

- **Traditional and modern ideologies**

## *Ideology and political culture:*

- **In a society / in a state, different people and different groups of people live... they**

have different **values, beliefs, opinions**, etc.,

regarding what is best for them and society and regarding their place in the world, they support different solutions to their and their country's problems...

→ they may adopt different **ideologies...**

# *Ideology:*

- What is **'ideology'**?
- = a set of fundamental beliefs & values about how human affairs should be managed (originally mostly class-based)
- or: the whole worldview built mostly around several specific ideas...
- A political ideology is a comprehensive set of beliefs about the political world - about political desirable goals and the best ways to achieve those goals
- traditionally, there is a link between **ideologies and political parties...** - i.e. many political parties refer to a particular ideology)

- Ideology is a coherent set of ideas that explains and evaluates social conditions, help people understand their place in society and provides a program for social and political action.
- Four functions 1) explanatory 2) evaluative 3) orientative 4) programmatic
- Human Nature and Freedom
- Freedom: agent , goal, obstacle

## *Ideology:*

- **“Left--right” polarization** /spectrum in politics:
- originates in France (18th c.); the location of opposing camps in the legislative chamber
- now we sometimes talk of a basic **“ideological axis”**, from extreme right (fascist) to extreme left (Marxist or anarchist); the “left” willing to pay higher cost for the ‘welfare state’
  - we should use with caution!

## *A simplified typology of ideologies:*

- **the modern left** favours equality, welfare programmes, and government intervention in the economy (social democrats; however, this also applies to socialists and communists)
- **the modern right** stresses individual initiative and private economic activity (e.g. Liberalism, Anglo-Saxon conservatism)
- **the political centre** usually prefers a balance between the other two: it can be centre-right or centre-left
- **extremists** – take extreme positions on some issues; generally they may be right- and left-wing extremists

## *Ideologies:*

- **liberalism**
- an ideology emphasizing (guarantees of) broad individual, political, and economic freedoms /liberty, and religious toleration

# *Ideologies - classical liberalism*

- **classical liberalism:**

- John Locke (1632-1704)
- ‘state of nature’
- Natural rights: liberty, property, life
- Each person is rational
- There is no higher value than the freedom of the individual to pursue natural rights
- Limited government



# *Ideologies - classical liberalism*

- 1776, Scottish economist Adam Smith published *The Wealth of Nations*\*
- founding classic **laissez-faire economics**
- the function of the state should be limited...
- in his view, the “**invisible hand**“ is at work: the economy adjusts itself through the natural mechanisms of the free market

# *Ideologies - classical liberalism*

- Equality before the law; equality of opportunity; the principle of meritocracy; but not material equality
- Toleration – the willingness of people to allow others to think, speak or act in way of which they disapprove
- Atomist view of society
- Other representatives of classical liberalism:
- John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Bentham, F.A. Hayek, Milton Friedman

## *Ideologies - Liberalism in the 19th c. (optional):*

- **the laissez-faire** approach created problems, especially in England: e.g. unequal distribution of wealth and poverty, rise of monopolies, etc.



- **modern liberalism:** ideology favouring government intervention to correct economic and social ills (e.g. US liberalism today) or welfare liberalism (John Rawls)

# Types of Freedom

- “Negative” means non-interference; the absence of external constraints on the individual. The individual thus is at liberty to act as he or she wishes.
- Positive freedom is linked to the achievement of some identifiable goals or benefit usually personal development , self-realization or self-mastery.
- The distinction goes between “free from” and “freedom to” but freedom can be described by both ways

*Ideologies liberalism in the 20th century (optional):*

- transformation of *classical liberalism* in our times:
- it is now called “**neo-liberalism**”  
*and*
- “**modern conservatism**” in the US and UK  
(famous proponents: Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher)

## *Ideologies:*

- **conservatism** - belief in individualism & not much government intervention in the economy + society
- also a belief in the virtue of the *status quo* & acceptance of traditional values, practice & morality
- e.g. Christian Democrats in Germany [but some are close to the “center”]

# Conservatism

- Ideas and doctrines of conservatism emerged in the late 18 and early 19 centuries . It emerged as a reaction to political and social changes largely brought by the French Revolution; against the growth of liberalism, socialism, and nationalism.
- A more successful form of conservatism was developed in the USA and UK;
- Edmund Burke (1729-97)- born in Dublin; the belief “in change in order to conserve”
- His works: Reflections on the Revolution in France
- Burke was critical of the French Revolution
- He was critical of government
- Market forces are a natural law

# Conservatism

- Tradition – good because it accumulates wisdom of the past, promotes stability and security and give individuals a sense of social and historical belonging
- Pragmatism – the belief that action should be shaped by practical circumstances and practical goals
- Human imperfection - limited, dependent and security-seeking human beings; morally corrupt (selfish, greedy, and thirsty for power), HN is the source of crime and disorder; thus strong state.



# Conservatism

- Organicism- as organic whole; a living entity - family, communities are important because they bring stability and social cohesion
- Hierarchy (and inequality)– in a society is natural
- Authority (Natural Aristocracy); today authority and leadership result from experience and training; it is a source of social cohesion
- Property is important; it provides security and a measure of independence from government

# Conservatism

- Christian democracy - An ideological tendency within European conservatism, characterized by commitment to social market principles and qualified interventionism
- Paternalism – attitude or policy that demonstrates concern or care for those unable to help themselves

# Neo-Liberalism

- Robert Nozick, Frederick Hayek, Milton Friedman
- The Individual and the market economy
- The reduction of the role of state; unregulated market capitalism can lead to efficiency, growth and prosperity
- “private, good, public, bad”
- Against welfare support
- Self-help, individualism and enterpreneurism

# *Socialism:*

- **Socialism**

- refers to a system with state or collective (public) ownership of the **means of production** and distribution of goods & services\*
- The goal is to provide high-quality, relatively equal conditions of life for everyone
- emphasis on equality in society; the market is heavily controlled by the state
- the idea emerged from diverse sources in Western Europe in the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century

# *Socialism*

- Humans are social and caring by nature; capable of cooperation
- The goal for a person is to increase the collective good of all.
- The most important value is the good of the society as a whole
- The interests of an individual subordinated to the interest and needs of everyone in the society

# *Socialism vs. communism (according to Marx, optional):*

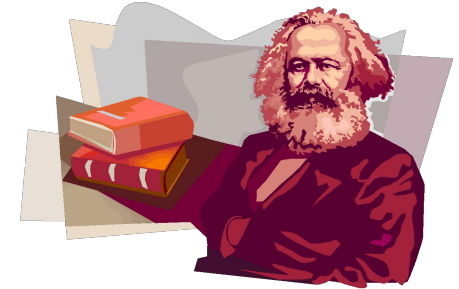
- **Socialism** - *the motto of socialism:*
- "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."
- **Communism** - *the motto of communism:*
- "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." \*)

# *Marxism, socialism and communism:*

- **Marxism**

- advocates the radical reform / revolution: the overthrow of the entire capitalist system
- Karl Marx - in his 1848, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848): ‘The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. ..’\*
  - *Das Kapital (The Capital)*: is an analysis of capitalism, predicting its fall; capitalism will be replaced by **socialism** and then by communism (a just society without social classes) \*\*

## *Marxism (optional):*



- ***Some principles of Marxism:***
- economic determinism: economic structure determines the ‘superstructure’
- ideology: class struggle exists because of the capitalist contradictions: exploiters vs. exploited
- revolution is needed → to make way for communism as the highest stage in history
- “socialist internationalism” \*)



# Karl Marx: Concepts

## Alienation

A Proletarian is alienated:

First, **from the product**, which as soon as it is created is taken away from its producer

Second, **in productive activity** (work) which is experienced as a torment (not creative work, but just a means in order to get a salary)

Third, **from species-being**, for humans produce blindly and not in accordance with their truly human powers

Finally, **from other human beings**, where the relation of exchange replaces the satisfaction of mutual need

# Karl Marx: Concepts

## An Ideological Critique: The **Primacy Thesis**

Every society is composed by two levels:


- **Structure**: the economic reality of the instruments of production and the deriving relations
- **Superstructure**: culture, ideology and political institutions created on the basis of the structure in order to justify it, and at the same time to hide the material reality. The superstructure creates the conditions for **false consciousness**, promoting ideas that reflect the interests of a particular class at a particular time in history, but which are presented as universal and eternal. For example, “Religion is the opiate of the people”

## *Communism – variants (optional):*

- **Leninism** - Lenin's version of Marxist socialism / communism made to fit the backward Russia
- national/ regional alternatives of communism:
- **Maoism** (China's radical communism)



## *Social democracy (optional):*

- **Social democracy =**
- a “softer” form of socialism, it stresses “social economy” but not state ownership of industry (they do not usually favour the nationalisation of businesses)
- It stands for balance between the market and the state; individual and the community
-  **social democrats / socialists** - emphasize social issues & solidarity, strong support for **welfare state**; but also popular consent, peaceful change & political pluralism & constitutionalism (most are not “Marxists”)
  - also, compare to the *‘Third Way’* \*

- Capitalism is necessary to generate the wealth but...
- Distribution of wealth in accordance with moral rather than market principles.
- The concern for the weak and the vulnerable
- Humanization of capitalism
- Since 1980s, social democracy is in retreat (change in the class structure, globalization, economic planning and nationalized industries seemed to be ineffective) thus the choice of the “Third Way”

# Third Way

- It embraces different ideologies: liberalism, conservatism, and social democracy:
- The idea of an alternative to socialism and capitalism
- There is no alternative to “a dynamic market economy” or “Knowledge economy” (premium on information technology, individual skills, and labor and business flexibility)
- Government has a vital social and economic role (in contrast to neo-liberalism)
- Values include: opportunity, responsibility and community
- Balance between rights and entrepreneurialism, on the one hand, and social duty and moral responsibility, on the other
- Equality of opportunity and meritocracy

## *Environmentalism:*

- **Environmentalism =an alternative to anthropocentric or human-centered stance**
- a broad philosophy /or ideology/ or *social movement* centered on a concern for the improvement of the natural environment
  - emphasizes “post-material”, “green” values
  - developed in the 1970s + 80 in Western Europe, recently entered “high politics” in some countries



## *Nationalism (optional):*

- **Nationalism**

- related to the perception of importance of the *nation-state*
- many types of nationalism / many definitions: e.g. ‘The exaggerated belief in the greatness of one’s nation’
  - modern nationalism was perhaps born with the French Revolution when the French ‘nation in arms’ opposed the invading European powers (after 1792) and years later when peoples in other countries fought the French (Napoleon) occupation...\*)
- “good” and “bad” nationalism? (patriotism vs. chauvinism)

## *Nationalism (optional):*

- *sometimes we distinguish:*
- ***regional nationalism*** (e.g. Quebec in Canada, Corsica in France, Basques in Spain, Irish and Scottish in Great Britain, etc.)
- *Nationalism may be dangerous - patriotism is OK...*

## *Ideologies:*

- *Other well-known ideologies:*
- *Anarchism* – no government, no state are needed...
- *Libertarianism* –is close to **classical liberalism**; government interference in the lives of people should be kept minimal, including very low taxes

## *“New radical right”*

- **“new radical right”**

often extremist and xenophobic (i.e. they dislike foreigners and immigrants) and “neo-nazi” ideologies /parties belong here

– examples: Le Pen’s National party in France

– very extremist ideologies /parties are usually banned in most countries (especially those *promoting hate*)

## *Self-study: Ideologies:*

- Read the text on ideologies in your e-Reader, be able, among other things, to make distinction between **fascism** and **nazism**

## *Self-study: Fascism:*

- **Fascism** - see especially your
- e-Reader\*)



- born in Italy *from* nationalism in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c. (Mussolini was originally a socialist journalist while)
- *main characteristics:*
- nationalism; hostility to democracy & liberalism; the cult of the strong leader; support for the strong state