'unfinished suturing together of subjects' (Scott 2005, p. 14). Consequently, the concept of ethnicity is in a sense rehabilitated in Hall's article. In doing this Hall is explicit about his reservations about the way the term had been previously used in the anthropologies and sociologies of race relations in the post-war era. He calls for the term to be 'disarticulated from its position in the discourse of "multi-culturalism" and transcoded, just as we previously had to recuperate the term "black" from its place in a system of negative equivalences' (Hall 1988, p. 29).

As ever, the legacies and contests that followed on from the new ethnicities debate were profound but escaped the control of the author that generated them. They can be seen in the range of work that varies from the return to a cultural studies at Phil Cohen's Centre for New Ethnicites Research that echoed the Birmingham commitment to everyday life (Cohen 1999) to a slightly different return evidenced in the arrival of the work seen in new journals such as *Ethnicities* (May & Modood 2001) that prefigure an official recognition of the changing debate about the ontologies of British multicultural diversity. Most subsequent literature welcomed the legacies of the 'new ethnicities' intervention although there are also critiques from both the right and the left (Sivanandan 2006).

But equally the spatial coordinates of this shift from one moment to another is interesting and important. The spatial metaphors of position, location, grounding, placing, contextualizing and articulation became increasingly central both to a politics of identity in the early 1990s (Keith & Pile 1993) and to Hall's own writing. There is a sense in which the identity politics debates of the 1990s that frame the coming into being of the racial subject lead logically into a more deeply engaged sense of the contingency of both the vocabularies of race and the vocabularies of their spatialization. The terms of ethnicity, race, multiculturalism and Blackness are up for grabs and contingently deployed. There is a sense in which each in turn might be right at this time and place and not at that one. And so there is a logical sense in which throughout Hall's writing of this time an interest in the geographies of

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the racial subject become linked to this sense of contingency, creativity and mutability.

In just one example, multiculturalism's genealogy has complex twists and turns. The 'New Ethnicites' essay signals the manner in which discourse of 1970s British multiculturalism prefigures the diversity talk of the most recent decade in social policy. Rainbow pluralsm may please aesthetically but can also obscure the histories of exploitation and regimes of symbolic and real violence that have made racial subjects visible. So paradoxically, certain forms of social policy discourse around multiculturalism are found objectionable in Hall's 1988 work even though the ethical challenges of obligation, reparation, recognition, reciprocation and redistribution in defining social justice define an analytical territory that returns us to a debate around the multicultural.

There are times when the identification of multiculturalism with a three S's educational policy of Saris, Samosas and Steelbands throws cultural platitudes at the problems of institutional racism and is to be rejected. Equally there are times and places when a contested sense of the multicultural raises profound theoretical issues about the construction of the social. Implicitly for Hall there are 'good' and 'bad' articulations of the multicultural. The difference between the two is as much about the time and place of their deployment as about the substantive content of the term itself. This consequently leads Hall's own work to a more systematic consideration of the manner in which the global and the local inhabit the urban, not least in his own consideration of the relationship between globalization and the multicultural in Hesse's 2001 volume *Un/settled Multiculturalisms*.

Narrative urbanism in 'The Multicular Question' essay

'The Multicultural Question' is an important essay for many reasons. As ever, it is powerfully interdisciplinary and it fuses Hall's thinking around genealogies of multiculturalism in political science and race relations sociology with a complex representation of 'culture and identity' in cultural studies. But for the purposes of this article the essay is significant because the cultural is framed by the global, a mapping in which the 'location of culture' becomes a constitutive feature of the theorization of multiculturalism.

The work links the abstractions of philosophical consideration of the multicultural to a nuanced recognition of the 'global local'. In contrast to conventional understandings of 'race relations' or studies of 'societies' (Hickman 2007, Modood 2007) that take the nation state as the unproblematic crucible of culture; the essay provides an intellectual apparatus which can make sense of the ways in which 'race matters' in the contemporary social and political context. The geo-political is reinscribed at the heart of the cultural production of the racial subject and while the city commonly provides the

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narrative framing device for this, urbanism also becomes a constitutive feature of both sentimental processes of identity formation and the rational organizations of power and resources.

In a way that Hall's cultural studies has long been comfortable with, the debate around multiculturalism also makes the racial subject visible through a narrative that privileges the present but is aware of the present's (Foucauldian) history. In a manner with which cultural studies has been less familiar, it is the piece of work that can also provide a cartography as well as a genealogy of the present.

The work does this by assuming a point of view that privileges simultaneously critical distance and proximate scrutiny. What does this mean? The essay outlines the transruptive effects of multiculture in disrupting the language of race and ethnicity (taking us beyond the old binary British taxonomies of 'Black and Asian' to denote second and third generation migrant cultures); unsettling culture (through forms of cultural creolization and hybridity) and destabilizing the foundations of the liberal constitutional state.

The essay places the creation of both 'culture' generically and the multicultural specifically within a sense of the nested geographies of the local, the national and the global. In the 'New Ethnicities' essay in 1988, multiculturalism was 'anti-racism's other', a way of domesticating difference in the post-war settlement that took place through the intermediary institutional, social policy and discursive forms of 'race relations'. But in the 2000 piece a theory of the multicultural becomes the principal mediation between transnational flows of people and information, globalized sentiment, the rational national organization of economy and society and the vernacular creativity of cultural production. It is consequently in the multicultural city that the contradictions between liberal and commumitarian versions of the multicultural are (at times) subsumed and (at times) unravel the ethical and social settlement of the local.

Two common errors in the study of race and culture are consequently finessed by the placing of multiculture that Hall adopts. The first is the sense in some literatures that the debate about multiculturalism involves essentially an *aspatial* debate about how (aspatial) 'society' regulates difference. Mary Hickman (2007) has recently described this as a sense of 'multiculturalism in one country', a debate that focuses attention at best on competing claims for resources and recognition within the nation state. In such work the tensions between group rights and individual rights, the place of faith in the public realm, a notion of national identity and integration consequently tend to dominate serious debate (Modood 2007, Pearce 2007, Hundal 2007) and an occasional retreat to the narcissisms of minor difference can occasionally provide digressive dead ends.

But we know that the politics of 'multiculturalism in one country' ignores both the production of diasporic sentiment internationally and also the rational

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organization of rights and responsibilities at multiple geographical scales. This cartographic plurality is more than the juxtaposition of the global and the local or the universal and the national. It works at the levels of the regional, the metropolitan and neighbourhood. It addresses the incommensurable rights to be housed as a refugee in a country, as a family with particular needs on a council housing waiting list that may or may not be recognized within allocation systems, as a subject in a spatially defined market, a petitioner for housing for local people or just somebody that grew up on a particular estate.

A second flaw that is avoided through Hall's mapping is that the tension between the recognition of demographies of difference and their cultural dynamics means that each of these categories is never sufficient to exhaust their constitution. The Black community, the Bangladeshis, the Muslims, the Jews; the Gujeratis are all terms that (as with all language) denote something specific (in this case a demographic) but can never capture the dynamic diachronic flux of creativity, politics and expressive cultural forms that continually exceeds taxonomy. Once culture is more than primordial difference its creative production in alternative public spheres of the contested and the convivial becomes the locus for value contests that are challenged or reproduced by structures of power. The governmentalities of culture are precisely about the relationship between creative sites of cultural difference and regimes of power that allow some subjects to made visible and others to remain hidden. This sense of 'the location of culture' within its geometries of power, draws implicitly on the work of geographers such as Doreen Massey (2005) and avoids the sorts of privileging of the study of cultural difference that Chetan Bhatt (2004) has critiqued for its refusal to recognize the geopolitics of race and ethnicity.

Other clear influences in this essay are the work of Ernesto Laclau and Judith Butler, whose work is used to disrupt the communitarian/liberal structuring of the multiculturalism debate, suggesting in Hall's (2000, p. 234) terms that

> Each particular identity then is radically insufficient in terms of its others. This means that the universal is part of my identity as far as I am penetrated by a 'constitutive lack'.

In this way, the significance of *context* that emerges in the new ethnicities essay, that the politics of articulation makes something right here but not there, becomes particularly profound. The sense of the unknown and unknowable creativity of city spaces generates for Hall a sense that

> Within these interstices lies the possibility of a disseminated set of vernacular modernities. Culturally these cannot frontally stem the tide of westernising techno-modernity. However, they continue to inflect, deflect and 'translate' its imperatives from below. They constitute the

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> basis for a new kind of 'localism' that is not self sufficiently particular, but which arises within, without being simply a simulacrum of the global. This 'localism' is no mere residue of the past. It is something new – globalising's accompanying shadow.
>
> (Hall 2001, p. 216)

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In his final work, published posthumously, Paul Hirst (2005) argues that at the heart of Western political theory is an understanding of the historical co-production of cities and states. The two terms are mutually constitutive; sovereignty as a concept can only be understood through the historicity of the interplay of free cities and governing sovereigns, understood territorially in the mediated and sometimes unstable combinations of vernacular culture (*patois*), imagined community (*ethnoi*) and territory (Hirst 2005, pp. 12 and 36). *The city* represents a territorialization of powers of governance and social organization but depends on a sentimental sense of its own identity (a city imaginary) and presupposes the existence of a state beyond its boundaries (even in the most developed forms of Renaissance city republics or twenty-first century city states). *The modern state* taxonomizes the territorial division of its own regimes of control through subsidiary geographic units but in order to make the subjects of its power visible depends on the rational organization of demography and a functional hierarchy of settlement that takes urbanization as its driving economic logic. The organization of the social through both the rational and the sentimental, a recurrent tension of political theory, is mediated by a language of urbanism that draws on both the real and the imaginary city. It is in this sense that the Kantian juxtaposition of rational and the sentimental resonates in the vocabularies of real and imagined urbanisms. It is also where the multicultural question demands more than a juxtaposition of global and local. It demands also a cartography through which multicultural subjects and racial dilemmas become visible. To bowdlerize Hall's prose, urbanism is multiculture's accompanying shadow.

Hall's essay demonstrates the manner in which the global realization of the multicultural challenges conventional (nation state) framings of the problematic of citizenship and belonging. Equally, his realization of the *global-local* as the fracture in the hermetic territoriality of the nation and the cartographic rupture in the concept of *the social* demand a descriptive language that understands, explains and invokes the spaces through which notions of loyalty, sentiment and belonging sit incommensurably with demands of citizenship, rights and the rational organization of the good city.

In this sense we begin to generate a notion of urbanism that sees the multiculturalism of the cities of the twenty-first century as both demographically inevitable and politically challenging. Ethically, we need to consider what it means to live in cities that are constituted by communities that may be the products of both different histories and histories of differences that bear the

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imprint of colonialism, slavery and domination. We need to recognize also that such communities may be constituted through globalized networks of sentiment and allegiance. Just as the economic drivers of contemporary capitalist globalization challenge the sovereignty of the nation state, the flows of labour as well as capital create transnational networks of culture and people. Just as multiculturalism becomes globalization's shadow, if we are to understand the dynamism of globalized cities and glocalized neighbourhoods then we have to develop an understanding of the multicultural that make these spaces descriptively legible and engender a narrative of their politics that is ethically plausible.

Across the world, the city provides a privileged arena in which such challenges are realized. Hall's attention in the multicultural essay to the interface of political sovereignty and cultural politics opens up both the moral dilemmas constituted by new racial subjects and the disciplinary interface of political theory and cultural studies. There is a tendency in some literatures (from both the left and right of the political spectrum) to romanticize the world beyond the boundaries of the state and to promote the virtues of civil society and community mobilization. And a commonplace critique of the celebration of civil society in the 'governmentality' genre of writing suggests that such civil society forms are framed within regimes of governance, the bio-political describing the legitimate subjects that emerge from the interstices of power. The implication of Hall's essay is to demand a scrutiny of the relation between these regimes of power and the subjects (and subjectivities) that are rendered visible within their field of vision and their regimes of 'subjectification'. Otherwise, valorizing the cramped spaces of freedom beyond the purview of the state or romanticizing the new moral subjects that emerge from the cultural politics of global multiculture might limit rather than progress our movement towards cosmopolis (Keith 2005).

In the allure of the contemporary global city cosmopolitanism, diversity and difference shimmer for a moment. Racism, nationalism, ethnic cleansing and xenophobia return as urban nightmares. Indeed the challenge of discussions that link urbanism to race, multiculture and forms and norms of intolerance is that both the subject (the city) and the object (multiculture) of debate keep on disappearing before our eyes only to resurface in different forms. Both draw on the paradoxical pairing of the real and the imaginary that exemplifies the evolution of Hall's consideration of the spatial in the multiculturalism essay, in developing what was implicit in the 'New Ethnicities' piece and contradictory in *Policing the Crisis*.

The city appears so solid until we look for its boundaries. The streets appear to offer certainty until we find the beach beneath the cobblestones, the secret narratives of the hidden spaces of private lives and alternative public spheres of association and dissent. When history is the voice of the powerful, geography is the prerogative of both the explorer and the mapmaker. We do

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not always wish to take such voices and such cartographies for granted. In contrast the historiography of the city tells us how chronology has been used to make sense of the city and that *histories* are normally written by the winners, the voices of the dispossessed relegated to the marginalia.

Specifically, the problem of the multicultural exemplifies why we need a new heuristic compass with which to navigate the contemporary city and inform social policy debates. Historically, we might place cities research and the interdisciplinary field of urban studies on a spectrum that crosses the west-east of what might be described as *conventional* and *critical* literatures. Conventional urban studies approaches tend to reify the social and economic order of the city (and strive to maximize its functionality and optimize its working form). Critical analysis in contrast seeks to undermine this naturalized ordering of buildings and people (and expose their patterned artifice as inscriptions of injustice and reified inequalities of power and capital). This two-dimensional urbanism cannot adapt to the transnational challenge of globalization and the ethical challenge of multiculture.

To do so demands insertion into both urban studies academic debates and public concern with the future of the multiculture of globalizing cities a second spectrum. Just as Hall's essay synthesizes a sense of the spatial with a sense of the tension between the liberal and the communitarian within a notion of global, a similar reading of the city challenges both economistic and cultural readings of the urban. It runs north-south between communitarian and liberal traces of moral philosophy but it is realized in the cities of multiculture in ferocious debates that our west-east spectrum cannot locate.

At times for Hall there is still a hint of the spatial reconciling the incommensurable. More significantly the spectrum that defines liberal/communitarian tensions in this later essay creates an opposition between the strange and the familiar and relates particularly to how we come to know the city and how we valorize either its *knowability* or its *anonymity*. The city has long been a site in which newness comes into the world. It has historically been the crucible of economic, political and cultural change precisely because old values and old orderings are disrupted by the tumult of city life. This produces the quintessentially urban horrors of populist fanaticism as well as the metropolitan potential for enlightenment critique. The city is consequently paradoxically or ambivalently located between these tensions, the sites of the city that display the most intense forms of intolerance are commonly also those that demonstrate the potential for the most intimate forms of cultural dialogue.

In a small sense, it is also out of this set of tensions that there is a logical progression that might see the psychoanalytic becoming more significant in Hall's most recent work. It is precisely the incommensurable tensions between the racial subjects that become visible that lends an importance to the forms of theory that focus on the ways in which contradictory or countervailing forces

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are neither euphemistically reconciled nor dialectically synthesized but are instead contingently suppressed.

So a category such as the uncanny (*unheimlich* or literally the unhomely) becomes central to a consideration of the ways in which the spatial, the agency and the sequestration of the city emerges in narratives of the present. As Leo Ou-fan Lee (1999, p. 178) pointedly comments in his discussion of 1920s Shanghai, the uncanny in part provides a way into the mapping of a colonial modernity, the urban and the emergent subject; 'Its space was still an interior, but now the interior of the mind, one that knew no bounds in projection or introversion. Its symptoms included spatial fear, leading to paralysis of movement, and temporal fear, leading to a historical amnesia'. A history of the present and a cartography of the metropolis defines a new sense of the uncanny's relationship to the multicultural.

In the multiculturalism essay Hall moves in this direction with the suggestion that

> the multicultural question also suggests that the moment of 'difference' is essential to defining democracy as *a genuinely heterogeneous space*. . . . It must attempt to construct a diversity of new public spheres in which all the particulars will be transformed by being obliged to negotiate within a broader horizon. It is essential for this space to remain heterogeneous and pluralistic, and for the elements negotiating within it to retain their difference.
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> (Hall 2000, p. 236)

In this spirit, academic critique of the sort pioneered by Hall from the CCCS days onwards is consequently an exercise in both engaging with the everyday cultures of the contemporary metropolis and also placing these engagements in theoretical narratives which understand the duplicities of stories of the temporal and the spatial, unpacking the ethical, political and practical contradictions out of which they are constituted.

The lexicon of urbanism consequently infests writings that discuss the multicultural. We should not take this lexicon at first hand but must instead trace back its cartography to the vernacular modernities and articulations of intolerance that sit by side in what Les Back (1996) has described as the metropolitan paradox. We need to recognize that the polar north and related points east, west and south provide a compass *for* but not a road map *towards* the good city. They identify a constitutive tension in the ordering of city life that sits agonistically within its frame. The additional ('north-south') dimension around which Hall's essay is organized to unpack the global-local realizations the rational and the sentimental speaks to some of the fundamental tensions in moral philosophy but it also resonates within cartographies of contemporary multiculturalism. Significantly, the choreography of the debates

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within contemporary moral philosophy and those in multiculture are homologous with longstanding arguments around how we consider the ethical markings of the spaces of the city (Rorty 1998). Unless we understand how the city draws together, displaces and explodes these tensions we will continue to misrepresent the challenges multiculturalism poses to an understanding of contemporary urbanism. Most significantly of all such tensions speak directly both to the social policy questions that figure how we might organize the multicultural city and also to the academic questions that address how we might know it (Keith 2005).

At one extreme the city has commonly welcomed *the strange* and the *unknowable*. The migrant, the refugee, the newly arrived or the post-contact indigenous cultures of the post-colonial metropolis potentially see the city differently. Seeing the niche market or the scope to innovate as well as challenging the received wisdoms and ascendant hierarchies of power, the arrival of new people and migrant groups in the city potentially renews its lifeblood. The discursively ephemeral may suddenly become symbolically central. The hidden histories of colonialism and empire, slavery and suppression of native peoples may resurface from their cells in the subconscious of the city. But they do not do so straightforwardly.

In contrast, the communitarian sense of *the familiar* unit of the ethically *knowable* and the moral legitimacy of the neighbourhood speaks directly to debates that confuse the west-east typologies of what might conventionally be described as reactionary (coded as politically *right*) and progressive (coded as politically *left*) urbanisms. The sets of values that privilege the speaking positions of minoritarian voices may rapidly have to defend the ground on which their claims are being made. The right to police arrivals in such a (real or metaphoric) neighbourhood challenges such speaking authority. This speaks directly to urban policy concerns in terms of property rights, gender relations, schooling, visible sexualities, the control of subsidized rental residence (through state or social landlord provision) and the rights of cultural recognition in the market place of employment law and practice. It speaks indirectly to a debate about the relationships between rights discourses, state formations and transnational claims and enforcement (Douzinas 2000, 2003, Fitzpatrick 1992, 2001 Hirsch 2003). The liberal indifference to the markers of identity likewise speaks directly to the rights to avoid discrimination, racial harassment, the symbolic and real violence of cultural intolerance. Crudely, our compass is complicated by this new spectrum. We can see both a right wing and a left wing communitarianism in the multicultural cities of the twenty-first century. The right of neighbourhoods to be turned into Business Improvement Districts and police themselves and the right of local communities to take self governing actions against the homeless, the antisocial and the badly behaved appeal to the traditional constituencies of the right. The sense of community grassroots organization against property capital, protests

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against road extensions, building on green land and school closures speaks to the traditional agendas of the left. *Both* are communitarian in *both* their moral stance and their invoked urbanisms. They share ethical roots but differ significantly in their city visions and political routes. They are also reproduced in appeals to the ethnic communitarianisms of the global city that reify rights of recognition of minorities whose own boundaries provide problematic contact zones of cultural production.
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But equally the right to be freed from state restrictions against wearing particular clothes or to exercise personal religious preference and the right to limit the state's power to arbitrary violence and to police the spaces of the city tends to be celebrated likewise on the left. Yet alternative strictures that limit state interference in the markets that structure the spatial realizations of Ricardian rent curves, the imperatives of global capitalism or government interference in market relations speak to a liberalism that few on the left would identify as their own. A strong suspicion of state action is at times shared by both left and the right of the political spectrum when defining *la droit à la ville*. Straightforwardly this cautions us to be more careful with our vocabulary. There is a liberalism of the left and of the right. Neo-conservatism is not necessarily best identified as neo-liberal and cannot be subsumed in catch all notions such as the revanchist city when we are identifying the enemies of progressive urbanism. And this liberal tradition in both progressive and reactionary guises is echoed in anti-racist demands for ethnic difference to be rendered illegitimate and for the privileging of market logics of ethnic commodification.
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The extra dimension of this moral compass becomes more not less complicated by the realities of city multiculturalism across the twenty-first century globe. Recognitions of the rights of indigenous and native peoples and migrant minorities sit squarely within the four-fold tensions of critical urbanism, functional city building, communitarian valorization and stigma and the problem of liberal government. It does not always sit easily. The case in favour of migration for the benefits of the economy of the city play against reactionary debates on the threats of migration to constructions of solidarity. They speak also to more complex debates about which cultural rights of migrant minorities should be recognized and which suppressed by the governance structures of the well run city.
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Conclusion

The productive engagement with both the political moment and theoretical debate characterizes all of Stuart Hall's interventions. But it appears that increasingly the city features subtextually as a site of both freedom and sequestration. And it is the productive tension that is captured by this

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740 ambivalence that in the later work generates a sense of the spatial in Hall's work as both the horizon of the political imaginary and the stage for political action.

Equally, the politics of scale that Hall identifies with the sense of the local, the national and the global is configured through geometries of power that 745 make visible incommensurabilities between languages of citizenship at neighbourhood, regional, national and global scales (Keith 2007). Crudely put, the spatial grows in significance, becoming more important in his writing. In early work the language of space and place grounds theory. At times it is no more than the territorial realization of cultural politics, the geographical is 750 almost akin to the empiricist, the city a crucible of the poisonous dynamics of post-colonial racist practice. But this evolves. As context and articulation become more important theoretically the spatial opens up the dramaturgical potential of the contingent. And the city becomes a site of performance; performativity is not only staged in the urban, the city's streets and alternatives 755 realms of dissent and creativity become constitutive features of new cultural forms. But this complexity develops further still. The double interplay of the *temporalities* of memory, praxis and utopian dreams with the plural *spatialities* of the real and imaginary frames of globalization refigure the moral dilemmas and racial subjectivities of the good city. We return to the ambivalence and 760 uncertainty that logically prefigures a psychoanalytic focus on the location of culture. So as the spatial evolves in his writing Stuart Hall both draws on and speaks to a sophisticated urbanism. Its presence in Hall's writing may be just more than intellectually curious. But it is urban studies that can learn most from this; in its manifold architectural, sociological, cultural, geographical and 765 anthropological disciplinary manifestations that might learn more from the way Hall's work speaks to an analysis that addresses simultaneously the political ethics of the sovereign racial subject that has at its heart an urbanism of bodies and buildings, mediated by cultural form.

It is in this sense that just as David Scott (2005, p. 210) has powerfully 770 argued Stuart Hall's 'ethics of action' draws on the present's 'ineluctable contingency' then perhaps Hall's work should also be seen as speaking to the political imperative to understand the city's contradictory cartographies.

Notes

1 In this sense this article is in part an attempt to argue that the study of the 775 city needs to recognize the profound relevance of Hall's thinking to our sense of the city but also in part an acknowledgement of the inspiration Hall's work has provided for this author for over two decades.

2 There is a slight echo here of the tension in *Policing the Crisis* between the spaces of the city occupied by Black communities struggling against

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780 processes of criminalization and the cartographies of the metropolis that were the artefacts of the racist imagination.

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