



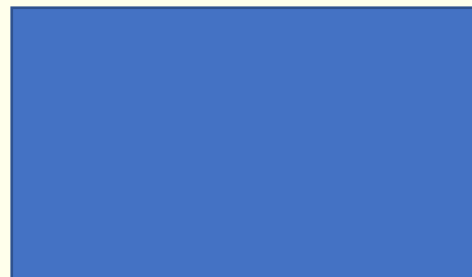
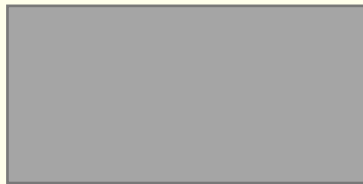
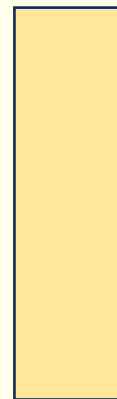
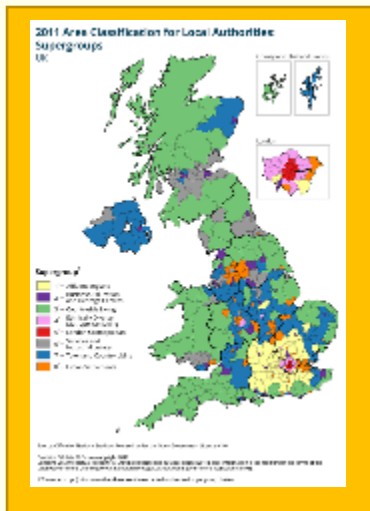
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ECED7007: Political Influences in Inequality & Diversity

Theme 3: Ideological Paradigms (Part 1) – ‘Mainstream’ ideology

Ideological Paradigms & Frameworks

- In this Part of the Theme, we will focus on three dominant ideological **paradigms** observable in ‘mainstream’ political parties in most industrialised democracies, namely;
 - Conservatism
 - Liberalism
 - Socialism
- Brown *et al* (2018) argue that these ‘emerged from the conjunction of the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and the political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’

Ideological Paradigms & Frameworks

- In the course of our discussions, we will also touch on other frameworks or paradigms that are either associated with these three main ideologies or which have sought to influence them, namely;
 - 'Green' Politics
 - Communitarianism
 - Marxism
 - Anarchism
 - Feminism
 - Nationalism
 - Far Right Ideologies
 - Utilitarianism

‘Mainstream’ Ideologies

Conservatism

CONSERVATISM

- What it is to be a **conservative** has changed over time and is different depending on the context
- Although, in the UK we have a **Conservative** party it is fair to say that the party contains individuals with very different ideas about what they mean by **conservatism**



1. Jeremy Hunt



2. James Cleverly



3. Boris Johnson



4. Liz Truss



5. Jacob Rees-Mogg



6. Kemi Badenoch

- However, one generalisation that it is possible to make is that it is ‘a political philosophy which aspires to the preservation of what is thought to be the best in **established society**, and opposes **radical** change’
(Brown, *et al*, 2018, no page)

CONSERVATISM – UK HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- As Brown *et al* (2018) state, it is possibly easier to follow the thread of conservatism through history than it is to define a conservative **ideology**
- The UK Conservative party can trace its roots back to the English Civil War (1642–1651) and its aftermath
- Two political groupings formed in Parliament: Whigs and Tories.
- The Tory party was predominantly in favour of the Monarch having more power than parliament, of the hereditary right to rule even for Catholic members of the royal family and of ‘high church’ Anglicanism
- These beliefs lead them to oppose the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688 which saw the removal of the Catholic James II and the placing on the throne of William of Orange and Mary

(See for example Feiling, 1950)

CONSERVATISM – UK HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- For a good part of the 18th Century the Tory group was out of power (at this point the Government was chosen by the Monarch)
- Although, at a 'grass roots' level those who considered themselves Tories continued to be active in local politics and administration
- However, it would not be correct to say that there was such a thing as a Tory Party at this time
- This began to change in response to significant events such as the American War of Independence and the French Revolution
- Those who saw these events as threatening the social order coalesced into a more organised Party which represented the 'squirearchy'; country gentry, merchants and local officials

(See for example Norton, 1996)

CONSERVATISM – UK HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- Following victory in 1815 against Napoleon the party continued to develop but could still be seen to embody a preference for traditional systems and an opposition to radical and rapid change
- The desire for social order led to the formation of the first police force by Sir Robert Peel when Home Secretary (1822-1827)
- The party was given the name Conservative at the time of the debates about the Great Reform Act (1832) because they were seen as wanting to **conserve** the **status quo** (*Latin – the existing state of affairs*).
- Economically they were generally more **protectionist**
- In the UK Conservatism has changed over time but can be seen to have had an element of ideological consistency until the time of Margaret Thatcher

UK CONSERVATISM

- Before we look at the way in which ‘Thatcherism’ redefined British conservatism we need to explore two aspects of political thinking; **social ideology** and **economic ideology**
- Social conservatism can be seen to embody traditional views of the family, traditional values such as ‘neighbourliness, decency & courtesy’ as seen in the Back to Basics campaign of John Major
- It can also be seen to uphold social order and traditional social norms and therefore to be opposed to ‘deviance’ & ‘difference’
- In this way conservatism as a political ideology can be seen to have strong links with functionalism as a sociological theory
- In the past economic conservatism has been associated with protectionism (of British business interests), trade with the Empire and low taxation
- However, post WW2, conservative Governments also embraced the ideas in the Beveridge report and the concept of the **Welfare State**

UK CONSERVATISM

- It can be argued that post Margaret Thatcher the conservative party has remained largely **socially** conservative (see [Back to Basics](#) and [Section 28 of the Local Government Act 1988](#))
- However, 'Thatcherism' can be seen to be an economically radical adoption of neo-liberal economic policy (see also 'Reaganomics')
- This meant de-regulation of the financial markets, the privatisation of nationalised industries to promote competition and the creation of a home-owning, share owning democracy
- One other aspect of UK Conservatism that should be mentioned is that the party that we know as 'The Conservatives' is actually registered with the Electoral Commission as the [Conservative and Unionist party](#).

What is the significance of the word Unionist?



UK CONSERVATISM

- Thus, we can see that conservatism is a complex and changing concept
- However, in broad terms it can be seen to have the following principles;
 1. Respect for property
 2. Respect for individuals
 3. A limited state (i.e. minimal government intervention)
 4. Against over-regulation of Government, markets and business
 5. BUT support for regulation that promotes 'acceptable' private and social conduct
 6. Established Institutions (monarchy, church, state) deserve respect
 7. A rejection of radical and 'Utopian' ideas
 8. Acceptance of the 'natural order of things' (Smits, 2016)

UK CONSERVATISM

- Although a ‘secular’ party, this concept of the ‘natural order of things’ exemplifies the strong links between UK Conservatism and **Anglicanism**
- This can be illustrated if we look at a verse from the hymn “All Things Bright and Beautiful”
- ‘The rich man in his castle, The poor man at his gate; God made them, high or lowly, And ordered their estate’.
- This connection between Anglicanism and conservatism lead the **Suffragist** and political campaigner Maude Royden, in a 1917 speech, to call the Church of England ‘the Conservative Party at prayer’

Have we heard of the term **Suffragist** before?



UK CONSERVATISM

- In some extreme cases, conservatism can take a '**reactionary**' form, 'harking back to, and attempting to reconstruct, forms of society which existed in an earlier period'. (Brown, et al, 2018)
- Most modern forms of conservatism acknowledge that society is not static but argue for slow, evolutionary change rather than rash and revolutionary change.
- In some ways conservatism can be seen to be anti-ideological in that it opposes new, 'political' forms of thinking in favour of the status quo (Brown, et al, 2018)

EUROPEAN CONSERVATISM

- Internationally, the notion of conservatism as a political framework is equally confused and confusing
- For example, the European People's Party (EPP) grouping in the European Parliament contains mainly Christian Democrat parties of the centre right (e.g. the German CDU party).
- It is the largest of the seven political groupings in the EU Parliament and has members from 26 EU countries
- 'The group's goal is to create a more competitive and democratic Europe. Other priorities include migration, trade and jobs'.

[European Parliament Political Groupings](#)

EUROPEAN CONSERVATISM

- However, there is also a Conservative and Reformist group which included the UK conservatives and is now largely made up of right of centre MEPs and is the 4th largest grouping
- ‘This ECR group believes that Europe is in need of decentralisation and less bureaucracy. They also want to promote fair and free trade, economic recovery, growth and competitiveness as well as a reform of the EU's migration system’ [European Parliament Political Groupings](#)

‘Mainstream’ Ideologies

Liberalism

LIBERALISM

- In a general sense liberalism can be seen to be the ‘belief that it is the aim of politics to preserve **individual rights** and to maximize **freedom of choice**’ (Brown *et al*, 2018). In this way it has links to libertarianism
- In contrast to conservatism, with its reliance on tradition and the status quo, classical liberalism can be seen to be **teleological** in nature
- This is to say that liberalism has a commitment to the improvement of social conditions and a belief that society is progressing through a number of stages towards an ideal state
- In this sense liberalism owes much, philosophically, to the writings of Locke, Hume and Rousseau
- It can also be seen in the theories of sociologists such as T.H. Marshall
- In terms of UK politics, it is useful to look at Liberalism in historical context

LIBERALISM – UK HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- We have already commented on the development of two political groupings in Parliament in the 17th century
- The 'Whigs' were established in opposition to the 'Tories' (N.B. both terms were abusive)
- The Whigs were in favour of a parliament that had more freedom from royal influence
- For various reasons this grouping held power as the 'government' for at least 50-60 years after the Glorious Revolution (1688)
- The Whigs were a complicated coalition of radical aristocrats, non-conformists and industrialists
- The more radical nature of this grouping caused it to suffer by association with the revolutions in America and France and many Whigs joined the Tory party at this time.

(See for example McKibbin, 2019)

LIBERALISM – UK HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- As the Tory party transformed itself into the Conservatives over the course of the 19th century, so the Whig party became the Liberal Party
- We must always remember that the ideology and Party are not one and the same thing
- However, during the course of the 19th and early 20th century the Liberal Party could be seen as pursuing **socially liberal** policies (e.g. rights for non-conformists and Catholics and the first pension and national insurance acts)
- As well as **liberal economic policy** (e.g. free trade, no regulation)
- In contemporary UK politics the Liberal Democrats are now seen as occupying the 'centre' ground with the Conservatives to the right and Labour to the left

(See for example McKibbin, 2019)

Liberalism & Individual Rights

- There is an acknowledged influence of liberalism on the concept of **rights**, for example:
- The [US Declaration of Independence](#) (1776), which was a 'liberal' response to the perceived autocratic rule by the British Monarch,
- Thomas Paine's [The Rights of Man](#) (1791) which was a liberal defence of the French Revolution and an attack on **reactionary** and **autocratic** governments and monarchs,
- Mary Wollstonecraft's [A Vindication of the Rights of Woman](#) (1792) which extended Paine's arguments to include the rights of women, and, more recently;
- The United Nation's [Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#) (1948) which was drawn up in response to the atrocities carried out by the Fascist regimes before and during the Second World War.

Liberalism & Individual Rights

- In his essay *Citizenship and Social Class*, T. H. Marshall (1950, 1990) argued that there had been three periods of the development of **'rights'** as follows;
- 17th century **Civil** Rights (freedom of speech, thought and religion) in favour of an individual's rights in the face of **autocratic** monarchy
- 19th century **Political** Rights (right to vote and hold office) in the face of unfair exclusion due to religion, gender etc.
- 20th century **Social** Rights (economic and social security)
- However, the social rights can be seen as something different in that they were not established as a response to repression but were an attempt to address general inequality or **to ameliorate social injustice / inequality**

(see also Morphet, 2014)

Amelioration of social injustice

- This is seen as being a central tenet of liberalism
- It is argued that, through no fault of their own, people can be unable to benefit from society in the same way that others can
- Age (the very young or very old), impairment, ill-health (both physical and mental), closure of industry etc. were all seen as being conditions that could lead to social injustice which would then need '**ameliorating**'

Amelioration of social injustice

- This influence can be seen in the Liberal reforms in the early 20th century and in the **Beveridge report** at the end of the Second World War
- In this sense liberalism can be seen as focusing on both individual rights and on the responsibility of society to look after those who may not be able to look after themselves
- In both senses these **liberal** concepts can be seen to have been influenced by the writings of John Locke (1632-1704)

John Locke and Liberalism

- Locke is often called “the father of liberalism” because of his influence on liberal political thought
- In his *Second Treatise on Government* (1689, Edited by Sharpino, 2000) he argued that **political** power should depend on the **consent of the people to be governed**
- In this sense his argument relied on the concept of **natural or inalienable rights** and the idea of the **social contract**
- This latter idea has been summarised as ‘the view that persons’ moral and/or political obligations are dependent upon a contract or agreement among them to form the society in which they live’ (Fieser & Dowden, No Date)
- He further argued that, if a monarch or government broke this social contract they forfeited the right to govern
- It was this argument that influenced both the American and French revolutions

John Locke and Liberalism

- It has also been argued, by Layman (2020) among others, that Locke also influenced radical liberal thought in other ways
- One group, which Layman calls the '**libertarian radicals**', argue that there are 'no grounds for state redistribution except to correct past injustices, and governments are typically little more than thieving and oppressive gangs'
- This group can be seen to have influenced the ameliorative trend in liberal thought as well as those opposed, in principle, to taxation
- The other group, which Layman calls the '**egalitarian radicals**', claim that 'states should ensure, through redistributive taxation and other progressive policies, that our institutions respect this common right' to 'to share equally in the world's resources'
- This latter group can be seen to have not only influenced radical liberalism but other redistributive ideologies such as **socialism** and **Marxism**

Liberalism - Principles

- For much of its early history liberalism was a **radical** and **revolutionary** principle
- It argued for a limited state and government by 'consent'
- On one hand it was primarily concerned with defending the freedom of Individuals against the overbearing reach of the Law (i.e. Negative Liberty)
- But it was also driven by a desire to address the inequalities in human society to allow all to achieve their potential (i.e. Positive Liberty)
- Because of this liberalism can be seen to be undertaking a balancing act between a fear of authoritarian state intervention to deny the rights of the individual and the creation of state intervention to support those disadvantaged by society

(See for example Smits, 2016)

EUROPEAN LIBERALISM

- As we have seen the Liberal Party in the UK is, like the Conservatives and the Labour Party, a political alliance of **interest groups** who have come together with the ‘goal of attaining political power’ (Ball, 1988)
 - This ‘political alliance’ concept is further illustrated in the grouping of ‘Liberal’ parties in the European Parliament.
 - Previously known as the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) the grouping now includes Emmanuel Macron’s La Republique En Marche! (LREM) and, until Brexit, the Liberal Democrats from the UK and is known as the Renew Europe group.
- [European Parliament](#)

(see for example [House of Commons, 2019](#))

EUROPEAN LIBERALISM

- Of the three largest groups in the EU Parliament this could be seen as the most 'non ideological' in that in some ways Liberalism now defines itself as being 'against' other ideologies
- This stance can be detected in the words of the former President of the Group, Dacian Ciolos, when he states that 'By ending the dominance of the Conservatives and the Socialists, Europeans have given us a strong mandate to change Europe for the better'.
- Indeed, he goes further and states that the group 'will stand up for the people who suffer from the illiberal and nationalistic tendencies that we see returning in too many countries.'
- In this way the Liberal grouping can be seen to be defining itself as an *absence* of some of the ideologies looked at elsewhere in this Theme

(Renew Group, 2021)

‘Mainstream’ Ideologies

Socialism

SOCIALISM – HISTORICAL CONTEXT

*How old is socialism as
a political ideology?*



SOCIALISM – UK HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- As Brown *et al* (2018) have argued, this was the third political response to the social, economic and moral upheavals of the 17th & 18th centuries.
- The term ‘socialism’ was actually coined in the 19th century by followers of Robert Owen (1771–1858) in the UK and Claude-Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon (1760–1825) in France and therefore pre-dates Marxism
- However, socialist principles can be detected in some of the radical religious movements of the 17th century (e.g. the Levellers and the Diggers) who sought a fairer society based on their reading of the Bible (Corns 1992)
- Indeed, there is a strong tradition of Christian socialism running throughout the development of this ideology (see for example Tony Benn’s *Arguments for Socialism* (1980))

Socialism

- In his later years, Robert Owen was also influenced in his thinking by the teachings of the Gospels
- However, his early work is best summed up in *A New View of Society* (Owen, 1812 – republished 1970)
- In this he argued that the **dehumanising** effects of industrialisation and the factory system could be offset by the **co-operative** ownership of the means of production by the workforce
- Cooperativism and socialism were to develop alongside each other in UK politics throughout the 19th and 20th centuries and into the 21st
- Indeed, even to this day many MPs on the Labour Benches in the House of Commons were elected as members of both the Labour Party and the Co-operative Party

Any thoughts or questions on this fact?



Socialism & Co-operativism

- Socialism, as with all the other ideological paradigms and frameworks that we look at in this Theme, has many versions in different periods and different parts of the world
- However, what they generally have in common are;
- A sense that the excesses of industrial and post-industrial capitalism need to be ameliorated by the promotion of collective well-being
- That the selfish individualism that is part of human nature can be tempered by a reliance on concepts such as association, community, and cooperation, solidarity and mutual interdependence
- Examples of this can be seen in the development of **building societies** (Boddy, 1980), initiatives such as the [Caerphilly District Miner's Hospital](#), the [Worker's Educational Association](#), and movements such as the [Kinder Scout mass trespass](#), the [National Clarion Cycling Club](#) and the [Co-operative Society](#) (Robertson, 2012)

(See for example Brown *et al*, 2016)

Socialism

- Thus, whilst socialism is often dismissed as Marxism 'lite', it can be seen that it was often a grass-roots movement, pre-dating Marxism, which sought to promote **well-being and mutual support**
- However, it would be wrong to only describe socialism in such a way.
- At the ideological and political level, socialist principles influenced both **communist** and **anarchist** theorists
- Although many socialist theorists also claimed that the ideology was global in scope, particularly in its approaches to **worker solidarity** (e.g. the First and Second International Working Men's Association) and **pacifism**, it often ended up attempting to change **society at the nation state** level (e.g. the UK Labour Party)

SOCIALISM – MORE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- The Labour Party, as it existed in the 20th century at least, was created by an alliance of left of centre groupings
- One, the Social Democratic Federation, was led by H. M. Hyndman and included artists such as William Morris.
- This grouping was influenced by Marxism and would later splinter into various groups of differing radicalism.
- Another was the Fabian Society, a London based grouping of left leaning writers and intellectuals such as George Bernard Shaw and Annie Besant (who helped to organise [the match-girls' strike](#))
- The Fabian Society promoted a less confrontational brand of 'evolutionary socialist collectivism' and has provided many leaders of the Labour Party

(See for example Wright and Carter, 1997)

SOCIALISM – MORE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- Lastly was the Independent Labour Party which was the largest of the three groupings with around 10,000 members.
- This grouping was formed in 1893, largely as a result of the Manningham Mills Strike against low wages and treacherous working conditions in the Bradford textile industries ([Barker, 2013](#))
- These were the main socialist groupings that came together in a conference in 1900 which founded the Labour Representation Committee which would become the Labour Party
- Thus, in the UK, socialism as represented by the Labour party can be seen to be an amalgam of radical liberalism, co-operativism and various forms of socialism and even Marxist ideologies
- As with the UK other parties the Labour party became a broad coalition of people generally on the left of the centre of British politics

(See for example Wright and Carter, 1997)

Socialism

- In some cases, an extreme emphasis on state control both of the mechanisms of welfare (the welfare state) and the means of production (industry) has taken the form of **State Socialism** (as opposed to the more localised versions of socialism proposed by Owen). This gave rise to the systems seen in the USSR and China under Mao Zedong which were influenced by Marxist ideology.
- In others, where the principles of collectivism and state solidarity have been allied to principles of nationalism and racial purity it has led to **National Socialism**
- In other cases, as is argued in Brown *et al* (2018) that ‘some formerly socialist parties no longer support anything recognizable as socialism— for example New Labour’.
- This can be seen as a negative analysis of the attempt by Tony Blair to define a ‘Third Way’ in UK politics
- In some ways this could be seen as an attempt to create a move towards **Social Democracy** (see for example Keman, 2011)

Political Influences on Inequality & Diversity

- At different times and in different places, Governments calling themselves Conservative, Liberal and Socialist have held and are holding power
- The ideological stances taken by these Governments will have different social and economic effects on individuals in society
- Whilst there are many other ideological stances, it can be argued that these were the dominant political positions in 'democratic' countries in the 20th and early 21st century
- In the next part of this Theme, we will look at an ideologies that challenge these 'mainstream' political ideologies.

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