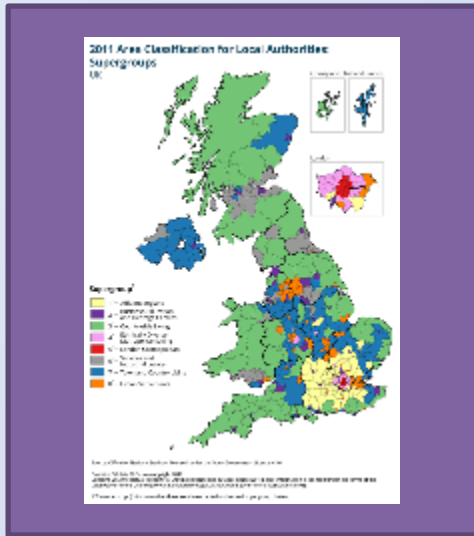


ECED7001: Political Influences in Inequality & Diversity

Theme 2: An Introduction to Political Theory – Key Concepts

Part 4

Demagogue

- The term **demagogue** is thought to have the same root as democracy = *demos* the people
- However, even in Ancient Greece it was used to mean a person who could easily persuade the crowd to vote for them (a rabble rouser)
- In contemporary society it is used pejoratively to indicate a politician who appeals to the mob
- It is often used to refer to a politician who uses emotive and prejudicial language to gain popular support
- Often they do so for their own interests or simply in order to get elected
- As such it is strongly linked with the concept of **populism**

Can you think of any examples?



(See for example [Hahl, O. et al, 2018](#))

Populism

- In its general, political sense **populism** is applied to a politician or party which supports or claims to support the interests of the mass population
- **Populists** will usually claim to be ‘standing up for the man in the street’ (see Steel, 2018)
- They position themselves on the side of the ‘little’ man and woman against elites and outsiders
- Politicians of any party may appeal to populist sentiment when it suits them, and denounce such appeals when that suits them.
- The ‘enemies’ of populism can vary but they often include;
 - ‘Big’ government
 - ‘Big’ business
 - Trade Unions
 - Intellectuals
 - ‘Experts’
 - Religious groups
 - Racial groups
 - Immigrants

Populism

- In our exploration of the complexity and ‘constructed’ nature of these concepts it should be noted that populism can not only have many targets
- **Populism** can be located on the left-wing or right-wing of the political spectrum
- **Populists** can position themselves as authoritarian or libertarian
- *Populism can be positioned anywhere on the political compass*
- Examples of populists from history include;
- **Napoleon Bonaparte** (1769-1821) – set himself against both the monarchy (Ancien Regime) and the radical revolutionaries (Jacobins)
- He manipulated public opinion through art and pamphlets to show himself as the champion of the people and the saviour of France (Hanley, 2008)



Populism

- Examples of populists from history include;
- **Juan Peron** (1895–1974) – an Argentinian, authoritarian populist who was originally inspired by European **Fascism** (Goldstein, 2018)
- Mobilised Trade Union support to gain power
- Policies included the enfranchisement of women,
- **Protectionist** trade and economic policies to protect Argentinian businesses
- State intervention and nationalisation to support and develop industry (for example he nationalised the railways in the 1940's)

Populism

- Examples of populists from history include;
- **Fidel Castro** (1926-2016) – a left-wing, Cuban revolutionary who gained wide-spread popular support for the overthrow of the Batista Govt. in the 1950s
- Although his regime later became more **communist** and authoritarian his initial mass appeal was due to his attacks on government corruption, U.S domination of the economy and a ‘vague opposition to capitalism’ (Mazucco, No Date)
- He also emphasised that Cuba had become a ‘tropical playground’ for rich Americans whilst Cubans were living in poverty (Moruzzi, 2008)



Populism

- So, we have seen that ‘populism’ can take many, varied and often oppositional forms
- This diversity has lead theorists such as Rogers Brubaker, Professor of Sociology at UCLA, to ask, rhetorically, whether there is such a thing as ‘populism’
- Brubaker, goes on to argue that a cotemporary phenomena of populism can indeed be detected and that it has two discernible features;
- Firstly he finds that, regardless of the political focus (i.e. right wing, left wing, authoritarian, libertarian etc.) **populism** can be identified by its “discursive and stylistic repertoire” ([Brubaker, 2017](#))
- That is to say a number of common elements which, “while [...] more or less standardized, and in some ways even scripted, [...] leave room for improvisation and elaboration” (Brubaker, 2017)

Populism

- He continues “they must be filled out with particular content and adapted to local circumstances when they are used’ Brubaker, 2017)
- Thus the populist politician can take ‘off the peg’ tropes and then tailor them to their own political needs

Can you think of any examples of these tropes?



“hard working families”

“education, education, education.”

“middle England”

(See for example LaMagdeleine, 2016 and Tambakaki, P., 2019)

Populism

- Brubaker acknowledges that his argument is preceded by that of Robert S. Jansen, a sociologist at the University of Michigan
- Jansen, in his essay, 'Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism', argues that the sociology of politics can no longer ignore modern populism
- He argues that in the past it was purposefully overlooked precisely because it was amorphous and “plagued by conceptual confusion and disagreement” (Jansen, 2011 p.75)
- Focusing primarily on Latin America, he argues that the increase in what he calls “populist mobilisation” is a dangerous development in which politicians such as Peru’s Alberto Fujimori, Venezuela’s Hugo Chavez and Bolivia’s Evo Morales are “mobilising marginalised sectors” by “articulating an anti-elite, nationalist rhetoric” (Jansen, 2011 p.82)
- In this way, regardless of the political aims of the populist politician, populism should be seen as a “mode of political practice” (Jansen, 2011 p.81) in which groups are scapegoated and the **rule of law** can be ignored

Populism

- It is interesting to note that this 21st century concern with the rise of what has been called 'neo-populism' mirrors the concerns of Plato and Aristotle
- As we saw earlier, they too were concerned with the power of the demagogue and the appeal to mass democracy
- Concern regarding the rise of populism has also been expressed by the current Pope, Francis



1. BBC News (2017)

- The Pope has warned that one of the tropes that can be used by populists is religion
- He has criticised the use of Catholicism by nationalist populist politicians such as Matteo Salvini who have appealed to traditional Catholic values
- and by Latin American left wing populists who have adopted [liberation theology](#) to their cause

Property

- The anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudon (1840) asked the question *What is Property?* in his book of that name.
- For him the answer was simple. “Property is theft” (Proudon, 1840)
- Property is an Important, and complex, concept as it is central to many of the political perspectives that we will look at in the next Theme as well as economic and legal systems
- Brown *et al* (2018) give two definitions of property;
- 1) A legal relation between a ‘person’ and a ‘thing’;
- 2) the object of a legal relation with a ‘person’.

Property

Illustrative Examples



Some Money



Her Money



A House



Her House



An idea



Her Idea

Property

- From the previous slide we can see that property can be 'concrete' e.g. 'my house'
- It can also be 'abstract' e.g. 'my idea'
- Interestingly , money is both concrete



- And abstract!



Property

- There are essentially three types of property;
- **Private property**
- **Common Property**
- **Public property**

Private Property

- **Private property** – refers to property which is owned by a ‘person’
- In law a ‘person’ can refer to either a ‘natural person’ or an ‘artificial person’.
- A ‘natural person’ is any individual (i.e. you and me)

What might an ‘artificial person’ refer to?



Private Property

- An 'artificial person' refers to any 'entity that is recognized by the law as a legal person, i.e. one having legal rights and duties distinct from the individuals who comprise it'.
- For example, a company is a person in the sense that it can sue and be sued, hold property, etc., in its own name.
- It is not, however, an individual or natural person (Law, 2016)
- So an individual in a 'natural person' who can own property (cash, goods, intellectual property or IP)
- And an organisation in an 'artificial person' which can own property (cash, goods, intellectual property or IP)

Private Property

By way of illustration

- The UWTSD [Intellectual Property Policy: Students](#) states that;
- 3.1 'The University's default position is that where an undergraduate or postgraduate taught Student has developed IP, the Student owns the IP'
- Whereas, the UWTSD [Intellectual Property Policy: Staff](#) states that;
- 3.1 'Intellectual Property created by an employee within his or her area of academic or research expertise during his or her period of employment with the University is presumed to have been created during the course of his or her employment, and so belongs to the University.
- In the first instance the IP is owned by the student as a 'natural person' whilst in the second it is owned by the University as an 'artificial person'

Common Property

- **Common property** – this is most often seen in the area of home ownership
- ‘Commonhold is a form of ownership (or tenure) for multi-occupancy developments. Each unit-holder owns the freehold of their home, and a commonhold or residents’ association owns and manages the common parts of the property’. (The Law Society, 2021)
- Therefore it could relate to a utility room in a block of flats, a shared garden and ‘common’ land on which people can graze their animals

Common Property

- In this last sense (i.e. common land) the concept of common property does impinge on our discussions on political discourse regarding inequality
- In 1969, Garrett Hardin wrote an article 'The Tragedy of the Commons' in Science magazine
- In it he outlined the issues of inequality in relation to the use of common land
- He argued that the fair and equitable use of common land could not just be based on ideas 'conscience' or 'fairness'
- This would allow selfish people (i.e. 'natural persons') to over-exploit the land (i.e. graze too many animals etc.) thus depleting the common resource

Common Property

- This argument has been extended further to include ‘artificial persons’ such as mining companies or large agricultural corporations who may exploit common land for their own profit
- In terms of common land in the UK much of it was lost due to the Enclosure Acts which allowed private land owners to enclose common land and take it into their estates
- According to UK Parliament ‘Overall, between 1604 and 1914 over 5,200 enclosure Bills were enacted by Parliament which related to just over a fifth of the total area of England, amounting to some 6.8 million acres’. (UK Parliament, 2021)
- This land was legally transferred from ‘common’ ownership to ‘private’ ownership meaning that people could no longer use it to graze their animals.

What do we think of this in terms of the normative concept of justice that we have discussed previously?



Common Property

- There is also a wealth of literature on the link between poverty and the over-use of common land
- It is argued that 'Poverty can lead to a high dependence upon, and consequent degradation, of natural resources' (DFID, 2001)
- Thus even though people may know that they are over using the land they have no alternative
- It is further argued that around the world 'Exclusion from crucial resources following changes to property right regimes acts as the main catalyst for increasing deprivation and vulnerability of poorer households'
- This current crisis has echoes of the Enclosure Acts.

Public Property

- **Public Property** – effectively refers to land, buildings, equipment, etc. that are owned by the government (Comply, 2011)
- Given this definition, we can see that political decisions made by Governments can have a direct effect on what is and is not public property
- For example, the changes implemented as a result of the Beveridge Report (see the lecture on Distributive Justice) saw the massive transfer of ownership from private to public (e.g. the nationalisation of coal, rail, gas, electricity etc.)
- As well as the construction and ‘ownership’ of housing stock by local authorities (‘Council Houses’)
- These policies were reversed by Margaret Thatcher through the ‘privatisation’ and ‘right to buy’ policies of the 1980s

Public Property

- Shmuel Nili, (2019), Assistant Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University argues that ‘Political theory lacks a compelling account of public property.’
- Although this might be a somewhat U.S.-centric view as there was considerable debate at the time of the Thatcher reforms he does suggest how the debate could progress
- He suggests that the effective deployment of public property does not necessarily contradict the concept of private property/capitalism
- He argues that the constructive use of public property can help to achieve social equity, and;
- He addresses the threat to social equity caused by the misuse of public property by corrupt politicians

Common Good

- This is an often heard phrase that Beerbohm and Davis (2017 p. e60) claim ‘is appealed to by philosophers, political scientists, and politicians alike’, for example;
- “There is no higher religion than human service. To work for the common good is the greatest creed” (US President Woodrow Wilson 1856-1924)
- “Politics is a noble activity. We should revalue it, practise it with vocation and a dedication that requires testimony, martyrdom, that is to die for the common good” (Pope Francis, b. 1936)
- “Law is nothing other than a certain ordinance of reason for the common good, promulgated by the person who has the care of the community” (Thomas Aquinas 1225-1274)
- “Many of you are well enough off that the tax cuts may have helped you. We're saying that for America to get back on track, we're probably going to cut that short and not give it to you. We're going to take things away from you on behalf of the common good” (Hillary Clinton, b. 1947)

Common Good

- In one sense the phrase can be seen to refer to ‘the good which is common to—that is, shared by—a number of persons’ (Browne *et al*, 2018)
- It can also be used in the sense of ‘the good of a collectivity which cannot be disaggregated (Browne *et al*, 2018)

But what do these two definitions mean?



- The first definition relates to the idea that for us to talk of the common good then every individual need to benefit from that good.
- The second definition is effectively saying that providing the majority benefit then we can still talk of ‘the common good’.
- Thus latter point has links to the ideology of ‘**utilitarianism**’

Common Good

- [Beerbohm and Davis](#) (2017) have also argued that the concept of the common good is closely bound up with the concept of **justice**
- ‘implicating both that the common good is something beyond justice itself, but also that the concepts play a similar function—as appropriate guides to political activity’ (p. e-60)
- However, if we accept that both justice and the common good are normative concepts then they can take on any number of meanings when used by politicians

*What questions should we ask ourselves
when we hear the phrase being used?*



Common Good

- The term itself may refer either to the interests that members have in common or to the facilities that serve common interests. For example, people may say, “the new public library will serve the common good” or “the public library is part of the common good” (Zalta, 2021).
- Austrian Economist Joseph Schumpeter (1883–1950) in his work *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (5th ed. 1994) argued that, although democratic political theory made much of idea it was an idea without a centre
- In this way, although not a post-modernist and indeed a proponent of democracy, Schumpeter is making a similar point to that made by Derrida
- In that concepts such as the common good are essentially hollow concepts which do not contain anything of substance

State sovereignty

- This concept has its roots in the establishment of the idea of absolute monarchy (i.e. absolute rule by the 'sovereign')
- In the early modern period the sovereign and the state were seen as being indivisible
- 'Sovereignty is the claim to be the ultimate political authority, subject to no higher power as regards the making and enforcing of political decisions'. (Brown *et al*, 2018)
- 'In the international system, sovereignty is the claim by the state to full self-government, and the mutual recognition of claims to sovereignty is the basis of international society'. (Brown *et al*, 2018)
- It is this argument that gives us the notion of the **nation state** e.g. the UK

State sovereignty

- It is interesting to note that state sovereignty does not necessarily mean that a nation state can act freely
- For example, a nation may be a sovereign state but is weak in relation to a neighbour and is therefore sometimes unable to act in its own interest for fear of reprisal or lack of influence (see later)
- An example would be the relationship between Ukraine and Russia

Can you think of other examples?



State sovereignty

- This notion that a sovereign state is the ultimate political authority has implications for supra-national organisations such as the UN
- Member states of the UN can veto decisions, refuse to sign or ratify UN Conventions or Accords and refuse to implement those Accords even if they have signed up to them
- For example, the UN can take a view on an issue of sovereignty such as in the case of Palestine and Israel but it has no power to make Israel change its policy

Can you think of other examples?



State sovereignty

- Critics of the UN have often accused it of undermining state sovereignty
- For example;



Guided Study Activity: How many of the ‘normative concepts’ are referred to in the article above?

State sovereignty

- However Makinda, (1998) counters this argument by stating ‘that international values, norms, principles, rules and institutions, including state sovereignty, have always been changing and international society has inevitably adapted to new developments’
- He goes on to argue that this change has happened at a faster pace since 1945 but not because of the geo-political reasons such as;
- Changes to the notion of sovereignty introduced because of the Cold War (i.e. were the Warsaw Pact countries truly sovereign)
- The ‘decolonisation’ of much of Africa and Asia meaning that countries were notionally sovereign states but might be heavily reliant on their former colonial power
- as well as changes since the end of the Cold War (i.e. the proliferation of ‘new’ states after the break-up of the USSR and Yugoslavia.

State sovereignty

- In his populist rhetoric, Donald Trump singles out the UN as undermining state sovereignty
- Other, more considered theorists accept that the UN may have a role to play but see a more general issue – that of ‘globalisation’ in general
- For example, Volk, (2019) in his article ‘The Problem of Sovereignty in Globalized Times’
- He speaks of the rise of “global informational capitalism,” the role of multinational concerns, the significance of supranational organizations, **transnationalism** and much more has led to a “questioning of sovereignty.”
- We have already mentioned the UN as an example of a supranational organisation and will look at NATO as another example briefly later
- However, we will now take a look at the first two concepts in a little more detail

State sovereignty and Global Informational Capitalism

- As Ignatow, (2017) states, global informational capitalism refers to ‘the increasing importance of information within capitalism under conditions of globalization and rapid technological development’

But what exactly does that mean?



- Broadly speaking the phrase refers to the fact that the global economy is increasingly reliant on the provision of services via technology rather than the production of goods in physical form.
- In this way “a majority of the labor force is no longer engaged in agriculture or manufacturing but in services, which are defined, residually, as trade, finance, transport, health, recreation, research, education, and government” (Bell 1976: p. 15 cited in Ignatov, 2017)

State sovereignty and Global Informational Capitalism



Online Trade



Online Finance



Online Transport



Online Health



Online Recreation



Online Education



State sovereignty and Global Informational Capitalism

- In all of these cases the service provider need not be in the same country as the service user
- In this way a country has much less control over the transfer of services (and payments) across its borders
- Thus country has less control over the services are provided and the tax paid by service providers
- For example, one could order an item from Amazon UK but the provider is actually based in Germany, or
- A company is creating income through its online trading in a country but pays tax in another country (usually one with a more generous tax regime)
- A loss of such control can also be seen to mean a loss of sovereignty

State sovereignty and Global Informational Capitalism

- In the area of finance in particular the issue is increasingly important
- From the 18th century onwards sovereign states had promoted the development of the concept of a central 'national' bank (e.g. the Bank of England)
- The central banking system was established to assist in managing a **country's** monetary policy (i.e. in maintaining a financial sovereignty)
- The role of algorithmic international financial markets has meant that this role is undermined
- The markets can change so quickly that all a central bank can do is respond rather than influence (e.g. the 2008 financial crash)



Three Weeks That Changed The World

State sovereignty and Multi-national concerns

- This threat to sovereignty is closely limited to the previous issue in that many of the companies mentioned are based in one country but trade in many others
- However there is one other way in which multi-national concerns can be seen to be a threat to state sovereignty and that is in terms of financial power.
- There are a number of multi-national companies whose market value (a combination of profits, assets, share price etc.) means that they would feature in the Top 20 nations as ranked by GDP by the World Bank.

State sovereignty and Multi-national concerns

Rank	Country / Company	GDP/Value (\$billions)
1	United States	21,427,700
2	China	14,342,903
3	Japan	5,081,770
4	Germany	3,845,630
5	India	2,875,142
6	United Kingdom	2,827,113
7	France	2,715,518
8	Italy	2,001,244
9	Brazil	1,839,758
10	Canada	1,736,426

State sovereignty and Multi-national concerns

Rank	Country / Company	GDP/Value (\$billions)
11	Russian Federation	1,699,877
12	Arabian Oil Company	1,684,800
13	South Korea	1,642,383
14	Spain	1,394,116
15	Australia	1,392,681
16	Microsoft	1,359,000
17	Apple	1,285,500
18	Mexico	1,258,297
19	Amazon	1,233,400
20	Indonesia	1,119,191

State sovereignty

- One other contemporary issue that has seen much debate about the notion of sovereignty is Brexit
- The idea of regaining sovereignty was central to the argument of the Leave campaign
- The importance of this 'normative concept' to the debate and simply be illustrated with a simple experiment
- Type the words 'Brexit' and 'Sovereignty' into the UWTSD Library search.....*how many articles does it find?*
- For example, an article in the Economist in 2016 states that 'The argument that Britain has lost sovereignty, and even its democracy, by being in the European Union is at the heart of the case for Brexit'
- However, as that article and many others point out, there are levels of complexity involved in discussing state sovereignty

State sovereignty

- These complexities include the fact that whilst it was true that UK parliamentary decisions could be overturned by the European Court of Justice (if they contravened EU law),
- The UK has signed many treaties which remove aspects of the UK's claim to be 'subject to no higher power as regards the making and enforcing of political decisions' (Brown *et al*, 2018)
- Perhaps the most obvious example would be the UK's membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)
- This supranational mutual defence pact was created during the Cold War but still exists and signatories are committed to defend another NATO country from aggression
- It was this agreement that led to UK troops being involved in Afghanistan even though the 9/11 attacks were on the USA

State sovereignty

- A second complexity has been referred to in an earlier slide
- A country may achieve **sovereignty** by leaving the EU but does the act of leaving the EU also mean a reduction in **influence**
- For example in Trade agreements the argument would go along these lines;
- In leaving the EU the UK has regained the ability to make its own trade agreements with other countries (i.e. we have sovereignty)
- However, other countries such as the USA (population approx. 328 million), India (population approx. 1.366 billion) and China (population approx. 1.398 billion) might be more keen to agree trade deals with the EU (population approx. 446 million) than the UK (population approx. 67 million)
- *In a capitalist market economy which do you think is the more attractive market?*

State sovereignty

- Opponents of this argument would claim that the UK is the 6th largest economy with a GDP of \$282,7113 Million in 2019 ([World Bank, 2020](#))
- They argue that this gives the UK great bargaining power
- However the World Bank estimates that the EU GDP for 2019 was \$15,626,448 Million (World Bank, 2020)
- So, in terms of **influence**, which would you want to have a trade deal with?
- One final way in which Brexit may well effect sovereignty is made by Mabbett (2017) when they argue that 'Brexit will mean the replacement of **law** by **diplomacy** in economic relationships with the EU'
- Thus agreements between the UK and EU will depend on the relationships between negotiators rather than rules set down in law

State sovereignty

- We have seen that all of the concepts explored in this Theme are 'normative' to a greater or lesser degree
- Sovereignty is possibly one of the most contested,
- It is often referred to in order to appeal to notions of national pride and tradition
- It can be used by those who ascribe to many of the political ideologies that we will look at in the next Theme
- However, as a concept it can be seen to be as hollow as many others we have explored
- Indeed, there are some who argue against the notion of sovereignty in its entirety (e.g. Derrida cited in Naas, 2014)
- Whilst others see the rise in globalism as meaning the end of sovereignty as a concept at all (e.g. Marsonet, 2017)

Citizenship

- This, final, **normative concept** takes us back to where we began this module, Ancient Greece
- In Athens (the cradle of democracy) women, slaves, and resident foreigners were not considered as citizens of the state and therefore could not participate in the decisions of state
- Thus **equality** as a concept can only be applied to the percentage of a population that are legally considered to be a citizen (see also our discussion about the US Declaration of Independence)
- As in Athens, it is generally the case that **citizenship** is something that is granted by the state and underpinned by law (e.g. having a Passport identifies you as a legal citizen of a country)
- In most cases the status of citizenship brought with it certain **rights** (e.g. the right to vote) and certain duties (e.g. service in the armed services –this was the case in Athens but also in contemporary countries such as Switzerland, Israel and Brazil)

Citizenship

- Brønsted Serensen (2008, p.523) argues that ‘citizenship has always been a contested concept’.
- As Brown *et al* (2018) state that ‘qualifications for citizenship reflect a conception of the purposes of the political community and a view about which persons are able to contribute to, or enjoy the benefits of, the **common good**, or the freedom of the city’.
- This can be taken to mean that one can tell about the values of a **sovereign state** from those that they allow to become citizens
- For example; [Australia](#)

Any thoughts?



“Why are we having all these people from shithole countries coming here?”

Guess who?



(see for example Brown *et al*, 2018)

Citizenship

- In the sense that we have been discussing it **citizenship** can be seen as a legal status that is sought after
- However one other aspect of this socio-legal notion of citizenship as something that is 'granted' by a nation state that has become increasingly important in the late 20th & 21st century is the concept of '**dual citizenship**'
- This fact that a **natural person** may legally be a citizen of two countries, providing the legal systems of both countries allow this makes the concept even more complex
- Brønsted Serensen (2008) argues that one reason for this is the 'globalisation' of the economy and aspects of society which has lead to **transnationalism**
- This term refers to the fact that one person can live and work in many countries and therefore have a more fluid notion of where they belong
- By extension it can also be seen to refer to 'interconnectivity between peoples, states, economies, and cultures under the processes of globalization' (Brown *et al*, 2018)

Citizenship

- Alongside these, varied and complex, socio-legal concepts of citizenship we also need to consider one more normative element to the concept
- This is the way in which an individual can be seen to have rights and obligations because of their position in a community
- In this sense citizenship describe the relationships that an individual has with others at the level of a neighbourhood, a region, a nation or the world as a whole
- This is the most value laden and fluid version of the concept as it can be used to argue for moral obligations without recourse to the rule of law etc.
- It has connotations of “doing the right thing because I am a good citizen”
- For example, it can lead to concepts such as environmental citizenship as expounded in *Conceptualizing Environmental Citizenship for 21st Century Education* (Hadjichambis et al. (Eds.) 2020), and
- Global citizenship as evidenced in the ‘Curriculum for Wales’ which states that it aims to make ‘ethical, informed **citizens of Wales and the world**’ (Welsh Government 2020)

Normative Concepts

- So, in this Theme we have explored a range of words, phrases and concepts that are used daily in political discourse and debate
- We have taken time to explore each in some detail because, in order to fully explore the Political Influences on Inequality and Diversity, we need to understand the malleability and fluidity of the language which is used
- Each of the concepts that we have briefly explored will mean something different to each of us based on our own political compass
- And they will also mean something different depending on the politician in whose mouth (or Tweet) they appear
- This leads us neatly to Theme 3 in which we re-visit political ideologies

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