Dr Ian Cummins

The New Left and Social Work

i.d.cummins@salford.ac.uk

The New Left and Social Work

Introduction

The New Left is a term that is applied to a group of intellectuals and academics that emerged in the UK in the late 1950s and 1960s. The group sought to develop a new political perspective. The Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 meant that several members of the group, for example, the historian E.P. Thompson left the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). In the same year, the French and British invasion of Egypt to take control of the Suez canal demonstrated to the group that there was an ongoing need to challenge colonialism. The group welcomed the development of the post-war British welfare state and institutions such as the National Health Service. However, it was critical of what it saw as the limitations of social democratic welfare states. This chapter will provide a brief outline of the development and politics of the New Left. It will then examine the influence of the sociologist and cultural theorist, Stuart Hall. It will then consider the influence of the New Left on progressive politics and indirectly influenced social work.

The New Left

Samuel (1980) argues that the New Left was not so much a form of politics but a "stance". It did not create a political platform but wanted to open up a space for debate. From its very beginnings, this was one of the biggest criticisms of the New Left. It was

seen as divorced from class base politics and often see to be patronising of working class concerns. This is, of course, a criticism that progressive intellectuals have continually faced in modern politics. The New Left was, in the UK, largely associated with a group of Oxford based intellectuals. It was easy to caricature the group as out of touch with the concerns of ordinary voters and working class families and communities. This is a theme that has run throughout public political discourse before and since. It has become very visible in post Brexit referendum British politics. Remainers were presented by Leavers as an out of touch metropolitan liberal elite.

1956 was a watershed year in post war politics. The invasion of Hungary was clear evidence, if any were needed, of the brutality of the Soviet regime. This led to many radicals including the historian E.P. Thompson to leave the CPGB. In the same year, the debacle of Suez confirmed to the Left the strength of the colonial, nationalist mindset. The two events left progressive intellectuals politically homeless. The response was for a group of intellectuals such as Thompson, the sociologist Stuart Hall and others to create a loose coalition of nonaligned socialists who rejected orthodox communism and western social democracy. The New Left grouping, there was never a formal political organisation with the name, expanded so to include disillusioned communists, independent socialists and student radicals. 1956 became not just a year 'a conjuncture'. The term 'conjuncture' comes from the Italian Marxist theoretician, Antonio Gramsci (2011). Hall (1993) uses the term 'conjuncture' as a way of capturing the fluidity of modern political, economic and cultural life, as well as the complexity of these relationships. This springs from the NLR's dissatisfaction with the limitations of a purely economic or class-based analysis. Conjuncture is simply a combination of events. This is an attempt by Hall (1986) to move away from the rigid economic determinism of

Marxism. It suggests that any economic analysis can only provide a partial explanation. While an important factor, a purely economic explanation will miss significant factors. The Brexit debate is an excellent example of a political phenomenon that requires a cultural as well as economic analysis. For example, O'Toole (2016; 2017) analyses Brexit as a form of what Gilroy (2005) termed '*postcolonial melancholia'*.

The New Left sought to open up a critical discourse that could examine the implications for progressive politics of the areas such as the totalitarian nature of Soviet style communism, the international relations of the Cold War and the existential threat of the nuclear age, the development of the social democratic welfare state and the post war creation in the West of the consumer society and wider affluence. The New Left critical discourse came to have an influence on the revolutionary wave of '1968' and the 'new social movement' and identity politics that followed.

The New Left influence is visible in new approaches in history, sociology and political science that examine the importance of culture, civil society and daily life. These are seen not as outside the realms of politics but as key sites of political debate. Alongside this, the New Left produced a new interest in the role of grassroots and community activism as alternatives to the failures of organised politics (Kenny, 1995)

The *New Reasoner* magazine, a key publication in the development of the New Left was set up by John Saville and E. P. Thompson 1956 after they had left the CPGB in protest against the way that the British party leadership had supported the Soviet tanks crushing the uprising in Hungary. This disillusion with Soviet style communism had been increasing since Khruschev's denunciation of Stalinism (Kenny, 1995). The *New Reasoner* was a short lived but important publication. The magazine's editors were committed to developing a form of humanist and libertarian form of Marxism that

rejected Stalinism and the CPGB's variant of democratic centralism that had led to the support of the invasion of Hungary. In this period, there was significant debate about the role of the Labour Party. Whilst recognising the value of the post war institutions of the welfare state and that it would have to have a key role in political change, there were already concerns about the limitations of social democracy. The earlier criticisms of the welfare state argued that it was not a staging post on the way to a socialist society but an accommodation with capitalism. The New Left presciently argued that the gains of the welfare state would come under pressure in times of economic crisis. The bureaucratic nature of welfare state institutions was also criticised.

Alongside the *New Reasoner* , another key publication was the and *Universities and Left Review* edited by group of Oxford students, Charles Taylor, Raphael Samuel, Gabriel Pearson and Stuart Hall. The two editorial boards came together in 1960 to form the *New Left Review* in 1960. In 1962, Perry Anderson became editor of the *New Left Review (NLR).* The NLR in this period was heavily involved in debates about the nature and future of British socialist politics.. In the 1950s and 60s, Anthony Crosland was leading Labour figure rejected Marxist influenced class analysis and politic. He argued that the development of the consumer society would render the divisions obsolete. The Attlee Government called a snap election in 1951 – hoping to increase the majority it won the year before. However, despite increasing its share of the popular vote it lost and Churchill became Prime Minister again. Labour lost elections the 1955 General Election. The Conservatives increased their majority in 1959. Gaitskell the leader sought to remove Clause IV from its constitution. Clause IV had been written by Sydney and Beatrice Webb in 1917 and it committed the Party

to secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service

This was regarded as Labour's commitment to socialism. Gaitskell and those on the Labour right argued that Clause IV alongside other policies such a commitment to nuclear disarmament need to be removed to widen Labour's appeal. In the 1960s, the New Left argued that industrial capitalism was being defended by the state. In addition, writers such as Miliband (1970, 1972) argued that British Parliamentary democracy would only allow for very narrow kinbds of economic and social reform. The debate, which continues to this day is whether Labour would win by moving to the right or needed to stakeout a more radical fundamentalist left position. New Labour under Blair clearly took the view that electoral success could only be achieved by reaching an accommodation with Thatcherism – what Hall (1998) termed its double shuffle. A Special Labour conference in 1995 revised Clause IV so that it read

The Labour Party is a democratic socialist party. It believes that by the strength of our common endeavour we achieve more than we achieve alone, so as to create for each of us the means to realise our true potential and for all of us a community in which power, wealth and opportunity are in the hands of the many, not the few, where the rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe, and where we live together, freely, in a spirit of solidarity, tolerance and respect.

Stuart Hall and the New Left .

This section will briefly consider the work of the cultural theorist, Stuart Hall. Hall produced a hugely influential body of work that examined class, race, the roots of Thatcherism, the role of the media and representation. Here, the areas of race and Hall's analysis of neoliberalism will be considered. Hall was a key figure in the development of the New Left in the early 1960s. Having worked briefly as a supply teacher in London, he went on to have what can only be described as a stellar academic career. Until his death in 2014, he was one of the leading public intellectuals in Britain – certainly the most prominent black academic. Hall's (2017) work from his time at Oxford and the establishment of the NLR was concerned with the construction of British identity. It can also be read as an attempt to build a form of progressive politics that offered a challenge to the rise of the New Right and later neoliberalism whilst recognising the limitations and contradictions of statist post-war social democracy. In so doing, Hall recognised the importance and centrality of culture, including popular culture and new cultural forms. Hall was among the first to take popular culture seriously as a site of study recognising it as an area where meanings and representations are constructed and challenged. He suggested that the contrasting economic determinisms of neoliberalism and Marxism failed to engage sufficiently in these debates. He clearly did not dismiss the importance of economic and other structural factors but saw that there were limitations to them.

Hall and Race

In considering the fundamental question of modern British identity, Hall examined the connections and contradictions of race, empire and colonialism(Hall, 2017). In the aftermath of political rupture that the Brexit referendum marked, these issues have come into sharper relief. For example, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement has

again brought the issue of race back into the political spotlight. It has, of course, always been an issue. As I am writing, the British media is having convulsions about the Oprah Winfrey interview where Meghan, the Duchess of Sussex, talked about the impact of racist newspaper of her public and private life. Since the Brexit vote, the nature of the British Empire, the impact of colonialism and Britain's role in the slave trade have become the subject of increasingly polarised debate. It is impossible to understand modern Britain without a consideration of Empire (Gilroy, 2013, Olusoga, 2016, Gopal, 2019 and Sanghera, 2021). There has been a backlash against these attempts to present a critical perspective on Empire (Ferguson, 2012. The defence of Empire has become part of a much wider culture war .

Hall(https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p0094b6r) in his appearance on *Desert Island Discs* predicted that one of the possible responses to the development of a modern multi-cultural Britain would be a retreat into a romantic vision of the Imperial past.

Hall (2017) explored these connections and contradictions in his work. The connections between Britain and Jamaica are there in his full name: Stuart McPhail Hall. When Hall was born in 1932, Jamaica was a British colony. He attended a school Jamaica College, an establishment modelled on the English public school. He was a Rhodes Scholar at Merton College, Oxford (1951–57). The Rhodes Scholarship was founded and named after Cecil Rhodes, a committed imperialist and white supremacist. Hall never returned to Jamaica following his time at Oxford. In the 1970s, Hall helped to found the Centre for Cultural Studies at Birmingham University with Richard Hoggart, author of the influential *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of working class life* (Hoggart, 2017). He later became director of the centre.

Hall (1996) examined the impact of the deeply engrained social and cultural notions of race. Race as a concept has no scientific base. However, it is clearly a very powerful tool that constructs social and political attitudes. Hall (2017) had grown up in a colonial society where the colour one's skin was seen as the marker of one's social, political and cultural status. It caused a crisis and rupture in his own family when his sister began a relationship with a dark-skinned Barbadian doctor. His mother forced his sister to end the relationship. It led to her hospitalisation in a psychiatric unit and treatment with ECT. Hall (1996) saw race as a system of meaning. We use it as a way of seeing the world. In presenting this analysis, Hall (1996) was very aware that even though the 'science' of racial classification has been debunked, it has a real social, economic and political existence. These impacts play out in the lives of individuals and communities. In the 1970s in the UK, the term *'black'* became a political term. It was used to include migrant communities who shared experiences of colonialism, racism, discrimination and marginalisation. In exploring what it meant to be black, Hall was also exploring how a new form of identity black and British was constructed by individuals but also the opposition to the recognition of it as a legitimate one.

Hall is concerned with much broader questions of identity and how they relate to politics. One key aspect of the NLR perspective was that it was no longer possible to read someone's political and other positions simply based on class. Hall (2017) notes that identity is not as fixed and transparent as was often presented; rather, cultural identities undergo constant transformation. In his memoir, Hall argues that he did not become 'black' until he moved to England. He uses this as an example of the way in which far from identity being fixed, identities are not essentialist, but the result of the

interplay between historical, cultural and other powerful factors. In his work on representation, Hall (1989; 1997) outlined the construction of the colonial subject as the "*Other*". In developing an analysis of the emergence of Thatcherism, Hall et al (2013) examine the way in which the post-colonial subject is represented as the cause of the problems of urban societies – poor housing, pressures on social and welfare services, and, ultimately, violent crime. Hirsch (2018) shows the way in which these issues were exploited by Enoch Powell in the late 1960s. This has been a consistent feature of right wing discourse across the world before and since.

One of the most important aspects of Hall's general theoretical approach is his insistence on the need to recognise the dynamic and fluid nature of cultural change. Hall emphasised the fundamental role that slavery and colonialism played in the economic development of Empire. At the same time, he emphasised that this inevitably produced wider cultural links including, for example, the presence of black people in Britain long before the arrival of the Windrush generation after World War II. In the ethno-nationalist discourse of modern fascist British fascist parties such as the National Front and the later British National Party, there was that there was a period where Britain was all white (Alibhai-Brown, 2000; Hirsch, 2018). This period was part of the construction of a mythic past that is a key element of all fascist discourse (Stanley, 2020). Stanley notes that further elements of this discourse are a distrust of urban cosmopolitanism and liberal elites coupled with a sense of betrayal. In the 70s and 80s, for the Powellite Right, the liberal elite had betrayed the nation by sanctioning immigration from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent.

Hall on Thatcherism and Neoliberalism

In Hall's academic work and his political campaigning he sought to grapple with the impact of the fracturing of class alliances that occurred in the 1970s. The economic and social crises of the late 1970s produced a new politics. Hall was a theorist but was also heavily involved in local and national politics (Hall, 2017). Hall argued that theory was a conceptual toolbox that should be used as a way of opening up areas for exploration (Jaggi,2000). One of the attractions of Hall's method is that it is not overtly restrictive so suits the exploration of cultural issues. The importance of Hall's work in the area has meant that has unintentionally minimised his contribution in the wider area (Lewis 2000)

Hall was influenced in the development of cultural studies by the Italian Marxist theoretician Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). Hall used Gramsci notion of hegemony as a way to examine how dominant political ideas and values are reproduced within cultural forms. The notion of hegemony provides a way of examining the construction of dominant political ideas within liberal democratic societies. Dissatisfaction witht a purely economic determinist approach included a failure to explain how key ideas can structure and limit debates. Hall (1979) used the term 'free market' as an example of a term that is used without its meaning being fully interrogated. Harcourt (2011) demonstrates that all markets are subject to forms and regulation. It is not possible to enter a market freely in the sense that the term 'free market' implies. Hall did not, of course, ignore social structure and class. He argued that they produced a limited and ultimately unsatisfactory political analysis. Hegemony as a tool of analysis allowed for the discussion of the role of the media, drama, film, popular novels in the creation and dissemination of the ideas and values of elites as cultural norms of society. When he appeared on Desert Island Discs was rather patronisingly asked if he watched the

popular TV quiz show *Who Wants to be a Millionaire ?* He replied it was not to his personal taste. However, it was clearly a site for analysis. The presentation and popularity of the show indicated so much about the politics and the culture of the previous twenty years.

Policing the Crisis

Policing the crisis (Hall et al, 2013) outlines and examines a moral panic that focused on street robberies – muggings – in Birmingham in the mid-1970s.. Hall et al's (2013) interest was initially triggered by the sentencing of a local youth to 20 years for such an offence. The reports of these crimes were racialised in the sense that the media presented mugging as a '*black crime'*. Hall was working in Birmingham and the impact of Powell's 1968 '*Rivers of Blood'* speech cast a long shadow (Hirsch, 2018). As noted above, the conflation of the issues of immigration and crime is a consistent feature of racist discourse. In this speech, Powell claimed that one of his constituents was effectively a prionser in her own home because she would not go out as she afraid of being attacked by local black youths. Simon (2014) notes that crime generally and muggings acted as a lightening conductor for a series of wider social concerns during that period. It is important to note that is not to downplay the fear of crime or its potential impact on individuals, families and communities. It is rather to recognise that that were structural, economic and social issues that were part of a wider crisis of social democracy. This was a period that saw the advanced industrial economies entering a decade-long period of almost continuous recession and inflation (Simon, 2014). The early 1970s was a period of huge political turmoil in the UK, including industrial conflict, with miners' strikes in 1972 and 1974. The Conservative government led by

Edward Heath introduced a three-day working week between December 1973 and February 1974 to protect energy supplies (Wheen, 2009).

The wider crisis questioned the legitimacy of the state. The response by the state was to become more punitive (Simon, 2014) . '*Black crime'* became a signifier used by the media and politicians to represent the social problems of what Hall and his colleagues termed 'urban colonies'. They used this term as a radical alternative to other phrases used at the time, such as 'ghetto' or 'inner city', which were also racially coded. Violent crime tends to generate powerful support for state responses: more police officers, longer custodial sentences and harsher conditions in prisons. All moral panics require or produce a folk devil (Cohen, 2002). In the moral panic of the early 1970s concerning urban crime, the folk devil was a black youth. Hall et al (2013) outline the way that crime became a central concern that was politically exploited by what was termed at that time the New Right. Hall was one of the first to identify the implications of the shifting political and economic trends of the 1970s. In his path-breaking article '*The Great Moving Right Show',* Hall (1979) saw that the mixture of economic liberalism and social conservatism that Mrs Thatcher represented was a new and influential political force. The article was published in January 1979 before Thatcher's election in May of that year. The post-war social-democratic settlement was unravelling at that point – most clearly in the Winter of Discontent (López, 2014)

Law and order policies became a key element in Thatcherism. They were used to generate and maintain support from (white) working-class and middle-class voters. The contradictions of the social democratic consensus were fatally exposed in the aftermath of the oil crisis of 1973. To present herself and her policies as a clear break

from the postwar period and what she saw as its failings, Thatcher developed and exploited a narrative that the nation was in crisis, and that she embodied the radical action that was required to solve these problems. '*Thatcherism*' became a recognisable ideology and approach to politics and government, representing a combination of free market liberalism and traditional Conservative moralism and family values. Thatcher presented the state as being dominated by a liberal elite supported by progressives who opposed traditional values but who also despised '*ordinary people'*. This narrative has been a consistent theme in public discourse over the last 40 years but has become even more prominent since the Brexit referendum campaign.

The continuing influence of Thatcherism and the relevance of the analysis that was put forward by Hall et al (2013) rise in the use of imprisonment has been one of the most significant social and public policy developments of the past 40 years. It is most apparent in the USA. There are now over two million people in US jails. A frequently quoted statistic is that the USA has five per cent of the world's population, and over 25 per cent of the world's prisoners. In Europe, England and Wales have followed this trend most closely. The political success of Reagan and Thatcher meant that there was a rightwards shift in debates about law and order. Parties, nominally of the left or centre-left, moved to the right on these issues. In the UK, no politician has since been able to shift the debate back to the centre ground (Cummins, 2021).

New Labour are the best example of this: '*Tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime* was a statement of intent and a determination not to be seen as weak or 'on the side of the offender'. Home Secretaries from both political parties took the view that 'prison works'. The prison population in England and Wales increased by 41,800 to over 86,000

between June 1993 and June 2012. In his early days as Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, alongside his Home Secretary Priti Patel, made a series of policy announcements such as increasing the number of police officers and restricting the early release of offenders convicted of violent and sexual offences. These moves were strong echoes of the 'get tough' law-and-order Tory party policies of the late 1970s and early 80s.

The New Left and Social Work

This section will examine the ongoing relevance of the key themes of the New Left and Hall's work arguing that they can provide an ethical base for a reinvigorated social work practice that challenges the neoliberal managerialism that has come to dominate the profession. The political centre in UK politics shifted to the right under Thatcher. There are significant differences between the Thatcher, Major, New Labour and Cameron administrations. It is possible to identify trace elements in the development of penal and welfare policy since the Thatcherite period (Cummins, 2021). These elements include a belief that the welfare state is monolithic and dependency-producing, and that prison works. Welfare and penal policy has been, at times, more Thatcherite since she left office (Cummins, 2021).

Austerity policies went further in their attacks on the welfare state than Thatcher could have ever thought possible (Cummins, 2018a and 2018b). This is the context, in which, modern social work practice takes place. One way of understanding the impact of the Covid pandemic is to see it as a stress test for social and welfare systems. It has revealed the devasting impact of the undermining and long term underfunding of these systems. As a result, it is the poorest, most vulnerable communities which have suffered most. Newham a borough in East London despite its proximity to the wealth of the City

of London is one of the poorest areas in the UK. At the start of the pandemic, child poverty stood as high as 67 per cent. Unemployment was at 14 per cent, double the average for London (Raval, 2021). Alongside this poor housing and precarious employment made it more difficult for vulnerable people to shield. The result was that during the first wave of the pandemic, Newham had the highest age-standardised mortality rate in England and Wales, at 144.3 deaths per 100,000.

Thatcher once stated that New Labour was her greatest achievement: "*We forced our opponents to change their minds". Th*e election of Thatcher in 1979 and Reagan in 1980 marked the end of a Keynesian social democratic approach to government that had been followed in liberal democracies since the end of World War II. The broad features of policy in this period included a commitment to full employment, an expansion of public services and a replacement of the belief that the state could and should play a positive role in the lives of citizens by an endorsement of free markets and a smaller state. The New Left had been very critical of the bureaucratic nature of the social democratic welfare state. Fraser (2017) notes that the radical language of the social movements of the 1970s – rights, autonomy, recognition – that sought social equality and full citizenship for women, racial and sexual minorities and other marginalised groups was taken up by the Right to undermine the institutions of the welfare state. She terms the result – 'progressive neoliberalism'. This language was and is the language of critical and radical language as it encapsulates progressive social work values. Issac (2019) argues that Fraser overstates her case in claiming that there is little real difference between, for example, the Obama and Trump administrations. There are

clear differences, not just in policies such as the Affordable Care Act, but also in the public discourse and the whole approach to politics.

The New Left's criticism of the welfare state do point to an important question for social work how can practice become more supportive and less intrusive. For example, in areas such as child protection and mental health social work practice has become more reliant on legal interventions – more child being taken into care , greater use of the Mental Health Act . There are clearly wider factors at play here. Austerity policies have led to the shredding of the welfare state (Cummins, 2018a). In November 2018, Professor Philip Alston, United Nations Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights visited the UK. The report (https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Poverty/EOM_GB_16Nov2018.pdf) demonstrates the way that austerity policies have shredded the social welfare safety net. The Alston report argues that austerity has seen the ripping up of the post war Beveridge social contract. Todd (2014) notes that the previous period of austerity in the UK which followed World War II saw the establishment of key features of the modern welfare state such as the National Health Service. The modern period of austerity has seen the fragmentation and marketisation of key welfare institutions such as the NHS and the deprofessionalisation of the staff who work in them. The report focuses on the economic impact of austerity. However, it is framed in a discourse of cultural and social rights emphasizing the value of community organizations. Living in poverty is seen as a breach of human rights. On page 1, the report notes that at the time of the report, 14 million people, one fifth of the population were living in poverty. The report

goes on

"*For almost one in every two children to be poor in (21 Britain is not just a disgrace but a social calamity and economic disaster, all rolled into one*".

Alston (2018) argues that austerity had led to a form of social engineering and the shredding of the post-war Beveridge social contract. Alston (2018) may have a somewhat nostalgic view of post war British community values and the generosity of the welfare state. However, he is clear that austerity policies have produced a residual welfare state that is "*punitive, mean- spirited and often callous*" Alston (2018)

Conclusion

A New Left influenced perspective has had a clear influence in radical and progressive politics since the 1960s. Social work's stated professional values include an explicit commitment to social justice and individual human dignity. However, modern progressive social movements have included a challenge to social work's role in the disciplinary state. This places social work and individual social workers in a difficult and liminal position. Social workers see themselves as agents of social change. However, they also take on disciplinary state functions. Despite the fact that neoliberalism is allegedly committed to a smaller state, the disciplinary functions of the state have expanded over the past forty years. This position generates a series of conflicts - social workers and other street level bureaucrats often find themselves in conflict with government policies . The New Left perspective highlighted that despite its many positive aspects (Todd, 2021), the welfare state can and is often experienced as a bureaucratic, stigmatising and even dehumanising. Poorer families are much more likely to experience state intervention and experience it in this fashion. The period of welfare retrenchment and austerity has exacerbated this, leading to an attack on the fundamental rights of citizenship for marginalized groups.

Despite these huge challenges, social work as a profession shares the progressive values of the New Left. Individual social workers are working in the most difficult circumstances to support individuals, families and communities who have borne the brunt of the impact of austerity, rising inequality and the Covid pandemic. Despite the increasing bureaucracy and managerialism, social workers continue to attempt to carve out creative practice spaces. This has become increasingly difficult. Hall and the New Left provide a conceptual framework which examines the roots of reactionary populism. In so doing, this perspective calls for a positive celebration of the value of diversity and difference. This combined with a critical perspective and a commitment to social justice and human rights must be the core of social work professional practice.

References

Alibhai-Brown, Y. (2000) After multiculturalism, Foreign Policy Centre.

BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) (2000) *Stuart Hall on Desert Island Discs,* www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p0094b6r

Alston, P. (2018). Statement on visit to the United Kingdom, by Professor Philip Alston, United Nations Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights. *London, UK: United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner*.

Cohen, S. (2002), *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. Routledge.

Cummins, I. (2018a). *Poverty, inequality and social work: The impact of neo-liberalism and austerity politics on welfare provision*. Policy Press.

Cummins, I. (2018b). The impact of austerity on mental health service provision: a UK perspective. *International journal of environmental research and public health, 15(6), 1145.*

Ferguson, N. (2012). *Empire: How Britain made the modern world*. Penguin UK.

Gilroy, P. (2005). *Postcolonial melancholia*. Columbia University Press.

Gopal, P. (2019). *Insurgent empire: Anticolonial resistance and British dissent*. Verso Books.

Gramsci, A. (2011). *Prison Notebooks Volume 2* (Vol. 2). Columbia University Press.

Hall, S. (1979) The Great Moving Right Show, *Marxism Today*, 23(1): 14–20.

Hall, S. (1986). The problem of ideology-Marxism without guarantees. *Journal of communication inquiry*, *10*(2), 28-44.

Hall, S. (1993). Culture, community, nation. *Cultural studies*, *7*(3), 349-363

Hall, S. (1996) *Race: The floating signifier* Media Education Foundation.

Hall, S. (1997) *The spectacle of 'the Other': Cultural representation and signifying practices* Sage.

Hall, S. (1998). The Great Moving Nowhere Show. *Marxism Today*, *1*(1), 9-14.

Hall, S. (2017). *Familiar stranger: A life between two islands*. Duke University Press.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J. and Roberts, B. (2013) *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order* Macmillan International Higher Education.

Harcourt, B (2011) *The Illusion of Free Markets Punishment and the Myth of Natural Order* Harvard University Press

Hirsch, S. (2018*) In the shadow of Enoch Powell: Race, locality and resistance*, Manchester University Press.

Hoggart, R. (2017) *The uses of literacy* Routledge

Jaggi, M. (2000) Prophet at the margins, The Guardian, 8 July.

Kenny, M. (1995). *First New Left, The*. Lawrence & Wishart.

Lewis, G. (2000) *Stuart Hall and social policy in P. Gilroy, L, Grossberg and A. McRobbie (eds) Without guarantees: In honour of Stuart Hall* Verso

López, T.M. (2014) *The Winter of Discontent: Myth, memory, and history* Oxford University Press.

Miliband, R. (1970). The capitalist state: reply to Nicos Poulantzas. *New Left Review*, *59*(1), 53-60.

Miliband, R. (1972). *Parliamentary socialism: A study in the politics of labour* (Vol. 9). Merlin Press.

Fraser, N. (2017). The end of progressive neoliberalism. *Dissent, 2(1*)

Isaac, J. C. (2019). Beyond Trump? A critique of Nancy Fraser's call for a new left hegemony. *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, *45*(9-10), 1157-1169.

Olusoga, D. (2016). *Black and British: A forgotten history*. Pan Macmillan.

O'Toole, F. (2016) Brexit is being driven by English nationalism. And it will end in self-rule, The Guardian, 19, 18th June.

O'Toole, F. (2017) Brexit's Irish question, New York, NY: New York Review of Books.

Raval, A (2021) *Inside the 'Covid Triangle': a catastrophe years in the making* https://www.ft.com/content/0e63541a-8b6d-4bec-8b59-b391bf44a492

Samuel, R. (1980). British Marxist Historians, 1880–1980: Part One. *New Left Review*, *120*(1), 21-96.

Sanghera , S (2021) *Empireland: How Imperialism has shaped Modern Britain* Viking Books

Simon, J. (2014) Law's violence, the strong state, and the crisis of mass imprisonment (for Stuart Hall), *The Wake Forest Law Review, 49: 649*.

Stanley, J. (2020). *How fascism works: The politics of us and them*. Random House Trade Paperbacks.

Todd, S. (2014). *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class, 1910-2010* John Murry Publishers

Todd, S (2021) *Snakes and Ladders The great British social mobility myth* Penguin

Wheen, F. (2009*) Strange days indeed: The 1970s: The golden days of Paranoia* NY: Public Affairs.