

The Brown government: a return to the Left? Defining government ideology in policy studies

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ABSTRACT – Last year, following the publication of the pre-budget report, in particular, many argue that the Brown government has made a return to the Left or even that we have seen ‘the end of New Labour’. This might mean we are witnessing another sea change of modern British politics similar to those experienced with Thatcherism in the 1980s and, most recently, with Blair’s New Labour. However, although there has been always extensive range of ideological debates especially when new politics emerged, few of them has been based on substantial evidence. This study attempts to define the ideology of the government whilst comparing it with redefined Old Labour, Thatcherism and Blair’s New Labour through content analysis of political texts. The study adopts an analytical framework with six ideological elements which were extracted from a literature review of comparative debates over New Labour to Old Labour and Thatcherism: interpretation of contemporary major challenges, objectives, political philosophy, role of major actors, major strategies, and the concept of citizenship. In this analysis, Old Labour, Thatcherism, and New Labour are redefined, and continuity and differences of the Brown government as well as their implication on future social policy development are examined.

Key words: content analysis, Old Labour, Thatcherism, New Labour

Following the publication of the pre-budget report at the end of the 2008 featuring new higher tax rate for the highest earners, Toynbee (2008) declares that “the New Labour era is over” and “Labour unfurled its old battle banner for social justice”. When this proposal was finalised with even higher top tax rate last April, one of the senior Conservative politician claims “the

death knell of New Labour”(BBC, 2009) and other fears back to state-controlled economy (Janet, 2009) reminding of Old Labour government in the 1970s. No matter whether this means start of new politics or return to the old politics, this might mean we are witnessing another sea change of modern British politics, which have shown relatively clear establishment and development of certain ideological foundations. Since post-war consensus era, which generally praised and few explicitly challenge its legacy such as free health care and compulsory education, there had been Wilson and Callaghan’s Old Labour government in the 1960s and 1970s, then Thatcher and Major’s Conservative government defined by Thatcherism in the 1980s and 1990s. From 1997, Blair’s New Labour government followed. This tradition of ideological initiative in British governments has had world-wide influence as we have witnessed the dominance of neo-liberal discourse of Thatcherism’s and the Third Way debate instigated by the emergence of New Labour in the 1990s.

These changes have been also significant not only in politics but also in social policy terms, as they also have entailed profound change of social policy strategies of the government. This has been reflected by extensive range of ideological debates in policy studies when new politics emerged particularly since Mrs. Thatcher came in the power. However, whilst there has been little consensus, few of them have been based on substantial evidence. For instance, since New Labour emerged, there have been various arguments from focusing on its renewal or continuities of Labour’s tradition (Allender, 2001; Bevir & O’Brien, 2001; Rubinstein, 1997, 2000; Smith, 1994; Thompson, 1996) or break of the tradition (Kenny & Smith, 1997; Larkin, 2001; Pimlott, 1997) to its inheritance from the Conservatives (Heron & Dwyer, 1999; Powell, 2000). Yet each side of argument tend to show certain policy initiatives by New Labour such as minimum wage, or marketisation of service delivery and welfare to work scheme as evidence for their arguments without comprehensive comparative framework.

Still, there are a number of studies to evaluate the New Labour government in the past decade (Kitson & Wilkinson, 2007; Rutledge, 2007; Sawyer, 2007; Wiggan, 2007; Wilkinson, 2007) but they usually focus on the policies and performances of New Labour government rather than the ideology. Moreover, although there are some ideological reflections of New Labour (MacLeavy, 2007; McAnulla, 2007; Page, 2007), their approach to the ideology of New Labour are not based on rigorous evidence. When it comes to Brown government, some studies attempt to reveal what differences could be expected but mostly limited to certain policy areas such as diplomacy (Bulmer, 2008; Dunn, 2008), education (Hatcher, 2008) or immigration (McGhee, 2009). Therefore, although we now talk about ‘the end of New Labour’, there is by no means clear full picture what the Blair’s New Labour was then where the Brown’s Labour government is heading to.

This is probably because, when it comes to debate on contemporary politics, this is usually regarded as something we can see on daily bases. Therefore, use of rigorous evidences and systemic approaches are easily ignored. Yet, as we witnessed in the debates on Thatcherism and New Labour, discussion on government ideology is too contentious to go without them. Therefore, this study attempts to define the ideology of the government including Old Labour, Thatcherism and Blair's New Labour government¹ then comparing Brown's to them through content analysis of political texts. High profile speeches by Prime Ministers and political writings are analysed along with election manifestos. The study adopts an analytical framework with comprehensive ideological elements which were extracted from a literature review of comparative debates over New Labour to Old Labour and Thatcherism. In this way, Old Labour, Thatcherism, and New Labour are redefined, and continuity and differences of the Brown government is examined.

Historical and ethnographic modes of inquiry: Bevir & Rhodes's suggestion

In order to develop systemic approach to define government ideology, I would like to make starting point from Bevir & Rhodes' (2003) suggestion as their study is regarded a significant development in this area (Finlayson, 2004; Hay, 2004; Hudson, Hwang, & Kühner, 2008). Even though Bevir & Rhodes reject the concept of ideology and replace it with that of 'narrative', their methodological suggestion is valid for examination of ideology as they still use traditional ideological categorisation to identify 'narratives' such as Tory, Liberal, and Socialist. Bevir & Rhodes (2003, 2004) suggests two modes of inquiry: historical forms of inquiry and ethnographic form of inquiry. We can draw further details of methodological approach from this suggestion.

Bevir & Rhodes explains historical forms of inquiry that 'we have to locate their stories within their wider webs of belief, and these webs of belief against the background of traditions they modify in response to specific dilemmas.' So, in order to define an ideology we need to see historical terrain of political though in the wider context of the contemporary society. This could be carried out through comparison between major ideologies of British modern politics – Old Labour, Thatcherism and New Labour. The ethnographic form of inquiry is 'to read practices, actions, texts, interviews and speeches to recover other people's stories.' (Bevir & Rhodes, 2004, p. 135). In this study, major political speeches, writings and party manifestos will be analysed to identify ideology of each government because these forms of text might be the better resources to see conceptual architecture of ideology as a self-structured unobstructed text than any other forms of text like interviews or press conference.

¹ This part is based on the PhD thesis, Kim, B. (2008). The role of political ideology in the policy development of personal social services from the 1960s to 2000s Britain. *Department of Social Policy and Social Work*. York, University of York. **PhD**.

However, apart from election manifestos of ruling party, it would be never obvious to select the range of data for the analysis of government ideology, for example whose and what sort of speeches or writing should be included. In this study, speeches and writings of Prime Ministers – who are also leaders of ruling party – are analysed under the assumption of tradition of Westminster model in policy process. Although It can be true that Westminster model are being challenged by a range of changes, Richards & Smith (2004) found in their study with over 225 interviews with both retired and serving ministers and civil servants that they tend to draw from the tradition of Westminster model. This means public servants still share the tradition that they are neutral and apolitical, and act in the public interest as well as loyalty to the government represented by Prime Minister.

Also, speeches and writings of ruling party leader could be regarded as data for analysis of ideology of government when the other tradition in UK politics is considered. Drucker (1979:1) indicates ‘traditional tenderness to its leaders’ – leader is changed infrequently and reluctance to be against his will – is an important part of ideology of the Labour Party. Similar tradition could be found in the culture of the Conservative Party such as top down, significance of the power and influence of the party leader, and strong loyalty to successful leader in spite of ruthlessness to failed one (Ball & Holliday, 2002; Holmes, 1989; Riddell, 1985; Willetts, 1992). In other words, there has been strong tradition of party leader’s representativeness of the whole party in real term so political speeches and writings delivered as a party leader should not be regarded as expression of personal thinking. This is fair to say that they practically reflect positions and policies of the party.

At the end, high profile speeches and writings of Harold Wilson (1961 to 1975), James Callaghan (1976 to 1978), Margaret Thatcher (1975 to 1990), John Major (1990 to 1997), Tony Blair (1994 to May 2007) and Gordon Brown (June 2007 to April 2008) delivered as Prime Ministers and party leaders in opposition were selected for the analysis. Those since they are elected as a party leader in the opposition are also included in order to look at ideological consistency between before and after in power. Labour Party manifestos in 1964, 1966, 1970, and 1974 (February and October) for Old Labour, Conservative Party manifestos in 1979, 1983, 1987, and 1992 for Thatcherite government, and Labour Party manifestos in 1997, 2001, and 2005 for Blair’s New Labour. In addition writings of the Prime Ministers (or party leaders) and the party are covered in the analysis such as *Signposts for the sixties* (Labour Party, 1961), *The relevance of British Socialism* (H. Wilson, 1964a), *Third Way: new politics for the new century* (Blair, 1998c), and *Europe: The Third Way* (Blair & Schröder, 1999).

Framework for the analysis: conceptual structure of ideology

The ideology of New Labour has been one of the most controversial themes in social policy, politics and other relating academic disciplines since its emergence in 1994. The discussion has tended to be concentrated on differences and similarities of New Labour thinking from former ideologies in British politics: Thatcherism and Old Labour (or traditional Labour) in particular. This unprecedented form of discussion on governmental ideology, in terms of its comparative manner, provides plentiful ground to build a coherent set of framework to define a whole structure of a political ideology.

A range of ideological elements used to compare different ideologies are abstracted from the literatures for the framework: what issues are defined as a major challenge to the contemporary society (Allender, 2001; Driver & Martell, 2001; Hay, 1994; Kenny & Smith, 1997; Smith, 1994); What are ultimate objectives to achieve (Allender, 2001; Bevir & O'Brien, 2001; Smith, 1994; Thompson, 1996); What philosophical perspective they base on (Bevir & O'Brien, 2001; Fitzpatrick, 1998; Heron & Dwyer, 1999; Taylor-Gooby, 2000); What is the role of state (Bevir & O'Brien, 2001; Driver & Martell, 2000; Powell, 2000; Smith, 1994); How they define citizenship (Harris, 2002; Heron & Dwyer, 1999; Powell, 2000); and what are major strategies (or policies) to address the challenges and achieve the goals (Allender, 2001; Hay, 1994; Larkin, 2001; Pimlott, 1997; Rubinstein, 1997, 2000; Smith, 1994; Tomlinson, 2003).

These elements could be summaries to construct more universal set of framework to define an ideology of government as follows: the challenges to the contemporary society, objectives, political philosophy, major actors, citizenship, and major strategies. 'What should be achieved against what challenges by whom through what strategy under what philosophy and what are rights and obligations of its citizens for this' can be the question to build logical structure covers all these elements. This structure could be visualised as Figure 1

Analysing political text: defining Old Labour, Thatcherism and Blair's New Labour

The analysis of the data to define each government ideology was carried out in two stages. First of all, each text was tagged with analytical elements defined in the framework established. During this process, a number of thematic fragments within each element were defined. For example, within the text tagged with 'challenges to the contemporary society', specific thematic fragments were found such as 'technical advance', 'inflation', and 'globalisation' in political speeches, and 'growing social needs', 'shortage of resources', and 'inefficient service provision' in the Comment Papers on personal social services. Therefore, in the next stage, each text was re-coded by these fragments. After re-coding process, quotations with same fragment were put together then its consistency was tested:

whether each thematic fragment had significant consistency within limited qualitative extent synchronically and diachronically among quotations from a range of the text of a particular government. Thematic fragments which had significant consistency were identified as ‘conceptual strands’ within each element. The concept of ‘conceptual strands’ is borrowed from ‘discourse strands’ in Jäger’s (2001, p. 47) term. As he suggests, these fragments with a high consistency, within a certain qualitative range synchronically as well as diachronically, constitute conceptual strands.

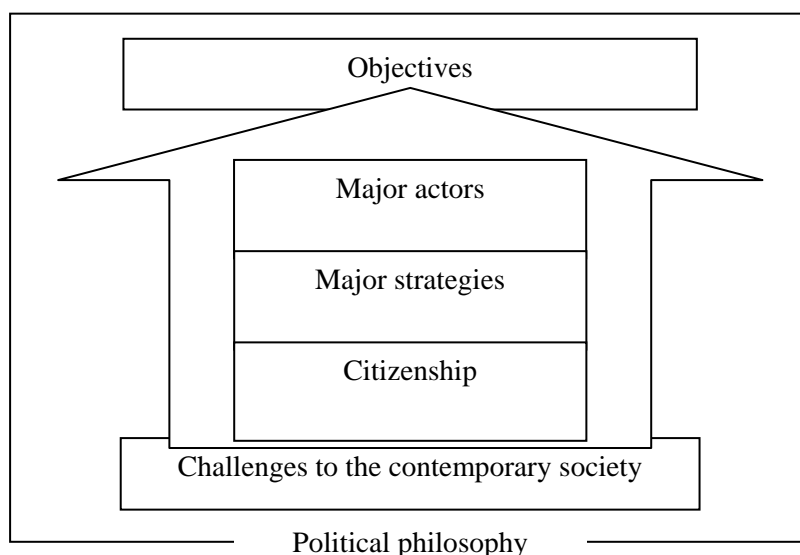


Figure 1 Framework to define an ideology of government

After a range of ‘conceptual strands’ within each element were identified, these strands were placed in the whole analytical framework to define each government ideology of Old Labour, Conservative, New Labour and Brown government. Therefore, depending on ‘conceptual strands’ identified in each element, their recognition of contemporary challenges, objectives, philosophical ground, defined role of major actors, understanding of citizenship, and major strategies were scrutinised. As these comprehensive elements are considered together, we can find out not only the whole structure of each government ideology but also their own rationality behind them. We can start the analysis with the first ideological element interpretation of challenges to the contemporary society from following section.

Challenges to the contemporary society

Statements can be categorised as the ‘challenges’ when they are about fundamental conditions the contemporary society faces. This can be problems and difficulties the society need to tackle or overcome, opportunities it should seize, or new order it has to adapt to. As an ideological element, this is more abstract concepts to show characteristic and feature of the contemporary society rather than

list of plain problem or issues. For example, Wilson defined his contemporary British society with well-known slogan 'The white heat of scientific revolution' in his initial leadership. Technical change in 15 years was 'greater than in the whole industrial revolution of the last 250 years' (H. Wilson, 1963, p. 134) and this was inevitable so the government had to adapt as well as lead for greater opportunity (Labour Party, 1961, 1964; H. Wilson, 1963). However this optimistic picture of their times was quickly overshadowed by economic crisis. In particular, when Labour government entered their second term in 1966, this overwhelmed other agenda (Labour Party, 1966; H. Wilson, 1966a, 1969). When they returned to the office in 1974, this condition was much seriously recognised - 'Britain faces its most dangerous crisis since the war' (Callaghan, 1976, 1978; Labour Party, 1974a) - and inflation was regarded the core of the crisis (Callaghan, 1977a, 1978; H. Wilson, 1974, 1975).

This crisis kept their dominance during the Conservative years. It was regarded one of the significant challenges to their time (Conservative Party, 1983; Major, 1994a; Thatcher, 1975a) and inflation was also the most vital challenge (Conservative Party, 1987, 1992; Major, 1993c, 1996a; Thatcher, 1982a, 1986b, 1987c). The difference was the interpretation of the causes. First of all, trade union was blamed. While trade union itself had not been denied (Conservative Party, 1979; Thatcher, 1977c), 'irresponsible' trade union movement had been described like 'enemy of the society' making people suffer, destroying jobs, threatening individual freedom, and ruining Britain's chances of success (Conservative Party, 1979, 1992; Major, 1992c; Thatcher, 1976b, 1977e, 1979b, 1982c, 1984b, 1986b). The next target for Conservative government to blame is government. State had been described damaging efficiency by occupying too many resources, destroying incentive of success by tax, causing inflation by borrowing and spending money too much, damaging traditional value by excessive regulation, and increasing people's dependency by monopoly of decision (Conservative Party, 1979; Major, 1992c, 1992d; Thatcher, 1975b, 1976b, 1977a, 1980b, 1982d, 1988b).

However, they had not stayed just in domestic reason to blame for economic difficulties sustained throughout Conservative Government over decade. Consecutive world economic recession had been also indicated as one of the external factors including rocketing oil price and trade deficits of the United States (Major, 1992b, 1992c; Thatcher, 1980b, 1981a, 1982a, 1983a, 1987a). Globalising economy and technical advance had been seen as a one of contributing factors to Western recession through growing challenges from newly developing countries. They were appeared as new flourishing opportunities initially – freer trade has meant lower prices, more competition and faster growth (Thatcher, 1981a) – but, in the course of time, they had been considered as unavoidable risk or threat must be overcome to survive (Major, 1991a, 1992b, 1993a, 1993c; Thatcher, 1982d, 1983a, 1986b, 1987a).

The last points of Conservative government – globalisation and technological advance – were what New Labour government inherited in their understanding of the contemporary society. The world was seen to be moving closer together in every aspect such as economics, finance, security, communication, travel, and media (Blair, 1995b, 1998b, 1998c, 1999b, 2000c, 2001b, 2003c, 2004b; Blair & Schröder, 1999; Labour Party, 2001) and to face new global issue must be tackled together such as climate change and terrorism (Blair, 2001b, 2001d, 2003a, 2004b, 2004d, 2006c). This presented both risk (Blair, 2000c, 2001e, 2002c, 2005c) as well as opportunity (Blair, 1994b, 2002c, 2004d, 2005b, 2005c, 2006e). Therefore, the most important issue here is to maximise the national interest between the opportunities and risks that globalisation posed simultaneously without failing (Blair, 2002c, 2003b, 2004b, 2005b, 2005d).

Technological advances, the other side of globalisation in the fast changing world (Blair, 1994a, 1995b, 1999b, 2000a, 2000b, 2001b; Labour Party, 2001, 2005), was also understood as the great new opportunity (Blair, 1998c, 2000b, 2006e; Labour Party, 2001). So, similarly, what mattered was how to seize these opportunities through more encouragement and investment for science, knowledge, and skills (Blair, 1999b, 2000a, 2004a, 2005d, 2006d, 2006e; Blair & Schröder, 1999; Labour Party, 2001). In addition, from the second term of the New Labour government, there had been increasing recognition of the growing demands on the conventional public services (Blair, 1997b, 2001c, 2001e, 2004b, 2005d, 2006a, 2006e, 2007b; Labour Party, 2005). This was partly explained by some social changes such as ‘more people live longer’ (Blair, 2001b, 2001e), due to ‘advances in science and medical technology’ (Labour Party, 2005).

Objectives

The statement for objectives are usually collocated with certain word such as ‘aim’, ‘purpose’, ‘goal’, and ‘mission’ but often these word are used to express strategic direction of government. Therefore in order to distinguish texts to define ideological objectives, more ultimate values are needed to be concentrated such as, traditionally in British politics – prosperity, equality, freedom, and opportunity – while this abstract concepts should be more clarified during the analysis.

If there is one ideological objective as a consensus of British governments in modern history, it is ‘prosperity’ which means constant economic growth. It is the same to Old Labour (Callaghan, 1976, p. 189, 1977a, p. 219, 1978, p. 233; Labour Party, 1970; H. Wilson, 1961, p. 102, 1975, p. 186). Difference between them is different partner it has for different reason. For Old Labour government, the pursuit of economic prosperity is (often justified as) a precondition for social justice, which had mainly referred to social equality, for instant, for more housing, education, health i.e. the welfare of the British people as a whole (H. Wilson, 1964c, p. 381, 1965, p. 154, 1966a, p. 169, 1969, p. 204,

1970, p. 142). However, it is not easy to define what equality was for 'Old Labour' as equality can be about opportunity in meritocratic term, or about distribution which means from, actively, equality of outcome to, passively, protection of worse off. Equality was more described as a fair opportunity in Wilson's initial period (H. Wilson, 1964a, 1964c, 1965) yet, as economic decline getting deeper, the concept moved to more distributionist term but mainly passive form: protection of worse off (Labour Party, 1974b; H. Wilson, 1967, 1974).

Not surprisingly, equality, which was one of the dual objectives with prosperity, was clearly denied by Thatcher and Major and it was regarded as an aspiration damaging economic strength and people's welfare (Major, 1991b; Thatcher, 1975b, 1975d, 1979a) Then 'freedom' and 'prosperity' had been stated as a new set of political objectives for Conservative government (Conservative Party, 1983, 1987; Thatcher, 1976b, 1978c, 1979b, 1988c). Freedom was described as an ultimate goal of the society which was a undeniable destiny of politics in nature because it was a part of human nature itself, as well as a foundation of society must be protected because it was a base of human dignity and moral society (Thatcher, 1975b, 1977a, 1977b, 1979c, 1981a, 1982a, 1983a, 1984a, 1985, 1988c). the freedom referred to various form of freedom: sometimes freedom under the law (Thatcher, 1979b, 1979c, 1989b, 1990b), or political freedom (Thatcher, 1979c, 1989b, 1990b), however, economic liberty appeared to have a highest priority and superiority than others (Thatcher, 1979b, 1979c, 1989b, 1990b) and it was the means to achieve economic prosperity since it was a necessary condition to make incentive for people to create wealth (Thatcher, 1975d, 1977b, 1983c, 1987b, 1990a).

And prosperity meant for Thatcher and Major Governments thinking as an establishment of healthy society, fulfilment of people's aspiration, and improvement of quality of life (Conservative Party, 1987; Major, 1993a, 1996a; Thatcher, 1980b, 1981b, 1985). Moreover prosperity, like freedom, did not stop at the ultimate end. It was also a precondition to make other things possible such as better public service in health, education and social security, job creation, generosity of society and, eventually, more freedom (Conservative Party, 1983, 1987; Major, 1992b; Thatcher, 1975d, 1976b, 1985, 1988c).

In New Labour ideology, Thatcherite 'freedom' has been replaced with 'opportunity for all' as a new partner of 'economic prosperity' (Blair, 1998a, 1999a; Labour Party, 1997). While equality of outcome as it was evidently denied (Blair, 1998c, p. 3, 2002a; Blair & Schröder, 1999), it was often collocated with employment or parallel words, for example, employment opportunity for all, opportunity all to work, and opportunity to gain better jobs (Blair, 1995b, 1998c, 2000c). The other word which was collocated with opportunity was education, for instance, opportunity to secure the best education, opportunity to realise our potential in education (Blair, 1995a, 1998c, 2002a). More importantly, Opportunity for all was illustrated as a necessary condition for economic competitiveness

in global and knowledge-based economy. In other words, economy cannot be successful unless all possible potential are exploited through opportunity for all (Blair, 1998c, p. 1, 2002c, 2006b). At the same time, economic prosperity was explained as a requirement to achieve ‘opportunity for all’ in Blair’s speeches, particularly, it opens more opportunities of employment for more people (Blair, 1994b, 2000c, 2001b, 2005b; Labour Party, 2001).

Political Philosophy

Political philosophy in this study refers to basic perspective for interpretation of society, defining ideological objectives and strategies, understanding role of state and citizenship. This includes traditional form of ideology such as socialism and New Right. However, as political ideology refers to more practical dimension of idea in politics being changed over period of government, these traditional forms of ideology were distinguished as more fundamental level of thinking, say philosophy in this study.

As far as Labour Party is concerned, socialism had been accepted as a basic philosophy of Labour members since 1918 when the Party new constitution and a new programme, *Labour and the New Social Order*, which was drafted by Sidney Webb, was agreed (Baston, 2000; Ellison, 2000; Jones, 1996) and Marxist’s criticism on capitalist society appeared in Old Labour thinking: ‘where money counts more than man. ... [and] the verb ‘to have’ means so much more than the verb ‘to be’ ’(H. Wilson, 1961, p. 102); ‘a kind of private game reserve, excluding technically qualified men and women from top positions’ (H. Wilson, 1964c, p. 385); and ‘the free market economy – free for some’ (H. Wilson, 1973, p. 162). On the other hand, Old Labour made distance from traditional (continental) socialism (1964a, p. 1) as British one is ‘essentially democratic and evolutionary’ (H. Wilson, 1964a, p. 6) and this democratic socialists believe in democratisation of market, that is public control over privileged, irresponsible, and ruthless private capital. In short, this democratic socialist devote their effort ‘to transform the privileges of the few into the right of the citizen, and to subject irresponsible power to duly constituted public control’ (H. Wilson, 1964a, p. 1).

On the contrary, Thatcher and Major’s belief in market superiority is dominant in their speeches (Major, 1994b; Thatcher, 1977a, 1977d, 1978c, 1981a, 1982d, 1988b, 1990b) and this well reflects their New Right philosophy (Evans & Taylor, 1996; Kavanagh, 1990, 1997; E. Wilson, 1992). Free market was believed to work always better in philosophy of Thatcher and Major because it bases on human nature that people want to choose what is for them independently, then they could be encouraged to do the best to earn and own more for them (Major, 1992d, 1994a; Thatcher, 1975b, 1976b, 1986a, 1987b, 1988c). In addition, Individualism was appeared as another basic philosophy of Thatcher and Major in their speeches and it is also on the context of New Right. It is against

collectivism which roots in mutual responsibility for substantial parts of life in society (Wilding, 1992). They denied collectivism and clearly stated that individual or family was the central unit of society bearing ultimate responsibility for own life (Pascall, 1997) rather than community. They explained community also benefited by achievement of individuals not by collective activity (Conservative Party, 1992; Major, 1992d, 1993a; Thatcher, 1975b, 1975d, 1977a, 1977d, 1979b, 1980b, 1985, 1988b, 1988c, 1990b).

For New Labour, 'community' as a communitarian concept were found as a core of their basic understanding of society. Communitarianism which is basically understood as the idea that individuals are created and sustained through their relationship with others in families and communities (Fairclough, 2000), are pointed out as a foundation of New Labour's public philosophy in a number of commentators (Driver & Martell, 1997; Fairclough, 2000; Fitzpatrick, 1998; Freedon, 1999; Heron & Dwyer, 1999). This kind of interpretation of society could be easily found in Blair's speeches (Blair, 1994b, 1995a, 2003c), for example, 'we all depend on collective goods for our independence; and our lives are enriched – or impoverished – by the communities to which we belong.' (Blair, 1998c, p. 4). This idea provides New Labour's distinctive point from neo-liberal individualistic value as, basically, in communitarian context, individualistic competition of neo-liberal concept is socially destructive, so it should be replaced by community value such as cooperation and working together (Le Grand, 1998).

However, New Labour's community value was differentiated from traditional socialist one. Socialism is often redefined with different word form 'social-ism' which means interrelationship basing on reciprocal responsibility to each other and to community they belong to (Blair, 1995a, 1995b, 2001b, 2006b). In particular, family was focused as a foundation of community (Blair, 1995a, 1996, 1998a; Labour Party, 2005). Also family was important because family could help each other far more effectively (Blair, 1994a; Labour Party, 2001) and they had to bare their responsibility not lay it down on the state (Blair & Schröder, 1999).

Stakeholder idea is often indicated the other basement of New Labour thought (Bevir & O'Brien, 2001; Burkitt & Ashton, 1996; Fairclough, 2000; Heron & Dwyer, 1999; Prabhakar, 2004; Thompson, 1996). Stakeholderism usually refer to the argument saying that every company embody a broad network of reciprocal interest of community and society including employees, customers, local residents, as well as shareholders so, for economic success of company, they have to consider this wider network as well as their participation in decision-making also they bear their responsibility to stakeholders and society such as those of employment (Burkitt & Ashton, 1996; Hutton, 1996). This approach was appeared well-known Blair's Singapore speech (Fairclough, 2000, pp. 87-88). Although, after severe criticism by Conservative politicians following Singapore speech as a return of trade

union movement, the word 'stakeholding' has been disappeared in Blair's speeches and writings, the idea still remains in New Labour's ideology in their understanding of the role of state and business sectors, which will be discussed below.

Communitarianism and stakeholderism might be the main point distinguishing New Labour philosophy from New Right thinking based on self-interest and the free market. Nevertheless, there has been also growing accusation that New Labour follow the individualistic approach of Thatcherism (Dean, 2003; Jordan, 2005; Leggett, 2004; Page, 2007). However, the understanding of the individualistic approach of New Labour was distinctive from that of Thatcherism. the New Labour's might be best described by 'social liberalism' which 'rejects attempts to secure equality of outcome as illiberal whilst also rejecting untreated markets as unfair' (Buckler & Dolowitz, 2004, p. 26). In this context, New Labour believed in individual liberty, it was regarded to be realised with appropriate public supports guaranteeing fair chance for everyone rather than in the free market (Blair, 2001e, 2004e).

Actors

Primary actor in government ideology is obviously the state as they govern to address the challenges and to achieve the objectives. However, its actual role could vary depending on different ideology and its understanding of other social actor, particularly the market. For example, as we can see in the discussion on major strategies below including public ownership, national planning, social service, and Social Contract above, central leading role of the state had taken for granted during the Labour government in 1960s and 1970s. This even had not been subject of argument in political text while private sector had been considered as just an object which should be controlled and regulated by public. Additionally, Trade union was emerged as the other major actor in 1970s with the state through Social Contract. Social Contract imposed trade union shared responsibility with the state to achieve economic growth out of crisis with inflation through voluntary control of wage increase and this was basic condition for comprehensive social service for more just society.

In following Conservative government, even though state intervention was indicated as one of the reasons of economic difficulties and 'rolling back state' was one of the major strategies in the ideology of Thatcher and Major, it is far from withdrawal or denial of the role of government. It was redirection of state role from positive and active role of Old Labour to negative and protective role such as safeguarding citizen including provision of equitable and enforceable system of law (Conservative Party, 1987, 1992; Thatcher, 1975c, 1978b, 1982b, 1983b) as well as firm defence against external threat (Conservative Party, 1992; Thatcher, 1976a, 1978b, 1982b) to secure citizens daily life and free economic activity; maintaining firm ground for economy as an organiser of fair and

stable playground for economic player (Conservative Party, 1983, 1987; Major, 1992c, 1993c; Thatcher, 1978a, 1979b, 1981a, 1982a); and protecting the most vulnerable groups such as the disabled, unemployed and elderly (Conservative Party, 1983; Major, 1992d, 1995, 1997; Thatcher, 1978a, 1981a). More importantly, however, it was evidently stated in political text of Thatcher and Major that it was not government but private sector that created more jobs, made economy prosper, and increased wealth of nation. Entrepreneurs were understood that they would do their job at their best for their own interest under free-market mechanism if the government let them do (Conservative Party, 1992; Major, 1993c, 1995; Thatcher, 1975b, 1977e, 1982a, 1983c, 1986a, 1987c).

Under New Labour, the major roles of the both actors were recognised together and the partnership between them was stressed for improvement and innovation not only in economy but also other public services such as employment and education (Blair, 1998b, 2000a, 2000b, 2001a, 2001c). Firstly, New Labour's understanding of the role can be two-folded: the grounding role and enabling role. The former is main for the business sector as it embraced economic stability, infrastructure, maintenance of the standard, and right framework in economy for long-term growth (Blair, 1997a, 2000a, 2001e, 2004b, 2007a; Labour Party, 2001, 2005) and the latter is for citizen as it is to provide opportunity such as education and employment as well as power to decide what they want in the public services (Blair, 1994a, 1998c, p. 10, 2000a, 2002c, 2004b; Labour Party, 2001, 2005). Beside the role of the state to provide proper ground for the private entrepreneurs to succeed, the business sector had the role to create more wealth. However, in New Labour's language, their responsibility was beyond this. Their role and responsibility included investing their own business for long-term development, providing more jobs, and training their own employees (Blair, 1998c, p. 8, 2000a, 2001b, 2006d). Also the private sectors, together with voluntary sector, had the other role to play in society as providers of public services. This role was appreciated in New Labour ideology to contribute to make innovative, flexible, and, so, better public services (Blair, 2004b, 2005a, 2006a, 2007a; Labour Party, 2001).

Citizenship

Although the concept of citizenship is used in multitude of contexts, it is hard to make an explicit definition, in the context of debate on ideology, it, arguably, implies rights of citizen which relate to appropriate role of state in providing for citizens' needs and duties reasonably expected to be provided by the state. In broad terms, it would be also discussed within the question of what is the proper relationship between the state and individual (Heron & Dwyer, 1999) to achieve their goals. Also it can be understood as an interpretation of the role of general citizen in the society.

In Old Labour, statement of universal welfare right of citizen was found in some Party documents among the commitment about social security (Labour Party, 1961, 1964). On the contrary, in following Conservative government, Citizenship right was replaced with right to buy as a consumer in free-market (Wilding, 1992) through diffusion of ownership in strategy and social obligation was took over to voluntary generosity beyond conventional 'bureaucratic definition of citizenship' (Hurd, 1988, p. 14). In this privatised concept of citizenship, responsibilities fell into individuals or their family rather than society or community (Conservative Party, 1979, 1983, 1992; Thatcher, 1977a, 1982d).

In New Labour's text, it is true that the notion of citizenship in New Labour kept considerable distance from that of Old Labour as the 'right' usually collocated with 'responsibilities' (Blair, 1998c, p. 4, 2000e; Labour Party, 2001). To put it more precisely, it was the mutual responsibility between citizen and state. In other words, Government has the responsibility to provide opportunities for individuals and individuals have a responsibility to grasp those opportunities. This is the vital condition to follow the dual objectives of New Labour – opportunity for all and economic prosperity – at the same time. If either the government does not provide sufficient opportunities or citizen does not take them, the society would not prosper (Blair, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2006b; Labour Party, 2001). The responsibility of the state to provide opportunities is only meaningful for the citizen who takes their responsibility to grasp them, the counterpart rights of citizens civil liberty, tended to be limited or prioritized to people who follow this condition i.e. people help themselves, hard-working families or law-abiding citizen (Blair, 1994a, 1998c, p. 14, 2001b, 2001e, 2006b; Labour Party, 2001, 2005). On the other hand, in order to make the opportunity through public services good enough to be taken by citizen satisfactorily, the government need to be more responsive to the needs of individual citizens by increasing choice and voice of citizen in the service provision (Blair, 2002c, 2004b, 2004c; Labour Party, 2001, 2005).

Major Strategies

Major strategies refer to policies which has a central role to tackle challenges to the contemporary society and to pursuit objectives set in the ideology of a government. As discussed, policies implemented by a certain government are often used as evidences to argue the ideological position of the government but a few policies fit to the argument tend to be picked up as 'major' ones. So it would be crucial to find out what policies are placed in major strategic position in the ideology of a government from a range of policies proposed or implemented by them. This could be done by looking at how a certain policy is described in what context of reasoning in political text.

For example, in terms of Old Labour government, public ownership have central place as ideological strategy not only to prevent economy from inefficiency of private firm and monopolies and

modernising industry to challenge technological revolution, but also to realise social justice beyond limitation of capitalism economy in initial Party document (Labour Party, 1961) and Wilson's (1964a) writing. In addition, national planning, with public ownership, had been considered as an essential strategy to replace wasteful and inefficient capitalism and to achieve socialist goal such as economic growth and full employment. It was regarded particularly important in initial documents and speeches in 1960s in order not only to tackle economic decline but also to make scientific revolution prosperity not misery (Labour Party, 1961, 1964, 1970; H. Wilson, 1963, 1964a).

Furthermore, As greater social equality had been accepted as a primary goal of the Party, universal public service including health care, education, housing and social security had been broadly regarded as a major strategy to achieve it in Labour government (Coates, 1975; Shaw, 1996). A range of commitments for significant improvement of social services were made in initial Party documents and speeches in 1960s (Labour Party, 1961, 1964; H. Wilson, 1964b). Even when the condition of economic decline to crisis put the implementation of these commitments under severe difficulties, the emphasis of public services to protect vulnerable groups could be found in a range of speeches (H. Wilson, 1966b, 1968, 1975)

When public service was to protect people under the crisis, the Social Contract was a central strategy of Wilson-Callaghan government to tackle economic crisis from 1974 to 79 (Callaghan, 1976, 1977b; Labour Party, 1974b). The Social Contract was a range of agreements between the Labour Party and TUC which was reached after establishment of Liaison Committee composed of representatives from the PLP, the NEC, and TUC (Bodanor, 2004; Shaw, 1996; Taylor, 2004). In these agreements, trade union promised voluntary wage constraint to tackle inflation to the Party and the Party promised price controls, and food and housing subsidies to reduce burden on the wage, as well as increase expenditure on social services and wider distribution of income and wealth. So it was not only about wage and inflation issues but also the whole range of issues about achieving their objectives: economic prosperity and social justice.

In contrast to Old Labour, since Conservative government interpreted the economic crisis was mainly occurred by dominance of state in British economy, cutting the powers and influences of them would be obvious solution for Thatcher and Major for the recovery, so called 'rolling back state' such as curbing public spending (Conservative Party, 1987; Major, 1992c, 1994b; Thatcher, 1976b, 1977e, 1979b, 1980a, 1982a, 1983c, 1984a) and (Conservative Party, 1979, 1987; Major, 1991d, 1992c, 1997; Thatcher, 1976b, 1983a, 1988a). Then Privatisation, as an another major strategy to roll back state, had been not only demonstrated as a way not only to make the former national industries more efficient but also give private entrepreneurs more freedom to prosper (Conservative Party, 1987, 1992; Major, 1997; Thatcher, 1978a, 1981b, 1982d). It had been also combined with another major

strategy of diffusing ownership by providing opportunity for workers to own shares of the companies for popular capitalism or capital-owning democracy (Conservative Party, 1987, 1992; Thatcher, 1985, 1986b, 1988c). In fact, diffusion of ownership was central policy for Thatcher and Major Governments to make economic prosperity reach to the people. In other words, people could enjoy national prosperity by owning home, shares, and savings (Conservative Party, 1979, 1983, 1987; Major, 1991d, 1992b, 1996b, 1997; Thatcher, 1977e, 1980b, 1981b, 1982d, 1985, 1986a, 1988c), i.e. diffusion of ownership is the ideology of Thatcher and Major Governments is equivalent with distribution means in those of the left.

Furthermore, marketisation of public sector had appeared as a part of privatisation to make existing national industries and public services more efficient and responsible to their customer (citizen) by putting them into competition (Conservative Party, 1983, 1992; Department of Health, 1998; Major, 1990; Thatcher, 1982d, 1984b, 1987b, 1989b, 1990c). Citizen's Charter is on the line of this development. Citizen's Charter had been framework to import private sector management practice to improve performance of public service by performance measurement, central inspection, competition, consumer's choice and more information about standard (Conservative Party, 1992; Major, 1991c, 1991d, 1992a, 1992e, 1993b, 1994a). This programme had been extended alongside competitive tendering and contracting-out of public services (Major, 1992e).

Apart from rolling back state, the chief government strategy of Thatcherite for economic prosperity is to make firm ground for market to work better by maintaining stability and controlling money supply which are central policy of monetarism (Conservative Party, 1979, 1987; Major, 1990, 1992c, 1993a, 1996a; Thatcher, 1982a, 1983a, 1984a, 1987a, 1988a, 1989a). In addition, as sound money was essential condition for economic prosperity, law and order were foundation for people's freedom for Thatcher and Major (Conservative Party, 1983, 1992; Thatcher, 1977a, 1979a, 1980b, 1981b, 1984a, 1986b, 1988a).

New Labour's strategy can be understood by endogenous growth theory (Buckler & Dolowitz, 2004; Kitson & Wilkinson, 2007; Wiggan, 2007). The key factors underlying growth are assumed to be internal to the market, particularly human capital and technological advance, and the government is supposed to play the active role to initiate supply-side measures for these factors in the model of endogenous growth theory (Buckler & Dolowitz, 2004). The major strategies of these measures were education and training as well as welfare to work in New Labour's texts. In addition, further investment on public service including these areas was coupled with the reform for more personalised service in order to make the investment more effective.

First of all, Education was clearly and continuously stated as the 'number one priority' of New Labour policy in a range of Blair's speeches and the party documents (Blair, 1996, 1997a, 1999a, 2001b;

Labour Party, 2001, 2005). It also occupied biggest part of Blair's speeches at Labour Party Annual Conferences a number of times (Blair, 1995b, 1996, 1997b, 1999b). Education is central policy not only for success in the global economic competition by fulfilling all possible potentials of every individual with first-class and lifelong education and training (Blair, 1998c, p. 10, 2000d, 2001b, 2005a, 2005d) but also for 'opportunity for all' by liberating individual's potential and leading to other opportunities such as better employment and higher earnings (Blair, 1995a, 1995b, 1999b, 2001e, 2003d; Labour Party, 2005)

Welfare to work was the other major strategies for Blair with education and training. It was illustrated as a right thing which was a more effective way to tackle poverty and social exclusion than traditional benefit system in modern economy as well as to provide opportunity for better life. So it was, like education, represented as a mean to achieve other objectives as well as a realisation of objective – opportunity for all because opportunity was regarded as an objective itself (Blair, 1994a, 2002b, 2003d, 2004c; Blair & Schröder, 1999; Labour Party, 2001, 2005).

Finally, under endogenous growth theory, the general strategy of the government is more investment on human capital and economic infrastructure. This was why 'investment was put before tax cut' (Blair, 2001e) in the New Labour strategy. The public investment appeared as an umbrella term in the strategy of New Labour including investment on education, health, transport, science, and police for economic strength, modern public service and fairness was often stressed (Blair, 2000d, 2001e, 2002d, 2004a; Labour Party, 2001). At the same time, the radical reform of public service was also stressed alongside of the investment (Blair, 2001a, 2002b, 2004c) and among other reforms, consumer choice was appeared as a main means to give the power to the hand of citizen. This meant the market system in public service whilst the service still remained as universal (Blair, 2002c, 2003a, 2003c, 2005e, 2006a, 2007a; Labour Party, 2005).

Old Labour, Thatcherism, Blair's New Labour, and ideology of Brown government

We have seen the findings of the content analysis of high profile political text in each major government from Old Labour to New Labour. It would be inappropriate to compare the analysis of Brown's to these major political ideologies established over one or two decades. Therefore, while summarising the findings focusing on Blair's New Labour, we attempt examine how far Brown's ideology depart from the predecessor to which direction.

First, in terms of their interpretation of the challenges to the contemporary society, there was little significant difference in the approach of New Labour comparing to their predecessors. However, while the predecessors were overwhelmed by the successive economic problems, New Labour

recognised globalisation, technological advance, and growing expectations as opportunities to succeed if the society was rightly equipped.

For Brown government, global threats to security of life such as global economic competition and financial crisis, climate change, terrorism and global inequality is appeared as major challenge (Brown, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, 2007i, 2008g, 2008h, 2008j, 2008m, 2008n, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). In fact, globalisation is the most dominant concept in Brown's text. Globalisation become the most considerable risk later thanks to global financial crisis (Brown, 2007c, 2008l, 2008m, 2008n, 2008p, 2008r, 2009c).

However, globalisation is interpreted not only as risk but also vital opportunities for more opportunities and prosperity (Brown, 2007j, 2008a, 2008b, 2008e, 2008i, 2008j, 2008m, 2008n, 2008r). This is mainly because 'Whatever is likely to happen, the world economy will almost certainly double in size in the next 20 years - as the people of China, India and Asia become consumers for the first time. That's twice as much business as today; twice as many opportunities.' (Brown, 2009b) This argument has been repeated again and again in Brown's speeches throughout his premiership (Brown, 2008a, 2008l, 2008m, 2008n, 2008p, 2008q, 2008r, 2009a, 2009c). This is never challenged by ever deepening global economic climate, rather, this provide strong ground for Brown to argue more open and flexible economy not protectionism in order to secure comparative advantage in widening opportunities (Brown, 2008a, 2008b, 2008e, 2008m, 2008p, 2009a).

Second, in the ideological objectives, Blair's New Labour established the mutually complimentary relationship between the dual objectives (economic prosperity and social justice) by clarifying the meaning of the social justice as equality of opportunity. 'Opportunity for all' in New Labour kept a considerable distance from 'freedom' which mainly meant economic liberty as the other objective of Thatcherism apart from economic prosperity, which was the common objective in modern British governments. On the other hand, the meaning of 'social equality' of Old Labour was not clear and, rather, it was evident that their notion of equality included equality of opportunity, to which New Labour was committed. More importantly, as discussed above, the commitment of the Old Labour government to 'social equality' thorough the improvement of social services was quickly shadowed by economic difficulties then reduced to the protection for the vulnerable. Therefore, it is difficult to say that the tradition of Labour governments in the past was the commitment for equality of outcome.

In terms of objectives, Brown follows what Blair pursued: economic prosperity and opportunity for all (Brown, 2007k, 2008a, 2008e, 2008f, 2008o, 2008p, 2008q). However, each of them gains some different meanings. First of all, fairer opportunity is much more emphasised than the other and its role for prosperity in global economy (Brown, 2007b, 2007f, 2007i, 2007l, 2008a, 2008f, 2008o) much often appears than the vice versa (Brown, 2007b). Moreover, opportunity is also regarded as chance

for people to contribute to their own society, wellbeing of all (Brown, 2007d, 2007i, 2008a). On the other hand, prosperity sometimes replaced by stability or security as the economic crisis deepens (Brown, 1999, 2008b, 2008o, 2009a).

Third, New Labour was different from traditional socialist idea as they accepted individualistic aspiration in the market system like New Right thinkers. However, they also stressed the importance of the reciprocal responsibility and interest within society in their communitarianism and stakeholderism unlike New Right philosophy of Thatcherism, which encourage uninterrupted self-interest maximising individuals in. Moreover, New Labour believed that the free market could not be enough to make individual aspirations and potentials realised so active public support were essential to provide fair opportunity for all. In this respect, New Labour's liberalism can be defined 'social liberalism' different from neo-liberalism of New Right.

Brown also keep strong communitarian value as everyone is 'part of the fabric of the life each have led' so all have responsibility of hard working, contribution, and respect to own family, neighbours, community and society (Brown, 2007c, 2007f, 2007g, 2007i, 2008g, 2008i, 2008o, 2009a, 2009b). Moreover, Brown appears strong believer of personal aspiration which can change their own fate and make anything possible so, at the same time, society has moral obligation to give fair chance to fulfil the aspiration regardless of their background (Brown, 2007f, 2007i, 2008a, 2008h).

Whereas, in Old Labour as well as Thatcherism, only one side of actors was dominant in the ideology whilst ignoring the other side, New Labour recognised the roles of the two major actors – state and private sector – in partnership. This partnership was based on mutual contributions such as the grounding and enabling role of state for private sector, and responsibility of private sector as investor, employer, and provider for economic success as well as realisation of citizen's opportunity. The similar principle applied to the relationship between state and citizen in New Labour ideology. This was based on the mutual responsibility between them rather than just the responsibility of state like Old Labour or the responsibility of individual like Thatcherism.

Brown inherited Blair's partnership approach as he always emphasise not only government but also private, and voluntary sector, even, sometimes, ordinary citizen should work together and play their own part for various common goals including prosperity, protecting environment, creating jobs, security and eliminating poverty (Brown, 2007f, 2007j, 2007k, 2008a, 2008c, 2008e, 2008f, 2008g, 2008j, 2008k, 2008q, 2009c, 2009d). If there is difference, this may comes from more active role of each in Brown's text. For instance, while the state still has enabling role (Brown, 2007d, 2008o) for more opportunity and grounding role for economy (Brown, 2008m), more active supporting role to do everything possible to help families and business are more often stressed (Brown, 2007a, 2007j, 2008g, 2008o, 2009a). Similarly, business sector is asked more roles beyond traditional wealth and

job creation, including development of poor countries, encouragement of new generation of entrepreneurs, improvement energy efficiency, contribution to the NHS, development of long-term business initiative, and provision of training and education (Brown, 2007e, 2007j, 2007k, 2008c, 2008f, 2008k, 2008m, 2008n, 2008o).

Fifth, in terms of citizenship, Blair claims the mutual responsibility between citizen and state. Government has the responsibility to provide opportunities for individuals which have a responsibility to grasp those opportunities. This differentiates citizenship of New Labour from Old Labour's universal welfare right and Thatcherism's privatised citizenship. In Brown's text, citizenship becomes more highly conditional. Rights of citizens are secured in return of their responsibility for hard work, keeping appointment, living healthier life, saving for old age and taking opportunities (Brown, 2007c, 2007g, 2007i, 2007j, 2008d, 2008f, 2008i, 2008k, 2008o, 2009c). And many of them become compulsory as his aim is 'a something for something, nothing for nothing Britain (Brown, 2008o).

Finally, in strategies, New Labour was found to follow endogenous growth theory between two extremes of the predecessors. Old Labour focused on maximising leading role of state through the expansion of public ownership, national planning, and the improvement of social services, whereas the Conservative followed the exact opposite such as rolling back state, the diffusion of ownership, and marketisation of public services. On the contrary, whilst letting the private enterprises lead the economy for wealth creation, New Labour recognised the active role of state investing public services to strengthen internal factors for economic prosperous. Education and training was the central area for the investment, and this was also opportunity *per se* for people to succeed together with welfare to work strategy. The diversity of provider was encouraged for greater consumer choice in public services. However, it was not just abandonment of citizen in the market system because this was the condition of further public investment for better service.

The major strategies in Brown's text could be divided two different levels: global and national. Firstly, in order to tackle global threat from climate change to financial crisis, Brown proclaims globally coordinated response (Brown, 2007a, 2008b, 2008g, 2008n, 2008o, 2008q, 2008r, 2009a, 2009c). Also he argues, as seen above, open and flexible global economy to secure extensive opportunity globalisation will bring. At the national level, while immediate supports are required to protect business and families in the economic crisis, public investment appears as a key strategy, again, to widen as well as secure opportunities (Brown, 2007h, 2008b, 2008n, 2008o, 2008q, 2009c, 2009d). In that context, similar to Blair, education and training including apprenticeship appears as central area of public investment (Brown, 2007f, 2007i, 2007k, 2008a, 2008f, 2008o).

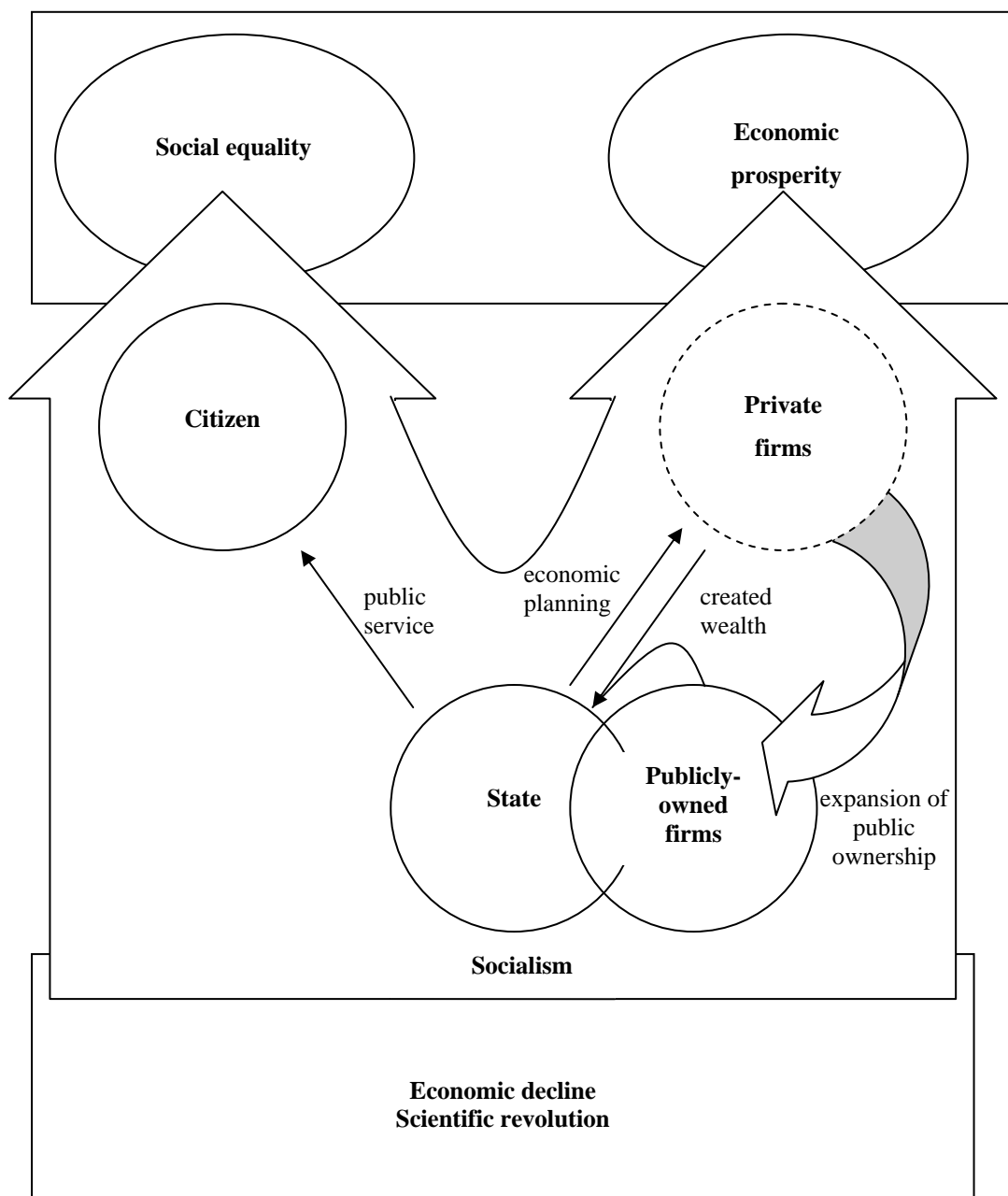


Figure 2 structure of ideology of Labour government in 1960s

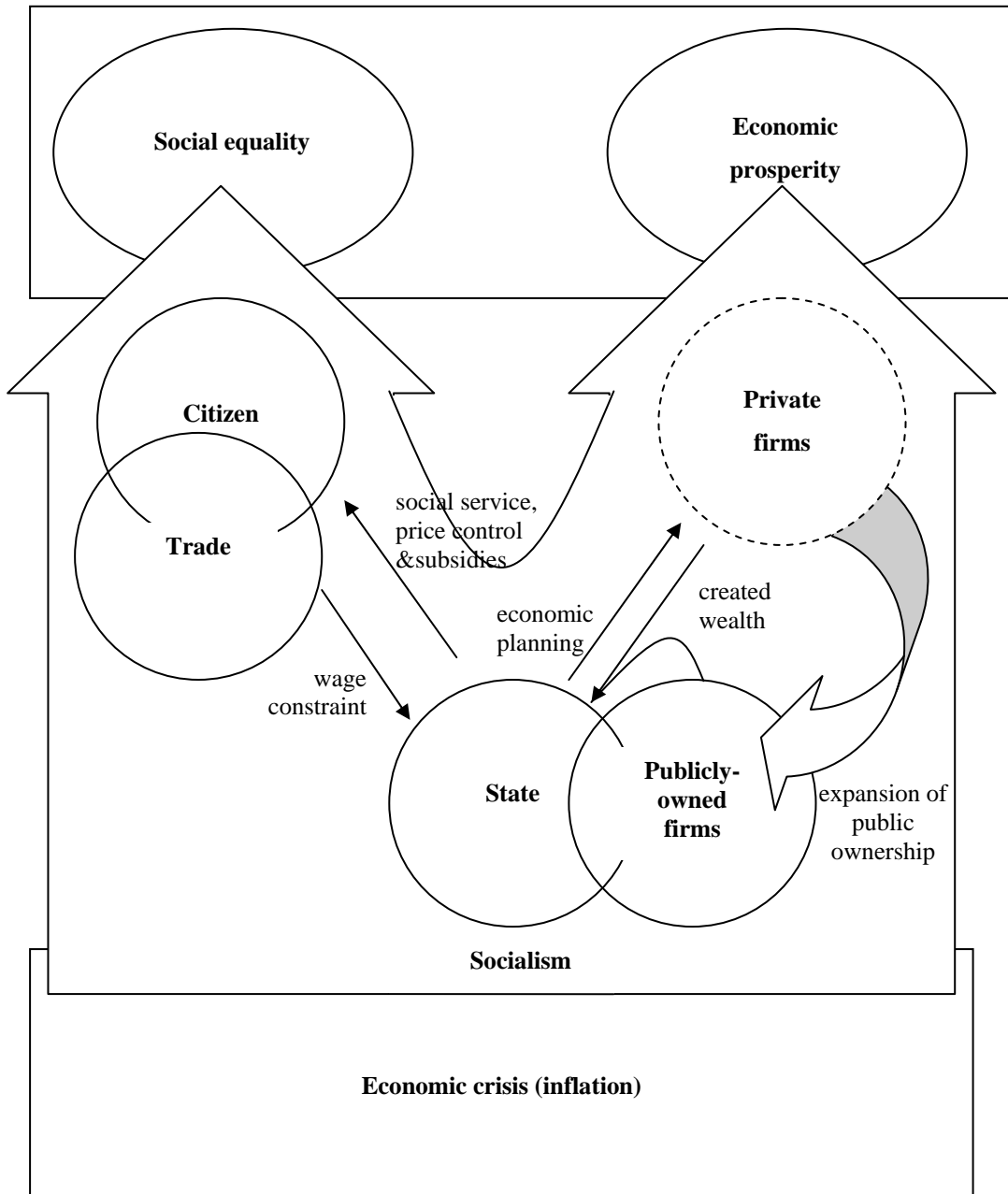


Figure 3 structure of ideology of Labour government in 1970s

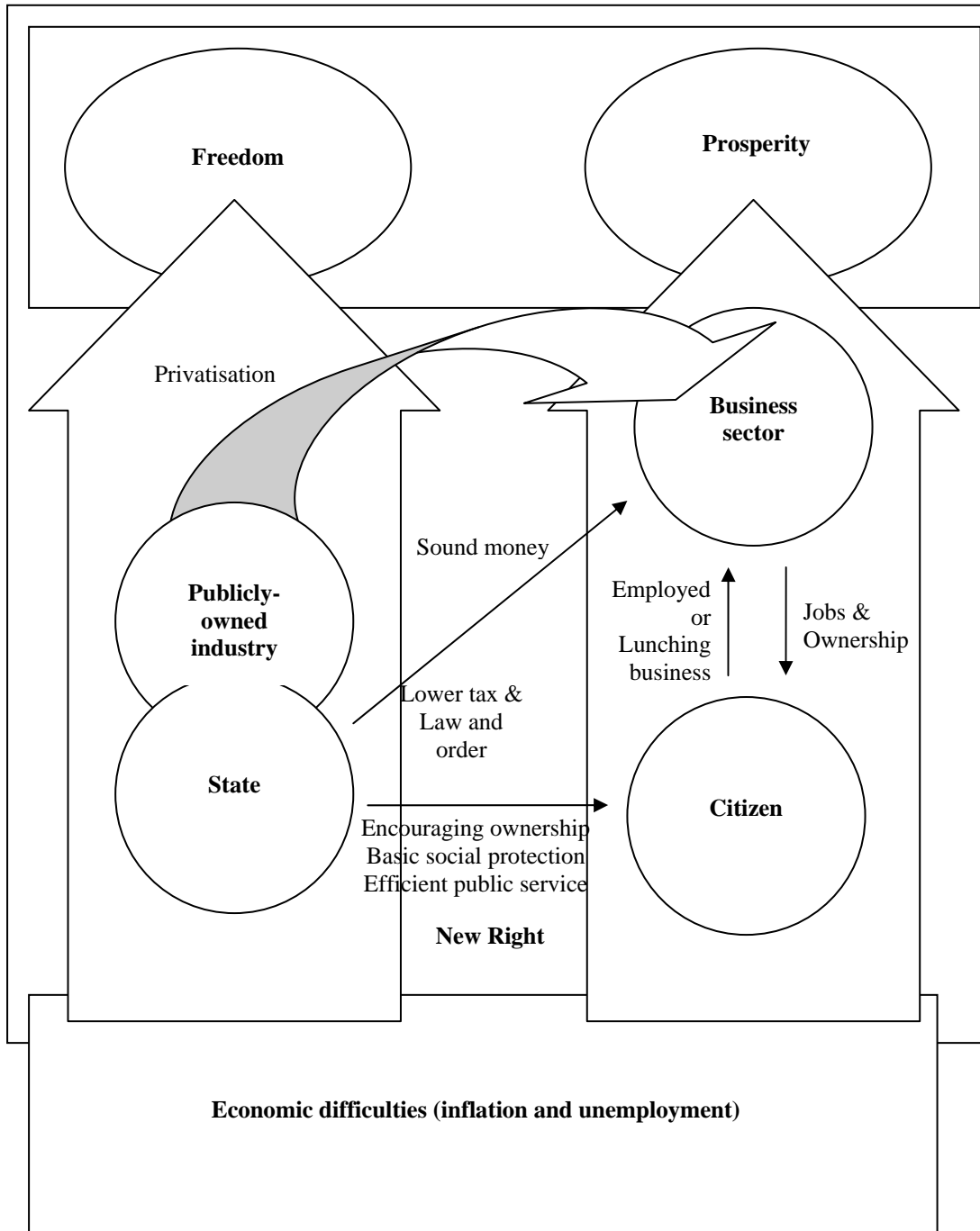


Figure 4 Structure of ideology of Conservative Government in 1980s and 1990s

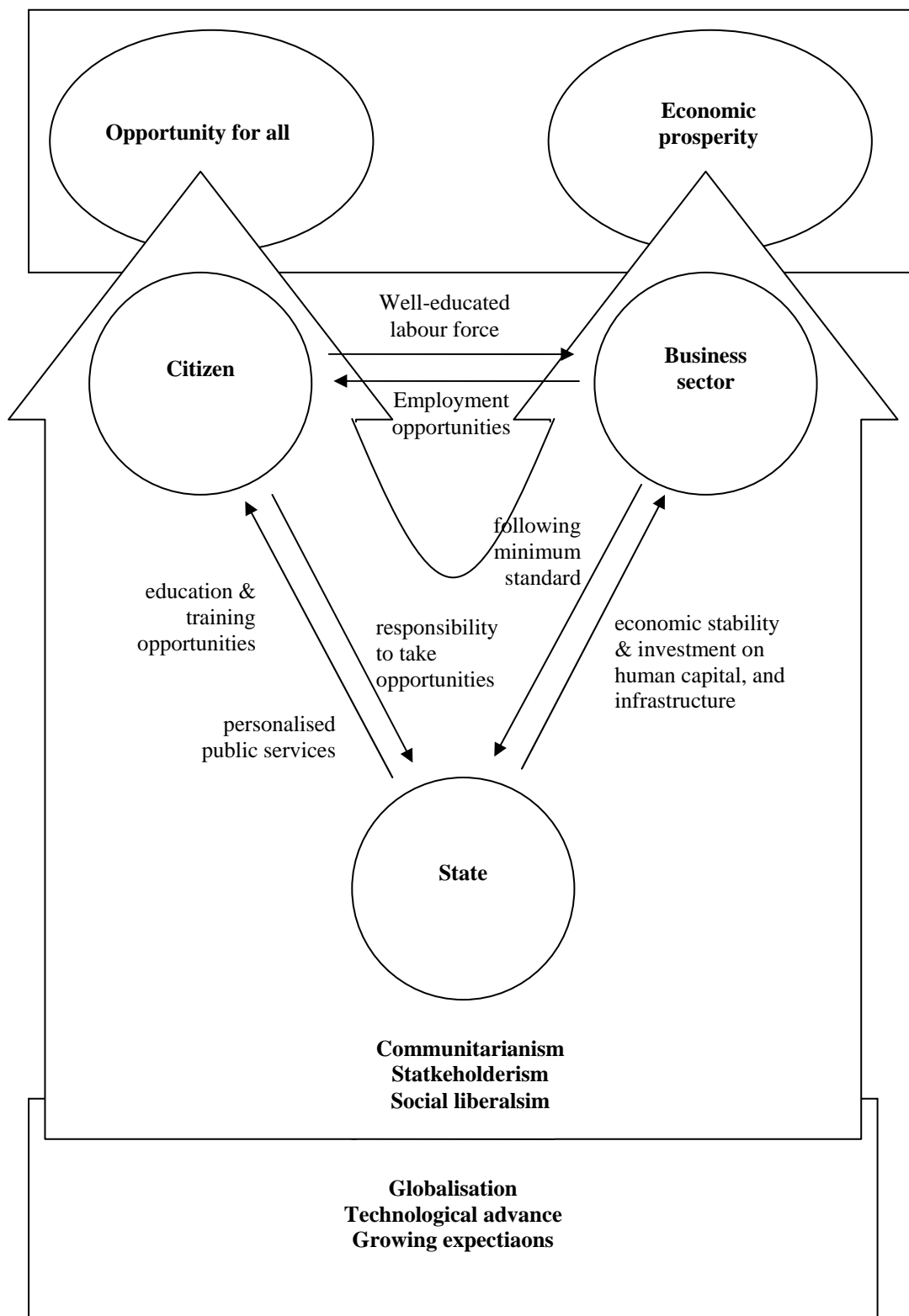


Figure 5 the whole structure of the New Labour ideology

Conclusion

In order to define an ideology of governments, a set of framework is established through the review of literatures about New Labour thinking with six ideological elements: challenges to the contemporary society, objectives, political philosophy, major actors, major strategies and citizenship. A range of speeches and writings delivered as Prime Minister and party leader and election manifestos are selected for analysis to find major political ideology in British government from 1960s to 2000s: Old Labour, Thatcherism, and New Labour. The framework is applied in the analysis. Then we can find the whole conceptual structure of each ideology after consistency of various specific components found within each element examined. These conceptual structures of each government ideologies could be drawn like from Figure 2 to Figure 5.

Then the ideology of Brown government is investigated particularly in terms of whether this new government make any break from its predecessor. The finding shows Brown government goes further than New Labour rather than return to the traditional (Old) Labour. While Brown follows Blair's dual objectives – opportunity and prosperity for all, at the same time, he appears to understand globalisation as considerable risk as well as vital opportunity, equipping people for higher competitiveness through education and training becomes much central. In this context, right of citizen is increasingly conditional in return of individual's contribution then more open and flexible market at global level is advocated. If there has been call for end of New Labour from the Left as it is argued they has championed free market away from traditional Labour value (Lawson, 2008; McDonnell, 2008), Brown government appears another New Labour government not end of it.

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